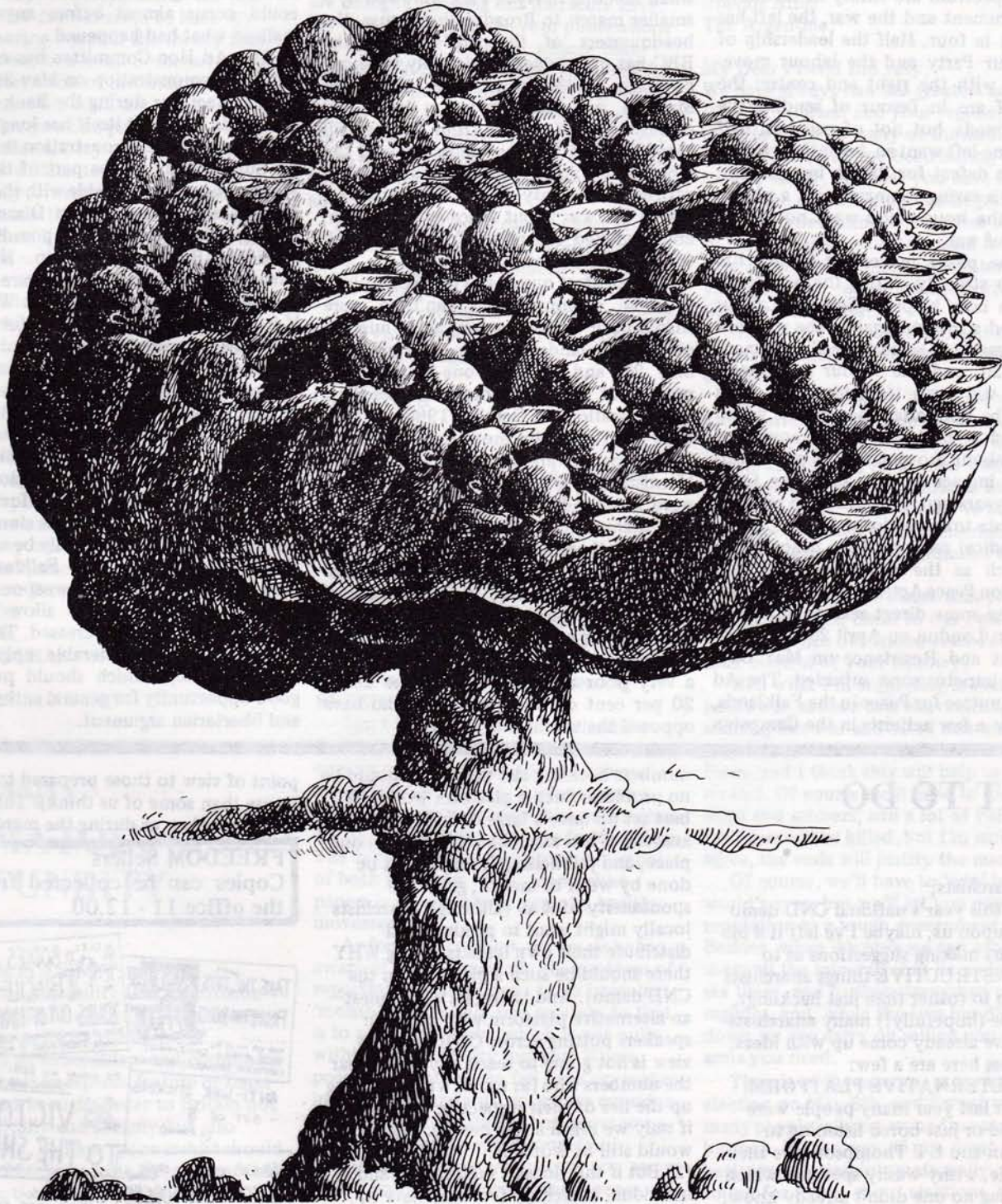


anarchist fortnightly
Freedom

30p

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WARF GASM

Please see page 4

RESIST WAR

THE Falklands War has had the continuing and even increasing support of the overwhelming majority of the population at every stage during its two months. At a time when the right and the centre of the political spectrum are firmly in favour of the Government and the war, the left has been split in four. Half the leadership of the Labour Party and the labour movement are with the right and centre; the other half are in favour of sending the British armada but not of using it; half the extreme left want an Argentine victory to bring a defeat for British imperialism; and only a saving remnant wish a plague on both the houses and want no part in any kind of war.

Yet the peace movement, which has revived so strongly during the past three years, has been helpless. Seventy Labour MPs signed a motion against the war, but barely dared vote against the Government on May 20, and the labour movement, which is still large if divided, has been useless. The libertarian movement, which is involved in both the peace movement and the labour movement, has made scarcely any impact at all. As in the Cuba crisis 20 years ago, we have been reduced to desperate token actions.

The radical section of the peace movement—such as the Peace Pledge Union and London Peace Action—have attempted to organise some direct action, and called a march in London on April 25 and a Day of Protest and Resistance on May Day, but their impetus soon subsided. The Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in the Falklands, started by a few activists in the Campaign

for Nuclear Disarmament and sponsored by various pacifist, religious and socialist groups and a few left-wing Labour MPs, was formed at the end of April. It has organised a series of Sunday demonstrations in London, which have been almost the only public manifestation of opposition to the war.

The first, on May 9, consisted of a small meeting in Hyde Park followed by a smaller march to Broadcasting House, the headquarters of the BBC—though the BBC has maintained a relatively balanced coverage of the crisis. The second, on May 16, was about twice as large, and consisted of a march from Tower Hill through Fleet Street—where some of the worst of the jingoist newspapers have their offices—to County Hall. The third, on March 23, was about twice as large again, and consisted of a march from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square.

The greatest number of people involved in these demonstrations can't be more than 5,000—about the same as the number of soldiers landed on the Falklands on May 21, and less than one-tenth of the number of demonstrators at the big CND demonstrations in October 1980 and October 1981. Initially more than half those taking part were members of various Marxist sects with various slogans which were independent of or even contrary to the theme of the demonstrations, but gradually there has been increasing participation from a wider range of organisations and tendencies, including Labour Parties and trade union branches, women's groups and gay groups, religious and similar organisations. Even so there has been a very poor representation of the 10 or 20 per cent of the population who have opposed the war at every stage.

The most striking single phenomenon has been the failure of CND to mobilise the huge numbers it could have summoned. The Falklands War is a perfect example of the kind of situation CND was formed to prevent, with a nuclear power attacking a non-nuclear power, other nuclear and non-nuclear powers manoeuvring around the fighting, and the constant danger of escalation meaning that the first nuclear strike could occur almost before anyone had realised what had happened.

The Ad Hoc Committee has called no national demonstration on May 30, asking for local actions during the Bank Holiday weekend. But CND itself has long ago arranged a national demonstration in London on Sunday, June 6, as part of the Peace Week arranged to coincide with the United Nations special session on Disarmament in New York and the proposed visit of President Reagan to Britain. Here is a chance to make up for the failure to meet the challenge of the Falklands War, even if it is a very bad time of year for students who have examinations.

There will be two marches in—starting at 11am in Ladbroke Grove, North Kensington, W11, and in Belvedere Road, Waterloo, SE1—and a rally in Hyde Park from 1.30 to 6pm. The main theme of the demonstration is opposition to the new nuclear weapons intended for Europe, but in view of developments since it was planned this should obviously be widened. One good result of the Falklands War may well be that nuclear weapons will be reduced—though only to allow conventional weapons to be increased. There will certainly be a considerable upheaval in defence policy, which should provide a good opportunity for general antimilitarist and libertarian argument.

WHAT TO DO

Other Anarchists, Seeing as this year's national CND demo is almost upon us, maybe I've left it a bit late to start making suggestions as to what CONSTRUCTIVE things anarchists can get up to (other than just heckling), and maybe (hopefully!) many anarchists locally have already come up with ideas, nonetheless here are a few:

(1) AN ALTERNATIVE PLATFORM. Given that last year many people were disgruntled or just bored listening to Foot, Benn and E P Thompson give their predictable, wishy-washy speeches which said nothing no one didn't already know, it might be better if this year anarchists EN MASSE just ignored them and instead set up our own 'platform' with our own speakers and moreover, a platform where people from the crowd can get up 'onto' and speak. Of course, this would need things such as a loudhailer (surely someone can get hold of one?) but more importantly, people prepared to speak—given the

numbers heckling last year, this should be no problem. Such a platform would be best set up once a large enough group of anarchists had assembled together in one place, and publicising it might best be done by word of mouth, given the spontaneity of it all (although anarchists locally might want to produce and distribute their own leaflets saying WHY there should be such a platform on the CND demo). And lastly, let's be honest—an alternative platform with our own speakers putting across OUR point of view is not going to reach anywhere near the numbers who (as usual) will be lapping up the lies of their respective heroes but if only we reach a few people, then it would still be worth it.

(2) But if this doesn't materialise, and if individual anarchists feel they have to give the politicians 'a good bollocking', then at least let's be a bit discerning about it—please, no repeat of last year when the Nagasaki survivor was booed.

(3) AS NOTICEABLE AN ANARCHIST PRESENCE AS POSSIBLE. Not just flags, banners, leaflets and papers etc, but anarchists prepared to mingle with the crowd, talk and put across the anarchist

point of view to those prepared to listen (more than some of us think). This could be done before or during the marches

FREEDOM Sellers
Copies can be collected from the office 11 - 12.00

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...and the war - CAPITALISM, PATRIARCHY, OBEEDIENCE

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Such all weapons/politicians on an island - make THEM halt it out

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Abolish all armies

FROM: BOX 5, LONDON GREENWAY, 6 RINDSLIGH ST., LONDON W.C.1.

MONICA GIORGI IS FREE!

ON WEDNESDAY 28 APRIL at the Appeal Court in Florence her sentence was reduced from 12 years and six months to 2 years, having already spent that much time on remand and since the original conviction she was released two days later.

Ever since her arrest, and even more so after the trial at Leghorn (see FREEDOM Vol 42) Italian anarchists and libertarians mounted an incessant campaign for her release. Beginning with the comrades from Rivista A in Milan pro-Giorgi groups sprung up everywhere. In the last few weeks before the trial this mobilisation was intensified. There is no doubt that the pressure created by these groups was an important factor in the reduction of her sentence.

There will be those who say that appeals such as these give the state a chance to recuperate some lost credibility and reinforce people's faith in the system. Which is of course part of the truth if not all of it. It would be infantile, however, to deny that the collapse of this political frame-up is not a blow to those institutions who set it up, while on the other hand strengthening the resolve of those who have successfully fought, through the Courts, for the truth. It has helped all those in any way involved in this battle to realise that victories can be won using very different methods from the terrorism



which the state tried to claim Monica was part of.

From this victory the stimulus can be drawn for the other battles that await us, renew hopes of winning them, through people's constant and militant commit-

ment, which is the basis of our social action.

Liberally translated and adapted from an article by Paolo Finzi in Rivista A

SOLIDARITY DEATH GREATLY EXAGGERATED

RUMOURS have been rife over the last few months concerning the likely future of the national 'Solidarity' group and magazine—even in the pages of FREEDOM there have been a number of references to the group's 'collapse' or 'disbandment'. Following a national conference in London over the weekend of the 15th-16th May, it's now possible to put the record straight.

Firstly, the group has not collapsed or disbanded: a number of comrades (mainly in Manchester and Scotland) have left the

organisation (amicably) to concentrate on local initiatives (such as the 'Wildcat' and 'Subversive Graffiti' bulletins) and the production of a discussion bulletin entitled 'New Ultra Left Review'—copies available from Box 25, 164/166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3BN. The rest of us (about thirty in all) remain as 'Solidarity', c/o 123 Lathom Rd, London E6.

Secondly, although the 'Solidarity for Social Revolution' magazine series has been ended with issue 17, plans and preparations for the production of a new 'Solidarity' magazine are at an advanced stage. The new magazine will concentrate on in-depth theoretical and reporting work—one of the main reasons for the abandonment of the old series magazine was the feeling that its format prevented the elaboration of our ideas at any length, without giving the advantage of topicality (since we simply hadn't the resources to produce a regular 'news' magazine). The first issue of the new magazine will appear later in the summer, and its central theme is 'the economy'.

L ERIZO

TOXIC GRAFFITI

THE people who used to produce the magazine Toxic Graffiti are annoyed by the current commodity of that name. Their last issue came out about 18 months ago, with a Crass flexi disc in it. It sold well, but they got no royalties, with which they could have produced another issue. In addition, the printers and publishers continued to use the name, without consent, and to charge what was considered to be an exorbitant price (now up to 85p). The TG Collective got together and decided that they could not sit by and see

both themselves and their readers ripped off. They intend to stop Better Badges producing TG. Out of this came the desire to restart their magazine. They estimate that they will need about £250. To begin, they will produce a home-made, pocket size 'benefit' edition and sell it at a slight profit, to help with the 'proper' TG. If all goes well they hope to try other projects, such as providing duplicating facilities.

Information, help, donations etc from Toxic Graffiti Collective, c/o 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Road, London SW24.



LP disc. Produced by PAX, PO Box 3, Sheffield. Distributed by all independent networks. Recommended retail price: £3.25.

THIS outstanding record has been in the pipeline for 14 months, facing rather more problems than is usual even for off-beat or underground record makers, and has surfaced at this particular time to coincide with the CNL demonstration of June 6th and also happens to coincide with some temporary problems in the South Atlantic.

It is a compilation of 12 tracks on one LP made by 12 groups linked together by opposition to war and nuclear weapons. All the work and energy and much of the expense involved in the making of the discs has been freely given and the royalties in each case are to be donated to various causes according to choices made by the groups.

The most popular good cause is 'No Nukes Music', but others cover El Salvador Relief, local CNL branches, Cancer Research and one plumped for The Donkey Sanctuary in Sidmouth.

Probably the best-known in the UK of the groups featured is Poison Girls (certainly not unknown in the anarchist movement) whose royalties are to be devoted to support for Womens' Centres in Belfast and Dublin. Indeed feminist as well as

WAR GASM

anti-war sentiments are forcefully underlined in lead singer Vi Subversa's 'Statement':

I denounce the system that murders my children
I denounce the system that denies my existence
I curse the system that makes machines of my children.....
When the fireball rapes the flesh of the earth
when the fireball tears the womb of the world
when the bullet rips apart the son and lover
when the bullet lays to waste the daughter
lays to waste the wombwork and the labour
where are they that will cherish my flesh?
where are they that will cherish my children?
the men that will stand against the death dealers
the children that can say no to the life stealers
where are they that will curse the death dealers?

The group The System say in 'Their Decisions':

War is nothing to be proud of
it just makes me sick
There's soldiers in the street with guns
shooting people for kicks.
And The Danse Society, in 'Continent', have something most topical to say to leaders (and followers) in today's murderous exercises:
Hidden behind a uniform
hidden behind someone else's thoughts
hidden behind massed ranks
hidden behind facelessness.
Keep talking....keep stalling
keep talking....keep falling.

The press launch of this record was held in an underground bunker in Wanstead Park East London, last week, one of four local bunkers opened by the Greater London Council to show citizens how well their safety is being cared for. It was unimpressive, for the one occupied by 100 supporters of No Nukes Music was surprisingly bare—except, perhaps, for some inner offices which were kept shut. But probably those who will, if the need arises, occupy this salubrious mass coffin,

GOD has been no more successful than man in settling the Falklands War. The priests have been as divided as the politicians, but like them have generally followed their own Governments.

Nearly half the Roman Catholics in the world live in Latin America, and the Catholic Church in Argentina—backed by those in the rest of Central and South America—has strongly supported not only the Argentine claim to but the Argentine invasion of the Falkland Islands. No doubt the same is true of the Catholics in Spain and Italy, which share the ancestors of the population of Argentina.

Meanwhile nearly all the Churches in Britain have supported the British Government in resisting the Argentine claim in deeds as well as in words. The Church of England has been predictably earning its position as the Established Church by defending the Christian doctrine of the Just War. This is designed in theory to justify only wars that are necessary, reasonable and moderate, but has been employed in practice to justify every war Christians have ever fought, including those fought between Christians. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Runcie, who himself won a Military Cross during the Second World War, has gone so far as to say that it would have been wrong to turn the other cheek in the Falklands, contradicting an explicit teaching of Jesus in the Gospels.

Even the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Hume, has given his cautious support to the war. This endan-

gers relations with Latin American and Continental European Catholics, which may not matter much, but also endangers relations with Rome, which matters a lot. God, working as usual in a mysterious way, arranged the Falklands War to coincide with the Pope's visit to Britain at the end of May. This is the first such visit by a reigning Pope, and it has already cost several million pounds to prepare. Could he visit a country which is at war with a Catholic country?

The Pope said that he might not come if there were serious fighting, but (probably will, finally did) come because of all the effort and money already invested in the visit. Before doing so he summoned Cardinals to Rome from both Argentina and Britain, and after doing so he may feel it necessary to visit Argentina too—and then presumably Chile as well, since it is also on the verge of war with Argentina. This could run and run.

Meanwhile the Pope prayed for arranged a mass with British and Argentine Cardinals, and appealed to the President of Argentina and the Prime Minister of Britain to stop the war. God, working in an even more mysterious way, promptly arranged the British counter-invasion of the Falklands Islands. Perhaps the real reason the Pope will have to come to Brit-

ain is that the extreme anti-Catholic Protestants have been praying that he won't do so, and that he can't let God take more notice of their prayers than his.

The Pope is making a 'pastoral' visit—that is, he is coming not as the head of a state or a government but as the head of a (indeed, the) Church to feed his Catholic flock in Britain, much as he did in the United States three years ago. (Incidentally, it is odd that Jesus and his various human representatives should describe themselves as shepherds; of course shepherds care for their sheep, but only in order to fleece and eat them more efficiently afterwards.) So he will be not just showing himself to the public and the media, and leading some religious services, but also delivering some messages. What (can, did) he say?

Pope John Paul II is the first Polish Pope, and the first non-Italian Pope for four centuries. He has been treated as a charismatic figure on his various visits to various parts of the world, but these have nearly all been to Catholic countries. The exception was the United States, which has a strong political and social tradition of anti-Catholicism. There he insisted on maintaining the conventional hard line on the priesthood (no priests allowed to leave their orders, no married priests, no women

WRAPPING IT UP F

will have more than the four minutes warning that the hoi polloi are to expect, and will have time to move in some creature comforts.

But to quote Vi Subversa again: 'A bunker is probably the most honest monument to Western culture there is.' To underline which, the group Captain Sensible, in 'Hey Jo' asked:

Why we hiding, Jo,
In this bunker, bloody bunker?
Aunt Mabel said
it's better dead than red.
Shame the President couldn't
fit her in his bloody bunker,
bloody bunker, alright.

All the groups on this disc have grown or are growing out of the punk movement. Their techniques are exciting and the recording excellent—like you can understand the words, which in this context are important. Groups not quoted include The Dead Kennedys—the only American group—Flux of Pink Indians, Canker Opera, Rat Scabies, Mau Maus, Angelic Upstarts, (whose 'Victory for Poland' was written before martial law) Infa Riot and, on the title track (written nearly two years ago, incidentally, by 16-year-old Simon Gillman of Sheffield), Quite Unnerving.

Oh, and, incidentally, the record sleeve includes strong arguments against war (not just nuclear weapons), and a large

broadsheet which prints most of the lyrics on one side and has a comprehensive set of arguments against armaments, from Youth CND, on the other. It's aimed at the June 6th rally.

This is not a record that you can listen to, or even read the sleeve, and remain unmoved. Buy yourself a copy and begin to move the people around you.

SIMION SHLAPP

PS: As we go to press, we learn that the first pressing of 'Wargasm' is sold out. Get your orders in early—it might end up selling more than 'White Christmas'!

IN BRIEF

MANY thousands of peasants have occupied a large area of more than 40,000 acres near Trikala Town and Calambaka Town in Greece, using the direct action of land-expropriation against its proprietors: clergy and some landowners. They have tried it many times before, since 1978 but always the anti-riot police drove them away. Till now, the new government of the socialists has done nothing against them.

THEODOROS Tsouvalakis and anarcho-squatter Theodoros Pisimisis are on hunger-strike from the first week of May requesting their release from prison. Tsouvalakis has already completed the 2/3 of his sentence for armed robbery. Pisimisis invokes the 'unconstitutionality of his 17 month sentence for such a social political revolutionary action, as squatting is'.

wonder more than half the population of Britain now never attends any religious ceremony at all. Yet some religious organisations have taken an unequivocal position against the war. The Society of Friends (Quakers) immediately repeated its traditional pacifist line. The United Reformed Church (a coalition of the old Puritan denominations of Presbyterians and Congregationalists) and the Methodist Church have condemned the fighting not so much on pacifist as on practical grounds. Even so, one can't help being reminded of the poem of the First World War:

'Gott strafe England!' and 'God save the King!'

From the embattled nations comes the shout.

God this, God that, and God the other thing....

'My God,' said God, 'I've got my work cut out!'

MH

DENMARK is to draft women for military service from next July. This is not due to a sudden conversion to the ideas of equality, the armed forces are short of dentists and so will call up five or six qualified women.

A group of pupils & teachers at Holly Cross School, Hamilton have made a record in praise of the belt. The song was written by two teachers & performed with third year pupils. The belt or tawse may be banned after a recent decision by the European Court of Human Rights. Michael Toner, one of the writers said, 'It would be absolutely appalling if the belt was abolished. I don't know what we would do without it—it is the only exercise that most teachers get.'

AUSTREBERTA Renteria, the last wife of Pancho Villa, has died aged 90. (Is this one sexist? I don't know anything that she did herself)

A new book about the raid on the Iraqi nuclear reactor last year contains information on Israel's own nuclear programme. The book, 'Two Minutes Over Baghdad', quotes CIA sources which suggest that Israel and South Africa have co-operated to develop a cruise missile with a range of 1,500 miles, a neutron bomb and various nuclear delivery systems. It has been known for some time that Israel has worked on development of nuclear weapons. This is the first time that a book discussing the subject has passed the censor. The three authors are well known establishment figures in Israel with good connections, both in the government and in military circles.

MANY true patriots are publicly shocked by any suggestion that Argentines may have a point of view. The BBC has been accused of treason & threatened with having its 'British' revoked. Particularly distressing was a Panorama programme. Bernard Braine (sic) a conservative MP said on American TV, that it was 'the pathway to anarchy'.



LEGIONARIES

America has its army ants, called legionaries, which differ from true army ants in that they do not move in a mass but run rapidly in single file. They also stay in their bivouacs much longer. They live by hunting other insects, storing their meat and carrying it with them when they move—usually at night under a cover of leaves. Most legionaries are almost blind.

OR GOD

priests, no nuns and monks in ordinary clothes) and on personal morality (no fornication or adultery, no contraception or abortion, no divorce, no homosexuality, no euthanasia or suicide). There was little overt opposition to his visit, but his message was covertly ignored.

In Britain his position is more delicate. In the sixteenth century Catholicism was repudiated, after more than a thousand years. The Catholic Church was virtually outlawed for three centuries, and is still thought to be somehow un-British—half Italian and half Irish. The Pope excommunicated and deposed Queen Elizabeth I in 1570, and that sentence has never been repealed. The United States did have a Catholic President in the end, but it is illegal for Britain to have a Catholic Monarch and it is unlikely to have a Catholic Prime Minister for a long time. Again, there is little overt opposition to his visit, except from some extreme Protestants and militant secularists (especially the National Secular Society and the Gay Humanists), but his message will be equally ignored. A call for peace in the Falklands will carry no more weight here than in Rome, and will only embarrass British Catholics.

So God has really made rather a mess of things this spring, and made himself look even sillier than he already did. No

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GOODBYE

Dear Friends,

This is the last 'message' you will receive from us. Totally unexpected and with a very sad feeling we must announce the end of HAPOTOC.

Do you remember the summer of 1980? Then we made a statement too to say that it was our last newsletter, but managed to survive. Now everything is different. As a great shock, as something we still can't fully understand, the news reached us that AUS GREIDANUS, one of the strong center people of HAPOTOC had died, on April 8 1982.

It was because of Aus and his wife Wija that we were able to continue then in 1980. Aus worked very hard for HAPOTOC, and he did that with great skill. He worked so hard and so well because of the great concern he had for his fellow human beings. Especially for those in prison.

Over the past years we lost several 'center people'. In 1977 Michael Tobin left us to start his SIP (social improvement program) the Reichian way. Later he left Holland and went back to Ireland.

Elly Stawski-Werner left us in the beginning of 1979, she lives in the USA, and then Hennie Mulder left in March 1980, completely burned out. We could deal with it then, but now we can't.

Aus Greidanus started to work for the newsletter in 1980 and saved HAPOTOC that way, before that he was a very active reader of the newsletter. We do feel rotten about all this, rotten not guilty and very sad.

There is no way we can continue with the newsletter, the collective decreased and there is so much work. Those among you who have been with us for all these years know what we are about, that helps but it still hurts. And for all that we have shared together, we ask you DON'T GIVE UP! Join another group who works a similar way! STAY ACTIVE! Do whatever has to be done.

Keep the lines open with the brothers and sisters behind the walls. Don't let them down. We too will remain active, we'll write with and for prisoners as always and will stand up against nuclear insanity, as always.

We'll get back in touch with those of you who have written us, please give us a little time to sort things out. We have built this up ever since 1974 and it isn't easy to end it all.

Thanks to the donations we are able to send this 'letter' to our Dutch and foreign friends. We ask the groups who are receiving this; PLEASE make an add in your paper so that more people are aware of the fact that HAPOTOC no longer exists. If there is any money left,

Wija will send it to groups who work for the same goals as we did. With all of you we wish Wija strength. She suffers the greatest loss.

For us the question remains though; why didn't more people join us? Perhaps because success will come only in the long run, if it comes at all. It is very frustrating work at times, maybe that's why so many people shrink back from it. Also the money was a problem. Sending newsletters from Holland to various countries, most of them to the USA with news about the American gulag archipelago was costly. But we thought it was necessary and hopefully one of you will see that too and start or continue with the work.

Well, we do hope to keep in contact with other activists. Yes, we do feel rotten. We knew that what we did wasn't really shocking, but we were able to show that fascism and violence are to be found among sometimes decent looking government officials, prison wardens etc. etc.

We made people aware of what is done by humans to humans and we can't be aware enough of that. 1984 Two more years to go. 1984 Two more years to go.

All the best to all of you!
CORRIE COURTENS
WILLIE SNOECK

INTELLECTUAL RESPECTABILITY

Dear Friends,
Like Harold Barclay (letter, FREEDOM, 4th April) I do not take a favorable view of the Anarchos Institute, recently established in Montreal. The Institute is defined in its brochure as an association 'of writers, teachers and researchers with the common concern of advancing the knowledge of anarchism in North America.' In correspondence with me, Dimitri Roussopoulos, who is the chief figure in this Institute, explains the purpose more exactly: to make anarchism 'intellectually respectable.' He also defended a 50 dollar membership fee (I was astonished at money as a condition for anarchist association) on the ground that, for example, a two-day conference this June in Montreal will cost thousands of dollars. I share Barclay's feelings about the elitism implicit in the project; I do not care to be associated with it. But his ad hominem attack on Roussopoulos, besides expressing Barclay's astonishingly violent antipathy to Montreal and Quebec, is (to put it in academic jargon) decidedly unhelpful. The real problem is that in the USA (I do not know about Canada) all too high a proportion of anarchists can qualify as 'writers, teachers, researchers.' I see no benefit in coming together to read research papers to one another. (Marxists do this incessantly, to the point that in the latest issue of the Marxist

journal Monthly Review an exasperated Marxist attacks 'Marxism for the Few.' Envy the poor Marxist not!) The role of theory in anarchism—of course it has a place, we had better not be know-nothing worshippers of 'action for action's becomes inflated beyond measure and we begin to get Neo-Anarchisms, just as if there was once an anarchist named Karl Anarch whose dialectical idealism, which we all worship, needs now to be saved from itself. 'Penny pamphlets' is what we require; Roussopoulos thinks that that would be premature. Sad day.

Compared with the heavy problems you face in England, these are trivial matters.

Best wishes,
DAVID WIECK

SEEDS OF AUTHORITY

Dear People at FREEDOM,
Thank you very much for forwarding a copy of your journal I found Pat Flanagan's article on 'Revolutionary Terror: Disease or Cure?', in particular, excellent. I too believe that the seeds of authority are planted within the actual theory of Marxism. (I've made a few friends here w/Marxist-Humanists, and what is interesting is they find parties et al almost equally repugnant as I! But their conceptions of history have great gaps (like Spain in the 1930's for example!), in terms of self-management, cooperative experiments, free trade unions, and so on!)

In any case, I plan to renew my subscription sometime later on in the year For now, I can't really afford it, unfortunately; but I patronize the @ bookstore here (Bound Together), which does carry FREEDOM.

I am glad to know that somehow, some way @ papers, magazines, etc, are 'hanging on' and surviving in these times. For a world without bosses,
SALLY A FRYE

BANK ON IT

Dear FREEDOM,
Five or six days after you were raided recently the police came looking for me in rather peculiar circumstances. Two of them called at the Nat-West bank in Milborne Port (which I use regularly as it's the nearest village though my account is with the Nat-West in Bournemouth) and, according to an account I was given later, said they 'were looking for Colin Graham' — which led everyone in the bank to assume I had somehow gone missing. Presumably they were given my

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address and phone number but they have made no attempt to contact me — and have not been spotted lurking suspiciously in the road outside.

I've been ordering a number of books from you lately and I see from a cheque stub that one of the occasions was on 29 March which you would have received the following day, two days before the raid. As the police did not seem to have my address (having rejected the theory that their presence in a small Somerset village was a clumsy form of intimidation) I can only assume they took my name from the cheque after you had paid it into your account; after all, my address is on all letters I've written to you.

Normally, I would not have given this incident much thought and would merely have attributed it to the paranoia of the rural police — but I've been very ill for the last ten months and almost totally housebound so I'm well aware that my activities throughout this time have been concentrated wholly on personal health, not national health, and that the writing of this letter alone is a severe mental effort. Most of the books I've bought from you recently have been connected, one way or another, with early-19th century English social history — and from them I've now learnt that police intelligence-gathering methods are as ungainly and mindless in 1982 as they were when the sweating spies of the Home Office were trying to keep tabs on Percy Shelley back in the early 1800s.

Best wishes,
COLIN GRAHAM

BEYOND
DERMATOLOGICAL
PROFUNDITY

Dear Allies in Anarchy,
I submit the possibility that anarchistic writing should be recognisable as much by its form as by its content.

The use of subordinate and coordinate conjunction is an especial feature of Latin—the Romans brought order to Britain not only politically and socially but also linguistically. Perhaps the anarchist should be less committed to the linear essay than his system-tied neighbour and more inclined to the aphorism and to diagrammatic representation. These two forms, moreover, have the advantage of stimulating thought over the essay which encourages sponge-like absorption of facts and theories.

Anarchy is more than skin deep.
KAY

KEEPING
ALIVE

Dear Friends,

As an anarchist, I would like to tell you how very much I appreciate the work you are doing in Keeping our literature alive. My first introduction to your publications was Malatesta's *Anarchy*, a more than welcome find. After talking to myself for years, I am now finding comrades even in Alaska and I am most interested in plugging into the International movement as I hope to leave Alaska and the US to travel and build up networks throughout the US and Europe.

I will be visiting Nicaragua and El Salvador this summer and would appreciate knowing of any contacts you are aware of in Latin America.

Please let me know what support I can give to you in your fine efforts. After all, we are in this together.

In struggle,
ANN WOLFE

NO ALTERNATIVE

Dear Comrades,

Unfortunately Martin B drags 'Direct Action' (letters 31/5/82) into his letter which countered the argument put forward in a previous letter concerning FREEDOM.

Can I just say that DA's Editorial Collective do not view DA as an alternative or rival to FREEDOM (or any other anarchist publication). As far as we're concerned, the more anarchist papers there are, fulfilling a myriad of needs, the better. The fact that there is a growing number of both local and national anarchist papers is, we believe, a sign of a healthy movement.

As for our problems, we are only too aware of these, especially the problem of reporting industrial news in an irregular 'monthly'. The only real solution to that is to produce a daily, which is not quite within our capability just yet! Where possible therefore, we fall back on analysing events afterwards, which we consider to be best substitute for hot news; something no monthly could provide.

Finally, because we are only too aware of the problems of producing a paper, we would never criticise FREEDOM, the Editors of which are doing a good job, despite problems, in producing a paper that fulfills the functions they have set for it.

Salud
DAVE THOMSON
pp DA Collective

Margaret Thatcher, PM
10 Downing Street,
London SW1
United Kingdom
10/3/82

President Leopoldo Galtieri
The Presidential Palace
Buenos Aires
The Argentine.

My Dear Friend and Ally,
We have always had the greatest admiration for yourself and your regime, we seem to share so many of the same ideas!

However, we have been having a lot of trouble lately, as I hear you have too, you know, the sort of thing, the ungrateful scum we rule rioting, subversives constantly plotting against us, the usual trouble a firm strong government encounters, like your good self, we've tried terrorism, but things get no better.

However, I think I've thought of a mutually beneficial solution to our troubles.

As you've probably heard, we've been progressively building up our armed forces, (you never know when they'll be needed), people are starting to wonder what its all for, and of course, you must be aware of all that military hardware we've sold you, to protect yourself against internal unrest and the international communist conspiracy?

And you must be aware that your nation has layed claim to our Falkland Isles ever since our friend Juan Peron took control of your country?

Well what I'm suggesting is that we hold a war, as soon as is convenient, there's nothing like war and blind nationalism to take the rabble's mind off how we exploit them, and I think this will help us both, no end. Of course we'll need to lose a few ships and soldiers, and a lot of Falkland Islanders will be killed, but I'm sure you'll agree, the ends will justify the means.

Of course, we'll have to 'win' in the world's eyes, but we'll let you earn a reputation as a tough government too. Besides, when it's over we can arrange to share all the minerals that lie under the sea there, and further strengthen our regimes, and, when the fuss has died down we can carry on selling you all the arms you need.

Time is of the essence, as we have an election on May 6th, and I want to get as many people rallying around me as possible by then. By the way, if you want to get a better reputation internationally, drop round for a chat about elections, they're nothing to be afraid of, and the mob fall for it all the time, its kept us in control for centuries.

So you are cordially invited to a war, off the Falkland Isles, in a couple of weeks.
RSVP
Yours MARGARET THATCHER
pp The British State

FREEDOM CONTACTS

national

ABERDEEN

Solidarity, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

ASKERN GROUP

c/o 1 Chapel Hill, Market Place, Askern, South Yorkshire.

BARRY

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

BELFAST

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BEDFORDSHIRE

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

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

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

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

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CLEVELAND

25 Llverton Crescent, Thornby, Cleveland. Also produces Common Cause, local anarchist paper.

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

CRAWLEY

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

CUMBRIA

2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith, Cumbria.

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

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

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PRACTICAL ANARCHY (monthly free broadsheet, send large sae)

c/o Box 3,
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CALDERWOOD 15/GPP pamphlets

c/o Box V2

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58 Wakefield Road,
Huddersfield

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

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Anarchists, c/o Simon Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire BD21 2SL.

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

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

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

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59 Cookridge St,
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Libertarian Education 6 Beaconsfield Rd. (tel 552085).

The Anarchist Society, Societies' Room, Student's Union Building,

University of Leicester,
University Road,
Leics. LE1 7RH

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Freedom Collective, Angel Alley,
84b Whitechapel High St, E1.
(01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube,
near Whitechapel Art Gallery.

Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1,
Meet Thursdays 7pm.

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

London Workers Group, meets
Tuesdays 8pm at Metropolitan
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Students Union, Trent Park Site,
Cockfosters Rd, Barnet, Herts.

121 Bookshop and meeting place,
121 Railton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24
West London Anarchists contact
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Mozart Estate, W10.

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and Worcester area, Jock Spence,
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Solidarity and 'Wildcat'
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Morecambe, Lancs. LA4 4NX

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and Anarchopacifist collective,
c/o Box 6,
FREEWHEEL,

52-54 King Street,
Norwich,
Norfolk

Tel: Norwich 21209 for FREE-
WHEEL or 616117 for Dave.

NOTTINGHAM

Jackie Veevers
7 Irene Terrace,
Basford,
Nottingham
Individuals Anonymous 12p SAE,
above address.

OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster
Rd, Failsforth.

ORPINGTON

AN @ group is starting in Orpington to help balance the nice new police station they're getting.
Contact Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington Kent.

OXFORD

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

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herbert, MidGlamorgan.

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East Sussex.

SUSSEX ANARCHIST SOCIETY

c/o Hastings Anarchist Group,

SWINDON

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

TAYSIDE

Anarchist Group, 3L 188 Strath-
martine Rd, Dundee.

WAKEFIELD

Anarchist and Peace Group, c/o
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Agbrigg, Wakefield, West York-
shire.

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OH WHAT A LOVELY CONVENTIONAL WAR

WITHOUT for one moment forgetting that the introduction of nuclear power into warfare (by the democratic Allies, at the end of World War Two) effectively introduced a new dimension in genocide, it seems to be time to bring to the attention of those who protest only against nuclear weapons that there has been just a little bit of progress in the destructive capacity of weapons which are laughingly referred to as 'conventional'.

The big joke is that anything which is not 'nuclear' now passes as conventional, thus being judged as belonging to weapons rather less nasty than the dum-dum bullet, though possibly 'modernised' by the use of a micro-chip just like the one in your office accounting machine and possibly fuelled by just another product of our petro-chemical industries, like napalm was. And still is.

Suddenly we are hearing in the daily press, the radio and TV, about weapons which most people had never heard of—and the most deadly ones seem to be British made and already sold to the Argentinian state—and very sophisticated weapons they are too.

As befits a country which prides on the quality of the goods we offer the world in our export drives (for a century we have lived with the phrase 'Export or Die'), such as Rolls Royce cars and the beautifully tailored products of Savile Row, we are now one of the world's leaders in the export of the most highly developed technology for burning people alive.

For this is what lies behind the statistics of casualties. Not even the bland Mr Ian MacDonald, creepy spokesman for the Ministry of 'Defence', would think of saying: 'Today, at 15.00 hours, we burnt the crew of a Mirage fighter...and the crews of two Skyhawks...that we are sure of...and possibly one more...but I will not tell you anything I do not believe to be true.'

No, of course not. The story goes that one enemy plane was shot down, one helicopter exploded. Inside those planes, young men were burnt alive—and it is gloated over that a trained crew is harder to replace than a plane—which can be bought almost overnight from one arms dealing country or another.

For of course, Britain is not the only country that has a thriving arms industry. It so happens that at the present time, practically the only thriving industry in this country is the arms industry. It is certainly the only one which the Government is prepared to support against the recession. In any other industry, if a factory is not economically solvent—if it's a 'lame

duck'—then let it sink or swim. In—traditionally one of our most powerful industries, plants are closing every week; building is in the doldrums, to put it mildly; the clothing industry facing disaster and farming, thanks to EEC price rigging, facing yet another bitter struggle. In other words, food, clothing and shelter—the three fundamentals for existence—are facing bankruptcies, but shipbuilding yards that make warships, and ordnance factories that make missiles, and the electronics industry which provides the sophisticated hardware are being given government contracts for products that, up until last month, nobody thought would ever be needed.

The needs of our streamlined forces—the Professionals that stand between us and the Red Menace—are provided in part out of the enormous profits made from the sales of our sophisticated body-burn-

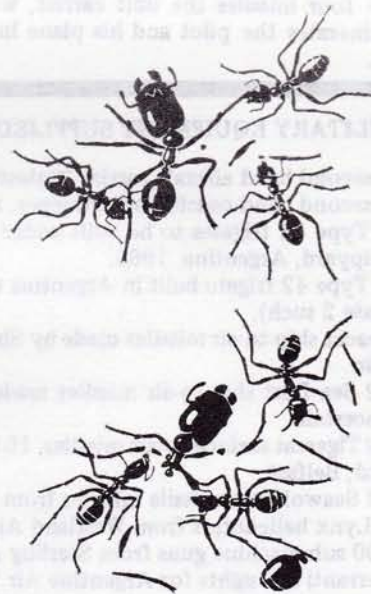
ing machinery to other states. When the decision was taken, (in view of our reduced imperial role!) to stop production of large aircraft carriers, rather than let the shipyards fall idle, production was switched to destroyers for the Home Fleet.

There was no great urgency, new technology was coming along all the time, and the real concern was to keep the shipyards open, so wages were going up all the time too. The first of the new destroyer class—Type 42—was HMS Sheffield, and you all know where she is now. The cost of the Sheffield was nearly 60 per cent more than the original estimate; the cost of the second new ship (a Type 21 frigate, HMS Amazon) was more than twice the original price—but it looked like coming right in the end because the order for the third type 42 destroyer to come off the line came in from Argentina. Unfortunately, this had not been completely paid for when the present unpleasantness broke out, and some London banks are still owed about £6 million on the money they lent the tinpot fascist junta to buy that splendid British ship.

Argentina—and indeed the whole of the military governed South America, with all its tinpot fascist banana republics—has been a splendid customer for British weaponry. It was recently said to have been averred on television, here in the Mother of Democracy, that a technician from Vickers was actually on the (British made) Argentinian destroyer, 'supervising operations'. This has been strenuously denied by the man from Vickers—who built it—but he did not say how those gauchos from Argentina managed to find out how to use the high-powered equipment. Somebody must have trained them—why not the jolly chaps who sold it to them? After all, nobody would seriously expect the makers to go into real live battle with it! As far as Vickers, Vosper Thornycroft, Yarrow or Swan Hunter are concerned, this hardware is for selling, not for getting burnt up in.

And it's for selling to anybody. Anybody in the market, that is. The main arms producing countries in the world at the moment are the USA, the USSR, Britain and France, more or less in that order, with countries like Israel (a billion dollars a year in 1977!) and Germany (eh?) coming along nicely, too. The four main dealers in death pretend, irrespective of political alignments, to respect each other's markets, but in fact cut each other's throats wherever possible. Hence, when the USA, in an outburst of morality, put an embargo on selling arms to Latin America—where every military dictatorship wanted the very best for killing its own people and

ANT WORLD IMPERIALISTS



The voracious Argentine ant is a small, aggressive species which has developed extremely effective fighting tactics. When in combat, the ants surround their enemy—often many times their own size—keeping well out of reach of its dangerous mandibles (top). Suddenly, one ant rushes in and grabs a leg. Others quickly follow and bite off the legs. With the victim immobilized, the ants dismember it at once (bottom). Slowly migrating throughout the world, imperialistic Argentine ants are methodically wiping out other species of ants wherever they meet.

whatever territorial squabble it would get involved in—it opened the door for Britain and France. In fact the Type 42 destroyer sold to Argentina was followed by a second—manufactured there under licence with parts supplied from the UK.

The USA policy was reversed by President Nixon in 1973 when he yielded to pressure from the US arms manufacturers and allowed Tiger fighters to be sold to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia and Peru.

President Carter brought back some morality and put embargoes on those sales—enabling the Soviet Union to get some of the trade—and also backing a ban on sales to South Africa, half-heartedly supported by 'our' Labour Government.

President Reagan, a monetarist and free-enterprise champion like Margaret Thatcher, has lifted the ban—which of course never existed as far as Maggie was concerned, for Britain, it seems, will sell arms to anybody, the excuse being—as it is for all traders—that the export orders finance Britain's own 'needs'.

Perhaps the most shadowy figure in this shabby trade is the Soviet Union. With the whole Warsaw Pact empire to supply (of which, Czechoslovakia, for one, is itself a massive arms producer), and to keep updated, with its totalitarian control of its own economy and its paranoid fear of any of its precious secrets slipping out, it may seem that Russia would not be too pushy in the arms trade. But there is so much more to it than that.

Arms can bring influence, or they can quite simply be a cynical bargaining point—or they can buy commodities desperately needed by the manufacturing state. The astonishing thing about the Russian economy is that it is short of food—but it is not so long ago that the Ukraine was referred to as 'the breadbasket of Europe'.

It seems quite obvious that the Ukrainian peasants have never forgiven the Kremlin either for Stalin's war against them in the 30's or Krushchev's vengeful purges after the war, and they have never accepted, nor ever will, the enforced centralised collectivism laid upon them by the Bolsheviks. (Compare the totally different attitude of the Spanish peasants, who freely collectivised the land in 1936 under their own free communal control and rapidly increased production over the three years their revolution lasted).

Whatever, the reason, however, the fact is that every year Russia has to go shopping for wheat all around the world—which effectively means the wheat-rich lands of the Americas, where their purchases push up the price for poorer countries. After Afghanistan, the USA embargoed sales of wheat and the USSR went south to Argentina, where they found the right wing junta quite ready to sell wheat—but at an inflated price, and not willing to barter goods other than arms.

Back in the good ole USA, the farmers are lobbying Reagan to let them sell their massive surpluses of wheat to Russia, and

for their part, the Russians would rather keep in with the wealthy USA than get tangled with the sweaty politics of Latin America—all of which explains why the USSR has played it so cool during the last few weeks. You would have thought, wouldn't you, that they would have snatched the chance to get in with Argentina as soon as America came out in open support of Britain? But the uneasy old men in the Kremlin have always played a waiting game—besides which there's all those billions of dollars in loans to Poland to think about, as well as all the other Comecon trade....Nevertheless, the Russians must have food, and if it really has to come down to Mig fighters for wheat, that's what it will be.

Meanwhile Mad Maggie calls upon us all to rejoice at the drowning and burning of other mothers' sons (tho' we seem to remember her weeping a little when her own boy was lost for a couple of days in the Sahara...) and is no doubt greatly encouraged by the emergence on the field of battle of Britain's latest anti-aircraft missile.

This is called the Rapier and it's the land-based equivalent of the Seawolf, as a result of not having which the Sheffield went down. It is semi-automated and fitted with radar which 'interrogates' an incoming aircraft whilst plotting its course. If the incomer is 'one of theirs' a human operator is alerted who launches one of the four missiles the unit carries, which incinerates the pilot and his plane in the air.

This great new product is already selling well to NATO forces in Europe, as well as to Middle East and African countries and it is most convenient to have genuine battle conditions in which to demonstrate its efficiency to other potential purchasers. It hasn't yet been sold to Argentina, for example.

It is just one more of those high technology weapons which must be categorised as 'conventional' since they do not in fact use any nuclear explosives or fuel, and it can certainly be said in their favour that they burn people alive only one or two at a time, with fine discrimination and no dirty fall-out.

Is it not about time, however, that those who campaign only for the abolition of nuclear weapons should realise how technology is narrowing the gap between the acceptable and the unacceptable? The extension of these super-efficient, computerised weapons' systems with more and more precision brings nearer the time when the arguments against the tactical, 'theatre-of-warfare-only' neutron bombs will have been eroded away.

The power-mad fiends who would cheerfully launch hydrogen bombs in defence of some principle or other, for sovereignty, to save a flag or to save their faces, are the same who today are nudging a pointless and unnecessary conflict in a murderous direction. The leaders of states who would use nuclear weapons (and that means all of them) against 'enemy' states would use these conventional perversions of technology against you.

MILITARY EQUIPMENT SUPPLIED TO OR ORDERED BY ARGENTINA

- 1 second hand aircraft carrier 'Colossus'. Supply date uncertain.
- 6 second hand coastal minesweeper. Supply date uncertain.
- 8 Type 21 frigates to be built under licence from Vosper Thornycroft in the AFNE shipyard, Argentina. 1965.
- 1 Type 42 frigate built in Argentina under a licence negotiated 1970. (Some reports state 2 such).
- Seacat ship-to-air missiles made by Short Brothers Ltd of Belfast. Supply date uncertain.
- 12 Sea Dart ship-to-air missiles made by British Aerospace Dynamics. Supply date uncertain.
- 20 Tigercat surface-to-air missiles. 10 to Marines, 10 to Army. Made by Short Brothers Ltd, Belfast.
- 72 Seawolf anti-missile missiles from British Aerospace Dynamics. Sold 1975.
- 8 Lynx helicopters from Westland Aircraft Ltd. Contract 1977, two delivered 1978.
- 100 sub-machine guns from Sterling Armament Co. Five with 'silencers'. 1975
- Ferranti Isis sights for Argentine Air Force Skyhawk (US) aircraft. 1976
- Ferranti Seaspray radar for Lynx helicopters. 1977.
- Decca Clearscan radar for fast patrol boats. 1979.
- Redifon HF and VHF radio systems for coastal patrol boats. 1979.
- Vickers gear pumps for West German built frigates. Order 1980.
- Rediffusion Radio Systems further radio transmitters for naval stations. 1981.
- Rolls-Royce engines for Italian built jet trainer aircraft. 1981.
- Doncasters Moorside 'Morgrip' bolts for propellers on naval vessels. Ordered Sept/Oct 1981.
- Racal-Decca electronic support measures (ESM) for eavesdropping on radio and radar. Ordered Sept/Oct 1981.
- Smiths Industries 250 Mach/airspeed indicators for counter insurgency aircraft. Ordered Sept/Oct 1981.
- Vosper Thornycroft pneumatic controls for patrol boats and corvettes. Ordered Sept/Oct 1981.

CHOMSKY'S ANARCHISM

problem or solution?

THERE are a number of paradoxes in Noam Chomsky's work. One is the fact that, while a first-rate mind and one of the most original, profound and revolutionary thinkers in theoretical linguistics, his academic speciality (Chomsky is Professor of Linguistics at MIT), Chomsky's Libertarian social thinking is conservative. The uncritical suggestion by C P Otero, editor of *Radical Priorities* (Black Rose Books, 1981; see FREEDOM, 20 March for a brief review) that Chomsky is perhaps the leading contemporary original theorist of Anarchism, is simply false. Chomsky himself is the first to stress that his writings on the contemporary relevance of libertarian and specifically anarcho-syndicalist ideas make no claims or pretensions to originality. On the contrary, as Chomsky declares in 'The Relevance of Anarcho-Syndicalism', to me the best, most succinct statement of Chomsky's Anarchism in *Radical Priorities*, 'Let me just say I don't really regard myself as an anarchist thinker. I'm a derivative fellow traveller.' (p 247)

Just because Chomsky says he isn't an innovative contemporary Anarchist theorist, it doesn't follow that he isn't. However, anyone who has taken the trouble to read his libertarian writings, beginning with his essay on the Spanish Civil War in *American Power and the New Mandarins* (1969) and Introduction to Daniel Guerin's *Anarchism* (1970), to the second of his Russell Lectures (*Problems of Knowledge and Freedom*, 1972) and *Radical Priorities*, will recognise the truth of Chomsky's statement. For his chief concern in these works is explicitly two-fold. (1) First, to *conserve* or preserve from oblivion (at the hands of history and the repressions, falsifications, and distortions of pro-capitalist and authoritarian Marxist/'State socialist' ideologists) libertarian socialist specifically anarcho-syndicalist ideas and practices; and (2) To stress the contemporary *relevance* or *validity of application* of these ideas and organisational forms to existing Western capitalist industrial 'democracies'. Is it necessary, he asks in 'The Relevance of Anarcho-Syndicalism',

that anarchist concepts belong to the pre-industrial phase of human society, or is anarchism the rational mode of organization for a highly advanced industrial society? Well, I myself believe the latter, that is, I think that industrialization and the advance of technology raise possibilities for self-management over a broad scale that simply didn't exist in an earlier period. And that in fact this is precisely the rational mode for an advanced industrial society, one in which workers can very well become

masters of their own immediate affairs, that is, in direction and control of the shop, but also can be in a position to make the major substantive decisions concerning the structure of the economy, concerning social institutions, concerning planning regionally and beyond.... A good deal could be automated. Much of the necessary work that is required to keep a decent level of social life going can be consigned to machines—at least in principle—which means humans can be free to undertake the kind of creative work which may not have been possible, objectively, in the early stages of the industrial revolution. (248-9)

In a profound sense, Chomsky's faith in the beneficial powers of applied science and technology to liberate men and women from alienated and/or socially or economically 'necessary' work to engage in creative, satisfying work for its own sake, simply continues 19th Century Marxist and Twentieth Century anarcho-syndicalist thinking. (One could of course trace the conceptual roots back further to the Enlightenment and French and English Utopian socialist traditions generally.) Marx's insistency in *Capital* that unalienated free-creative work for its own sake is possible only on the basis of the unalienated free-creative work for its own sake is possible only on the basis of the fullest development of Capitalism's technical productive forces, his reflections in the *Grundrisse* on the liberating powers of automation, are continued in the anarcho-syndicalist tradition.

In the writings of Rudolf Rocker, leading anarcho-syndicalist author, activist and historian, for example, one finds a simultaneous critique of the crippling, dehumanising, mechanising effects of machine-domination and exploitation of humans in the capitalist labour process, coupled with an insistence on the liberating value of modern technological innovations in industry and science, if put to *libertarian* socialist ends. Notwithstanding the present use of machines and sophisticated technologies by those who own and control existing economic and State institutions to further their domination, exploitation and control of the rest of society, both Chomsky and Rocker are at one in their optimistic faith in the beneficial effects of machine-technology, properly used.

It's beyond the scope of this article to trace the profound influence on Chomsky's thinking of the anarcho-syndicalist tradition in general, and Rocker in particular. (Many of Chomsky's concepts, for example his use of categories like 'state socialist' and 'state capitalist' to describe the Soviet Union and the United States, seem indebted to Rocker.) In

a sense, his critiques of the 'technical intelligentsia' or means-technicians who serve corporate and State power in both Western capitalist and 'state socialist' societies, is simply an up-date of Rocker and Bakunin. Nor is it necessary to do so. Chomsky is quite explicit both in acknowledging his intellectual sources and influences, and in stressing (1) and (2) above.

Rather, I wish to devote the rest of this article to a critical examination of the adequacy of (2), Chomsky's claims concerning the relevance or validity of application of anarcho-syndicalist ideas and forms for present-day western capitalist industrial societies. (In doing so, I will take a certain background understanding of the libertarian socialist and anarcho-syndicalist traditions for granted, and will abstract from the equally important question of the adequacy of anarcho-syndicalist ideas/practices to achieve libertarian socialist change.) Is anarcho-syndicalism as described by Chomsky 'the rational mode of organization of a highly advanced industrial society'? Does 'industrialization and the advance of technology raise possibilities for self-management over a broad scale...?' Is Chomsky's faith in the liberating power and benefits of modern machine-technology justified? I wish to argue that it isn't—alas.

If ever there was a subject concerning which non-wishful, illusion-free thinking and understanding are necessary, it's this, the relations between applied science and machine technology and human liberation. For the anarcho-syndicalist, socialism is essentially identical with economic democracy. Rejecting as unnecessary and undesirable any 'political' forms of Party, State or bureaucratic government organizations beyond or independent of the various forms of industrial-occupational and geographical-regional federation canvassed in the tradition and well discussed by Chomsky in his essay-interview, anarcho-syndicalists regard self-management in every domain of work as the key to and core of libertarian socialist society. (Lenin's fallacy in *Left-Wing Communism* and other polemics against anarcho-syndicalists and left-communists was to confuse existing anti-libertarian reformist, bureaucratic-collaborationist trade union forms with genuine forms of direct worker self-organization in the sphere of work.)

For me, what's in question is not the value of the ideals or aims of economic democracy (direct worker's ownership, management and control) as expounded by Chomsky. It's whether existing methods, applications and developments of applied science and machine technology in the sphere of work are, even in principle, compatible with these aims. (Since I'm deliberately abstracting from the question of the adequacy of anarcho-syndicalist means to achieve these ends in actual practice, it follows that I'm not here intending to examine the necessity or sufficiency of applied science and technology in actual practice for such achievement.)

What I wish to argue is that, as a matter of principle, existing machine-technology far from being compatible with direct worker's self-management, is radically incompatible with anarcho-syndicalist ends. Far from being a means of liberating men and women, existing technical and technological trends in industry are profoundly authoritarian and counter-revolutionary.

What are these trends? They have been well described by writers as diverse as members of the Frankfurt School and Lewis Mumford, Norman Mailer and Jacques Ellul, and are: (1) Ever-greater fragmentation and specialisation of the labour-process in each sphere; (2) a consequent fragmentation and crippling of human mental and physical creative powers; (3) ever-greater replacement and displacement of men and women by ever-more complicated and sophisticated machines and techniques; (4) the consequent possession and monopoly of the technical-knowledge needed fully to master and operate these machines, in the hands of an elite minority or means-technicians (Galbraith's 'technostructure'). The result of these trends is a certain basic 'technological totalitarianism': those human workers not displaced or replaced by this machine-substitution tendency are increasingly reduced to one of two categories: elite-functionary

means-technicians; or power-less victim-servants of the advances in machine-technology so favourably regarded by Chomsky. My claim, a purely empirical one, is that, in principle, far from being compatible with the direct organisation and control of (above all industrial) production by the modern workforce in our Western capitalist societies, these trends make any practice of industrial democracy impossible. There is, I wish to argue, a fundamental contradiction between the conditions of existence and operation of modern applied science and machine technology and the conditions for the possibility of direct worker's control and management.

Writing of modern methods of warfare in the aftermath of the Spanish civil war, George Orwell argued that there existed a profound pair of relationships between simplicity and democracy of arms, on the one hand, and sophisticated complexity and authoritarian control, on the other. Or, if you prefer, an inverse relationship between democracy and machine-technological complexity. The more simple and directly manageable the weapons system, the greater the prospects for its democratic use. The more technologically-complex, the more elite-authoritarian, anti-democratic practices are likely. Note that Orwell's, like mine, isn't an argument about the abuses (in principle avoidable) of certain kinds of machine-technical means. Like the arguments of Mumford or Ellul, it's an (empirical) argument based on the (authoritarian, anti-democratic) logic of the conditions of existence and operation of modern machine-methods. I am afraid that Orwell was right, and that his argument can be generalised and applied to the sphere of modern capitalist industry and work generally.

(In passing, it seems clear that Enzensberger's ignoring of these fundamental attributes of modern machine-technologies vitiates his attempts in *The Consciousness Industry* to argue that modern technical means of communication are democratic-revolutionary in character. Precisely the opposite is true, I believe.)

At root, Chomsky's naive assumption in the liberating possibilities of modern applied science and machine-technologies assumes an untenable separation between the means and aims of the machine-technological exercise. Like Marx's, this critique of the harmful effects of capitalist machine-production methods assumes that such technological methods can be applied, unchanged to realise liberating, libertarian ends—in our case, direct worker's control and management of the labour process. Of course, in one superficial sense, this is true. Present means of production could be used to produce food, medicines, books and other useful products instead of armaments and normal junk-commodities, for the world's poor and underprivileged (assuming a slight change in real-world ownership and control relations). But in a more radical sense, it's an untenable mystification to assume that any system of Machine-technology, in any branch of industry, can be treated simply as a neutral means which can be put (assuming appropriate ownership and control conditions) to good or bad, libertarian or anti-libertarian ends.

The truth is rather that each instance of modern machine-technology—computers and automated processes of any kind are paradigm cases in point—is a more or less complex and sophisticated project (nonseparable unity of means and aims), with corresponding 'naturally inbuilt' conditions of existence, working and results. The trends and results mentioned above are naturally built-into, the 'naturally necessary' products of, existing modern machine-techniques and processes in the domain of work. Of these results, to recapitulate, the separation of the work-force into a tiny elite of collaborating means-technicians (whose power and privileges derive precisely from their monopoly-possession of pure and applied scientific and technical know-how), and an impotent remaining majority of worker-victims of the 'technological totalitarian' trends in question (impotent because of the sophisticated knowledge-monopoly of the technical elite) are the most important.

So far, I have deliberately confined my remarks in criticism of Chomsky's naive optimistic belief in the liberating potentials of modern machine-techniques to serve or realise anarcho-syndicalist ends, to the sphere of work, modern industry in particular, in keeping with the basic assumptions and focus of concerns of this tradition. If Chomsky's case for the relevance and validity of anarcho-syndicalism based on this belief fails (as I believe it does, for the reasons given) in the sphere of industry (work generally), then it clearly fails with respect to the remaining institutions and areas of Western capitalist 'democracies'. As Ellul and others have shown, the 'technological totalitarian' trends and profoundly anti-libertarian results I've been discussing in relation to the economy also obtain in the case of the conditions of existence and operation of existing State institutions, leisure and consumption institutions...throughout our society. Indeed, and ironically, it has been Chomsky as much as anyone, ever since *American Power and the New Mandarins*, who has stressed and criticised the scientific and technical intelligentsia for their willing part in these profoundly anti-democratic institutions and processes.

It is important to realise that my argument in criticism of Chomsky's claim (2) is one in principle. My arguments are not based on the difficulties in actual practice of anarcho-syndicalists in the sphere of work (let alone outside) successfully organizing, overcoming existing bureaucratic trade union forms and gaining ownership of the existing technological means of production. Nor have I been concerned in this article with any of the problems of decision-making, coordination, management and administration (what Chomsky calls 'governance') anarcho-syndicalists would face in actual practice.

Not the least of the paradoxes underlying Chomsky's libertarian writings, to conclude, is that at least in some places Chomsky is aware of the causes, conditions, characteristics and results of what I've been calling 'technological totalitarianism'. In 'Knowledge and Power' in P Long ed, *The New Left* (1969), or Chp 20 of *Radical Priorities* for

example, Chomsky demonstrates awareness of the elite power and anti-democratic role of the scientific and technical intelligentsia, in the structure of modern economic and State Business As Normal.

No movement for social change can hope to succeed unless it makes the most advanced intellectual and technical achievements its own, and unless it is rooted in those strata of the population that are productive and creative in every domain. (RP, p 235)

Indeed, like Chomsky, I am hardly a 'technological determinist'. Like him, I think it is a crucial, open question whether in actual practice the movement for libertarian socialist change can awaken 'normal' intellectual means-technicians from their 'mindless' serving of corporate and State power, and work for libertarian social change. What I insist, however, is (a) that it is because of the existing machine-technologies that 'normal' means-technicians are 'normal', and, consequently, (b) that without a radical repudiation of existing 'technological totalitarian' machine-technologies, neither 'normal' members of the technical intelligentsia, already-committed anarcho-syndicalists nor anyone else can achieve libertarian social change.

I am no wishful romantic (much as I hate virtually all of modern machine-technologies for their crippling, dehumanising effects) about the short-term possibilities of reversing existing technological trends and or humans re-organizing western capitalist societies on a more rationally integrated—simpler—direct relationship with each other and with nature. But just as the hope of a return to earlier industrial social conditions is a wishful illusion, so is Chomsky's belief in the possibility of using present machine-technologies to achieve anarcho-syndicalist ends. Anarchists can have no illusions. The only rational standpoint is uncompromisingly to try to practice one's libertarian principles hope-lessly and for their own sake, as an end in themselves, because it is the right and proper thing to do.

PAT FLANAGAN

of mice and moles

BOOK REVIEW: *The Battle for the Labour Party* by David and Maurice Kogan (Fontana £1.75)

THIS book is a long way from being a masterpiece of political analysis: as befits its fast-buck-instant-comment character, it has more than its fair share of crass sensationalism, misinformation and plain old ignorance, and the reader has to pick his or her way with utmost care. All the same, it isn't half as bad as the Labour leftist on the Camden omnibus would have you believe. For all its glaring faults, *The Battle for the Labour Party* provides a handy narrative account of Labour's internal wranglings over the past decade, and even manages some perceptive interpretative asides in the course of so doing.

The core of the book consists of the story of the growth in influence of the movement for reform of the Labour Party's constitution from its small beginnings in 1973, when a handful of activists formed the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy (CLPD), to the achievement of mandatory re-selection of MPs by their Constituency Labour Parties at the 1979 Brighton Conference, and the acceptance at Wembley in 1981 of an 'Electoral College' method of electing



Labour Cabinet 1974

the party leadership. It is a tale of skillful manipulation by a small clique of determined full-time hacks, scrupulously constitutional in their techniques and well-versed in the art of tactical coalition building, and the authors tell it with verve. Problematically, of course, the verve sometimes lapses into superficiality and vacuous assertion, and although their presentation of documentary material is both timely and useful, the Kogans reproduce much that is either merely anecdotal triviality or unsubstantiated rumour. As I am not, and have never been, a member of the Labour Party—let alone one of the inner circle of left activists—it is difficult to give specific examples of this: but, to risk being hoist with my own petard by making apparently baseless allegations, conversations with people more 'in the know' than myself suggest that the major weaknesses of *The Battle for the Labour Party* on a narrative level are to be found in its misidentification of certain 'key personalities' involved and in the authors' tendency to overstate the conspiratorial aspects of the left's manoeuvrings. I shall, however, leave any criticisms in this area to the far better qualified reviewers

employed by the *New Statesman* and *Labour Weekly*—in spite of my aversion to even the smallest distortions of historical reality, it seems to me that even if the Kogans have wrongly identified the lynch-pins of the left's campaign, and laid too much emphasis on particular secretive late-night gatherings, their general picture of the left's progress through sordid deals set up by a tiny elite of professional politicians cannot be fundamentally questioned.

If *The Battle for the Labour Party* is thus on the whole bearably accurate as a journalistic yarn, its efforts to interpret more deeply the events it portrays are, by contrast, very patchy. Perhaps the most obvious flaw is the authors' exaggeration of the immediate effects of the changes in the Labour Party's power structure: the mandatory reselection of MPs and the expansion of the electorate involved in choosing the parliamentary leadership might well be important and interesting developments, but they can hardly be described as 'cataclysmic.' The reforms leave far too much unchanged for such an adjective to hold: they do not begin to touch upon the question of the block vote, nor have they in any way undermined the substantial powers of the party executive to reverse any inconvenient decisions made quite constitutionally by the lower echelons of the party. It is still perfectly proper for a private meeting of party and union bosses to effectively fix the political agenda for the year; and still the manifesto remains under the control of the parliamentary leadership. Even in areas the reforms do affect, change has been far from dramatic. Very few MPs have been de-selected, and Healey is still deputy leader. What is more, it now looks increasingly as if the left's offensive on the Labour constitution is beginning to run out of steam. The last couple of months have seen a growing tension between the various factions in the left coalition, and it seems unlikely that a renewed campaign for constitutional reform would be able to muster the union block votes required for conference victory.

Nevertheless, it would be stupid to pretend that there is no long term significance in the reforms of the Labour Party constitution. The balance of power within the party has shifted, at least marginally, away from the Parliamentary Labour Party and towards the Constituency Labour Parties and the trade unions, and a style of 'caucus politics' has been introduced to the Labour Party for the first time. The shift in the balance of power is perhaps the more important change, largely because it almost certainly means that the trade unions bosses will play a key role in any future Labour government: their new clout in electing the parliamentary leadership virtually guarantees that some sort of revived 'Social Contract' (already being enthusiastically advocated by all sections of the Labour Party) will be a basic characteristic of the next Labour administration. It hardly needs to be said that, while this is all very well for the union bosses, the likely effects of such corporatist integration of the union bureaucracies on workers' living standards leave much to be desired.

Unsurprisingly, *The Battle for the Labour Party* does not begin to deal with this: the authors prefer to concentrate on speculating as to the likely long term growth in power of the other beneficiaries of the reforms, the CLPs. I say 'speculating' quite deliberately, for the authors fail to consider at least two factors which seem to me to be utterly crucial in assessing long term prospects for the CLP-PLP relationship. The first of these is the degree to which MPs successfully adapt to the reselection process—it is no wild flight of fancy to expect that MPs will quickly grow accustomed to mandatory reselection and turn to using it as a means of enhancing their legitimacy, yet the Kogans nowhere even briefly entertain such a possibility. The second is the extent to which the left of the Labour Party abandon the party in the event of a repetition of 1964-70 by a Labour government. One does not need a particularly long political memory to recall the speed with which disillusionment set in after Wilson failed to deliver his promised 'technological revolution', and there is little reason to assume that things will be different next time Labour's attempts to manage capitalism flounder in the face of grass-roots working class opposition. *The Battle for the Labour Party* ignores this prospect, however, and as a result it is difficult to avoid

the conclusion that its projections are prone to suffer from precisely the sensationalism that characterises its view of what has already taken place.

For all this, there is at least one redeeming feature in its interpretation of the movement for constitutional reform of the Labour Party, and this lies in its identification of the new style of Labour politics which emerged with the constitutional reform campaign. As the Kogans point out, until recently the Labour Party was characterised by the absence of the type of small group politics which has long dominated the internal affairs of European socialist parties: the only two organised factions of any significance, the 'Tribune' group and the 'Militant' tendency, were respectively too much concentrated in Parliament and too weak outside a handful of CLPs to be more than incidental to most of Labour's day to day workings. Now, however, this situation has changed: largely but not completely as a result of the manoeuvrings over the constitution, 'Militant' and 'Tribune' have been supplemented (and to a certain extent supplanted) by the campaign for Labour Party Democracy, the Labour Co-ordinating Committee, the Socialist Campaign for Labour Victory, and the Labour Solidarity Campaign—and these are only a few of the organisations of both left and right which are currently jockeying for position in the party.

Why, though, is this multiplication and expansion of organised factions within the Labour Party important? The Kogans, rather predictably, argue that it signals the imminent breakdown of the Labour Party as a politically viable united force, citing in support of this thesis the inability of the right to successfully compete with the left in building 'parties within the party'. Once again, I disagree with their analysis, not only because they tend to underestimate the skill and tenacity of the right, but also because they do not consider the attractiveness of the new style of caucus politics to many who have hitherto shunned the Labour Party. A plurality of competing organised elites looks to many people like dynamic participatory democracy, and the evolution of the former state of affairs within the Labour Party has been an important factor in the dramatic growth of individual membership of the party in the last eighteen months. Far from heralding the collapse of Labour, the new style of small group politics, by providing the appearance of 'democracy in action', has actually strengthened the appeal of the party, and this process seems likely to continue at least until the advent of the next Labour government. It must be emphasised, of course, that this appearance of democracy produced by elite pluralism had absolutely no connection in reality with participatory democracy: the innocent souls who have flocked to join their CLPs have been hideously conned.

Such, however, is the very stuff of party politics, and perhaps we should expect little else. Indeed, anarchists have traditionally expected *nothing but* deceit from party politics: and this no doubt prompts a number of readers into wondering why I'm bothering to write about party politics in what is, after all, an anarchist paper. Surely my efforts to reveal the essential nature of Labour's constitutional changes are a paradigmatic case of 'preaching to the converted'? In a sense, of course, they are: I very much doubt that many readers of *FREEDOM* need to be reminded that the so-called 'democratisation' of the Labour Party has been nothing of the kind or that the main effect of Labour's constitutional changes is that corporatism is now almost obligatory for future Labour governments. Yet at least a few will not be thinking along these lines. Some may even have already been seduced by the new look Labour Party. Others may be making up their minds. For these people, the issue of the Labour Party is a very real one, and we should not be afraid to address their concerns. But even if no-one who reads *FREEDOM* was tempted by the Labour Party, there would still be a point to discussing the Labour Party in its pages. Such discussion can only lead to a better understanding of the world we inhabit: and the acquisition of such understanding is imperative if we are ever to change that world. Whoever it was who coined the phrase 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice' managed to hit on a substantial truth which we would do well to note.



BEHIND THE INDONESIAN ELECTIONS

Introduction

AFTER a violent 45 day campaign in which at least 56 people were killed (eight shot by troops), approximately 82 million of Indonesia's 150 million people went to the polls on May 4. Results to hand indicate an unsurprising landslide victory for the Suharto military regime in power since its coup in 1965. With over 90% of the vote counted, the regime's electoral vehicle *Golkar* had received 63.5% of

the votes, a 1.5% increase from the last 'elections' in 1977. The only two 'opposition' parties permitted to take part in this farcical 'legitimation' exercise, the nationalist Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) and the Muslim Development Party (PPP), have already protested, charging ballot-rigging and Golkar double-voting. The official 'result' will be announced by the regime in June.

This week (May 4), the Suharto regime in Indonesia is holding what it calls a 'festival of democracy'—the third general 'elections' since the American-backed group of army officers led by Suharto ousted then President Sukarno in a coup which began in October 1965, and culminated in the massacre of at least half a million Indonesians, the torture and imprisonment without trial of hundreds of thousands of others and the creation of a repressive, corrupt military dictatorship in Indonesia. As with other 'democratic' institutions under the New Order, elections in Suharto's Indonesia are 'democratic' in name only. As in 1971 and 1977, voters in this week's election are 'free' only to participate in a pre-determined exercise, whose function is to provide 'legitimacy' for the regime in the eyes of its Western allies in the United States, Australia, Britain and Europe.

Before turning to the appearances and realities of New Order electoral democracy, it is important to stress this fundamental fact, ignored or glossed over in pro-Suharto regime propaganda: The military junta in power in Indonesia destroyed all democratic institutions in its illegal coup and subsequent murderous consolidation of power; the condition of its existence today remains systematic repression and the denial of all democratic freedoms and rights in any meaningful sense. New Order 'democracy' exists only for the military regime and its corrupt supporters, not for the overwhelming majority of Indonesia's 155 million people. For ordinary Indonesians, most of whom are poor peasants with a per capita income of around 100 dollars per annum, the election is meaningless. The certain re-election of the Suharto regime means only a continuation of New Order business—economic exploitation and political repression—as normal.

The Suharto group's coup and mass killings in 1965-6 resulted in the physical destruction of the mass-based Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)—organizations, leadership and rank and file. Before the coup, the PKI and affiliated organizations commanded the effective support of a minimum of 12-15 million Indonesians. While a little more than half of

these were PKI members, the Party's policies of economic and political reform, above all land reforms, gained genuine popular support. In the massacres, between 500,000-1 million people were killed or imprisoned as 'communists'. The PKI and all related trade union, educational and cultural organizations were dismantled and banned. Those PKI leaders and members not killed in the massacres were either arrested and harshly sentenced or imprisoned without trial. The Party as any sort of force for democracy or opposition to the repressive dictatorship and corrupt, pro-Western economic policies of the Suharto generals, was effectively destroyed.

The years 1966-1970 saw the consolidation of the Suharto regime's control over Indonesia's resources, people and institutions. The economic policies of the New Order consisted in 'developing' the economy by maximising American, Japanese, European and Australian investment and exploitation of Indonesia's abundant oil, gas, timber, rubber and other resources in partnership with the 'military capitalists' of the Suharto regime. Domestically, New Order 'freedom' and 'democracy' was defended and policed by KOPKAMTIB, the regime's all-powerful political police. With a command and control structure going right down to village level, and command over local and regional troops, KOPKAMTIB was able to 'defend national security' throughout the 14,000 islands which constitute the Indonesian archipelago very effectively indeed.

While illegally ousted President Sukarno was still alive however, the Suharto regime found itself unable to complete the ideological—as distinct from economic and coercive—consolidation of its power. There were two basic, inter-related reasons for this. The first was that officially, the Suharto regime pledged itself after the coup to the maintenance of the five *Pancasila* principles attached by Sukarno to the 1945 Constitution: belief in God, humanism, nationalism, democracy and social justice. Second, despite the regime's efforts to discredit Sukarno (above all by implicating him in the supposed 'attempted communist coup' of 30 September

1965), 'Bung Karno' and his Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) remained too popular either to ignore completely or to meet in free and open elections—as required by the regime's commitment to Pancasila.

The result was an ideological stalemate. The most the Suharto regime could do was to isolate Sukarno and defer the 'democratic elections' needed to legitimize itself in terms of Pancasila and in the eyes of its US-led Western backers, who had persuaded Suharto to promise to hold elections by July 1971 at the latest. In the meantime, President Suharto and Ali Murtopo, today Information Minister, began preparations for the eventuality of elections. In mid-1968, they revived *Golkar* (literally 'functional groups'), a virtually defunct organization from Sukarno's time, as a suitable electoral vehicle for the armed forces. Though not itself a party, the army-run *Golkar* would ensure the dominant participation in politics necessary for the army's self-imposed 'dual' (military and social) 'functions'.

Fortunately for the regime, Sukarno died at the age of 69 in June 1970. In the meantime, the regime's preparations for the July 1971 elections proceeded on two fronts. (Already in the late sixties, the regime had passed legislation giving President Suharto the power to appoint one third of the members of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), and 100 of the 460 members of Parliament, the DPR.) The first was to weaken the Sukarنوist PNI Party and strengthen *Golkar* by requiring that all government civil servants, almost all PNI supporter, must be loyal to the government. They were required to join *Korpri*, the 'civilian' arm of *Golkar*.

The regime's second pre-election task was to ensure the subordination of the leading Muslim party *Parmusi*—an important priority given that 90% of Indonesians are nominally Muslims. This was achieved by the installation of a willing collaborator, John Naro as *Parmusi* leader in October 1970. All that remained was to minimize the opposition's pre-election freedom of organization and debate and maximize the organizing and 'mobilizing' presence of *Golkar*, army and *KOPKAMTIB* representatives at village level. The 1971 election was a foregone conclusion. *Golkar* received 62.8% of the vote, giving it (ie, the Suharto regime) 236 of the 360 elected seats in Parliament. The PNI gained 20 seats, *Parmusi* 28 and the NU, a radical-fundamentalist Muslim Party, a significant 58 seats. With the 100 government appointees, almost all military men, the regime's 'democratic' electoral triumph was complete.

The methods employed in 1971 to legitimise the Suharto regime's brand of pro-Western economic 'development' and domestic *KOPKAMTIB* coercion set the pattern for the regime's subsequent electoral tactics in 1977 and again in 1982. In 1973, the government further consolidated 'democracy' by shrinking all existing opposition political parties into two: the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), successor of the PNI, and other secular parties and the Muslim United Development party (PPP), a fusion of *Parmusi*, NU and other Muslim parties under the leadership of John Naro. Thereafter only *Golkar* (though not a political party), the PDI and the PPP could campaign and take part in elections. At the 1977 election, the usual combination of army 'organization' of the election and repressive measures against the tolerated opposition, resulted in *Golkar*'s winning 61.9% of the vote, with the PPP's gaining 29.4% and 8.6% going to the PDI.

It is against this historical background that the events of the current month-long election campaign must be understood. Perhaps the only significant departure from previous elections has been a stepping up in the amount of repression exercised by the government against the PPP. This is not because its leader John Naro has become any less enthusiastic in his support for New Order business as normal. The regime fears the 'threat to national security' posed by the NU and grass roots Muslim groups, lacking as it does any real, as distinct from artificially created, popular support. Following the physical annihilation of the Communist Party, by default the Muslim opposition groups have been increasingly assigned

the role of scapegoats and bogies. This is not to say that the regime does not invoke the communist menace when appropriate. It's simply that, due to the killings and imprisonments, 'communists' are thin on the ground these days.

Since the election-campaign began last month, at least 56 people have died and many more have been injured in clashes between *Golkar* and PPP supporters. (According to Indonesian observers, *Golkar* supporters are paid between 2,500 and 6,000 rupiah, between, four and ten times the minimum daily wage, to attend pro-government rallies.) However, like the precise details of the predetermined outcome on election day, such details of the latest 'festival of democracy' should not divert attention from the basic realities behind the 'democratic' facade.

The simple fact is that Indonesian democracy is a sick, unfunny farce. How can there be political democracy when there is no economic justice or democracy for those who produce the wealth exploited and consumed by the nation's military capitalists and their foreign backers? How can there be political democracy when there is no right or freedom of expression or organization? How is political democracy possible in a military-police state? The answer is or should be obvious.

PATRICK FLANAGAN



The President and Madame Soeharto with Prince Charles, Queen Elizabeth, Prince Philip, Princess Alexandra and her husband, Angus Ogilvy.

GOLDEN TURDS



IF anyone accuses me of indulging in my usual exhibition of public vulgarity and open display of bad taste I swear before God that this time I am as white and as pure as a Special Branch plain clothed *person's* (W L!) secret report. There was a time when the artist, the novelist and the poet were men of trembling beauty. Gentle and sensitive they swayed with each dawnbreak breeze, brooded and saw Her in the heart of a flower and all that jazz. This was a valid stance until the late Victorian period when technical commercialism took over the arts and the demand from an easy money new middle class to be amused created the inevitable demand for more Instant Genius on the hoof.

It was then, and rightly, that Women as Creative Artist at so much a line, so much a coloured square inch, moved into the act all muscles rippling under the corsets and secret gin drinking under the bed and the male poet, painter and writer began to develop the macho image. There has always been the odd man out, poet, painter or writer, who to prove a point would go to work on someone's questing mind with the thick cap of his philistine boot but leading into the First World War give or take a Falkland island the male artists and writers began to develop the group image of the dreaming brute. It was then that we began to get the German Blaue Reiter, the French 'cages aux fauves', the Symbolists, the Futurists, the Dadaists, the Surrealists, the Action Painters. In the main they were inoffensive creatures daubing away by dawn's early light harming nothing but the hairs on their brush, but the self created image of the artist as a sweating, lusting god-haunted brute with ancients' lusts throbbing in his loins and that dream, Oh god that damn awful dream, demanding, Oh god demanding, to be bled onto the primed hardboard, is a self-created image strictly for the birds for I

have always found them very pleasant little people, as this year's Private View at the Royal Academy demonstrates.

This image is recorded but not demonstrated at the exhibition within the Craft Council at 12 Waterloo Place, SW1 4AU. All in all the Council offer two very pleasant and enjoyable exhibitions and for that and the wine, many thanks. To your left are the ceramics of Martin Smith. Earth coloured geometrical abstracts that have the feel and the illusion of contemporary continental architectural follies. Grandeur in miniature multiply them high rise high, and they are the new State art gallery or your friendly bank. Reduce them to the size of your chair and they could be the with it lavatory for the meaningful pad of our next juvenile film producer, but the shapes are good and I enjoyed them and the company of the sculptor Martin Smith. But in the room to your right Der Muscle squad for these are the boys from the American West Coast armed with their ceramics and the 'funk smell of armpit and groin', to quote. I enjoyed Martin Smith's exhibition and I found joy unbound in the work of the butch boys from America's West Coast for the simplistic pleasure they gave to an old man, up your's Jack. The long introduction by Rose Slivka seems to combine the writings of Woody Allen and the late late author of 'No orchids for Miss Blandish' with every line a laugh and as the blurb used to say of the late thriller writer Edgar Wallace, 'It is impossible not to be thrilled etc'. But if I wrong anyone, and in fairness to myself I hope I have, I can do no more than quote small lines of what Rose has written of the lads. 'No longer is the artist a magician, a god. Artists admit to being ordinary people.' 'Raymond M Hood: "This beauty stuff is all the bunk". A typical American attitude, it expressed a

new American aesthetic rather than gross lack of appreciation for the old one.' 'These are the cowboys of clay, riding ideas as if they were bucking broncos, charging around in a rodeo of wild horses.' 'On the west coast, unlike New York, the artists don't mingle with the rich. They don't meet each other at black-tie openings. They make no pretensions to being polite drawing room conversationalists, or to being intellectuals.' '...even those such as Arneson, never had the down home funk smell of armpit and groin some of the southern California artists symbolically insist upon, such as Ed Kienholz and Bruce Conner. Arneson, in the sixties, produced urinals and toilets with *gold turds* gleaming in exquisite lustered glazes etc...' Maybe, and I hesitate to suggest it, it was that 'funk smell of armpit and groin' that stopped Ed and Bruce being invited to those 'black-tie openings'.

One should not take the water out of the butch boys of America's West Coast for the Mickey Spillane style of introduction to their exhibition but having read it one is justified in expecting to find the gallery bouncing like a shanty town brothel instead of which there is an exhibition of gentle, amusing and giggly fairground style ceramics. I enjoyed it. 'Captain Ace' with a turkey on the top of his flyer's helmet straight out of superman comicz, or the super market tins and packets with a frog pushing up out of them. 'Out of El Paso' and 'Torn books with coffee cup and pipe' so real that 'You' could believe they were actual books, cards, burned matches, coffee cup or smoking pipe! For years the Italian trade has been hawking around its Capodi Monte ceramics of meticulously modelled figures of small naughty boys, cheating card players, sleeping tramps and all based, it would appear, on the old American Saturday Evening Post cover paintings of the American heartache nostalgic desire for a dream world that never was. Amoral, no pain and no hunger and it all ended up in the Art Departments of the better type of stores in the better type of high streets and this is where the West Coast funk smell of armpit and groin boys will surface. That false image that those men who work with finger fumbling clay, the brush or the typewriter create demands that the coloured ducks they craft to fly across all those wall paper skies should be shot down if they claim they are eagles no matter what the cost in custard pies.

Yet they are not the villains of the social farce. Of their slight talent they produce their pretty trivia and drink their Coca Cola with an air. The villainy, for me, lies with those experts who refuse to be mocked. In the silent air conditioned offices, in State or Commercial board rooms they plan, produce and destroy us physically and intellectually. Every concentration camp, every slave labour camp, every working class 'housing complex', every medical or surgical experiment with the human body, every curtailment of our individual freedom is the end result of 'expert opinion', and when the awful results of their actions produces its inevitable misery these people are never there to answer for their actions 'on our behalf'. For the Town and his hod happy frau it was across London to the headquarters of the Architectural Association, of the drawings of Michael Gold with their little touch of naive English 1930s mildly surrealistic London Transport poster art. Here in this inhospitable building with its air and attitude of studied indifference the new generation of trained architectural 'experts' wandered around me like unto trainee doctors in a National Health hospital, fledgling Foreign Office careerists with their first small war so certain of themselves, and their future like jackals in a graveyard of daily fresh broken tombs. In this same month that I type this 'tens of thousands of flats and maisonettes' will have to be demolished at a cost of £3,000 million, and the reason? 'Badly constructed' and the use of material that in a few years deteriorated. This is not a small back street petrol station but the homes of tens of thousands of people. In town after town across Britain ghastly great office blocks and spaghetti junctions have festered and decayed like concrete scabs and more is on the way. All along the sweet flowing Thames, as fast as the greasy handed speculators can get a signature, great blocks of offices are going up or

'will' go up waiting only Heseltine's office stamp denying the peoples of London homes and access to their own waterway.

At the National Gallery press conference one learns that the directors of the NG have agreed that the space to the left (St Martin's in the Field to your right) that was to be a 'well designed' addition to the National Gallery is now to that the top floor shall be used as a free overflow for the NG's great masterpieces of the world and that in 125 years it will revert to the nation cost free. I stood up and made my ineffectual protest, but Heseltine is delighted with the idea and with the assembled Fourth Estate ready with eyes down for the free lunch who cares. Michael Gold's contribution to the problems of the Third World as displayed in the Arch. Ass. HQ, is 'design for a ceremonial arch over the highway from Jeddah, 14 km from Mecca. Drawings as submitted to the city authorities and for the royal assent in Saudi Arabia' GATEWAY TO MECCA 1979. Two crossed scimitar blades arching over the highway and an 'eastern' entrance straight out of a 1930 Hollywood B movie, and Holy Wars have been fought over less. I find it so bad, yea, the thought of that cluttering up the desert with the awful pretensions of Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright as their revenge on Western Man's (Western person's?) art and intelligence and this period's eye sore of the Beaubourg by Piano & Rogers as a Parisian version of Steptoe and Son. I cannot and will not find any virtue in the work of Michael Gold not because, like the West Coast butch boys, it could be dismissed as inoffensive trivia, but our towns our cities and our countryside has been despoiled by experts who will never be called upon to answer what every succeeding architectural seminar usually dismisses as a passed past ghastly mistake, but we the people have to live with, pay for, be homeless, fight and die for Their ghastly mistakes. I enjoyed the West Coast boys' ceramics and my laughter is without malice but the Golden Turds come from the City of London money houses and from the jackals who through incompetence or indifference excrete planwise to order, for the Golden Turds rise and solidify all around us grey shining and smell-lessly stinking under every rising sun.

ARTHUR MOYSE

DEFICIT FUND

Contributions Received: April 22nd - May 5th Incl.

Oakland Ca, USA, R D E £2.75; Askern J £1.00; London NW6 T M £1.00; In Shop Anon £0.20; Havant I P £0.90; Maidstone M T £2.00; Sheffield M S D £0.50; Bretagne J S G £1.00; London W9 B C £1.00; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; Lampeter J A £2.00; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; London SW15 J M £0.50; Thornaby J £1.00;
TOTAL = £17.85

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Gift of Books. Windsor, Canada F A; Manchester R B.

Thanks to all!

TARGET FOR 1982 = £2000! Comrades the bulk of our subscriptions are renewed (with donations often) in the *first half* of the year. That half year is almost over; our Deficit Fund needs to be *well over £1000 by the end of June* to stand a chance of reaching our target.

PREMISES FUND

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Thanks to all!