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## editorial

The acceptable face of capitalism has let slip its mask to reveal just another ugly visage. The Tories batten down the hatches and hope it will all go away. The Labour Party rubs its collective hands together with ill concealed glee. Margaret Thatcher had the personable Mr Parkinson to front her party and even before his recent demise Labour's 'great white hope' Neil Kinnock was beginning to prove strong competition. Immediately after Labour's conference and Kinnock's election to the leadership the opinion polls showed the Tories losing some of their massive lead. Who knows what the next one will show.

Neil Kinnock is the personification of the new, bright young Labour Party whose supporters wish to see sweep into power at the next election. He has all the right qualifications for the job of leader. Working class background, nice welsh accent, an ability to stab people in the back quietly and has the makings of a good TV personality. Success will depend on his ability to portray the Labour Party as the only viable and welcome alternative to the conservatives. A party of the people regaining its traditional working class base rid of the middle class liberals that have moved over to the SDP. Even the hard (or stale) left will probably be convinced and run out in their hundreds to 'vote Labour with no illusions'. And as the letters in FREEDOM show even some so-called anarchists will find themselves inexorably drawn to vote, 'for Labour is the only alternative'.

However once you have no illusions the only course of action is to despise both parties equally. Labour is the alternative that maintains the existence of the Conservatives and vice versa. Perpetually playing each other off in the game of sticks and carrots. In so far as they are integral to the system they are identical. One leads to the other and then back again. Neither is capable, nor would it wish to be, of doing without the other and moving towards a one party state of either variety. Even a large Tory majority has it drawbacks as they themselves need an effective opposition to trade punches with and are having to create one on their own back benches.

This inbred myth called Parliamentary Democracy is one more obstacle to any real social change. It is a burden that we are forced to bear and keeps us safely on our knees. Its promises, its pragmatism, its fairness, its alternatives, its accountability and its freedom!

Neil Kinnock may well lead the Labour Party to Victory or the Tories may gain a third term. Either way for us it will be a defeat.

# What are you doing here?

Anarchists have always opposed and resisted war, and we have opposed and resisted nuclear weapons ever since they were first used — as may be seen from the editorial comment on Hiroshima in this paper (then called *War Commentary*), which is reprinted elsewhere in this issue. Also printed elsewhere in this issue are several items on various aspects of anarchist involvement in the nuclear disarmament movement, including a long account of its history. Here we wish to make clear the anarchist attitude to the latest CND march and rally in particular and to the present nuclear disarmament movement in general.

The London demonstration on Saturday, 22 October, is the fourth of the annual events which have punctuated the course of the new nuclear disarmament movement during the past three years. The first, in October 1980, was so large that it marked the revival of the movement following the NATO decision in 1979 to increase nuclear weapons in Western Europe, beginning in Britain. The second, in October 1981, was twice as large. The third, in June 1982, was twice as large again, and was indeed the largest nuclear disarmament demonstration ever held in Britain. Since then, however, the movement has suffered several reverses, the most serious being the defeat of the Labour Party in the General Election in June 1983. The problem for CND is that, to put the movement back on to the public stage, this demonstration has to be larger than ever; and to make it larger than ever, the message has to be vaguer than ever.

We support this demonstration in principle, in the sense that we are happy to see anarchists adding their small numbers to the growing numbers opposed to new nuclear weapons, to all nuclear weapons, and to all weapons. But we are not at all happy with the demonstration in practice, in the sense that its form and content are so vague and vacuous as to make it almost meaningless. Its official slogan is 'Where will you be?' which betrays the uncertainty of the organisers. Much more important questions are 'Why are you here?' and 'What are you doing here?', and many of the anarchists here have strong views about the answers. Yet another enormous march through the empty centre of the capital, yet another enormous rally in the empty park, yet another set of speeches full of empty rhetoric — all 'this event demonstrates is that the movement may be back on the public stage but has nothing significant to say.

Of course we agree with the people, now comprising a clear majority of the population, who oppose the introduction of new nuclear weapons — the American ground-launched Cruise missiles coming to Greenham Common later this, come next. Of course we agree with CND and the whole nuclear disarmament movement in advocat-

ing an immediate Nuclear Freeze and the rapid removal of American nuclear bases from Britain and destruction of British nuclear weapons. But we don't agree with the many people who support such policies because they are sentimental pacifists, or members of the Labour Left, or members of or fellow-travellers with the Communist Party or the other Marxist sects; and it is clear that such people are very influential in CND and the wider peace movement.

In particular we are concerned that CND is in danger of becoming an instrument of the Labour Party again, just as it was twenty years ago. The Labour Party Annual Conference passed a unilateralist resolution by a small majority in 1960, but this was reversed in 1961. However, it passed a unilateralist resolution again in 1981, and this was confirmed with a two-thirds majority in 1982, making it official party policy; the Labour Party went into the General Election with this unilateralist policy, and also with a

rent in Western Europe but leave the recent reinforcements of the Russian deterrent in Eastern Europe; the campaign against Cruise and Trident tends to ignore the SS-20; opposition to American imperialism tends to ignore Russian imperialism. It is true that Western militarism — not just American, but British and South African and Israeli — is more adventurous and dangerous; but it is also true that Eastern militarism — not just Russian, but Chinese and Cuban and Vietnamese — is more consistent and successful, and is based on a much more oppressive political system. A plague on all their houses, we say; we are against all bombs and against all the states that make them.

Finally, we are concerned that CND is attempting to take over the whole anti-war movement (with the support of the National Peace Council). We welcome its function as an umbrella organisation, encouraging and coordinating various anti-war activities, especially the quiet work of propaganda and argument

way which seems appropriate to nuclear preparations of all kinds. We support the libertarian forms of organisations being developed within the radical wing of the movement, though we have a minor objection to the increasing misuse of the anarchist term *affinity group* to cover any collection of people at a demonstration, and we have a major objection to the increasing reluctance to take positive initiatives or to make definite proposals at demonstrations. We are encouraged by the relative success of the 'Stop the City' demonstration in London on 29 September, and we welcome further actions of this kind. We support the plans of the new Peace Anonymous group for a 'die-in' at the London Cenotaph following the official two-minute silence on Remembrance Sunday, 13 November. We support the plans now being widely discussed in the movement for a major programme of non-violent direct action in December, involving local actions, a civil disobedience demonstration in Lon-

**For Anarchism**

# WAR COMMENTARY

11th AUGUST, 1945.

# ABOLISH WAR!

**The Only Answer to the Atomic Bomb**

**CONSCRIPTION TO CONTINUE**

Readers of 'War Commentary' are reminded of the impending change in the title of the paper. At the next issue, dated 25th August, it will be changed to "FREEDOM through Anarchism."

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unilateralist leader — and was heavily defeated. Yet at the Annual Conference earlier this month a unilateralist resolution was again passed with a two-thirds majority, and at the same time a new unilateralist leader was elected. So on one hand it is easy to see why CND is tempted to put all its energy into the election of a Labour Government, but on the other hand it is hard to see what good this would do. Labour Governments since 1945 began the British Bomb in the first place and have retained and improved it ever since, whatever Labour Oppositions have said in the intervals; and it is now clear that one of the last actions of the Labour Government before its defeat in the 1979 General Election was in fact to support the NATO proposal to increase nuclear weapons in Western Europe!

In the same way we are concerned that CND is in danger of becoming an instrument of Russian foreign policy, just as it was twenty years ago. The proposed Nuclear Freeze would prevent future reinforcements of the Anglo-American deter-

so necessary to arouse and persuade the silent majority. And we welcome its support of illegal activities, especially the various demonstrations of non-violent direct action during the past couple of years, which is such a pleasant contrast to the sectarian opposition twenty years ago. But we are unhappy about its increasing control of such activities, especially the recent decision to confine them to a symbolic role and the current pressure to limit the scope of proposed demonstrations against Cruise. (We are also unhappy about the dogmatic separatism which has prevented mixed demonstrations at Greenham Common during the past couple of years, especially at this crucial stage when Cruise missiles are just about to be deployed there.)

We therefore support vigorous dissent in any way which seems appropriate against any move to support a narrow Nuclear Freeze, or the electoral interests of the Labour Party, or the strategic interests of the Soviet Union. And we support vigorous resistance in any

don, and a mass demonstration at Greenham Common involving the broadest possible participation (after the proposed women's demonstration there on 11 December).

So our answers to the two important questions about the demonstration on 22 October are that we are here because we support any serious protest against the growing threat of nuclear weapons, and in order to encourage our comrades in the movement to join the most radical forms of action which are likely to win mass support. We are particularly pleased that once again anarchists are playing a significant part in the nuclear disarmament movement, and that we are meeting so many old friends and making so many new ones. Let us all do what we can, but let us not expect too much too soon. As was always said about previous demonstrations in FREEDOM (and as is repeated in the title of Vernon Richards's book on the subject): protest, without illusions.

■ CONFUSED

With regard to your (unsigned) report of the London meeting on 'Anarchism and Feminism' may two (unidentified) women claim the right to reply?

This was surely a bizarre way to conduct an anarchist meeting, to have a main speaker at the front (flanked by two males who appeared to be her mentors) facing rows of people on chairs. This set-up is not conducive to talking; having to turn round and look at speakers behind is distracting and, in a meeting of this size, unnecessary. Through experience and hearsay of alternative meetings in the past fifteen years, we are sure that this one was unusual in being structured in this way.

We came to London from Brighton especially for this meeting, which seemed to coincide with our interests. We had hoped to participate in a discussion which would help us to enlarge on our knowledge of and involvement with both anarchism and feminism. Instead, we were confronted with an

anachronistic display of patristic smugness. It was as if the 1970's hadn't happened.

What does the writer mean by 'straight talking'? For the hour that we were there, the pivot of the discussion was whether women are wrong to take the word 'cunt' as an insult, in whatever spirit it is intended. Until we found ourselves at that meeting, it wouldn't have occurred to either of us that we could have been thought prudish or intolerant of such use of language. We merely find it childish, reductionist and irrelevant.

The question that was raised about why more women are not involved in anarchism could perhaps be explained by the lack of fellow-feeling, mutual support and constructiveness we felt at that meeting. We are involved in the women's movement, but are in no sense 'separatists'. We have worked in women-only groups and (increasingly lately) in mixed groups, and have felt none of the alienation that was present at that meeting

which was considered such a success.

Could someone clarify the intention of the report? And of the meeting?

Althea Lauder  
Dominy Hamilton

I have given up almost all hope of ever changing anything by doing what we are doing now. People will not change; they've accepted the pus, they've been told it tastes good, and they won't stop eating it. They know it's good for them.

As fine a demo as 'Stop the City' was, did we really go home with anything other than aching feet? Did hanging around banks change anyone's attitude or make them care a bit more? Don't fool yourself, we were demonstrating to ourselves. I'm depressed again.

I'm beginning to see no difference between anarchist punks and bank clerks or policemen and bus drivers. We're all part of the system doing

exactly what is expected of us. The system expects us to demonstrate, and we do it; it expects policemen to break it up, and they do it; it expects passers by to look at us and think for two minutes and forget it, and they do; and so it goes on and on.

So what were they thinking and saying for that two minutes? 'Oh, they're right the bomb is bad'; or, 'Oh, they're right, we are not free'? Again, don't fool yourself. The only comments that could be heard were 'Oh, they're so scruffy', and 'They're a load of layabouts', and 'No wonder there's 3 million unemployed, who'd give them a job?'

We're in a rut and the system's having a good laugh. I don't know what the answer is, but I know we need to find new tactics. We need to find a way to make people listen and understand, stop them worrying about petty problems like what's on telly. But until then, I suppose we'll all be there on 22nd October wasting our time and life.  
Paul Hope

■ IRRATIONAL

I am sure that many readers would like to hear the rationale of the Freedom Editorial Collective for their decision to include the 'Free the Five' article in the September 10th issue. The five alleged terrorists in question do not appear to be anarchists in any sense of the term, save the popular one. (The popular sense an anarchist is a bomb thrower, a terrorist.) Unlike authentic anarchist prisoners in the past, who were (or at least claimed to be) innocent of the charges made against them (eg, the Haymarket anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, etc.), the five in question make no such claim, but instead plead the 'political' nature of the offences with which they are charged. The charges include armed robbery of a grocery store, theft, arson, fire bombing, possession of restricted weapons, dynamiting, sabotage and conspiracy to rob a Brinks armoured car. To lend credibility to the 'political crime' plea, it is pointed out in the article that some of the fire bombing was directed at stores selling pornographic materials while some of the

other bombings were directed at power plants. Thus both feminism and ecology are invoked as justifications for violence. (Poor feminism! Poor ecology!) To judge from the bizarre semantics of this group and its defenders, it would appear that any crime is political if its perpetrator calls it political. (Those feminists who are so infatuated with violence, the eradication of sexist 'thought crimes', and illogical arguments should therefore be prepared to view at least some rapes as political, and therefore excusable. Perhaps even the selling of pornography could be so construed in those jurisdictions where such transactions are outlawed. Sellers of porn, please take note: you might some day have the fire bombers on your side!) It is clear to me, even if it is not clear to some of the confused individuals now editing FREEDOM, that the crimes with which 'the Five' are charged are *not* deserving of endorsement by any anarchist publication, nor is any member of 'the Five' deserving support unless there is a reason to believe that he

or she is innocent of the charges.

The letter by Klaus, in which a quondam anarchist gives his reasons for rejecting anarchism in favour of what he calls 'revolutionary pragmatism', at least has the virtue of candour. It is a great pity that the others who continue to fill up to half the pages of FREEDOM with their ultra leftist rantings have thus far failed to draw the same conclusions as Klaus. They too will not be missed. Klaus rightly sees that any revolutionary movement today that is to have any hope of success must be rigidly authoritarian, totally unscrupulous, and receive support from the Soviet Union (with all that that entails). All other so-called 'revolutionary' activity, such as that with which 'the Five' are charged, is nothing but futile egotripping. I completely agree. The only statement of Klaus with which I would take issue is his claim that 'the kind of socialism which we find (to result from a successful revolution) does not reflect our (sic) anarchist ideals, but it is a hundred times better than the

corrupt and cynical dictatorships that ruled before'. A hundred times better? Are the people of (say) Cuba a hundred times freer under Castro than under Batista? Is their diet a hundred times better? Are their living standards a hundred times higher? I would be fascinated to find out how the figure 'one hundred' was arrived at. According to Huber Matos, Carlos Franqui, and other former revolutionaries who have spent years in Castro's prisons, the facts are quite different. I suspect that Klaus is simply expressing his preferences for the left-wing tyranny over right-wing tyranny, and that 'one hundred' is to be construed emotively and not mathematically. My own preference is in the other direction, if only because right-wing tyranny tends to be much less efficient than that of the left and consequently contains more potential for change in a libertarian direction. If I were to express this preference mathematically, however, I would use the language of infinitesimals.

M.G. Anderson

NOTTINGHAM

Anarchist activity in Nottingham is of course hardly a new phenomenon. FREEDOM's former stable-mate *Anarchy* (first series) even produced a Nottingham issue (Number 38, April 1964). Out of print now, but, for those with access to a copy, it is a marvellously literate view of the city. No one writing then is now active in local anarchist circles, and our personnel is perhaps less literate but there are again some interesting things going on.

When I came to Nottingham in 1979, the existing anarchist group was clearly on its way out. Its best work — a 'Vote Nobody' campaign, an anti-fascist (and anti-Nazi League) leaflet and the famous 'Guy Fawkes — the only person to enter Parliament with honest intentions' poster — were in the past, and the Fine Fare graphics department (true!) was soon to be lost to us. For a year or so we struggled on — five or six at business meetings, twice that at open discussions. Apart from a fairly exciting, if unsuccessful, attempt to revive the Midlands Anarchist Federation, not a lot happened. Following a Mayday picnic we gave in to the demands of childcare, work and the never-quite-enough-of-us-to-do-anything feeling — we packed up.

In early 1982, some young punks and ex-Young Communist Leaguers began to ask what was happening. Not enough was the answer, so there was a new group — all young and enthusiastic. No sooner did

they produce a single issue of a magazine, *Individuals Anonymous*, than the group was gone. Together with a neighbourhood CND group — themselves the core of the city CND direct action group — they were off to Lakenheath and the 'Families Against the Bomb' peace camp was born.

This loose connection between the anarchists and CND has been a regular feature. At one time the main active group in Nottingham CND was mostly composed of anarchists, and in 1981 there was a series of imaginative demonstrations and the first and biggest Nottingham Peace Festival produced by them. Many key activists in CND have been and are anarchists, and at the moment several are working within its peace centre group to try to sustain the movement through the next period (or salvage something from the wreckage, depending on how things go after 22nd Oct.) This hasn't been a conscious 'infiltration' and there are obvious problems with bureaucracy and working within a 'broad church'. However, I think it's safe to say that CND locally has been gently nudged in the right direction. In turn, CND has helped to pay some of our fines from direct actions and — though not 'supporting' the event — contributed a little to the Nottingham coach to the 'Stop the City' demonstration.

But that's running ahead. In Spring this year, it became obvious

from the regular sales of FREEDOM and *Black Flag* in Mushroom Bookshop that there were enough people around to make a viable group. A few leaflets and notices in FREEDOM and *Black Flag* resulted in a score of us packing a room, and we've been meeting every Friday since. Of course, we haven't been able to sustain such numbers, but there's an active core of ten and various projects going on.

We were involved initially around the General Election and produced many thousands of leaflets — not so much saying 'Don't Vote' as suggesting a large number of different areas of action of greater importance than merely voting. Our first organised action was at Upper Heyford in June and the activity of organising as a group in (admittedly small) conflict with the state brought us together, as did the arrest of virtually the whole group.

Early in the summer we held a picnic, and over 100 children and adults went out to the country to bake in the sun. In the evening many fewer of us met with Sheffield Peace Action for initial talks about a peace centre. Some people in the group have been working — slowly — on a magazine, and issue 1 of *Police News* (a mildly satirical 16-page mag. with a cover, slightly amended, pirated from our friends at *Peace News*) is now out. The process of learning how to print and lay-out has been important, and several people are learning

further. Regrettably, other projects like an anarchist film season have been delayed.

Up to date then. A coach to 'Stop the City' — eight more arrests, but we can start to think of what we can 'Stop' in Nottingham. On 1st November we hold our first public meeting with Colin Ward speaking on 'Housing — an anarchist approach'.

I've been encouraged to write this for two reasons. The first is because there is little news of discussion in FREEDOM of what modern anarchists actually *do*. I think that, even if the Nottingham group were to fold tomorrow, we've made a small start in building a libertarian network and encouraging our isolated members to be strong. However, there are problems of resources, experience, sustaining interest and encouraging new people and FREEDOM could be crucial in passing on the experiences of anarchy in action.

The second reason for writing is to make it clear that there is a live anarchist presence in Nottingham. FREEDOM — despite several letters — has persisted in printing as a local contact someone who hasn't lived here for 1½ years, and has indeed dropped the live group from the contact list.

For the record then, Nottingham Anarchist Group is at Box A, Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote street, Nottingham. (Tel: 582506).

Ross Bradshaw

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# Parkinson's disease

When Margaret Thatcher started plugging her line about Victorian values, she little knew what a can of worms she was opening. But how was she to know that her favourite yes-man was going to take her seriously to the extent of reviving the good old Victorian custom of employers seducing their serving wenches?

Not that it is strictly true to describe Sara Keays, the Colonel's daughter, as a serving wench — except as we might describe the Colonel himself as a serving soldier — nor do we want to hear anyone singing that good old standby of George Melly's, 'You've got the right key but the wrong keyhole', which is a sexy song, but not sexist in that it is a song about a woman rejecting her useless ex-lover, making his 'foreday creep'.

Upper-middle-class Sara Keays did not reject her lover, although he seems to have behaved in a thoroughly sexist manner, flaunting her in public in a way that must have reached the ears of his wife — political circles being agog with gossip as they are — ever since their affair began four or five years ago, and apparently assuring her of his intention to divorce his wife and marry her.

According to Ms Keays' statement in *The Times*, Cecil Parkinson first asked her to marry him in 1979, but a year later was still dilly-dallying and she took a job as secretary to Roy Jenkins in Brussels — ostensibly to get away from Parkinson and the unresolved situation. She came back to London in 1980, whereupon the affair began again, with promises of marriage, until in the Spring of this year Ms Keays found herself pregnant.

According to her statement in *The Times*, she was 'implored' Cecil to tell Mrs Thatcher, who by this time had made him Chairman of the Conservative Party with responsibility for running the forthcoming General Election campaign. This appointment must have helped Parkinson make up his mind, for at last he came clean with Sara and told her he could not leave his wife and family and marry her after all — but he would do the decent thing and arrange a handsome cash settlement (some say in the region of £150,000!) to see her all right. OK?

At this time Cecil was, as Chairman, frequently on our telly screens, making vague and instantly forgettable campaign speeches and always, it seemed to us, looking puzzled and worried. Now we know why. It has been said, however, that he brilliantly masterminded the Tory election campaign — but surely the disarray of the Labour Party must have had more to do with that than anything else?

As far as Sara was concerned, Cecil may by this time have found the courage to tell his wife, but still couldn't face Maggie with his guilty secret. When he could, his timing wasn't too bad, for it seems to have been some time in August, during the Parliamentary recess, and while Thatcher was still aglow with her election victory and able quietly to change her mind about the Chairmanship of the Party and give him the job of Minister for Trade and Industry — quite suitable, really, since both are being run down by the present Government.

Apparently Cecil did almost the right thing by offering his resignation at this point — but Mrs Thatcher was sure the victorious party, with its clear mandate from the people for absolutely every-

thing, would be able to weather any

storm in a teacup that might blow up. 'Blow up' is the right phrase, for, by a most appropriate piece of timing, *Private Eye* blew the whole story just one week before the beginning of the Conservative Party's Annual Conference, following an anonymous letter which came up with details, names, etc., to verify the rumours that were now widespread throughout parliamentary circles. The rest has been so well documented that it is hardly necessary for us to go on and on about it.

It looked as though the party (and Cecil and Maggie) would indeed weather the storm right until the very last day of the conference — the day when, traditionally, the Leader makes a triumphant summing up of the totally stage-managed event, recounting all the decisions that the leadership has ordained beforehand and outlining the fearsome programme for the country to follow over the next year. Not that they put it quite in those words .... but in any case, the triumph was just a teeny bit tarnished by the fact that, in *The Times* for that very last day, there appeared a damning rebuttal of the story from Parkinson's viewpoint — in the form of the clear and unequivocal statement from Sara Keays about the sequence of events. Apparently she had agreed with him to keep quiet about it all, but in view of his statements in the TV programme *Panorama*, she felt impelled to put the record straight from her point of view. And where better than in *The Times*? The Old Thunderer hasn't had a better day's circulation for years, showing how the Colonel's daughter had been betrayed.

This time, Cecil's offer to resign was accepted by the Prime Minister, whose image of infallibility had suffered a serious knock, and whose triumphant last-day speech to the conference would have gone down like a lead balloon if it hadn't been for the Russians and the Falklands and the party faithful being prepared to clap the devil himself if he had only condescended to come and speak on law and order.

So Sara Keays' reputation is not the only one to be tarnished by this sordid tale of broken promises and prevarication. Sara's tale was that her child was conceived during a loving relationship; that she loved Cecil and from the start wanted marriage. Presumably the fact that he was already married and had a family was a mere technical detail, and she expected him to give all that up for love of her.

To be realistic, this seems a bit unrealistic. She seems to have fallen for, on the one hand, lovey-dovey talk about marriage and on the other, talk about getting out of politics and leading a decent life.

In this, Ms Keays seems to have been spectacularly starry-eyed. She is described as firmly in the mould of 'Sloane Rangers', the class of young women who take up positions as Tory Party secretaries (and sneered at as 'mistresses') with their eyes firmly upon marriage to properly eligible men — via the 'Casting Couch' which figures among the furniture in every little private office in the Houses of Parliament. Where, apparently, because of the late and irregular hours of work that our democracy demands of our faithful representatives, plus the fact that the bars therein never close, and there are suitably discreet clubs and restaurants nearby, and all the young and not-so-young Tory members are minded to 'score' every available perk off and on the job — where there is, not to put too

harsh a word upon it, a lot of extra-marital sexual activity. And that the Tories are much better at it than the Labour Party members. And there are a lot of young, ambitious and lusty young Tories in this Parliament. And so there is a good time to be had by all, and, oh, dear, some do fall by the wayside.

Now it is not for us, as anarchists, to pontificate or to moralise about sexual freedom. It is an area of life in which the anarchists have always taken a keen interest and a principled stand (if you see what we mean). Freedom in one's personal life is as much — or more — important as freedom in any other social relationship, in the working life, or anything.

What sticks in our craw is hypocrisy and deceit. Margaret Thatcher goes on about Victorian values, when all she means is the mentality of the workhouse, not a code of behaviour for the masters. All she has been concerned about in the choosing of her ministers is

whether they will be faithful tools in her ministries — and she has so much contempt for the ordinary people that she arrogantly believes that she can run the show anyway she wants and can cover up anything she wants.

**"All politicians are what ordinary people would call liars. Some tell immense great whopping lies. They lie as easily as they breathe and as often, about everything from their plans for war to their belief in God."**

Jill Tweedie

Cecil Parkinson has come out of this affair, in spite of Maggie's sponsorship right up to the last minute, as a prevaricating, weak-minded liar. On the one hand saying that he wants to get out of politics, and on the other doing everything to protect his career; unable to make a choice in his own personal life, and yet, as a Minister of the Crown in an important area of the national

life, accepting responsibility for the lives of hundreds of thousands of working people, where his decisions mean security or misery.

Slowly, slowly, the realisation is dawning on more and more people that this is how all politicians are. Not, perhaps, that they are personally congenital liars, but that the very occupation demands their continual covering up, prevarication, living by half-truths. In a word: perpetual dishonesty.

If they will lie and cheat on the small things, how much more likely are they to lie and cheat on the big things! And even those who preen themselves on being honest and not setting out to deceive — are they not part of the Big Lie? The lie that ordinary people are not capable of organising their own affairs? That government is necessary to tell us what is right and proper?

This is Cecil Parkinson's disease — the greatest dishonesty of all: the Big Lie of Government!  
Justin

## A Time to Act

As reported in the last issue of *FREEDOM* on Thursday, 29 September, an anti-war action called 'Stop the City' took place in the financial centre of London, around the Bank of England and the Stock Exchange. Shunned by most of the organisations of the Left as well as by CND, and treated cynically beforehand by many pacifists and anarchists, it was nevertheless a historic, though only partial, success. It brought up to 2,000 people on to the streets to raise a fundamental issue of the financing of war by capitalism, in the very centre of the death trade. Traffic was slowed down, and effective disruption took place for some time at particular institutions. Although it was a peaceful action, participants were subjects of police violence, and about 200 were arrested.

The reverberations of the protest went all over the City area; everyone working there was talking about the demonstration and the issues involved — which could no longer be swept under the carpet. Although it was virtually ignored by the establishment media, and treated with contempt by various 'alternative' institutions, 'Stop the City' was a step forward in a whole series of anti-nuclear anti-militarist and anti-authoritarian actions. Media-orientated spectacles like CND's regular mass marches followed by rallies addressed by political superstars, are part of a different tradition of futile and carefully controlled appeals to those in power. Whilst there is nothing wrong as such with genuine symbolic actions, they can never alone bring about any social transformation. We have to act ourselves to create the world we need and desire, and to reject the present system of exploitation, whose most blatant expression is nuclear weapons, but which dominates all spheres of life.

Recent actions which can be seen as part of the direct action tradition include the Torness nuclear site occupation (1979), the Upper Heyford blockade (1983), various actions by the women at Greenham Common, occupations of Armed Forces careers offices, and the present refusal by seafarers and railway workers in the Bristol region to handle nuclear waste dumping. In some towns people have taken over empty buildings as peace and society centres.

The specific importance of 'Stop the City' was the bringing of action into the centres of the death industry. Hopefully this initiative will be taken up, with actions at both local and national centres, as well as at military bases and nuclear institutions. Another, hopefully much bigger and more successful, 'Stop the City' is planned for 29 March. Meanwhile, the arrival of Cruise missiles at Greenham is imminent. In CND there is a mood of defeatism about this issue, after having made it almost a 'do or die' issue in recent publicity. On the other hand, some people in CND, other affinity groups and the Peace Anonymous group are talking of attempting some effective actions against Cruise — eg blocking road and rail military transport and mass occupation of the airbase. We support these ideas, whilst at the same time recognising that our struggle is a continuous one, and that Cruise is not the be-all or end-all.

In many ways separate from the national organisation, many local CND groups have sprung up across the country over the last few years. They represent a rejection of the most blatant expression of the authoritarian system we live in — nuclear weapons. Some groups are dominated by those who believe merely in protecting those in power against this single issue; whereas

others tend to criticise the system as a whole, and believe in direct rather than representative action.

The Upper Heyford blockade and 'Stop the City' have demonstrated the effective self-organisation of people acting against militarism, outside the CND structures. So have the Greenham Common women. Many local CND groups have also initiated actions of their own, and have Non-Violent Direct Action groups and other groups in the localities.

This, in our opinion, is the direction in which the movement for peace and against the nuclear and military state must go. Whether CND grows, or declines (a real possibility, as in the 1960s), the tradition of direct action must continue and develop, extending into all spheres of life and resistance (eg housing, workplace and unwaged struggles).

Practical suggestions are: occupations of nuclear and military bases; blockades of financial centres where militarism is funded; occupations of local Armed Forces careers offices and bunkers; action against firms working in nuclear and military contracts; agitation in the workplace to have boycotts of nuclear and military work, aimed eventually at a general strike. This month, anti-militarists in Holland have been trying to disrupt a full-scale NATO exercise by blocking road and rail movements. In Germany there have been 10 days of similar actions at US bases.

Dave, Clare, Steve and Dave

PS. On 4 and 11 November, many people arrested at 'Stop the City' are appearing at Guildhall Magistrates Court. In their support and to continue the protest, it has been decided to make these days 'Days of Action against the Banking System'. People throughout the country are encouraged to do actions and protests at banks pointing to their role in militarism and oppression. Leafletting, graffiti, occupations, pickets and other imaginative and direct actions can be self-organised.



American, Russian and British flags being burnt outside the Bank of England.

Anarchism is the political ideology which advocates the balanced combination of the maximum of liberty with the maximum of equality, the simultaneous destruction of authority and of property. It is based on the belief that human society can and should be organised by self-government and mutual aid, involving free agreement between individuals and groups without the systematic use of power by some people over other people. Despite popular prejudice, anarchism is not necessarily violent in principle; and despite received opinion, anarchists are not particularly violent in practice — less so than most of our rivals of the left or the right. After all, the ultimate expression of human power is organised violence, as expressed by the state; and anarchists have actively opposed the state for a century. The ultimate expression of state violence is national war; and anarchists have also actively opposed national wars by states for a century. And the ultimate type of national war is nuclear war; and anarchists have actively opposed preparations for nuclear war for nearly half a century. More than any other political group, we are committed to struggle against the state, against violence, against war, and above all against nuclear war.

Few anarchists are committed to complete non-resistance or non-violence in political activity within a country, and most anarchists are prepared to use power and even violence against greater power and violence. But almost all anarchists are committed against the violence and counter-violence of wars between countries. A few individual anarchists have supported particular wars — Peter Kropotkin in the First World War, for example, or Rudolf Rocker in the Second World War — and there are occasional wars which anarchists and even pacifists hardly oppose — the Indian invasion of Bengal in 1971, for example, or the Tanzanian invasion of Uganda in 1979 — but the anarchist movement like the pacifist movement, has always repudiated war. For a century anarchists have been active in opposition to war, and in this country anarchists were imprisoned for their resistance to both world wars — the victims including the editors of this paper in 1916 and again in 1945 — so it is not surprising that for years we have been involved in the movement against the Bomb.

#### The nuclear quantum leap

Like pacifists, anarchists don't oppose only nuclear war while accepting other kinds of war, but, like most other people, they do recognise that the nature of the weapons developed during the past forty years makes nuclear war different from all previous kinds of war in kind as well as degree. For the first time in human history, fighting between one group and another may cause the death not only of the people involved and the people around them but also of all the people in any country or on the whole earth. It is at last possible to start the war to end war, and everything else; the ancient myths of Armageddon and Ragnarok, the Stoic and Christian doctrines of the catastrophic end of the world, are now within the realm of reality rather than fantasy.

The rapidly accelerating advance of military technology is part of the exponential advance of all forms of science and technology in the modern age, but it is particularly striking, in both senses. For five hundred years — from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century — the power of gunpowder hardly increased at all, though the ways of using it became much more efficient; then in fifty years the development of high explosives and aircraft increased the power and range of

# Anarchism and the Bomb

shells and bombs hundreds of times; then in just under five years the first nuclear fission weapons (atom bombs) were thousands of times more powerful than any weapons used before; then in just over five years the first thermonuclear fusion weapons (hydrogen bombs) were another thousand times more powerful. It took thousands of high explosive and incendiary bombs to destroy Hamburg in 1943 and Dresden in 1945, killing about a hundred thousand people (the peak of the British war effort); it took single atom bombs to destroy Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, killing about the same number of people (the peak of the American war effort); since 1954, a single hydrogen bomb can destroy a large city and kill a million people — and there are now about fifty thousand hydrogen bombs ready for use.

One aspect of this process is especially relevant to the anarchist opposition to nuclear war. Until about a century ago, the military technology which was available to a government was equally available to its opponents — guns, like swords, could be used against rulers as well as by them. But high explosives and aircraft tilted the balance in favour of governments, and nuclear bombs and ballistic missiles tipped it over completely. Nuclear war can only be waged by a sophisticated scientific and bureaucratic system backed by an efficient military-industrial complex against a large population; it is, above all, war by the state against the people. There probably isn't much difference in the end between being hacked or beaten to death by stone weapons and being incinerated or irradiated to death by nuclear weapons, but there certainly is a crucial difference in the way to the end.

These changes in military technology have meant changes in military thinking. With nuclear weapons, there is no such thing as defence, only various forms of attack; and, when two states have nuclear weapons, there is no such thing as victory of one and defeat of the other, only various forms of destruction of each by the other. So, in place of the old balance of power which prevailed in Europe for several centuries, a new balance of terror has prevailed in the world for three decades; and, while the balance of power could be upset several times and restored with the loss of a few million lives, the balance of terror can be upset only once.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that nuclear deterrence doesn't work. It has after all worked

for more than three decades — the United States and the Soviet Union have each been deterred from using their own nuclear weapons by each other's nuclear weapons, and the same is true of the later nuclear powers, first Britain and France, then China and India, now perhaps Israel and South Africa. So far, nuclear weapons have been controlled by relatively rational governments, though the Americans were tempted in Korea and Vietnam, and were tested to the edge of the brink in the Berlin and Cuban crises of the early 1960s; fortunately, despite their harsher political system, the Russians have so far been more cautious. Nuclear deterrence may also have limited conventional war, though conventional war was bad enough in Korea and Vietnam, and is significantly worse for civilian populations in general than ever before. But the balance of terror, like the balance of power, could easily be upset by irrationality, by incompetence, or just by accident — as has already nearly happened on several occasions which are known, to say nothing of those which are not known — and as it is more and more heavily loaded and widely distributed it seems more and more likely to collapse under the strain.

#### Nuclear disarmament

The traditional demand for disarmament, which had been voiced for a century but which had no effect on the arms races leading to the two world wars, became heard again when the Cold War began to thaw during the 1950s. Anarchists have been involved in this new phase from the start, but they differ from most advocates of nuclear (or any other) disarmament in two ways. The first difference is that anarchists have no faith in disarmament by the state, since the system which is responsible for armament is hardly likely to be responsible for disarmament. War is the health of the state, and nuclear war is the health of the super-state. If states do disarm, it is not because they wish to do so but because they are forced to do so, whether from outside or from within. So anarchists have little interest in putting constitutional pressure on the opposition party to promise to disarm. We are interested in putting pressure on the state itself, so that disarmament is part of the wider process of dismantling government, a single project of devolution of the Welfare State and revolution against the Warfare State.

The second difference is that anarchists have no faith in disarmament by several states, since international pressures for nuclear (or any other) armament seem to be even stronger than national pressures. The institution which is based on a monopoly of force within its territory always tends to strive for superiority or at least equality of force outside its territory. The warfare state depends on a war economy, and the world economy more than any national economy is dominated by arms manufacture, arms trade and arms consumption. Popular pressure, which can to some extent be applied to the state in a single community, can hardly be applied to the community of states. Of course anarchists would welcome nuclear disarmament by one state or by several, but we don't expect to see it, and meanwhile we support disarmament which is libertarian and unilateralist.

#### Britain and the Bomb

The demand for nuclear disarmament originally won more support in Britain than anywhere else, and was indeed first heard in Britain. It actually began before there was any nuclear armament, right back in 1943 — when the left-wing socialist trade-union leader Bob Edwards described and criticised the preparations for nuclear weapons two years before they were used, arguing in the title of a lecture and a pamphlet that the result would be 'War Against the People'. This was appropriate, since much of the basic research into nuclear physics had been done in Britain (in 1933 one of its leading figures, Ernest Rutherford, said that the ideas of harnessing nuclear energy was 'moonshine'), many British scientists helped to develop nuclear power and nuclear weapons in the United States during the Second World War, and some of them helped to pass the secrets to the Soviet Union in what future historians (if there are any) will see as one of the greatest contributions to world peace in our age.

After the Second World War had been brought to an end by the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, Clement Attlee, the first Prime Minister to lead a majority Labour Government in this country, secretly decided with a few of his closest colleagues to develop both nuclear energy and nuclear weapons, so that Britain was to become the third nuclear power. There was no consultation of the whole Cabinet or the rest of the Government, of Parliament or the Party, let alone

of the population at large. Then in 1948, at the time of the Berlin Blockade, when the Soviet Union tried to force the Western Allies out of West Berlin, precipitating one of the most serious crises of the Cold War, American aircraft were for the first time secretly stationed in Britain during 'peacetime'. Again, there was no consultation of the whole Cabinet or the rest of the Government, of Parliament or Party, let alone of the population at large. This military arrangement was formalised by the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, after the first Russian nuclear test in 1949, and ever since then Britain has been an independent nuclear power within the Western Alliance and at the same time a major base for American nuclear weapons.

As we approach 1984, it is worth remembering that this was the situation imagined by George Orwell in 1947 and 1948 when he wrote *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. This novel is both a fable for all time and a tract for its own time. It is generally taken to be a satire on totalitarianism, drawing the terrible 'picture of the future' which is 'a boot stamping on a human face — for ever'. But as well as the political implications of a national system based on a party dictatorship of the kind he had observed in both Fascism and Communism, Orwell was also exploring the political implications of an international system equally based on what he could observe while he was writing. As he told his publishers in a letter of 26 December 1948, 'What it is really meant to do is to discuss the implications of dividing the world up into Zones of Influence' — as was done by the Great Powers of East and West at the end of the Second World War, with the results that we can still see nearly forty years later.

*Nineteen Eighty-Four* is not only about a system called 'Ingsoc' under the Party led by Big Brother. It is also about a country called 'Airstrip One' of an Atlantic empire called Oceania at war with empires to the East. As it happens — partly perhaps because of this very book — totalitarianism hasn't yet taken over this country, and doesn't seem likely to do so within the next few months, though all sorts of unpleasant things may happen. On the other hand, this country has indeed been the main base of the military alliance dominated by the United States of America for more than thirty years. It was precisely in 1948, when Orwell was finishing his book, that American nuclear aircraft were first stationed in Britain, as we saw; and in 1960, ten years after his death, an American nuclear submarine base was installed a few miles from where he used to live in West Scotland. So, while Orwell's vision of Party dictatorship seems only a nightmare to us — though hardly for the millions of people in half the countries of the world who suffer from its various forms — his vision of the Warfare State is hard fact — except that the nuclear bombs haven't started falling yet.

Britain's position as Airstrip One is at the same time very vulnerable and very powerful. We are very vulnerable, because we have the largest concentration in the world of nuclear bases directed against targets in the Soviet Union, which no doubt has at least as large a collection of nuclear bases directed against us. Yet we are very powerful, because we are still a more or less free country and could extricate ourselves from this position without too much difficulty, and possibly initiate a much larger process of disarmament. Our so-called independent deterrent is hardly either independent or deterrent, and rather resembles the British Empire in sounding impressive as long as it doesn't try to do anything. If a policy of nuclear disarmament were adopted by Britain, it might well spread to other count-

ries in a similar position. In fact some such countries are actually ahead of us in leading the way — Canada and North America and Norway and Denmark in North-West Europe refusing to accept American bases, the Netherlands and Belgium having serious doubts, and West Germany in the front line experiencing the largest campaign for nuclear disarmament in the world.

Orwell said in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* that 'if there is hope it lies in the proles', but wherever it lies it must be awakened by dissidents and rebels like his doomed characters, Winston and Julia, whoever they are and however they can. These are the people who first initiated the nuclear disarmament campaign at the beginning of the 1950s and who then revived it again at the beginning of the 1980s, and who are still trying to rouse the mass of the population into forcing the first steps towards nuclear disarmament. Anarchists were very active in the movement throughout its existence, and it is worth considering what has happened in it and what has been learnt from it.

#### The first movement

The nuclear disarmament movement in this country began when Britain began to make its own atom bomb — the fact being eventually announced in 1948, and the first tests being made in 1952. Opposition was reinforced by the development of the American hydrogen bomb, and then by the announcement in 1957 of the decisions that Britain should also make its own nuclear rockets and that American nuclear rockets should be installed in Britain. The growing movement, which had so much importance on the left in this country and so much influence on the left in other countries, was fuelled by the double grievance of having our own nuclear weapons and also having American nuclear weapons based on our soil — a situation which was and still is unique. No wonder the British nuclear disarmament movement was the biggest in the world.

From the start, the campaign for nuclear disarmament tended to take two forms. There have been conventional organisations, with respectable members, formal constitutions, and orthodox activities; and there have been unorthodox organisations, with disreputable members, informal constitutions and unorthodox activities. When the British Bomb was announced in 1948, prominent figures on the left made protests and left-wing Labour MPs supported them, whereas the main pacifist body, the Peace Pledge Union, formed a Non-Violence Commission to consider direct action. While the moderate, legal campaign gradually grew during the early 1950s, an extremist, illegal campaign gradually grew up with it.

The PPU Non-Violence Commission launched 'Operation Gandhi', which organised the first nuclear disarmament civil disobedience demonstration, in eleven on 11 January 1952, when Britain on the day outside the War Office in London. For five years the Non-Violence Commission and the Pacifist Youth Action Group built up the basic experience of such demonstrations, including the first one at Aldermaston in 1952, but there was virtually no impact on ordinary people. The turning-point in the public attitude to unilateralist activity came at the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957 — the time of Suez (when the Labour Party discouraged 'unconstitutional' obstruction of the British attack on Egypt), Hungary (when thousands of Communist activists found themselves in the political wilderness), and the first British hydrogen bomb tests (when the Labour Left began to consider a serious unilateralist campaign). During the following year a whole series of organisations were formed for both legal and illegal

action. On one side there were the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests and the Labour H-Bomb Campaign Committee, which were superseded at the beginning of 1958 by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. On the other side there was the Emergency Committee for Direct Action Against Nuclear War, formed to support Harold and Sheila Steele's unsuccessful attempt to take a boat into the British nuclear test area, which was transformed at the end of 1957 into the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

The dual nature of the movement appeared at the inaugural meeting of CND, on 17 February 1958, when a large public meeting in Central Hall was followed by a small sit-down in Downing Street. And a few weeks later the first proper Aldermaston March was organised by DAC, patronised by CND, and largely supported by a mixture of old pacifists and New Leftists. For the next couple of years CND and DAC were respectively responsible for a series of legal and illegal demonstrations, of which the most striking were the Aldermaston March each Easter and the sit-downs at nuclear bases every few months.

For those who took part in these demonstrations, an impartial judgement is difficult but it is worth recalling two contemporary comments in FREEDOM. After the first Aldermaston March: 'The Aldermaston March was a warm ray of sunshine because it was generated by ordinary people and reached the hearts and minds of other people along the road from London to Aldermaston and beyond' (12 April 1958). And after the sit-downs at North Pickenham: 'Thirty-six hours of courageous action by forty individuals has done more to ventilate the issue than thirty-six thousand letters to Parliament. What could forty thousand individuals do' (13 December 1958). But a more sober point was made on the earlier occasion: 'Now, if we mean business, it is needful to clothe the slogans with action informed by a dispassionate examination of the problem.'

A short judgement is that not enough individuals did enough things, not enough hearts and minds were reached, not enough action was reached by a dispassionate examination of the problem. But no one could say we didn't try, and anarchists tried as much as anyone to do what was needful, supporting CND in its work of education and demonstration, and supporting DAC in its work of propaganda by deed and direct action. But there were serious criticisms of both CND and DAC, and they are still relevant twenty years later.

CND was — and still is — primarily a body bringing pressure on the British Government and the Labour Party, at least in intention. It often seemed to fall into a sentimentalism as dangerous as the old pacifist sentimentalism — so that by getting rid of the British Bomb without changing anything else, we can kill people so long as we don't kill too many at once, and we can let other countries kill as many as they like as long as we don't. But CND nevertheless served — and still serves — a most useful purpose — for pacifism, despite itself, by building up mass opposition not only to the British Bomb but to all bombs and all war; and for anarchism too, even more despite itself, by building up mass opposition not only to the Warfare State but to the social system which maintains the Warfare State, and so to all states. The rank and file of CND was — and still is — more radical and militant than the leadership, so that what first began and has again begun as a campaign to make the British Government and/or the Labour Party Ban the Bomb tends to become an unwilling apprenticeship for non-violent revolution.

DAC was the true vanguard of the unilateralist movement, putting illegal non-violent action on the political map in this country. Other organisations organised bigger demonstrations, but DAC did something quite different — getting ordinary people used to the idea of not just thinking for themselves and speaking for themselves but taking drastic action for themselves. Yet the DAC demonstrations were not really 'direct action' — they went further than 'constitutional action', but only as far as 'symbolic action'. Despite all the dedication and preparation, DAC never persuaded more than about a hundred people to take part in a sit-down in England, and the attempts to organise industrial action and a Voter's Veto were equally unsuccessful. Yet the work of laying the essential foundations for effective unilateralist action should never be forgotten.

#### The Committee of 100

By 1960 the movement had reached an impasse, between the large numbers but moderate action of CND and the militant action but small numbers of DAC. The break-through was achieved by the formation of the Committee of 100 as an act of dissatisfaction with both approaches, and also as a gesture of no confidence in orthodox political action — its inaugural meeting was held in the very month of the first unilateralist vote by the Labour Party Annual Conference at Scarborough, October 1960. The idea was simple — demonstrations of mass civil disobedience and non-violent direct action should be planned by a working group, approved by a committee of a hundred well-known people, and accepted by the pledges of at least two thousand people before taking place. It never happened quite like that — the working group always tended to take over, unknown people had to be added to the committee to make up the magic number and well-known people soon dropped out, the number of pledges was never as large as the target set, and the demonstrations were never as efficient or as effective as was expected — but for a year or so the Committee of 100 took the initiative in the unilateralist movement. CND was officially opposed to illegal demonstrations, but much of its membership unofficially supported them, and unilateralists contradicted and sat without seeing any contradiction between the two forms of activity. DAC organised one more big demonstration — a march from London to the Holy Loch near Glasgow, with a large demonstration against the American Polaris submarine base — and then was absorbed by the Committee of 100.

During 1961 there were several large planned sit-downs and several small unplanned sit-downs in London, culminating in the September weekend of demonstrations in Trafalgar Square and at Holy Loch, with more than a thousand arrests, then the December day of sit-downs at two American bases backed by five simultaneous demonstrations at other places around the country. The demonstrators were numbered in thousands and the arrests in hundreds. But the Committee had moved too far too fast — its leaders were imprisoned, its membership was divided, its support was scattered. During 1962 there were several more sit-downs, but they became smaller and smaller, and so did the Committee itself. The organisation was decentralised, but the result was chaos rather than anarchy. When the Cuban crisis came, in October 1962, the unilateralist movement was helpless. During 1963 there were temporary revivals of activity, connected with such things as the Spies for Peace pamphlet on the Aldermaston March or the Greek Royal Visit. But during

1964 and 1965 the dwindling number of survivors failed to do more than organise small sit-downs or encourage various activities unconnected with nuclear disarmament, and during 1966 and 1967 fewer people were involved than before 1960. The student movement and the Vietnam War drew off most of the remaining energy, and the death of the Committee of 100 in 1968 was a merciful release.

There were many anarchists in the Committee of 100 during its eight years, not because anarchists tried to infiltrate its membership as Communists infiltrated CND, but because its members tended to become anarchists as a result of their experiences. The Committee began almost as an anarchist front, and it became the most influential vehicle of libertarian thought and activity in the country. Learning to resist the Warfare State, hundreds if not thousands of people learnt to reject the state as such. To recall one more contemporary comment in FREEDOM: 'There are no shortcuts to peace. There are no compromise solutions between the rulers and the ruled. The day we are in a position to influence governments, we shall also have the strength to dispense with governments' (28 March 1959). If many people resisted the appeal of either the Labour Party or the right or the Marxist sects on the left after 1968, much of the credit belongs to the work of the Committee of 100 before then. And if many people are resisting the same work today, it is because the same work is being done again. Meanwhile many people carried their libertarian lessons into such activities as work, welfare education, housing, communes, prison reform and personal life. The Committee of 100, more than any formally anarchist organisation, laid the foundation for the libertarian movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

#### The end of a movement

The British movement for non-violent direct action against nuclear war came to an end in 1968, with the last illegal demonstrations against nuclear bases and the dissolution of the last Committee of 100 organisations. The wider unilateralist movement of course continued to exist — the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament continued to circulate information and organise demonstrations, pacifists continued to oppose not just nuclear war but conventional war, ecologists began to oppose not just nuclear war but nuclear power too — but the media and the masses moved on to other things. On the left the initiative passed to the movement against the Vietnam War, the Marxist sects, the student movement, the Northern Irish movements, the women's movement, the gay movement, squatters, drugs, everyday life — and the movement which had seemed so important for more than a decade almost disappeared for more than a decade.

The main factors in this process were growing boredom with the very issue of nuclear war, the loss of the most prominent and courageous activists, growing impatience with methods of organisation and action demanding great patience and the failure of the unilateralists in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions to have any real or lasting effect on the policy of the new Labour Government. Harold Wilson, like Attlee, came to power with the support of the Labour Left — but, like Attlee he used his power to keep the Left in its place, and followed imperialist and nuclear policies as enthusiastically as his predecessors. No wonder that one of the last demonstrations by a large number of old Committee of 100 activists was that in the Brighton church at the beginning of the Labour Party Annual Conference of 1966 and consisted of noisy and angry heckling of Wilson.

For a decade the most important issues were felt to be not international but national, and to be social and economic — unemployment and inflation — and anti-war feeling was directed towards the conventional wars in South-East Asia and the Middle East, or the guerrilla wars in South America and Southern Africa. Most people had learnt to stop worrying and, if not to love, at least to live with the Bomb.

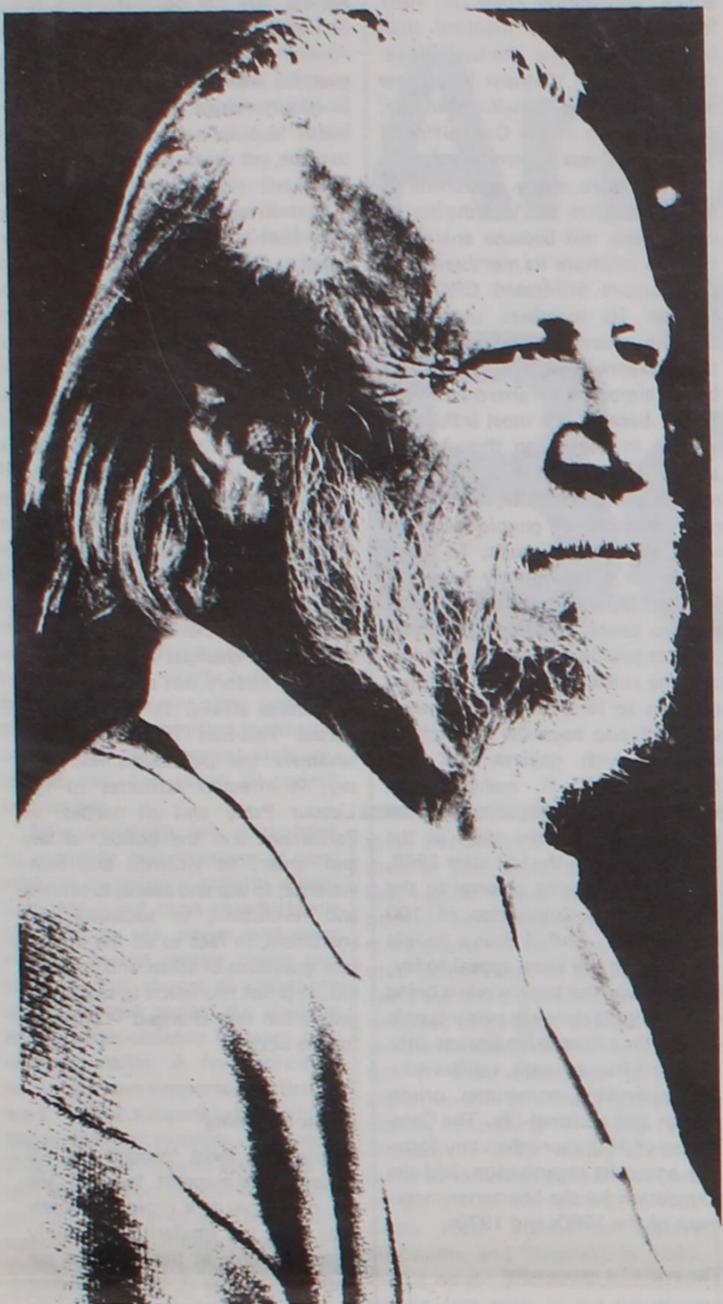
But it would be wrong to suppose that the movement had just failed, that nothing had been achieved. Here it is worth recalling a last contemporary comment in FREEDOM: 'The march is not going to change anything in the world of public affairs,' it said after another Aldermaston March. 'Its significance is in the personal history of the people who participated. And only for them if they will start thinking as well as feeling' (4 April 1959). Thousands and thousands of people did start feeling, and thinking, and acting in the nuclear disarmament movement, and as a result they changed not only their personal history but also the world of public affairs. It affected the partial Test-Ban Treaty of 1963, whatever the politicians said and say; it affected attitudes to the Labour Party and all parties, to law and order, to violence and non-violence, to war and peace, to reform and revolution, to socialism and anarchism, in fact to all the important questions of social and political life. It is not too much to say that a generation was changed — changed for the better.

#### A new beginning

People who lived through the old nuclear disarmament tend to see the new one as a repeat performance, and the similarities certainly seem uncanny at times. There are Cruise and Trident coming instead of Thor and Polaris, the priest in charge of CND is called Kent instead of Collins, the Labour Party Annual Conference votes unilateralist by a large instead of a small majority, the man who hopes to ride the tide into Downing Street is called Kinnock instead of Wilson, and so on — and the trivial differences only emphasise the parallels. Yet there are some important differences. Above all, a great deal happened during the intervening twenty years, and it was indeed a new generation which came forward to try again. If nothing else, we had all learnt not to believe many things.

At the time of the first big CND demonstration in the revived movement, three years ago, we listed in FREEDOM (25 October 1980) some of the things we hoped no one was going to believe any more — that demonstrations alone can change anything, that elections can change anything, that slogans mean anything, that we should be either frightened or excited about breaking the law, that big names matter, that it is necessary to make up our minds about violence and non-violence or about the working or the ruling class. Three years later, there have been larger demonstrations than before, militant campaigns against new missiles, more support from religious and military leaders and from scientific and medical organisations and from political parties and local authorities, and a series of illegal actions involving blockades and invasions of nuclear bases; the movement has more members and supporters than before, but hasn't split. Some things have been learnt, but others are being worked out, and a few are causing trouble. Thus authority has been repudiated, but not replaced by organisation; sexism has been rejected, but replaced by separatism. Shall we do better than this?

# Ignoble prize



The award of the 1983 Nobel Prize for Literature to William Golding is a strange chapter in a strange story.

Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor and philanthropist who made a fortune from explosives and oil, died in 1896, leaving a vast sum of money to finance annual international prizes in the fields of physics, chemistry, physiology or medicine, literature, and peace. These prizes have been awarded since 1901 (one for economics being added in 1969). In the sciences they have become the accepted mark of world recognition for the highest achievements during the present century. But in the area of peace the policy followed by the Norwegian Parliamentary committee responsible for the choice has become increasingly eccentric — even bizarre with recent awards to such people as Henry Kissinger and Menachem Begin — and it is hard to see what contribution to world peace can be attributed to the 1983 winner, Lech Walesa, leader of the Polish Solidarity movement. And in the area of literature the policy of

the Swedish Academy responsible for the choice is similarly if not equally odd.

The Nobel Prize for literature is officially awarded to 'the person who shall have produced in the field of literature the most distinguished work of an idealist tendency' — a rather obscure definition to begin with. In some cases the awards have been obviously appropriate — Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Andre Gide, William Faulkner, Albert Camus, Boris Pasternak, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Heinrich Boll, and so on. But in some other cases the omissions are just as absurd — Tolstoy and Chekov, Zola and Malraux, Silone and Moravia, Lorca and Borges, Zamyatin and Akhmatova, Musil and Grass, and so on. And in most cases the awards seem to have followed a pattern of geographical rotation, generally going to unknown writers in small countries and frequently contradicting the widely accepted judgement of literary opinion.

The treatment of English literature has been particularly peculiar. Including in this category all

writers in English who have lived in Britain or followed British rather than American traditions, the following have won prizes: Rudyard Kipling of England (1907), Rabindranath Tagore of Bengal, WB Yeats of Ireland and England (1923), GB Shaw of Ireland and England (1925), John Galsworthy of England (1932), TS Eliot of the United States and England (1948), Bertrand Russell of England (1950), Winston Churchill of England (1953), Samuel Beckett of Ireland, England and France (1969), and Patrick White of Australia and England (1973). There are no writers from Scotland or Wales, incidentally, and no women.

The choices of Russell and Churchill seem almost wilfully perverse, being made for philosophical or historical rather than imaginative work. The rest seem fair enough until it is considered that writers who have produced a distinguished work of a more or less idealist tendency during the twentieth century but have not been awarded prizes include George Meredith, Thomas Hardy, AC Swinburne, AE Housman, Henry James, Joseph Conrad, HG Wells, Arnold Bennett, EM Forster, JM Synge, Ford Madox Ford, DH Lawrence, Siegfried Sassoon, Somerset Maugham, James Joyce, Grassic Gibbon, Virginia Woolf, WH Auden, Joyce Cary, Hugh Macdiarmid, Dylan Thomas, Graham Greene, George Orwell, Arthur Koestler, Angus Wilson, RK Narayan, Nadine Gordimer, VS Naipaul, and so on. It is true that some of these are little known or appreciated outside the English-speaking world, but it is surprising that the authors of, say, *The Dynasts*, *Nostromo*, *The Outline of History*, *A Passage to India*, *Darkness at Noon*, and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* were never recognised. And it is striking that William Golding is the first English novelist to win for more than half a century although the novel has been the area of the main English contribution to world literature during the past century.

Golding is in fact an ideal candidate for the prize. The citation praises his novels for 'illuminating the human condition in the world today'. They are the sort of explicitly moral and portentously significant fables which appeal to critics and teachers, and to prize committees. The citation compares him with Jonathan Swift and Herman Melville; yet he is far from Swift's sharp irony and clear style, but close to Melville's blunt symbolism and heavy prose. His reputation was made by and still rests on his first novel, *Lord of the Flies* (1954), which became first a best-seller and then a set book, and which must have been read by more people than any other serious novel by a living English writer.

'Lord of the Flies' is a translation of Beelzebub, one of the Hebrew names of the Devil, and the novel is a modern fable about the Fall of Man through the power of evil, which is seen not as an external force but as an internal element of human nature. It was written when

Golding was a middle-aged teacher at a boys' school in Salisbury, and in place of the Biblical couple Adam and Eve he uses schoolboys as the model of imperfect humanity. The book is an ironic reversal of RM Ballantyne's book *The Coral Island* (1858), a classic boys' adventure story in which Ralph, Jack and Peterkin are wrecked on a desert island and successfully struggle with non-human adversity (storms and hunger) and human adversaries (pirates and savages), displaying the strength of British and Christian virtues. Golding uses the same boys — Ralph represents weak leadership, Jack represents strong leadership, and Peterkin becomes Piggy who represents stupid cleverness. He also adds others — Roger represents cruelty, Simon represents insight, and so on. They are all wrecked on a desert island, begin with order by establishing a democracy with rules and votes and elections, but fall into chaos by degenerating into division and superstition and dictatorship, and end with violence and savagery and death.

Golding has often explained in lectures what he was doing in *Lord of the Flies*. In 'Fable' (1962) he said it was based on the belief 'that man was sick' and 'that the condition of man was to be a morally diseased creation'; in 'A Moving Target' (1976) he said it was 'a story about boys on an island' who 'behave the way they really would', the result being 'grief, sheer grief, grief, grief, grief', as the story is 'lamenting the lost childhood of the world'. But Golding is as unrealistic as Ballantyne, and *Lord of the Flies* is as unfair to its victims as the Biblical myth of the Garden of Eden. Thus the story takes place during a world war — the boys are wrecked when their aeroplane is shot down, and they are rescued by a warship — and the cast excludes the moderating influences of females and adults. The characters are not individuals but representations of types, manipulated to perform the ritual drama planned by the author.

The book is indeed a deliberately anti-humanist tract, following Golding's frequently expressed hatred of science and progress, and also an equally anti-anarchist tract, insisting that humanity without law and authority must relapse into savagery. As so often in such work, however, the scheme breaks down in its details — such as, for example, the making of fire. In Golding's version of this universal myth, the boys do so by using Piggy's spectacles — the personification of reason and science being not only fat and asthmatic and vulgar but short-sighted. However, as is known by all short-sighted people with any technical knowledge, their spectacles can't be used as burning-glasses because they are not convex but concave! So Golding's attack on science fails on a scientific point. Indeed it fails on many points, including the most important, for the truth is that only reason and science can save humanity, and that law and authority

cause more savagery than they cure. This modern version of the Fall of Man is no more convincing than the Biblical version, although it must now have been read by almost as many people.

None of Golding's subsequent novels have been as popular as his first. His second novel, *The Inheritors* (1955), is his favourite and his best. This time he produced an ironic reversal of HG Wells's view of the evolutionary predecessors of Homo Sapiens as brutal and savage ogres. The book describes the last Neanderthal people, gentle and imaginative and intuitive, being destroyed by the new people, violent and practical and rational; but the new people take alive one Neanderthal baby, and the novel ends with the implication that this is the origin of the gentle and imaginative and intuitive element in human nature — a completely unscientific but powerful idea. *Pincher Martin* (1956) is a concentrated fable about a drowning man who refuses to die until he can abandon the selfishness of his ego and accept the 'black lightning' of God — another modern version of Christian myth.

Since then Golding's work steadily faltered and declined. *Free Fall* (1959) is a cruder modern version of the Fall of Man. *The Spire* (1964) is a fable about a man who builds an impossibly tall cathedral for the glory of God. *The Pyramid* (1967) is another modern fable of selfishness. There was a long gap before *Darkness Visible* (1979), a clumsy tale of total evil and vacancy, though *The Scorpion God* (1971) contained three anti-scientific fables. But *Rites of Passage* (1980) was a new departure, an accessible and entertaining story of a voyage to Australia in the early nineteenth century during which the characters learn more than they bargained for. It probably wouldn't have been published, and it certainly wouldn't have won the Booker Prize, if it hadn't been written by a famous author, but it brought Golding a new public and it may have helped to bring the new attention needed for something like the Nobel Prize. The hard facts remain that he hasn't produced a good piece of fiction since the 1950's, that his essays — collected in *The Hot Gates* (1965) and *A Moving Target* (1982) — are mediocre, and that his poetry — published in *Poems* (1934) when he was still an Oxford undergraduate — is embarrassing.

So, the 1983 Nobel Prize for Literature has really gone to the author of a single widely read book giving the most pessimistic view of 'the human condition'. Perhaps the dissenting member of the Swedish Academy, Artur Lundkvist, was unfair to describe Golding as 'a minor English phenomenon of no special interest', but it is very difficult to see his work as a major contribution to world literature. What will his next book be like? And who will get the next prize? See later instalments in this strange saga.

AF

## In Brief

Meanwhile, the Conservative Medical Association has presented its thoughts on the subject. They call for an end to defeatist attitudes and disarmament at any price, in view of the ease with which it is possible to reduce casualties and curb disease by simple and inexpensive remedies. The main proposal is that anybody who has a basement or a central room without windows should even now be equipping it with camping gear, elsan toilet, food stores etc. It shouldn't cost

Friends of an appendicitis patient in San Jose are considering legal action against a Jewish doctor who refused to treat the man because he had a swastika on his arm.

The City of London coroner was wrong to fine a surgeon £50 for contempt of court because he arrived late at an inquest, the Appeal Court has ruled.

The government of New South Wales is considering offering pensions to prostitutes to persuade them to give up their work. A Sydney prostitute was quoted by a local paper as saying that the plan was an insult.

The US Supreme Court has upheld the 1981 decision banning the

possession of pistols in homes in Morton Grove, Illinois.

The US Supreme Court has upheld local laws in Morton Grove, Illinois which ban the possession of pistols in homes. The court says that this does not violate the federal constitutional right of citizens to own and carry arms.

Police officers in North Yorkshire have rejected a plan to replace shoulder tab numbers with American army style name badges. They are worried about harassment of officers with unusual surnames.

Some clerical matters. The Vatican's World Synod of Bishops is holding a month long meeting on 'reconciliation and penitence'. The debate is to be dedicated to 'the revival of

a sense of sin'.

The Polish Communist Party has accused Catholic priests of 'fanaticism and intolerance' for urging the government to stop removing Christian crosses from public schools.

A letter condemning euthanasia has been read out in all Catholic churches in the New York archdiocese. Cardinal Cooke's letter said, 'Life is no less beautiful when it is accompanied by illness, hunger or poverty, physical or mental diseases, loneliness or old age'. Cardinal Cooke is entitled to an opinion on one of these, he is dying of leukemia. It seems to be a bit sweeping to assume that he is qualified on all the others as well.

more than £100 (no mention is made of local authority grants). It is pointed out that after a bomb blast you would have 'up to half an hour' before fall out became a 'problem', so you could nip round, put out 'minor' fires, turn off the gas etc. All this sounds depressingly familiar.

The Labour Research Department has surveyed Directors pay. They find seven who get over £250,000 a year and twenty eight with over £125,000. The 1979 Finance Act has meant that these people have about £1 million more in their pockets. The LRD estimate that this pay has increased at double the rate of inflation and the pay of average workers.

# The Spectre of Communism

## Two Views

I see that FREEDOM readers are being invited to march up and down on 22 October with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the organisation which opposes nuclear weapons but supports strong 'conventional defence'.

All the leaders of CND — Bruce Kent, Joan Ruddock, Edward Thompson, etc — declare themselves *not* to be pacifists. I believe them, and of course if it were otherwise they would have no hope of building the mass movement they need to impede the nuclear plans of Western governments. Ironically enough, if CND declared total opposition to all war, nuclear or conventional, their support would melt overnight and their value to Soviet foreign policy would be nil.

So their method is to keep the attention of the public transfixed by the awful annihilatory scale of the nuclear bomb and its dreadful genetic implications, and to divert attention from the quite sufficiently frightening aspect of 'conventional' weaponry which is currently being used even now in several quarters of the world. If one were not weary of the endless technical discussions about this, that and the other missile (SS20, Cruise, Pershing, etc), one might be tempted to agree with those people who say that the more terrifying the weapon the less likely is it to be used.

In any case, it is futile to imagine that the constant 'improvement' in death-dealing weapons can be stopped unless the question is tackled at the root. Weapons are inanimate objects and not intrinsically evil: it is the government which demand them, and employ people to make them, which are evil.

The world is polarising into two opposing blocs whose populations have no desire whatsoever to wage war on one another and yet seem powerless to prevent it. It seems to me that the key question in this situation is the completely closed nature of society in the Eastern bloc — including China, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Cuba. It is truly a 'prison house of the peoples' the like of which has not been seen for more than 2,000 years. The peoples of the West are marginally able to influence their governments and even obstruct in some measure their military plans (as the American people did with the war in Vietnam), but no such possibility is open to the enslaved peoples of the East. Indeed, under these totalitarian Communist regimes the total idea of even questioning the rightness of the views of the leaders is heresy and punishable by incarceration in a psychiatric prison or a forced labour camp.

Our Greenham Common women are periodically carried away by the police, charged in court, given small fines, and then allowed to return to their camp outside the military base, where they are hailed as heroic victims of British capitalist oppression. It really makes me wonder whether the Left has any idea of what oppression really is. What do they think would happen if a group of Russian women tried to camp outside the gates of Russian nuclear bases? Don't they know that when the Soviet Army invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 to crush a tentative experiment in democracy under Dubcek, a tiny handful of brave young Russians tried to express their opposition in public in Moscow. They were immediately, and literally, beaten to the ground by the thugs

Meanwhile, the Soviet Government carries on a very successful propaganda campaign on the lines of 'Russia GOOD, America BAD'. And it goes down very well with many on the Left in Western countries who are deluded enough to believe that a system which denies all human rights in the name of 'socialism' is morally preferable to competitive, profit-seeking, free-thinking, free-speaking America.

The success of this Soviet propaganda can be seen in the widespread belief within CND that Russia would never attack Britain (unless there are Cruise missile bases here!); but, it is said, even if the Russians did occupy Britain, it is better to be red than dead. Which implies, of course, that not only is Russia capable of attacking Britain but is capable of 'communising' it as well. A prospect which appears not too unpalatable to a lot of CND members.

I am not saying that CND supporters here in Britain — though undoubtedly there are Communists in the leadership of CND who are trying to manipulate it to this end — but they are certainly not appalled by such a prospect. I have myself heard CND members, well-meaning young people, state that even if Russia did invade Britain 'no dictatorship can last for ever' and that 'sooner or later the Russians would go away and leave us alone'. Sadly, history does not bear this out.

Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania — the list is long — have all been occupied and communised since the Second World War, and there is not the slightest sign of the Soviet grip being relaxed. And when the occupied peoples themselves try to enforce a relaxation of that iron grip, and Soviet rulers do not hesitate to open fire on unarmed people in East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland — to say nothing of the shooting-down of Russian workers in hundreds more they have tried to get a bit more bread and freedom, as in Novocheerkassk in 1963.

All this is well-known to members of CND, yet so many of them can view the possible occupation of Britain by a Soviet empire as either a temporary inconvenience or even, in some cases, as a positive gain the 'struggle for world-wide socialism'. But mention that the British Government, as a member of NATO, is allowing the Americans to establish military bases in this country, and you will be met with expressions of absolute outrage at this 'unpatriotic treachery' of the British Government.

There can be no doubt that the attitude of the CND — and the peace movement in general — is in fact pro-Soviet. We hear endlessly of American villainy in South and Central America, of its military aid to military dictators, of its huge arms sales, etc — and all this is true. But one must search very diligently indeed to find in CND literature any denunciation of the Soviet rulers for their ruthless suppression of all opposition within the Eastern bloc — including, incidentally, the independent peace movements in of the KGB, then whisked off to prison, then to the 'courts' where they all received harsh prison sentences and/or were locked away in one of the madhouses run by the KGB.

Russia and in East Germany. In other words, Soviet propaganda — 'Russia GOOD, America BAD' — is being spread by CND and its allies. The fact that America (and Britain), whether one likes it or not, has to operate under certain constraints like a strong and vocal public opinion and the existence of some democratic institutions which are deeply rooted in history, is rarely mentioned by CND. Nor, equally, is it ever mentioned that Russia has no tradition of democracy, that its nascent democratic institutions were crushed by the Bolsheviks in 1917, and that the subsequent 65 years of totalitarian rule has created the most cruel despotism of modern times.

Anarchists stand for the individual over the State. Isn't it sad that, by marching with CND on October 22 they may be allowing themselves to be used by the most ruthless, the most powerful State in the world today — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. I am sure that they mean well, that they are emotionally attracted to the idea of an anti-war campaign. But once before, in 1917 in Russia, many anarchists were swept into support of the Bolsheviks by the emotional appeal of the revolution. They helped thereby to create a Communist State which has since murdered all the anarchists it could lay hands on — and the murders started almost immediately after the Bolsheviks took power.

Janet Lawrence

### The real Bolshevik crime

In terms of social revolutionary analysis the anarchist analysis is the last analysis. After Marx had drawn and quartered capitalism and the various political parties sectioned their little interests, the anarchists stand ready to pull out the power plug and flush them all away.

For Marxism contained a fatal flaw which only the anarchists have diagnosed; the sick link between social revolution and power politics. It is no accident that the anarchists slip so easily into the authoritarian stance, for the concepts of the 'workers' state' and the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' grow swiftly out of Marx's determinism and theories of 'historic roles' for certain classes at certain times — in their way, reducing humanity to an object for superior powers no less unacceptably than religious dogma based on an omnipotent God.

Unhappily for humanity, the laboratory for testing Marx's theories has had to be the real world, full of real people — who are themselves captive animals for this particular brand of vivisection, born and bred in cages — cages around the mind, the will, the body, and as surely conditioned to imprisonment as any sick parrot.

The laboratory's experimenters — known as The Vanguard — are happy to accept as normal healthy human beings these products of capitalism for two very good reasons: they can be stirred by self interest to move against their masters — but are sufficiently well conditioned to want new masters to take their places.

Sadly but inevitably, this change of masters leads to disillusionment, especially as the dogmatic Vanguard turns out to be more repugnant than the old masters — because more efficient, better organised, more corporate in its state apparatus. The 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat' turns out to mean just that. Instead

of, as it has so often been misread: Dictatorship by the Proletariat, offering dreams of mastery to the masses, it proves to mean Dictatorship over the Proletariat.

Those who object are eliminated, in lonely ones or twos or in spectacular slaughters. The 'masses' watch frightened, sickened and disillusioned. Their short-lived achievements are denied, their moments of freedom and responsibility dismissed because they don't fit the theory that ordinary people cannot step straight from capitalism to free communism, to workers' control, to anarchism!

The fact that in 1917 hundreds of thousands of Russians, and in 1936 millions of Spaniards, did just that; and in every popular uprising ordinary people show their ability to organise their places of work and life — instinctively using principles of mutual aid and social responsibility — all this has to be denied as those who know so much better take over and make the counter-revolution to re-establish law and order from above.

No wonder so many are disillusioned. If this is what revolution means, they say — forget it! This is the real crime of the Communists, and not one for which they will be denounced by Western capitalists, who are more than happy to see Marxists turn out to be the grave-diggers of revolution.

They may cynically manipulate popular movements throughout the West, but the fact is that the steady corruption of power, through Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, right up to the ex-KGB leader Andropov, and their never-ending war against their own people, has not been lost on the workers of the West, and is the direct reason for the erosion of ideas and ideals and the very belief in revolution.

This, we repeat, is the real revolutionary crime of the Russian Communists.

PS

### 1945 - WHAT WE SAID THEN

THE recent complacent announcement by the Allied leaders of the atomic bomb, the world's most destructive weapon of war, once and for all the myth of the moral superiority of the American and British ruling classes over the Nazis or the "dirty Japs". Undoubtedly, had the Germans used this monstrous device before the Allies had a chance to put it into operation, they would have been regarded as having reached the depths of moral depravity. When they produced the flying bomb and the V2 rocket, the leaders of British and American opinion were full of the most self-righteous indignation, which is made to appear all the more hypocritical now that it is revealed that all the critical experiments were going on in Britain and America to perfect this weapon which makes the most violent weapon of the Nazis seem a silly toy.

The atomic bomb, we are told, can cause the same amount of destruction as 20,000 tons of T.N.T. This, it should be remembered, is equivalent to rather more than the weight of explosives contained in all the flying bombs which were discharged by the Germans against Britain. It is equivalent to 2,000 of the largest blockbusters which the R.A.F. dropped on Berlin, and a single plane, we are told, could do as much destruction as 5,000 British planes bombing Berlin. After hearing this news put forward by the Allied leaders with glib complacency, as if they were announcing some quite ordinary and pleasant event, we find it impossible fully to express our horror that men who pretend to be working for the benefit of the human race should display such hypocrisy and such a complete lack of any sense of moral values.

While the Allied leaders were begrudging small quantities of money to be spent on vital social services, while they delayed housing and pretended they could not spend money on hospitals or education, they spent the colossal sum of five hundred million pounds on perfecting this machine of destruction.

Atomic energy can be used as easily for constructive as for destructive purposes. For years scientists have been endeavouring to gain the means of research in order to use this energy for beneficial purposes, such as power in industry and transport, etc. But throughout this time they have been labouring under the opposition of vested interests whose profits would be affected by such a discovery, and it is only when atomic energy seems a likely way of winning a war and causing mass destruction and death on an unprecedented scale that they are given the opportunity to put their discoveries into effect. It is a scandalous reflection on our contemporary society that so many of the important and potentially beneficial inventions should have been brought forward only because they have

also proved effective destructive agents in modern warfare. Nor can the scientists themselves be allowed to go without condemnation. Admittedly, in a sense they were the victims of the system, in that they could only develop their discoveries by agreeing to adapt them for destructive purposes. But in thus yielding, they have become the greatest enemies of mankind, and it is impossible to excuse them for the part they have willingly played in furthering the destructive desires of political and military leaders.

The atomic bomb is a weapon in the hands of the ruling class which cannot be underestimated by the workers. It has been said that, like gas and bacteriological warfare, it is so frightful a weapon that no government would use it for fear of reprisals, and from this idea it has been suggested that its advent may mean the end of major wars because they will be too frightful in prospect for governments to embark on them. This, however, is not borne out by historical examples. Al-though none of the warring powers used gas on enemies who were as well equipped for retaliation as themselves, they have had no compunction in doing so where the enemies were weak, as the Italians did in Abyssinia. And the present use of the atomic bomb against the Japanese shows that governments will not scruple to use it where they can do so with impunity.

So far as the relationships between governments and their peoples are concerned, we cannot escape from the fact that the power of the ruling class is made all the greater by the discovery of a weapon which does not need large masses of people for its manufacture or operation, and can therefore be entrusted to small and select groups of reactionaries who will not be subject to the same influences as conscript armies or large masses of factory workers.

While we are fully aware of the terrible possibilities implicit in this new invention, and of the way in which it may be used against the struggling workers, we cannot fail to point out that, in a free and co-operative society, the discovery of how to use atomic energy could be turned to the lasting benefit of the human race. All that the so-called Utopians like Kropotkin and Godwin envisaged in the past from the discovery of new forms of energy could now be realised in a few years by the use of this vast new source of power. Disagreeable occupations like coal mining could be eliminated, and a new era of leisure and abundance could be discovered. It is the responsible use of this discovery that is the crime of a society dominated by authority and property that it should in fact seem to offer us little more than a new era of fear and destruction.

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALASIA

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**AUSTRALIAN CAPITAL TERRITORY**  
 Research and Resources Centre for Libertarian Politics and Alternative Life-styles, 7/355 Northmore Ave, Lyneham, ACT 2602

**NEW SOUTH WALES**  
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Redfern Black Rose Anarchist Bookshop, 36 Botany Rd, Redfern NSW 2015

Jura Books — an anarchist bookshop, 417 King St, Newtown, NSW 2042.

Everything Collective (put out an anarcho-feminist magazine) Box 131 Holme Building, Sydney University, Sydney, NSW

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**TASMANIA**  
 Bill Graham, PO Box 70, Mowbray Heights, Launceston 7250, Tasmania

**VICTORIA**  
 Journal of Libertarian Politics and Alternative Life-styles, 51 Ormond Road.

Moonee Ponds, Victoria, Australia 3039.

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o La Trobe University, Bundoora, Victoria 3083

Libertarian Workers for a Self-managed Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.

Monash Anarchist Society c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne.

Resource Centre, 215 Victoria Parade, Collingwood, Victoria.

Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victoria 3057

**WESTERN AUSTRALIA**  
 Freedom Collective and Libertarian Resource Centre can be reached through PO Box 203, Fremantle 6160.

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 Federation Anarchiste Francaise, 145 Rue Amelot, 75011 Paris.

Union des Travailleurs Communistes Liberales. Write to Editions 'L' (with no other mention) BP 333, 75525 Paris

Union Anarchiste, 9 Rue de l'Ange, 63000 Clermont Feraand.

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 De Vrije, Postbus 486, 2000AL Haarlem, Holland, tel: 023 273892.

**NORWAY**  
 Anorg, Hoxtvadvei, 31B, 1431 As. (Publish Folkeblad 4 times a year.)

**POLAND**  
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**SPITSBERGEN**  
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Nya Bokcafeet, Box 15015, 104 65 Stockholm.

Syndikalist Forum, Tenstiermas Gata 51, 11631 Stockholm.

Syndikalistiskt Forum (anarcho-syndicalist bookshop), Husargatan 5, 43302 Gothenburg tel 031 13 25 04.

**CANADA**  
 Black Cat Press, POBox 11261, Edmonton, Alberta.

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G Vancouver BC

Wintergreen/Ar, PO Box 1294, Kitchen-er, Ontario, N2G 4G8.

**MONTREAL**  
 Chaos, c/o R Yves Breton, CP 95 5/N Place d'Armes, Montreal, Quebec, H2Y 3E9.

**USA**  
 North American Anarchist Network, (NAAN), PO Box 7033, Boulder, Colorado 80306, — sample issue £1

**ARIZONA**  
 Malicious Hooligans (anti-nuclear) 1110 W 2nd St, Tempe, AZ 85281.

**CALIFORNIA**  
 Autonomie, PO Box 1751, San Francisco CA 94101  
 Bound Together Book Collective, 1901 Hayes St, San Francisco, CA 94117, tel: (415) 668-2785

Libertarian Anarchist Coffeehouse, meets last Sunday each month at Cafe Commons, 3161 Mission St, San Francisco.

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 Emma Goldman Group, c/o Paul Hetz-acker, 883 Gay Road, Amherst Mass 01002.

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 Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 360, Columbia, Missouri 6520f.

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**WASHINGTON**  
 Left Bank Publishing Project Box B 92, Pike St, Seattle, WA 96101.

Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, PO Box 21071, Wsshington DC 20009.

MEETINGS

Central London Discussion Meetings  
 Every Friday at 8pm prompt at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queens Square WC1.  
 Oct 21: Philip Sansom on Anarcho-Syndicalism — Is there an Alter native?  
 Oct 28: Alan Albon on Anarchism & Agriculture.  
 Nov 4: Stuart Black on Power & Social Structure.  
 Nov 11: Ian Cameron on Brittan, Prisons and Parole.  
 Nov 18: Larry Kenig on Anarchism & Personal Growth.  
 Nov 25th Ken Weller on Radicalism & Parasitism on the Rates.  
 Dec 2: Clifford Harper on Art & Anarchism.

CND March 22 October

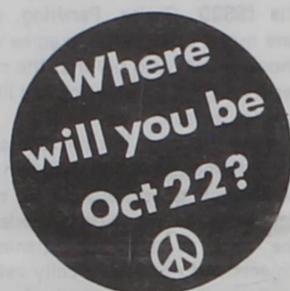
Dear Comrades,  
 The London Anarchist Federation has decided to ask ALL Anarchist groups and individuals to meet together behind Temple Tube between 10am-11am. We would ask that you ignore all side issues, workshops, free gigs etc, and stick together to maximise our effective presence.

Other information about crash-pads, parties, etc, will be available from this main group.

Please pass this information on to all the anarchists in your areas and any wandering lost souls you meet along the way. The message is find the black flags and stick together, OK?  
 Stu Black sec. LAF  
 LAF BOX F 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

Open discussion meetings  
 Organised by: 'Wildcat' Group, Direct Action Movement and Manchester Anarchists. Fortnightly at the 'Town Hall Tavern' (Basement Bar Room), Tibb Lane, off Cross Lane, near the Town Hall, Manchester.  
 All meetings start at 7.45pm.  
 Each discussion will have a 30 minute introduction.

Wednesday 2nd November 'The Labour Party — Rotten to the Core'  
 Wednesday 16th November 'Workplace Organisation — What's Wrong with the Trade Unions'  
 Wednesday 30th November 'Pacifism — Principle, Tactic or Diversion?'  
 Wednesday 14th December 'Everything you wanted to know about the Economic Crisis and its solution'  
 All welcome.



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**Protest without illusions** by Vernon Richards. Collection of articles on nuclear disarmament. Paperback £1.95 (45p).

**A MISCELLANY**  
 \*The Ecology of Freedom by Murray

DEADLINES

FREEDOM Collective would welcome any readers who wish to help fold and despatch the paper. The next issue will be sent out on Thursday 3rd November, starting at around 6pm. This is also a good time to come and meet the editors.

FREEDOM also needs your written contributions and any graphics or photographs readers feel would be useful to us. Copy deadline for short items for the next issue is first post, Monday 31st October. Longer articles in by first post, Thursday 27th October.

Bookchin (385pp paper) £6.95 (95p).

\*The Man versus the State by Herbert Spencer (531pp paper) £6 (£2).

\*Situationist International Anthology Edited by Ken Knabb (406pp ppr) £6 (£1.30).

The Night Visitor and Other Stories by B Traver (235pp cloth) £7.95 (65p).

\*The People's History of the United States by Howard Zinn (614pp ppr) £6 (95p).

\*Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class 1860-1931 by John M Hart (cloth) £20 (95p).

Emma Goldman — Una Mujer ex la tormenta del siglo by Jose Peirats (in Spanish) (312pp ppr) £2.25 (60p).

The People's Land: Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic by Hugh Brody (240pp ppr) £2.95 (45p).

George Orwell: A Life by Bernard Crick (656pp ppr) £2.95 (95p).

THE ANARCHISTS IN LONDON

The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London by Hermia Oliver (176pp cloth) £13.95 (65p).

The Slow Burning Fuse: The lost history of the British Anarchists by John Quail (350pp ppr) £1.95 (60p).

The Anarchists in London 1935-1955 by Albert Meitzer (40pp ppr) £1.50 (40p).

SHELLEY

Shelley on Love, an anthology edited by Richard Holmes (247pp ppr) £3.95 (65p).

The Mask of Anarchy by Percy Bysshe Shelley (16pp ppr) 60p (21p).

An Address to the Irish People by Percy Bysshe Shelley (70pp ppr) 75p (27p).

WILDCAT

I will sacrifice the lives of thousands, including my own life, to achieve freedom.



FOR THE TURNING OF THE YEAR

Housemans Peace Diary 1984 (with a guide to the British Peace Movement) £2.50 (30p).

Housemans International Peace Diary 1984 (with an International Directory of Peace Organisations) £2.50 (30p).

Walt Whitman Anarchist Calendar 15p (13p).

William Morris & Walter Crane: An Earthly Paradise Calendar (large format 14pp ppr illustr.) £1.20 (40p).

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\*The International Directory of Little Magazines and Small Press (19th Edition 1983-1984) Edited by Len Futton & Ellen Ferber (581pp ppr) £11.95 (£2).

\*Revolution in Seattle A memoir by Harvey O'Connor (300pp ppr) £5 (95p).

BARGAIN BASEMENT

Personal Record 1920-1972 by Gerald Brenan (381pp cloth) £2.95 (£1.30).

The Child in the City by Colin Ward (221pp cloth) £3 (£1.30).

PAMPHLETS AND JOURNALS

Black Flag Quarterly (40pp ppr) 75p (27p).

Anarcho-syndicalism. History and Action Direct Action Movement (21pp ppr) 30p (17p).

Writing on Anarcho-syndicalism (18pp ppr) 30p (17p).

\*Free the Five Newsletter. Nos 1-6 incl. Free (17p post) from the Vancouver Five Defense Group.

Illustrated catalogue available. Please send SAE 9" x 6" (21p) or 2 International reply coupons.

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**DEFICIT FUND**  
 Contributions received: September 29th — October 12th Incl.

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No idea comrade. I myself was always totally fictitious.

