

JUDGE FOR YOURSELF

COMMENT from an anarchist point of view is necessary on the recent electoral success of that group of professional and media based politicians known as the Social Democratic Party. It must be said that in spite of all the ballyhoo a substantial part of the electorate still failed to vote. The recent election for the GLC in North St Pancras, where the previous Labour councillor Anne Sofer resigned and stood as an SDP candidate is a case in point. The electorate was never so flooded with leaflets and yet only 38% of the electorate recorded a vote.

In the present SDP campaign all the defects of the political system are revealed. The appeal to people's basest instincts and short term interests shows the difficulty of introducing innovations of even a slightly radical nature. The depositing of supplementary rates demands on the mats of the electors obviously had quite an influence on the fact that Anne Sofer was elected. Even a mildly radical act like reducing transport fares in London using a system where you have to pay the transport users by robbing the rate payers produces an ad-

verse effect, by an appeal to sectional interests. Yet if London is not to become like New York, a concrete jungle, in the interests of all who live in it something has to be done to make an efficient and free transport system, pollution free and pleasant to live in. This would make real economic sense from every point of view. This can only be done by getting people to ditch the whole crazy financial system and understand that self-management has nothing to do with putting a cross on a piece of paper. This is not the way forward.

Apart from the political obstacles to change we also have the legal ones. Denning and company have given legal assent to the practice of political parties of promising a course of action and doing something else. In spite of the fact that direct action is the only thing that makes for change the noble law lords naturally reject even the most nonviolent of actions. The law and politics are in the same business of preventing you and me from bringing order out of chaos.

ALAN ALBON



NOTT freedom of speech

MOST of the readers of FREEDOM must already have noticed how thin-skinned is democracy, how fragile are the benefits it confers upon us, the lucky people who live under a government whose first concern is the defence of our liberties.

It is this concern for our way of life which justifies governments in their determination to destroy us all rather than let our way of life be tampered with.

'Better dead than red' is a slogan from the first round of the people's struggle against nuclear lunacy, when our then leaders were quite prepared, as they are now, to see us all dead rather than that they should be replaced by 'reds'.

For this is what 'the defence of our way of life' really means. It is *their* way of life which has been defended by *us* in every war and the only new factor to have emerged in the nuclear age has been, as we have said before, that they stand to go up in that indiscriminate mushroom cloud along with us, the common herd.

Incidentally, perhaps we should make the anarchist position clear on this. We have not, in fact, gone along with the common herd in the defence of their leaders' way of life, for we have seen the identity of governments across the frontiers and recognised how stupid it is for the exploited of every country to be fighting and killing each other in defence of their respective ruling classes — which in fact, earlier through aristocratic dynasties and now through multi-national companies, has for centuries been the same truly international ruling class, squabbling among themselves just as families will quarrel over the will of the dear departed.

And if you think that all this has been altered by the emergence of 'workers' states' in Eastern Europe, and particularly Russia itself, then explain away the massive loans from Western banks which have now so put Poland in hock that the Soviet Government is reluctant to keep its grip upon it, or indeed the equally massive amount of 'business' and investment from the West that goes into Russia proper: the 'Vodka-Cola' economy.

What the state-capitalist regimes of Eastern Europe have provided for the 'free-enterprise' capitalist regimes of the West is precisely what 'Prussian Militarism' and the Kaiser provided in the early years of this century — the external threat that all states need to keep their people perpetually under a fear of foreign domination and thus amenable to domination at home. All forms of domination need bogeymen to keep the masses frightened and in need of protection; remember the role of 'Goldstein' in 1984? When governments are in charge it is known as national defence, whereas when Chicago gangsters do it, it is more honestly known simply as 'the protection racket'.

We would not be so silly as to say that there is nothing to choose between the totalitarian system of Russia and that of this country or the other 'democracies' of the West. That is to say, in the comforts of every-day life and the degrees of licence we have. Because the West was more advanced along the capitalist road than Imperialist Russia was in 1917 (whose backwardness, after all, was one of the reasons for the revolution) that advantage has been maintained, while in Russia the backwardness of technology (until very recent times, and then advances have been made only in areas which benefit the state) has been further aggravated by the dead weight of centralised bureaucracy. Capitalism, it must be admitted, has come up with the goods — ie, the material trivia that keep the proles happy; masses of second-rate food which keeps their bellies full, and mass entertainment to dull their minds — while decent housing (at least in Britain) disappears and any sense of *involvement* in their own destinies is just as absent as in the totalitarian USSR. (Unless you claim that newspaper Bingo is 'involvement in your own destiny'!)

At the same time the degree of licence and access to real information we have, erode so slowly that nobody notices their gradual disappearance until some bomb-happy politician drops a clanger and shows the joins in his big wig.

This happened last week, when Minister for Defence John Nott (our equivalent of the USA's Defence Secretary General Haig — and that's a name that brings shivers to the spine of old soldiers in Britain) blew his cool on a radio programme* in which he said that criticism of the Government's nuclear weapon policy was an abuse of the freedom of speech that is one of the glories of democracy.

His claim that a campaign for nuclear disarmament was 'playing into the hands of the Russians' is hardly new, and in itself would not have made news — but his extension of the argument was sufficiently new to the ears of liberal democrats to draw fire from a *Guardian* leader and of course its readers — though hardly novel to anarchists.

What Nott said in effect was that freedom of speech is one of our most precious possessions, but that its use can embarrass the Government and encourage the enemy (like who?), who does not allow freedom of speech like we do.

It is therefore irresponsible to use our most treasured possession, which is too precious to use, and anybody who does use it is virtually a traitor and an agent of Moscow. We must have freedom of speech because we are a democracy, unlike that beastly Soviet Union, but we must never use it to contradict our

Government, of which Mr John Nott is such a distinguished member — and powerful to boot — because that would make the enemy think that our Government does not have the support of the people and thus the country is ripe for conquest and takeover.

Yes, of course, we must jealously keep and defend and fight to the death for our right to freedom of speech and even yours, too, though we disapprove of what you say, but really, chaps, we mustn't actually *use* it, must we, because anything that is really *using* freedom of speech and thus may actually lead to speaking the truth instead of what we want people to believe unquestioningly and may lead to the undermining of the State's right to speak for the whole of the people without consulting them or listening to them, must be wrong and must in fact be an *abuse* of freedom of speech.

Thus, you see, in a democracy, the use of freedom of speech can so easily become an abuse, and obviously, the proper government of the country, democratically elected, cannot allow the people to be subjected to an abuse of one of its fundamental freedoms.

In order to defend that freedom, therefore, the properly elected authority must prevent its abuse, and even, if necessary — and clearly it is becoming more necessary every day — its use. By anyone, that is, except the properly elected (or not, as the case may be) authority. QED!

Did someone say that's how it is in Russia? Well, even the Soviet Government can't be wrong about everything, can it? Or can it Nott?

P S

**The World at One* — Radio 4 9.11.81

IN BRIEF

NICHOLAS II, Czar of All the Russias and about 8,000 other victims of the Revolution have been canonised as martyred saints by the Russian Orthodox Church.

TALKING of 'open government' and the value of a 'Freedom of Information Act', the US Justice Department has announced that it will sue any present and former Government officials, including Presidents, for 'unauthorised publication of secret information'.

THERE has been a fall in the number of prisoners in Britain. The total prison population in England and Wales is now 43,900 according to official figures. It was 45,000 in July. This heartening trend has enabled the closure of the two military camps used for the surplus.

Greens v Reds

THE new nuclear disarmament movement is not only clearly larger than the old one, but clearly more radical and libertarian. If this wasn't certain before the national conference of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at Queen Mary College in East London last weekend, it is certain after more than 900 participants did their best to express the views of more than 30,000 individual members and nearly 300,000 affiliated members.

The various debates and votes were often confused and confusing, but the main thrust of the conference was to reject alignment with any political party and to refuse association with any party-political policies. Above all, the vigorous and unscrupulous agitation and propaganda of the Trotskyist sects was firmly defeated over and over again. The new chairperson is Joan Ruddock, a Labour Party activist but strong supporter of the non-aligned stance of CND, who defeated John Cox, a former chairman who is a Communist Party scientist. The new national council is more widely spread among political affiliations.

The conference rejected the Trotskyist motion to link the campaign for nuclear disarmament with the campaign for full employment, which would have had the effect of making CND a Marxist front, and adopted a motion supporting both political and industrial actions against nuclear weapons. Pat Arrowsmith argued for selective industrial action against vulnerable points in the warfare state, as part of the work she has been trying to do for 23 years. Perhaps this could hardly be organised by CND itself, but official support for such activity would help and could not hurt it. Green CND, the section of the movement interested in ecological and radical action, is already getting both official and unofficial support beyond anything known in the past.

The conference almost unanimously accepted a motion which takes CND further than ever before towards a serious confrontation with the authorities:

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supports regional and local groups in undertaking considered non-violent direct actions in pursuit of the British campaign, and would be willing to organise and lead national direct action if the occasion arises. This is particularly urgent in view of continued Government rejection of popular demand to stop the Trident programme and reject the basing of Cruise missiles in this country. In particular, Conference supports the Peace Camps at Greenham Common or elsewhere and actions against Operation 'Hard Rock' next autumn.

This is probably as far as such an organisation can be taken at such a stage, and it represents a remarkable victory for the various pacifists and anarchists and above all new libertarians in the national movement. Of course direct action is not started any more than it is stopped by passing motions, but this overwhelming endorsement for some such action will inevitably encourage current tendencies in many sections of the movement in many parts of the country.

The phraseology of the motion reflects these tendencies closely. The Trident and Cruise issues are particularly sensitive because they represent new developments in the two main aspects of British involvement in the Western nuclear alliance — the installation of new missiles in British submarines and of new American missiles on British bases. The peace camps are the prevalent form of action against these innovations. Operation Hard Rock is the major nuclear defence and civil exercise in Western Europe planned for next autumn. Regional and local groups are already considering various kinds of non-violent direct action, and a series of conferences and workshops is planned during the winter by all sorts of organisations on all sorts of subjects.

If winter comes, can spring be far behind? But when spring comes, what will the nuclear disarmament movement do? The CND conference decided not to revive the Aldermaston March, and indeed not to have any national demonstration at Easter, but to concentrate instead on regional demonstrations. But the regional and local groups in London and the South-East may well decide to go to Greenham Common, the old RAF base near Newbury (and not far from Aldermaston) which has been chosen as the main centre for Cruise missiles, which would in effect make it a national demonstration. And there is to be national action at the time of the NATO conference later in the spring. And then comes Operation Hard Rock. So 1982 looks like being a busy year for CND, and it will be particularly busy for all those individuals and groups who will be pushing towards mass direct action without pulling the movement apart.

N W

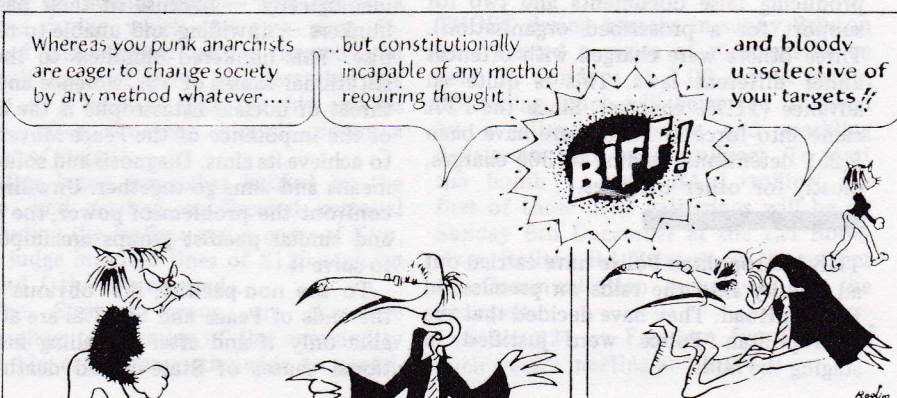
IN BRIEF

DR Michael Parsons, of Durham University, is attempting to convert a computer to Christianity. The programme will cost £42,000 over three years. The computer can be consulted from a remote terminal by those too shy to seek human council.

WE'RE becoming fashionable. Recent articles in the *Guardian* have described the German youth movement as 'amiably anarchic', young people in Britain as

'cheerfully anarchic', Afghans as 'traditionally anarchic' and Dusan Makavejev (Yugoslavian film director) as 'endearingly anarchic'. This week's *Sunday Times* has members of the Tory 'Radical Right' wearing red ties and red socks 'to indicate that one is still an anarchist at heart' (some colour confusion here). Mike Harding, earthy comedian, described himself as an 'anarchist' on the Parkinson TV show. He has brought out a book called *The Armchair Anarchist's Almanac* (Sorry *Xtra* — and after the Halifax stole your banner too). By all means let's stay amiable, cheerful, even endearing. And let's see what these people think when we become 'forcefully anarchic'.

WILDCAT



THE IMPOTENCE OF PACIFISM

IF Saturday's (October 24) CND-organised London march and Hyde Park rally achieved anything, it was to demonstrate yet again the impotence of pacifist methods to achieve pacifist aims. True, CND organisers claim the demonstration of popular opposition to nuclear war and weapons as a great success — though the police estimated 150,000 marchers, CND spokesmen put the figure at 250,000.

Only if we go beyond this quantitative, 'bums in seats' approach and raise more basic questions concerning the means and aims of the Peace Movement, can we provide a more adequate answer to the question of the success of yesterday's protest demonstration.

The fundamental fallacy of the CND-dominated Peace Movement is that Peace and Survival in a world free of nuclear arms and the threat of nuclear war, are attainable by peaceful 'protest' and demonstrations of 'public opinion'. But to whom does one protest and demonstrate? Clearly the answer in the case of CND leaders and supporters is: the wielders of State power in each nation state. Since these not-so-gentle men own and control nuclear arms, their deployment and proliferation, it 'follows' that peace-lovers must attempt, by the methods of peaceful protest, to 'pressure' and 'influence' the State Powers That Be to dis-arm and rule in a saner, safer, wiser fashion.

It's hard to know whether it's the pacifist's desire for peace and abhorrence of violence which determines his/her methods of peaceful protest, or the view that only peaceful protest can achieve the required changes in Business as Normal which leads him/her to posit

influencing the Powers that Be to dis-arm as the aim of the Peace Movement's endeavours. In any case, it doesn't matter. Means and aims are always a single package, standing or falling together. What's important is for opponents of nuclear arms, militarisation and nuclear war to realise that the aims of peace cannot be achieved by peaceful protest and similar demonstrations of 'public opinion' — in the real world at least.

The reason is as simple as the problem is difficult: the prevailing institutional causes of the nuclear arms race, global militarisation and threat of nuclear war are impervious to peaceful protest and cannot be prevented from carrying on Business as Normal by pacifist means. Indeed, the economically counter-productive and increasingly dangerous production of nuclear arms, the permanent arms race and economy, with all their dangers and obscene wastage of resources, are essential for corporate and State domestic and foreign domination and exploitation, East and West. True, in each nation state, the military-industrial-State complex has a life and dynamic of its own, and militarisation may result in economic crisis or world war or both. But without arms production and proliferation, it seems clear that corporate profit-making and State domination would not be possible — on anything like the present scale at least.

The point of all this for the politics of Pacifism is that the institutional conditions of Business as Normal require an ever-greater concentration and centralisation of economic, military and State ownership and control — power — in the hands of a dominant elite — above all, power over the production and disposition of conventional and nuclear arms. By virtue of ideology, material self-interest and the corruptions of the possession and exercise of these fantastic concentrations of economic, military and State power, the Powers That Be in each nation state are unwilling to cease Business as Normal.

It's this problem of power which the CND and other Peace organisations are ideologically — because of their pacifist blinkers — unwilling and unable to recognise. This blinkered blindness to the institutional causes of war, violence and the threat of nuclear catastrophe is the cause of the impotence of the Peace Movement to achieve its aims. Diagnosis and solution, means and aims go together. Unwilling to confront the problem of power, the CND and similar pacifist groups are impotent to solve it.

To the non-pacifist, it's 'obvious' that the ends of Peace and Survival are attainable only if and after prevailing institutional causes of State-caused death and

actual or potential military violence have been abolished. And the key fact for the non-pacifist is that there is *no* reason to believe that the Wielders of economic, military and State power in each nation state will voluntarily accede to the pressures of peaceful public opinion and protest to cease Business as Normal, and *every* reason to suppose that they will not.

For the realistic opponent of Business as Normal, for the rational (as distinct from wishful) supporter of the abolition of war and men-made violence, it's clear that only revolutionary socialist methods are, in principle, adequate for the task. Of course, principle is not practice. The traditional 'socialist' movements — Communism, Social Democracy — are clearly bankrupt, part of the problem. The libertarian socialist tradition — denounced and dismissed by Social Democrats and Marxists alike as dangerous Utopian nonsense — remains forgotten and in its infancy. Whether an anti-authoritarian, mass-democratic movement which aims, not at the conquest but the abolition of State power in favour of a society of free human beings is possible, is an impossible question to answer. It has never been tried. What I do wish to argue is that such a movement for libertarian socialist change is *necessary* if the aims of the Peace Movement are to be realised.

We can do nothing to solve any problem unless we have a realistic (non-illusory) recognition of its causes and the means or conditions necessary for its solution. Because of its Pacifist blinders, the Peace Movement is unable either to understand or solve the problem. Consequently, it can only collaborate in its reproduction.

Saturday's march and Hyde Park rally is proof of this. The politics of peaceful protest reduce to the ritual production of pseudo-events for the mass media. In practice, one demonstrates to gain 20 seconds on the radio or a minute on the tele. Informing or entertaining that pseudo-entity 'the Public' becomes the aim of the exercise. For over a month now, women from the Cardiff Women For Life on Earth group have chosen to chain themselves to the fence at the main gates at the US-run RAF base at Greenham Common, Berkshire. Why? In protest at the lack of media coverage of its March for Peace from Cardiff.

We can only begin the task of building a popular movement for the abolition of the institutional causes of war, militarism and violence if we abandon all illusions as to the problem and its solution. To abolish these profound evils, more than wishful thinking is necessary

PAT FLANAGAN

IN BRIEF

LATEST scores for the Prevention of Terrorism Act; between July and September 60 people were detained. Four were then charged under the Act (two for producing false documents and two for support for a proscribed organisation). Three others were charged with offences under different laws. This is quite an advance (11.7% charges). Since the PTA came into force in 1978 there have been 5,251 detentions, leading to 365 charges, mostly for 'other' offences.

THE Metropolitan Police have carried out an inquiry into the raids on premises in Railton Road. They have decided that the Metropolitan Police were justified in staging the raids.

NAVVIES MARCH

MICHAEL Foot, Leader of the Labour Party, was described by a fellow Labour MP as looking like an 'out of work navvy' at the wreath laying ceremony at London's Cenotaph on Sunday, 8th November, and it was said that his attire had cost Labour half a million votes. It was an insult to the dead. Some Tory MPs agreed, too.

The news commentators described the annual wreath laying ceremony as an occasion to honour and remember those who had given their lives for their country. A better way of putting it would be to say that their lives were *taken* from them, taken by a wartime coalition government who couldn't give a toss how the average squaddie was dressed on the battlefield, as long as he obeyed orders and was the cannon-fodder of such well attired gentlemen as Field Marshal Montgomery and 'Bomber' Harris.

Although the laying of wreaths at war memorials throughout the country and the Royal Albert Hall ceremony is a time for many ex-servicemen and women to remember dead pals and their own wartime heartaches, the sickening stench of hypocrisy of the Church, the Monarchy, the Military and the Politicians is filtered out before it reaches our eyes and ears in the TV, radio and press reports.

Instead, Michael Foot, rather than all politicians, is described as insulting the dead, and described in terms that are supposed to damn him, but what is so shameful about looking like an unemployed navvy? It was the hundreds of thousands of unemployed navvies of the 1930's who fought in the last war, not for Britain, but because they were told to, who helped to secure the fortunes of British businesses such as the electronics firm Plesseys, who made sure that the Monarchy didn't have to flee to Canada and that Churchill or ex-Major Attlee didn't have to preside over a government in exile.

Will this Labour MP, and supporter of ex-Major Denis Healey, be writing to the Leader he didn't want, requesting that he will at least wear something appropriate when he descends into the A-bomb bunker, whilst the rest of us (unemployed navvies included) will have a hot time on top, the only clothing required being a shroud.

PETE GRAFTON

A SWISS Appeals Court has lifted a fine of £90 and a threat of forcible separation on an unmarried couple accused of 'concubinage'.

Anarchist Activities

MARIE Murray, who is serving a life sentence for the murder of Garda Michael Reynolds in 1975, has won the main prize for a playlet in a competition organised by the Mental Health Association of Ireland.

She and her husband, Noel, are both serving life sentences for the murder of Garda Reynolds in St Anne's Park in Raheny, Dublin, on 11th September, 1975.

Marie Murray (32) who is serving her sentence in Limerick Prison, has demonstrated literary talent before this week's award. Last year one of her short stories was short-listed for final adjudication in a women's literary competition sponsored by Maxwell House.

May the Young Moon, her winning playlet, 'gives very wide scope for professional production', according to the judges. The judges were Mr Tom Savage, Mr Eddie O'Reilly and Ms Terry Prone. They described her playlet as 'treating a home situation with a keen sense of observation, deep feeling and sympathy.'

VIRGIN TWO

FOLLOWING the distribution of a leaflet satirising the way 'Virgin Records', with their chain of 'Megastores' rip off the identity of youth rebellion and make a commodity of it by selling it back in 'hip' form, two Clydeside libertarian socialists were fined £125 on the 29th October at Glasgow Sheriff Court.

The fines were imposed for a 'Breach of the Peace' which had erupted as a group of punk anarchists and the two accused were leaving the Glasgow 'Megastore' after distributing the leaflet in the Singles section of the first floor in the Union St premises. A couple of bouncers reacted to one of the punks shouting 'All the records are free', by wading in and trying to detain people. This led to a melee during which the two were detained and charged with a 'breach' and assault (one of them had assaulted the boot of a bouncer with his chin and his side, after throwing himself down a flight of stairs!).

After being somewhat baffled by the case, and reading confiscated material including the leaflets and a copy of *Xtra*, the judge imposed fines of £125 each on G and J, the two accused.

The Support group are therefore appealing to enemies of the commodity and hip capitalism nationwide to contri-

bute to a fund to clear the fines and help towards the legal expenses of G. Locally it is hoped to stage a benefit concert, and to enlist support throughout Scotland. Send replies c/o Glasgow's new alternative bookshop: Box V2, 488 Gt Western Rd, Glasgow G.

JIM McFARLANE

AUTONOMY CENTRE — BIG A SALE

ON Saturday the 12th of December A Distribution is organising an Anarchist Book Fair at the Autonomy Centre. The groups at present taking part include: A Distribution, Freedom Press, 121 Bookshop and Pandoras Books. Ten per cent of sales will go to the Autonomy Centre. And most books will be sold at twenty-five per cent discount. Food and drink will be provided.

If there are any other groups interested in taking part could they write to the 'Anarchist Book Fair' c/o Freedom.

AND...!

FOR the Autonomy Centre to survive it desperately needs help to pay the rent and rates, which together add up to approximately £80 per week. Paying this would place an intolerable burden on the Centre as all its time and space would be devoted to fundraising.

What we need is relatively well-off comrades to support the Autonomy Centre to the tune of a quid a week. Contact us (with SAE) and we'll send a Standing Order form. If you do not want that just write and we'll arrange an alternative method. Autonomy Centre c/o Freedom.

RADICAL LUNCHES AND SUBVERSIVE COCKTAILS

THOSE daring anarchists in sunny Brixton have started a series of meetings to be held on Sundays at 1.00 pm. A cheap, nourishing lunch will be served followed by a witty, engrossing and sparkling debate on that week's subject. To start the bomb ... sorry BALL rolling, the first of these little gatherings will be on Sunday 6th December at the 121 Bookshop, Railton Rd, Brixton, on the subject of: Communication techniques for the insurgent.

Contact 121 or Freedom for details of each week's meeting and topic.

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

NAKED
DUCKWORTH

Dear FREEDOM,

In the last issue you carried a review of the Naked Ape book (collection of sexist material from the Guardian column of the same name).

This particular bookshop is not stocking the book for two reasons. First because we have tried not to stock books from the publisher of Naked Ape — Duckworths — ever since the chairman [sic] of Duckworths was reported as saying 'I price books on the female principle, I raise the price as high as possible and then lie back and enjoy it...' Secondly we have considerable doubts about the integrity of purpose of a Naked Ape book which seems destined for the humour section of the coffee table where it would belittle the serious criticism of our sexist culture which, hopefully, is the reason for the Guardian running the column. Our doubts are confirmed by the sexist packaging of the book.

We'd be interested in comments from readers.

Yours,

MUSHROOM COLLECTIVE

APOLOGY

Dear Janet Lawrence,

My apologies for assuming that J Lawrence, London SE5 was John Lawrence (Telly Watching, FREEDOM 7.11.81).

PETE GRAFTON

WOMEN'S
OPPRESSION

Dear FREEDOM,

Must a revolutionary movement be as esoteric as Anna Kay claims? Or is it not possible and desirable for it to be understood by us all?

How is the women's movement 'a tremendous threat to patriarchal society' and how is it 'so different', what is it, apart from sexual and financial oppression, which oppresses women 'in many other ways that we hardly realise'?

Surely these questions must be answered if the debate is to continue and to be interesting.

Yours hopefully,

RODERIC VASSIE

Manchester

CND

RALLY REPLY 1

Dear FREEDOM,

In your last issue (7th November), Donald Room asked for one of the chanters in the CND march, why? As he would have seen all the usual intellectuals and politicians were up on stage blurting out the usual 45 rpm (rhetoric) thankfully denouncing nuclear weapons. These 'supporters of the state' are joined together because nuclear power is a personal threat to their lives, they do not see any further than that. These politicians have been telling us how they will change things when they get in power — POWER CORRUPTS.

We don't need people telling us about the horrors of conventional bombs, never mind nuclear ones. The result is death.

The massive ban the bomb campaign in the 60's did nothing to change things by marching, as we can see today by the missiles and warheads in this state (and other states around the world). Perhaps if they had been marching to abolish governments and states there would be no nuclear threat today.

STUART BURNLEY

RALLY REPLY 2

Dear Friends,

I was one of the anarchists at the front of the CND demo on the 24th and felt the urge to put our case after the barrage of letters condemning us in the last issue of FREEDOM (7th November).

Some points:

1. Yes, we should have at least given some of the speakers free rein, but don't expect us to keep quiet when Labour hypocrites and their followers promise us that they'll behave 'next' time, if only we elect them first!

2. Our shouts, chants, weren't just ones of 'boring', but also 'What about the Labour Bomb?' and 'You've got a place in the Bunker' to Labour leaders and MPs respectively.

3. Contrary to what A Comrade from Glasgow Bookshop Collective said we did sell a lot of anarchist papers. At one point we ran out and comrade Phil S had to get some more for us.

4. I too think we could have done something in a more organized manner but until some brave soul is actually going to use the pages of FREEDOM to suggest a rallying point etc, we'll have to take things as they happen. (We're no bloody vanguard after all!)

I, for one, enjoyed actually being in the company of a large bunch of Anarchs and maybe next time we'll have the nerve to take on some of the other proponents of statism and all it stands for instead of just attacking its soft underbelly.

Bread and Roses!

BILL WELLS

London

RALLY REPLY 3

Dear fellow yobs,

CND Rally (letters in FREEDOM 7.11.81) is asking 'why did they...?' Because our feelings were strong, we lacked moderate restraint, no deferred gratification. We know the politicians will never deliver peace, so why should ¼ million people have to stand for five hours in the cold listening to their false promises.

We wanted action. A huge march gets 2 minutes TV coverage which shows the CND supporting the Labour party. Instead of playing to the gallery, there could have been a concert, a festival, or civil disobedience/direct action. We were frustrated by the responsible organisers who wanted an orderly meeting to prove their respectability.

How does the 'comrade' (CND 2) know what the crowd believed? If it is a choice between expressing my feelings with my friends, and buttoning my lip to listen to speeches that say nothing new, in order to impress 'non-political' demonstrators, then I will remain an 'eccentric lunatic', and retain my autonomy.

I go on peace demos because I want to be free from fear of war and because it is good to face police oppression with friends, rather than to be picked on separately by the Special Branch. The myriad of leftist groups go on demos to win converts. I do not want to be a leader, organiser, bureaucrat, of an 'Anarchist Party', and I will do my best to stop others who try.

CND 3 should know that we could hear the speakers despite our shouting. Many of my best friends are 'incoherent yobs who have nothing to say'. They did a lot more to expose the brutality and injustice of the state in Bristol, Brixton, Liverpool etc, than all the respectable marches of the last ten years.

The black flag hecklers were willing to go to prison and get beaten up for their belief that state plus bomb = annihilation. Perhaps all CND supporters should consider how far they are willing to go. 3 million peaceful marchers will not produce unilateral disarmament any more than 3 million unemployed produce a change of government policy.

The CND march was about the oppression of ¼ million people by a handful of organisers and politicians. And about the attempted oppression of 100 flag-waving, shouting anarchists by the pigs, who moved in amongst us and stood

Subscribe

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

one on each side of every heckler.

I did not want to be arrested that day, as I had a plane to catch to Hungary — 25 years since their attempt at freedom — celebrated illegally in a graveyard in Budapest. But I would like to thank my fellow 'chanters' for filling me full of courage for my week under Russian oppression. My Hungarian friends have no doubt that Russia would walk into the West if we had no bomb. So if you are serious about getting rid of the bomb, perhaps you should be practising direct action, rather than trying to silence the spontaneous expression of deep emotion.

Wakefield

JOHN

RALLY REPLY 4

Dear FREEDOM,

As one of the guilty hecklers at the CND demo I'll try and reply to some of the points raised by letter writers in the last issue of FREEDOM.

The point is, Donald Rooum, that there was a total of two hundred and fifty thousand people on that march, WE COULD HAVE TAKEN THE WHOLE OF LONDON! (even by nonviolent means if that's what you want). If we had had the guts we could have brought Westminster to a standstill. The least we could have done was to attack the American Embassy, but the epidemic rumours of a riot that night in Grosvenor Square failed to materialise into anything. There wasn't even a traditional 'surge down Whitehall' as we passed it, there were hardly any police guarding when I was there and it was wide open for the taking.

What did happen, of course, was the usual meaningless ritual. Those of us by the stage kept up the 'incessant chant of BOOR-ing, BOOR-ing, BOOR-ing,' because it is extremely BOOR-ing, BOOR-ing, BOOR-ing, to be herded around like cattle from one empty space to another, out of harm's way, so we can all stand for hours in the mud being subjected to an endless string of speeches, many delivered by some of the power mad politicians who are the main cause of the threat to our lives in the first place. By shouting and chanting we could at least show that not every one present was prepared to submissively play the game.

But the police pushed into the crowd and put a ring round the anarchists by the stage while a police helicopter hovered above (pigs can fly!) so the fun was over. As Pat Thorne, A Comrade and Donald Rooum pointed out the chanting had many negative effects, but it was the product of the extreme frustration felt by a large number of people at the nonsense that CND demos are — just nice peaceful safety valves to distract people from taking any real action.

D M

RALLY REPLY 5

Friends,

When Pym came to Newbury to 'consult' (to confirm the prior, secret decisions of the US) over cruise missiles, we resorted to forms of protest which the authorities inevitably pontificated about adversely. However, in case no one cares, or dares, to comment, let me say just how counter-productive the Black and Reds were at the CND demonstration in Hyde Park recently.

While the aim is to recommend the deflation of State power, it now seems that Armageddon is to be apocalyptically invoked as the very means to freedom by our silver-studded stars of the Lumpen-proletariat. So, federate next with the 'Endtime' religious fanatics present at the same venue, and confirm the demise of an anarchist sanity for a further generation!

Great Tribulations to all involved,
Eastwick

TONY ADAMS

RALLY REPLY 6

Dear Comrades,

In reply to both P Thorne and D Rooum, I and I hope all other anarchists went to Hyde Park to show our opposition to not only the Bomb but the whole statist war machine. As I stood in the pig pen erected around us I was forced to

PROTEST

Dear FREEDOM,

It is traditional for authors or editors of material receiving a less than glowing review to blame the reviewer rather than the material under review, and to try to answer back raises the cry 'sour grapes!' Nevertheless I want to take up some of the points raised by Nicholas Walter (under the pen-name M H) in his review of *From Protest to Resistance*, which I co-produced.

I think Nicholas is less than fair to call the pamphlet 'really rather a mess'. It is by no means a flawless pamphlet but is it really of such importance that the sources of some of the articles appear as an insert rather than in the main text?

I regret that Nicholas gave little mention of the articles themselves — for example Dennis Gould's long article, a fine and for me at least quite moving, piece of writing covering, amongst other things, his progression from the army reserve to a prisoner demonstrating in sympathy with the innocent but condemned James Hanratty. Or even Nicholas's own piece — a short but inspiring article — putting forward the case for nonviolent direct action.

To my own written contribution Nicho-

las gives undue prominence in his review, but succeeds in misrepresenting me. I did not say, or try to suggest, that the current movement is concerned more about means than about ends and is less concerned about success and failure. I did suggest it is not so easy to define success and failure.

Nicholas would like a more carefully written and researched account of the radical wing of the old movement. So would we all and like many others I suspect that Nicholas is the only person able to write such a history. Our aim in producing *From Protest to Resistance* is more modest — we hope that the pamphlet — especially with the mixture of old and new writing, photographs and documents of the time — will give people an insight into the way people felt and why they chose certain forms of action. Those who read the pamphlet can decide whether we've succeeded in our aim.

Any anarchist who did not join with our contempt must surely reconsider his conscience.

CALVIN

Hull

las gives undue prominence in his review, but succeeds in misrepresenting me. I did not say, or try to suggest, that the current movement is concerned more about means than about ends and is less concerned about success and failure. I did suggest it is not so easy to define success and failure.

Nicholas would like a more carefully written and researched account of the radical wing of the old movement. So would we all and like many others I suspect that Nicholas is the only person able to write such a history. Our aim in producing *From Protest to Resistance* is more modest — we hope that the pamphlet — especially with the mixture of old and new writing, photographs and documents of the time — will give people an insight into the way people felt and why they chose certain forms of action. Those who read the pamphlet can decide whether we've succeeded in our aim.

Yours,

Nottingham ROSS BRADSHAW

We are glad to report that Nicolas (note the spelling please) is planning the work asked for in the last paragraph, to be published by Freedom Press.

EDITOR'S NOTE

FREEDOM CONTACTS

NATIONAL

ABERDEEN

Solidarity, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

ABERYSTWTH

David Fletcher, 59 Cambrian St.

BARRY

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

BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast 1.

BEDFORDSHIRE

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

BIRMINGHAM

The Anarchy Club (Christopher Davis Appreciation Society):

BRIGHTON

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

BRISTOL

L Bedminster, 110 Grenville Rd, Bristol 3.

Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 110 Cheltenham Rd, Bristol 6.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge Anarchists, c/o Box A, Grapevine Bookshop, 186 East Rd, Cambridge.

CANTERBURY

Alternative Research Group, Students Union, University of Kent, Canterbury.

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

CARDIFF

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

CLEVELAND

25 Liverton Crescent, Thornaby, County Cleveland.

COVENTRY

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

CRAWLEY

Ray Cowper, 1 Bluebell Close, Broadfield, Crawley, West Sussex.

CUMBRIA

12 Bath Terrace, Drovers Lane, Penrith.

DUBLIN

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

EAST ANGLIA

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

EDINBURGH

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

ESSEX

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

EXETER

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

GLASGOW

Glasgow Anarchist Group, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, Box 3, 488 Gt Western Rd, Glasgow G12

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

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

HARLOW

DAM, Gary Hayter, c/o Freedom Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1.

HASTINGS

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

HULL

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

HAG, 23 Hutt St, Hull

KEELE

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

KEIGHLEY

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

LAMPETER

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

LIVERPOOL

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

LEAMINGTON

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

LEEDS

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

LEICESTER

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

LONDON

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

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

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

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

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

London Workers Group, meets Tuesdays 8 pm at Metropolitan Pub, 75 Farringdon Rd, EC1. Middlesex Poly Anarchists, Students Union, Trent Park Site, Cockfosters Rd, Barnet, Herts. 121 Bookshop and meeting place, 121 Raiton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24.

MALVERN

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

MANCHESTER

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

SOLIDARITY, c/o Box 25, 164/166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, M4 3BN.

NORWICH

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

NOTTINGHAM

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

OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth.

OXFORD

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

PAISLEY

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

PLYMOUTH

Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Pennycross.

PORTSMOUTH

area anarchist group, c/o Garry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterlooville, Hants, or Duncan Lamb, Nirvana, Chichester Yacht Basin, Birsham, West Sussex.

RHONDDA

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

SHEFFIELD

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

SOUTH WALES

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

SWANSEA

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

SUSSEX

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

SUNDERLAND

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

SWINDON

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

TAYSIDE

Anarchist Group, 3L 188 Strathmartine Rd, Dundee.

TYNE AND WEAR

Tyne and Wear Anarchist Group and DAM (anarcho-syndicalist) 8, Thomas St, Ryhope, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear.

WAKEFIELD

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

Univ of Essex Anarcha-Libertarian Socialists, c/o Studco Pigeonholes, Student Union Building, Univ of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex.

AUTONOMY CENTRE

01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1 4LG
01 481 3557

EVENTS FOR NOVEMBER

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| Fri 20 | Members meeting. Please come, there's lots to discuss. |
| Sat 21 | Debate: Young people are over-rated...? |
| Sun 22 | Gig from 7 pm with: Terminal Disaster, Cold War, Anabolic Steroids, Urban Dissidents, Flack, Assassins of Hope. Entrance to be arranged. |
| Wed 25 | Drop in from 2.30 — 5.30 pm. |
| Thurs 26 | Drop in after 7 pm. |
| Fri 27 | Social event from 8 pm with JJ and the Flyers and the Bat Band. Entrance £1.25. Bar. |
| Wed 2 Dec | Drop in from 2.30 — 5.30 pm. |
| Thurs 3 Dec | A Distribution mailout from 7.30 pm. Help appreciated. |
| Fri 4 Dec | Talk: Peter Neville on 'The Origins of the British Police'. |

CHRISTOPHER DAVIS APPRECIATION SOCIETY

Nov 26th: Dance
Dec 3rd: Charlotte Baggins

'I don't want no revolution
I can't dance to'

All events on Thursdays, 8 pm

at the New Inn, Moseley Rd.
From one traveller to another,
best wishes, good luck.

A Flyer

Printed and typeset by Aldgate Press, in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1
Tel 247 3015

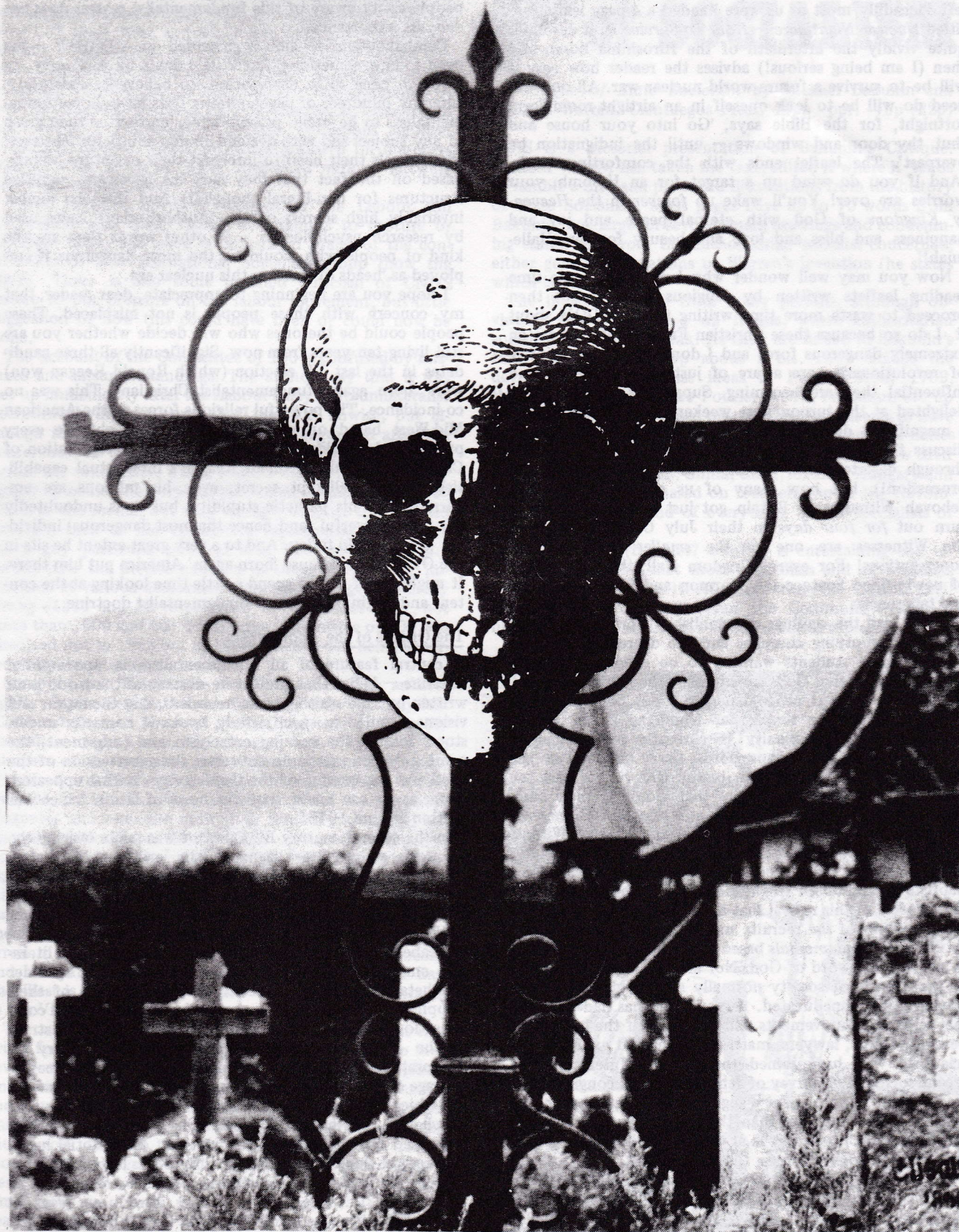
Distributed in Britain by A Distribution, 01 Warehouse, Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping Wall, London E1

Freedom Press

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

Anarchist Review
Freedom

21st November 1981. Vol 42, No 23.



GOD IS NOT QUITE DEAD...

...AND STILL VERY DANGEROUS

ALONG with a few other people, I marched from the Victoria Embankment to Hyde Park last Saturday. As we left Piccadilly most of us were handed a 4-page leaflet entitled *Nuclear Nightmare — How To Survive It*. It describes quite vividly the aftermath of the Hiroshima bomb and then (I am being serious!) advises the reader how easy it will be to survive a future world nuclear war. All one will need do will be to lock oneself in an airtight room for a fortnight, for the Bible says, 'Go into your house and shut thy door and windows — until the indignation be overpast'. The leaflet ends with the comforting words, 'And if you do wind up a target for an H-bomb, your worries are over! You'll wake up forever in the *Heavenly Kingdom* of God with eternal peace and joy and happiness and bliss and love and beauty forever! Hallelujah!'

Now you may well wonder why I not only waste time reading leaflets written by religious nutters, but then proceed to waste more time writing to FREEDOM about it. I do so because these Christian Fundamentalists are an extremely dangerous force and I don't think the majority of revolutionaries are aware of just how numerous and influential they are becoming. Supporters of CND were delighted at the turnout last weekend, and it was indeed a magnificent demonstration (I am not interested here to discuss the ineffectiveness and pointlessness of marching through deserted back streets — as was so much of our procession!), but how many of us are aware that the Jehovah Witnesses in Britain got just as many people to turn out for four days in their July Conventions? And the Witnesses are one of the *smaller* fundamentalist congregations! For every Kingdom Hall, there are *scores* of newly-filled Pentecostal, Mormon and Baptist churches and tabernacles.

As we read the wallings of established Christianity about their ever emptying churches and the decreasing numbers of theological students wanting to be ordained, we mistakenly believe that God-worshipping is becoming obsolete, and that no normal rational person today believes in religion. Unfortunately this is far from the truth. Indeed Fundamentalist Christianity is currently experiencing a boom of incredible proportions. Every six weeks the Mormons open a new church in the UK. In the past ten years the Witnesses have more than doubled their numbers and are currently recruiting at a rate of 44% increase per annum (if one appreciates that the average Witness conversion takes place over a two-year period, these figures do not represent a short-term 'flash in the pan'). Evangelical Baptists and enthused Anglicans are having a field day. The two aspects of this revival that are common to all groupings are the *youth* of the recruits and the emphasis on a return to Christian *fundamentals* based on the belief that the Bible is the inerrant word of God. Nor are the recruits confined to those parts of society normally seen as depressed, disadvantaged and uneducated. Anyone who has had any contact with these movements will be aware of the large numbers of doctors, lawyers, mathematicians and experimental scientists who have joined their ranks. (Interestingly a recent sociological survey of Jehovah Witness congregations found them to have spent a slightly longer period at school or in further education than the population as a whole!) Fundamental Christianity is at this instant incredibly popular on the campus of Sussex University.

An essential aspect of the day-to-day activities of these people are the mass propaganda campaigns aimed at everything anarchists would regard as progressive (?) thought. The women's movement, the campaign for free abortion are particularly attacked, along with the new really major campaign against evolutionary theory and in favour of 'Creation'. (All these groups have their literature 'dealing' with evolution — the Witness's hard-cover booklet *Did*

Man Get Here by Evolution or by Creation has so far sold more than 25 million copies!) The fact that most 'normal' people aren't aware of this fundamentalist revival does not deny its importance.

Fundamentalist religion is grounded on ANXIETY — the need to have something 'fixed' (laid down by Authority, by God) to cling to in desperation, to believe in *absolutely*. Literally hundreds of psychometric tests have shown fundamentalists to be 'rigid' personalities, 'narrow' in their grasp of any subject and with decided limited ability for 'abstract' thought. (Is their need to interpret their Scripture *literally* based on the fact that they lack the necessary cognitive structures for non-literal thought?) And they are almost invariably high scorers on the 'Authoritarian' Scales used by research psychologists — in other words they are the kind of people who would be the most dangerous if employed as 'heads of state' in this nuclear age.

I hope you are beginning to appreciate, dear reader, that my concern with these people is not misplaced. These people could be the ones who will decide whether you are still living ten years from now. Significantly all three candidates in the last US election (which Ronald Reagan won) were 'born again' fundamentalist Christians. This was no co-incidence. The powerful religious forces of the American Mid-West based on grass-roots revivalism, obligate every presidential candidate to endorse 'literal' interpretation of Christian Scripture. Ronald Reagan's intellectual capabilities are no well-kept secret; even his minions are embarrassed by his pathetic stupidity, but he is undoubtedly the most powerful (and hence the most dangerous) individual in the world today. And to a very great extent he sits in the Oval Office because 'born again' America put him there. It might be of use to spend a little time looking at the content and origin of Christian fundamentalist doctrine.....

The Origins of the Apocalyptic

A central feature of all fundamentalism is 'apocalyptic' doctrine — belief that the future destiny of the world is all written out and waiting to be 'revealed', that the myths and visions detailed in specific holy books if correctly understood tell of the coming cataclysm and judgement, the coming of the messianic deliverer, the resurrection of the dead and the coming of the Golden Age. It first appeared, so far as we can know, with the book of Daniel which was written around 164BC.

In the second century BC Palestine was taken over by the Seleucids, a Syro-Greek dynasty. The Jews were themselves divided, the upper classes accepting Greek culture and custom, while the common people were determined to keep the faith of their fathers. The loyalists organized themselves in the Hasidim 'party' and in 167/166 BC instrumented the Maccabean revolt. It was at this time that apocalyptic literature emerged, 'ghosted' writings allegedly written by older prophets, detailing the recent past as evidence of their 'prophetic' power and accuracy, and promising future compensation which could not fail to appeal to the lower strata of the Jewish population. It was a view of history reinterpreted to serve as Jewish propaganda, to re-vitalize the courage of the faithful, and arguing that history has a meaning which can only be understood in terms of the goal to which it is moving — that goal being the salvation of the oppressed and fragmented Jewish race. An essential ingredient of the doctrine was that the 'End' was imminent.

From its inception apocalyptic beliefs were central to Christianity the earliest gospel introduces Jesus as saying: 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand'. Repeatedly Jesus is made to talk of the immediacy of the 'End': 'All these things will happen before the people now living have all died'. Not only did Jesus argue the imminence of the Kingdom, he suggested its dawning could already be perceived in the miracles he performed, espe-

cially his casting out of demons. The structure of his major 'speech', the 'Sermon on the Mount', is determined by the 'End' expectation throughout. That the 'End' was near remained a central belief of the early Christian community. Acts tells us that they all met together for daily worship and the sharing of a common meal — individuals were no longer concerned about possessions, they lived from hand to mouth for the 'Day of the Lord' could easily be 'tomorrow'. Although time passed and these hopes were not fulfilled, 'imminence' remained a central belief for every succeeding generation of Christians.

A powerful example of apocalyptic imagery is the *Revelation to John* which is the last book in the Bible. It was written about 96 AD and presents Jewish and Christian viewpoints alongside each other. It was accepted as part of the Christian Canon in approximately 325 AD (probably because it was ascribed to the disciple). Its millennial hopes have never been accepted by the *established* church (who are quite happy with the world as it is, and have never had any trouble fitting themselves into the state structure) but it has never ceased to be an inspiration for those who are dissatisfied with the status quo.

The book was designed to bring encouragement to the victims of Imperial Roman oppression. Rome, condemned as the world capital oozing with luxury and corruption, is clearly depicted as the anti-Christ (see F Engels on *The Book of Revelation* for the explanation of how the mystic beast with the number 666 branded on its head is 'Nero Caesar') and her impending demise, it is assured, 'must soon take place'. The central prediction is that the Saviour will descend from Heaven and the worthy dead will be raised to become joint rulers in Christ's millennial kingdom (It is not clear who they will rule since all the unrighteous will have been annihilated!)

Since its composition, *Revelation* has been a frequent source of beliefs for numerous groupings. Its language and imagery are readily made applicable to any situation of social conflict, offering solace to the underprivileged and the oppressed. Countless generations have lived in constant expectation, looking for the 'signs' that are to herald the approach of the final 'Armageddon'. As these 'signs' include bad rulers, civil strife, wars, droughts and famines there has never been any difficulty in finding them.

Its Contemporary Appeal

Those who look for the realization of the predicted 'signs of the End' are more than ever able to see those 'signs' in the contemporary world. In 1945 the first two nuclear bombs were dropped, and now, in 1981, the world spends more than five hundred thousand million dollars annually on stockpiling them — stockpiles which currently exceed a yield equivalent of a million Hiroshimas! The 'nuclear club' is no longer confined to the major powers, and shortly Iran, Israel, Pakistan and god knows who else will have their own arsenal. The Jehovah Witness who appears on the doorstep talking about the 'nearness of the End' is only articulating what most intelligent people already believe. When she continues offering hope to the 'righteous' and assuring her listener that 'never will this planet earth be destroyed by man-made nuclear warfare. Never will its Creator permit the earth to become void of all creature life, including human life', she offers the justifiably frightened householder something to cling to.

Considering the basis of power in present day America, I do not think it is necessarily far-fetched to consider the possibility that Iran's 'theocratic' state could one day find an imitator in Washington. If being 'born again' is an essential ingredient for being a president, I don't see it as impossible that this might soon be a requirement for all Congressmen. Anarchists need no telling that *any* government is a danger to humanity, especially in the nuclear age, and even if, dear reader, you view my fear of a possible future US theocracy as a 'wild raving', at least recognize the added dimension of danger in having to live in a world where 'born again' fingers are on the nuclear button.

Fundamentalist tracts detail the 'signs' of the approaching Armageddon daily — the Christadelphians, for example, actually produce maps of the coming conflict, actually specifying exactly where the various Russian army divisions will move into Israel, Egypt etc, and the moves that will correspondingly be taken by British and French troops. Our 'born-again' President has only to interpret a specific situation in terms of its being a part-fulfilment of Biblical prophecy of the 'End' and he will happily pull the necessary lever that will hurtle us all into his Heavenly Kingdom. (There are publications currently circulating which contain illustrations showing the 'faithful' gathered on a mountain slope, watching the 'distant' Armageddon destroying the wicked earthly system of things!) This is no scare-mongering on my part.

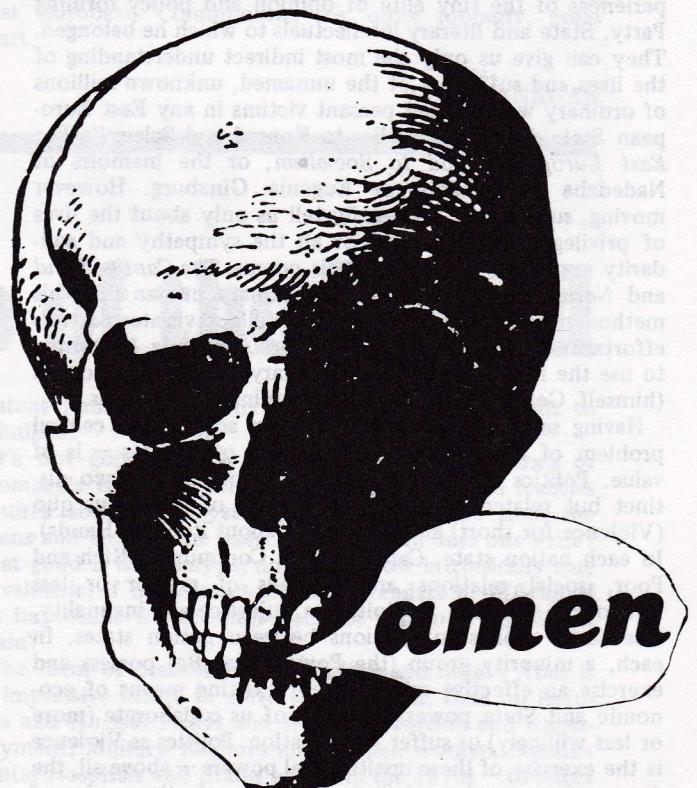
THESE PEOPLE ARE MAD, AND THESE PEOPLE HAVE TREMENDOUS POWER AT THEIR FINGER TIPS!

A century ago the socialist/communist/anarchist movements correctly recognized the reactionary nature of religious thought and regularly campaigned against God and his disciples. This aspect of revolutionary propaganda tends to be neglected in today's world, largely, I suppose, because it is felt that the church is less powerful and hence less dangerous.

Obviously the only truly effective way to combat religion, 'the illusory happiness of the people' (to quote Karl Marx) is to destroy the social system that 'requires illusions'. Only anarchism can do that — but that's still a long way off. Let's face it, right here and now, the *local* (Brighton) Jehovah Witness 'Kingdom Hall' gets in more people each Monday evening than the anarchists could rally *nationally* once a year. The failure of revolutionary thinking over the past hundred years is one side of the coin — the other side, the resurgence of religious hopes and illusions. (Of course the *great* majority endorses neither, but chooses to watch television instead!) Religion has always been the enemy of humanity; in this modern world of the atom it is *doubly* dangerous.

DON'T IGNORE IT — FIGHT IT!

BOB POTTER



BOOK
REVIEW

POLES APART

Review of Czeslaw Milosz, *Native Realm*, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1981. £8.95. 300pp.

CZESLAW Milosz, poet and winner of the 1980 Nobel Prize for Literature, was born in Lithuania in 1911. Milosz was educated, wrote poetry, worked, fought in and for Poland until his 'defection' to the West in 1951. Since the 1960s, Milosz has taught literature at the University of California. Unlike many other disillusioned, God That Failed former Marxists or Communists, however, Milosz' critique of East European Communism is as discriminating as his appreciation of the benefits and barbarisms of the capitalist 'democracies', as readers of his *The Captive Mind* (1953) will recall. For a start, though sympathetic to Marxist ideals and a diplomat for the (Stalinist) Polish government in Washington from 1946 until his 'defection' in 1951, Milosz was never a Communist. Second, Milosz, though an intellectual, is a poet, not an ideologue. He thus approaches politics from a literary, psychological, even religious (non-doctrinal) standpoint.

These facts account for both the strengths and limits of his attempt, in his autobiographical *Native Realm* (first published in 1968), to understand his experience of life in East Europe, Poland specifically, under the direct and indirect warping pressures of Marxism/Communism. Milosz' method is to use this account of his personal development to illuminate the history of life in East Europe: 'If I want to show what a man who comes from the East of Europe is like, what can I do but tell about myself?' (4). The problem with this, however, is that Milosz is or represents a very particular, extra-ordinary type of literary intellectual. His life and experiences illuminate the life-conditions and experiences of the tiny elite of opinion and policy forming Party, State and literary intellectuals to which he belonged. They can give us only the most indirect understanding of the lives and sufferings of the unnamed, unknown millions of ordinary workers and peasant victims in any East European State. The same applies to Konrad and Selenyi's *The East European Road to Socialism*, or the memoirs of Nadedzha Mandelstam or Eugenia Ginzburg. However moving, such works necessarily tell us only about the lives of privileged intellectuals. For all the sympathy and solidarity expressed by Milosz in his poems, *The Captive Mind* and *Native Realm* for 'humble, ordinary human life', his method necessarily fails. The same fallacy vitiates Sartre's efforts in *Les Mots*, *Saint Genet* or *L'Idiot de la Famille* to use the lives of three extra-ordinary literary intellectuals (himself, Genet and Flaubert) to illuminate their times.

Having said this, Milosz' attempt to address the central problem of our time — the Problem of Politics — is of value. Politics is about power. The Problem has two distinct but related aspects: the violence of the status quo (Violence for short) and what to do about it (Dirty Hands). In each nation state, Capitalist and Communist, Rich and Poor, social relations are relations of greater or less freedom — violation, exploitation, injustice and inequality. The same applies to relations between nation states. In each, a minority group (the Powers that Be) possess and exercise an effective monopoly of existing means of economic and State power. The rest of us collaborate (more or less willingly) or suffer victimisation. Politics as Violence is the exercise of these institutional powers — above all, the forms of economic and State coercion — in the service of the status quo in each society.

Politics as Dirty Hands is the problem of what those of us opposed to the prevailing forms of Violence should do about it. Whatever our profession, how — by what means — can those committed to the possibility of a society of free, creative human beings end the reign of violence, exploitation and injustice?

Clearly, there can be no single or general answer to this Problem. Individuals, groups and societies at every stage must decide and act for themselves. Historically, the Problem has assumed a special importance for intellectuals, above all, artists, writers and scientists. It is thus not surprising that Marxist and/or Communist intellectuals have been responsible for perhaps the most tragic and fateful attempt to solve the Problem of Politics. (Since Marxism conceives itself as a unity of revolutionary theory and communistic practice, I will use 'Marxist' and 'Communist' interchangeably. This is not to hold Marx responsible for those who presume to act in his name — recall his letter to Engels: 'I am not a Marxist'.)

For the non-Marxist intellectual, the products of art, science or creative human intelligence generally, are timeless truths. These cannot and should not be used instrumentally — abused politically — as a means of social change. How to contribute to social change without prostituting art and truth has been the problem for non-Marxist intellectuals.

For the Marxist, this is a pseudo-problem. According to this view — I concentrate on the distilled or common essence of the set of Communist variations on this theme — there are no timeless truths of art or science. Truth and art are class products which directly or indirectly express and serve class interests. The only choice is whether one works to support or oppose the Violence of the social status quo. It is impossible *not* to participate in Politics. However we try to lie or deceive, our hands are dirty with the blood, sufferings, exploitation and deaths of others, so long as we accept and don't try to change prevailing power relations.

For the Marxist, the necessity for revolutionary violence is obvious: have the Powers that Be in any society voluntarily handed over power to their victims? Have they not, on the contrary, used every means of Violence ruthlessly to prevent or destroy every effort to abolish Violence and achieve a society of free human beings? The real dilemma is not whether the artist, scientist or ordinary citizen can avoid dirtying his/her hands. It's how, given the necessity of doing so, to realize one's ends most effectively. Art and science are no more nor less than political means.

Communist ends — the abolition of the class relations which (according to Marxism) are the cause of violence and domination — are taken as given. The truth and correctness of Communist methods is evident, validated by their Historical Necessity. Politics thus reduces to a 'science', the science of technique or means: how most efficiently can the Party gain and wield State power, defeat the class enemies of the Proletariat and realize its Historically Necessary mission. Questions of principle, truth, morality or propriety of methods in addition to technical efficiency don't — can't — arise. Ends and means are Historically Necessary. The end justifies the means — any means.

Some (for example Arthur Koestler) have argued that only the former Communist who has experienced at first hand — as Party/State member or victim — the Communist perversion of classical Marxist ideals of justice, equality and freedom can understand and evaluate the full horror of

these perversions. In a first, literal, sense, this is obviously true. In a second sense, Koestler is, equally obviously, wrong. I can know and judge any attempt to achieve revolutionary Communist ends as untenable if the methods employed contradict, negate or prevent the realization of those ends. Life in or under a Communist Party isn't necessary. Just an old-fashioned respect for fact, and the ability to recognise the pseudo-'principle' that the end justifies the means as the *un-principled* dodge of apologising for any atrocity or crime against humanity that it is.

There is, however, a third, deeper sense in which only one who has lived and served under Communism as Milosz has, can appreciate the full tragedy of the extent to which the revolutionary Communist project has itself — quite apart from capitalist counter-revolutionary pressures — been responsible for its own degeneration and destruction. Not merely by the separation of means from ends, and the pretence that the Historical Necessity of the ends justifies any means; even more pernicious has been the belief that revolutionary change, involving as it does radical changes in human patterns of thinking, feeling and acting, can be reduced to a 'science' of technique or means. The result is that human beings are treated — manipulated — by the Communist Party/State as means — objects.

It is to Milosz' credit that, having served the Polish Communist State he is able to recognise and reject the Communist answer to the Problem of Politics for what it is: no solution, but rather part of the problem. In theory a compelling vision or ideal of human liberation and justice, Communism has been in practice a horribly violent ideology of power:

Love for the oppressed supplies them [Communist revolutionaries — PF] with a pretext, but they play their own games. Broader understanding (eg., of 'historical processes') is also, ultimately, a pretext. What they are really after is to push others into the position of having objects in order to look upon themselves as subjects. (80)

In *The Captive Mind* Milosz provided a cogent critique of regimented thought and suppression of freedom of thought and expression in the East European Communist States as the logical consequence of the Communists' certainty of the truth and validity of the Communist project:

When one considers the matter logically, it becomes obvious that intellectual terror is a principle that Leninism-Stalinism can never forsake, even if it should achieve

victory on a world scale. The enemy, in a potential form, will always be there; the only friend will be the man who accepts the doctrine 100 per cent.

If Milosz cogently criticises the Marxist solution to the Problem of Politics, this isn't in favour of any superior answer. Correctly insisting on the autonomy of human thought in art, science and other domains, Milosz can only re-state the Problem, from the standpoint of the non-Marxist intellectual:

Whoever claims that force cannot suffice as an argument overlooks the character of politics, where the winner takes all. If it were possible to withdraw from politics, then the values of truth and ethics would hold. But it is not possible to withdraw, so all one can do is try to save these values or embody them in politics. (120)

— though how Milosz is unable to say.

Still, to insist on the intractable contradictions of the Problem of Politics and the irreducibility of art and science to political means, is something. On the contrary, it was Orwell who proposed over thirty years ago that in an increasingly repressive, violent and 'Orwellian' world, to tell the truth was perhaps the most revolutionary thing one could do. How much greater is the need to re-state these and other truths concerning Politics today?

There is, nevertheless, in Milosz an implicit view that autonomous art instrumentally subordinated to no political end, has a real liberating, even revolutionary, significance. In his/her free creations, the Poet bears witness to the historical process. No poetry after Auschwitz, said Adorno. But it was also Adorno, criticising the ideology of politically 'committed' art in Sartre and Brecht, who argued a view of the political significance of autonomous art not unlike Milosz'. But perhaps both are just restating in different words the revolutionary power of truth. The truths of poetry may not suffice to free us; they are always necessary. Lies and the instrumental subordination of the products of free human thought and expression enslave us.

It is not inappropriate that, in their travail today in opposition to Soviet and Polish Communist State/Party repression, the Polish people derive courage and inspiration from one of their most courageously honest sons — Czeslaw Milosz. The world of Milosz and that of official East European Communism are, quite properly, poles apart.

PAT FLANAGAN

BOOK
REVIEW

The State of the World

Michael Kidron and Ronald Segal, *The State of the World Atlas*. Pan Books. London and Sydney, 1981. £5.95.

FOR those interested in the state of the world, this political *Atlas* by Kidron and Segal — committed socialists, each with a commendable record of anti-capitalist work behind him — is a must. I know of no other attempt to present detailed empirical data about the causes and effects of contemporary global corporate and State power in a comparably successful, accessible form.

The trouble with the usual range of radical analyses of the political economy and experienced effects of inter-national power relations is their unavoidably *abstract* character. Consider Chomsky and Herman's *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, E P Thompson and Dan Smith's *Protest and Survive* or a typical piece in *Monthly Review* or this journal. No matter how simple, clear and jargon-free, form and

content remain necessarily abstract — hence difficult to assimilate.

It's not good enough to rest content with Marx's or Chomsky's view that the radical expose of social realities requires abstract analysis. This is to abstract from the means and aims of the exercise. For whom does one write? What good is the analysis, no matter how intrinsically true or valuable, if its abstract character renders it difficult if not impossible for the non-specialist reader to digest and retain?

The form of presentation of Kidron and Segal's *Atlas* is an impressive effort to solve this problem. Data on Refugees and Nuclear Power and Weapons, Torture and Unemployment, Military Regimes and Women Workers, Russian Mental Hospitals and States at War in the 1970s — to select

Continued over.

just a few subjects covered — is presented in an attractive, easy to assimilate pictorial-atlas form. The result is a magical unification of detailed abstract data and concrete, easy on the mind and eye. Furthermore, the data can be re-presented and recalled at will, by opening or turning a page, whenever necessary.

Kidron and Segal's survey of *The State of the World* is organized into 65 Maps or Sections. These in turn are grouped under the following 12 Rubrics: The Aggressive State, Arms and the State, Natural Resources, Economy, Government, Holds on the Mind, Business, Labour, Society, Environment, Symptoms of Crisis and Signs of Dissent. Thus, eg, under Holds on the Mind we have 'Language of Rule' (Section-Map 33). ('A language of rule is one which is used by the governing classes, and which helps to secure their dominance.')

Each Section-Map has a key or set of key-guides, symbolising and summarising the presented data. Official data sources are provided at the bottom of each Map (though often the help and information of numerous unnamed authorities or advisers has gone into the gathering of the data in question. The data in Map 62 on resistance and victimization in Russia is a case in point.) In addition to a Subject Index, there are Notes at the end of the book concerning each Map. Prospective tax-dodgers will find Map 37 on tax-havens ('The Islands of the Blessed') of particular interest.

Of course, for Critics — whether of the Armchair Knocker, Mean Spirited or Constructive varieties — *The State of the World* is a sitting duck. Some of the data is years out of date or 'unavailable' — as in the case of Prisoners (Map 31), for example, for so many countries. Why is there only one (token-condescending?) Section (41) on Women (Workers)? Why nothing on other issues of Sexuality apart from Abortion (Map 63)? Why is Indonesia not classified as a Military Regime (Map 28)? Why — in a radically different sense perhaps — aren't the United States and the USSR classified as Military Regimes! Why is the data on Papua, New Guinea or Indonesia so consistently wrong or misleading?

Given that an important aim of the authors is to explain 'connections that are obscure in themselves or have been deliberately obscured' (Introduction) and that teachers and

students are destined to be among the *Atlas*' more important readers, why have the authors not included a map on the range of forms of Education in the Section on thought control, Holds on the Mind? (The valuable Maps 29 and 64 on ratios of soldiers to teachers and major student disruptions during the 1960s, do not meet this need.)

Why is there nothing on post-WWII or contemporary Revolutions or Revolutionary Movements? Why is there no attempt to capture the specifications and vicissitudes of any or all of the so called 'transitional socialist' — I would prefer to say Authoritarian or State 'Socialist' — regimes, from the USSR to Kampuchea, not to mention the relations between the members of this peculiar, important set of nation states?

I would have preferred an approach which sought to bring out the *distinctive*, as well as the general-common, attributes of the different social systems surveyed. Much is gained but much is also lost from neglecting the first at the expense of the second. Likewise, I would have liked to have seen, in addition to the other valuable schemes of classification, *regional* geographical groupings: thus South East Asia, South America, the Middle East, etc. Finally, an attempt to group and classify by means of more explicit *political* criteria, would have been valuable.

One could go on and on. The Critic can constructively or destructively pick holes and find fault in every page, category or interpretation. Each reader will enjoy compiling her/his own list of Outrageous Sins of Omission and Commission.

This is as it should be. The real point is that Kidron and Segal's *Atlas* is a marvellous idea, executed with laudable success. It should — time, money, help and the State of the World permitting — be updated if possible annually, like the Guinness Book of Records, which it deserves to rival and surpass in popularity. *The State of the World Atlas* should be in every home and school library — in multiple copies. Get hold of it and draw it to the attention of as many people as possible, while the world is still in a state to do something about.

PAT FLANAGAN

BOOK
REVIEW

Looking Sideways

ONE of the characteristic features of the old nuclear disarmament movement was the presence of various Marxists trying at best to capture the unilateralist organisations or at least to attract recruits from their members. Some Marxists in the old New Left, which had emerged in 1956 from the Suez/Hungary crisis, did play a significant part in starting a mass movement for nuclear disarmament in 1958, but most of them were more interested in getting something out of unilateralism than in putting anything into it. In fact they didn't have much success at the time, though they reaped their harvest in the student movement after 1968, while the nuclear disarmament movement went into eclipse.

The same pattern is being repeated in the new movement, Marxist vultures once more circling round the large numbers of people coming into leftwing politics for the first time. The Socialist Workers Party and the International Marxist Group are making special efforts to get into and if possible take over CND groups and organisations. This work is done mainly underground, but it does come to the surface in publications such as an interesting if irritating new pamphlet.

CND 1958-65: Lessons of the First Wave (Socialist Challenge, 50p) is a 64-page pamphlet produced by the IMG (whose paper began as *Red Mole*, became *Red Weekly*, and is now *Socialist Challenge*) and written by Julian Atkinson and Tony Southall. Both authors were active in YCND in the old days; Atkinson was later secretary of NALSO, and Southall was for a few weeks during 1961 and 1962 acting secretary of the Committee of 100.

The text is a narrative of the history of the old movement with comments drawing the lessons for the new one. The authors explain that the pamphlet 'is presented as a piece of history that is of immediate relevance to building CND today', and they continue:

In the first place we have found that many campaigners are just not aware of what happened then and are intensely interested to find out. Secondly however such knowledge remains purely academic unless it is used to draw lessons. If such a movement could arise and decline without achieving its goals what is to prevent this happening again? What went wrong then and what needs to change if we are to be successful this time round?

Most of the narrative is acceptable as far as it goes, but there are too many errors and omissions. The particular contribution of the old New Left is confused because the authors see it as beginning not in 1956 but in 1959 with *New Left Review*, not realising that this was a merger of the *New Reasoner* and *Universities & Left Review*, which had already expressed the ideas of various sections of the New Left since 1957 and which had already supported the nuclear disarmament movement from if not before the start. The general contribution of other political groups is confused because the authors see the relative absence of political banners on Aldermaston marches as evidence of 'the absence of alternative political affiliations amongst most participants', although all the research on marches showed that most of them supported various leftwing political organisations.

There is much justified criticism of the Labour and Communist and most Trotskyist attempts to capture or infiltrate CND, but there is unjustified praise of the contribution of the International Socialism group (now the SWP). There is also some justified criticism of CND's failure to put pressure on the labour movement, but little suggestion of how this could have been or could now be done.

The account of the Committee of 100 is confused by mistakes and misunderstandings. The authors say that it was 'set up immediately after the Labour Party's pro-unilateralist Scarborough decision' and that this was unwise; but although the Committee was officially inaugurated after the conference, in October 1960, it was already being formed before the conference, which seemed wise at the time. They rightly discount the personalities which meant and mean so much to the media, but they wrongly suppose that a broad coalition such as the Committee represented could have taken any particular political line. They give too many details (like the precise numbers of those arrested and imprisoned at various demonstrations) and then get too many wrong (1314 and 32 respectively in September 1961, not more than 1500 and 36). Finally the Committee of 100 was dissolved not in 1965 but in 1968, when it was being superseded by the student movement.

Some of the lessons are also acceptable. The authors rightly emphasise that the old movement didn't entirely fail. 'CND transformed post-war politics and took it from the committee rooms onto the streets', and it 'showed glimpses of an alternative and superior politics to the conservatism orthodoxies that controlled and continue to control the Labour Movement'. They criticise the simplistic diagnoses and remedies current in the old movement, but they simplistically put all the blame on American imperialism and interpret international power politics as part of the class struggle; thus the crisis in October 1962, when the Americans prevented the Russians from installing missile bases in Cuba, is seen as if it merely concerned 'fighting for the defence of Cuba against US imperialism's attempts to arrest the development of a socialist state in the Caribbean', and the unilateralist movement's opposition to both East and West is seen as being 'totally unreal' and its neutrality in the Vietnam war as an 'irrelevance'.

The authors consider that the present nuclear arms race arises from Western imperialism in the Third World, so they favour anti-colonialist struggles of the kind which replaces one dictatorship with another, not even wondering whether these might actually precipitate a nuclear war. They conclude that the present movement for nuclear disarmament must work through the labour movement for a Labour Government pledged to unilateralism and a 'mass independent campaign' keeping it to that pledge. Yet at the same time they say, 'Let's not be fooled again!' Don't they realise the irony of that being said by people who are being fooled again and who are trying to fool us again?

The illustrations are quite good though too few. The chronology is too short to be much use. The bibliography is spoilt by ridiculous howlers in book titles. Even a quick pamphlet should be produced with more care.

MH

BOOK
REVIEW

CRITIQUE of SOCIALISM

A Critique of State Socialism by Michael Bakunin and Richard Warren. Cienfuegos Press. 44pp ppr. 75p (22p)

THIS is a pictorial presentation of Bakunin's Critique. Richard Warren has taken the text, edited it where it 'tends to ramble a bit', and produced illustrations from the history of State Socialism. Most pages have up to 70 words from Bakunin, one large, or several small, drawings and condemning statements from the authoritarian socialist concerned, either genuine quotations or Warren's invention (he states which is which).

The illustrations are from many periods, although obviously many are based on Russia, where authoritarian socialism reached its peak. As they are linked to Bakunin's text, they tend to hop about a bit. They include the development of socialist ideas in France, from 1789, through the utopians like Fourier, 1848, Proudhon etc up to Marx. The section based on the Bolsheviks seems to have more direct quotations and Vladimir Illych and his mates condemn themselves thoroughly. Other sections draw their illustrations from Spain, China, Cuba, Mexico, Hungary and Poland. The cover is based on recuperation of the Revolution by politicians and of everything by the specialists of the Spectacle.

The pamphlet (booklet? comic?) is entertaining and instructive. I'm sure that most anarchists and all socialists could learn a lot from it. At a time when the 'Labour Left' is becoming prominent (even the Communist Party is hinting about an alliance), this education is topical.

DP



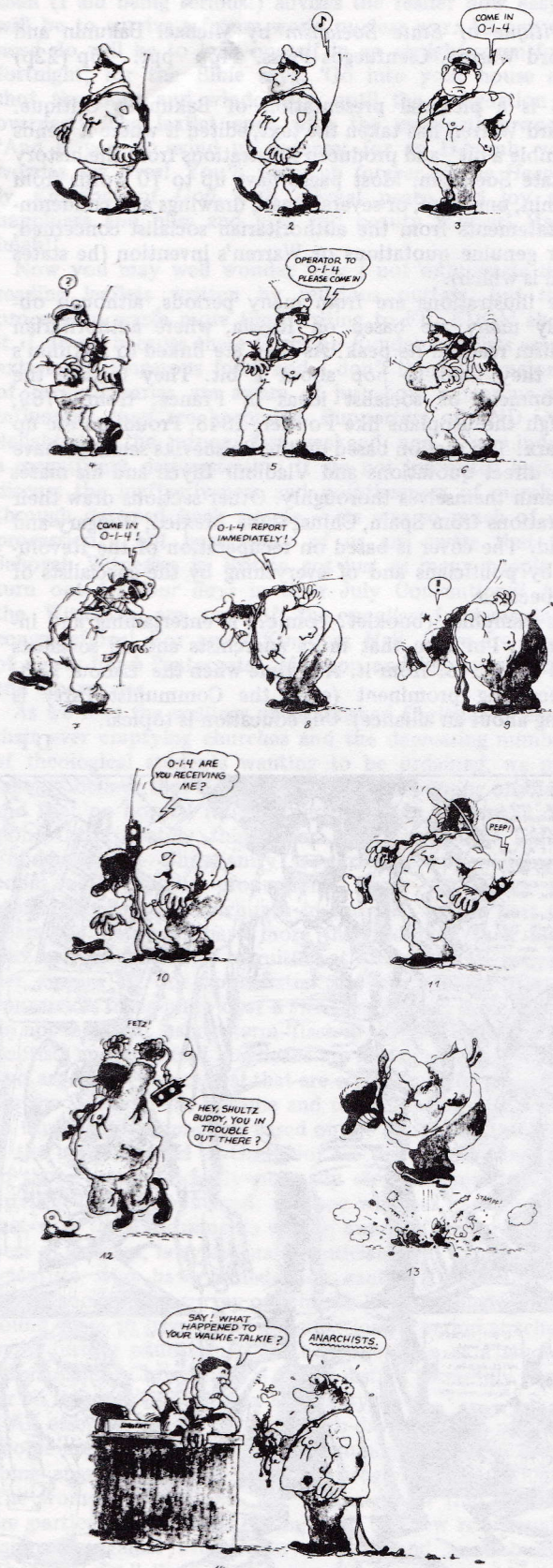
Books from FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

In Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1.

Please add postage as in brackets. Items marked * are published in the USA. Transatlantic purchasers please convert £1 at:- US = 1.85 dollars and Canada = 2.25 dollars.

WALKIE-TALKIE

Gerd Seyfried



Open to callers: Tues/Wed 2pm — 5pm
 Thursday 3pm — 8pm
 Friday 10am — 5pm
 Saturday 10am — 4pm.

BIOGRAPHY

Richard Holmes: Shelley: The Pursuit (829pp ppr) £5.95 (£1.62)
 *Martin A Miller: Kropotkin (ppr) £5.00 (87p)
 *Edith Thomas: Louise Michel (444pp ppr) £5.50 (87p)
 Bernard Crick: Orwell — A Life (471pp cloth) £10.00 (£1.62)

NEW THIS WEEK

B J Tysdahl: William Godwin as Novelist (205pp ppr) £5.95 (42p)

FROM FREEDOM PRESS

Vernon Richards: Protest without Illusions (168pp ppr) £1.95 (42p)

A MISCELLANY

Andrei Amalrik: Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984? (224pp ppr) £2.50 (32p)
 Alan Ereira: The Invergordon Mutiny (182pp cloth) £6.95 (87p)
 Theodore Roszak: Person/Planet (350pp ppr) £2.50 (42p)
 E F Schumacher: A Guide for the Perplexed (172pp ppr) £1.25 (24p)

EASY ON THE PURSE

*Social Anarchism. Vol 2 No 1 1981 (64pp ppr) £1.00 (22p)
 *Anarchy Comics No 2 (32pp ppr) £0.80 (17p)
 *Anarchy Comics No 3 (48pp ppr) £1.30 (17p)
 Howard Clark: Making Nonviolent Revolution. Peace News Pamphlet No 1 (28pp ppr) £0.75 (17p)
 Ross Bradshaw, Dennis Gould and Chris Jones (eds): From Protest to Resistance. The Direct Action Movement Against Nuclear Weapons. Peace News Pamphlet No 2 (64pp ppr) £1.25 (22p)

Deficit Fund

Donations Received: October 15th — 28th Incl.

Harlow. G H £1.23; Hertford. S Y £2.00; Wolverhampton. J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; Oslo. R B M £4.50; London SE19. L R £10.00; Saffron Walden. M E £0.53; Fife. O M £0.50; Calgara. Canada. S C £9.60; Belfast. P S £1.30; Wolverhampton. J L £1.50; J K W £0.50.

TOTAL = £33.66

Previously acknowledged = £1102.49

TOTAL TO DATE = £1136.15

TARGET FOR 1981 = £2,000!

from Anarchy Comix No 2