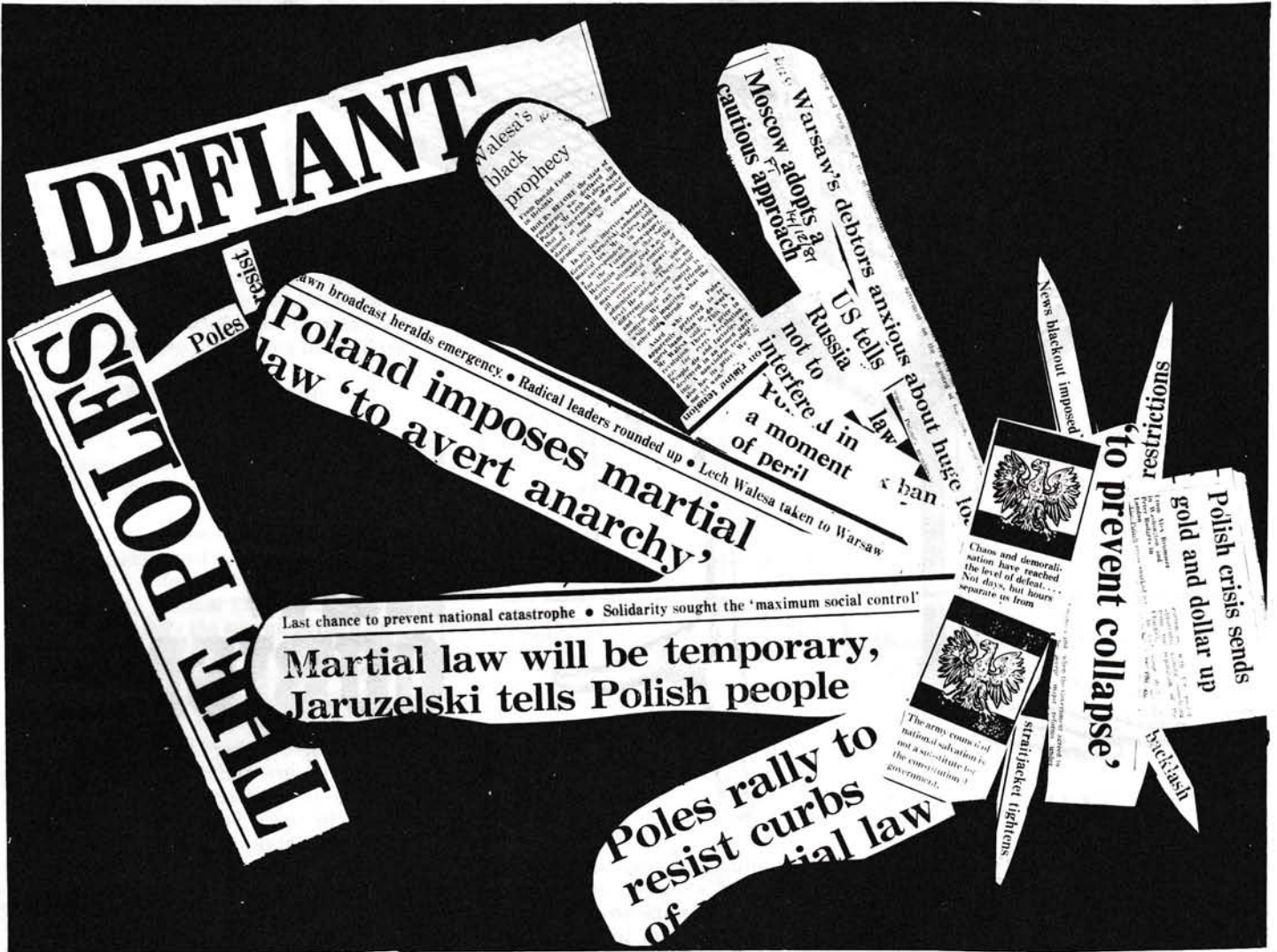


anarchist fortnightly

Freedom

25p

19th December 1981 Vol 42, No 25.



WE can almost smell the great sigh of relief that has been exhaled by all the world's right-thinking people over the (unexpected?) declaration of martial law in Poland.

We had all watched Solidarity in Poland play its own dodgy version of Polish Roulette and had tried hard to be discreet in our interpretation of what they were doing, sometimes being unanarchistic enough to whisper under our breaths that they should take it easy, go slow for a time, play it cool, and all that.

But they didn't. Hot-blooded, vodka-drinking Poles tend, it seems, to go for broke. The pressure — perhaps rightly, who can tell? — has been maintained for over a year. The Party has been purged; the State's unions have been replaced; demand after demand has been met; police harassment checked; food prices

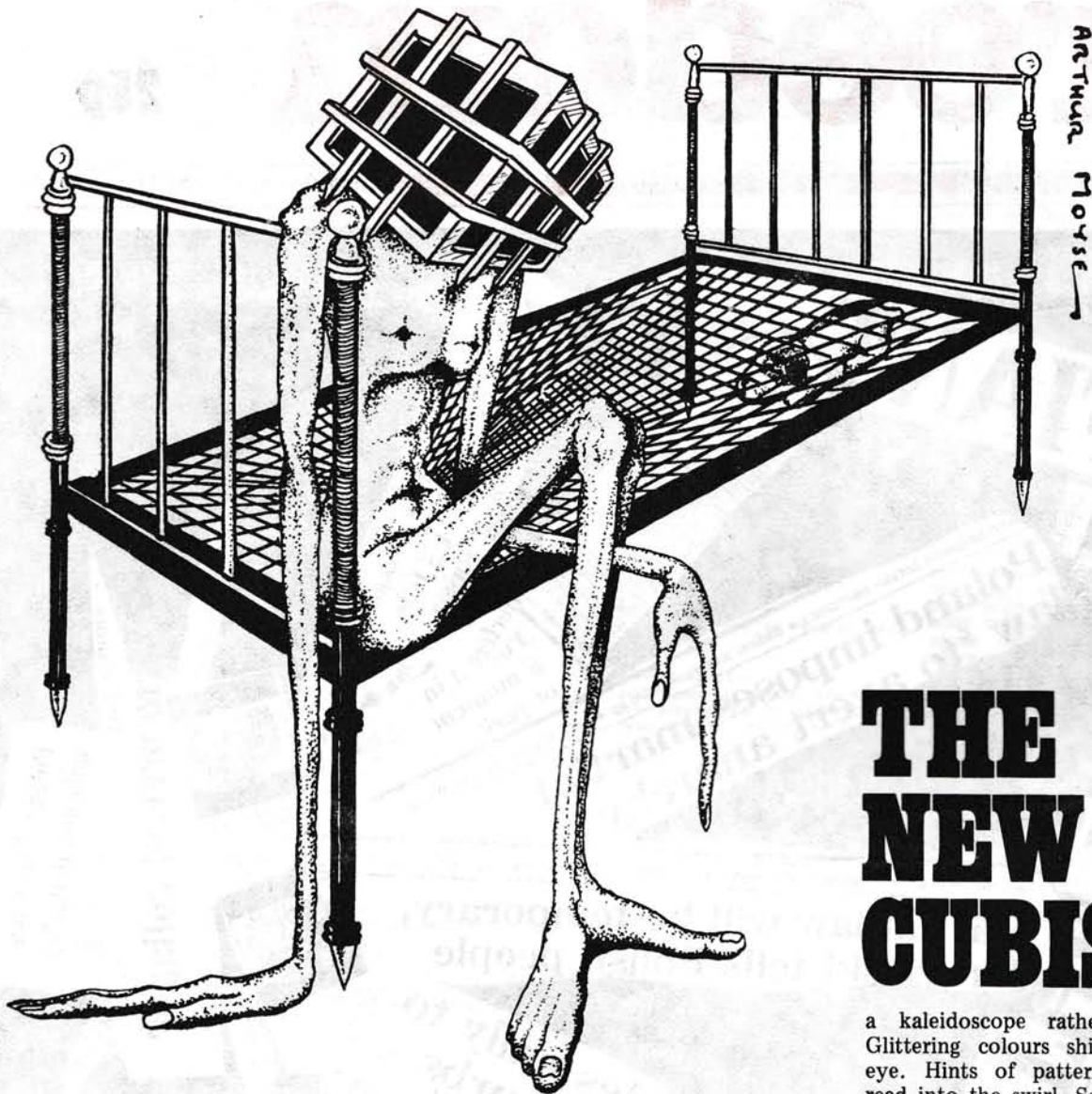
have been held down, a five-day week accepted.

What Solidarity had not been able to do was to influence the economy — precisely because Poland is surrounded by States who are all, as is normal, of the vulture variety. Whether state-capitalist or 'free' capitalist, they all had one ambition — to suck the blood of Poland, along with every other country in the world.

For them all, Solidarity was an embarrassment. For the Soviets, the reasons are obvious: exposure of the Polish puppet government's inefficiency and corruption amounted to an unacceptable criticism of the Communist system. For the West, after all those loans, successful in linking Communist Poland with Capitalism, an indigenous movement with ideas about freedom and industrial democracy was a threat indeed.

For us, libertarians in the 'West' — the emergence of Solidarity was like the opening of a window. Although the Catholic connection was embarrassing, it was obvious that here was a movement rooted among the workers in *almost* the same way as anarcho-syndicalism had been in Catholic Spain — the major partners, church and state, being reversed.

Solidarity is now facing the same test that our comrades in Spain faced in 1936: the military taking over. But all the external factors are vastly different. For today, East and West are united *against* the Polish workers. (They were against the Anarchists in Spain, of course, but not consistently against the Republican cause in general.) We believe that Solidarity understands this. We can do little more than wish them well — unless comrades can come up with practical means of showing solidarity to Solidarity?



THE NEW CUBISM

LIKE a demented Rubik's Cube the British political scene is rearranging. Swifter than the eye can follow, colours are clicked into new alignments. The public, fascinated and hypnotised by the sleight of hand, practise at home and buy manuals, written by self-appointed experts. Then, at the end, when it's all in nice, neat patterns, a flick of the wrist and we're off again.

Most of this frenzied activity has been taking place on what is known as the 'left'. This is, of course, an arbitrary label, based on the conventional way of holding the cube. One face of the puzzle is shifting from pastel pink to red, white, blue and yellow. Individual facets of this face are difficult to make out, they seem to have a surface coating which bounces back the media lights. It almost seems as if this face has been deliberately polished, for triumphant display when the ultimate answer is revealed. Rather than brittle plastic, this aspect is pliable, like iridescent oil covering jelly. All kinds of parasites can feed on this jelly, a new species of mould has become established there.

Another face ripples and shudders. Red

facets continually crop up. There are accusations of cheating, of facets being stealthily turned while no one is looking. Referees leap forward to reestablish the old pattern. People who had been, up to now, snootily pretending no interest; they had their own games, were much above this sort of thing, suddenly become jealous about all this attention. They rush forward, try to get a fingerhold. They've been convinced, it's the only game in town.

Their erstwhile playmates jeer and continue to try to produce their own, homemade puzzles. Unfortunately they don't have enough parts to manufacture a solid cube, and those they have are all shades of one colour. Boring. They struggle on, stealing bits from other fringe groups, swapping round amongst themselves.

One face of the cube has been completed. Blue. It's beginning to fade a little towards one edge, but it's still blue. There is no alternative.

According to the rules, each face must be uniform. Much effort goes into implementing this interpretation. But, oddly, one face is gaily decorated,

a kaleidoscope rather than a wash. Glittering colours shift and catch the eye. Hints of patterns appear or are read into the swirl. Some are menacing; dragons, hobgoblins, just a quick hint, a frisson, then the reassuring skill of the puzzle owner removes them. Comforting. Others are more appealing. They are grasped at but prove equally ephemeral; crowns, cosy family groups, exciting flickers through the mail order pages of the Sunday supplements. All gift wrapped and tinselled. Meanwhile, the other faces come closer to their ends.

The other faces won't settle. Fashions come and go, this season's shade abruptly changes. There's discontent in the audience, quickly suppressed by stewards. They have blue uniforms, easy to see which side they prefer. Interest in cube solving begins to wane. New models are suggested, representing different proportions; pyramids, snakes.

There is a grinding from inside the cube. The creatures who live there are throwing sand in the cogs. A crack appears! All the factions cooperate to seal it, their existence is threatened. If the internal creatures don't try harder, they can be contained.

Do you want to live in a cube?

Anarchist Activities

IN November David Owen spoke at a public meeting at Sussex University. After questions were curtailed following his speech, a number of eggs and tomatoes flew in his direction and one tomato hit him. He flew into a rage and chased a woman around the hall, accusing her of having thrown the tomato. Then he was restrained by stewards.

Next day the campus was flooded by national press and the incident hit headlines in all the big national papers. A *Times* editorial even commented on it. Responsibility was laid on the Anarchist Group, and indeed the Anarchist Group didn't deny intervening in the meeting, although they stopped short of claiming responsibility for the missiles thrown.

A week ago four students associated with the Anarchist Group were called to appear before the Student Disciplinary Panel (the University's quasi-legal Kangaroo court), to answer charges of planning activities likely to bring the University into disrepute. Previous punishments meted out by the panel have included fines, suspension and the expulsion of two anarchists for disrupting re-takes of boycotted preliminary examinations.

Then, on Wednesday 9th December, the Disciplinary Panel was due to be held in Sussex House, the administrative building. Thirty or so people managed first to prevent the defendants from attending by forming a sympathetic picket. Then the hearing began behind a locked door, with the defendants absent. The door was opened on a pretext and we pushed past admin guards to enter the room. Some case papers were torn up and the Disciplinary Panel members were confronted with the anger and opposition of the disruptors. They adjourned the hearing, and justified their role by saying that this was part of what they got their salary for (they are Professors) and that there must be *rules*. After half an hour's argument the panel left and the disruptors (some anarchists, some not) did likewise. It is worth noting that the written 'evidence' consisted of a *Daily Mail* article about the Owen meeting, two letters to University periodicals complaining about anarchist insults to politicians, and a

statement by the Anarchist Group which exposed the lies of politicians ranting about 'free speech', and affirmed our belief in actively opposing politicians.

The University pretended that a £500,000 contract had been lost due to the Owen disruption (it transpired the contract had already been ruled out at the time), in order to whip up calls for anarchist blood.

We are preparing now for the recalling of the panel and possible further charges resulting from the meeting of the 9th. After a great upsurge in anarchist activity this term, it seems the authorities are attempting to crush us. We are determined they will not succeed.

Sussex Anarchist Group consists of anarchists at the University and in the Brighton area.

Anyone interested please contact:
Sussex Anarchist Group
c/o Students Union
Falmer House
Univ of Sussex
Brighton
East Sussex

BIG A SALE

IN the bitter snows of winter last Saturday, the great and glorious Big A Sale took place in the Autonomy Centre at Wapping in East London. All the illustrious Anarchist printing houses were represented and proffered their wares to the panting public. Conceived in reply to the infamous Socialist Book Fair with its packs of opportunist, commercial and 'sincerely committed' leftist publishers, the Big A Sale gathered Cienfuegos, 121 Bookshop Brixton, the late Rising Free and of course Freedom (to name but many) together in order to benefit both their own and the Autonomy Centre's dwindling coffers; the A centre in particular having an imminent crisis of finance on their hands in order to pay the next 3 months rent.

But, as we all know, the inclemency of the weather last Saturday drove all but the most hardy and revolutionary of bookworms deeper into their armchairs,

toasting another teacake and wiping away a tear of regret.

Open from 10am — 6pm, the poor old A centre installed a special no-heat heating system in order to preserve the books but helped refrigerate the book-sellers. Freedom's stall sold a modest number of publications, but lacked the impact and variety of the juicy spreads displayed by Cienfuegos and Rising Free. Turnout was modest, but larger than expected, the weather being what it was.

Hopefully something like it will be organised again as it has great potential. An opportunity to get so much anarchist stuff in one place should not be missed and ideally should help attract the merely curious as well as the hard bitten anarchist. One thing though, the world wide publicity provided by only advertising the event in FREEDOM, while extensive, is not going to get them flocking in from the likes of Neasden where FREEDOM is not a notably big seller.

SIMON LOS

FOLLOWING the recent article in FREEDOM about Simon Los being given a 3 year sentence for giving out leaflets after last summer's riots in Nottingham, several groups have contacted the Nottingham anarchists to offer funds and give support. Unfortunately the Nottingham group has been defunct for over a year and attempts to restart it had all failed. There is no support group, or defence fund for Simon.

ALF NEWS

INTERNATIONAL ANIMAL
LIBERATION FRONT
Recent Actions in North America
(Autumn 1981)

ONTARIO, CANADA
Laboratory animal breeding centres daubed with anti-vivisection slogans. A huge billboard advertising meat daubed with large 'MEAT IS MURDER' slogan.

MONTREAL, CANADA
Large billboard advertising furs was damaged and had to be removed.



MIGUEL GARCIA



WE are sad to have to report the death of our friend and comrade, Miguel Garcia, in hospital on Friday 4th December. Everybody who knew Miguel will report on his warmth and life. We shall miss him. Miguel's funeral took place last Thursday, 10th December, attended by about 40 people, from many countries. The following tribute is provided by Albert Meltzer, Miguel's close friend since he came to live in exile in London.

WHEN the military rose in Spain in July 1936, all Barcelona rushed to its defence. Most workers had rushed to CNT unions halls and from there, generally with no more than work and domestic tools — axes, hatchets, knives — surrounded the military government building.

A 28 year old veteran of many struggles since boyhood, Miguel Garcia, gathered up his friends in the plaza Real and they rushed in the *other* direction, up the Ramblas into wealthy Barcelona, storming the gunshops. They collected a formidable round of weapons from a prepared list of sports shops and *then* went to Columbus Square. (A tense moment when they passed an armed Civil Guard squad: whether to go forward or backwards was inviting to be shot in the back. Defiantly they passed, shouting the slogans of the CNT. The Guard saluted. It was loyal to the Popular Front — not to the point of marching to the square to fight the Fascist rebels; but to the point of passively obeying whatever government was.)

It was one of many such incidents in the life of Miguel Garcia who died in London on 4th December. He had spent his youth both in Spain and France and, in the tradition of his family, devoted to building the anarcho-syndicalist unions. He spent the civil war first in the Saragossa campaign, later entirely on the Madrid front. When Franco won he went into a concentration camp which tried to 'rehabilitate' anti-fascists by forced drills. It failed! There he contacted others who intended to fight on and the Resistance that lasted from 1939 to 1949 was initiated.

Others — like Massana, who died earlier in the year — contributed greatly to the tremendous anarchist campaign in the mountains and cities; many made similar sacrifices — he finally was sentenced to death, commuted to 30 years imprisonment (of which he served 20 years).

But what gives Miguel his unique place in libertarian history is not so much the fact of his years of struggling for the Anarchist principle in Spain, but the

fact that after coming out of 20 years solid jail he again came to the front from another new direction, this time on the international field.

He was an inspiration for all the revolutionary Anarchist groups, the Angry Brigade, the First of May Solidarity groupings, the MIL ... as well as others in Spain, Germany and England. He appreciated that the situation in Spain, after years of Francoist repression in which all publicity was given to the Communist Party and the libertarian movement was both suppressed and ignored, meant world attention had to be brought to the Spanish situation and in particular to practical co-operation that would lead to an international different from the various paper internationals.

I was closely associated with him during those years. We organised the international Anarchist Black Cross together, and Miguel went to speak throughout England, Scotland and Wales; in France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, even in East Berlin (we did that by a trick). In all those meetings, fighting against apathy sometimes, with interfering police and harassing Customs officers at other times, he never gave up: he endeared himself to many people throughout the world who admired him for his tenacity and loved him.

When Miguel's book *Franco's Prisoner* came out, another book also appeared, by a Spanish socialist mayor who spent 30 years *In Hiding* — the title of his book. He regarded the anarchists as 'fools' and had spent the three years of repression hiding in a cupboard. Miguel addressed himself to the 'fools' who were activists all over Europe, and refused to admit that State repression was the last word.

ALBERT MELTZER

postscript Because of the many tributes being received about Miguel from all over the world, Black Flag is preparing a special memorial pamphlet outlining his life, work and the last tributes of comrades. Photographs and comment are welcome.

THE prestigious *Sunday Times*, commenting on Tariq Ali's application to join the Labour Party, refers to his membership of the 'revolutionary' Socialist Workers Party. That must please the International Marxist Group, which he has dominated for years. Makes you wonder how many other simple, basic, widely known, easily checkable newspaper 'facts' can be trusted.

AN 865 year jail sentence for embezzlement, in Thailand, has been cut to 576 years, on the grounds that the prisoner's testimony was 'useful'.

'TO AVERT ANARCHY'

DESPITE one quote from the City to the effect that it was standing on the edge of the financial equivalent of thermonuclear war because of General Jaruzelski's declaration of martial law in Poland, it is more than likely that the Western banks are as pleased at what has happened as the governments of the East.

There's a strong feeling around the place that the Poles got what was coming to them. To be an independent trade union in an Eastern European country, that's good, that's OK (in a way it isn't, incidentally, here); but to acquire ambitions, to blossom, in other words, into a whole social and political movement of radical reform, much of it laying a stress on principles of self-management and an end to hierarchy both in industry and in the Communist Party — if not in the Church — (and even, it is said, demanding the abolition of the CP itself!) — well, it doesn't take the truest and bluest of Conservatives to find such a thing unpalatable and impertinent. Not only this, but decidedly unbusinesslike.

There has always been far more to unite the governments of East and West than there has been to divide them, and that is the lesson of *Vodka Cola*, on which FREEDOM has commented in the past. No Western government, no banker, no industrialist, wishes to see Poland become a hive of social revolutionary experimentation; in short, none of them wishes to see an end to the Polish Communist Party. Solidarity was alright so long as it knew its place.

But as time went on it became increasingly apparent that Solidarity did not. A terrible thing, people began to realise that it was not a single and indivisible body, a monolith with whom business could be done on a rational basis. Poland had become 'unstable', 'anarchic' and as such anathema. The Polish authorities were due, to boot, to pay around 500m dollars in interest and principal by the end of 1981 as part of an agreement rescheduling debts of 2,400m dollars this year. And in recent months the West German government, which has been Poland's largest creditor in the West, and from 1980 its second most important trading partner after the Soviet Union, has begun to feel its federal budget threatened and so to refuse to guarantee further loans, complaining of Polish inefficiency (as if this were something post-August 1980, rather than very much a cause of subsequent events).

According to a *Times* report on the subject, by the spring of this year

some Western bankers estimated that Poland would need 10,000m dollars of new money in 1981 alone while the

country's gross financing requirement up to 1980 was estimated at 85,000m dollars.

The state of emergency must put this prospect in doubt as banks and governments will be only too happy to use the turn of events as a pretext for not supplying more funds while still pressing for an orderly rescheduling of debts falling due in 1982 and beyond.

The *Times* account more than hints at the relief that Western moneylenders must be feeling now that martial law has been declared. For some reason there's a sense that now the General is in power 'economic reform' and stability (oh stability!) will be guaranteed or, if it is not, that the Soviet Union and its partners must, and will, take responsibility for these Polish debts. And this, after all, is what ultimately matters.

All in all, Jaruzelski's move is one that the Western powers can afford to accept with equanimity.

G F

ABOUT 'FREEDOM'

THE past year has seen quite a few changes in 'Angel Alley' and this seems as good a time and place as any to let all the readers know about them. The effects of A Distribution, which started operating at the end of 1980, began to make themselves felt early in the new year. The initial result was an increase in FREEDOM's circulation, and therefore production costs, to meet the new orders coming in from previously untapped sources. This however turned out to be something of a mixed blessing as it slowly dawned on us that we were in fact losing money on every copy sold through a bookshop due to the bookseller's cut and postage and production costs coming to more than revenue back. We also found that many bookshops were over-ordering, giving a false impression of our circulation and again upping our costs. We are still suffering the effects of this elementary lesson in economics. Since then, however, A Distribution and Freedom have become more efficient and the slack has been taken up, leaving us still an increased circulation on this time last year. The problem of losing money when selling through bookshops has had to be answered with an increase in the cover price to 30p (the first rise for over 2 years), which is still not enough, but all that we think that people can be expected to pay. The new price will take effect from the first issue of the new year, which will be dated January 16th, as we will be missing an issue over the holidays.

For many years FREEDOM's subscribers have played a major role in subsidising losses made elsewhere, and have also been the major donors to the Deficit and Premises Funds. Rather than burden them overmore therefore the inland sub rate remains £8 per year. Any regular readers who don't subscribe are strongly urged to do so as this avoids any bookshop's cut and gets the money to us in advance.

The Deficit Fund and Premises Fund fell woefully short of their targets this

year and this too has put a great strain on our finances. Fortunately the Bookshop and Mail Order side of Freedom Press has managed to keep us afloat. But we must get some more money from somewhere, ie you, or we will one day be forced to reduce our production costs somehow; eg fewer pages or less regular appearance. These drastic measures may not be on the cards just yet, but another year like 1981 might well force us to consider them.

Now to explain where all the money goes, which is partly wrapped up with the best news of this year. It may not have escaped your notice that FREEDOM is no longer printed by the redoubtable Ian King in Margate, who used to work day and night to get it back to us on time, but here in Angel Alley, courtesy of Aldgate Press. Aldgate Press was set up with money donated by a comrade for the specific purpose of having a press on the premises once more. After a year of redecorating and rebuilding, down on the ground floor, it printed its first job at the end of July. It is run as an independent 'business' by a small collective, and has typesetting and layout facilities as well as a printshop. Aldgate Press charges FREEDOM a virtually 'cost price' for the printing and typesetting, while taking on other jobs the rest of the time in order to make ends meet. A financially strong Aldgate Press would of course be able to reduce FREEDOM's printing costs still further so an indirect way of helping the paper is making sure that the press is always busy.

To conclude then: FREEDOM needs more support! People to go out and sell it, people to write articles, reports, reviews etc and people to subscribe and donate to it. We hope these people appreciate the changes in its appearance and FREEDOM itself, and FREEDOM itself would appreciate more support.

THE EDITORS

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SILLY WALK

Dear Comrades everywhere,

Enough of the backward looking debate about Mgr Kent's October Silly Walk. It's time to plan for next year. Not next year's marches or firework displays, nor next year's candle-lit boats in memory of Nagasaki, but next year's Direct Action. It's time to plan for 'Operation Hard Rock'.

Direct Action is in. It is officially approved both by CND National Conference and by the hierarchs of that Campaign's National Council. Let's keep them to their word. Inside and outside CND groups we can co-ordinate region by region throughout these islands to help put a spanner in the works of the military and their civil defence exercise. With the backing of the biggest CND to date it's time to show our teeth. Preparations should start now. Groups of Comrades should discuss Direct Action and press for it within CND at all levels. We should be doing it now anyway. Practice makes perfect.

At CND National Conference an Anarchist fringe meeting started a contact network. This could be built up and used to co-ordinate action throughout these islands.

The Direct Action Movement is organising a special conference in January for Anarchists active in the Anti-Nuclear Movement. Details from Manchester DAM, 164/166 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M4 3BN.

Join the Anti Nuclear Contact Network via East Anglia DAM or contact me. Also use the FREEDOM Contact List. That's what it's there for.

Solidarity,
FRANK.

297 Greenstead Rd
Colchester
Essex
CO1 ZSE

SHOOT THE POPE?

Comrades,

With reference to Bob Potter's article 'God is not quite dead ...' (FREEDOM Vol 42, No 23) I would like to say that the slogan 'DON'T IGNORE IT — FIGHT IT' is fine, except for one thing how?

Kill the Bishops? Shoot the Pope? (again). Perhaps you've never heard of the idea of martyrs and their popularity in every church?

The anarchist 'movement' (if I can dignify this beloved rabble with such a term) suffers from far too many slogans and not enough ideas. Anyone reading FREEDOM is likely to be aware of anarchist ideas; enough, at least, not to need telling that naive, moronic and reactionary 'religion' is a dangerous and

dehumanising force. No argument.

So what?

What do you propose to do about it? Bomb the 'Kingdom Halls'? Blowing up your enemies seems to show a serious lack of faith in the strength of your arguments. Maybe you'd agree with me when I suggest that the average British anarchist couldn't win an argument with a four year old child, let alone a militant Jehovah's Witness, hence the need to advocate 'other methods' (or none at all).

The state of our 'movement' is one of incredible chaos; where communists rub shoulders with hippy idealists, and punks sneer at trendy liberals. A boring, half thought out, badly expressed and contradictory cacophony of ideas is all I seem to hear from anarchists. Our own attempts to 'organise' ourselves in a non-authoritarian way are the worst possible advert for anarchy you could have (with the possible exception of the anarchist 'press' — reading Black Flag makes me want to vote Tory).

Where is our unity? Our solidarity? Where are the practical working examples of our ideas? Where are the eloquent, witty, incisive and POPULAR expressions of those ideas?

FUCKING NOWHERE, that's where!

Why are half-baked notions like born-again Christianity, Marxism, SDP liberalism and British Movement Nazism gaining support while we're losing it?

Simply because anarchists confine themselves to angry, semi-literate condemnation of 'the State', 'the System' and 'the Spectacle' without ever offering a coherent set of alternatives. We tend to substitute outrage and bitter cynicism for creative, understandable suggestions.

We have failed to illustrate (to ourselves and others) the links between feminism, pacifism, the ecology movement, nuclear disarmament (and others) and anarchism. We have failed to connect our attacks on racism, Imperialism, exploitation and unemployment and make them into any kind of anarchist 'philosophy'. In fact we've failed to make anarchism anything except a self-righteous mess of negative criticism.

It's easy for me to attack all this (and lay myself open to the same criticisms I've just made). What 'creative, understandable alternatives' do I have to offer?

Quite a few, actually, which are going into a book (probably called The New Anarchism) that I'm writing (quick plug!). I don't want to try and summarise the whole book now, but rather than cop-out completely I'll say this:

I think a 'philosophy' of anarchism should be flexible and coherent; it should try and develop concrete, practical suggestions as to how an anarchist society would balance the needs of individuals (freedom) against the needs of the group (society); it should also try and come up with practical ways of achieving such a society. The key ideas, I feel, are Autonomy, Alternatives, Cooperatives,

Collectives and Communes. Above all anarchism should avoid simplifications and naivety; don't use words like 'State', 'Revolution' or 'Freedom' without thinking about what they really mean. Don't destroy without creating (don't attack something unless you have an alternative).

The main task of every anarchist, it seems to me, is to THINK! Don't be a rebel without a cause (or a brain, or alternatives).

In Solidarity,
JIM ENDERSBY.

London N15

BUDDHA

Dear FREEDOM,

Tony Cliff, buddha of the SWP, predicted the revolution within the decade back in the late sixties, and Gerry Healy could convince an audience of young trotskyists that the imminence of the revolution would be directly related to the amount of money raised by the collection that evening. But Cliff M Poxon's proposition 'we could have a revolution tomorrow if a few of us put our heads together' is the best offer we've seen so far. With the trotskyists these apocalyptic revelations are merely the showmanship used to draw in the crowds that they need to run high-turnover organisations. The leaders feel little more attachment for the individuals who enter and leave their organisations than we feel for the individual lungfuls of air we breath in and out to keep us alive. The continued existence of the party is its own justification.

Cliff M Poxon's rashness by contrast, seems to stem from a genuine confusion about the real meaning of the word revolution. A revolution for him is something that can be arranged by a 'few' people and the summer riots lacked only the correct direction to give them revolutionary potential. His mistake is in imagining that the spectacle of street-fighting and barricade building associated with revolution is the revolution itself. It's a notion that's in the air at the moment. Just like the practitioners of sympathetic magic who believed dances simulating the sounds of thunder hastened the rain, and ritual copulation in the fields encouraged the fertility of the soil, so many of today's urban Guevaras believe that simulating the spectacle of revolution in the city streets, will induce the revolution for real. But a revolution is not burning buses nor even storming palaces, it is a process of fundamental change to the social structure. At some stage those with a vested interest in the old way of organising the production and distribution of wealth attempt to reverse the process, while those whose advantage lies with one of the new structures emerging seek to defend their gains. This comparatively

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brief period of open conflict inevitably involves violence but this violence is not the revolution, merely the consolidation of the revolution.

The view that the spectacle of violence is itself the revolution is a misconception encouraged by the establishment media to demean revolution by representing it as no more than a change of government that could be better accomplished by an election. Marxists also encourage this shallow view of revolution to conceal the counter-revolutionary nature of the 1917 Bolshevik coup, which had the spectacle of revolution but in practice began the reversal of all the revolutionary gains achieved by the workers and peasants between February and October.

The view that the revolution is a political event that precedes the restructuring of society and not the reverse, is of course, a complete contradiction of basic marxism, but then most marxists don't know their Marx from their elbow anyway.

Cliff M Poxon talks about the need to draw up a plan for revolutionary action. Now although a small group of political activists are not going to make the anarchist revolution alone, the movement would certainly benefit from some coherence, vision and consistency of action. It is true that most political activists piddle about doing a bit of this and a bit of that with no clear idea of how their activity fits into the overall pattern of changing society. A good deal of leftist activity is patently counter-productive. SWP branches, for example, that have concentrated on ANL activity have in fact helped to build the NF by providing the kind of confrontation excitement the NF needs to retain apolitical recruits. In some areas the symbiotic nature of the SWP/NF relationship is so evident that when the NF branch collapses the SWP branch all but collapses too.

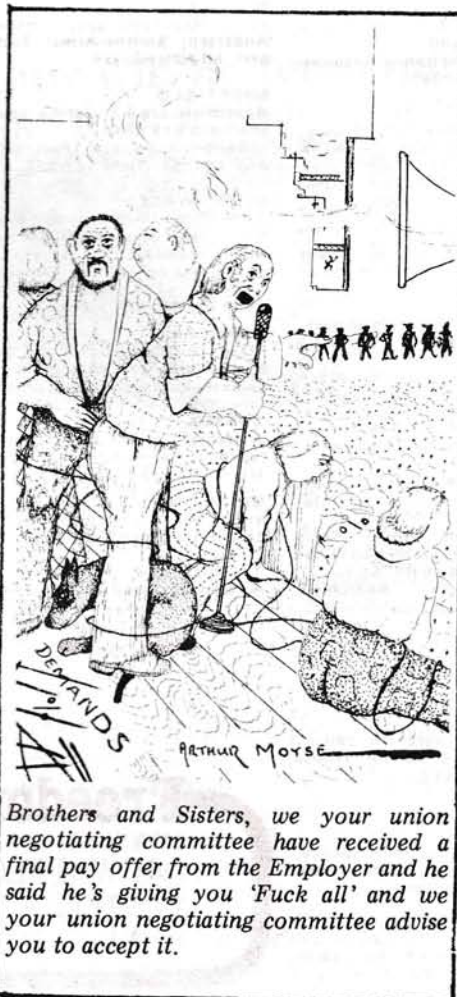
But while revolutionaries are burying themselves in arbitrarily chosen campaigns and militant trade unionists are doggedly continuing the struggle for wage rises that are soon snatched back in higher prices, the employer and the state are forever on the offensive. Learning from their mistakes and planning ahead they hold the initiative, while the worker sees no further than the carrot at the end of his nose. For today's working class no longer carries the dream of a new Jerusalem in its heart, the continuity of father to son socialism has been broken by the affluent generations of the boom years and the demoralising experiences of recent Labour governments. Seeing no alternative, the working class willingly accepts all the atrocities committed by the capitalists in the cause of economic growth; the rape of the planet, the genocide of third world populations, the wholesale torture of defenceless animals, and the moral degradation of lives spent in socially worthless occupations. Unions, ostensibly existing to

defend labour against capital, are so thoroughly incorporated into the system that members allow their funds to be invested in capitalist enterprises, not realising or caring that the interest they are paid can only come from their own exploitation.

People have tolerated a system in which their labour, the most valuable of all societies resources, is squandered in, for the most part, unnecessary work, primarily because they feel they have more to lose (measured in colour televisions and cars) than to gain from fighting the system. But now an ever increasing number of people are being denied any work at all, and at least some of these people realise they have more to gain (measured in pride and joy) than to lose by fighting back. This is the significance of the riots.

Against this background our contribution must be mainly educational, but first we must educate ourselves. So while we would disagree with Cliff M Poxon's interpretation of recent events, we support what is surely the essence of his intention, to persuade us to stop dissipating the physical and intellectual resources we have and get on with building a movement equal to the task before us.

CRAWLEY ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE



Brothers and Sisters, we your union negotiating committee have received a final pay offer from the Employer and he said he's giving you 'Fuck all' and we your union negotiating committee advise you to accept it.

UPSURGE

Dear Friends,

'The Anti-Bomb Movement' is currently experiencing an upsurge, and recent demos have had significant Anarchist participation. However, it appears that the Anarchist movement does not have the coherence that is necessary for a successful struggle against nuclear weapons or a strategy for putting our ideas across to the broader movement.

We believe Anarchists are aware of this, and they realise that nuclear weapons are symptomatic of an unfree state dominated society. Therefore we have taken the initiative and are calling a conference in Manchester for the latter part of January '82. This meeting, we hope, will foster discussion on the ways the Anarchist Anti-Bomb Campaign should develop and also lay the basis for future meetings and action.

We would be pleased to receive your ideas and as we will be incurring some expenses in arranging the conference we would be grateful for any financial contributions.

Yours fraternally,
MANCHESTER ANTI-BOMB
CAMPAIGN
CHORLTON ANARCHISTS
MANCHESTER DIRECT ACTION
MOVEMENT

Manchester Anti-Bomb Campaign
c/o DAM
164/166 Corn Exchange Bldgs
Manchester M4 3BN

MISTAKE REVEALED

Dear Friends,

Thank you for printing my letter (in the issue of FREEDOM of 5th December) under the heading 'Taking Issue'.

Unfortunately there appears to have been an accidental addition of an extra word in the third paragraph. In the printed letter the following sentence occurs; (I have put the extra word in capital letters for emphasis), 'Readers of such magazines as Peace News will see that many people in the peace movement do NOT believe in the necessity for some kind of anarchist/libertarian socialist change.'

What I believe I wrote and certainly meant to say was — 'Readers of such magazines as Peace News will see that many people in the peace movement do believe in the necessity for some kind of anarchist/libertarian socialist change.'

Obviously the including of the word 'not' makes the point I am trying to make more difficult. Therefore I thought I would write in again to clear up any confusion inadvertently caused.

Best wishes,

D DANE.

London N12

FREEDOM CONTACTS

NATIONAL

ABERDEEN

Solidarity, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

BARRY

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

BELFAST

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

BEDFORDSHIRE

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

BRIGHTON

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

BRISTOL

L Bedminster, 110 Grenville Rd, Bristol 3.

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

CAMBRIDGE

Anarchists, Box A, 41 Fitzroy St.

CANTERBURY

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

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

CARDIFF

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

CIRENCESTER AND THE COTSWOLDS

c/o Andrew Wilkie, 7 Sperrington, Cirencester, Glos.

COVENTRY

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

CUMBRIA

12 Bath Terrace, Drovers Lane, Penrith.

DUBLIN

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

EAST ANGLIA

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

EDINBURGH

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

ESSEX

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

EXETER

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

GLASGOW

Glasgow Anarchist Group, c/o Box 3, Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Great Western Rd, G12.

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

HASTINGS

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

HULL

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

KEELE

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

KEIGHLEY

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

LAMPETER

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

LIVERPOOL

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

LEAMINGTON

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

LEEDS

Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge, 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 Railton Rd, Herne Hill, SE24. Xtra! Structureless Tyranny

West London Anarchists contact John Sanders, 4 Naylor House, Mozart Estate, W10.

MALVERN

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

MANCHESTER

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

SOLIDARITY (MANCHESTER) AND 'WILDCAT'

The main local activity of the majority of people who previously made up the Manchester Solidarity group is now the production, in co-operation with others, of a free bulletin called 'Wildcat'. Both 'Wildcat' and the remaining active members of Manchester Solidarity can be contacted by writing to either 'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at; Box 25, 164/166 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, 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).

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

READING

Reading Anarchist Group, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Str, Reading. Meets once a week.

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.

SWINDON

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

TAYSIDE

Anarchist Group, 3L 188 Strathmartine Rd, Dundee.

WAKEFIELD

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

DESIRES

1982 AD - A FESTIVAL OF ARTISTS WITH DISABILITIES

During January and February of 1982 the first ever festival by artists with disabilities will take place. A group called 'Artists with Disabilities' (who originated out of the 'Liberation Network of People with Disabilities') have been working in conjunction with the Arts Officer for Lambeth Council to bring about this unique event. Lambeth have already committed financial support and many hours of work to the project, and the group is currently seeking further funds to help stage the whole of this ambitious event.

'Artists with Disabilities' are keen that as many people as possible, from anywhere in the country, should participate. The Group would be glad to hear from anyone who is interested, including people with experience of fund-raising or access to funds. If you are interested in the Music Workshop, please let us know what instruments you play and what styles of music. For this, please contact the following address or telephone, which also deals with general enquiries:

Judith Schrut, Arts Officer, Lambeth Directorate of Amenity Services, 164 Clapham Park Rd, London SW4 (622 6655 Ext 331/246).

Those interested in entering work for the art exhibition please write to: Nancy Willis, 6 Lea Hall Gardens, Lea Hall Rd, London E10.

For either address please include a stamped addressed envelope. We look forward to hearing from you

ANY

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

Axel Ney Hoch is confined to bed with a leg in plaster. He would appreciate telephone calls from friends old or new. Ring him on 01-348 2761.

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PHONE 01-247 9249

THE POWER OF WOMEN



IF generalisations are possible concerning the current state of relations between the sexes, a striking fact is that past and present sexist victimisation is producing a new toughness and strength in women. It's not just that, in order to cope with the (intolerable) conditions of 'Business as Normal' in the prevailing system of sexism, women of every income and background are forced to become tougher in order to survive (Compare Nietzsche, no feminist: 'Whatever does not kill me strengthens me.'). More important is the fact that increasingly women are less willing to compromise and settle for mere survival. (For what else is 'survival' except the defensive *acceptance* of continued existence within the sexist status quo?) On the contrary, what's significant is that women in general are becoming increasingly uncompromising in their refusal to accept Business as Normal. The condition for this is the emergence of an unprecedented power and independent toughness vis a vis men.

It's essential, in describing and explaining this fact, neither to underestimate nor to exaggerate it. Within and between the more or less privileged female groupings (based on work, education and income) in the system of sexism,

important variations exist. (See eg. Anna Pollert's *Girls, Wives, Factory Lives*, Macmillan, 1981.) However, within the extremes of the corruptions of wealth/power and extreme deprivation and spiritual exhaustion, the striking fact is that the female victims of the system seem increasingly more powerful than their male dominator/collaborator counterparts. How is this possible?

Before attempting to answer this question, let me stress that I do not see women in general or particular groups of women as privileged or special agents of social change. If the aim of feminism is a society of free and equal *human beings*, then it's clear that only an anti-elitist, egalitarian movement of anti-sexist women *and* men working together, can achieve it. The fundamental fallacy of so-called 'male exclusivist' 'feminists' is that their methods are incompatible with and render unrealizable this aim. (Without this necessary unity between means and aims, sexism can only be reproduced, not abolished.) The fundamental fallacy of Marxian schemas of social change is the dogmatic presumption of assigning a special or privileged role and status to the (in practice male dominated) Class, Party, State or whatever. This is both sexist and anti-democratic.

Only a libertarian approach (all libertarians are socialists, but not all 'socialists' are libertarians), recognizing the necessity for the broadest possible egalitarian movement of anti-sexist men and women, can in principle achieve the feminist aim. In this sense, all libertarians are feminists, but not all 'feminists' are (alas) libertarians.

So much for theory. The fundamental paradox I wish to explain is how, given the prevailing sexist system of male domination, is it possible for the female victims of male power to be increasingly more powerful than their male counterparts in the system?

There is a traditional set of metaphorical answers to this question — more precisely its male (sexist) analogue — in Hegel and Marx. Consider, first, Hegel's account (in the *Phenomenology*) of the Master/Slave dialectic. According to Hegel, the fundamental truth of the Master is his dependence on the Slave. There is an internal contradiction between dependence and domination. The Dominator depends for his power — indeed, his very existence — on his subordinated Victim(s). His power *derives* from this dependence: no Slaves to exploit, no power. The Slave in radical contrast, is independent and free in a way the Master can never be. S/he is both the root source of the dominator's power, and does not depend for his/her existence (in a fundamental, logical sense) on the Dominator.

In short, the Master's dependence on the Slave is *essential*; his power of domination *contingent*: it can last only as long as the Slave is willing to collaborate in his/her exploitation.

Thus far Hegel. Let's now briefly consider Marx's account of the Capitalist/Wage-Worker relationship in the 1844 *Paris Manuscripts*. Marx describes the Worker's alienation, the direct product of his domination by the Capitalist, as four-fold. First, the worker is alienated from him/her Self. Second, s/he is alienated from his/her fellow 'man'. Third, the Wage-Worker is alienated from Nature. Finally, in the sphere of work itself, s/he is alienated (due to lack of control) over the methods, aims, process and products of the actual labour process.

Of relevance for us is the first in-built constituent or effect of the Capitalist Worker relationship, the Worker's alienation from his/her own nature. The institution of wage-labour cripples, warps and represses — prevents the free expression — of the worker's natural mental, physical, emotional, artistic, sexual etc powers. Instead of the free, creative exercise and development of human natural powers for their own sake, as an end in itself, we have their exploitation as an instrument or means of profit-making. The result is that the Worker is de-humanised, brutalised, reduced to a half-crazed, semi-animal existence.

In spite of this, Marx argues, the exploited worker is better off in his/her alienation than is the Capitalist in his. For the Capitalist is, qua capitalist (that is, someone who directly exploits wage-labour for profit), also alienated. Indeed, his Self-alienation (not to mention the other forms) is far worse than that of the Worker. For no matter how brutalised and degraded this relation of exploitation makes the worker, precisely in and because of his/her half-animal condition, the Worker is able to recognize just how de-humanized s/he is. The Capitalist (who does no work and simply profits parasitically from the productive labours of others), also has his creative powers repressed and crippled by having to occupy this parasitic role in this relationship. But the corruptions of power, wealth and privilege are such that the capitalist is unaware of what a crippled fragment/caricature of a human being he is. He is unconscious of the de-humanising, warping effects on his own nature. He is spiritually bankrupt.

Because of these facts, Marx concludes, the alienated Worker is far better off than his/her exploiter. For the worker-victim is aware of her/his alienated de-humanisation (the source for Marx of the passion for revolutionary social change); the Boss isn't. Furthermore, as in the case of the Master/Slave relation, the fundamental relation underlying the domination/exploitation nexus is one of essential



power and independence of the Worker vis a vis the Boss. Without his essential dependence on the productive labour of the wage-worker (for Marx the sole source of the capitalist's profits), the capitalist has no power or *raison d'être*. His power is precisely his dependent command over wage-labour.

How adequate and relevant to our problem are these accounts of the dialectics of domination and alienation by Marx and Hegel? However suggestive as metaphors — they are, I believe, *very* suggestive — they are inadequate: not because of their sexist formulation, but because they remain, at bottom, metaphorical. The relations, contradictory causes, conditions and effects of domination/dependence, victimisation/independence aren't grounded, as they need to be, in a *psychology of power*. Only if we try to understand the causes, scope and limits, of domination and collaboration, independence and resistance in terms of the minds and natures of those involved, can we comprehend the relative powers of men and women in the present system of sexism.

For the rest of the article, let me abstract from the psychology of male domination-dependence (dependent impotence), and concentrate on that of the women collaborator/victims. Specifically, how, psychologically, the ever-increasing resistance of women to collaboration in their victimisation is possible.

In a nutshell, I believe that the unprecedented strength, independent toughness and unwillingness of women to tolerate further sexist shit, derives from two fundamental sources. The first is the extent to which the Women's Movement has made possible the overcoming of feelings of individual impotence, isolation, helplessness and hopelessness. Mutual aid and recognition of common collaborator-victim status despite differences in income and privilege, the dissemination of knowledge and information, the sharing of fears and experience — have enabled women to come and act together. The result of this mutual aid, recognition and shared thought and action is the exercise of women's hitherto repressed creative powers in every domain. The natural consequence in turn of this development of individual powers, this collective flexing of mental, physical, emotional, artistic, sexual etc muscles, is mutually re-inforcing confidence and *en-couragement*. Women now have and exercise the courage — and *en-courage* each other by word and deed — to think and act in an increasingly un-

compromisingly radical and independent fashion. The result is a demand for equality and free reciprocity in every domain — work, home, bedroom — which few men are able to handle.

The second basic source of female strength is the creative use of anger. Anger and outrage at institutionalised violence and violation of one's rights and freedom, at the patterns of individual and general humiliations, degradations and injustices constitutive of sexist Business as Normal becomes a creative force if but only if transformed outward into positive action. Here, the necessary and sufficient mechanism is hope. Without hope, anger is internalised and self-destructively employed — wasted — in all the forms of collaborationist self-policing: feelings of frustrated impotence, depression, self-blaming and punishing, despair, cynicism With the hope engendered by the Women's Movement, however, anger becomes creative out-rage: a desire and demand for ever more uncompromising resistance and

change. Anger transformed by hope becomes vision (though without continuous radical scrutiny and 'reality'-testing it can easily degenerate into self-deception and illusory thinking): the ability to dia-gnose (see-through) the present system of sexism for what it is — a system of domination whose necessary condition of existence is the free collaboration of the victims. Creative anger (vision) sees men as what they are; more or less impotent collaborator-victims or courageous fellow-resisters (dare I say comrades — equal partners?) of the sexist system.

Most important, creative anger sees clearly the necessity to ensure that our means of abolishing sexism are continuously informed and always guided by the aim of the feminist exercise: the creation of a society of free and equal human beings.

JULIE SOUTHWOOD

Illustrations taken from bicicleta.

BOOK
REVIEW

CHECKING THE CHECKLIST

A Checklist of Freedom Press Publications 1886-1927.
Compiled by Carl Slienger. Kropotkin's Lighthouse
Publications, 60p (available from Freedom Bookshop).

THE Freedom Press is 95 years old, and there will no doubt be several studies of various aspects of its history as the centenary approaches. The first is this little pamphlet (14 pages of A6) which lists in chronological order with bibliographical details nearly 50 publications it produced during nearly 50 years. Such a work has obvious uses and less obvious problems. This one provides some basic information about the activity of the main anarchist publishing organisation in Britain during the first half of its existence, but there are several serious drawbacks.

The compiler's preface says that 'this first effort may not be free of errors and omissions and therefore any suggestions towards compiling a more complete bibliographic *apparat* of the Press would be appreciated'. (The word should be *apparatus* rather than *apparat*, which is used for the bureaucracy of a dictatorship, but never mind.) Here are some suggestions, as requested.

1. It is a pity to produce the text so badly, with ugly type of the kind once used by FREEDOM but superseded

by the recent improvements, and with misprints like 'Enrico' for Errico Malatesta and George 'Barret' for Barrett, or '80cto' every time for octavo, especially when the cover and frontispiece are so good.

2. It is a pity to restrict the list to pamphlets and books. Such a guide should surely open with the most important publication of the Freedom Press — the 446 issues of FREEDOM published from 1886 to 1927 — and should also include other periodicals produced during the early period — especially the *Voice of Labour* (1907, 1914-1916) and the *Freedom Bulletin* (1928-1932).

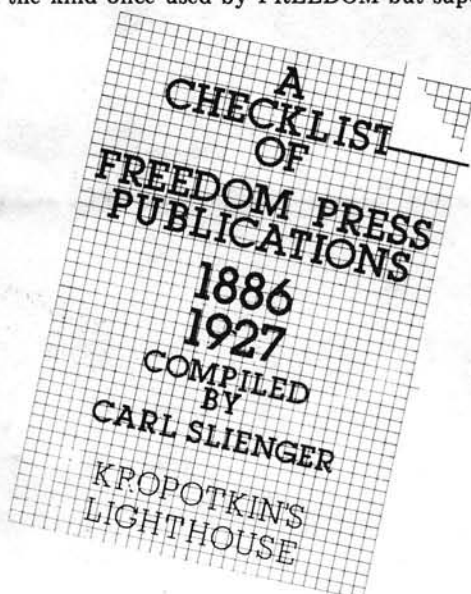
3. It is a pity to stop halfway rather than continuing to the present day, and it is to be hoped that a single list will appear in some form soon.

4. It is a pity to give the barest details with virtually no editorial comment at all, so that the very brief answers to obvious questions prompt further questions.

5. Above all, it is a pity to produce a reference work which is so seriously inaccurate and incomplete, so that most entries have something missing or something wrong, or both. If such criticism seems rather trivial, perhaps bibliography is itself rather trivial; but if it is worth doing it is surely worth doing properly. Put simply, anyone who is interested in the subject could compile a basic list by looking through the issues of FREEDOM and looking up the various publications, and anyone who can't do so shouldn't rely on this one.

The problem is not so much the basic information about the publications themselves, which is easy to find and to give (though some of it is wrong), as the background information about the contents of the publications. The compiler has relied too much on two previous bibliographies which are indispensable but unreliable (like so many bibliographies). One is Max Nettlau's *Bibliographie de l'anarchie* (published in Belgium in 1897 and reprinted in the United States in 1968), which is the standard work based on an unrivalled knowledge of the subject and containing an indigestible amount of information, but which was produced in a great hurry and which contains some mistakes followed by most subsequent bibliographies — including this one. The other is T Piro's *Neskolko predvaritelnykh materialov k bibliografii P. A. Kropotkina* (published in Russia in 1922 and reprinted by Carl Slienger in 1978), which is a collection of 'Some preliminary materials for the bibliography of P A Kropotkin', and which is very useful for writings in Russian, but which is very unreliable about those in other languages and contains many mistakes followed by most subsequent bibliographies — including this one.

To put right what is wrong with this pamphlet, it is necessary to go back to the original publications, and the resulting corrections would be longer than the pamphlet itself. The most sensible course is not to take this first effort too seriously and either to make your own list or to wait for a better one.



THERE is no lovelier sight than that of a pride of critics prowling among the haut culture of mankind's civilisations in a search for the free drinks. Tensile steel muscles rippling beneath silken skin, the clear eyes and the feline grace of the silent loping strides and then the groupings and the whispered exchange of information as to where and when the free wine will appear. And then the table with the clear glasses and the white and the red and an ancient uniformed Ganymede handing out the free slosh with eyes full of hatred, loathing and contempt for the circle of freeloaders waiting for their glass of the red or the white 'Sir', 'Madam'. It is this that makes art worthwhile. But there was nothing to ease the pain of the 'Strange genius of William Burges' exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum. I have a fond and nostalgic love of vulgarity in the joke, in the dress and in the street market or fair ground ornament. Given the choice I state with absolute sincerity that I would rather have been a Donald McGill comic postcard artist with his brilliant line, beautiful use of interlocking colours and earthy gentle humour than a Fernand Leger reducing the world to coloured sterile blocks. For the vulgarity of the plaster ornaments sold in the street markets, the fairgrounds or in the squares outside the European cathedrals is purchased for the genuine human pleasure it gives. It is the pleasure that a child may feel on receiving a painted plaster doll but the necessity to accept a cultural vulgarity to fall in step with the mode will come when innocence dies with the questing mind. Poor Willie went to the Great Studio in the Sky in 1881 and the exhibition of his lack of talent is on view at the V & A Museum in all its full horror. And there was no wine to ease the pain. Compared with Willie's work the Albert Memorial is a piece of pure Swedish carving, for here was a man completely devoid of talent even to create the absurd. One doubts if much of this could find a market in a Steptoe junk yard for even the best appears to combine the worst excesses of the 1930s Hollywood cinema film industry and the cinemas in which the films were shown. You wanna castle man, 19th century, and Willie would design and build one for you. Stained glass windows, four poster bed and turrets on the battlements for the archers to shoot down at the postman with a newly designed Holy Grail thrown in and Willie would do the lot as a package deal. Yet you cannot condemn or mock the man for on his slight talent he plastered the art world with horse shit and became rich in the process, but what is important is that he gave pleasure to himself and all those people who hired his talent to produce talentless work. His one small gift was that Willie was a middling good illustrator in the style of young children's books. Hepped on the painful rubbish of the Pre-Raphaelite camp version of Victorian Arthurian legends Willie paddled down stream without a paddle, gilding weeds for the nouveaux riches under the happytime delusion that he was producing golden roses. Among all this cultural carnage is a wash-hand-stand of a type and style found in the room of a boarding house suicide when all hope and money has gone. I quote, 'the wash-hand-stand is dark red in colour, adorned with gilt arabesques and inlaid with pieces of vellum and mother of pearl. The upper section is crenellated and contains the cistern; This section is embellished with three paintings illustrating the Narcissus legend.' etc. This wash-hand-stand has but one small and simple claim to fame in that it was once owned by the poet John Betjeman and given to Evelyn Waugh and this was the wash-hand-stand 'which haunted the central character in Waugh's' autobiography *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold, M.A.*, ye *Brideshead Revisited* television buffs, and it is now owned by Auberon Waugh, Esq, who tries so hard in and out of the pages of *Private Eye* to con the world that he is a raving lunatic instead of a gentle hack earning his living by churning out substandard Bernard Levin schoolboy insults. Class Willie with the producers of the plaster ducks, the gnomes and the Virgin Mary, Tony Curtis 'wit the sword man wit

VIP VUL

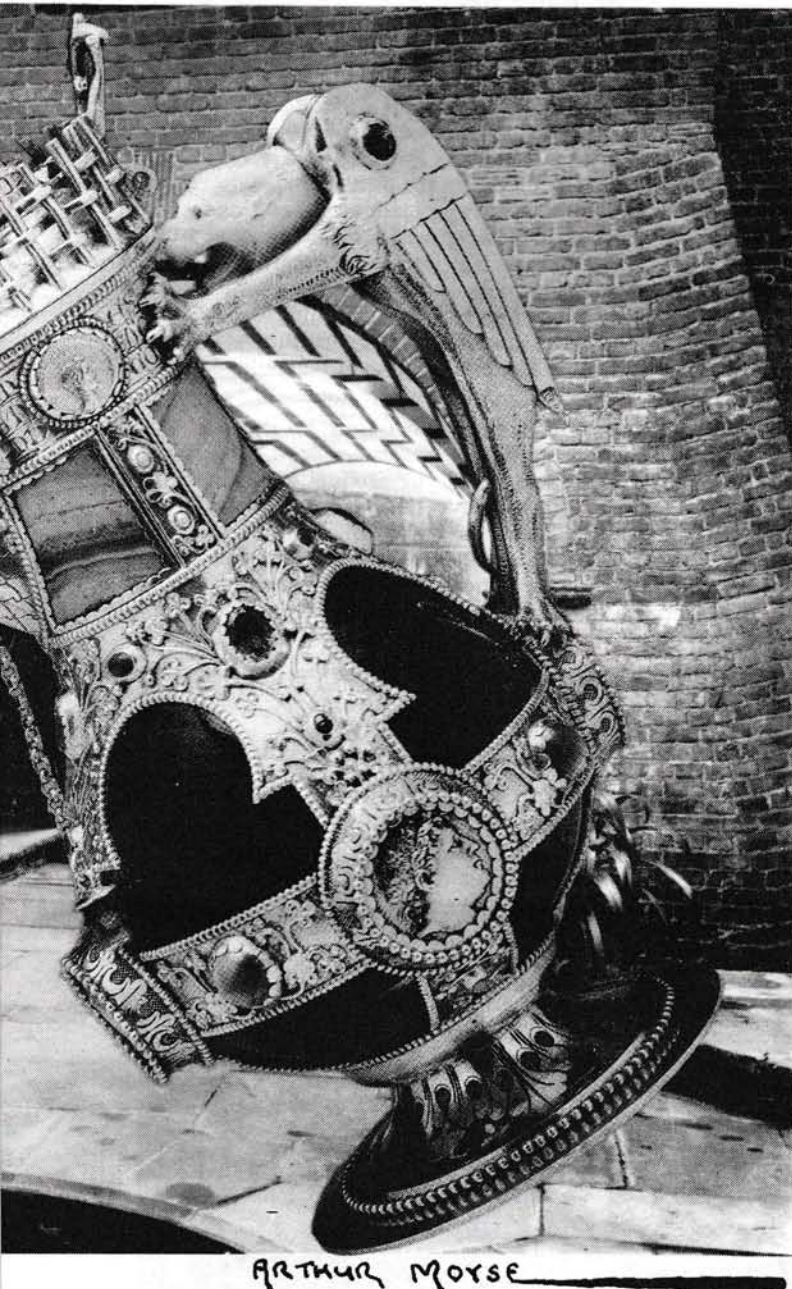
the sword' and audience participation in the Albert Hall wrestling bill, and William Burges, 'Genius', joins an honourable company.

So wineless and witless and with the Town and his glazed eyed frau trailing behind us wondering why if it ain't art why is it in the V & A, we of the Fourth Estate cross the river to that grim fortress that men call the Hayward Art Gallery. Here is corn raised to a higher level, for Sir Edwin Lutyens as the professional architect for the post First World War newly created professional middle class, churned out 'The House Beautiful' with, as a side line, a heavy-weight Government House and a nice line in war memorials on demand. He was the tough professional churning out his supermarket sun drenched, wine coloured brick houses on the principle that you paid for the beautiful and the elegant and that was what you got for your guilty loot and if you



EGARITY

wished to know what your brick shack would look like you simply had to flip through the pages of the society's *Tatler* and there among the sepia photographs of the guards officers the debutantes and the Master of the Hunt sitting on the old oak factory produced stairs would be found the advertisements and photographs for the Lutyens House Beautiful. Pride of place among Lutyen's houses is given to Tigbourne Court, built when Lutyens was 30, about 1900. Built of Bargate stone it is 'beautiful' between inverted commas, yet of my simplicity I would fault the external on a number of points. One is the too obvious use of metal strip, allowing the rain to run off the wall onto the roof, two is the unnecessarily tall chimneys and three the Greek Doric columns at the entrance to this all brick house. These three things are alien to the material and the design of the house in that they distract the eye from what should be a unified whole, phoney though the period style may be. But put the



ARTHUR MOYSE

cheque on the table and Lutyens would leap to the client's demands, but taste or nay so never mock poor Willie or the Hearst of 'Citizen Kane'. In the twentieth century Lutyens built three castles on the orders of rich men all in ersatz medieval styles which culminated in Castle Drogo, built on the orders of Julius Drewe, who like Maggie's dad made his sand pile in the grocery trade.

From the House Beautiful via the memorials to keep the fallen dead from rising to the musical comedy castles. For the hard faced middle class who waxed fat in the First World War Lutyens pandered to their needs with pretty musical comedy houses or castles and brute heavy memorials to the 'dead' to save their consciences, but, like the Egyptians, Lutyens built his own memorial in his own life time, and it was left to Michael Foot, shambling into Whitehall on the eleventh of November 1981 to destroy Lutyen's image. So down the concrete pre Lutyens steps within the Hayward, with the Town and his querying frau in tow, to the 'Late Sickert' and here is a man who was one of the town's roustabouts yet who never showed it in his canvasses, unlike Augustus John. From the gloomy palette of his early and middle period to this 'Late Sickert' it was always gloom and despair, gloom and despair. Here is his work after 1930. Loosely worked, with the colours a little brighter, but one can assume, with sympathy and understanding, that this is a result of age. What is very interesting about Sickert's work in his declining years is that he would paint no more than rough sketches of newspaper photographs. This made the front pages in 1936 when his newspaper style of portrait of HM King Edward VIII created a roar of rage within the Establishment, yet Sickert brought into being a new style of pose for portraiture. No longer the Roman stance against a dark background, but the casual photographic air of the casual view. And it became the fashion as the Imperial Tobacco Portrait Award exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery bore witness, for every portrait now is the Brownie box camera shot or the candid camera 'O God I look awful'. But the work on display was above average and one wishes the artists well. For the record Emma Sergeant won the £5,000 with three women artists in 2nd, 3rd and 4th places, proving ?. What was of genuine interest at that press gathering of wine, food and beautiful wraith like Press Office, Public Relations women was the exhibition of non political politics. A pleasant little man on the fringe of the wine sipping mob nodded to me and then vanished into a hole in the crowd like Alice's White Rabbit and that was Sir Hugh Casson, President of the Royal Academy, while over and above the microphone Sir Huw Wheldon roared his applause for the cancer producing tobacco industry, for their cultural PR exercise, and this was not the gentle Huw of the TV screen, but a roaring bull of a man, complete with double breasted waistcoat and an apparent indifference to what might be deemed opposition. He roared above the mike and upset the Imperial Tobacco Organisation, who fumed 'about [Huw's] the lengthy praise for the arts sponsorship record of their rivals, Peter Stuyvesant, which made up the bulk of his speech while presenting the prizes.' If one has cancer of the lungs from, one assumes, smoking tobacco, it is not really important what one pays for the paintings, but I question how the State can morally accept money for 'culture' from an industry that, they claim, causes the death of many because the product of this industry, it is claimed, causes death by cancer. I cornered Huw to ask him, but he glared down at me with his hands in the pockets of his double breasted waistcoat suit and he moved into the crowd without a word. That crowd wherein was little Sir Hugh Casson, the President of the Royal Academy, and I made for the wine and the food, for to witness this political non political essay is but to move one step nearer in the understanding of why there are dissidents, yea even in the Free World.

Land and Power

THE Union of Agricultural Workers is one of Britain's oldest unions and in the days of the Tolpuddle Martyrs had to fight a hard and bitter battle for the right to combine. Agricultural workers generally could see clearly the blatant way in which land was stolen and converted, for private gain; the various peasants' revolts and the Levellers in particular showed an awareness that land ownership was a very potent element in authoritarian society. The dwindling number of agricultural workers has led to the Union having a hard time and even in the processing factories, where there is more militancy, workers are attracted to one of the bigger unions, so there is much talk, particularly amongst the officials, of combining with one of the bigger unions such as the T&GWU or GMWU or USDAW. The TU movement has got vast and bureaucratic, like all institutions divorced from their membership. From a radical beginning to being interred in a moribund and reformist movement.

The disease of vested interest

While on the subject of British agriculture — when there was an outbreak of foot and mouth or swine vesicular disease one was led to believe that it came on the wind, it is now fairly well established that it comes through imported animal based feeding stuffs and that it could be eliminated before it reaches the farm animals, however the Ministry of Agriculture does not propose to impose regulations in this area of vast vested interest. The investigations of the late Dr Leech in these matters (*British Veterinary Journal* Vol 137 pp 308-313, 1981) are being ignored; truth must give way to vested interest.

North American Native People and another big land theft

The government of Trudeau's Canada has its beady eyes on the NW Territory and that they should change the constitution without reference to the original peoples of that territory, given the genocidal activities of the US and Canadian immigrants with respect to the original people, is not at all surprising. Russell Means is one of the representatives of the Indian nation in London, seeking recognition of their rights to use land on which they lived for many years. There is an act in Canada called C48 which will hand over vast areas of the NW Territory to the federal government, which means in effect handing it over to international capitalist interests, who have little respect for the rights of the people who live there. Russell Means has been imprisoned and attacked for fighting for the rights of Canada's Indian people. He says:

'We lived with respect for our relatives — the winged creatures, the four-legged creatures, and the creatures who crawl and swim. Only the two legged creatures, cursed with reason, must learn how to live and find a direction. The American Indian did learn. We did not make history because we were happy. Only unhappy people make history.'

The landless in South America

The conquest of South America had a dramatic effect on the economy of Europe. The silver of South America provided the start of the growth of the market economy, for silver provided the currency to create a demand which was the start of the market economy. The potato imported into Europe provided a more prolific crop than wheat to feed more cheaply the populations that were to provide the labour power for the incipient industries. The Spanish conquerors decimated the native Indians so that the imported slaves from Africa had to provide the labour power so that the conquerors could grow their sugar cane and subsequently their coffee and cotton to export to Europe. Today the mass of the peasants are still landless and now have to endure an unholy alliance of multinationals, land-owners, military men and American state power. After several centuries of the export of agricultural capital the discovery of oil and mineral wealth still leaves the mass of the people poverty stricken, the land still given over to cash crops which benefit only the owners.

The Pelican book by Sven Lindquist, *Land and Power in South America*, £2.25, gives a graphic account of the situation in South America, which is largely reflected in the third world everywhere.

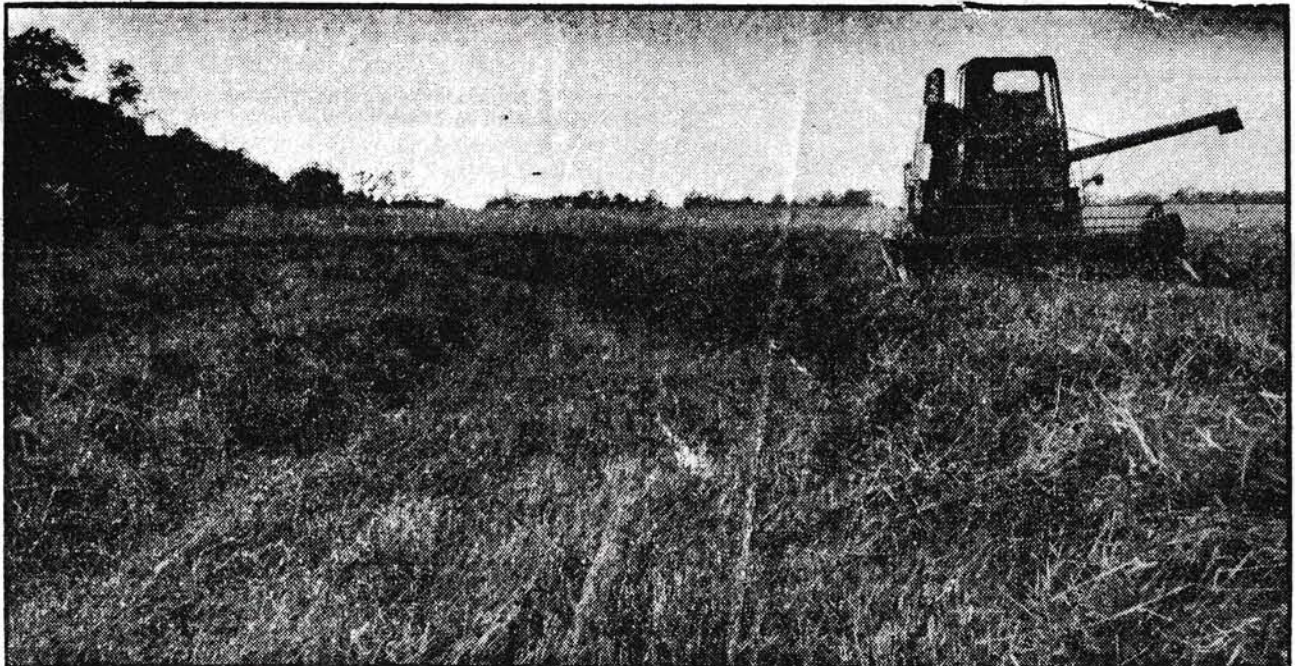
As Lindquist points out, the same thing occurs in industry as in agriculture, but in agriculture it is more tangible. He gives the varying degrees of tangibility.

Industry

The traces of the craftsman who has been ousted by industrial competition disappear swiftly. His unemployed son can come across his old tools and think: 'these sufficed for my father to support himself with. Now they are worthless.'

Agriculture

The ousted small holder's tools are not his sole means of production. It is the soil that is most important. And THAT remains; has lost nothing of its value. His son like the unemployed at Saucio, can see it daily and think: 'my father used to



Yet there is no tangible force that's preventing him from using them.

own this land. It stretched from here to there. It used to be his land. But today I'm not even allowed to cultivate it.'

He goes on to illustrate how land is much more immediately related to power. The solution is to move away from the market economy which has left the third world

with mass starvation and develop a new sort of land technology, which is ultimately the way to solve this problem. The peasants of South America are still struggling to regain their birthright but are impeded by regimes that are supported by the west, particularly the paranoid United States.

ALAN ALBON

BOOK
REVIEW

The Traditions of Marxism

Marxism and a Free Society Marcus Graham Cienfuegos/
Monty Miller 16pp Price 50p

THIS is subtitled 'an anarchist reply to Isaac Deutscher's address on Socialist Man.' It was first printed in 1976. Deutscher's address was to the second annual Socialist Scholar's Conference in 1966. His contention was that the political acts of Marxist states are contrary to those envisaged by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. The aim of this pamphlet is to demonstrate that, in fact, these states are simply acting in the traditions of the old masters.

Graham does this by examining the methods and tactics used by Marx et al, in order to prevent libertarian, specifically Bakuninist, influences in the First International. Marx controlled the General Council, while many national federations leaned to anarchism. Events came to a head at the Hague Congress of 1872, the eighth year of the International. The venue effectively prevented Bakunin from attending, he could not travel through France or Germany. The Marxists rigged the meeting and then used a mixture of procedural manoeuvring, slander and lies to expel Bakunin (in his absence) and several others and push dubious resolutions about political action. It's all there in the minutes. In the end they transferred the General Council to New York, with a packed membership, far from dangerous, autonomous influence. There it quietly died.

Graham then argues that these 'end justifies the means' tactics are typical of the authoritarian mind. The behaviour of marxist states is just what might be expected.

The revelations that come to light in reading the excerpts from the Minutes of the Hague Conference of 1872 poses [sic] the question as to whether Marx, Engels and their associates were — in view of the tactics they employed against their ideological opponents — devils incarnate? The answer can only be a negative one, although their actions are a far more serious debasement of their integrity than it might have been were it done out of spite. The tragic fact stands out that every one of their actions was undoubtedly done in the name of 'The end justifying the means' — a basic tenet of every authoritarian-minded person.

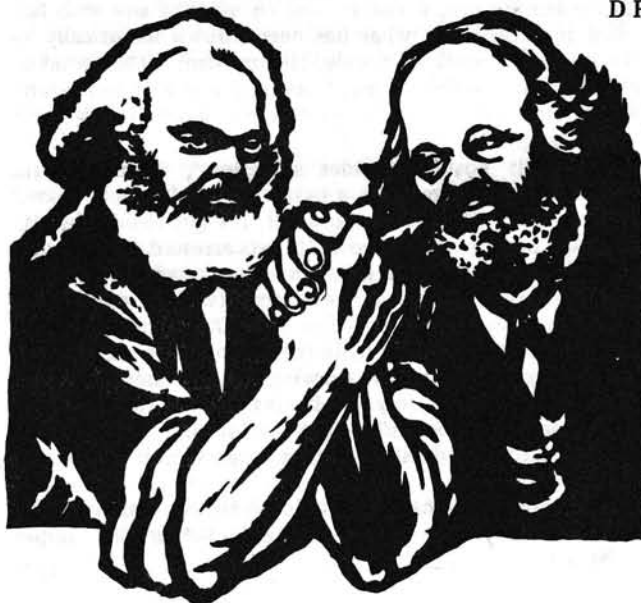
The General Council of the International was controlled by Marx and his followers while most of the sections of the federation throughout the world were under the influence of Bakunin's anti-authoritarian ideas. It was this fact that led Marx and his associates to choose the course they pursued at the Congress. The decision to besmirch the character of so noble a personality as Victoria Woodhull, who was not even present to defend herself, presented them with no qualms whatsoever. When one reads the charges brought against her by Marx one can scarcely believe they were uttered by a sincere antagonist. In fact, it

was Victoria Woodhull who first published Marx's 'Communist Manifesto' in the United States! Marx's closest associate at the Congress, Frederick Engels, likewise demonstrated his lack of integrity when he had the Congress eject W. West even as a spectator, in spite of the fact that West had travelled four thousand miles to attend the Congress as the duly accredited delegate of section 12 of New York! Marx's total lack of integrity, however, was revealed in full when he showed no hesitation in lying outright to the Congress when stating that 'the documents' against Bakunin 'have not been obtained in a dishonest manner' and that 'they were sent without having been requested', when as a matter of fact it was but one document and, as Hans Gerth shows in his Introduction to the Minutes, Marx urgently requested Danielson, the Russian economist, to obtain for him the sole 'document', Nechaev's letter to the publisher who had advanced Bakunin 300 roubles for the proposed translation of Marx's Capital. p XVII.

How thoroughly rigged the Congress was is most strikingly illustrated by the fact recorded in the Minutes on page 213 that not only did Marx, Engels and other members of the old General Council propose to move the General Council to New York, but that they also named those who should constitute the new General Council. An equally striking illustration of the rigged actions of the Congress is revealed in the Minutes (page 206) recording that a resolution was introduced to the effect that the issue of political action should 'be placed on the agenda of the next Congress'. The real manipulators of the Congress, evidently knowing beforehand that there would not be any next Congress, railroaded through a resolution adopting, for the first time, political action as a tenet of the I.W.A. (page 285, Minutes).

None of this is new to anarchists, of course. Similar ground is covered by Richard Warren's pamphlet/comic *Critique of State Socialism* (reviewed FREEDOM Vol 42, No 23). However, it's nice to have all the quotations, direct from the congress minutes. This is a useful pamphlet.

D P



Books from FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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

NEW THIS WEEK

- *Edith Thomas: Louise Michel. (444pp ppr) £5.50 (87p)
 *Philip Pomper: Sergei Nechaev. (273pp cloth) £13.50 (87p)
 *Margaret S Marsh: Anarchist Women. (1870-1920) (214pp cloth) £10.00 (87p)
 *Enrico Arrigoni: Adventures in the Country of the Monoliths or The Country where Liberty has been Buried. (269pp ppr) £2.00 (48p)
 B J Tysdahl: William Godwin as Novelist (205pp ppr) £5.95 (43p)
 D R Stoddart (Ed): Geography, Ideology and Social Concern. (250pp ppr) [includes chapters by Myrna Breitbart on Kropotkin, and Gary Dunbar on Elisee Reclus] £5.95 (87p)
 Carl Slienger (Ed): A Checklist of Freedom Press Publications 1886-1927 (16pp ppr) £0.60 (12p)
 [we can give full trade terms on this title]

BIOGRAPHY

- *Sidney Lens: Unrepentant Radical. (438pp cloth) £11.50 (87p)
 Bernard Crick: George Orwell: A Life. (473pp cloth) £10.00 (£1.43)

MISCELLANY

- Howard Clark: Making Nonviolent Revolution (28pp ppr) £0.75 (17p)
 Ross Bradshaw, Dennis Gould and Chris Jones: From Protest to Resistance: The Direct Action Movement against Nuclear Weapons. (64pp ppr) £1.25 (22p)
 Michael Bakunin (illustr by Richard Warren): A Critique of State Socialism (44pp ppr) £0.75 (22p)
 Vernon Richards: Protest without Illusions. (168pp ppr) £1.95 (42p)

[we can give full trade terms on this title]

- Alan Ereira: The Invergordon Mutiny (182pp cloth) £6.95 (87p)

FOR THE TURN OF THE YEAR

- *Anti-Authoritarian 1982 Cucumber Salad Calendar. (28pp large format ppr) Illustrated throughout in colour. £3.25 (32p)

The Adventures of Lazarus Lamb by Ralph Edney. Knockabout Comics. 48 pp. £2.50.

A SOUPED-UP underground comic for today. Lazarus Lamb was a gentle soul, sitting about on the dole, disillusioned. He gets a visitor, and an offer of any wish fulfilled in return for 'what has been known historically as the soul', one week to decide. His problem is then what to choose. He wanders through an oppressive, bureaucratic world, sick notes, park keepers, social security. His world has nice graffiti, an election poster, 'Vote Graft', with added 'This poster degrades anarchists', 'Prison reform won't work 'till we have a better class of people there.' He has trouble with the landlord, his girlfriend. He gets the sack. Still he can't choose. He gets arrested (nice panel). Along the way the piss is taken out of many things. The SS queue, discos, the underground, (with Groucho and Karl Ms), boring socialists ('I've run off this special leaflet for your struggle, brothers.) In the end he must choose.

A nice comic/book. The drawing suits the theme. There's lots of humour. My only quibble is the price, though, to be fair, it probably couldn't be put out for much less. It's well printed, card bound with a picture cover. Give it a look.

(Knockabout also have a couple of smaller comics, (75p each) with strips by several people, including Cliff Harper in No 2.)

D P

Please add postage as in brackets. Titles marked * are published in the USA or Canada. N American purchasers please convert £1 (plus postage) @ 1.80 dollars (US) or 2.20 dollars (Canada).

[N American customers please convert £1 plus postage @ 2.25 dollars - Canada, and 1.90 dollars - USA.]

Please add postage as in brackets.

Deficit Fund

Donations Received: October 30th - November 11th incl

In Shop Anon £0.15; Dublin. P D £5.50; Newcastle. N B £4.60; Contribution from Proceeds of a Picnic held by Italian Comrades in San Jose, California, on 20/9/81 per Berkeley USA. A G £52.60; Retford. S B £2.00; CND Demo Donation. Anon £0.50; Anon £3.50; Wolverhampton J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; £0.50; Milano, Italy. M P £1.00; Chichester. R H B £2.00; Crawley. R C £1.00; Wolverhampton. J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; Dunedin. N Z. M B £0.75; Rhode Island. USA. Libertarian Collective £5.50; London F Y £2.00; Ipswich. P L D £1.00; London NW9 A L S £3.50; Isle of Arran. P A G £3.00.

TOTAL = £93.10

Previously acknowledged = £1136.15

TOTAL TO DATE = £1229.25

Premises Fund

Donations Received: October 30th - November 11th incl

In Shop. Anon £0.70; Wolverhampton. J L £2.00; Crawley. R C £1.00; J S B £5.00; Wolverhampton. J L £2.00; Maryland. USA. N S C £8.00; London NW8. D S £6.00; Rhode Island Libertarian Collective £5.50; London SE18 F Y £2.00; London NW9. A L S £3.50.

TOTAL = £35.70

Previously acknowledged = £424.08

TOTAL TO DATE = £459.78



PROTECT AND SURVIVE

FOREWORD

IF THE COUNTRY WERE EVER FACED WITH AN IMMEDIATE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR, A COPY OF THIS BOOKLET WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED TO EVERY HOUSEHOLD AS PART OF A PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGN WHICH WOULD INCLUDE ANNOUNCEMENTS ON TELEVISION AND RADIO AND IN THE PRESS. THE BOOKLET HAS BEEN DESIGNED FOR FREE AND GENERAL DISTRIBUTION IN THAT EVENT. IT IS FOR THOSE WHO WISH TO KNOW WHAT THEY WOULD BE ADVISED TO DO AT SUCH A TIME



CHALLENGE TO SURVIVAL

Everything within a certain distance of a nuclear explosion will be totally destroyed. Even people living outside this area will be in danger from—

Heat and Blast

Fall-Out

Heat and Blast

The heat and blast are so severe that they can kill, and destroy buildings, for up to 5 miles from the explosion. Beyond that, there can be severe damage.



Fall-out

The radiation from fall-out dust is dangerous. It cannot be seen or felt. Exposure to it can cause sickness and death. If the dust fell on your home, the radiation would be a danger to you and your family for many days. Radiation can penetrate any material, but its intensity is reduced as it passes through—so the thicker and denser the material, the better.



PLANNING FOR SURVIVAL

Stay at Home

If you move away the authority in your new area will not help you with accommodation or food or other essentials. If you leave, your local authority may need to take your empty house for others to use.

SO STAY AT HOME.

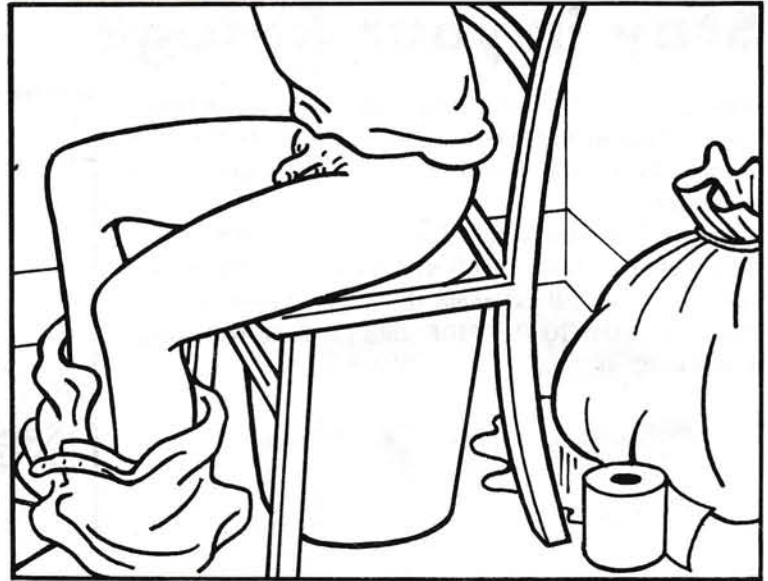
Plan a Fall-out Room

The first priority is shelter from fall-out. Make a fall-out room. You and your family may need to live here for 14 days, without leaving it. Make it as safe as you can and equip it for survival. You will need to block up all openings. Coat windows with emulsion paint. Keep buckets of water ready. Make the outside walls thicker with timber, boxes of earth, books, bedding and furniture might all be used.



Sanitation

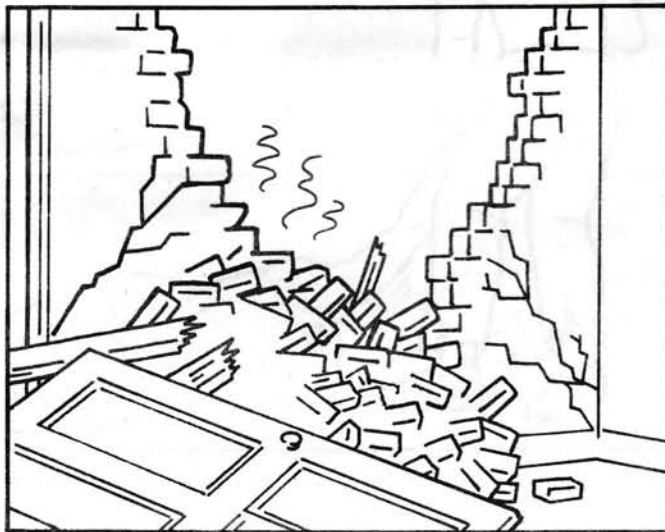
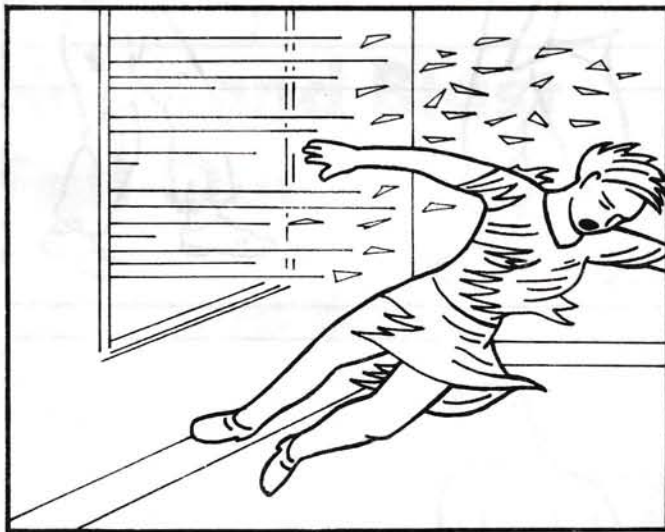
You will need special sanitation arrangements because there will be no water to waste in lavatories. You will need: containers such as polythene buckets, fitted with covers and if possible improvised seats, strong disinfectant and toilet paper.



PROTECT AND SURVIVE

What to do after the Attack:

After a nuclear attack you will have a short period to do essential tasks—Do not smoke. Go round the house putting out any small fires. If there is structural damage do minor jobs to keep out weather. Check that you have your survival kit at hand.



Stay in your Refuge

The dangers will be so intense that you may stay inside your fall-out room for at least 14 days. If you need to go outside do not stay outside for a second longer than is necessary.

After 48 hours the danger from fall-out will lessen—but you could still be risking life by exposure. The longer you spend in your fall-out room the better. Listen to your radio. **DO NOT GO OUTSIDE** until the radio tells you it is safe to do so.

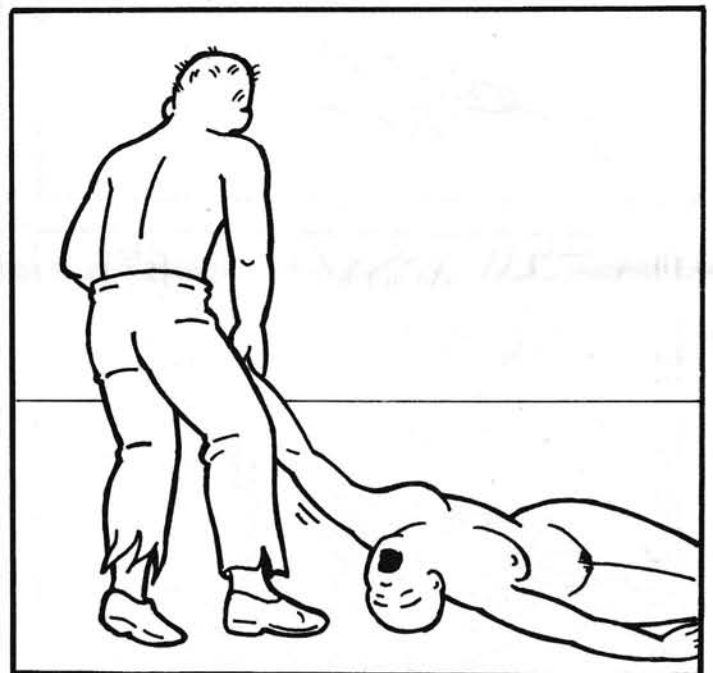
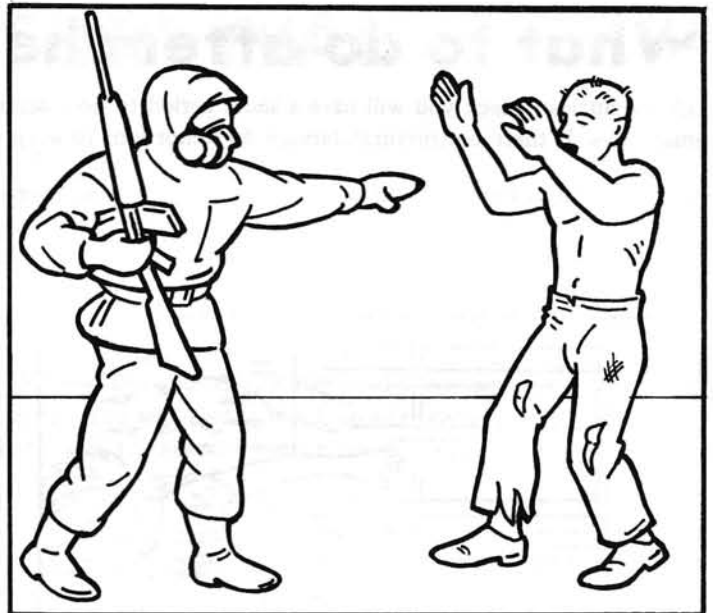


Later on

Visits outside the house may at first be limited to a few minutes for essential duties. Listen to your radio for information about the services and facilities available.

Casualties

You may have casualties, which you will have to care for, perhaps for days, without help. Be sure you have your survival kit. If a death occurs place the body in another room and cover it securely. If you receive no instructions within five days bury the body as soon as it is safe to go out, and mark the spot.



On hearing the ALL-CLEAR

This means there is no longer an *immediate* danger and you may resume normal activities.

PASCAL: 'Le dernier acte est sanglant, quelque belle que soit la comédie en tout le reste.' — 'The last act is bloody, no matter how charming the rest of the play was.'

Text taken from the government pamphlet *Protect and Survive*. Illustrations by Cliff Harper.