

# anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

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"Only he who has mastered  
the problems which are near  
to him will be able to go  
further and propound the  
solution to vaster problems"

J.H. Pestalozzi  
(1746-1827)

## Another Thought for the 'Silly Season' IS CAPITALISM EFFICIENT?

You only have to be standing on a crowded platform waiting for your train and being informed over the loudspeaker that it is running ten minutes late to realise from the comments and expletives that the 'customers' (the new BR name for passengers) could run the show more 'efficiently'. How many of them had the modesty of an after-thought to question how 'efficiently' they run their own lives?

What is efficiency? For the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* it is a kind of by-product of *efficient*: "productive of effect; (of persons) competent, capable". So efficiency is the noun: competency, capability of that adjective. But there is a second meaning: "also (mech) the ratio of useful work performed to the total energy expended", which is the only reliable measure of efficiency. Those irate commuters blaming British Rail for being so 'inefficient' obviously were applying a simplistic rule of thumb: their train was late therefore BR was inefficient, without taking into account what caused the delays and to what extent this was caused by financial cuts determined by government policies. And back in their offices our commuters settled down to the daily routine with tea breaks, extended lunch breaks and, when business was a bit slack, some passed the time knitting and others reading or 'making work' to convince themselves they were busy!

The British farming industry boasts that it is the most

'efficient', if not in the world then certainly in Europe, just as our 'prairie' farmers are always declaring that Big is the most 'efficient'. But what are the facts? Their 'efficiency' is based on the number of workers employed on the acres under cultivation. And obviously one of our cereal 'barons' with 1,000 acres and employing only two men appears to be more efficient than a family mixed holding of 50 acres employing three. The cereal baron works about three months of the year, laps up all the subsidies offered by the EEC, and only grows what are the most profitable crops (he is not concerned about surpluses: we pay for those as well as the subsidies which make him appear to be an 'efficient' farmer!).

The mixed family farmer has to work twelve months of the year to make a modest living even with the subsidies. And last but not least, the market gardener who provides the fantasy in our diet not only works a full week for less than a week's pay but is actually *left out of the subsidies racket*. Yet the most efficient use of the land is by the market gardeners and the small mixed farmers.

And one should add that while the farmers with their subsidies are producing cereal mountains (20 million tons in the EEC) we are importing carrots (from the USA) and onions (from New Zealand and Australia)!

'Efficiency' so far as capitalist agri-  
(continued on page 2)

## The Wellington Killing Trigger-Happy Police

(from our correspondent)

Last night, a mile from here, a young black man went to a filling station to buy a drink and immediately afterwards returned, in the interim donning a mask which didn't disguise him, with a gun which may have been genuine or may have been a child's toy. The police were informed and the garage attendant gave the intruder's name. Later he threatened four youths that he wanted to kill them and again produced the gun. A police rifle squad was summoned from Worcester, which searched Wellington not knowing whom it was looking for and were told by a passer-by that the person walking on the other side of the road was the one they were looking for. He was chased for half a mile through the town centre to the station and there was shot dead by police.

The police say they suspect that the dead man had an accomplice who

may have escaped into the grounds of a former children's home now used as an out-patients treatment centre, which is on the other side of the road from the garage, and have sealed off the south east of Wellington. The garage concerned is about a quarter of a mile from the police station.

This is as much as one can find out from the published facts. (I ran into the police cordon this morning as I tried to walk Rosa to the vet for a blood test. My daughter, who later drove me the long way round, had not long ago applied for a nursing post at the centre and one of her colleagues was on duty there last night, so she is fairly anxious to find out fuller details; but the only solid information we can get is from the radio and the local paper. It appears the cordon isn't that efficient, as Fiona slipped through and for all the suggestion that there is an armed man in The Mount, presumably a danger to patients and staff, there was not until

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**The next issue of Freedom  
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will appear on 21st September**

We hope regular contributors as well as letter writers will go on writing as usual so that we can build up a useful reserve of material.

Freedom Press Bookshop will be closed from Saturday 24th August to Monday 26th August inclusive.

## Trigger-Happy Police

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midday any attempt to search the building.)

Whether or not the gun was genuine is, as yet, a matter of debate. The News at One only gives the possibility that the gun may be a replica; though the paper, not notably likely to criticise the police, suggests this more forcibly.

Wellington, though now part of Telford, is still a fairly sleepy market town. When I moved here twenty years ago the banks had their money delivered not by truncheon-wielding thugs in armoured vans but by someone pulling a railway trolley behind with the cash stacked in bags at the back. He didn't glance backwards, so anyone could have removed a bag or two without his knowledge, and on at least one occasion the trolley (with cash) was left parked for some time outside a newspaper/tobacconist.

Not really a place where you'd expect to hear of trigger-happy police casually shooting burglars. But no explanation has yet been given as to what happened, what warnings were given, why the police were armed anyway, what orders they were given about shooting. The daughter of the publican next to the station heard, before she heard shots, someone call out "it's only a child's toy gun". The police account is that they called out several times "drop the gun, no one will be hurt", but the only non-police account confirming this says they sounded panicky. At the very least there seems to have been panic and incompetence, but will we ever know? The story that goes to the press goes almost exclusively from the police themselves, as no doubt will what will be told to the inquest.

In fact having seen further details, I recognise him. When I was administering the Lion Street office he used to come round fairly frequently. On one occasion

when the treasurer and I were carrying musical equipment in the back, the caretaker, unaware that I was out of the office, sent Gordon in and he departed with my petty cash tin. On another he waved a plastic knife demanding cash but put the toy away when he didn't get any.

In a later edition of the local paper, as in subsequent radio programmes and the West Midlands BBC1 News at 6.30, the story of his trying to rob the garage is deleted, as was the threat to the four youths outside the garage, after he had bought his drink, and that was why the police were telephoned. Also the reference to the police having come from Worcester is dropped, as they are now supposed to have been on the spot within minutes of the hold-up.

If so, then local police (Wellington is a sub-station) have high velocity guns available.

L.O.

### Psyches (Ian) Gordon update

For the third night running the police have combined incredibly insensitive public invitations to the blacks to abandon violence, with a heavy and aggressive police presence calculated to provoke just that.

The West Indian Association held a meeting in Hadley addressed by Psyche's mother appealing for calm. When they got out they were faced by such an excessive police presence that the advocates of calm were almost provoked to violence themselves.

only a fortnight ago an ex-SWP friend who now lives in London called on me while up visiting his mother. Talking about election prospects, we came up with the views that the only thing that could save the Tories would be if a long, hot summer of race riots caused a law and order backlash.

They couldn't have worked it out for themselves, could they, and . . . ?

Of course they could rely on the stupidity of most of the vanguardist left to give the ploy verisimilitude. I'm told the local SWP is already claiming to be "master-minding the resistance" (it couldn't master-mind anything).

## How Efficient is Capitalism?

(continued from page 1)

culture is concerned is to see how few workers can be employed without reducing production. But of course we are not told how many workers are involved in producing the machines, the pesticides, the herbicides, the fertilisers, fuel used in vast quantities (all supplied subsidised, VAT-free to the farmers — not to mention the subsidies they receive on their production). Yet the media continue to repeat that British farmers are the most 'efficient' in Europe, if not in the world!

Another aspect of the myth of capitalist 'efficiency' is that competition is of the essence. It is therefore curious that governments everywhere are always trying to smash cartels, but not for our benefit but in order to retain power. Capitalism far from being competitive is basically monopolistic. Only when there is a worldwide recession do we see competition raise its ugly head. The airlines, for instance, are giving proof of this with take-overs (the once-largest US airline Pan Am biting the dust).

Almost daily we are told that such and such a company (for instance British Telecom) has made more profits but is shedding so many thousand workers. For the shareholders — more champagne. For the workers — more redundancies.

Capitalism is production for profit — everybody knows this, especially the capitalists (the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* is not so brutal — indeed it does not mention profit, just "possession or influence or system, possessor, of capital or fund used in production"). We are constantly told that private enterprise, profit, competition bring out the best in human endeavour. Surely the British public have had more than their share of private enterprise with all the financial scandals culminating with the BCCI

collapse, not to mention all the minor (not billions but millions of £) bankruptcies linked to fraudulent activities by the top people in the companies involved.

But when one assesses the 'efficiency' of the capitalist system (without being an anarchist), surely one must consider the price that is paid for that system which is never put on the other side of the balance sheet.

For instance, when there is a take-over of a large company it will result in numbers of people losing their jobs. Those who cannot find another job are unemployed and dependent on public funds. So far as the firm that has sacked them is concerned they no longer exist. We have to keep them, and that firm declares to its shareholders that it is operating profitably!

With unemployment advancing towards the three million mark, the Home Office recently announced a dramatic increase in crime — 80% of which is against property. Again it's not the 'efficient' employers who will be putting the cost of policing, of maintaining the prisons, the courts and the rest on their balance sheets.

Again the history of capitalism includes a whole series of wars which get bloodier and more costly. Though it would seem that the EEC countries have at last given up fighting each other, and there is not even an excuse to accuse Soviet Russia of being a threat to world peace, the arms budgets continue to soar. There are no ideological wars, no crusades these days, just wars for territory or for oil, as we have witnessed with the recent adventure in the Gulf. But this is yet another of the prices we pay for capitalism, while for the capitalists (or at least one section of them — the Merchants of Death) war equals more profits!

## The young homeless in our midst

A report, *Carefree and Homeless* (published by the Young Homeless Group, 10 Livonia Street, London WC1 3PH, price £3.95), states that nearly one in two children who have been placed in local authority care will end up homeless and living on the streets once they are young adults.

The report warns that children who are institutionalised at a young age and who are insulated by the system from making their own decisions are ill-equipped to fend for themselves.

Children in local authority care comprise just 0.6% of the under-18 population, but a study of the Centrepoint homeless refuge in London found that 41% of young people using its facilities had been in care.

"Calculations like this show you are 68 times more likely to be homeless if you've been in care", says the report.

Part of the document, produced by the Young Homelessness Group, is written by Alex Saddington, who by the age of 20 had lived in 29 homes.

He states: "Homelessness is a way of life that young people are being introduced to when they are received into care. For the next few years, many will be moved from one home to another, foster or children's homes, and have very little power to negotiate or change decisions that have been made without consultation.

"Years in care reduces self-esteem, increases feelings of rootlessness, creates learned

helplessness and friendlessness. When we are offered independent accommodation, young people like us are unlikely to be able to establish systems of support or articulate concerns because of these experiences. What is more likely to happen

The *East Anglian Daily Times* reports that in Ipswich more than 100 women have been arrested and charged with prostitution during the first seven months of this year. One can imagine that the increase in prostitution all over the country is linked to growing unemployment and poverty.

is that we will abandon tenancies rather than stay and experience the isolation".

Mr Saddington says: "pre-independence training" should be given to young people in care, as when they leave homes at 16 they have none of the usual support networks.

"One of the most traumatic experiences for young people in care is the feeling that there is no family to offer support in the ways in which other young people may have.

"Without support and having to be independent at a much younger age than their peers living at home, it is not surprising that when also confronted with restricted benefits, care leavers eventually become homeless despite valiant efforts to make their way as independent people".

## ... and the poor in India

The *Observer* magazine recently published a feature article — blood money — about the fate of the Indian poor who have to sell anything to survive, including parts of their own bodies.

In the village of Villivakkam some 4,000 people live in 500 huts. About 400 of them carry scars from operations for the removal of kidneys — not diseased kidneys but healthy ones which are transplanted into the bodies of wealthy people requiring them.

In nearby Thiruvellur there is a street known locally as 'Kidney Street', where the brokers can be found if you are a donor. He will arrange everything, taking the prospective donors for blood and urine tests. He takes a cut — and that's the right word — of up to 5,000 rupees. A tout will also hang around major hospitals. When a patient with renal failure arrives they will check the blood group and then pull out a list of potential donors and begin to bargain with the desperately ill.

The *Independent's* New Delhi correspondent reports (12th August) on the case of a child bride (aged 10) who was travelling on an Indian airliner with her 60 year old husband and who drew the

attention of passengers because she was crying bitterly. On being questioned she said that her father, a poor rickshaw driver in Hyderabad, had sold her to the Saudi for £2,400. The marriage 'ceremony' was held in her parents' one-room flat. "My mother told me he has plenty of money, a big house in Saudi Arabia and enough cattle to make us all rich. But", she added fearfully, "I don't want to go with this man. He scares me."

When confronted by passengers and crew the Saudi husband produced a marriage certificate showing that his girl bride had been entered as being 32 years old!

A vote was taken. Rather than return the girl to her parents who might sell her off again, she and the 'husband' were handed over to the police. Having found a number of photographs of Indian girls as well as a whole lot of cheap bangles in his luggage, some newspapers have speculated that perhaps the Saudi cattle-rancher might be involved in a ring supplying child prostitutes to the Gulf.

What a world we live in!

## ... and the rich live it up!

According to *Labour Research*, 43 company directors received £1 million or more in pay and dividends last year. At the top of the list is David Sainsbury, head of the grocery empire, with £24½ million followed by 'Tiny' Rowland of Lonrho with £16½ million. Mr Sainsbury's salary was not available to *Labour Research* but 'Tiny' Rowland drew a modest £1½ million, the other £15 million being dividends. The next two in the pay league were William Brown of Walsham Brothers and Paul Sykes of the Paul Sykes Group who drew salaries of £8.1 million and £6.9 million respectively! The mind boggles that there are people considered worth paying £156,000 a week for their services!

The 43 received in all, in salaries and dividends, about £145 million. Even assuming that their accountants don't know how to satisfy the Tax Inspector regarding 'legitimate expenses' and they pay 40% tax on their millions they are left with £87 million — an average of £2 million each to keep the wolf from the door!

However, compared with the Sultan of Brunei's income this is chicken-feed. The 45 year old billionaire adds to his estimated (1990) £15,500 million fortune at the rate of about £3,000 million a year from oil and gas revenues plus income from investments. How many of us knew that the

Sultan was the owner of the Dorchester Hotel in Park Lane? This year £145 million was paid to him for the royal household expenses (which is twice the amount spent on the education of the Sultan's subjects) as if he could not afford to finance the royal household out of current income. Mark you, the upkeep of the palaces and 'homes overseas' must cost a tidy penny. Think of what it must cost just to polish the 202,000 square yards of marble flooring in the main palace which cost a mere £250 million to build. Mark you, if you insist on having a 22 carat gold dome to top the marble floor it does run away with the pennies doesn't it?

Well, the Sultan is 45 and has been celebrating with some of his subjects. Actually, with all that marble flooring he can entertain 4,000 to a sit-down slap-up dinner — no expense spared.

Who, apart from stamp collectors, even knows that Brunei exists? Not surprising since it is a tiny bit of Malaysia with a quarter of a million inhabitants surrounded by 15 million. One wonders how these parasitic dynasties manage to survive in that vast area of poverty. A similar situation exists in Kuwait, obviously dependent on rent-an-American-army to keep the peace. Could it be that the US has a finger in the Brunei pie as well?

*The Poll Tax Prisoners***The Other Hostages**

About thirty people have now been jailed for not paying their poll tax. I still keep hearing a figure of at least fourteen million for non-payment, however, so it looks as if the threat of jail is not deterring as many people as the councils hoped. Those people jailed are obviously being made examples of; they are there on our behalf and we should therefore do everything in our power to support them. We can write to them to make jail less boring and isolating, and we can campaign to get them released earlier or get them special status in nick; this has happened on a couple of occasions.

It's bad enough when the councils are efficient. Their cock-ups would be just funny if they weren't also insulting, degrading and frightening to those affected by them. The local papers here in Brighton have recently featured a number of bureaucratic poll tax

errors perpetrated by the local right-wing Labour council. For example, they have threatened a ten year old boy with bailiffs, and demanded one pence from a woman who has already paid all her poll tax. It's even worse in South Tyneside where two people, Susan Hanson and Raif Abdulla, were jailed for 90 days each for non-payment. They were released early when it was discovered that both were not liable to pay the amount they had been charged since they were on income support. So zealous were the bastard council to make examples of these non-payers that they didn't bother with a means inquiry.

The best news of last month has to be the non-jailing of two poll tax 'rioters' — Neil Fernandez on 17th July and Michael Conway on 18th July. Both cases are quite remarkable, and are to be welcomed not only because the individuals involved were spared jail but also because of the excellent publicity their cases received in the press. The case against Fernandez, charged with arson and photographed with his hand in a porsche, was thrown out after Judge Rucker (!) dismissed the copper giving evidence against him as "totally discredited" and "unreliable"! Fernandez now hopes to sue the police.

His case may have influenced that of Michael Conway who was cleared of violent disorder after being seen on video chucking things at the police. The jury accepted his plea of self-defence; this is the first time such a plea has been accepted in a poll tax 'rioter' trial, though on paper it ought to be easy to prove that violent actions were reasonable in the circumstances as so many people witnessed the police indiscriminately attacking the crowd. It is a pity these two verdicts have come at the end of all the poll tax riot trials; nearer the beginning they may have influenced other trials. It is to be hoped that they may affect the outcome of other riot trials such as the Colchester Sixteen and the Tottenham Three.

The next national anti-poll tax demo, to commemorate both the Trafalgar Square riot and the Brixton Prison picket police attack, takes place on 19th October. Before then there is to be a day of prison pickets (go to your local, or the nearest one containing poll tax prisoners) on 1st September, as well as a sponsored cycle ride on the same day. For details of these events, and for the latest prisoners list, contact the Trafalgar SDC/PSG, c/o Brixton Law Centre, 560 Brixton Road, London SW9 (tel: 071-738 7586).

Johnny Yen

**You don't have to believe the political adverts — official!**

Political advertising will continue to be exempt from the need to be 'truthful' under the code of advertising practice, the Advertising Standards Authority decided yesterday.

However, the authority said it will hold further talks on whether this exemption will continue to apply to any advertiser expressing an opinion on a controversial subject or an issue of public policy or practice.

At the moment the exemption can cover not only political parties but pressure groups, charities and other groups, so long as they are not appealing for funds.

The issue has provoked renewed controversy because of Saatchi & Saatchi's recent poster campaign for the Conservative Party: "Labour's Going For Broke Again". The authority has received 108 complaints, some objecting to the fact that the strap-line "Government warning" confuses government advertising with party political advertising. Others said claims about high Labour spending were untrue.

The authority has written to all complainants saying the code excludes it from intervening. "In a society where issues are determined democratically, political parties and others wishing to make controversial statements should be free to make out their own case and to use advertising for that purpose", it said.

(The Guardian)

**Building Societies**

Reading the business sections of Sunday newspapers is not exactly my favourite hobby, but an article in *The Independent on Sunday* took my attention. It was a report by Patrick Hosking which spelt out the means by which thousands of potential small investors are wooed into their financial webs, only to be side-tracked or ignored should they be so bold as to make use of votes which are their right as legal owners of such societies.

The subject of Mr Hosking's report was the Nationwide Anglia, second only to the Halifax, and currently chaired by Sir Colin Corness. The occasion was its annual meeting of members.

Apparently there was near riot when Sir Colin tried to cut short lengthy questions — "furious savers" accused him and his co-directors of "sharp practice, dishonour and greed". However, after four hours of rancour, Sir Colin and his gang remained in firm control: "All his allies were reselected to the board, an enemy candidate repelled, and an

unwanted resolution defeated".

Hosking compared the Nationwide set-up with Stalinism and the Inquisition — goodness knows why, when a perfectly reasonable comparison could have been made with the current British government.

The manner of the defeat of an 8 to 1 vote in favour of one resolution is interesting: the chairman produced a huge discretionary block vote to get his way. And after all the fuss, chief executive Tim Melville-Ross told the meeting that, had the resolution been passed, the board was not legally obliged to comply with it!

Should we weep for these small investors? It may be very hard on a pensioner who sticks his thousand in so that his kids can bury him nicely, but not a few of them, according to Melville-Ross, are erstwhile Co-op Permanent Society members who expected more consideration. Perhaps, in search of faster bucks with the Nationwide, they are hoist with their own petard.

EFC

**The race to destroy**

Recent shuttle missions by both Discovery and Atlantis have carried secret military payloads into orbit. These may be surveillance satellites or they could be related to the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) known as Star Wars. Whatever the truth about their contents, it again raises the questions concerning the value of space research and development.

Personally, I have no great objection to space research as like many other people I am inquisitive as to the nature of the universe. However, the wisdom of using vast amounts of resources for this while millions starve and die from preventable diseases does concern many people. The facts of this, however, speak for themselves.

Space technology is not about research and science, although it benefits from some of the discoveries. The main purpose of space development is military. Obviously a certain amount of pure science is needed to keep the public sweet and some military research can always be hidden within apparently harmless research. The Pentagon's space budget is three times that of NASA. Personnel are often military people and research is paid for by the military. Even the most harmless research can also be useful for the military, for example diets and plant propagation in space will be important if orbiting weapons platforms require permanent staffing.

Of more immediate concern must be the increasing nuclearisation of space technology. Over the years there have been a number of accidents involving radioactive material in

space, at least nine to date. There have been at least fifty satellites using nuclear power put into orbit out of about 3,000. The USA and USSR have launched roughly the same number. In April 1964 the US Transit 5BN misfired and crashed burning a kilogram of Plutonium 238 in the upper atmosphere. Atmospheric global plutonium levels increased by three times in one go. Cosmos 954, a Soviet satellite, re-entered over Canada on 24th January 1978. A quarter of its Uranium 235 canister was spread over 30,000 square miles of the Northwest Territories. Of

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the 65kg of debris which was found, most was radioactive with a dose rate of 500rem on contact.

In the wake of the Challenger accident NASA reviewed its 'catastrophe' statistics. Their figure of one in every 100,000 launches was ditched and replaced by estimates of anywhere between 1 in 25 (based on the fact that Challenger was the 25th shuttle flight) and 1 in 100. The Office of Technology claims 1 in 78 from statistical analysis. Statistics are, of course, suspect measurements as results will differ as to how they have been compiled. A couple of accidents in quick succession would again change the statistics.

Nuclear power in satellites uses

**Waiting for the Bus**

What do you think, Bert. They say 23,700 people will be murdered in the United States this year at the rate things are going. That's a quarter of the population of Slough ... They don't need any Desert Storms really. Nearly all done by men, of course ... What gets into men? ... Philip Hodson calls men the death sex. Perhaps men are weaker mentally as well as physically. I was reading that there are many more males conceived than females, but so many abort, are still-born or die in the first few months after birth, that we end up with only 95 boys to every 100 girls. So you might say there's something a bit dodgy with the boys that survive. They reckon that all embryos are female to start with, and some of the ones that are programmed to end up as males don't quite make it ... I wonder if it is the same with animals? ... Don't know, Daisy, but animals don't seem to get up to the tricks humans do ... Some male lions kill their own cubs, don't they? ... Perhaps that's from hunger. I don't know, but they don't kill each other or rape lionesses, let alone their own sex ... I wonder why human males rape both sexes when animals won't put up with it? ... I suppose animals can't be talked into it by promises, blackmail, lies, threats, or whatever ... Or with the aid of drugs ... Or the threat of being left on the shelf. Monkeys can get up to some tricks, I know, but you can't imagine them doing what the Ancient Greeks took for granted. Of course, humans have the gift of imagination, and often too much time to use it. If we had to be obsessed with food instead of taking it for granted that it will always be on the shelves at Tesco's, we would have less time for fantasy, porn, erotica, X-films and bingo. If evolution theory is right, human behaviour should approximate to the behaviour of animals,

especially the apes. Where our behaviour differs significantly, we should question it ... Mrs Potts says the evolution theory is rubbish. We were specially created by God to have dominion over animals ... Huh! Mrs Potts thinks the British were specially created by God to have dominion over all other humans. Until she comes up with a better idea I'll stick with evolution — even if they can't tell me what my appendix is for ... What's going on in Eastern Europe, apart from a load of trouble, Bert? They're just enjoying their newly-won freedom — freedom to exploit their nationalism, religion and racism. They had to bottle it all up when the Commies were in control. Now, when Yugoslavia comes up on our television screens, you can't see Serbs and Croats for bloody guns and candles. Anybody would think Jesus took a sack into the Temple instead of a whip. You can imagine the Twelve Disciples lined up with Kalashnikovs while the Boss took all the money and made a quick getaway on his donkey ... That Lech Walesa fancies himself as another Hitler? ... Yes, Daisy, he sent one of his cronies to Washington to get approval from the IMF for ruling the economy by decree. And he says he's prepared to use force to put down strikes. Most Poles have a lower standard of living now than they had under Jaruzelski ... At least it's good news that the two big powers are looking like reducing their weapons stockpiles ... I'll take that with a pinch of gunpowder. The Americans pledged themselves to reducing arms sales to other countries, but now they have announced plans to sell 365 million dollars worth of sophisticated arms materials to Saudi Arabia ... I don't know what the world is coming to, Bert, you can't even trust the banks now — look at BCCI ... You mean the bank that likes to say yes to anybody ...

# space

Radioisotope Thermoelectric Generators (RTGs) which are decaying lumps of Plutonium 238 which generate heat, converted into electricity by the use of thermocouples. One known US satellite has used fission. Of the Soviet satellites some have used RTGs (three of which suffered accidents), but since the mid-1960s most have used fission-powered RORSATs (Radar Ocean Reconnaissance Satellites), used mainly for observing foreign navies. An explosion during lift-off could spread low-level radiation over a vast area. As a US scientist said: "If plutonium gets dispersed over Florida — kiss Florida goodbye".

Now following disclosures from the Federation of American Scientists and documents received by *The New York Times*, the Pentagon is secretly developing a nuclear-powered rocket to haul giant weapons payloads into space as part of the SDI programme.

Current conventional rockets are not powerful enough to lift the huge lasers, particle beams and homing rockets envisaged by SDI. Also some of the lasers would require tons of exotic fuel. The programme was set up in the 1980s and is still in its early stages.

The rocket would be a true reactor that splits atoms. The engines would have a specific impulse (measurement of rocket performance — the bigger the number, the more powerful the engine) of over 900 seconds, the shuttle being 455 seconds. The reactor is more than 3,000 degrees Fahrenheit and uses tiny particles of nuclear fuel. Conventional reactors are 600 degrees Fahrenheit and use fuel rods. The rocket could lift 70 tons into low orbit, whereas Titan 4, currently the US's largest rocket, lifts 20 tons. The reactor works by heating liquid hydrogen to a very high temperature and blasting it out of the engine's nozzle in a gaseous vortex, creating a roar of thrust. Engineers have made and tested reactor fuels at Sandia National Laboratory in New Mexico (I wonder if the locals know this?) and have drawn up plans for testing engines on the ground in Nevada and for flying a prototype rocket through the Earth's atmosphere.

NASA are also showing quiet interest in nuclear reactors as they are interested in using

them on a personelled mission to Mars. They claim the reactor would be fired only when the craft was well beyond the Earth's atmosphere, so if it blew up the radiation would be able to float around the universe at its leisure.

What all this shows is how incredibly stupid supposedly intelligent people can be, and how insane the capitalist system is!

As vast tracts of the world witness starvation, governments throw limitless amounts of money into the pursuit of the ultimate weapon. It's certainly a 'good' one. With much of it still on the drawing board it is already claiming the lives of millions.

As people wonder as to the nature of the universe our glorious 'leaders' wonder how many weapons they can fill it with and how effectively they can blow it up.

As for NASA's concept of a nuclear rocket

*As people wonder as to the nature of the universe our glorious 'leaders' wonder how many weapons they can fill it with and how effectively they can blow it up*

to get to Mars, what is the point of wiping out a huge area of this planet just to land on the next one? It's not like we can move there afterwards! When are scientists going to remove their blinkers? The pursuit of knowledge should not be at any cost — it is worthless if everything else has been destroyed in its acquisition. The old excuse of 'the military is the only place funding can be obtained' is not acceptable. So the scientists increase their understanding, but the military and the State becomes a little more powerful, a little 'better' at death and destruction. Frankly, I would rather remain in ignorance if that is to be the cost.

It seems to me that the only way this will be stopped is through mass direct action on an international basis and especially in the USA and the USSR. Let's face it, one of their radioactive satellites could land on any of us, and radiation, like anarchists, recognises no national borders. The choice once again is, anarchy or capitalist lunacy!

Andrew McGingle

# The State is the Criminal

Governments exist to create and maintain economic and other privileges for certain sections of society. To achieve this end, they create laws and then make people obey them by using the violence of their police forces. People who disobey the laws are called criminals. Those who are in open revolt against their government or those who wish to seize the reins of power are called terrorists and revolutionaries of one kind or another. And more that this: anyone who does not conform by behaving in the same way as everyone else is deemed to be, according to their behaviour, extremely selfish, immoral, uncontrollable, rebellious and wicked.

So we find that many children and teenagers, besides criminals, terrorists and revolutionaries, fall foul of the state. The uncontrollable, the dope addict or the prostitute may all find themselves placed in an institution or prison of some kind. The intention may not be to punish these young offenders but the purpose is certainly to frighten them and force them into conformity. About 20% of those so treated accept that they must behave in the same way as other people.

In America, a few lucky children and teenagers who have 'misbehaved' are allowed to join an organisation called Vision Quest where, with their escorts, they go on various adventures, such as travelling through the desert in a wagon train, breaking in mustangs and trekking through the wilderness, woods and mountains. They are trusted and taught to be responsible for some part of the adventure. They learn to be in control of their lives and to live for a purpose, and they learn to trust others and to care for them. They gain a sense

of achievement, and they give and receive love, perhaps for the first time in their lives. Those in charge never turn their backs on the failures; they are always there ready to help. They praise the things that the teenagers do right rather than the things they do wrong. They know that punishment does not work, so they set challenges instead of trials.

One girl at Vision Quest had been in trouble because she had become a prostitute to get money to live and to give her father who was on drugs. Another boy had become uncontrollable as he stole to get money to gamble on machines. Yet another teenager was so criminal and out of control that he had spent seven years in prison, much of the time in a padded cell. As always, there are various reasons why young people are in trouble. After several months of working and travelling for about seventeen hours a day with Vision Quest, 80% are 'reformed' and ready to return to society.

Children, or adults for that matter, who are forced to conform — no matter by what means — have simply been made to accept the state so that they change their behaviour and slot into it. People's behaviour, however, depends not only on their character but also on their environment. If the behaviour is unacceptable, it is because either or both are at fault. When we punish teenagers, or even treat them with love to make them conform, we may have changed their character to some extent but we have ignored the faults in our society. This is a grave error because it is our society that has caused the unacceptable behaviour.

The young girl mentioned above would not have become a prostitute had she lived in a loving family that cared for her instead of her having to care for it. The boy would not have wanted to waste his time with the machines if he had lived in a society that fulfilled his psychological needs. He would not have wasted his time if he had a real purpose in life

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bayonets into warm living flesh is far from being a liberating experience, or one designed to further loving feelings. If all power corrupts, then surely the wielding of military power, for whatever laudable purpose, must also corrupt the minds of those who use it. Even revolutionary warfare constitutes yet another cultural influence upon the individual, which is not only authoritarian and repressive but also de-humanising. In this view, revolutionary violence is thus counter-revolutionary.

Furthermore, developments in modern states and their weaponry have largely eliminated the prospects of any armed revolutionary struggle on the grand scale as in Spain and Russia. The age of huge conscript armies drawn from the ranks of the dispossessed seems to be coming to an end. Armies these days tend to be much smaller, comprising highly trained and often well paid personnel, with sophisticated arms of great accuracy and destructive potential. Being much fewer in number, modern soldiers are also much more easily controlled by their commanders — mass defections to revolutionary causes are now much more unlikely.

Whatever states may do with their armed forces, the question of how anarchists may oppose them remains. It seems to me that the presentation of armed struggle as a valid means to social revolutionary ends, if not in effect counter-revolutionary, should increasingly be seen to be out-moded. The old arguments of violent resistance versus non-violent resistance seem likely to be buried by the fact that the former is becoming much less of an option. Non-violent action in the form of the revolutionary general strike, coupled with workplace occupations and other acts of mass civil disobedience, seem to offer the most fruitful and probably the only ways forward. However, discussions about tactics remain academic without the furtherance of widespread and deeply-held libertarian cultures. People who are not in themselves free will never build a free society by any means.

John Griffin

(John Griffin is also the author of *A Structured Anarchism* in the Freedom Press Discussion Series, 40 pages, £1 post free inland)

# NO MORE WAR

most alienated, the most repressed who have responded often violently, in times of unrest. Yet one wonders if those most affected by authoritarianism and exploitation have the necessary psychological drives, not just to lash out against their oppressors, but to carry forward their opposition into constructive actions towards a thoroughgoing libertarian social revolution, rather than a mere change of government. Repression can never be regarded as being beneficial, and history records very few occasions when violence brought about worthwhile social change.

"What about Spain?" you may rightly ask. Here at least there was widespread armed opposition accompanied by creative action at the point of production. However, a rather less rosy picture was presented in Vernon Richards' *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, where it is said: "...one of the conclusions we have come to is that only a small section of the Spanish revolutionary movement was in fact libertarian ..." and "They were themselves victims of the illusions which they had so often criticised in the socialists, of believing that power was only evil when in the wrong hands ..." Here Vernon Richards is talking about the collaboration with the Republican Government of the apparently conscious revolutionaries of the CNT and FAI. While he, of course, acknowledges the workers' and peasants' determination to pursue their achievements at the workplace, he also makes it clear that they had responsibility for "permitting the

growth of a leadership within their own organisations" which was to contribute to its demise. The real strength of the Spanish revolution lay in the prevalence of strong cultural tendencies towards co-operative methods of working, which had existed for many, many years before the revolution took place, and in spite of repression — a state of affairs which is, sadly, extremely rare.

It is interesting and instructive to compare and contrast the Spanish experience in this period with that of Germany, where the libertarian tradition was much less strong. Even so, there seemed to be a widespread revolutionary upheaval in the offing, following Germany's defeat in the First World War, yet a mere fifteen years later, in 1933, the masses voted Hitler into power, and then obediently allowed themselves to be dragooned into starting the Second World War. The pressure for social revolution disappeared virtually without trace, in my view, mainly because the psychological orientation of the Germans had a strongly authoritarian side to it which proved to be receptive to Nazi pro-war propaganda. We are back with linking the repressed with a tendency towards violence, and 'solutions' to social problems which are far from being anarchist.

We might also consider the effects on those revolutionaries who, stirred by their anarchist beliefs, came to fight for them. The experience of long, hard marches, going short of food, living for months in vermin-infested clothes, and driving

We are all familiar with the stirring poster depiction of the revolutionary fighter. You know: the defiant, eager, hopeful gaze towards a horizon over which lies the better tomorrow, the rifle hung over the shoulder, an element of romance perhaps being added if the figure is female. The idea is one which has been flogged unmercifully by the Marxists. Anarchist propaganda has tended to stress more positive aspects of revolutionary endeavour, but it too has used similar imagery. When it comes to arguments over ends and means, anarchists have rightly attacked the Marxist tendency towards statist/military/police methods being inconsistent with communitarian objectives. What is seldom questioned, except by pacifists, is the efficacy of the armed struggle itself. A friend of mine once remarked: "Throwing Molotovs at tanks is okay, but don't kid yourself that it's got anything to do with anarchism!" Of course he is right: all forms of weaponry, no matter how basic, are intrinsically coercive, and therefore, at the end of the day, inconsistent with anarchism.

The results of 'successful' Marxist-led armed struggles were all pretty much the same in their dreadfulness, and anarchist criticisms of the methods employed were to be fully vindicated. Armed anarchist struggles all finished as heroic failures, crushed by the forces of the Left or Right or by a combination of the two. Given the strong humanitarian aspects of anarchism, we should not perhaps be surprised by its martial shortcomings. The authoritarians always seem to have been that much better organised and supplied for these purposes, and their troops that much more obedient and ruthless, if rather less imaginative.

We tend to see pressure for social change coming from those who are most deprived, and it is indeed those people who have little or nothing to lose, the

# The Pleasures of Pornography



The tragedy of age is that we are no longer physically able to enjoy our appetites and hypocrisy takes over and a pseudo-morality begins to condemn the pleasures of youth. It is the joy of youth that they have a strong stomach, no conscience and an eager, questing mind and it is for them to enjoy the hedonistic pleasures of steaming fried fish and chips, huge soft flour-adulterated cakes overloaded, like a Greek ship, with that marvellous chemically adulterated imitation cream and jam and taste and flavourings that are the product of some of the lowest minds within our profit-based technical society. And as the body develops, the guilty pleasures of the dirty postcards, the soft (or if they should be that lucky, hard) porn magazines and the final and ultimate acts of youthful creation, the reading and writing on the lavatory walls. It is we, the aged, who are handed the diet sheets after a life of despising the whey-faced vegetarians, and never again will we eat of the cream cake. And for the good honest pornographic filth, it is to ape Poe's raven hawking *Never More*, *Never More*, and our physical and mental inability means that the loss is ours. To have to reject the lust of youth is a sad thing, but let everybody rise, yea even those in the back row, to refuse to shame their fellow men and women for peeping at the bra adverts on the underground escalators against those who refuse to look at Page 3 while demanding more laws and more prisons for those who do. Do not foist your sick and artificial morality and your private fears and authoritarian rages onto a laughing world to sanctify your inner sickness. The difference between pornography and erotic art is purely (and how that word creeps in) economic, for hang a painted nude by Botticelli, Rubens or Palma Vecchio in a Soho whorehouse and one would have the Soho vice squad tearing them off the walls, but hang a large slice of contemporary German erotica on the walls of a conservative Bond Street gallery with a price of £10,000 or more and it would be a brave police agent who would dare to go into that gallery to feel the collar of the art dealer, for wealth dictates that money will buy not only the most crudest visual representation of sex in any of its manifestations but also the painting, the statue, yea even the act, and its justifiable

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(continued from page 4)

and a truly adventurous way to live. The teenager who had spent so many years in prison would not have fallen foul of the law had he not been beaten every day by his parents right from the time he was a toddler. All he learnt from them was that he could trust no one and that in this life he had to look after himself. One teenager, telephoning his mother, asked: "Why do you beat me? Jesus, why do you take it out on us?" Yet governments think that these young people are criminals!

And how do the governments treat these teenagers who have been punished all their lives? They capture them and give them still more punishment. By God, it is the governments who are the criminals, not the so-called offenders. Governments are in charge; we have the society they produce. It is they who create and maintain the present family groups, even though many are a complete failure. It is they who create the massive wealth inequalities and organise nothing effectively, so that many are driven to starvation and so-called criminality.

What effrontery for governments to call other people criminals! It is governments who deceive the people, who steal with taxes, who kill, not in single numbers but in millions.

Because governments are the real criminals, it is they who ought to go trekking into the wilderness and mountains — and the further they go the better. It is the whole state pattern of society with its governments that is the real cause of 'bad' behaviour. It is the state who is the criminal. So it is the state that has to change or, more accurately, be destroyed.

Derrick A. Pike

defence, if one were needed, is that it is the visual representation of one person's inner thinking that they seek to communicate to one who is sympathetic to received ideas or beliefs, be they good, bad or indifferent. Already in this month of August the sick and the closed minds are jelling together for the banning of De Sade's hottest little whimsy that he penned while doing his time in the Bastille, and more brutish minds than mine are already hinting that this will be the hottest property since Henry Miller used his four letter words to put book smuggling from the Continent in the same league as the anti-Elizabethan Catholic religious tracts.

But for the Town and his blushing frau, there

is always your honest-to-God art which means bright colours and a simplistic subject matter, and no one could be more simplistic in his approach to the Art Establishment and the punters than Richard Long, for he is the boy who walks in circles and wins the applause of those with galleries to fill. My opinion of Richard Long's labours is that they are valueless rubbish arranged into huge circles by a nice person who has no talent. He is a lad who loves — is that the correct word — to wander across Britain's open spaces gathering up any natural rubbish that nature has left lying and with this collection of stones, twigs and mud he rearranges nature's refuse into a large circle on the earth or the gallery floor. He enjoys it, I enjoy it, the Art Bureaucracy 'enjoy it' and the wandering-hands dealers enjoy it, so who's complaining asks the bemused Town's frau, and the answer is that Richard's rubbish walkabouts art is now to be made compulsory for part of the art lessons of small and inoffensive schoolchildren and the crime, for me, is that work by such as Heron, Peter Blake and Lowry, etc., is to be heaped in with the works of the great masters of European art using Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo as key figures. My sympathy is with the unfortunate teacher, for dare he or she state that any of the children's display works of contemporary 'artists' are banal crap then it will be demanded of them: "You are only a primary school teacher so what do you know about art?" And I say reverse the question and demand: "Why should I be handed inferior work by third rate British artists and made to

lie to children that it is 'art' fit to be placed among the creations of the European masters!" But the children will be lied to, as we were lied to and we, in our turn, with the exception of myself, will tell and listen to lies for fear of offending friend or foe. The Victorian *nouveau riche* loved their slab of good, honest pornography and they solved the problem, as they did with the making of iron, by giving it a moral and social value and they paid the boys with the brushes lovely money for Pre-Raphaelite hokum with the buxom nude tied 'bondage' style to the tree while the viewer's conscience was cleared by the mounted knight slightly off-centre.

No vegetarians, but clean living boys, the moneyed mill masters knew what they wanted — subjects that they could hang up in the main dining room next to the butler, and if it was Greek or Roman then Sir Frederick Leighton had a good line in nudes arising from the tiled swimming pool. And I love the brush-work, the tonal values and the draughtsmanship of those evil society painters, for they were social ponces in that they posed the women naked not to amuse each other but to satisfy the casual sexual need of indifferent wealth and the evil was that they cloaked a worthy and innocent appetite behind a cloak of cant morality. I will not defend or reject Page 3, or Bernard Manning, the pornographic postcard or magazine, the blue film, the pork chop, the 'grass' or the use of our society's small number of four letter words whose use in our national literature is part of its heritage. Neither will I be part of those unfortunates whose sick minds daily seek to lessen our diminishing freedoms, for every time a brothel or bookshop is police-raided, a child is robbed of the small pleasure of a sweet, that one is neither man nor woman but person, who one should view or read, then I am a little less free and so is the fool who curtails my freedom. Fish and chips and Guinness on me.

Arthur Moyse

I am very unhappy about Frank Antosen's shotgun marriage between questionable logic and irrational imagination (*Freedom*, 6th April).

There is a consistent position for anarchists to take on reason and logic, but you have to dig deep to find a foundation to stand on.

I take it that the function of an anarchist is to subvert — to subvert society. For the purpose in hand you must use reason to subvert logic itself.

### Social awareness

Reason is any well-made chain of informal argument leading to some social purpose (which may be trivial or great). Logic is a discipline which seeks to codify, symbolise and formalise an abstraction from informal reasoning. It is important to realise that logic is parasitic upon our informal reasoning, parasitic upon the material, social and linguistic worlds.

Antosen capitulates to this logic when he remarks that meaningful sentences in logic are, at best, tautologies and again, when he allows some thought to be analytic. This makes meaning self-contained in the structure of logical sentences. *No socially aware person should ever say that. Meaning is supplied by the overall world context in which a sentence is set, as well as by the words. You can see this if you try to analyse an 'analytic' sentence.*

"All bachelors are unmarried men". For fifty years logicians have been trying to prove this to be a tautology — and they have failed. The real, full meaning of that sentence is embedded in the existence of men and women, in the social institution of marriage, and in all the associations accruing. Context cannot be analysed out of such sentences. Faced with this sentence logicians get bogged down in similarities and differences between bachelors and unmarried men. What is a tautology? The same as. What does 'same' mean? It means a similarity. What are similar things? Equal. So any sentence with 'bachelors' can have 'unmarried men' substituted, without a change of meaning, can it? It cannot. A trivial thing like a bachelor's button is enough to stop that.

### Hierarchies of language

What is claimed for logic and what it does are very different. The failure of logic to prove any complex relational sentence to be analytic, does not deter logicians. They just remove all meaning from sentences, by abstraction into syntactics — the ghost of your argument then becomes meaningless

## The Anarchist Logician

symbols on paper — while the pool of meaning they refer to as semantics or model theory. Yet still they get into trouble, because informal reasoning is needed to manipulate the symbols. So they shift the symbols and refer to them as the object language, whilst shoving all the unresolved problems up into a meta-language. Problems then occur over the informality of the meta-language. So a meta-meta-language is invoked. No analytic point is ever reached.

Reasoning is not analytic in the formal logical sense; the world and its reflection in language is too socially flexible to be pinned down like that. Imagination is not separable from reason, it is intertwined with it. Imagination is the clothing on the body of reason, chosen in the drive to change components of culture.

However, criticism of logic is not enough. The anarchist is out to subvert. It is time to attack.

### Under no interpretation

Reason is always possible in the face of a breakdown of logic, because reasoning is pragmatic and can start from any point. Whereas in logic you must begin by laying down axioms. Euclid is a familiar example:

"A point has no dimensions."

"A line has one dimension."

Such axioms yield no domain of interpretation for geometry. Purely logical geometry is empty. To get geometry going you have to import a 'postulate of parallels'. There are many types of these, all independent of each other and independent of the logical axioms about points and lines. (In plane geometry parallel lines never meet. In earth geometry parallels of longitude meet at the poles, while parallels of latitude meet opposite themselves.) The 'parallel postulate' is therefore not analytic, it is not logical, but is a strategy of logicians to cover the breakdown of logic. It is the smuggling of the world into geometry by the back door. The so-called 'fifth postulate' is not an axiom at all. It is a piece of non-logic which allows a domain of interpretation for geometry. It is the abject confession that logic is unable to provide foundations for geometry.

It is *not* the case that logical systems are weak. It is *not* the case that logical systems give an incomplete

description of the world. It is the case that logical systems do nothing at all. It is the case that logic (as distinguishing between synthetic and analytic thought) does *not* exist.

No logical system can get going without using a non-logical trick similar to the above importation of parallels.

Anarchistic ontology (which is about what there is) dethrones logic as the queen of science.

When you come to non-Euclidean geometry, the position gets a little hairy, but is still the same.

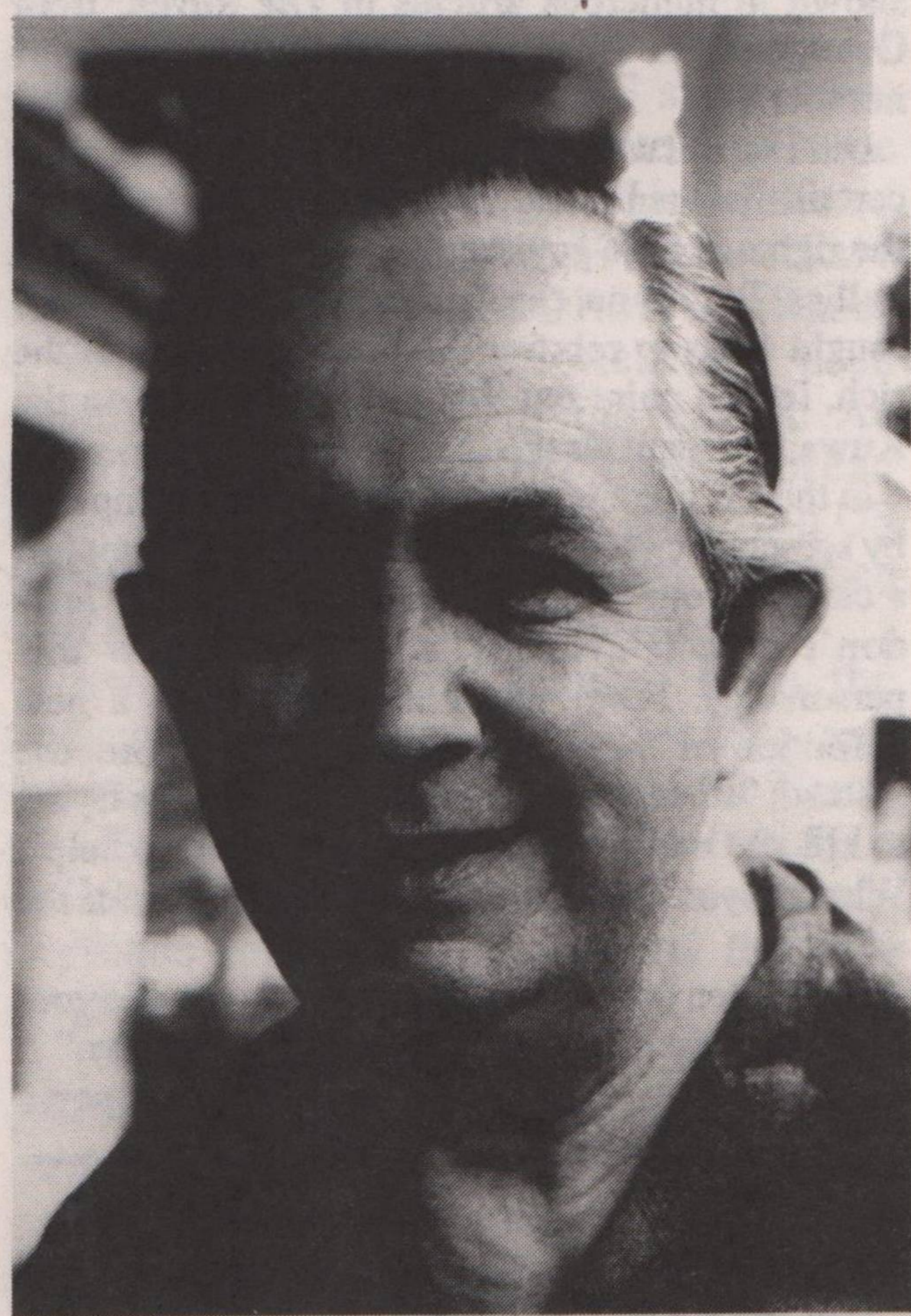
### Start anywhere

Riemannian space is modelled as a saddle, familiar in accounts of relativity theory as space curves around gravitating masses. If all these points of mass are concentrated below a certain radius in space (Schwarzschild) then a singularity exists. The gravitating mass shrinks to a primeval atom and you get the big bang origin of the universe. The mathematical techniques which cosmologists use are extremely powerful, allowing them to model cosmic evolution from tiny fractions of a second after the big bang. For the purposes of teaching, this cosmology is sometimes cast as an axiom system, with points defined, straight line redefined, mass adumbrated and constants imported. But do not be deceived into believing that the universe is a logical system. If you wish you may start from points, or you may start from a constant (like the speed of light) or you may start from a telescopic survey of the distribution of galaxies in the visible universe, or you may start from the red shift in the light from most galaxies. From any one of these starting positions you can get to the big bang and modern cosmology. By informal reasoning that is — nor by a formal logic system. Neither cosmology, not its mathematics, may be restrained by an axiomatic, logical system. The physical universe knows nothing of logic.

This last notion is quite separate from the question of whether mathematical entities have any real existence.

Kurt Gödel was the arch advocate of Platonism. All mathematics and logic comprised the real world for Gödel. He did not believe in natural science. Everything real was laid down at the Platonic level!

# Richard (Dick) Ellington 1930-1991



rheumatoid arthritis and pain was a constant companion, his great sardonic sense of humour, coupled with his ability to empathise with people, enabled him to become a source of help that people would turn to. Dick helped anyone whom he felt was sincerely trying to effect changes in society. Although most of his energies went into anarchist projects, he

would also aid local activists working in their neighbourhood, if he thought that their efforts were worthy.

I'm glad that I managed to spend some time with him in the days just before he died. Typically, the last time I saw him, about a week before his demise, he was sitting at the table in his work room; trailing his connection to life, his breathing tube, behind him he shuffled over to his desk and dug out my most recently finished article, 'The Anarchist as Griot'. I had brought him a copy to read the week before. With that wonderful sly smile of his, he handed it back to me and said, "I hope you don't mind that I did some editing of the article while I was reading it. I couldn't help myself". Of course I was delighted, as I thought that his ability as an editor, which he

managed without the intrusion of his own personality, was one of his greatest skills and a wonderful contribution. A present that I had often accepted in the past. I won't list all of the anarchist works that perhaps would never have appeared without his input of energy and ability. Instead I'll let Dick speak for himself in a short biographical note that he'd sent me when I was trying to put together a collection of statements by older anarchists about what sustained them in their beliefs and enabled them to continue as anarchists, despite the many defeats we have suffered. This statement had been printed in *Kick It Over*, a Canadian anarchist paper, a number of years ago. I'll end by saying: "I and anarchy will miss Dick".

David Koven

## A RADICAL'S RECOLLECTIONS

Most radicals seem horrified when I say that the US Army made a radical out of me, but it's true — not that the army intended it that way of course. My father was a 'self-made man' who clawed his way up during the Depression from grocery clerk to a high executive position with a large grocery firm. He died suddenly when I was eight and we went very quickly from comfortable middle class to bottom-line poverty. At 17 I has never been exposed to any radical ideas and had no aim in life. An army recruiter who was charged with filling a recruiting quota for an army technical intelligence outfit found in me an ideal candidate — high school grad, high IQ, and (mainly) clearable for high-level security work. There was no draft on at the time but it was obvious there soon would be so I enlisted and spent four years in the outfit, including 2½ years in the Far East. Along the line I was exposed to the inner workings of the murkier side of governments up close (nothing James Bondish, mind you, just all the routine paper-pushing that makes up 99% of the real world of intelligence gathering). I also began to see the workings of power, both in government and on a personal level in the army itself. Off duty my natural curiosity and a certain natural empathy drew me to the peoples of the Far East countries where I was stationed and I finally began to see how the social system worked, still without any conscious knowledge of why it worked that way. By the time I got out I knew I was thinking differently from most of the rest of the world but I didn't know why. Among other things, the army had taught me it was best to keep your mouth shut about weird ideas so I kept my feelings to myself.

When I was discharged I drifted around aimlessly and, in 1953 in New York, I first made contact with radical ideas. I read voraciously and nosed around various radical groups, mostly Marxists, but it quickly became obvious to me that they were simply the other side of the coin from what I was beginning to label 'capitalism'. Finally, with an equally discontented friend, I drifted down to one of the Friday evening forums sponsored by the newly-formed Libertarian League and it all began to click into place. If I was a freak in my thinking, at least I had company. Here was a whole group of people who thought pretty much the same way I did and they weren't afraid to talk about it, argue about it, write about it. They introduced me to the history

and philosophy of anarchism and within a few months I was a committed anarchist.

The two men who founded the Libertarian League had great personal value for me. Sam Dolgoff introduced me to the IWW and shared bits of personal history with me. Russell Blackwell was the first person I'd met who had a sense of honour at least as black as my own. Both of them were incredibly patient with my continual questions and problems in sorting out all the new information I was absorbing.

I was ploughing through the anarchist 'classics' with varying degrees of success but my real 'bible' was *Freedom*, in those days a weekly. I read and re-read every issue. The thoughtful articles all moved me and, mainly, helped me relate anarchist ideas to the modern world. By this time I was a general Jimmy Higgins with the Libertarian League, working on production of our modest publication *Views and Comments*, and also handling our literature distribution. I corresponded quite a bit with Lilian Wolfe at *Freedom* and finally got up enough nerve to ask her who 'CW' was (most of the articles in *Freedom* in those days were simply signed with initials). "His name is Colin Ward and he is an architect", was her terse reply — Lilian wasn't one for wasting words in those days, though over the years, after I had 'paid my dues' for a while, she did open up a bit, and I know she was touched when I named my daughter after Marie Louise Berneri. At any rate, I really feel that Colin Ward's writings and his editorship of *Anarchy* were what influenced my thinking, closely followed by the writings of Philip Sansom and Vernon Richards.

I suppose the hardest thing then, as I'm sure it is now for the younger comrades, is to come to some kind of terms with our ideals and our daily lives in this society. I can only say that this is a deeply personal, individual thing and no two people draw the line in the same place. I slowly came to realise that our ideas might not triumph in the foreseeable future and I had to learn to deal with that. It is, of course, an oversimplification, but basically I decided that an anarchist society is the best goal I can conceive of socially and I see no point in working for anything less than the best, even if immediate gains are not evident.

We moved to California in 1960, primarily to provide a somewhat more healthy environment in which to raise my daughter. I continued to work with the League and also with the IWW. The problem of 'burnout' was becoming apparent to me, although it didn't really impress itself on me until, in the mid-sixties, I went through a period of it myself, complicated probably by the onset of crippling rheumatoid arthritis. I just lapsed into an apathetic state for a few years, during which I did little but live from day to day. Other people talk of their 'salad days'; I think of those years as my 'vegetable days'. The vague sense of uneasiness and — let's be honest — shame that I felt gradually grew strong enough to pull me back into activity. The only thing it taught me was that periods of brilliant and frenzied activity may be the way to go for some, but not for me. I learned to pace myself, to acknowledge my own limitations and to deal with the fact that I couldn't do everything myself. I slowly pulled myself together and began to work again, not at the same level as before, but steadily, and it has worked for me. I may never accomplish anything tremendous for our movement but the next time I burn out will be when they cremate my remains.

Except for brief periods of unemployment I had always held full-time jobs, working at whatever was available, trying to ameliorate the boredom of

wage slavery by changing not only jobs but kinds of work regularly. As a cripple — and that's what I am — I could no longer indulge in that luxury, nor could I handle a full-time job and still take part in movement work. For one thing I simply couldn't physically handle things like running a press, walking a picket line or the various other kinds of direct action tactics I believe in.

I finally settled into my current lifestyle as the best compromise available to me. I work as a freelance typesetter and book designer in a back room of our home, using an old IBM composer and my knowledge of producing the printed word economically to provide a needed service for the small press and self-publishing fraternity. I don't make great amounts of money but I like what I do and I feel it is one small answer to the increasingly monolithic nature of commercial publishing.

Even this compromise would not have been possible without the constant help and support of my compañera, my love, Pat, who for thirty years has shared all of this with me. I have used 'I' throughout this but it is really 'we' that would be more appropriate. We are a team, a pair, a partnership, and the two of us together equal far more than just the sum of one plus one.

I try to reserve as much of my time as my hand-to-mouth economics will permit for movement work, either donating my services (for specifically anarchist projects) or discounting heavily for related work (anti-draft, environmental causes, etc.). I started working with comrades at Newspace in Chicago and Black & Red in Detroit, providing typesetting for pamphlets like *Shay's Rebellion*, *Muniz's Unions Against the Revolution* and the previously untranslated section of Voline's *The Unknown Revolution*. I regularly help out with typesetting for the IWW and for the past few years have been co-operating with Cienfuegos/BCM Refract (*Stefano Della Chiaie, Portrait of a Black Terrorist*, the still-to-be-printed *Faceries*, Sam Dolgoff's *Fragments*), plus whatever else comes my way and seems useful (*The Strike in Gdansk* for my old comrade Andy Tymowski for instance).

The few things I've learned over the years seem right for me; they may not be right for others in the movement. With that caveat in mind:

I've learned patience and tolerance, particularly with my comrades. I try to stay clear of feuds within our movement and to temper my criticisms of others with understanding. When anarchists waste time, energy and paper slanging each other we all lose and the powers that be chortle with delight.

I've learned the value of humour. Nothing — including our own movement — should be immune to laughter. When we lose the ability to laugh at ourselves we lose everything. Black humour has great survival value in our insane society and provides a great needed outlet for rage.

That delicate balancing act we all must do between day-to-day living and our own ideals requires the development of a set of personal ethics. I continue to try and shove the needle into the state at every opportunity but at the same time I feel I must act fairly and honestly with my fellow human beings. I give my word sparingly but I always keep it. I try to stay clear of work that is obviously supportive of the system. I do not allow myself to be put into a position where I must 'boss' other working people, simply because I don't think I am any less susceptible to the corruption of power than anybody else.

Slowly, over the years, I've come to realise that the ideas of anarchism now colour every phase of my life and I've come to realise that I wouldn't have it any other way.

Richard Ellington

Dick Ellington, one of the most reliable, helpful, good humoured and bravest men I've ever known, died of lung cancer on 26th May. He lived in a manner as to constantly try to affirm his anarchist beliefs. He attempted to not permit his ego to come between himself, his sense of anarchy as a living philosophy and those who he worked and lived with. Despite the fact that his body was being destroyed by

— including an eternal 'not' (it is not the case that). The irony is that if you re-focus the work of Gödel in sympathy with mathematics, physical science and the world, you find that his two incompleteness theorems destroy all hope that logic provides the foundations of mathematics or science and destroy all hopes for a system of logic.

Again, none of this bears on the question of whether mathematical entities have a real existence. They may or may not. But there is no route from axioms and logic to mathematical reality. Gödel's incompleteness theorems forever bar that way.

Logic, like gold, is metaphysical. Decisions about it determine your ontology (what you take to be there). Attacks on logic often provoke the same virulent response as attacks on god, revealing that the further away from reality the subject is, the deeper may be the prejudice. Some people feel their own existence to be threatened by an attack on logic.

### Conclusion

A 'reasonable' society will not be the outcome of any system of logic or ideology — nor of a marriage of either with imagination. Logic and ideology are no achievements at all.

No system of logic — powerful enough to encompass everyday inferences, plus the integers (1, 2, 3, ...) plus basic arithmetic functions (+ & -) — is free from contradictions.

From this conclusion you must choose your next move very carefully. Either the fault lies with 'everyday inferences' or with 'the integers' or with 'basic arithmetic' or with 'systems of logic'.

The anarchist position is that the negating arrow of Gödel's theorems wipes out all systems of logic, yet leaves the rest untouched. Any attempt to codify or formalise everyday inferences must be resisted. The system of logic must be seen as a parasite on everyday reasoning. The integers need no logical justification. Arithmetic does not depend on logic.

During 1900-1931, when the paradoxes, culminating in Gödel's theorems, appeared, logicians sent dismal letters to each other. 'Mathematics is tottering', 'arithmetic has fallen', 'paradise lost', are typical utterances. Mathematics and science carried on, because they are based on social practices, not on a system of logic. (Which is the anarchist position and will be the subject of another article.)

B.K. McNeeney

## Don't Starve the Police!

According to a top Soviet government official there is "a real threat of famine" if this year's harvest is not successfully completed. This is an exaggeration but obviously the government is trying to work up enthusiasm among the farmers not by the threat of famine (since it won't be the farmers who starve) but by offering them incentives in the form of consumer goods in return for supplying grain to the state.

At the same time the *East Anglian Daily Times* (6th August) was reporting that nearly 5,000 cars are being exported to Siberia in a £50 million deal. What makes the news item piquant is that most of these cars are destined for the use of the police! There is a dire shortage of foreign currency ... but not for importing police cars.

# It's not just a car, it's your freedom

What is the purpose of government? We know government steals from the poor to give to the rich. Who was Robin Hood's opponent? The government.

But is this government's main purpose? Back when I was a brash youngster, I would have said no, the function of government is to kill its own citizens. Now that I am at a more level-headed age, I think that robbing the poor is exactly the government's *raison d'être*, and that killing people is just incidental.

Still, we have to admit that killing people is one thing the government does well. Most 'third world' governments, those darlings of the Marxists, kill large numbers of tribal fourth world peoples to give their land to lumber, hamburger and similar interests. Interested readers should check out *Cultural Survival* and similar publications.

But here in the first world, the best of all possible worlds? Clearly we all know that it is our health and well-being which are the first thoughts every public servant thinks on awakening, and the last ones on retiring. On what basis could anyone say otherwise?

Let's try cars and roads. Allow me to use the statistics of the governmental unit calling itself the United States of America, published annually in their Statistical Abstract.

Some figures:  
 total deaths, USA, 1978-87 = 20 million  
 car wreck deaths = half a million  
 Americans dying from cars = 1 in every 40  
 leading cause of death, ages 1 to 34 = cars  
 % of car wreck deaths who were under 25 = half  
 % of people who died at ages 15-24 who died from cars = 40%

And so forth. To me, the central image in Western art is Goya's 'Saturn Eating His Children'.

What does this have to do with the government? Does the government manufacture cars? Well, France does: Renaults. The US bailed out Chrysler. And the government subsidy to driving in the US is 40 cents of every dollar spent. In Erie, PA, a five-mile trip on the bus costs 75 cents to the consumer and 70 cents to the government. The same trip by car costs, American average, \$1.55 to the driver and \$1.00 to the government.

But all that is nothing compared to the building of roads. The rivers were built by nature, the railroads were built by capitalists. I think the readers of this journal like nature well enough. I'm under the impression they're not so fond of capitalists. *Only governments build roads.*

Actually roads in the old fashioned sense, the roads whose speed limits were ox-cart and pedestrian, were built by various sources. But only a government can build a four-lane concrete and asphalt super-highway. *It is these which cause the most deaths:* in the USA about one fatality per ten miles of super-highway per year. This is ten times the fatalities per year from a city street.

Did the government set out to kill people when it built these roads? No, it set out to rob the poor and give to the rich. The rich in this case are the car builders, the tyre makers, the oil companies, the suburban developers and road interests, and big chain stores like McDonald's who move much more product today than they did before the roads were erected. And the poor in this case: the environment itself, whose exploitation is called 'development' or 'growth' and the most serious fouling of which leads to the highest profits, the animals who have very small endowments and who lost 1,000,000 of themselves to 'road kill' every day in the US alone, and the human poor whose houses are commandeered to build highways in urban areas and whose living districts are then driven through endangering their lives and life-quality by direct death and lung disease.

Between 1960 and 1970 in the US, 500,000

housing units were knocked down to build highways. How many homeless people are there in America today? Two million. Is there a connection? Is the pope catholic?

Without government intervention on behalf of the car, cars would be used at levels similar to those of 1920. Mass transit would still exist, cities would still be breathing, farms would not be paved over, and so forth. But mostly, you and your children would have a much better chance of reaching old age.

What can you do about it? It is conceivable that someone who lost a loved one to the car cartel might knock out the road that killed them by blowing up a support of that road. I don't advocate it, but when people catch on that roads interests are willing to kill them in the pursuit of profits, they might get angry. I would especially imagine this happening in continental Europe.

You could vote. Yet somehow or another, Democratic Republican, Republican Democrat, Conservative Labourite and Laborious Conservative all seem to favour road building. In fact, Communist governments in general, to give them one due, found fewer bags of money slipped under their doors by General Motors, McDonald's, Dunlop and Brown & Root than did their old free democracies, and thus have many fewer cars than does the OECD. Watch all this change in the brave new Poland of the future.

You could protest. I recommend it. In the US at least, road fights are always between: in one corner, the reigning heavyweight champion of the world, the government, and in the other corner, a handful of local homeowners and shopkeepers, contenders for the local amateur bantamweight title and a \$50 purse. That is to say, the whole governmental apparatus (including the media) *always* favours all road extensions, widenings, straightenings, openings. Their opposition, when there is any, is just a few people in the path of the greed. Surprisingly, once in a while a road gets stopped,

sometimes permanently, so it's worth trying.

Better yet, try to reverse the trend. Try to close or dead-end an existing road, or narrow it, or put up speed bumps, or a strip of trees down the middle of it. Especially try to build more and better zebra crossings and pedestrian islands. Anything which slows the average speed of a road saves lives. Or try to turn part of it into a pedestrian or bicycle path, or give an exclusive right-of-way to a bus or trolley. There is a trend of doing this in some places, called traffic calming. The involvement of the individual in this process is crucial to keep the government from calming one street at the expense of another, as they often do in Europe. Maybe, with our input, we can give each block control over the street it faces. We're trying for this in Erie, with a lot of neighbourhood support, and will let you know if it succeeds.

Finally, you can vote with your feet. If the government is trying to kill you, why help it along? You yourself, and not some angel, can walk, bike or take the bus or train. I don't own a car, and I live in one of those places where people say, "oh, you have to own a car to live here". This means I don't go shopping so much, which in America makes me unpatriotic. It also means I get to feel smug about

oil wars, and I'm sure feeling smug isn't good for me. Smug, I think one person who doesn't own a car does more to oppose war and environmental destruction than 100 protesters with placards.

Not participating in an evil is, to my mind, the first step in rooting it out. Urging others to do the same is the second step. This line of reasoning should appeal to readers of this journal. It is for me the influence of the vegetarian/animal rights movement. But in fact it is the anarchist way, as shown in numerous articles in *The Raven*, from Ostergaard to Bhave in number 2 to much of number 14.

Did I say oil wars? I'm sorry, personally I'm quite certain that the US and UK only call a war to defend the rights of little guys being pushed around by big bullies. But if you, the reader, think wars might be fought so as to rob from the poor and give to the rich, let me point out that the US expense on the Kuwait incident worked out, so far, to \$300 per car.

In the US there is a current advertising campaign by someone called 'Ford' that tells us: "It's not just a car, it's your freedom" (or so I am told — Jews don't own televisions, so I don't know this personally). From this I think we learn a new definition of the word freedom. Let me propose instead: "It's not just a car, it's big business trying to kill you and government doing its best to help". What do you think, is this a catchy slogan for the ad biz?

Okay, then how about "It's not just a car, it's your life"? Or, "the life you save could be your own".  
**Kopl Halperin**

## Another 67,000 wage slaves in the capitalist scrap-heap in July

Another 67,000 wage earners were officially unemployed last month. How many were put on part-time, four-day week does not appear in the record. On the same day as these figures were released we were also told that record numbers of homes had been

repossessed in the first half of the year because many of Thatcher's nation of homeowners could not pay their instalments. There are now also 162,210 buyers who are six to twelve months behind on their mortgage payments. To suggest that a reduction in interest rates will solve their problems is nonsense. They cannot pay because the white-collar well-paid employees are now the victims of unemployment. They are in a majority in the Tory-voting South East and one can only hope that they are feeling a little more sympathy for their less fortunate fellows who have never been able to afford their own homes and who were the first victims of this government's financial policies. Manufacturing investment has also slumped. Inflation appears to have gone down from 5.8% to 5.5% because mortgages are now reflecting the cuts in Interest Rates. But in fact the real inflation rate (which excludes mortgages) shows an increase to nearly 7%. Nevertheless government ministers go on forecasting that the end of the recession is in sight and even the Bank of England was reported as "backing the view that the recession has finally hit bottom". Obviously with the lack of public confidence in banks in general, as a result of all the recent scandals, and governments with all their shortcomings, they cannot afford to add to the gloom by giving the facts which are plain for all to see who bother to look: the recession is spreading worldwide.

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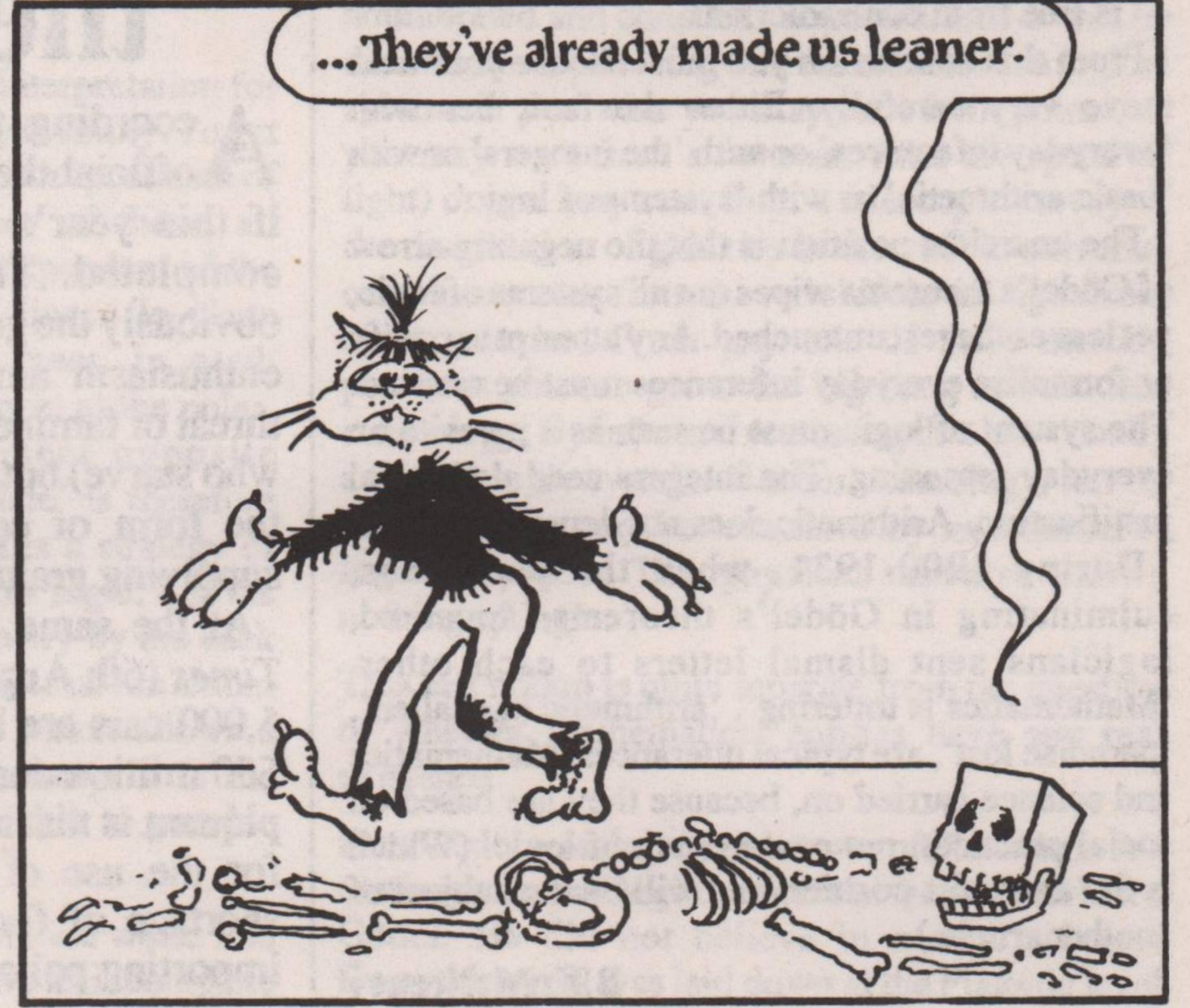
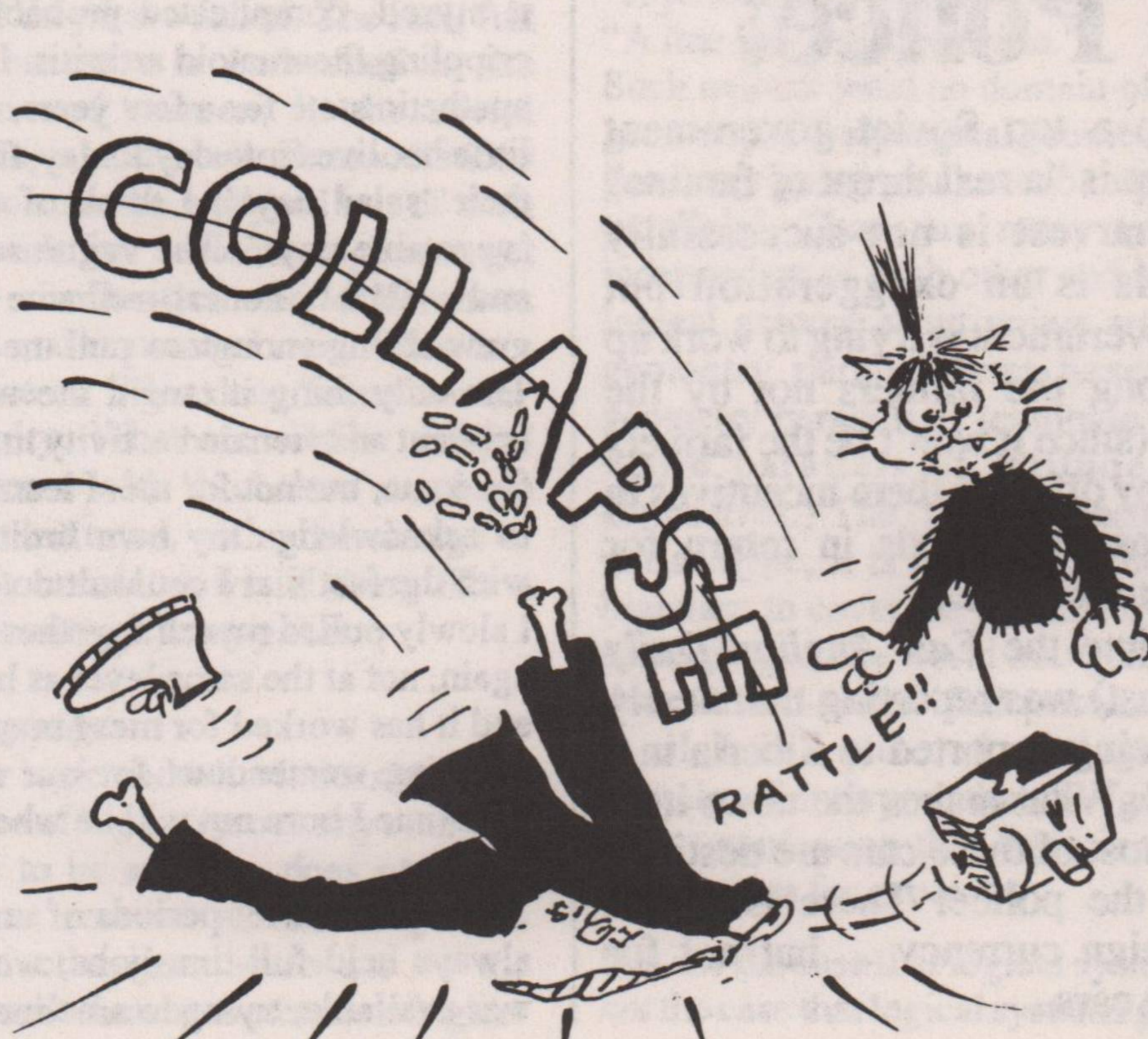
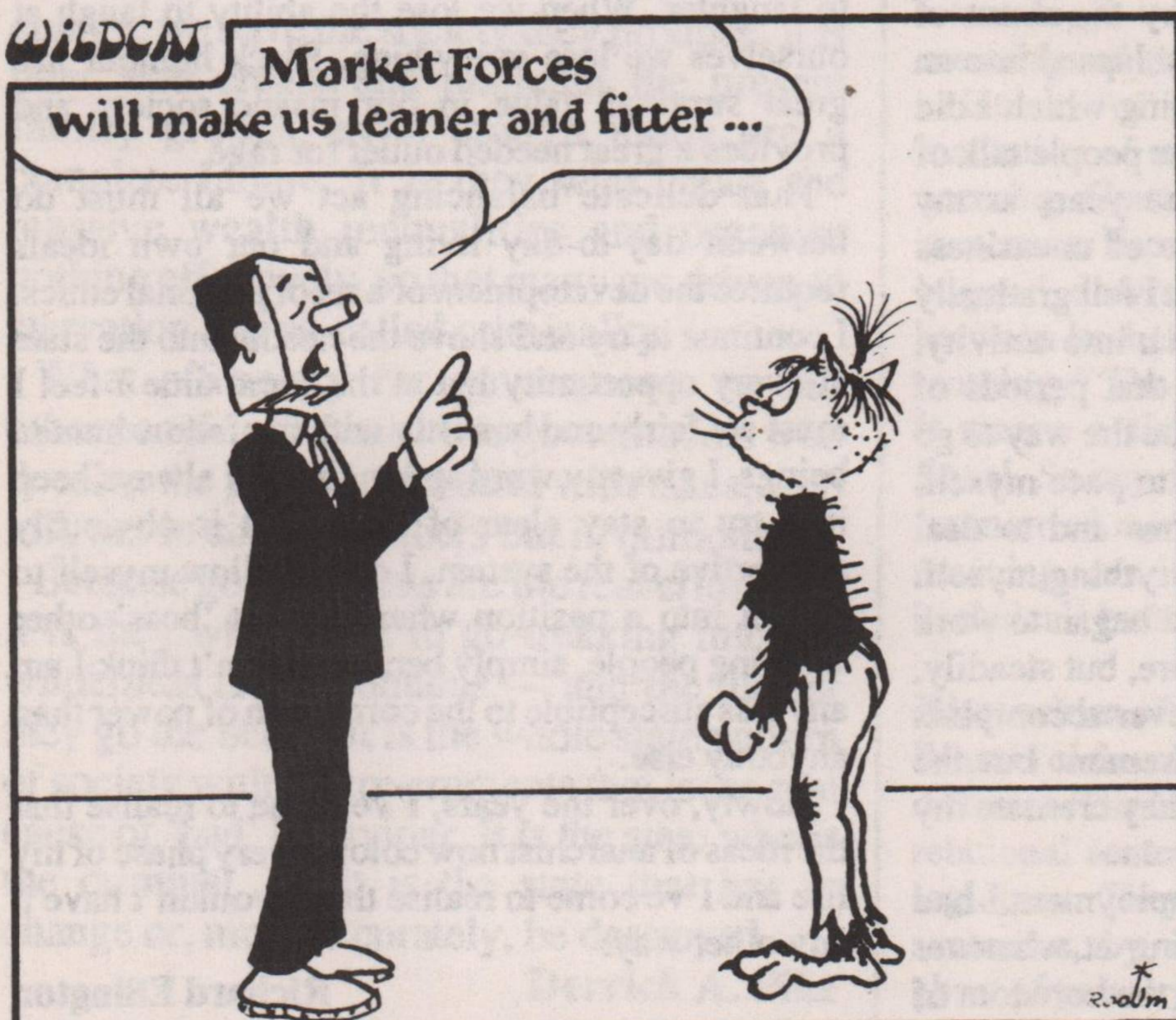
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Colin Ward is an anarchist author of a dozen books on the human environment seen from below.

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# Marxist Communism

Dear friends,  
May I say a few words on a particular *Freedom* article of June 1990 — the author is RSW of Bradford and the title 'Marxist Communism has Failed'.

I'd like to make the point that Marxist communism has *not* failed, since it's not really been tried, or not tried for very long. Between 1917 and 1924, when Stalin assumed full power — this seven year period isn't very long.

RSW would reply that "Stalin simply took Trotsky's ideas to their extreme and Marxism to its logical conclusion". Sorry, not really! Nor am I claiming Stalin as anti-Marxist. A Marxist he was, but also a *distorter* of Marxism, to put it mildly. By Stalin's time the Soviet Union, from the civil war and invasion by fourteen countries, had become a bureaucratic nightmare, which Lenin in '24 sought to stem, but was by then physically incapacitated. Stalin, of this bureaucratic usurpation, was point-man.

By now you may be wondering if I'm an anarchist. Believe it or not, I am! But not without Marx or Engels! I can't see how reaching for an anarchist society could exclude those two. Or exclude, more specifically, the Hegelian Dialectic (which Marx put on a materialistic foundation rather than Hegel's spiritual one).

Leave out the Dialectic, and try arriving at an anarchist society! The closest, I'm afraid, we'd ever get to it would be tiny groupings, about like the fortnightly *Freedom*. Which is cool. But we'd like, would we not, all society, or at least most, as anarchist.

If anarchism *minus* Marx, Trotsky or Rosa Luxemburg could ever carry us to an anarchist society, that would be a miracle! And miracles are not to be depended upon!

No, Marx or Marxists were not anarchists, not subjectively. But *objectively*? Their pushing for a classless society meant pushing, in the long run, for a stateless society, i.e. anarchy. RSW

would reply that, with Marxism, even after the state is off the stage of history, problems would still linger, like inequality, like a bonus for better workers. He even, on this bonus business, quotes Trotsky.

Well, hell yes, there's be other problems. What does RSW expect once class and state are gone — paradise? Utopia? Sorry, no such animal! Not in the past (notwithstanding some writers romanticising pre-statist, primordial societies), not in the present, and a good bet not in the future! RSW, I'd put it, does not altogether comprehend the Hegelian Dialectic. He'd otherwise realise that life moves along (as John Dewey would concur) as problem after problem! And (hopefully) solution after solution! Or thesis, antithesis, synthesis! Over and over! To put it in Dialectic terms: after a classless and stateless society, we move on, or rather struggle toward, the next Dialectic stage. And onward and upward! To where? Sorry, no absolute ending (unless when, in a few trillion years, the sun burns up the earth).

RSW, evidently, would like seeing anarchism tomorrow 10am. Hey, so would I! Except I'm realistic enough to realise it'll not be tomorrow, not next year and likely not ever! Not, that is,

without the Dialectic! Meaning not without Marx!

So am I trying to Marxianise anarchism? Well, some Marxists say I'm trying to anarchise Marxism! So what's my game? Well, call me a hyphenated anarchist — like anarcho-Marxism (along with anarcho-pacifism, anarcho-feminism, etc.). I simply cannot see, and the older I get the less I see it, how anarchism and Marxism can ultimately be separated. Pure anarchism is wonderful! Love it, love it! But not quite realistic.

I realise anarchism and Marxism as two distinct phenomena. Anarchism is essentially anti-authoritarian, anti-state, while Marxism is essentially anti-capitalist. But this distinction between anarchism and Marxism, this split, is the short run. In the long run, like over the futuristic stretches, they cannot remain split (whatever the split between Marx and Bakunin). In the long run, this planet Earth needs *both*, if not integration, then at minimum reconciliation.

Marxism needs the anarchist vision, anarchism needs the Dialectic.

S. Colman  
Detroit

## More on Anarchism and Money

Dear Editors,

I would like to reply to a couple of the points in John Griffin's letter about money in the 10th August issue of *Freedom*.

First, John says that after the capitalists have been expropriated, "the use of money could then revert to purely utilitarian purposes in that it would relate work done by *all* to levels of consumption".

Perhaps I've misunderstood the point

competent to appropriate" at face value to mean "What I am capable of getting". This quantity depends less upon my abilities than upon circumstances. Stirner (and still more so Parker) can get vastly more than a forager because he lives as a member of a developed society, and in that development commitment to truth, justice, morality and — yes, even to God and the state — has played a considerable part. (It has now reached a point where continuing development along the same line seems likely to deprive all of us of everything, but no whisper of these complexities appears in Stirner.) The capacity of appropriation enjoyed by Stirnerian egoists depends upon (among other factors) the commitment they repudiate.

After reading and re-reading both Parker's letter and the book, I end up with increased confidence in the conclusion of my article, namely that the factors which make the book so puzzling and disconcerting also make it unworthy of serious study. Parker says Stirner "regarded 'truth' as an instrument, not as some fixed idea one should serve"; if so, it follows that we cannot sensibly take his book with full seriousness, for those who use instruments may properly use whichever best fits the purpose; sometimes truth, sometimes untruth. Parker tries to escape this by using (an offensive version of) "you're another". Not quite so. Although sometimes falling short of my profession I do regard truth as a fixed (though not absolute) value which I should serve, as more than an instrument. Anybody wanting to be taken seriously in discussion has to do this, and I credit Parker himself with doing it; if he does not, then, much as I regret having to say so, my conclusion about Stirner's book applies also to Parker's letter.

George Walford

here, but this seems to suggest a system in which if you work for a certain number of hours, you are then entitled to take an equivalent amount of goods from the 'common storehouse'.

Aside from obvious practical objections — such as, what about elderly or ill people who are unable to work — this kind of set-up seems to be based on two assumptions: the need to ration consumption in conditions of material scarcity, and the need to dragoon the workshy into production ('he who does not work, neither shall he eat').

Neither of these assumptions seem valid to me. Society has long since reached the stage where there is the potential to produce material abundance for everyone, and to turn the way we produce the things we need into a pleasurable, fulfilling, creative activity. Accordingly, a free society would have no need to "relate work done ... to levels of consumption", but could instead base itself upon the principle: 'from each according to his or her ability, to each according to his or her needs'.

Secondly, John argues that "technically advanced societies ... require money as an accounting mechanism to integrate the vast complex of activities which they entail".

I agree with John on the need for an 'accounting mechanism', but I fail to see why this would be money.

In a society based on production for profit, through exchange on the market, the capitalists need to be able to measure the exchange value of all commodities in a single common term (money), so that they can tell whether or not their capital is being put to the most profitable use.

In a society based on production for use, on the other hand, such income-and-expenditure, profit-and-loss accounting would be quite meaningless. The only necessary and appropriate 'accounting mechanism' would be, not money, but measurement of useful objects in physical quantities. It would tell us nothing to know, for example, that £50 billion had been spent on houses, of £100 billion on grain; all that would be needed would be to count the numbers of homeless and hungry people, and to calculate the numbers of dwellings and tons of grain needed to house and feed them.

Mark Shipway

## News from Angel Alley

One comrade, when sending payment for copies of *Freedom* sold, asks: "What happened to 'News from Angel Alley'?" Another tells us it's the first item he reads. We are very touched! Some say "No news is good news". July in Angel Alley was a quieter month than last year — the bustle and noise in 84b were there as usual but less money came in and though the bookshop had a respectable month, July 1990 was a record (why? we don't know) so by comparison in July 1991 we were down £500 and Freedom Press were down £2,000. Which didn't mean that those of us involved in the Alley were not kept busy!

First of all two new catalogues compiled by Kevin McFaul, whose 'Food for Thought' feature in *Freedom* is much appreciated by many readers, are now ready. With this issue subscribers will be receiving the Freedom Press Bookshop 1991-1992 Books in Stock list which, we hope you will agree, is an impressive list of titles. List number two is our Freedom Press Publishers and Distributors Catalogue 1991-1992, and is a 12-page illustrated, annotated catalogue of the same format with a two-colour cover mainly intended for booksellers, but available to interested readers enclosing loose stamps to the value of 66p (three first class stamps). Now that the catalogues are ready we are launching a major (for us) publicity campaign for *Freedom*, *The Raven* and Freedom Press Distributors in September/October. Already this month Charles Crute has started calling on booksellers outside London and Kevin McFaul is covering the London area. First results have been most encouraging.

Those of you who identify with the work we are doing from Angel

Alley can help in more ways than one.

If you are on friendly terms with your bookseller or newsagent, find out whether he/she would be interested in stocking some of our titles. We'll send you the Trade Catalogue which explains the trade terms, so you only have to use your personality to persuade the bookseller that Freedom Press titles are worth stocking — and mention the advertising we shall be doing in September/October.

Another way some of you may be able to help. With the large booksellers such as Waterstones and Dillons appointments have to be made and it sometime means spending a night away from home. If there are comrades near Bristol, Cardiff, Birmingham, Brighton and other large city centres who can offer Charles Crute a bed for the night this will save us considerable expense. If you can drop a line to Charles, mentioning at the same time the bookshops you suggest he include in his itinerary.

Many of our readers have probably never heard of The Friends of Freedom Press Ltd. We mention it because out of the blue we have received a cheque for £100 left to us in the Will of one of our readers from the distant past. It is such a rare occurrence (and yet even *Freedom* readers are not immortal) that perhaps it can be explained by the fact that we never raise such delicate matters in this column. We produced an 8-page leaflet giving full details of the aims and objectives of the Friends of Freedom Press Ltd and will be only too glad to send copies on request. Published in 1986 — Freedom Press' centenary year — it lists achievements to date.

Perhaps *Freedom* will be included in your Will, but we hope that if you receive a reminder that your subscription is due for renewal you will attend to the matter with haste and if you can spare a donation it will be much appreciated.

*Freedom* appears 24 times a year — it's not quite a fortnightly, so we miss two issues in the course of the year. For 1991 there will be no issues on 7th September and 28th December, so don't think the worst when no *Freedom* arrives on 7th September. But we are hoping to be hearing from some of you in response to the points raised in this column.

### DONATIONS

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Raven Deficit Fund  
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Total = £5  
1991 total to date = £432.60

## Anarchism & Nationalism

Dear Editors,  
Flett (Letters, 10th August), who sees no contradiction in joining a shoot-out between two groups (both of which are likely to be very much controlled by nationalists, racialists and religiousists) and his semi-anarchist sentiments, stands little change of impressing John L. Broom, let alone myself. And when he writes "but I'd want it to develop into more than I think it probably will. And I believe that the attitude of some of those resisting invasion would not be too hot in many ways", suggests that he does not even believe it himself.

And there's another thing: where does he think he would get a gun from — the Department of Social Security?

Ernie Crosswell

Keep sending us your letters and donations!



# MEETINGS

## Anarchist Forum

Fridays at about 8.00pm at the Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square (via Cosmo Street off Southampton Row), London WC1.

### 1991-92 SEASON OF MEETINGS

**27th September** - 'Anarchism and the Mexican Labour Movement' (speaker Dave Dane)

**4th October** - 'Freedom and Freedom Press' (a discussion with some Freedom Press comrades)

**11th October** - 'Feminism and the Origin of Social Work' (speaker Peter Neville)

**18th October** - General discussion

**25th October** - 'Art, Culture and Society: A Life of Riley' (speaker Michael Murray)

**1st November** - 'The Left-Green Network in the USA' (speaker Mark Newnes)

**8th November** - General discussion

**15th November** - 'The Importance of Small Groups' (speaker Peter Cadogan)

**22nd November** - General discussion

**29th November** - To be announced (speaker Julay Arici)

**6th December 1991** - 'The Clandestine Press in Europe during the Nazi Occupation — from (its origin in) Belgium in the First World War to (its use in) Poland during the days of the illegal Solidarity' (speaker Martyn Lowe)

**13th December** - General discussion

**10th January** - 'The Role of Prison in an Anarchist Society — the prison as a sanctuary' (speaker Peter Lumsden)

**17th January** - General discussion

**24th January** - 'Anarchism: Genesis, the Prophets, the Law, Ritual, Progression, Magic, the Light' (speaker Peter Neville)

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