

# anarchist fortnightly **Freedom**

Vol. 55 No. 15

23 JULY 1994

FIFTY PENCE

*"I always voted at my party's call,  
And I never thought of thinking for myself at all."*

**W.S. Gilbert**  
from 'HMS Pinafore'

## Suddenly 'FULL EMPLOYMENT' is on the G7 agenda **REFORM CAPITALISM? IMPOSSIBLE!**

### **ALL ABOARD THE GRAVY TRAIN!**

**A**s we write, the fifth 24-hour strike by the signalmen has brought the railway system to a halt and added to the congestion and pollution on the roads. Yet all the indications are that not only will there be a sixth 24-hour stoppage but that RMT are proposing to increase their campaign to two days a week.

On their side, Railtrack bosses have done nothing to deal with the signalmen's demands, apparently prevented from doing so by the Transport Secretary John McGregor, who at one stage denied government interference when a compromise offer by Railtrack seemed acceptable, but has since been obliged to admit that he did put a spoke in the wheels.

**M**eanwhile McGregor has just appointed two men with "strong links to the Conservative Party" (*Guardian*, 8th July) and without any experience of the railway industry to the board of British Rail.

The government has also had to reveal in a written parliamentary answer that the non-executive members of Railtrack receive, in addition to their £10,000 a year for their part-time work, an extra £500 for each committee meeting they attend! Which means, as one MP put it, they get a "£500 bonus every time they actually turn up to do any work".

The government's written answer also disclosed that Mr Horton receives a salary of £121,800 as chairman for his three-day week, and that John Edmonds, the chief executive, receives £131,950; Norman Broadhurst, the finance director, £150,000; David Moss, the commercial director, £100,000; and David Rayner, director of safety and standards, £90,000.

And there they are quibbling over giving an extra £5 or £10 a week to the signalmen who see through the 15,000 trains a day safely!

Support the signalmen!

**W**ith even official figures for unemployment in the prosperous industrial countries at more than thirty million, it would have been surprising if the leaders and their entourage in Naples had nothing to say to the assembled 3,500 journalists and their hangers-on about their 'determination' to find solutions to this ever-increasing liability. Mr Major has the solution and was convinced that his opposite numbers were coming round to his point of view: abolish the social chapter which guarantees certain conditions of work, limiting the working week, abolish minimum wages and give the employer the power to hire and fire without safeguards for the worker. His views are confirmed in an article in the *Sunday Telegraph* (10th July) by Niall Ferguson, "a Fellow and Tutor in Modern History" at Oxford:

"The examples of nineteenth century Britain illustrated how deregulation makes for low unemployment. For most of the period between 1815 and 1914 the British labour market was the freest in all history. Instead of the dole there was the workhouse (after the 1834 Poor Law). Employers were limited by little more than the Factory Acts (restricting the working hours of women and children). Taxes were negligible; unions were embryonic and average wages so low that many employers preferred to hire more hands than to invest in better machinery. In addition, millions of Britons emigrated.

So unemployment in Victorian Britain was low. The trouble, of course, is that poverty was high - hence the strictures of Dickens, not to mention Marx. Clearly, no Conservative is seriously going to propose a thorough-going return to those Victorian values."

Perhaps not "a thorough-going" return, Mr Ferguson, but obviously you think with Mr Major and Mr Lilley and Mr Portillo that the unemployed are a lazy bunch of cadgers who, to quote a former Tory Prime Minister, "have never had it so good".

"The most obvious palliative when people are thrown out of work is the dole. Obviously, it is right that people should not starve when they are made redundant, and unemployment insurance was

intended to avoid that. Unfortunately, when supplementary doles, introduced when the insurance system cannot cope, become permanent, they act as a disincentive to seek work. Economic historians have demonstrated conclusively that the relatively high level of benefits was one reason why unemployment was higher in the 1920s and 1930s than it had been before. This is even truer today, when a family can enjoy most of the conveniences of modern life on social security."

How can someone obviously privileged in all respects be both so inhuman *and* so stupid?

**T**he title of Mr Ferguson's article is 'Why we cannot afford full employment' which therefore must presuppose that in a capitalist system at the end of the twentieth century he accepts that some or many fellow citizens will be unable to obtain remunerated work. This stupid academic actually underlines this fact when he concludes that not only have industries shed manual labour worldwide but that "even the service industries have begun shedding labour". And therefore:

"... even in a recovery, there are workers who are unlikely to find employment - even if they do heed Lord Tebbit's celebrated advice and get on their bikes."

(continued on page 2)

### **SPECULATOR SOROS STRIKES AGAIN!**

**I**n our piece on 'Golden Pennies from Heaven' (*Freedom*, 9th July) we referred to George Soros, the man who took on the Bank of England a few years back, and who last year made £724 million. Well, he's back making money. Last week he sold his holding in the Berkeley building Group and cut his stake in British Land by more than half, and made a nice profit on the first of £11 million and more than £20 million on the second. £31 million just for a couple of signatures and perhaps a phone call or two. Productivity with a vengeance!

**SUDDENLY 'FULL EMPLOYMENT' IS ON THE G7 AGENDA  
REFORM CAPITALISM?  
IMPOSSIBLE!**

(continued from page 1)

We also agree with Mr Ferguson when he declares that:

"Yet understandable though the rediscovery of 'full employment' may be in political terms, it remains - quite simply - an economic fantasy. Or, to be precise, it could only be achieved in today's Britain at a cost which neither political party could possibly contemplate."

That is, an "economic fantasy" only in a capitalist society. Obviously in a society organised to produce for the needs of all and not for the profit of a few, the more willing hands there are the fewer hours are required to produce those needs, resulting in more leisure to enjoy all the joys of life (yes, and it includes the joys of love-making and of 'loving your neighbour') as well as looking after your children and brewing your own beer, making your own bread and driving the McDonalds et alia out of business.

Obviously such an approach is bad for the privileged majority in the G7 industrialised nations. We accept the statistic that our society consists of two-thirds enjoying a high standard of living which so far has continued to rise while the other third are getting progressively poorer, relatively and in real terms.

Governments' concern about unemployment is not about the poor. They are concerned by the growing number of unemployed among the privileged two-thirds as automation, take-overs and amalgamations are now playing havoc among the salaried, commuter, always-voted-Tory fraternity. The monthly unemployment figures officially go down but in the South East where most wage slaves only produce more paper - the machines are doing it now and wasting twice as much paper!

In 1983 Freedom Press produced a volume of writings by various authors with the main title *Why Work?* and a subtitle *Arguments for the Leisure Society*.\* The editor's preface was even then pointing out that:

"In the affluent west not only can they afford to keep 28 million skilled and unskilled, willing and unwilling, workers in idleness, they can also afford a multi-billion dollar 'defence' budget and embark on costly military adventures. They can afford to indulge the rich with tax concessions and expense allowances. And last but not least, they can afford industries and services which are useless and/or harmful. In the same breath they say we cannot afford a cheap public transport service; we cannot afford a first class education for all; and we cannot afford to improve the conditions of the low paid, the unemployed, the pensioners and the handicapped."

And we added then, as we would now, that:

"All the political parties offer more or less the same solutions to the 'crisis' whether they are Monetarists or Keynesians: production must become more 'competitive' in order to export, and to do this, as Thatcher was telling her Glasgow audience recently, we must revive the

Victorian work ethic and 'do an honest day's work for an honest day's pay' and then all will be well in the best of all worlds. What the Iron lady does not seem to realise is that each of the 24 nations of the OECD is also trying to become more 'competitive'. And this invariably involves introducing labour saving systems, robotisation and the very latest technology which increased the productive potential but dumps more workers on the scrap heap, whatever government spokesmen and the vested interests in high technology may say to the contrary."

And we pointed out that:

"What no western government is able to tackle (assuming it intended to) is a planned economy based on production for needs and at the same time a redistribution of wealth. What no western government has the courage to say is that the average living standards for the affluent quarter of the world's population are already much too high if the living standards of the other three-quarters of the world's inhabitants are ever to be raised to levels which ensure that they enjoy just the basic comforts of life."

Now in 1994 even liberal economists are realising that production for 'wants' as opposed to 'needs' is threatening the whole capitalist system simply because there are too many in the 'wanting' more category at the expense of those who are struggling for the 'needs'.

In 1983 the crisis was already there and it was summed up in *Why Work?* as follows:

"The reason for the crisis are so obvious that the experts cannot recognise them. The crisis has been with us for more than twenty years: technological development and capital investment in all branches of industry in the

\* *Why Work? Arguments for the Leisure Society*, various writers, third edition 1990, 210 pages, ISBN 0 900384 25 5, £4.50 (post free inland, overseas please add 15% p&p).

**McLibel case**

A group of judges decided that a jury would be unable to follow the complex scientific arguments in the McLibel case, while the Honourable Mr Justice Bell would be clever enough to follow them. It could be argued that judges have an erroneous faith in the cleverness of judges, and that a committee of any other trade might have decided differently.

Sir Roger Bell, as he is now (he was knighted last year when he was appointed 'Mr Justice'), was called to the bar at the early age of 24, and gives his recreations in *Who's Who* as running and rowing. He seems to have no scientific training or interest, and twelve non-judges chosen at random would have a good chance of including somebody better qualified.

However, it begins to look as if the scientific evidence is not going to be very complex after all, and McDonald's lawyers want to have a

judge without a jury for an entirely different reason. The defendants and the plaintiff present different models of the case, and a jury might well sympathise with the defendants' model, while an establishment lawyer might prefer that of the plaintiffs.

Dave Morris said in his opening address: "On one side we have McDonalds Corporation with an annual turnover of 24 billion dollars every year. On the other we have two unwaged individuals, members of the public". Helen Steel said: "There are probably a hundred and one things I would rather be doing than campaigning to fight this court case, for example climbing mountains, walking through forests, gardening". Their model is one of ordinary people against the unimaginably rich, dragged into court against their will.

The model presented by McDonalds lawyers, on the other hand, is one of ordinary people persecuted by dotty food faddists. Paul Preston, the boss of McDonalds in Britain, declined to state his exact salary, but said it was "in the range" of salaries for business executives. The low wages of McDonalds' shopfloor workers are "in the range" for workers in the food industry. Mr Preston himself started in America as a McDonalds shopfloor worker aged 16, and achieved his present position by being promoted one stage at a time.

Mr Preston argued that the ingredients of McDonalds foods are such as can be found in most British larders, to such telling effect that Helen turned from denouncing McDonalds in particular to talking in general terms of "typical Western diet". This she said leads to "diseases like obesity, diabetes, high blood pressure, heart disease, strokes and some forms of cancer". Perhaps later McDonalds will call someone to testify that the diseases listed by Helen are diseases of old age, so a typical Western diet at least lets you live long enough to get old peoples' ailments. In any case, McDonalds is hardly responsible for the typical Western diet.

In the end, however, even if McDonalds win every point and the judge rules in their favour without reservation, they lose not only the million quid they spend on the trial but also a portion of reputation. And the anarchist vegans Helen and Dave will win because the case will make a few people think about the power of multinationals and the damage done by the meat trade, and thinking is the first step towards action.

McDonalds stay rich by charging their customers as much, and paying their workers as little, as they can get away with. This is usual for big capitalist concerns and McDonalds are not the worst. But they are more easily damaged by propaganda because, more than money-changers or armaments dealers or even most butchers, they give their sordid trade a bright, clean, happy frontage. We can understand their annoyance at being picked on, but it is no excuse for anti-social behaviour to say that others are at it as well.

Third World (where labour is still cheap and obedient) have resulted in industrial capacity worldwide outstripping 'demand'. Greed is the Deadly Sin which afflicts capitalists today. With an ever-growing number of them, an insatiable appetite for La Dolce Vita and all that the technological age can provide, they have forgotten the first Law of Capitalism: that demand must always exceed supply. And differentials (another form of greed) are the Deadly Sin that had made a mockery of the labour movement's historic commitment to solidarity and equality and therefore to its political and economic credibility as an alternative system."

Those of us who watch capitalist 'civilisation' consumed by its own greed, with approval should not rest on their laurels. All people of goodwill should be meeting and organising for the society based on solidarity and equality that will replace that of greed and 'wants'.

**News from London's (crooked) Square Mile**

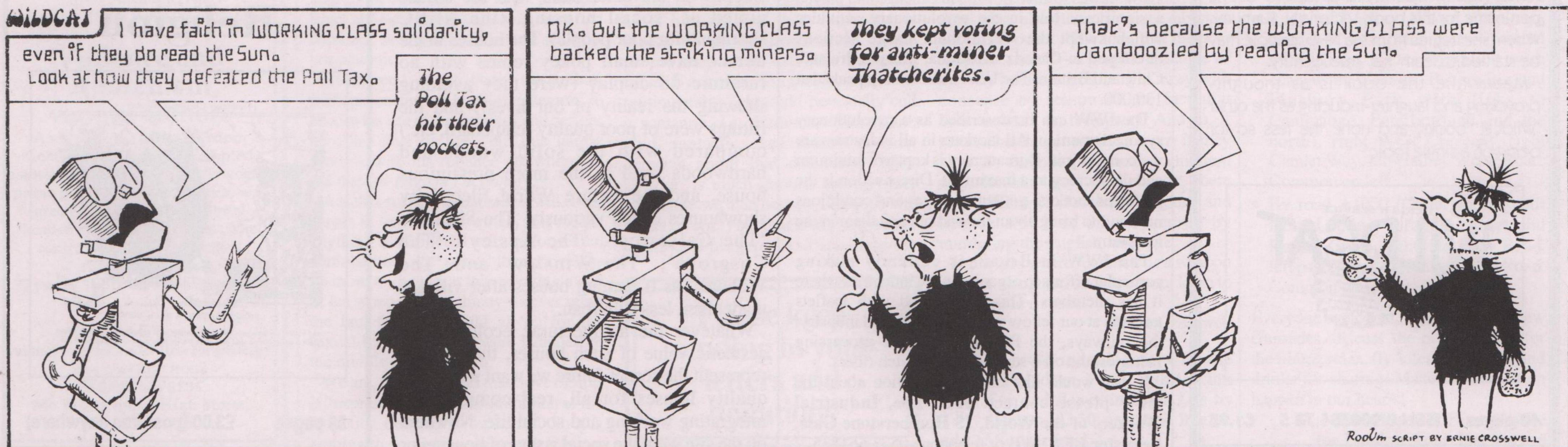
The considerable publicity given to the investigation of a case of insider dealing in shares involving Geoffrey Archer (Lord Archer), writer and rabid Thatcherite, has probably more to do with his political ambitions (to be Tory Party chairman) to which his old friend Mr Major was prepared to accede when the general reshuffle takes place and which his party 'enemies' needed to scotch by a 'scandal'.

However, when one recalls the Guinness, the Blue Arrow, Maxwell and the British Airways scandals of recent years, what would be more interesting in the Archer 'scandal' gossip would be to know who shopped him!

Insider dealing, fraud, are commonplace occurrences. Perhaps what is unusual is for them to come into the open. In 1989,

according to a survey carried out by the City of London police, more than half the banks and financial institutions in the City had been subjected to fraud amounting to millions of pounds. The previous year the City police had investigated nearly £500 million worth of "fraud and attempted fraud". And according to the survey, about 17% of companies fail to report such 'crimes', some because they "fear publicity". But perhaps the reason for the reluctance of many companies to report fraud was contained in this revealing titbit from the survey: that about 68% of the frauds were perpetrated by employees, "the bulk of whom were at manager or director level"!

In 1994 it's business-as-usual in London's crooked square mile!



Over the last year I have been pestered by a number of friends to attend the summer solstice celebrations at Avebury, Wiltshire. Standing stones circle the village and within walking distance is Silbury Hill (man-made) and over the road, the burial chambers at West Kennet.

We arrived at the burial chambers at roughly 7pm unprepared for the long cold night ahead of us. Pagans and their sympathisers were just beginning to converge on the area and the 'old bill' were nowhere to be seen. Later the police were to hover about briefly in a helicopter, otherwise they stayed away.

After greeting some familiar faces already parked in the lay-bys, we headed for the burial chambers. The first thing I noted were various comments on the beauty of the 'natural' surroundings, despite the overcast skies. This struck me as rather fluffy\* thinking. There is very little landscape (if any) in England that does not bear the scars of humankind's work and constructions; there was none here. This is agri-business land, few hedgerows and huge open fields denuded for maximum machine efficiency. There is much to comment on this alone, but this is not the place. For me the 'naturalness' of the place was symbolised by the tiny narrow alleyway wired off so as to allow access to the burial chamber situated on the top of the hill. Enclosed and straight, this alley made one aware that all England is quantified and owned and the likes of myself are not to have access to it. Enough to crush the rural idyll out of anyone.

This feeling of enclosure grew when we reached the approximately 100 by 300 metre field the burial chamber was situated in. Surrounded by wire, one quickly realised that this was not to be a big party. As an English Heritage site, fires were banned, apparently the consensus among regular attenders was that a fire would attract the authorities attention. As visitors we respected their wishes. Besides this, there was no obvious source of firewood in the area, so we just had to get cold.

The burial chambers were a little warmer if

\* 'Fluffy' - expression in common usage, as in 'woolly minds think fluffy thoughts'.

## From an anarchist at the Avebury Summer Solstice

slightly claustrophobic. Inside, families had priority to the little side chambers, other chambers were used as places of meeting and shelters. The main end-chamber was for the pagans and their rites (which seemed to consist mainly of sharing bottles of wine around and outbursts of percussion, bells and gongs). The chambers were lit by candles, the atmosphere cordial except for a drunken hairy who confronted everyone with the words 'This is the Kennet's place'. I replied 'The Kennets were a big clan' and this seemed to placate him.

Inside the chamber, it had the feel of a small spontaneous libertarian community that had escaped the watchful eye of state authority. I can only liken it to the Greenfield at the Glastonbury Festival in the mid-eighties when Greens organised the field themselves and the authorities were excluded. But something was missing - I and occasionally my friends seemed to be the only source of laughter, loud happy laughter. I know little of paganism, but all this walking about in the darkness has made its modern forms over-serious and furtive. At times I felt a sadness for them. Where was the bawdiness and revelry of the carnivalesque turning of the world upside down? A few people in long cloaks, candles and chanting, seems a sad substitute for the seasonal celebrations of the 'ancients', as some called them. The carnivalesque was always a compromise between ruling Christianity and the folk beliefs of the people, but this modern paganism seems to be a product of fluffy new age thinking among the alienated children of privilege. Besides, I found it slightly morbid taking over a place that a long lost people built to store their dead for ritual purposes.

As day began to break and the rain came, we made the trek to Silbury Hill where the main celebration was to reach its climax. At the top is a plateau and there we found a fire (why had no one told us?), chanting, beating of drums, banging of gongs, etc., on a grander scale. Dogs fought one another, and yes, laughter could be heard among the dancers. I walked the circumference of the plateau. The view was slowly exposed in the growing light and the receding mist. It was impressive. The land has those contours that remind you that this area was once inhabited by the oldest known society in England, the Beaker People. Alas,

there is nothing left they might have recognised, apart from perhaps those contours and any man-made constructions built before their tenure of the land.

As a working class but formally educated man, I failed to notice the accents around me. One of my friends, the individual keenest in his insistence that I went, noted caustically that they were all 'posh' people. He seemed disillusioned. For all the talk I heard about the revolutionary potential of the rural periphery, the anti-establishment and anti-urban posturing of the participants, this was a heart a genteel occasion. Most seemed to be the children of the middle classes and the respectable working classes. Many had chosen their lifestyle, rugged and hard as it might be, but my friend and I were left with the impression that they had a choice - when the going got tough they could go home to mummy and daddy. It seems their lifestyle is their only challenge to the 'establishment'. This finds expression in these tiny vacuums of authority around Avebury and such places. Many had been issued with papers by the police warning them of the consequences of trying for Stonehenge. Avebury can never be Stonehenge for this very reason. This was not so much a free celebration of nature as a self-disciplined group determined to express their 'subversive' beliefs in a manner designed not to provoke reaction. In the burial

chamber I was reminded of the Christians in dimly-lit Roman catacombs.

These haunters of pagan places are on the road to further persecution. The new public order legislation is designed with them in mind too. I have little sympathy with what I know of the religious aspects of their beliefs, but in one sense pagans certainly have more right to use these places than I or anyone else. They care for them and appreciate them. They seek the continuity that these places give to their fragmented, fluffy beliefs, and why not, why should such places not be used by the self-acclaimed sons and daughters of the pagan tradition? But I could not help but feel a sadness that this was all they were able to hold on to, this was all that the powers-that-be would allow them, and this was all they felt they had the strength to take.

If I can, I shall return to Avebury next year and taste it all for a second time. First impressions rarely reach the essence of an event or person. I shall not return after that for some years. If 'outsiders' insist on intruding on such small affairs these events' enlarged dimensions will bring the wrath of the authorities upon them.

It was a cold and fluffy affair, enclosed and surrounded as it was by the monsters of modernity and authority. The whole thing had a certain irony about it. The participants seemed either unable to see the reality of their environment or were determined to ignore it. I remember the sadness I felt then, it grew as the hours passed. It was this sadness that gave the solstice its magic, the only magic I could find.

Ron

## Not our future!

Exhibition 'Future World - future homes for tomorrow's world'

11th June to 10th July at Kents Hill Site, Milton Keynes.

The above exhibition, sponsored by the NHBC and featuring the RIBA competition winner for House of the Future, is definitely not a vision of the future with much appeal to anarchists. Despite the organisers' claim that the exhibition points the way forwards to the 21st century, if anything it looks backwards. The event has all the atmosphere of the Ideal Home Exhibition. It is indeed an essentially similar event, with luxurious showhouses, albeit architect designed, and energy efficient with good insulation, heat pumps, passive solar heating, water saving devices, many computer controlled. However, the houses themselves firmly represent the present distribution of wealth and political power in society. This is reflected in the interior decor, furnishing, size and price of the larger houses. For example the preposterously named 'Yeoman's Cottage' with large and spacious rooms full of furnishings out of country and home, destined to be lived in by some manager, doctor or professional on the one hand, contrasting sharply on the other hand with the terrace aimed as 'social housing' (the NHBC shorthand for poor people). The houses in the terrace have small pokey rooms with no furniture on display (were they avoiding showing the reality of our lives?) and the fittings were of poor quality (chipboard, etc.) compared with the solid woods and hardwoods used in the more prestigious house, and the Future World Electricity showhouses called variously 'The Shenley', 'The Calverton', 'The Apsley', 'The Cosgrove', 'The Winslow' and 'The Woburn', as if naming houses after villages made them less suburban.

Whatever the architectural, ecological or aesthetic value of such houses, they do not represent the sort of future we want with good quality houses for all, real communities integrating working and social life. Nowhere on the site were the social issues of housing or

Town and Country Planning raised in a serious way, there were no examples of the type of project demonstrated possible by the Walter Segal method of house construction. Nor was there much time wasted on the 'energy efficiency' of the existing housing stock. Perhaps this is not surprising, after all this was an exhibition sponsored by the building industry and they presumably want to build new houses by the thousand rather than improve and renovate what we already have. But for a better vision of 'Future Houses' which does address the social, political and ecological issues, the place to go is the centre for Alternative Technology in Mid Wales, which not only has various food production, power, energy, water and sewage systems in operation, but also has houses both 'converted' and 'purpose built' showing the possibilities of creating self sufficient communities.

Jonathan Simcock

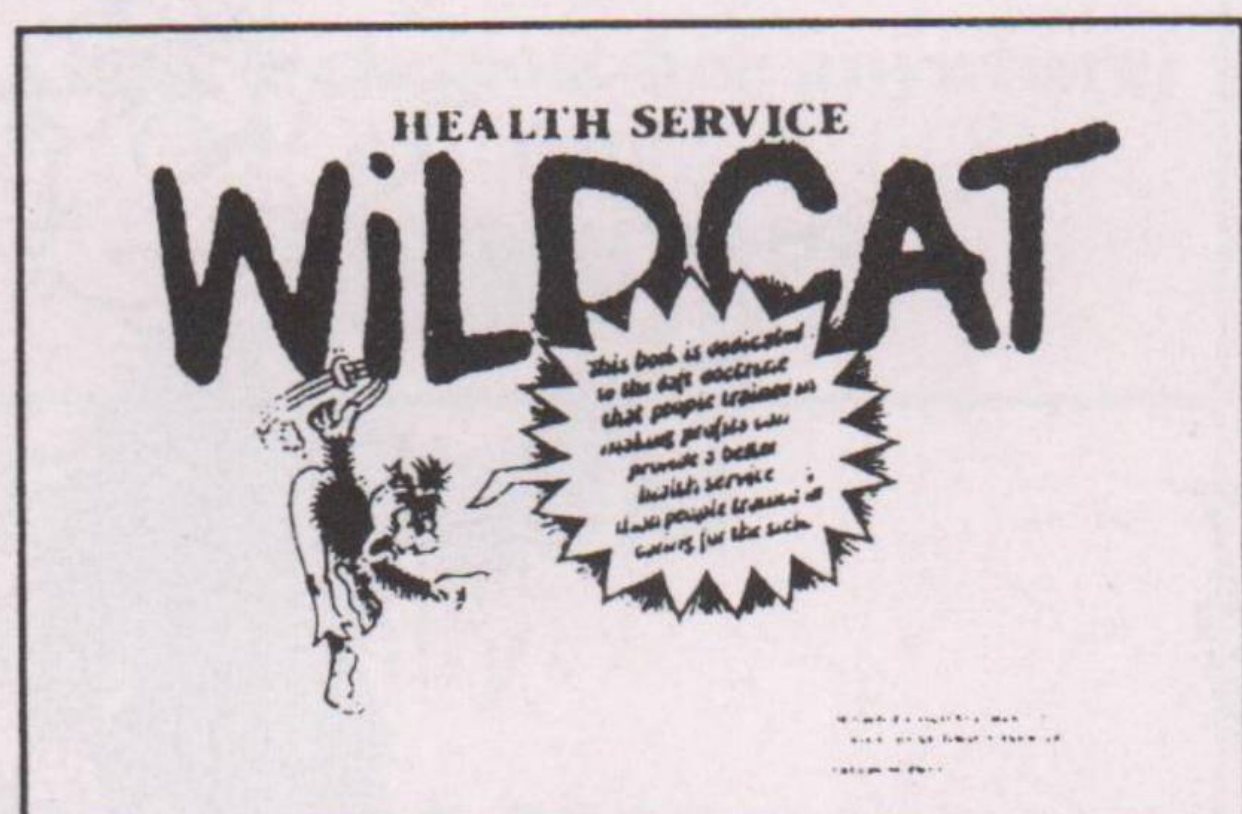
### NEW FROM FREEDOM PRESS

## Health Service Wildcat

As it says on the front cover, "this book is dedicated to the daft doctrine that people trained in making profits can run a better health service than people trained in caring for the sick". It is the fourth book of Donald Room's 'Wildcat' cartoons to be published by Freedom Press, but the first in which Donald has worked with a collaborator.

Most of the hilarious scripts are by a well-known writer, not an anarchist, who works for the National Health Service. It is not a joke but a real fact, that the writer's new conditions of service include the threat of dismissal for "causing the management to lose confidence in you as an employee". So the writer has prudently elected to use a pen-name for this book, Victoria N. Furnmury. When 'she' retires from the NHS, people may be startled to learn 'her' true identity.

Meanwhile the book is as thought-provoking and laughter-inducing as the other 'Wildcat' books, and none the less so for being on a single topic.



48 pages ISBN 0 900384 73 5 £1.95

## IWW

On 19th June the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) held its fourth national meeting since the British section was re-formed in February 1993. From a handful of members last year the IWW now has groups in London, Swindon and Oxford, plus numerous members scattered all over Britain.

Some of you may be aware of the history of the IWW. It was formed in 1905 in Chicago and played a significant role in the revolutionary activities which swept the world then. Large sections developed in Canada, Australia, Mexico, Ireland, Chile and Britain. The USA membership peaked at 130,000.

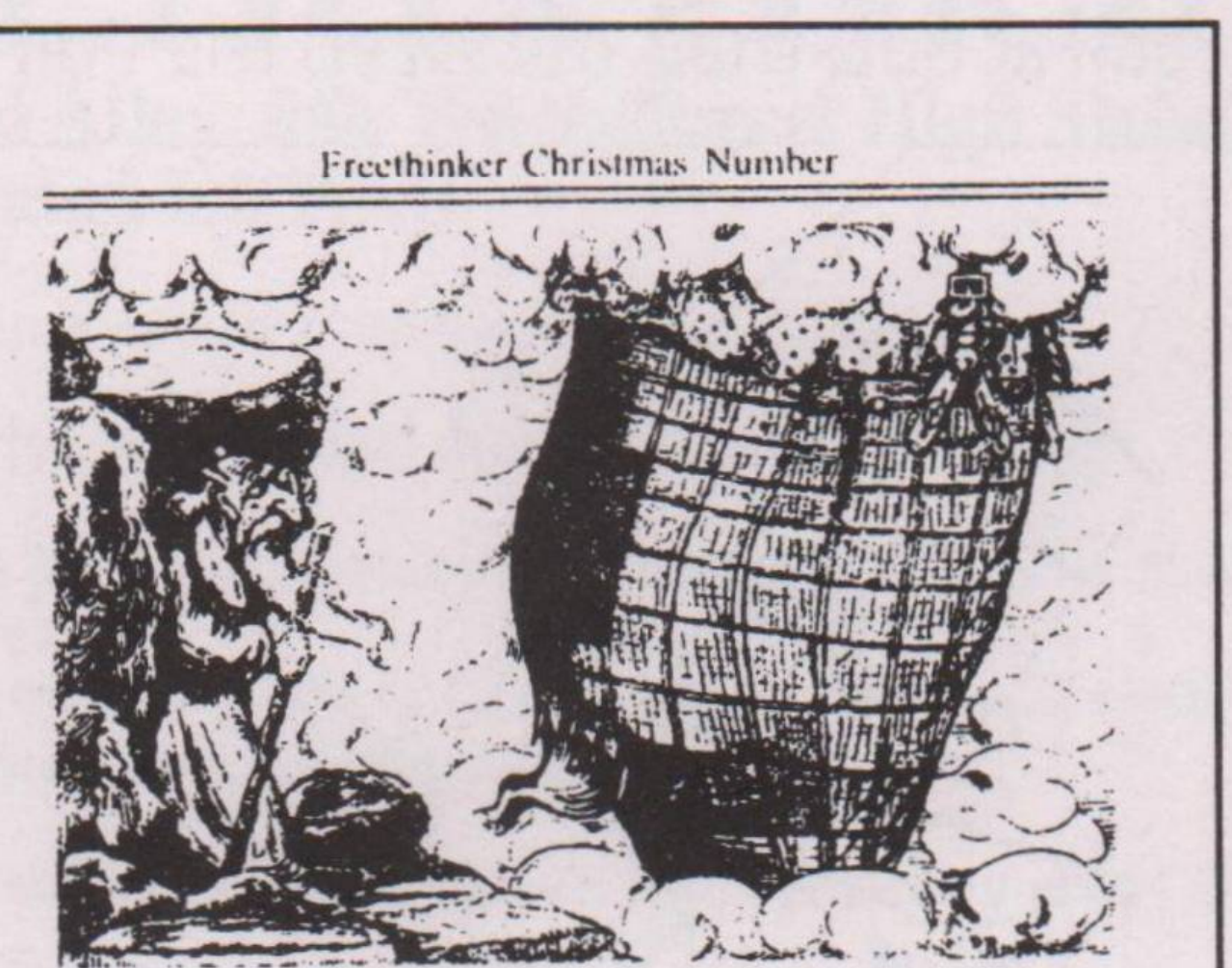
The IWW can be described as a revolutionary syndicalist union. All workers in all industries are welcome to join. Bureaucracy is kept to a minimum and democracy to a maximum. Direct action is the preferred tactic to get better wages and conditions now and to bring about the end of capitalism in the long term.

The IWW in Britain is currently making particular efforts to organise in the industries where it has members. This has started with leaflets targeted at our fellow workers in the retail industry, the railways, the Post Office, food processing factories, the civil service and dispatch riders.

If you would like more information about the IWW please contact: Fred Lee, Industrial Workers of the World, 75 Humberstone Gate, Leicester LE1 1WB or telephone 0533 661835.

## Raven 25

on  
Religion



Freethinker Christmas Number

And it shall come to pass that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and I shall take away my hand, and thou shalt see my back parts - Exodus xxxiii. 21

96 pages £3.00 (post free anywhere)

As South Korea contemplates a future of integration into the New World Economy the population is sparing some time to take a glance over its shoulder at its past. Its lessons do not always make the South Koreans keen to follow their President, Kim Young Sam, who is described in the west as a comfortable winner on the last elections. He got 42% of the vote which was actually cast – somewhat similar to a Mrs Thatcher – and like her he has never enjoyed widespread popular support but rather the support of sectional interests which, in the Korean context, means from the emerging urban middle classes.

The rest are not so keen on Kim Young Sam's flirtations with global capitalism. Indeed, one recent survey found that almost half of all South Koreans oppose direct foreign investment in the country, while two-thirds were against the lowering of trade barriers.<sup>1</sup>

A recent report by Political and Economic Risk Consultancy suggests that South Korea:

- was the most nationalistic country in Asia
- was the most bureaucratic after China and Indonesia
- had an economy dominated by cartels and state-owned companies
- discriminated more than any other nation against foreign investment
- was the most protectionist nation in Asia
- had the highest potential for labour unrest
- had greater potential for social unrest even than China

This, as we say, reflects a certain historical awareness of the people. Korea has never fully escaped the legacy it inherited when it went into almost self-imposed exile nearly four hundred years ago after repeated invasions by the Manchus and the Japanese. This earned it the nickname of the Hermit Kingdom and it was one of the last countries to establish contact with the west. All this can of course still be seen in North Korea where the paranoid regime of Pyongyang has successfully perverted the traditional Korean principle of *juche* or self-reliance.

South Korea, meanwhile, has suffered another Japanese invasion but of a slightly different kind. Over 90% of South Korean exports of electronic equipment, for example, are produced by affiliates of Japanese companies. Here we should remember that the most important industries involved in the globalisation of economic activity and the new International Division of Labour – the hallmark of capitalism this end of the twentieth century – are often in the electronics sector (also we should mention textiles and clothing in this category, important industries in other countries in the region). These are industries where profits are hard to maintain through increases in technological inputs but relatively easy to increase by substituting low wage for high-way labour – heard it before? Is Korea so special? Not at all. This means that the 'manufacturing' undertaken in peripheral settings by transnational corporations is more often than not merely *assembly*, with the manufacture of components that require higher levels of skill and/or technology – particularly in the area of research and development – being undertaken in core nations, albeit in settings that are often outside traditional manufacturing regions, silicon chip valleys and the like. As we say, there's nothing new in all this. The story we saw of the *maquiladoras* in Mexico (see *Freedom*, vol 55, no 3) is thus seen to be repeated here. South Korea's development miracle is in large part the same old story of a country becoming a glorified factory of foreign transnational companies. But also, as we so often find when development is so strongly lop-sided towards one industrial sector, uneven development is the outcome (again check out how happy the

1. *Financial Times*, 23rd June 1994.

## Focus on ... South Korea

South Korea has often been held up as an example of what can be achieved by the New World Economy. With this issue we turn our focus on South Korea to look at some of the issues raised.

peasants in Mexico are at the moment). because the basis of economic growth has been in the manufacturing sector, the larger industrial cities and the highly urbanised provinces have experienced relatively high levels of economic performance. Rural incomes in South Korea have been supported through price-support subsidies – not a very endearing notion for those 'free' market apologists – but rural incomes and per capita consumption remain at less than half those of towns and cities. It is in the largest cities and their metropolitan regions, however, where living standards are, in many respects, highest. It is here that both public and private investment have been most noticeable. The result is that the cities of Seoul, Incheon and Anyang and the surrounding province of Gyeonggi in the north western corner of the country, constitute a clear 'core' of prosperity with a 'fragmented periphery' that corresponds to the highland regions of the south and north east. Highlighting these factors somewhat are some statistics we can find reported in a new book by Robert E. Bedeski<sup>2</sup>, an Australian-based academic. We give the following extract as a taste of some of the statistics:

"Demographic change has also been transforming Korean society. In the period since establishment of the Republic, there has been a major migration

2. *The Transformation of South Korea* by Robert E. Bedeski, published by Routledge.

to the cities in the search for employment and higher living standards. During 1988, for example, rural populations decreased by 6.4%. The flow to the cities has made farms an increasingly male domain, as women and young persons go to jobs in the urban areas.

According to the 1985 census ... South Korea had a population of 40,448,486 and was the world's fourth most densely populated country, with 408 persons per square kilometre, nearly a quarter of the population resided in the greater Seoul area ...

As South Korea modernises, the population structure changes, and living standards have improved. Two major results of change have been the expansion of the urbanised population, and the growth of an urban middle class. In 1990, the rural population was 25.6% of the total, compared with 72% in 1960.

Because of the mountainous terrain, only 21.7% of the total land area is under cultivation, and the amount available for farming becomes less every year as more urbanised and industrial sites are created ..."

Such movements towards the urban centres have the usual predictable consequences:

"With 40% of the nation's population in the greater Seoul area, the housing crunch was becoming serious. At the end of 1991, there were 10,580,000 family units in 7,870,000 housing units, indicating that over a quarter of Korean families were sharing their units with another family. Crowding was almost entirely an urban phenomenon."

South Korea has been presented as The Jewel in the Crown of New Industrial Countries and

is pointed to as a shining example of successful development – that is development in the mirror image of the core industrial countries. So much so that it hopes next year to become the first Asian member of the OECD. In this light Bedeski's book makes for an interesting read. All the more so as he is sympathetic, in many ways, to the apologists for South Korea. Certainly some of the economic statistics look impressive: GDP per capita in the late '60s was around \$200. By 1992 this had risen to \$7,000. But as the author also makes clear in this academic and objective analysis of the problem, with such averaging of figures it is not what they show but what they don't.

For example, in the light of such statistics South Korea is often presented as having relatively equitable income distribution. However, the book calls this sharply into question.

"Nearly one-fifth of the population holds 42.2% of national income ... the government's 1990 budget was seen by many as a worsening of the wealth distribution problem ... At the lower end of society, it is estimated that over three million people live in poverty. The economic planning board reported that 7.7% of the entire population receive significant public assistance."

Indeed, one can begin to see why South Korea might hope to join the OECD next year in this light. Such damning figures would stand well in comparison with almost any European member state: inequitable distribution of wealth, unacceptable levels of poverty (usually fuelled by high levels of unemployment), and the next best, stagflation (impossible according to economic theory but there for all to see). Indeed stagflation turns out to be the only *real* miracle capitalism has to offer. Successful economies in capitalist terms require a radical redefinition of 'success'

## Compulsory voting in Australia

In Australia it's compulsory to vote in elections. It's also compulsory to keep your electoral enrolment details up to date. If you're eligible to vote it's illegal not to be on the electoral roll. Nevertheless, many people get away with not voting by not enrolling to begin with or not re-enrolling in another electorate when they move. The Australian Electoral Commission doesn't bother chasing up everyone. A lot of people who are on the roll get their names ticked off at the polling booth and then vote informal. That is, they hand in the ballot paper blank, add their own candidate such as Mickey Mouse and vote that way, write 'fuck off' or 'this is a vote of no confidence in politicians' or even a lengthy prepared spiel on the back of the paper. Others do a 'donkey vote' which is writing 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., down the ballot paper in the boxes next to the candidates' names regardless of who the candidates are. There is competition amongst candidates to get their name at the top in order to catch this 'donkey vote'. Donkey votes are counted. Cynicism regarding elections is widespread. Many people vote merely to avoid the hassle of a \$20 fine or of being taken to court.

Compulsory voting is lauded by Labour Party people and left-wingers. They say that people who are so cynical and pissed off as to not want to vote are much more likely to vote Labour, the 'lesser of two evils', if they're forced to vote for someone. They point to Britain and the US as examples of countries that usually get stuck with terrible right-wing governments because half the people who don't support them don't even bother voting against them, whereas in Australia the Labour Party governments we've had since 1983 still show at least some concern for social justice. Times are hard, they say, but Prime Minister Paul Keating still believes in a fair go for all Australians: he's not going to forget about Aboriginal Australians, the unemployed and the 'battlers'. Some opposition Liberal/National Party coalition voices have called for the abolition of compulsory voting because they reckon it would be better for them if we didn't have it.

On the surface compulsory voting might seem to be a good idea: people say that no matter how bad things are under Labour, they would be much worse if we had the other lot in power. But is this really true?

From 1975 to 1983 we had the conservative Liberal/National coalition government of Malcolm Fraser in power. People used to hate them and say they were a pack of cold unfeeling bastards. But they seem almost socialist compared to the Hawke and Keating Labour governments we've had since. Despite their clever rhetoric about sticking up for the underdog and giving working class Australians a fair deal, Labour has made the country more than ever a slave of the international money markets, opened the doors for foreign capital to come in and ravage the place for quick profits, and helped destroy hard-won working conditions, rights and drive down wage rates in the name of international competitiveness. The Labour Party is an efficient manager of capital because it works more on the politics of consensus, not on confrontation as the opposition would probably do. Rather than attacking the labour movement openly, getting people's backs up, creating disharmony and disruption of production, this government prefers to con unions into collaborating in their own oppression and destruction. It's much nicer that way: fewer strikes, fewer militant workers. And if you can get people to vote for this government that means you have their support, or at least their consent. Some people tell me that because I didn't vote I didn't do my civic duty, exercise my 'freedom of choice' when the opportunity was offered, therefore I have no right to complain, whether I voted or not, at election time or at any other time. Okay, so having the right to vote is a bit better than being denied it, as people have been in other places and at other times in history, but it's nowhere near the freedom we are rightly entitled to as responsible human beings. Why should we be content with a few crumbs donated from the tables of the rich? That's not enough to live on. We want the whole bakery!

On 4th June there was a Northern Territory election. The racist redneck Country Liberal Party (CLP) was re-elected for its seventh consecutive term. Many of my friends urged me to vote for Labour or one of the Green candidates to help turf out the horrible CLP government whose main policies are denial of Aboriginal land rights and self-determination, and law and order (a clampdown on street crime). Labour didn't offer much of alternative: development, promises of jobs for Territorians and more cops on the streets. (Well,

I certainly wasn't going to vote for a law and order policy: earlier this year I got bashed in the head with a torch by a cop who thought I was pasting up posters opposing the Indonesian occupation of and genocide in East Timor. I ended up having to go to hospital and getting seven stitches in the wound. Because of good media coverage of this incident the police were obliged to carry out a big investigation, but 4½ months later, despite continuing media coverage, we've yet to know whether charges will be laid against the cop.) The Territory Greens at least had some interesting policies, such as decriminalisation of marijuana, but I feel the way to help the environment is not by voting Green but by extra-parliamentary direct action. For example, a group of us symbolically invaded Darwin Air Force base as a protest against militarism and the ear-splitting noise made by military aircraft, both Australian and foreign, flying over populated suburbs on their exercises ten months of the year. That action made the news and the authorities at last started to take notice of community opinion.

So what was the outcome of the Northern Territories election? A landslide victory for the CLP. Labour lost a few more seats, partly because the Greens split the vote and didn't direct their preferences to either party, leaving voters to make up their own minds. Labour got 43% of the vote but less than a third of the seats. Some left-wing people have been heard moaning and grumbling about having to suffer another four years under the CLP. Too bad. We lost. Accept the result. Now they say the government will be even more arrogant and unaccountable than it was before. All we can do is hope for a better result at the next election. Anarchists say so what? What difference does it make? Even had Labour been elected, it would've made stuff-all difference for most of us anyway. I went to the polling booth to say I was refusing to vote. I wanted to make a statement saying why I wasn't voting, but the staff said that it wasn't necessary to say or do anything, the Electoral Commission would find and fine me. I've already had to go to court because I refused to pay a \$20 fine for not voting in the federal election on 13th March last year. When the Electoral Commission asked me to give a reason for not having voted I sent them

(continued on page 7)



In many countries it has been normal for prominent intellectuals to sympathise with anarchist ideas and even to support the anarchist movement, but not so much in this country and not at all nowadays. Two recent exceptions to the rule are Herbert Read and Alex Comfort, and David Goodway's collections of their writings provide valuable records of their involvement with our cause. As the Read subtitle indicates, the emphasis is not just on general anarchist writings but more specifically on those published by Freedom Press. However, the books have wider interest because of the variety of the items included and because of the quality of the editorial work, both the treatment of the material and the content of the introductions.

The Read collection contains 39 items dating from 1938 to 1953 and filling 178 pages, with an introduction of 26 pages; the Comfort collection contains 29 items dating from 1943 to 1986 and filling 136 pages, with an introduction of 23 pages. The two books make a nice set, and it is only a pity that this hasn't been made clearer; thus the cover designs are excellent but dissimilar, and the sources of the various items are indicated

differently – on the contents pages for Read, and at the end of each item for Comfort (not all of the latter have been traced). (Incidentally, the copyright situation of both books is rather unclear.) The books are elegantly designed and efficiently printed. The prices are very reasonable. The introductions are models of their kind – well-informed, well-researched, well-written, and well worth reading. Goodway gives excellent accounts of Read's and Comfort's distinguished careers – the former a critic and educationist but also a poet and novelist, the latter a gerontologist and sexologist but also a poet and novelist too. He traces their different paths towards and within and from anarchism and places their personal contributions in

**A One-Man Manifesto, and other writings for Freedom Press**

by Herbert Read, edited by David Goodway  
Freedom Press, paperback £6

**Against Power and Death: The Anarchist Articles and Pamphlets**

by Alex Comfort, edited by David Goodway  
Freedom Press, paperback £5

## Remarkable authors:

context. The double achievement is attractive and impressive.

With such prolific writers there are inevitable problems over criteria for inclusion in such collections. The Read book includes several things which were published by but not really written 'for' Freedom Press – three radio talks, for example, and a major public lecture. On the other hand it excludes several other things which were published by Freedom Press – especially the pamphlets *The Philosophy of Anarchism* (1940) and *Existentialism, Marxism and Anarchism* (1949) and the introduction to *Kropotkin: Selections from His Writings* (1942) – as well as many other anarchist writings over a period of more than thirty years which have been recycled in various other collections. Most of these items are covered in the introduction – though it doesn't mention the lecture on 'Anarchism in the Affluent Society' which Read gave in the 1960s. Similarly, the Comfort book doesn't include all 'the' anarchist articles and pamphlets he produced, but excludes many reviews and articles in various papers which haven't been reprinted, and especially the Freedom Press pamphlets *Barbarism and Sexual Freedom* (1948) and *Delinquency* (1951). Again, many of these are covered in the introduction though it doesn't mention the introduction to Harold Barclay's book *People Without Government* (1982). Whatever one might feel about what is and is not in the books, however, they contain generous samples from their remarkable authors.

Herbert Read (1893-1968) was attracted to anarchism at an early age, but then in turn to Guild Socialism, Social Credit, and Leninist Communism, before he finally turned to anarchism in reaction to the Spanish Revolution. He was recruited to the cause by Emma Goldman, willingly wrote and spoke for the movement for fifteen years, and continued to produce anarchist material for another fifteen years. He came to anarchism very much as an intellectual, and his writing always tended to abstraction. The first items here date from the Spanish Civil War, but one would hardly know it. They are curiously and characteristically remote from practical issues, beginning with a denunciation of war when the Spanish anarchists were fighting for their lives and a discussion of revolution in almost total isolation from events in Spain and elsewhere. Later comes the pamphlet *The Education of Free Men*, written at the time of the 1944 Education Act, but consisting almost entirely of an academic discussion of theorists from Plato to Freud, and containing almost no personal insights or constructive policies. The longer exposition of his educational theory – *Education Through Art* (1943) – which is not included, proposed that creative art should be the basis of the educational system, which sounds attractive but seems just as dogmatic as the traditional emphasis on literacy, nunnery and competitive games (especially for children without relevant talent).

Read always wrote well, and there are many fine pieces scattered through the book, but one may wonder how some of the longer writings might have been received if he hadn't been a famous intellectual. *The Philosophy of Anarchism* is very philosophical indeed, and so is *Existentialism, Marxism and Freedom*. His defences of the *War Commentary* editors in 1945 are generous but strangely gentle in the circumstances. The title essay, 'A One-Man Manifesto', was an appeal for unilateral disarmament in 1951, which suffered from being issued in the worst days of the Cold War, a few years before the rise of the nuclear disarmament movement, and from being too introverted, foreshadowing his marginal part in that movement. The Conway Memorial Lecture on *Art and the Evolution of Man* (1951) was a fascinating contribution to a neglected series, but has little to do with



Alex Comfort: an early portrait

anarchism. Perhaps the most significant item from the anarchist perspective is the 1947 lecture on 'Anarchism: Past and Future', setting out his programme for the movement; even here he seems to be rather out of touch, when he sees the main elements of anarchism as personal freedom, mutual aid, and non-violence, and forgets direct action, and when he recommends the study of history, anthropology, sociology and psychology, and forgets politics.

Read was permanently alienated from the anarchist movement by his acceptance of a knighthood in 1953, and the book ends with his weak defence; it might have been better either to omit it or add some of the criticisms it was replying to. He later became an increasingly isolated survival in an increasingly indifferent world, though he continued to write excellent essays to the end. The final impression is of a very charming and civilised person, too much so for the rough and tumble of radical politics, who brought a touch of high culture to anarchist journalism (though Goodway goes too far in repeating the claim that he wrote 'some of the finest prose of our time').

Alex Comfort (1920-) turned to pacifism and then to anarchism during the Second World War, and published anarchist and pacifist material in many places for nearly half

## Food for Thought ... and Action!

The latest arrivals in the bookshop.

**The Conspiracy of Good Taste** by Stefan Szczelkun, Working Press. An attractively produced hardback, this sells at the price of many serious paperbacks, is a limited edition and well worth the money. But if you value the ideas of William Morris, this may dent your confidence somewhat. In many ways the subtitle says it all: *William Morris, Cecil Sharp, Clough Williams-Ellis and the repression of working class culture in the twentieth century*, and being rather partial to old Morris's ideas myself, I approached it with some scepticism. Alas, the arguments are persuasive and well-informed and show how these erudite gentlemen – and many others – confidently and condescendingly handed down to the workers in writings, works of art and speeches all over England the refined, sanitised, middle class version of culture which they thought they needed. In short, they sold them the idea of 'Good Taste'. Of course, Szczelkun doesn't mean that they actually got together and conspired to censor bawdy folk songs or stop the workers swearing at meetings or make them aspire to middle class houses, but the end result was the same despite the otherwise good intentions and ideas of these artistic luminaries – they just couldn't help it, given their own backgrounds. The book abounds with examples which space limitations preclude, so here's just one: "Morris describes his audience at a typical radical club: '... the men at present listen respectfully to Socialism, but are perfectly supine ... and not inclined to move except along the lines of radicalism and trades unionism ... the working men listened attentively trying to understand, but mostly failing to do so ... I doubt if most of them understood anything I said ... I felt very downcast amongst these poor people in their poor hutch ... A fresh opportunity (if I needed it) of gauging the depths of ignorance and consequent incapacity of following an arguments which possesses the uneducated averagely stupid person'." 'Hutch' indeed! *Hutch!* Where he no doubt also believed they bred like rabbits. Bloody cheek! 128 pages, £9.95.

**The Freethinker: Secular Humanist Monthly**. As with most of the monthlies we receive in the shop, we can only afford time and space to review the occasional issue. In the April *Freethinker* is an important article on the re-assessment of drug controls by an eminent academic and civil servant who, as Deputy Director of Research and Statistics at the Home Office in 1964, argued against the draft legislation on 'dangerous drugs'. Using his extensive experience in the United States he showed how the punitive anti-drug laws there merely fed the crime habit, without curbing the use of drugs, and predicted that the same would happen in the UK. How right he was. Along with all the other news and comment in this issue is a

reprint of an article by Edward Carpenter on the worship of stars and sex throughout history. Hmm, I can think of quite a few stars I wouldn't mind having sex with (they may not be heavenly bodies but they've certainly got them). A4, 64 pages, £1.00.

**Jail Journeys: the English prison experience 1918-1990** edited by Philip Priestley, Routledge. Extracts from over 150 first-hand accounts of life 'inside' by people ranging from pillars of the establishment – Shinwell, Fenner Brockway, Lord Alfred Douglas (Bosie to you, Oscar) – to your 'politicals' – Jake Prescott, the Behan brothers, Sean Bourke (who helped the spy Blake to escape) and Judith Ward; and your out and out villains – McVicar, Biggs, Hindley and Brady, Charlie Kray, etc., plus many others including those written by screws – and Albert Pierrepoint, the last executioner. The accounts span the gamut of styles from the purely instructive to the tragi-comic through to the truly sad, the sick and the hilarious. A useful prologue by the editor reviews the history of prisons in England from Elizabethan times right up to the nineteenth century legacy, and there are also eyewitness accounts of the Dartmoor mutiny, hangings, floggings and escapes. At one point ex-hangman Pierrepoint in talking about the attractions of the job puts at the top of his list, in the manner of a Miss World hopeful: "opportunities for travel"! Presumably not in the same direction as his victims. Finally, at the original publisher's price of £25, this hard back was of interest to a limited number of people. But now you can make a killing (whoops!) at our special price of £1.99 for 197 pages.

**Festival Eye: summer '94**. A once-yearly magazine timed to coincide with the season of outdoor festivals, Green gatherings, raves, pilgrimages to neolithic standing stones, peace convoys and travellers – new age or otherwise. Despite the horrendous misprints and proof-reading (we know the problem!) errors in some of the articles, there is a good section on the Criminal Justice Bill, reports on the 'No M11 Link Road Campaign' and other anti-road actions, and articles on both travellers and Stonehenge. Other essential ingredients are the festival list and a double-page list of useful contacts. There is a highly weird piece on Nazi occultists attempting to explain the recent successes of the BNP in East London with 'ley lines', and a silly piece on astrology, but the final article on the forgotten history of hemp is worth reading. A4, 24 pages, £1.50.

KM

Titles distributed by Freedom Press Distributors (marked\*) are post free inland (add 15% for overseas orders). For other titles please add 10% towards postage and packing inland, 20% overseas. Cheques in sterling payable to FREEDOM PRESS please.

### New titles now available

#### AGAINST POWER AND DEATH The Anarchist Articles and Pamphlets of Alex Comfort

edited and with an introduction by David Goodway  
Articles published between 1943 and 1986 in the journals *War Commentary*, *Freedom*, *Now*, *Peace News* and elsewhere, together with the pamphlet *Peace and Disobedience* (1946).

168 pages ISBN 0 900384 71 9 £5.00

#### HERBERT READ A One-Man Manifesto and other writings for Freedom Press

edited and with an introduction by David Goodway  
The complete texts of all the articles, broadcasts, reviews, poems and speeches of Herbert Read published in the anarchist journal *Spain & the World* and its successors *Revolt!*, *War Commentary* and *Freedom*, from 1938 to 1953, together with the pamphlets *The Education of Free Men* (1944) and *Art and the Evolution of Man* (1951).

208 pages ISBN 0 900384 72 7 £6.00

FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

## admirable books

a century. Where Read tended to abstraction, Comfort tended to rhetoric. His writings are highly intellectual but also highly emotional. His version of pacifism is aggressive anti-militarism, his version of anarchism is passionate individualism, and both are based on personal disobedience to all forms of barbarism. The first items here were some of the most remarkable comments on the war, worth reading alongside the very different contemporary views of George Orwell, say, or J. B. Priestley. His defence of the *War Commentary* editors became an eloquent denunciation of the Establishment. After the war he continued to produce powerful anti-war propaganda and played a central part in the nuclear disarmament movement. He seems to have lost patience with the anarchist movement in about 1951, concentrated on scientific popularisation and wider libertarian propaganda, and achieved fame and fortune in the 1970s with *The Joy of Sex* and *More Joy*.

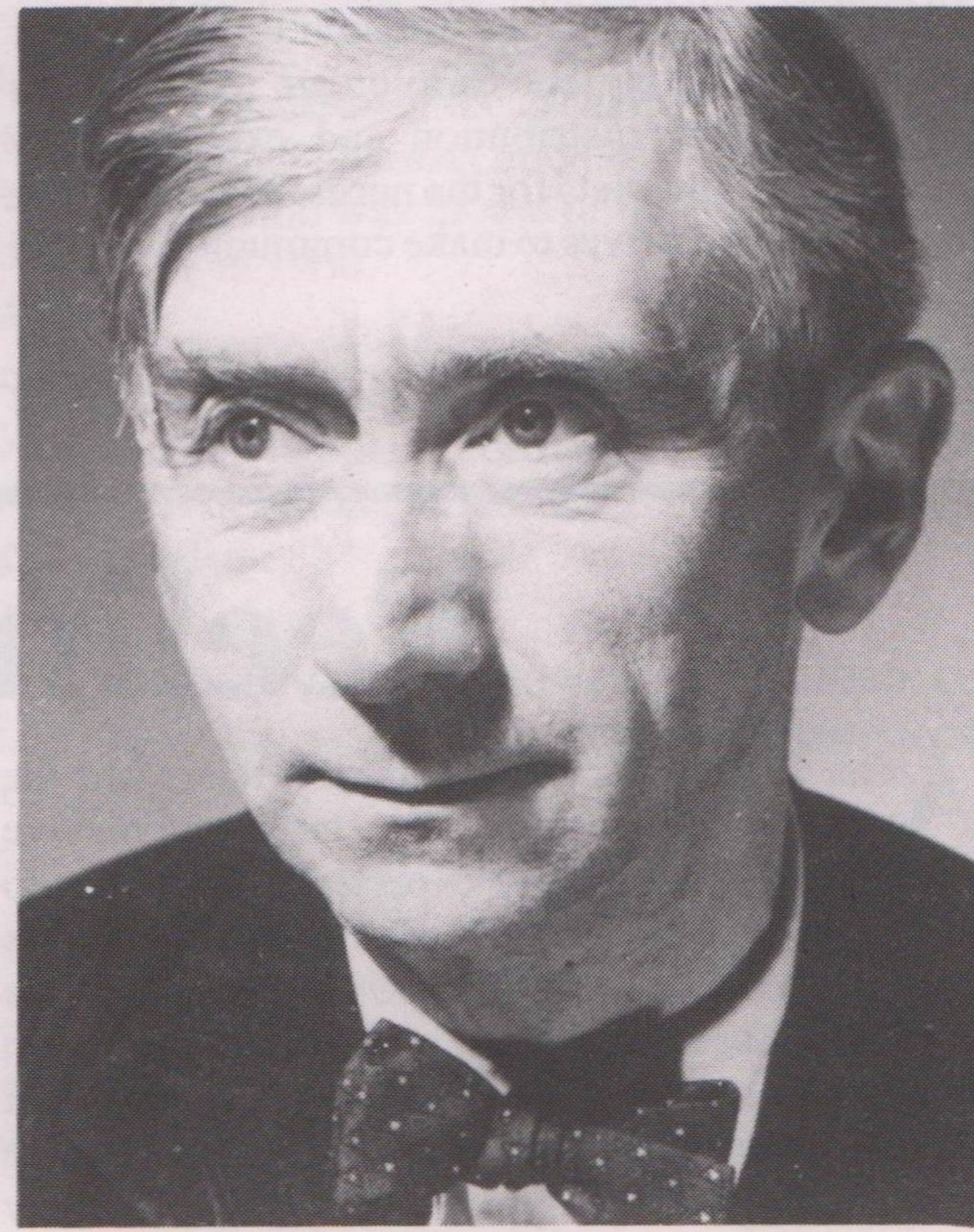
His main contribution to anarchist theory is his psychopathology of power, fully expressed in his book *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* (1950), and Goodway gives a good account of this (though he makes a rare mistake in repeating the common misquotation of Acton's dictum, 'Power tends to corrupt' – not 'All power corrupts' – 'and absolute power corrupts absolutely'). Comfort continued to produce a vast amount of material, and there are several fine pieces scattered through the rest of this book, but something went wrong somewhere. His creative gifts seem to have failed in the 1950s, and his social and scientific writing steadily deteriorated after the 1960s. His ideas became increasingly mystical and his writings

became increasingly mystifying. His contribution to the centenary issue of *Freedom* (1986) was disappointing in general and included some strange details, such as a reference to the (imaginary) influence of William Godwin on Thomas Jefferson. His Conway Memorial Lecture on *Science, Religion and Scientism* (1990) fell well below the level of his previous work (and of Read's forty years earlier).

Comfort is a much starker figure than Read. He sets humanity against the universe, and the individual against society. Read was a brave soldier (twice decorated) in the First World War, and Comfort was a brave conscientious objector in the Second World War, but Comfort seems far more belligerent. The final impression is of a very clever and angry man, too much so for either academic or political life, who brought a touch of real distinction to anarchist and pacifist journalism (and did perhaps produce some of the finest prose of our time).

Goodway attempts to identify the specific versions of anarchism held by Read and Comfort, but while his expositions are always fascinating his conclusions aren't always convincing. He says that 'Read's anarchist political theory was unremarkable'; but it was surely remarkable in its dependence on aesthetics (the main preoccupation of his whole career) and on psychoanalysis (first Freud, and then Jung). He says that 'Read's undeniably original contribution to anarchism was as an educational theorist'; but he was surely anticipated by several predecessors, from Ruskin, Wilde, and Morris onwards.

Goodway sees Read as a precursor and Comfort as a pioneer of the so-called 'new anarchism' postulated by George Woodcock. They both certainly advised anarchists to turn from political revolution to social science, and this was more or less the programme of *Anarchy* magazine during the 1960s; however, the entry of anarchist intellectuals into the academy has proved to be a rather mixed blessing – and anyway this line of development had been anticipated by Kropotkin and Landauer half a century before. But Read always identified himself with traditional anarchism, and Comfort always distanced himself from the collectivism which dominates 'new' as much as 'old' anarchism. They both withdrew from the anarchist movement in the early 1950s, but it isn't clear whether this was a shift from 'old' anarchism or from anarchism itself – I suspect the latter.



Herbert Read: an early portrait

It is noticeable that both men seldom suggested any action that was both positive and practicable.

In the end it is hard to identify the permanent places of these two figures. They shared the old-fashioned sense of superiority of their respective groups – artists for Read, scientists for Comfort – and Goodway shows how they tried to use art or science to justify their anarchism. They may have failed, but they were right to try. Anarchism stands or falls to the extent that it succeeds in satisfying the human need not just for life and liberty but for beauty, and in satisfying the scientific test of truth to nature and human nature. Read clearly influenced many people and even converted some to anarchism (though I have never understood why), and Comfort clearly influenced many people and also converted some to anarchist antimilitarism. But when they are re-read at length they emerge as typical examples of bourgeois intellectuals – though Read liked to pose as a peasant – who never quite appreciate the routine burden of everyday life for ordinary people.

One irony which isn't raised by these collections but arises from their whole work is that Read and Comfort thought of themselves primarily as creative writers, but their poetry and fiction have dated badly. Read was best known as an almost compulsive advocate of modernism in art, but this has proved to be largely a dead end. Comfort is best known as an advocate of free and joyful sex (Goodway rightly emphasises the libertarian implications), but this has proved to be literally a dead end in the age of AIDS and anomie. Those who knew them remember them best for their personalities, which will fade; but some of the best of them has been carefully preserved for us in these two admirable books.

NW

### — ANARCHIST NOTEBOOK —

## Markets and the Market

This is the time of year when A-level students are nervously waiting for their exam results. In their Geography paper, did their answers to the question on settlement patterns adequately describe the historical functions of the English market town as an example of the most common type of urban settlement in all countries, whether 'advanced' or 'developing'?

I loot from a typical textbook, F.S. Hudson's *Geography of Settlements*, a standard description:

"In England, before the Industrial Revolution, market towns in well-settled areas were about five to ten miles apart, i.e. close enough together to allow farmers and their families to visit them on foot or horseback on market day (generally once a week) and return home on the same day. At these small towns they were able to sell their butter and cheese, corn, wool and live animals, and to buy new farm implements, cloth, clothing and footwear, kitchen utensils, salt, the more common spices, preserves and so on. The better-placed market towns, situated at focal points in the more productive and populous areas, were the country towns. Here, more people were concerned not only with administration and commerce, but also with domestic industry. Most market towns supported a few craftsmen (carpenters, smiths, tanners, saddlers and flour millers), but in the country towns were often enough workers in domestic industry to form guilds ... Yearly, or more frequently, fairs were held in the more accessible market towns ..."

And so on. It's a picture we are all familiar with in any country. It inspired Kropotkin's article on 'Mutual Aid in the Medieval City' published exactly a century ago in *The Nineteenth Century* and reprinted in his *Mutual Aid*. It formed a retrospective exemplar of the view he developed in *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, that in a rational economy "each region will become its own producer and its own consumer of manufactured goods" and that at the same time "it will be its own producer and consumer of agricultural produce".

We all know how the economy of the local market, whether in food products or in manufactures was radically changed, first by the railway in the nineteenth century and then by the flexibility of the diesel-engined articulated truck in the twentieth. My nearest market town is an obvious model of the textbook description. A century ago it still had a range of local industries, and to this day retains a small Friday market. Its two fruit and vegetable stalls put

special labels on produce described as 'locally grown'. In its two greengrocers and its two supermarkets you can buy green beans flown in from Zimbabwe and carrots flown from Mexico, pre-packed at prices not notably different from those of crops which might have been grown round here but which have been transported to New Covent Garden and back. The economics of this endless transportation defeat me, but I know that the huge social costs are met by the public purse, or by other people than the actual carriers.

Markets, of course, have other social functions beyond their economic usefulness. A recent American book, *Public Space* by Stephen Carr and others, stresses that:

"Ceremony, celebration and festivity are qualities that people seek in urban public spaces. People require joyousness to refresh their lives. We speak here of a distinctive quality of life – the pleasure in engaging in a multi-faceted activity that encompasses people-watching, socialising, being entertained and consuming or buying food and other goods. The popularity of flea markets is one sign of this need where affordable merchandising and carnival spirit combine to draw crowds."

The most recent manifestation of the flea market in Britain is the car boot sale. Their sudden growth and popularity reflects of course the increasing poverty of an increasing section of the population. People can't afford the cost of running a car, but have to because of the erosion of public transport. At the same time they have an urgent need for cash which can only be won by selling off consumer goods. At the same time many of us can never afford to buy goods in the retail market, especially with VAT at 17½%. Needless to say, the Association of District Councils at its annual conference last month demanded legislation to give local authorities stronger regulatory controls over car boot sales.

A councillor from Kent told his fellow delegates that "one commercial market with 400 stalls is held on the only road to the Isle of Sheppey and causes five mile traffic jams in both directions". Another indication, I would say, of the truth of that American observation on the enduring capacity of markets to draw crowds.

There's a well-known geographer, Brian Goodey, who is a bibliographer of Elisée Reclus. He had another reputation as Professor of Urban Design at Oxford Brookes University

and is a tireless student of the *texture* of urban life in public spaces. I have been reading with great pleasure a bulky volume from that university's School of Planning (*Working Paper No. 127 – Urban Interpretation: Issues and Settings*) in which Goodey strolls around two textbook examples of historic market towns, Saffron Walden in Essex and Eye in Suffolk. He examines both these ancient markets very closely, starting with the observation that "in a society where the word 'market' has become the watchword for a supposedly leaner and more effective economy, then surely markets are alive and well?"

It turned out to be rather different. In Saffron Walden the market had been pushed out of the middle of town for 150 years and what remains on Tuesdays and Saturdays turns out to be a sad little bunch of stalls where "few sell essentials, only knick-knackery, and money dealing predominates". He concluded that:

"Here, some forty miles from London with available fast road and rail links, the market culture has all but passed – charity stalls, Dutch bulbs and mass-produced plastic-ware populate the stalls, and only two or three cloth caps on retired heads were aloft at the returning bus stop."

Goodey feared that he would learn the same lesson at Diss. Market traders had been shifted from a site at the Corn Hall and there was a planning decision that the market "spoiled one of the most attractive vistas in Diss". And he records how:

"Resisting the temptation to judge what seemed to be a regrettable, though possibly typical, planning decision I surveyed the brimming stalls of clothes, plastic toys and records, and still feared that the Diss market was to be a repeat of that in Saffron Walden. But surely all these people are not just here for this? Slowly the pattern of Diss unfolded ... another group of stalls was revealed, less plastic and more suggestive of local economy – three fruit and vegetable stalls ... This was more like it, people weaving behind and between the stalls in a setting which fits the popular image of a market 'place'. The Grange Farm Re-cycled Tools van gives a hint as to the role which such a market plays in the ecological perspective which is most certainly shared by some of the smallholding newcomers who are active bidders and may well be keeping the market alive ..."

In the United States several of these trends have become more explicit or even institutionalised. People in neighbourhoods

(continued on page 7)

# Markets and the Market

(continued from page 6)

hold 'yard sales' or 'garage sales' which in practice are run on the sidewalk itself. But the most interesting trend of the last fifteen years or so has been what is known all over the US as the Farmers' Market. This is a reinvention of the tradition eroded by pre-packaging, long-distance transportation and the hypermarket, and a renewal of the ancient habit of producers coming to town on market day with their fruit and vegetables. The philosopher Marcus Singer from Madison, Wisconsin, explained it to me:

"They emerged from the alternative culture in the '60s and the ambition to grow organically on land where regular farmers had failed. These people get up at four and drive from fifty to seventy miles away to set up their stalls including fruit and vegetables that aren't commercially sold. Every Saturday they take over the vast square opposite the state capital building and traffic is diverted. Elsewhere, they use the supermarket car park twice a week and the supermarket actually buys up the produce left at the end of the day. It's still fresher and cheaper."

The environmental psychologist Richard Sommer describes the different names used in different places: Community Farm Markets in Illinois, Food Fairs in Alabama, Curb Markets in the north east. In California there used to be only one public market where farmers could sell their produce directly to the consumers; by 1980 there were over fifty in the state. He stresses the 'social climate' by comparison with the supermarket:

"Farmers' markets are among the most social spaces in America today. People are there to buy, barter, converse and watch the spectacle."

Another observer, trying to push this issue beyond its picturesque qualities in the urban scene, is Ross Dobson from Winnipeg in Canada. He argues the need to link such

## Australia

(continued from page 4)

a letter explaining why, explaining my anarchist principles, but it wasn't considered a valid reason. Because I pleaded in court 'Not Guilty' to the charge of failure to vote, the case was adjourned until a confirmation appearance on 1st July and the hearing on 8th August 1994. Now they'll be after me for refusing to vote for the second time. I've already said I'm willing to go to prison in defence of freedom, that is the freedom not to be forced to choose one's oppressors. I wonder whether the government really wants to have people in prison for refusing to vote in this 'democratic' country, giving publicity for the anarchist cause. I've heard that down south in big cities like Melbourne where there are large anarchist organisations, the authorities mostly ignore their activities for fear of giving them publicity and credibility. If people refuse to vote they don't get pursued and prosecuted, they're just left alone. Whereas in a small remote town like Darwin, the authorities are less likely to have been exposed to anarchist philosophy.

One friend, when I said I was an anarchist and was refusing to vote, told me that in that case I merely shouldn't enrol, then I wouldn't get hassled. Yes, I used to do that. But now I want to confront the system instead of evading it. The aim is to get publicity for anarchism, to make people think and question authority and realise that the parliamentary system is not the be-all and end-all of politics. Do we have to vote? No, we don't have to do anything! But we'll do what we want. And what's necessary. Being allowed to vote for a 'lesser evil' is just not enough. To gain real freedom we have to work outside the system.

Shell 63

[We would like to draw the attention of readers of Shell 63's article to issue number 14 of our quarterly journal *The Raven* on voting (£3 post free anywhere) which includes, amongst many articles on anarchist and voting, Brian Martin's 'Compulsory Voting: a useful target for anti-state action' and the complete text of Peter Kropotkin's 'Revolutionary Government' - Eds]

ventures with a LETS system of trading in a local currency. For him LETS stands for Local Employment and Trading System. His book *Bringing the Economy Home from the Market* was published last year by Black Rose Books of Montreal, and is handled in Britain by Jon Carpenter publishing (PO Box 129, Oxford OX1 4PT, price £11.99 plus £1 p&p).

From Dobson's standpoint the importance of phenomena like the farmers' market or car boot sales is that they are a visible aspect of the local and unofficial economy, which for him is most significant in the "root economy of the household, the gift, the informal and underground economies, barter and cashless transactions". His argument is that:

"... the economy must be brought home again. It is necessary for a conscious decision to use local or special purpose currencies to create local circuits for production, distribution and exchange. By creating local markets for the necessities of life, we may re-skill ourselves to make community possible again."

I have tried for a long time to forge a few links

## Feeling Free

After fifteen years of Thatcher-Major, and the steady drip, drip of the most oppressive policies, certainly in my experience, it is easy to lose sight of just how repressed English culture has become. You can see it on the faces of people as they plod into work or stand in supermarket queues; that look that says 'Bloody hell, I feel miserable, I wonder where the next blow will fall'. Of course these feelings are not typical, and you can see how the Tories try to curry favour with that 40% of the electorate whose support they need to keep them in power; thankfully, even that at last seems to be slipping away. You only really get a grasp of how unhappy people are here when you go somewhere else. Crossing the Channel does not guarantee universal happiness, far from it, but one gets the feeling that people are at least that much more at ease with themselves.

On a recent trip to The Netherlands, for instance, I had no problems striking up a long and interesting conversation with a young woman returning to Brussels. On the coach we quickly discovered a common interest in writing. The conversation flowed easily and she was soon showing me some of her poetry, and then excitedly telling me of her seven year old son who had written about 'sugary daffodils'. Encouraged by the delighted smile which spread across my face at this, she asked me of my own literary efforts. After first feeling inhibited about talking about anarchism, I duly passed my new manuscript and details of a meeting in Rotterdam, the reason for my journey, across the aisle. To my surprise, she expressed a good deal of interest and we chatted happily together until she left the coach. I was left pondering the memory of that open face framed in milky blonde hair, and our talk which had spanned films, books, writing techniques, Summerhill and, amazingly, anarchism, a topic not easily talked about in England to say the least!

On arrival in Rotterdam, the warmth which this chance encounter had generated did not cool. The meeting, well organised and well attended, went very smoothly and without rancour despite the wide variety of views expressed on the subject concerned - economics. I stayed over for a few days at a housing co-op of impressive size, set up by the Dutch anarchist group *Vrije Bond* (Free Association), who had also arranged the meeting and kindly invited me to it. Of the 25 people, including two children who live there, only two are ideologically committed anarchists and they make no overt attempts at propaganda. There is no real need to, as every seems to respond easily to the way co-ops work. Of course, for those who do express an interest, the anarchists have all 'the books'.

Relaxing in the sun watching the children play in the sand, I was asked 'How do I know when I am an anarchist?' I replied saying that you had probably made it when you feel easy with others, able to work with them and trust them, able to give your partner space without being possessive. She nodded agreement but I had the feeling that she could already manage these things and expected me to talk about theories and all that. She was reading Emma Goldman's biography *Living My Life*. Besides the meeting, I was in Rotterdam to discuss

between anarchist ideology and the recent exploration of the concept of an alternative economy (see, for example, 'Anarchism and the Informal Economy' in *The Raven* no. 1, 1987). Dobson, in his advocacy of what he calls Community Economic Development, evokes the experience of the Spanish anarchists in 1936, and says:

"I submit that something like these Spanish anarchist collectives ought to be the model for Community Economic Development, not for political but for purely functional environmental and economic reasons. It makes no sense to me to try to build a newly self-sufficient, supportive and non-market-oriented community upon an economics that is structured for a purpose and end that is just the opposite of what Community Economic Development wants to achieve. It makes every sense to build it upon the systems, values and procedures that, at one time, did define the self-reliant, autonomous communities which transferable money destroyed."

Like the other watchers of unofficial trade and exchange, he is anxious to assert the values of the local market from the depredations of the global market economy.

Colin Ward

## Through the Anarchist Press

Remarkable, and who would have thought that quick-silver has been used for centuries by dentists in amalgams to stop teeth without any reported side effects. The material was considered inert, now there are doubts and fears that fumes of mercury enter vital organs of the body. The safest filling is with copper or gold - unfortunately a price tag is attached to these metals under capitalism. It is puzzling how many materials are considered safe for human use until evidence to the contrary becomes overwhelmingly obvious. Only fifty years ago asbestos was considered in all aspects an excellent insulator, until it was found that filaments entering through breathing destroyed the lungs.

You may have seen old mirrors which sparkle with mercury coating. This method of silvering looking glasses went on for ages in spite of the pernicious effects of mercury upon the tradesmen. Mercury is regarded as a metal although it is fluid at ordinary temperatures. It is also typical of the haphazardness of scientific nomenclature that the planet Mercury has no quicksilver but is named after fleet-footed Hermes.

Perhaps there is a slow progress in medicine after all for liquid mercury is no longer used, although at the beginning of this century it was occasionally given with the view of overcoming, by weight, obstructions in the intestinal canal.

Each day brings its wonders. Outside the Nigerian Embassy, opposite their dusty windows with their curious contents without the slightest hint of the past glories of the Benin culture, somebody placed a chair. On it was a ghetto blaster and a handwritten placard with the wording: 'IT IS HIGH TIME TO STOP THE BULLY-BOY TACTICS! While I was pondering over the meaning of this delphic utterance, an affable young man arrived and said without further ado: "People say I'm foolish. What I say is that everything has to have a beginning, however small."

State is an historically temporary arrangement, a transitory form of society, in the dismissive words of Mikhail Bakunin.

I joined a walk on its second day from Farnborough to London protesting against the sale of Hawk military aircraft to that temporary arrangement, the Indonesian State, which uses Hawks to suppress the East Timor people, by another temporary arrangement calling itself British Aerospace. It was a pleasant walk with my companions on a sunny day from Chertsey to Kingston through country lanes and by the Thames river bank. Here were less than a dozen people, distributing leaflets as they went. All beginnings are small. I specifically like the acronym (I would, wouldn't I) for this group, ARROW (Active Resistance to the Roots of War).

Somer is icumen in. Lhude sing cuccu. As long as they are not repetitive beats, for under the new law the bird will be liable to arrest. And the number of prosecutions against the ringers and tollers of church bells will increase a thousandfold.

There is no accounting for taste. It is difficult to decide which is my current favourite poem. The one which I recently came across is by Edwin Morgan and has the title 'The Loch Ness Monster's Song'. I tried to sing it without success, but it remains a test for typesetting. I don't know if it is as beautiful as the earliest known English round quoted above. This one is a bit more difficult to read but contains the immortal question and answer: 'Hovoplodok - dovoplodock - plovodokot - doplokodosh?' 'Splgraw fok fok splgrafhatchgabrlgabrl fok splfok!'

John Rety

John Griffin

Welcome home.

Anarchism and breaking free

Dear Freedom,

I think Nicolas Walter (Freedom, 9th July 1994) is wrong. Paul Feyerabend in his book Against Method (1975) made it quite clear in what way he was using the term 'anarchism' in relation to science...

an insight? Perhaps he was referring to rather different national perspectives (or by some mistake associating Bader-Meinhoff, the Red Brigade or the Angry Brigade, the relatedness of whose credentials to anarchism is highly dubious).

It must be said of Kropotkin that he was imbued with a knowledge of, and adherence to, rationalism and it is within this context we must approach his dedication to the physical sciences, but the world has changed. Social scientists

today might refer to Kropotkin's definition as rather archaic. Sociologists would simply call it an example of Comtian Positivism. We have progressed since then. It is a pity Feyerabend's political anarchism was influenced more by very dated writings and misunderstandings rather than reality.

Peter Neville

Dear Freedom,

First Donald Room. If the sun is not a fixed body in the solar system can relativism explain how it manages to orbit nine planets all of which move relative to each other? Science has not disproved Galileo's 'reality' after 380 years and even the Catholic Church has

Kropotkin says: Since man is a part of nature, since his personal and social life is also a phenomenon of nature—in the same way as in the growth of a flower, or in the evolution of life in the community of ants and bees—there is no reason why in passing from the flower to Man and from a colony of beavers to a human city, we should abandon the system which had hitherto served us so well, to seek another in the arsenal of metaphysics. This is the purely mechanical concept; all that has been had to be, all that will be, must be perforce, inevitably, in every minute detail of time, place, and degree.

MALATESTA—SELECTED WRITINGS

admitted it was wrong. It is possible Galileo was right and just possible, thanks to science, that we have acquired a little more realistic knowledge in the last few centuries if we care to use it, as the capitalists do for their own perverted purposes.

If Peter Neville thinks Lysenkoism in the USSR and 'Aryan Physics' in Nazi Germany somehow invalidate the 'hard' sciences, I would point out that neither other scientific disciplines, nor religions or political ideologies, fared any better against the kind of arguments the NKVD and Gestapo could muster. These are the kind of things that happen whenever any kind of dogma is imposed by force in independent thought.

My use of the term 'pseudo-science' for economics may have been a little rough, but all the economics I have read does tend to reduce things to monetary terms. It may be of some use in a capitalist society, but it is little more than glorified book-keeping and would be of no value to a free society which would have to consider real resources of materials, energy, labour, etc., in order to meet human needs.

I am more inclined to trust the 'hard' sciences than other disciplines because I think them less likely, as far as pure research goes, to be subject to political or religious meddling or overly influenced by the inevitable middle and upper class prejudices of their practitioners. Their application through technology is another matter.

To clarify my main points, let's accept there are such things as subjective reality (belief) and objective reality (fact). The scientific method is by far the most effective means of closing the gap between the two. Without it humanity would still be stuck in the middle ages if it hadn't by now succumbed to famine, disease and religious insanity.

The capitalist system has survived the last few centuries by using science to develop its productive and repressive machinery. Any society that replaces it will have to be based on science and technology among other things. An exploitative society will never use science and technology to promote freedom and equality any more than articles favouring anarchism will ever appear in The Sun. But it makes no more sense for anarchists to reject science than to shun the use of the printed word.

John Wood

Genetics

Dear Freedom,

I must thank JN for his explanation of the biological mechanism involved in the determination of the sex of an individual. Although not unfamiliar with this, in my attempt to be concise I wrote "the X chromosome, one of the chromosomes involved in the determination of ..."

The distinction between sex and gender is more complicated. JN may be old enough to recall that Fowler considered gender to be a purely grammatical term which, if applied to sexual orientation, was either a jocularity or a blunder. However the word has been widely used as a colloquial synonym for sex and it was used in this sense in 'Science News'. This was unwise of me, now that social scientists have appropriated it to mean an individual's self conception as being male or female as distinct from their actual biological sex.

Having now re-read the earlier discussion in Freedom on gender, I do hope that the editors do not encourage a revival of this topic.

HS

Books reviewed in Freedom can be ordered from Freedom Press Bookshop 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX

ANARCHIST PICNIC August Bank Holiday Hadley Woods

At 2pm on Monday 29th August 1994 at Priddeans Hill, Monken Hadley Common, north of Barnet.

According to Nicolas Pevsner's The Buildings of England: Hertfordshire, "The combination of Hadley Green and Hadley Common results in one of the most felicitous pictures of Georgian visual planning which the neighbourhood of London has to offer. It is elusive to the descriptive word and eminently English in character."

To get there:

- Piccadilly Line to Cockfosters, right along Cockfosters Road, left Chalk Lane, left Games Road into Hadley Wood Road, Common on right.
● Northern Line to High Barnet, right along Barnet Hill, right High Street, right Hadley Green Road, past Almshouses and St Mary's Church (probably 1494 - flint and ironstone with white stone dressings), into Hadley Wood Road, Common on left.
● Rail to Hadley Wood (Welwyn Garden City to Moorgate - parallel with Kings Cross Mainline with changes at Welwyn, Potters Bar and Finsbury Park with links to Cambridge, Peterborough and the north), right West Crescent, right Camlet Way, left Hadley Wood Road, Common on left.
● By road A1000 (Great North Road) from London, through Barnet and Hadley Green, right into Dury Road, left past church to Hadley Wood Road, Common on left.

Everyone welcome. Meet old and new comrades, discuss the present, plan for the future, relax, fly kites, bring food and drinks for sharing. Make the revolution happen in our hearts.

Dave Dane & Peter Neville for London Anarchist Forum

1. Peter Kropotkin, Modern Science and Anarchism, revised 1913, in R.M. Baldwin's (editor) Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets, 1970.

New FREEDOM PRESS titles
Freedom to Roam Harold Sculthorpe
Social Defence: Social Change Brian Martin
Violence and Anarchism various authors

Love on second thoughts

Dear Freedom,

A few years ago I wrote a little piece in Freedom entitled 'Love is a many splendour'd thing' which gave examples of the misuse of the word 'love'. I had hoped it would produce results, in anarchist circles at least, but it seems I was wrong.

Some examples of continuing misuse are to be found in the recent Freedom Press publication Love, Sex and Power in Later Life, from the pen of Tony Gibson, where the phrase 'falling in love' occurs several times, without inverted commas, and, more strangely, the term 'platonic' love appears complete with inverted commas, as if love, in its basic sense, is not platonic.

At the end of the book, the author, perhaps unsure of himself, attempts to excuse his use of the demotic, and defines love as 'love of life', but this hardly accords with his reliance elsewhere on the Oxford English Dictionary.

Another suspect term readers will come across is 'erotic love' which, if it means anything at all, means a desire for sexual stimulation. Like 'sexual love', love has no more to do with it than enjoying a cup of tea when you are thirsty - never mind the fact that we would all go for the sexual kick unless we were stranded in the middle of the Sahara.

We are, however, told that 'love of life' is "expressed in the consummation of the attraction between two people". So it is nothing to do with love after all; it is just

plain delightful good old sexual attraction. Whoopee! Why can't we have more of this plain English?

But no. We have now got to believe that love is an art form. Bashevis Singer is apparently quoted as saying that "in love, as in other matters, the young are just beginners, and ... the art of love matures with age and experience". Surely it is sex that is being discussed here; love is not a technique.

Tony Gibson's claim that "the word love is at the beginning of the title of my book, and I use it advisedly" is not well served by the above examples. And that he is himself less than convinced is shown by his anticipation that "some people may think that [the quotation from Bashevis Singer] smacks of sentimentality". I would personally call it romantic, i.e. fictitious, extravagant, wild, fantastic. And there's nothing demotic about that definition. Alex Comfort is much quoted, among other males (are we men best qualified to write books on sex?) but thankfully there is no mention of his gem about sex being the

healthiest sport - an idea that might not endure itself to all women. And even sports have rules and regulations.

A woman is quoted, in the form of Shere Hite, whose book of case histories and analyses is so replete with the demotic as to be practically valueless anyway. Why, oh why, must the language of the News of the World be presented to readers of Freedom? How can it be possible to find out answers to problems if the terminology used is so imprecise that it can mean different things to different people?

Absurdity has been compounded many times over, elsewhere, not in the tabloids, but in the poem "The love that dares to speak its name" - a graphic example of the way homosexuals can get away with nonsense by reason of the fact that heterosexuals do it anyway. And so, if heterosexuals get married, even if they have no intention of having children, why shouldn't gays do the same. There is a difference between freedom and licence which is only obscured by murdering the English language.

In a world where 'defence' is a weapon of mass slaughter, should we not learn to call a spade a spade?

Ernie Crosswell

[Our correspondent refers to the recent Freedom Press publication Love, Sex and Power in Later Life by Tony Gibson, £3.50 post free inland, add 15% overseas]

Please keep sending in your letters and donations



# The Raven

Anarchist Quarterly  
number 25  
on  
'Religion'

Back issues still available:

- 24 - Science (1)
- 23 - Spain / Emma Goldman
- 22 - Crime
- 21 - Feminism
- 20 - Kropotkin's 150th Anniversary
- 19 - Sociology
- 18 - Anthropology
- 17 - Use of Land
- 16 - Education (2)
- 15 - Health
- 14 - Voting
- 13 - Anarchism in Eastern Europe
- 12 - Communication
- 11 - Class
- 10 - Libertarian Education
- 9 - Bakunin and Nationalism
- 8 - Revolution
- 7 - Emma Goldman
- 6 - Tradition and Revolution
- 5 - Spies for Peace
- 4 - Computers and Anarchism
- 3 - Surrealism (part 2)
- 2 - Surrealism (part 1)
- 1 - History of Freedom Press

£3.00 each (post-free anywhere)

from

**FREEDOM PRESS**

**FREEDOM**  
fortnightly

ISSN 0016 0504

Published by Freedom Press  
84b Whitechapel High Street  
London E1 7QX

Printed by Aldgate Press, London E1

## London Anarchist Forum

Meets Fridays at about 8pm at  
Conway Hall, 25 Red Lion Square,  
London WC1R 4RL.

### - 1994-95 PROGRAMME -

**22nd July** Marx the Forgotten Anarchist  
(speaker David Murray)

**29th July** General discussion

**2nd September** Introduction

**9th September** Misrepresentation and Socio-  
biology (speaker Donald Room)

**16th September** Should Anarchists Take Part  
in Revolutionary Governments? (debate  
introduced by David Dane)

**23rd September** General discussion

**30th September** Speaking in Hyde Park  
(speaker Peter Lumsden)

**7th October** Gustav Landauer: The Spirit of  
Place and Anarchism (speaker Andrew  
Lainton)

**14th October** General discussion

**21st October** No LAF meeting - Ten Days  
That Shook the World Conference (discussion  
at Conway Hall led by John Rety)

**28th October** General Discussion

**4th November** Play Gives a Meaning to  
Existence (speaker J. Taylor)

**11th November** General discussion

**18th November** The Belief in Politics (speaker  
Eve Seguin introduced by George Walford)

**25th November** General discussion

**2nd December** Use of Comics as Propaganda  
(speaker Donald Room)

If anyone would like to give a talk or lead a  
discussion, overseas or out-of-town speakers  
especially, please contact either Dave Dane of  
Peter Neville at the meetings, or Peter Neville  
at 4 Copper Beeches, Witham Road,  
Isleworth, Middlesex TW7 4AW (telephone  
number 081-847 0203, not too early in the day  
please) giving subject and prospective dates  
and we will do our best to accommodate.  
These could be instead of a general discussion  
but the latter are not merely unfilled slots but  
popular occasions in their own right so we are  
unwilling to relinquish too many.

**Peter Neville / Dave Dane**  
London Anarchist Forum

March with the  
Anarchist Communist Federation  
contingent on the demo against the  
Criminal Justice Bill  
on

**Sunday 24th July**

Assemble at 1pm, Hyde Park  
March to Trafalgar Square

(look out for our banners and flags, or write  
to: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street,  
London E1 7QX)

## Red Rambles in Derbyshire

A programme of free guided walks in  
the White Peak for Greens,  
Socialists, Libertarians and  
Anarchists.

— Summer 1994 —

**Sunday 7th August:** Circular walk.  
Meet 11.30am for 11.45 start at  
centre of Great Longstone village,  
one mile north of Ashford in the  
Water. Walk guide Jon Simcock.  
Length 6-7 miles approx.

**Sunday 4th September:** Circular  
walk. Meet centre of lble village, one  
mile north of the Via Gellia near  
Cromford, 11.30am for 11.45 start.  
Length 4-5 miles approx.

Telephone for further details  
0773-827513



**Anarchist  
Summer Camp  
in Derbyshire**

**Fri 26th - Mon 29th August**

£7.75 for the three nights  
Indoor camping - bring sleeping bag

For further details write to:  
Box EMAB, The Rainbow Centre,  
88 Abbey Street, Derby

## Greenham Women's Peace Camp

to commemorate

Hiroshima and Nagasaki Days

Saturday 6th & Sunday 7th  
August

workshops on:

- History of the camp
- Future of Greenham Women
- Trident nuclear warhead production  
at AWE Aldermaston
- Warhead transportation (convoys)
- Non-violent direct action days

Where we are:

Outside the main gate of Greenham  
Common ex-Air Base, on A339 road  
to Basingstoke, three miles south of  
Newbury using A34.

For further information contact:

Yellow Gate Women's Peace Camp  
Greenham Common, Newbury  
Berkshire RG14 7AS

Telephone 0374 136728 between  
8-9.30pm (mobile phone).

## FREEDOM AND THE RAVEN SUBSCRIPTION RATES 1994

	inland	abroad surface	outside Europe airmail	Europe airmail
<b>Freedom (24 issues) half price for 12 issues</b>				
Claimants	10.00	-	-	-
Regular	14.00	22.00	34.00	28.00
Institutions	22.00	30.00	40.00	40.00

### The Raven (4 issues)

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
Claimants	10.00	-	-
Regular	12.00	14.00	18.00
Institutions	18.00	22.00	27.00

### Joint sub (24 x Freedom & 4 x The Raven)

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
Claimants	18.00	-	-
Regular	24.00	34.00	50.00

### Bundle subs for Freedom (12 issues)

	inland	abroad surface	abroad airmail
2 copies x 12	12.00	13.00	22.00
5 copies x 12	26.00	32.00	44.00
10 copies x 12	50.00	60.00	84.00
Other bundle sizes on application			

Giro account number 58 294 6905

All prices in £ sterling

## SUBSCRIPTION FORM

To Freedom Press in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street,  
London E1 7QX

- I am a subscriber, please renew my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues
- Please renew my joint subscription to *Freedom* and *The Raven*
- Make my sub to *Freedom* into a joint sub starting with number 25 of *The Raven*
- I am not yet a subscriber, please enter my sub to *Freedom* for ..... issues  
and *The Raven* for ..... issues starting with number 25
- I would like the following back numbers of *The Raven* at £3 per copy post free  
..... (numbers 1 to 24 are available)
- I enclose a donation to Freedom Fortnightly Fighting / Freedom Press Overheads /  
Raven Deficit Fund (delete as applicable)

I enclose £..... payment

Name .....

Address .....

..... Postcode .....