

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEFEATED BY TUGBOAT CREWS

THE British media are being remarkably reticent about a defeat of the British navy by some Australian workers. It seems reasonable to suspect that a D-notice was slapped on the event, but too late to stop its being mentioned on the radio news. (For the information of overseas readers, a D-notice is a circular to newspapers and broadcasters, mentioning a news item which ought not to be published, as its disclosure 'would not be in the public interest' — however much it might interest the public. The media invariably obey D-notices, as a 'voluntary' censorship system.)

We invite our Australian comrades to send a full report. Meanwhile the facts we can discover are as follows:

Her Majesty's ship *Ark Royal* went to the Australian port of Melbourne on a 'good will visit' to celebrate the Australian bicentenary, and was in the vicinity of the port by about 11 October. The *Ark Royal* is a nuclear missile launcher. In accordance with Navy rules, she refused to say whether or not she was carrying nuclear weapons at the time; but she probably was.

The Melbourne port workers' trade unions announced that they did not think bringing nuclear missiles in was consistent with good will, and would refuse their services to any missile ship. An American missile ship, visiting Melbourne at the same time, went into port under her own power and docked without the assistance of dock workers, some of whom indicated their displeasure by throwing waste matter. The *Ark Royal*, however, is too cumbersome to get into port without the assistance of tugboats.

It was impossible to assemble one tugboat crew, let alone the four tugboats needed. The *Ark Royal* hung around for a few days, her captain sending several messages to the trade union asking them to reconsider, which they did but always

coming to the same decision. Some time during the weekend 15/16 October, the ship slunk off, defeated.


### What's wrong with nuclear bombs?

It is fashionable in Britain to refer to nuclear weapons as 'The Deterrent', and to British state-owned nuclear weapons in particular as 'The Independent Deterrent'. Many British people do not know the word 'deterrent' in any other context. This usage is not current in states which do not have nuclear weapons, such as Australia.

There is clear historical evidence that nuclear weapons do, in fact, deter war.

For fifty years, those states equipped with nuclear arms have postured and threatened war, controlling their populations with threats of external bogeymen; but they have never actually declared war. Their efforts to expand their empires have been indirect, in the form of military support for proxy armies, in civil wars in Malaya, Korea, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, etc., etc. Nuclear weapons have not been used since 1945, when there was no fear of retaliation.

The reasons seem equally clear. Nuclear weapons are just too destructive. When national pride or honour is at stake, continued on page 3



HAVE A HEART, MATE.  
WE'RE SUPPOSED  
TO BE INVINCIBLE.

# FREEDOM

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### Freedom Magazine Fund

Wolverhampton JL £12; Waltham USA DF £14; Stowmarket RGP £3; Huddersfield BH £2; Taplow EC £3.30; Hastings JE £2; Stirling DK £4; Glasgow LAB £2; Wolverhampton JL £5; London LF £4.

September/Mid-October total = £53.30

1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £624.85

### Freedom Premises Fund

Wolverhampton JL £13; Munster HB £20; Waltham USA DF £13; Stowmarket RGP £3; Glasgow BT £1; Glasgow LAB £2; Wolverhampton JL £6; London LF £3; Stanford California LR £3.50.

September/Mid-October total = £64.50

1988 TOTAL TO DATE = £667.05

## Kurds

*FREEDOM's* last issue publicised the terrible plight of the Kurds. A weekly picket of the Iraqi Embassy is being planned to protest against it. Let us call for tyrannicide not genocide. Contact Roger Dwek on 01-607 7984 for details.

## Broadwater Farm demo

PC Blakelock was killed during an anti-police riot at Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham, in 1985. The identity of the killer(s) is unknown, but Winston Silcott, Mark Braithwaite and Engin Raghıp were found guilty, on evidence which has been questioned by Amnesty International and also by two independent enquiries. An application to appeal will be made to the Appeal Court on Monday 12 December. **Picket of Wormwood Scrubs Prison, Sunday 11 December.** Details: London Greenpeace.

## London Anarchist Forum

Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, WC1 (Behind Southampton Row, opposite Russell Square. Meetings start 8.00 pm, Forum people usually in ground floor cafe beforehand).

- Oct 28 Open Discussion  
Nov 4 George Walford, **Class politics; an exhausted myth**  
Nov 11 Open Discussion  
Nov 18 London Greenpeace, **Greenpeace: today London, tomorrow the world**  
Nov 25 Open Discussion  
Dec 2 John Rowan, (humanistic psychologist) **The human mind – hierarchy or anarchy?**  
Dec 9 Open Discussion  
Dec 16 Ruan Bowden, subject to be  
Dec 23 Centre closed  
Dec 30 Centre closed  
Jan 6 S.E. Parker (Editor of *The Egoist*), **Equality: fact or fiction?**  
Jan 13 Open Discussion

## London ACF

- November 3: **The death of the Labour Party – the anarchist alternative**  
November 24: Readers' meeting for **Enemy Within**, London ACF's free news sheet  
December 1: **Anarchism and Terrorism**  
January 5: topic to be announced  
Thursdays, 8.30pm, Marchmont Street Community Centre, Marchmont Street, London WC1 (nearest tube station Russell Square).

## NE London

- Anarchists and Greens dayskools at NELP**  
**WHY?** Primarily to educate ourselves about anarchist and green issues.  
**WHEN?** Certain Wednesdays, 1pm to 4pm  
**WHAT?**  
16 Nov: **What is Anarchism? for beginners**  
30 Nov: **Main threats to the planet**  
14 Dec: **Animals and the politics of food**  
25 Jan: **Housing (squattng, co-ops, etc)**

**WHERE?** SIS, Holbrook Centre, Holbrook Road, Plaistow, London E13. (near Plaistow tube and buses 69, 173)  
Free. All welcome. Creche facilities. Disabled access is bad.

History Workshop 22, Brighton  
18-20 November 1988

The programme for the anarchism stream is:

- Anarchist Festival Video Group: **Anarchism in front of and behind the video camera**  
Roy Pateman: **Libertarian aspects of the Eritrean Revolution – an anarchist looks at the Eritrean People's Liberation Front**  
Sharif Gemie: **Foucault as anarchist?**  
Peter Marshall: **The visionary anarchism of William Blake**  
Judy Greenway: **Philosophy, sex and housework – the role of women in English anarchist communities 1889-1939**  
Nicolas Walter: **C. W. Daniel – the odd man**  
Buck Taylor: **Memories of the Cairo forces parliament – a common wealth view**

Registration fees: £10 wages, £2 unwaged

All registrations should be sent to: **HW22, Continuing Education, Faculty of Art, Design and Humanities, Brighton Polytechnic, Grand Parade, Brighton BN2 2YJ**

## Porton Down Peace Camp

A SITE for a permanent peace camp at Porton Down has also been found. We need you to set the ball rolling. If we hold this site a February blockade to commemorate Halabja can be organised. Contact **P. N. Rogers, Box ZZ, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. Telephone (0865) 249406.**

## Southern Network

LAST September 4th, about thirty people from as far apart as Whitstable and Plymouth gathered to establish the Southern Anarchist Network in Oxford. Everyone seemed enthusiastic about the idea and liaison between the groups was organised. Some twenty groups across the south have expressed an interest. If you want to get involved contact us through Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford. Tel: (0865) 249406. The next gathering will be at the Co-op Hall on Cowley Road again on Sunday 4th December.

P. N. Rogers

### Benefit gig for PLO strikers

Friday 28 October starting 8 pm.  
Club Mankind,  
1a Amhurst Road, Hackney, London E8.  
Bands and disco.

## NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEFEATED

continued from front page

governments face the death of their subjects with unyielding courage. If they have no alternative, they will fight to the last drop of somebody else's blood. But the devastating power of nuclear weapons puts governments themselves at risk.

It would be a mistake to argue, however, that because nuclear weapons deter war, they make the world safer.

It is not unknown for a government to be taken over by a suicidal nutter. We are just lucky that this has not happened in any nuclear state during the last fifty years. The danger of nuclear war increases as more states become nuclear, especially states without an established ruling class, where power may be seized or inherited by persons of great ruthlessness but little intelligence.

But even while nuclear war remains pending, there is the present danger of accident and pollution from nuclear weapons and their manufacture. The danger of nuclear power plants is somewhat better known, because governments are less secretive about them, but weapons (unused) are at least equally hazardous.

### Uranium released in normal operation

In America, where weapons are manufactured by private companies under government contract, it is possible for residents to bring law suits against weapons manufacturers for decline in property values and the like, and for Congressmen to demand information

from bureaucrats for the assistance of such claims. Law is a slow business. On 16 October the Representative for Cincinnati, Ohio, issued a statement disclosing what he had learned about a plant processing uranium for weapons, operated in Cincinnati by the National Lead Corporation for the past 37 years. Not by accidental leakage but in the normal operation of the plant, some 167,000 lbs (76,000 kg) of uranium has been discharged into the Great Miami river. 12.7 million lbs (5.8 million kg) had been stored in pits, but the amount at present in the pits is not precisely known, as during heavy rain, water gets into the pits, dissolving some of the uranium and washing it out into the groundwater.

The plant is currently closed by a strike (all the workers are, of course, local residents), and so are two other plants on the Savannah River in South Carolina, where the environmental damage is even greater because of mismanagement, and the government has removed the contract from Du Pont and awarded it to Westinghouse instead. What worries the government about these three closures is that they 'partly threaten the US's stockpile of strategic nuclear weapons'.

Other nuclear powers (the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, India, Israel) are less forthcoming, but it does not seem likely that their weapons manufacture is any less dangerous. Yet there are those who contend that if governments did not exist, the risk to persons would be greater!

DR

## Middlesex Poly

THE governing body of Middlesex Poly's proposed relocation of Humanities and Social Science faculties, effectively closing down the All Saints site in Tottenham, is again being fiercely contested by students at the Poly.

The site was due to close two years ago, causing redundancies in staff, cuts in courses and alienation of mature students; the Poly had previously prided itself on its ability to offer mature students access to further education.

The direct action of students in previous years (last year five out of the nine sites were occupied, one site holding out for three weeks before being evicted by police), has caused the governing body to delay and re-evaluate their proposals.

The students' objections, in general, are to the underhand way and poor preparation in which the relocation is being dictated, also the handing over of the Poly to corporate status, which when it becomes effective on 1 April means the subjugation of the Poly's academic programme to the companies who will supply the funds. The Poly has also set up a deal with the Manpower Services Commission to promote the 'enterprise culture' in exchange for one million pounds.

The students at Middlesex Poly are showing that they are willing to fight the Government ideology and the imposed authority of the Poly's governors in the only effective way that is left to them, through the floor and with direct action.

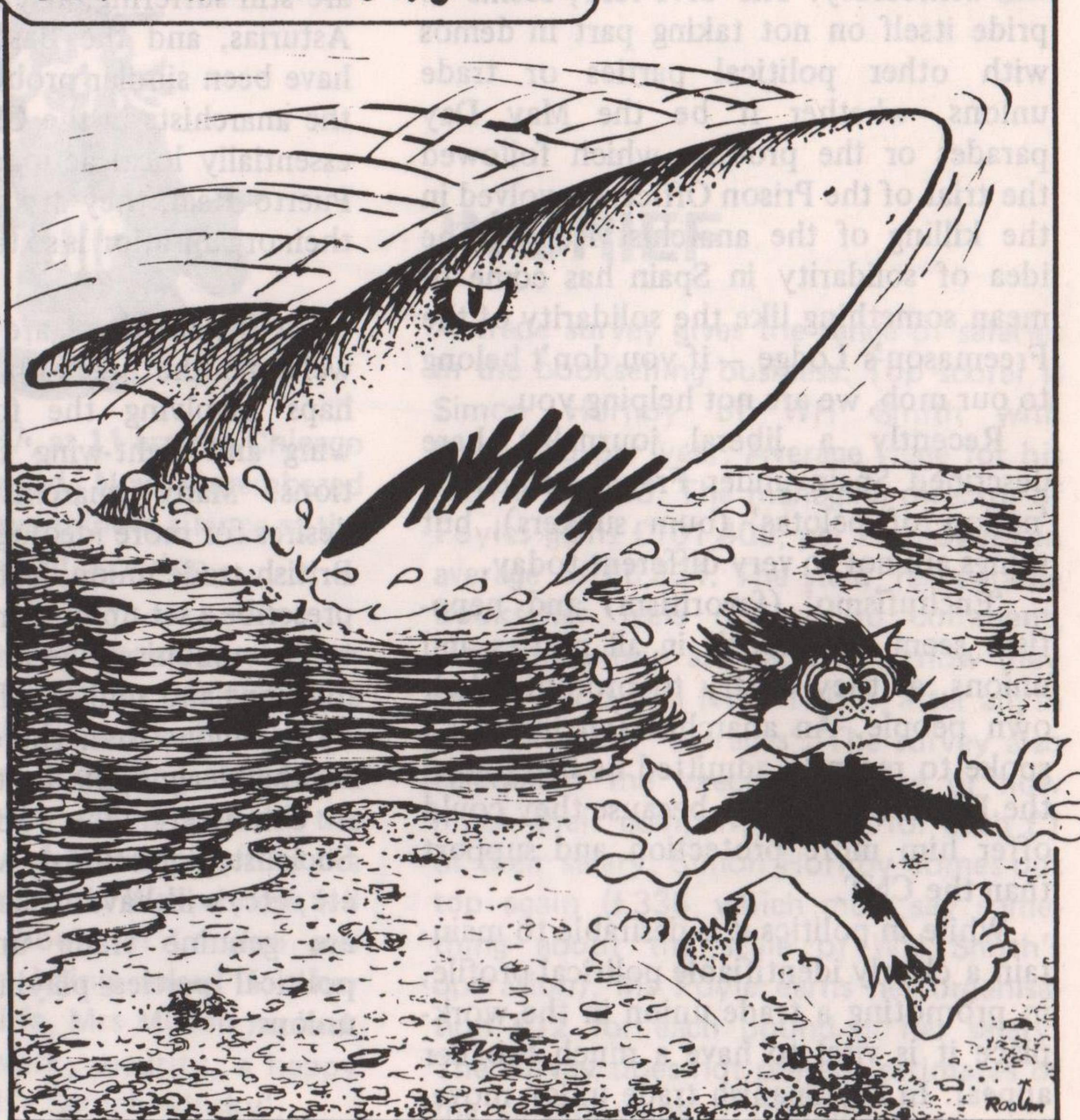
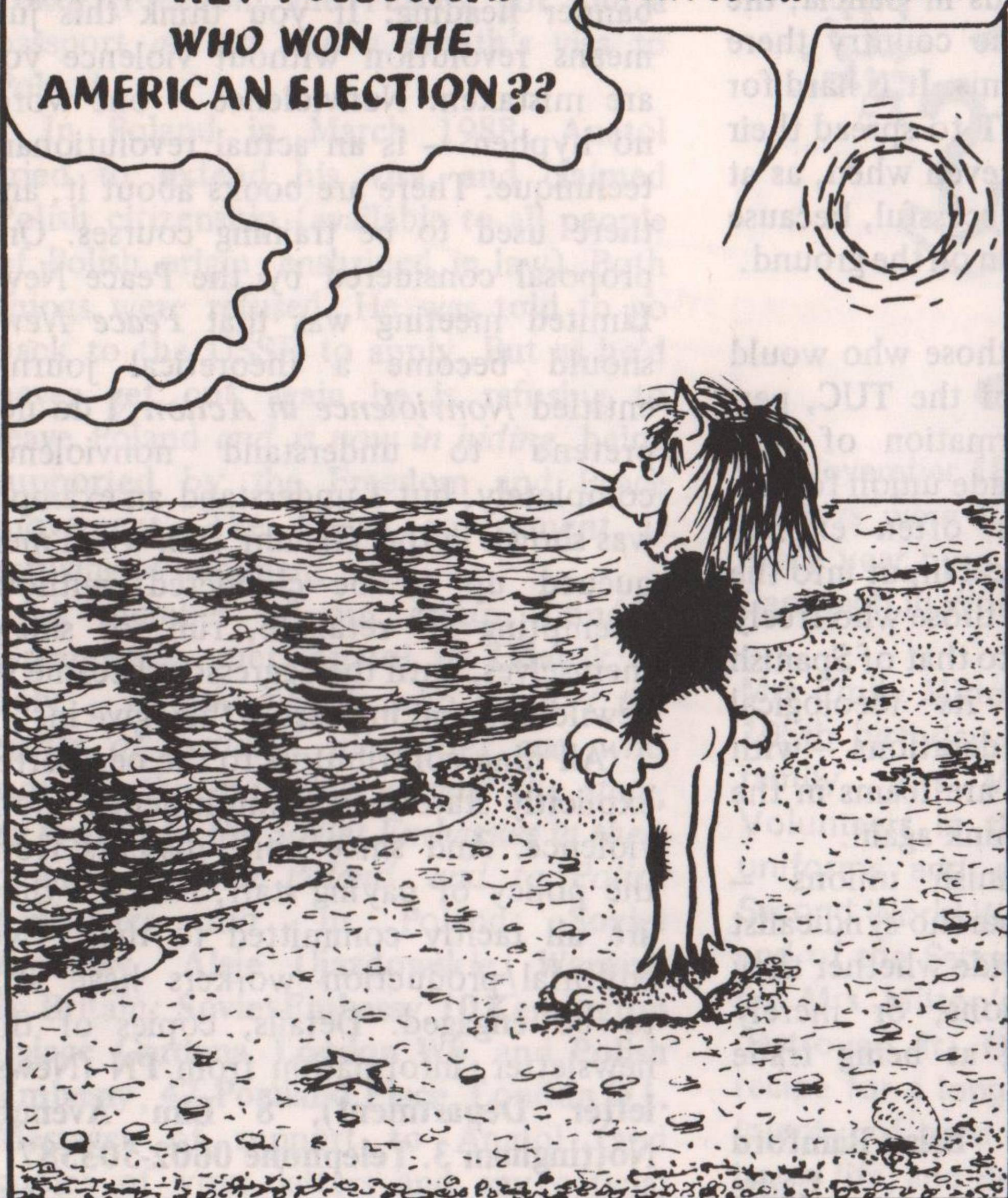
DD

WILDCAT

HEY PUSSYCAT!!  
WHO WON THE  
AMERICAN ELECTION??

Can't recall the name.

But i do know it's one of your lot.



# Crisis of Solidarity

FOOTBALL CLUBS and religious bodies may strike us as odd places to foment opposition to Spanish fascism, or rather Francoism. Yet, during the Franco years, these were the centres in which many of the regime's opponents found it congenial to congregate.

Naturally under any authoritarian system, in which free association is restricted, the opposition must find places where legitimate interaction is possible. In Spain, at that time, football and religion offered the best opportunities to the political activist to meet like-minded people, and work against the regime. To my knowledge at least two recent General Secretaries of the anarchist CNT-AIT did a stint in the Church hierarchy, and countless members of the rank and file of all parties must have cut their political teeth in this way.

I was reminded of this historical background when, in September, I spoke to pickets at the Cadiz tobacco factory, where the workers, mainly women, had taken over the plant. Four of their representatives had been sacked, by their 'Socialist' bosses, for pushing a pay claim. The four victimised militants (three women and one man) were members of the CCOO (the Communist trade union federation). As I looked at the posters around the plant, I noticed the occupation was backed by the socialist UGT, and the breakaway anarcho-syndicalist CNT, but not, it seemed, by the CNT-AIT.

This kind of snobbish sectarianism among the unions and political parties has become a characteristic of Spanish politics under the democracy. The CNT-AIT, seems to pride itself on not taking part in demos with other political parties or trade unions, whether it be the May Day parades or the protests which followed the trial of the Prison Officers involved in the killing of the anarchist Rueda. The idea of solidarity in Spain has come to mean something like the solidarity of the Freemason's Lodge — if you don't belong to our mob, we are not helping you.

Recently a liberal journalist here described Spain under Franco as being a 'nation of pelotas' (bum suckers), but things are not so very different today.

'Enchufismo' (favoritism) and nepotism seem to flourish in all parties and unions, as they all try to promote their own people. An anarchist (an invalid) I spoke to recently admitted he had joined the PSOE (Socialists), because they could offer him more protection and support than the CNT.

While in politics it is desirable to maintain a clearly identifiable political profile, in promoting a trade union in the workplace it is vital to have a much broader appeal. In the Spanish trade union move-

ment sectarianism has had a disastrous effect, because the lack of genuine working class solidarity has prevented the unions from mounting any serious challenge, across the country, to either the State or the employers.

It is tempting to think, regardless of the colour of their politics, that the political left in Spain was knobbed in its infancy during the long years spent in intellectual incubation, under Franco, in the competitive atmosphere of football clubs, and the doctrinal air of religious bodies. All the main trade union federations — Socialist, Communist and anarcho-syndicalist — have experienced internal confrontations involving physical violence.

Up to now Gonzalez and the PSOE have been lucky with their enemies. Not only is the right-wing opposition in the Cortes deeply divided, but the trade union movement is fragmented. Until recently a big chunk of organised labour, in the UGT, was almost married to the government. If there is a divorce here, and an alliance between the UGT and the CCOO, we could be in for a 'Long Hot Autumn'. It depends if they can mobilise their memberships.

Labour disputes here tend to have more bark than bite. True enough the CNT-AIT did spark off the successful Puerto Real disturbances last year. But Puerto Reale represents a diamond in the dung heap of Andalucian trade unionism. As a result of that dispute more work was brought into the Puerto Real yard to calm the workers there. But other yards are still suffering; at yards in Galicia, the Asturias, and the Basque country there have been similar problems. It is hard for the anarchists in the CNT to spread their essentially local actions even when, as at Puerto Real, they are successful, because their organisation is so thin on the ground.

In Britain there are those who would welcome the break-up of the TUC, perhaps involving the formation of 'left wing' and 'right-wing' trade union federations. Many anarchists often express desires for more ideological input into the British trade union. Yet, those who freely prescribe a set-up similar to that of Spanish trade unionism, with its ideological divisions and multiple federations — with more unions than there are teams in the football league, should think again.

Ultimately the Spanish unions — Socialist, Communist, Anarcho-syndicalist etc, etc, will have to decide whether they are genuine trade unions, or merely political parties playing at being trade unions.

Brian Bamford  
Cadiz

# Peace News

OUR contemporary *Peace News* suspended publication in 1987. In April this year a one-off issue was produced, in which it was announced that regular publication would be resumed in September. On 1 October *Freedom* received a newsletter saying the relaunch was postponed until 'not later than April 1989'.

Most of the work of the relaunch is being done by members of Peace News Limited, who are former workers and friends of *Peace News*. Following an inconclusive meeting on 16-17 July, an ill-attended meeting of the Board of Directors called another full meeting for 8 October. The date presented some members of Peace News Limited with a dilemma, as it clashed with the Anarchist Bookfair which they had noted in their diaries last November.

For a member of the *Freedom* group to call attention to the inefficiency of *Peace News* might invite rude remarks about people in glass houses, except that *Peace News* has paid staff. Even now when it is out of production, it employs a full-time outreach worker and a part-time administrator. We unpaid and untrained volunteers have to earn our livings elsewhere, and do not have time to be as inefficient as professionals. (What we lose in efficiency we save in cost — obviously — and in not having to carry passengers who have lost interest but cannot afford to leave.)

Since the 1960s, some time after it became independent of the pacifist movement, *Peace News* has included the words 'for nonviolent revolution' in its banner heading. If you think this just means revolution without violence you are mistaken. Nonviolence — one word, no hyphen — is an actual revolutionary technique. There are books about it, and there used to be training courses. One proposal considered by the Peace News Limited meeting was that *Peace News* should become a theoretical journal entitled *Nonviolence in Action*. I do not pretend to understand nonviolence completely, but I understand an example was shown in the 'Gandhi' film when men queued up to be clobbered, without attempting to retaliate, run, or shield themselves, until the aggressors became so bewildered and impressed they give in.

All nine contributors to the newsletter explicitly state their commitment to non-violence. And since none dissents from the policy of paying staff, I take it they are all tacitly committed to that. Two editorial/production workers have still to be engaged. Details, copies of the newsletter, information from PN (Newsletter Department), 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham 3. Telephone 0602-503587.

DR

# Anatol Jaworsky

ANATOL Jaworski's Polish parents were forcibly deported, along with tens of thousands of others, by Stalin in 1939, 4,000 miles from Lvov to Kazakhstan in the Soviet Union.

Anatol, born in 1956, grew up amongst a community which had to fight to protect their suppressed language and culture. He grew resentful and increasingly non-conformist, and also determined to regain Polish citizenship (as is his right). Meanwhile he got itchy feet and wished to travel widely – but the police refused to give him a passport.

In 1973 he tried to escape from the Soviet Union. He was arrested at the border and thrown into prison for a year. In 1974 he escaped again only to be arrested in Czechoslovakia trying to get to West Germany, and sent back to Soviet psychiatric hospitals for another two years.

Following this, he refused to knuckle down and conform, and he roamed the cities, forests, mountains and coasts doing a variety of unskilled and temporary jobs . . . often picked up by police, as young non-conformists are in the USSR (and everywhere else!). For 12 years he was refused a passport, and after his story appeared in the opposition paper *Glasnost* in 1987, he contacted the world's press agencies to announce an indefinite hunger strike in Moscow. His aim was to call for support for Polish minorities – victims of Stalinism.

This threat, backed by publicity from the Polish opposition group *Wolnosc i Pokoj* (Freedom and Peace), got him a passport *at last* and a month's visa to Poland.

In Poland in March 1988, Anatol tried to extend his visa, and claimed Polish citizenship (available to all people of Polish origin, enshrined in law). Both things were refused. He was told to go back to the USSR to apply. But as he'd never get out again he is refusing to leave Poland *and is now in hiding*, being supported by the Freedom and Peace movement. The Polish government is refusing to comment . . .

A member of our group, London Greenpeace, met Anatol in Gdansk in July – *he asks people who support the rights of national minorities and who support the individual against the state, to protest to the Soviet Embassies in their country and in Poland, and to Polish Embassies too.* In Poland: **Soviet Embassy, Aleje Ujazdowskie, Warsaw.** In Britain: **Soviet Embassy, 10 Kensington Palace Gardens, London W8, and Polish Embassy, 47 Portland Place, London W1.** Messages of support to Anatol (and copies of your letters and any official

replies) to: **Krzysztof Galinski, Ul. Kraszewskiego 37/34, SOPOT, Gdansk 81715, Poland, and Friends of Anatol, London Greenpeace, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, England.**

Anatol's struggle is one example of how states and their borders obstruct, divide and control people, destroying the freedom of individuals and communities to live and travel where they wish, and as they wish. Not only individuals but also whole communities are opposing and defying borders, struggling for free movement and self-determination (in Palestine, Kurdistan, Ireland, East Germany, Eritrea, Basque country, indigenous peoples in South America and North Scandinavia, etc.)

London Greenpeace and *Wolnosc i Pokoj* (Freedom and Peace) have launched an international campaign for the abolition of all state borders in the world. Contact us if you'd like a copy of a detailed statement about this.

**London Greenpeace**

## Correction to Polish address

The contact address for *Wolnosc i Pokoj* (Peace and Freedom) as given in the September *Freedom* was only slightly distorted, but perhaps catastrophically wrong (because the Polish post office may not be able to work it out). It should be **Klaudiusz Wesotek, Ulica Slupska 32/3, Gdansk 80-392, Poland.**



11 November 1887, at 11 am the Chicago martyrs were hanged. Now remembered every year by a two-minute silence at the Cenotaph in Whitehall, London.

Mrs Emily Milton recently celebrated her 105th birthday. As well as bringing up a family, Mrs Milton worked for the Volunteers in the Boer War, and made uniforms and radar equipment in the Second World War. A few days before the end of the Second World War a bomb fell on Mrs Milton's house in London and destroyed it. On being asked for her recipe for a long life, Mrs Milton replied, 'plenty of hard work, security, a happy home life, and Bell's Scotch whisky'.

## Has Mike beaten the system?

M. X. CAMPBELL has been in Farmington Correctional Center a year. His caseworkers have had enough. They want him moved to a new maximum security prison nearby.

Confrontation between Mike and the screws peaked in May. He had an Officer Grubb removed from landing duty for abusing a prisoner. His colleagues Cartee and Flora launched a vendetta. Sgt. Flora screwed up the final confrontation in June by siezing Mike's radio contrary to prison regulations.

Mike was put in solitary from June to August. Superintendent Dowd has claimed these SMU/SAU punishment cells do not exist: he is a liar. In SMU Mike reported a prisoner maced contrary to prison regulations by Captain Miller and the men under him. Big trouble for them.

Solitary gave Mike time to think things through. Through his prison news service, fellow cons John Steward and John Perotti of the IWW told him how to organise a prison union against exploitative labour in Farmington. His cellmates and AIN (American Indian Movement) activist Ironeyes is also getting prisoners together practising Sioux worship.

No wonder Mike's caseworkers want him moved despite achieving well in SAU! Support Mike by writing to M. X. Campbell (048294), FCC 1C15, 1012 W. Columbia, Farmington, Missouri 63640. Letters from prisoners especially welcome.

**P. N. Rogers**

## IN BRIEF

A trade survey gives the range of salaries in the bookselling business. Top scorer is Simon Hornby of WH Smith with £119,000 per year. Average wage for his staff is £6,700. The managing director of Foyles gains £101,403, per employees an average of £6,834. The staid, respectable Bookseller feels obliged to comment, 'Any bookshop assistant will know they earn a good deal less'. This is, after all, in the nature of 'averages'. The survey also calculated the executives value or how much their company earned for each £1 of their salary. Simon Hornby comes out top again (£336, which must say something about the scale of WH Smith's operation). Ms Foyle earns her organisation £12 for each pound of her salary. The survey does not present estimates of the 'surplus value' of minions.

# Too much knowledge a good thing?

SOME argue specialisation is desirable if not used to exercise power over others. A network of mutually dependent experts, linked by computer for global co-ordination of information and resources would mean greater diversity of ideas and products using the production technology that exists now.

When questioned whether the experts wouldn't use their new knowledge to hold society to ransom ('technocracy') they say anarchist experts wouldn't want to do so, that knowledge is so specialised that only limited damage would be caused to production if only a few refused to co-operate, and that by training and rotating jobs others could quickly replace the recalcitrant.

Because specialised knowledge could still be used technocratically by a freemasonry of experts, I want the way knowledge exists in our society to be changed much more radically to avoid any possibility of abuse. Knowledge should be despecialised so *all* skills would be known universally. That way continuous minor disruption would be impossible. As it is impossible to learn all the skills needed to run a sophisticated industrial society, such society would have to be vastly simplified.

In a specialised society, new skills may be discovered that makes universal power possible, and it is easier to conceal them too. In a simpler society, there would be little need for esoteric knowledge: the priority would be on practical skills needed for survival. Without the back-up esoteric research needs, it would not happen.

Against this it must be argued that much of the material diversity of high-

tech societies would be lost. This is probably a good thing. Much material production now is of wasteful and dispensable luxuries. Amassing 'quality of life' according to the number of material things people own makes people care more about status symbols than their worth as individuals in a human community. In small communities with common knowledge and experience, a bond would exist between people that the 'dialogue of the deaf' between computer-linked experts and alienated production on the other side of the world does not produce.

Simple production means everyone would understand how it works. That means less industrial accidents. Currently it is difficult to locate errors in production plants and to have enough knowledge to rectify them before anything disastrous happens. Rather than inform the local community of such dangers, cliques of experts and the workforce whose job relies on them can keep them secret. Which is tough if you live down the road from Union Carbide or BNFL. Some industrial accidents can be pretty spectacular...

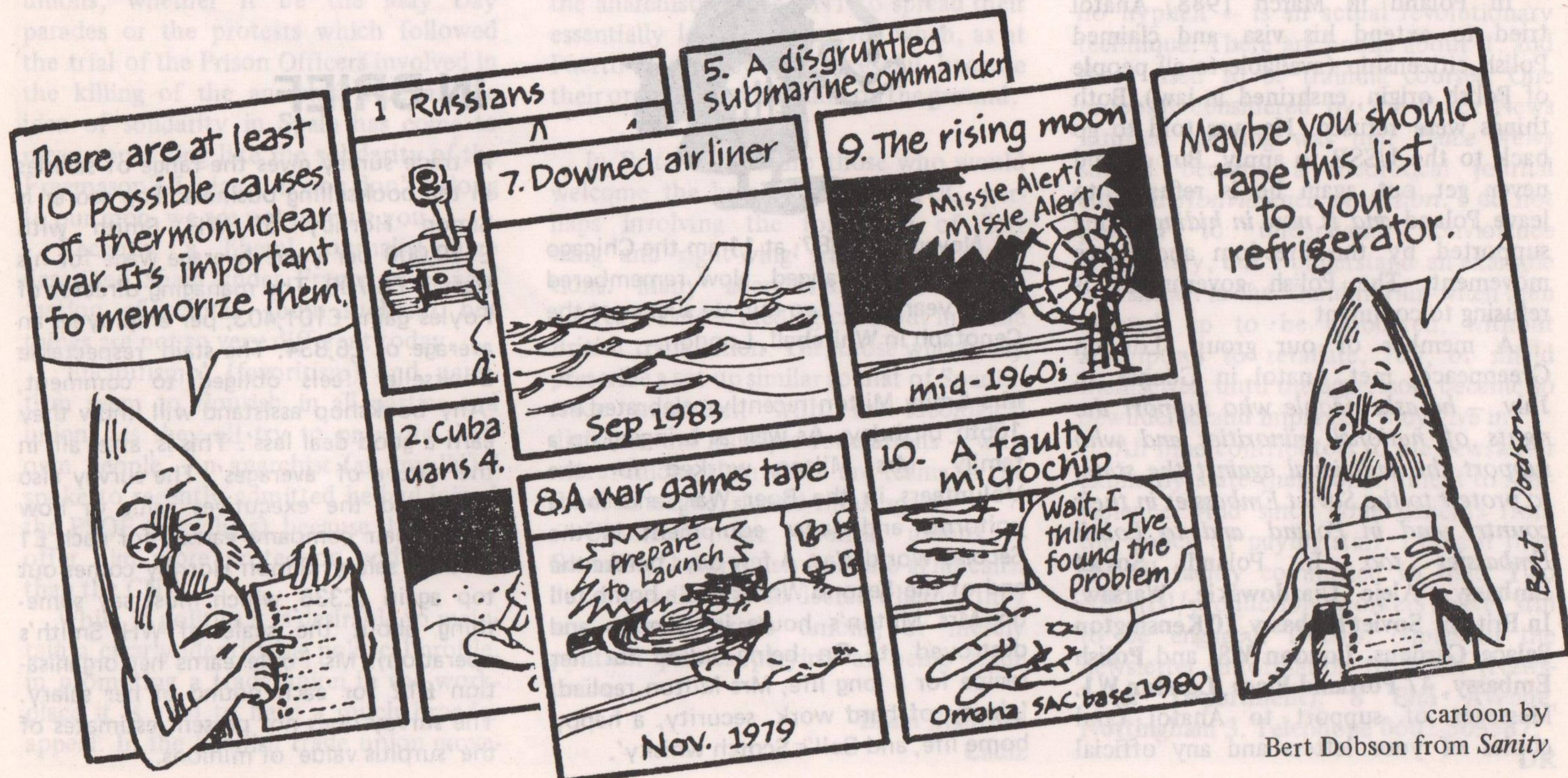
Rather than allowing experts to get away with only telling us what they think we should know, and hoarding the rest of the knowledge to maintain their own power, knowledge should be communally shared and decisions on it taken likewise. This would build community spirit as well as ensuring popular consensus. A danger here is to stop strong personalities always 'setting the agenda', so one survival skill everyone would have to know would be how to spot such people and think critically about what they say and their real reasons for doing so.

Whilst this works in small communities where everyone knows everyone else personally and secrets are hard to keep, co-ordinating above the village level is more of a problem. Using computer links for push-button direct democracy might seem a good idea initially but in fact would be unworkable if production was on a global rather than local scale. Imagine the number of village meetings needed to sort out the import of selenium from South West Africa to a works in Britain to keep the computers in the network running. Not only those directly involved would need to be consulted, but also those not involved. They would demand an explanation for their exclusion. And one veto would throw the whole process back to square one. With all the discussion of compromise packages and new agendas, people would most likely go back to leaving it to the experts again ('iron law of oligarchy').

Simple production is inevitably local production. Global decisions would be both unnecessary and impossible. As in pre-technological societies today, in the case of disputes over common resources such as the fish in a river or natural disaster, negotiations would be carried out on an ad hoc basis between neighbouring communities just as village meetings would be. As each village — and each individual — would be virtually self-sufficient, even these decisions would be rare.

Perhaps the contrast between nuclear power or wood power seems a stark one. That is the gulf between the technocrats and us. And I think you'll understand why I prefer the latter every time.

P. N. Rogers



cartoon by Bert Dobson from *Sanity*

# Civil Liberties

THE Home Secretary's first job, when Parliament resumed on 19 October, was to ban broadcasts of members of (unofficial) armed groups in Northern Ireland, plus three legal organisations: Sinn Fein, Republican Sinn Fein, and Ulster Defence Association. Those who must not be seen or heard on TV or radio include 56 local councillors and one MP (all Sinn Fein).

Next day it was announced that hence forward, if anyone under arrest in Northern Ireland keeps silent, the fact of their silence will be evidence against them.

Without doubt Britain's posturing to the world about freedom and civil liberties is looking more and more threadbare, with Thatcher's isolated stance over South Africa and the clandestine support it gives to apartheid. But the posturing continues, and here in Britain the citizens are still fed anti-communist cold war propaganda, where the freedom of us in the West is repeatedly measured against that of Armenians or Russian refuseniks, whilst our own refuseniks that pop up at places like Stonehenge or Greenham Common receive little or no media attention. Seriously injured or dead victims of civil rights abuses such as Cherry Groce, Blair Peach, Barry Prosser, Liddle Towers, Steven Waldorf, etc., might, if they are not Irish, get some balanced news coverage, but what goes by routinely tucked away from headlines is thousands of other incidents. A deterioration in civil liberties is of course an ominous sign. Set against a background of curtailed trade union rights, including the right to belong to a trade union at GCHQ, we also have the abolishment of elected bodies who choose to disagree with the Government, the GLC and Hatton's Militants. It is now quite obvious that the erosion of rights is spreading outwards with the implementation of the Police and Criminal Justice Bill and what is emerging in this deteriorating climate is those with power over others are beginning to feel they have an open licence.

**February:** The court of appeal faced with a swamping of the outlawed book *Spycatcher* uphold the rights of newspapers to publish reports on its contents, two years after everybody had already read the illegal copies. In the same month the British army refuse hikers access to public footpaths in the Rossendale Valley, Greater Manchester, on the pretext of entering an unmarked danger exclusion zone. Whilst the racial incident police squad in Newham, East London, felt after only one month of its existence to be able to report no links between right wing groups and racial attacks.

**April:** The Home Office start with-

holding information on the fate of people seeking political asylum directly flouting the spirit of the Geneva Convention. Timothy Renton was able to confirm that people had been detained but was unable to report their whereabouts now.

**May:** Three Section 28 protestors are physically jumped upon and forcibly muzzled after attempting to gain access to National BBC television news presented by Sue Lawley at 6 o'clock. In the event the authorities succeeded in putting out the news as they saw it. About the same time custom officials repeatedly refused to release a 20 year old man wrongfully arrested on the suspicion of possessing drugs to allow him to see his dying father. In the event he arrived 20 minutes too late some seven hours later.

**June:** Amnesty International produce an 83-page report detailing the British Government's lack of commitment to investigate unlawful killings by its own security forces in Northern Ireland, also outlining the alleged conspiracy to pervert the course of justice by senior police officers (the Stalker affair). One day later a BBC documentary reports that British soldiers have repeatedly used torture interrogation techniques against prisoners for the last thirty years. The techniques used include hooding, wall-standing, white noise, and food and sleep deprivation.

**July:** The Home Secretary announces a new £400,000 tax payers investment in radio tracking equipment to 'crackdown' on pirate radio. In the first five months of this year officials carry 195 raids resulting in only 19 convictions. Metropolitan police pay out of court settlement of £75,000 to the family of Blair Peach eight years after unlawfully killing him. At the same time a Greenham woman successfully sues the Ministry of Defence for unlawfully searching her after a four year legal battle. The woman in question believed to be only one of 750 victims documented to date.

**August:** Secret Society TV series, which included the banned Zircon spy satellite programme, revealed that civil servants took part in cabinet meetings to discredit CND during the run up to the 1983 general election. One week later seven staff at a Birmingham children's home resign after allegations of beatings and strippings. It is reported that ex senior police officer Brian McNeil is offering a telephone tapping service supplied by Wren legal services of Enfield, Middlesex. The same day an American project code P145 takes off which includes a £15 million expansion of Menwith Hill, Yorkshire, and Bude, Cornwall, satellite surveillance bases.

Bringing about a system capable of tapping some billion UK phone calls per year.

**September:** British civil servants working on US bases are to be given police escorts following reports that some staff had been held spreadeagled on the floor at gunpoint. Nationwide TV shows film of police arrest procedure. Two men dragged from speeding car by North Wales police officers and repeatedly punched and kicked. Cameraman later chased but managed to escape with film intact. The Economic League with an annual income of £1 million is reported by ex director Richard Brett to be keeping files on alleged subversives, blacklisting them from employment, and all based on incorrect information from such unlikely places as the letters columns of local newspapers. Two thousand British firms subscribe to the League's blacklist and Michael Noar its director confirmed they sometimes pass information to the police. At the same time a dossier of human rights abuses in Sri Lanka, calling on evidence supplied by Amnesty International, is compiled by solicitors fighting the deportation order of Viraji Mendis currently in sanctuary in a Manchester church. The campaign for Student Freedom, a new wing of the Freedom Association, initiates a 'hunt the subversive' questionnaire to be distributed in British universities asking students to identify active movements including CND, anarchists, anti-apartheid, labour briefing, the Revolutionary Workers Party and the British Communists. Students are asked to fill in specific information including year, course, age, family background, personal habits, weaknesses, etc. of identified members.

Of course I have deliberately chosen to ignore the British shoot-to-kill policy in Ireland (and Gibraltar) because that issue is of a separate seriousness to warrant its own space. Of course anarchists know all about the system's idea of liberty for the increasing militarised police force have us on their calendar every year at the Stonehenge summer solstice so-called celebrations. This year was no exception, but the year 1985 particularly rankles when on that day in June now known in folklore as the beanfield massacre, travelling families were turned from their mobile homes in droves and some 500 people were arrested (only a handful of convictions). The biggest single peace time arrest in British history since the Peterloo massacre of 1819. Finally, think on, that when the National Council for Civil Liberties compiled their report they chose to base it upon only direct observations made from a distance, and newspaper and TV reports. They chose not to speak to any convoy members.

CA

# The New Religion?

I AM a supporter of the National Health Service. Well I would be wouldn't I? After all I am compelled to be a supporter by the state. Money is deducted from my salary as part of national insurance. And the NHS does help to provide some way of survival within our society. So one would be a fool not to support it. But on the other hand I have always felt somewhat puzzled why anarchists continue to support the NHS ideologically when it is clearly a state organisation. I am also puzzled why so many anarchists oppose private medicine.

The origin of the NHS was threefold. In 1911 a medical insurance scheme for a minority of working people came into existence after intense opposition from family doctors. In 1929 the Poor Law sick wards were taken over by local authorities and run as general hospitals and the public health departments were gradually incorporated. In 1946, again after intense opposition from GPs, the whole system was merged with the voluntary hospitals and became the 1948 National Health Service. It was part of the 1942 Beveridge proposals to reduce poverty. In order to maintain the population his planned system was to be universal, comprehensive and flat rate, its job was to conquer the five giants which were want, ignorance, squalor, idleness and disease. Beveridge's ideas were not new but in part related to the thinking of nineteenth century poverty researchers Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree and the minority report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law of 1905-9.

Beveridge, who was a Liberal, based much of his thinking on the economic ideas of John Maynard Keynes. It was, for instance, never intended that the welfare state would be an all exclusive package, but that individuals might make private provision in addition to what the welfare state offered. Socialists and Marxists have always had different ideas of what it was about, a question of reading into it what you think it should be rather than what it said it was. In point of fact Nye Bevan, the Health Minister at the time it was brought into being, wanted a quite different NHS to what was finally agreed, but such was the opposition from the medical profession that what came out was a national doctor service. The NHS has never been a national health service, but a national sickness service under the dominance of the medical profession.

What this means is the NHS has always been dominated by the doctors, who act as if it is their thinking which takes precedence, not the wishes of the patients. Hence, for example, the row over home

births, the Savage case and the Teeside child abuse case. The only way to get a reciprocal doctor-patient relationship is to 'go private'. Yet if one does so, one is often treated as if one was a moral pariah putting one's grubby fingers over the holy grail. Clearly for some the NHS has become not a state controlled means by which capitalism services the working class, but a new secular religion to be worshipped until death us do part.

Why then this opposition to private medicine? After all every time you take an aspirin you are supporting private medicine. Furthermore you are making an individual decision, that is, taking decision-making out of the control of NHS functionaries. To the rigid thinking socialists or Marxists this is understandable, but why do anarchists appear to concur as well? Just what is private medicine?

Private medicine is any form of treatment outside the NHS; which means the self-prescribing of vitamin pills or drugs, the whole of alternative medicine, the St John's Ambulance Brigade, and individual diagnosis and treatment by private or NHS medical practitioners.

Recently I too started into private medicine. I joined Patient's Plan through the AA - that is the Automobile Association, the St Bernards for cars, not anti-apartheid. The AA has a group scheme and mine says if I cannot get NHS treatment within six weeks they will pay me if I go private, and also if I stay in an NHS hospital for NHS treatment overnight, they will pay me about £22.50 per night compensation. So far I have had two small operations and some payments for overnight attendance. Currently I pay £12.30 per month to be in the scheme. This is slightly less than the average smoker pays for their habit without which the NHS might be solvent. I am running slightly ahead.

If I mention this to many friends they recoil with horror as if I have suddenly become a great betrayer of morality. I find this attitude puzzling. Why on earth must I subordinate myself to the problematics of a state scheme tottering on its last legs? They say I am acting unfairly or that I am jumping the queue, etc. I was not aware that the capitalism of the nineteen-eighties was fair. After all we are living in a grossly unequal society. We have different incomes, live in different houses (catch me as a bachelor every getting a council house) and have different life chances. And what about this queue? If smokers gave up smoking this would reduce the queue considerably although as one who is anti-smoking I am aware that one of the reasons for smoking is to reduce personal stress.

I recently had a hand operation. Due to the poor healing of a ligament I was almost unable to write. This was not thought to be life threatening so I would be placed at the back of a long queue. As a teacher the need to write was essential, so being in a private medical scheme was useful. Somehow being in the NHS until death us do part is not something that fills me with great confidence.

The fact that top people can afford expensive private medicine does not fill me with great joy, but that top people have larger dwellings and have nicer homes, better cars, get better educational opportunities, and go on nicer holidays, etc., must also be acknowledged. Yes, comrades, I hate them too, the lucky dogs, and I would like to see these inequalities swept away (although I see few wealthier anarchists throwing handfuls of gold to the unfortunate), but why should this prevent my taking out a fairly cheap insurance policy to increase my life chances? Is it that others might not be able to do so? This is highly debatable as it all depends on where you decide to spend your money. What about the poor? Yes, what about the poor? Whilst I agree that poverty and inequality exist, that does not mean I should perpetually live my life in a restricted form, merely to parallel others to satisfy some ideologue's lifestyle of voluntary poverty.

I shall continue to support the National Health Service, after all I pay for it; but conscious it has great imperfections and that the powers that be are hacking it to bits willy nilly, I will make alternative survival plans too.

Surely we as anarchists should be indulging in self-ownership and therefore self-survival. What makes anarchists feel that altruism is the great watchword? I am always willing to parallel those less fortunate than I, in order to spot weaknesses and draw these to their attention, as Stirner says somewhere. But to adopt a state-oriented grovel just to pretend that equality has arrived just ain't anarchism.

**Peter Neville**

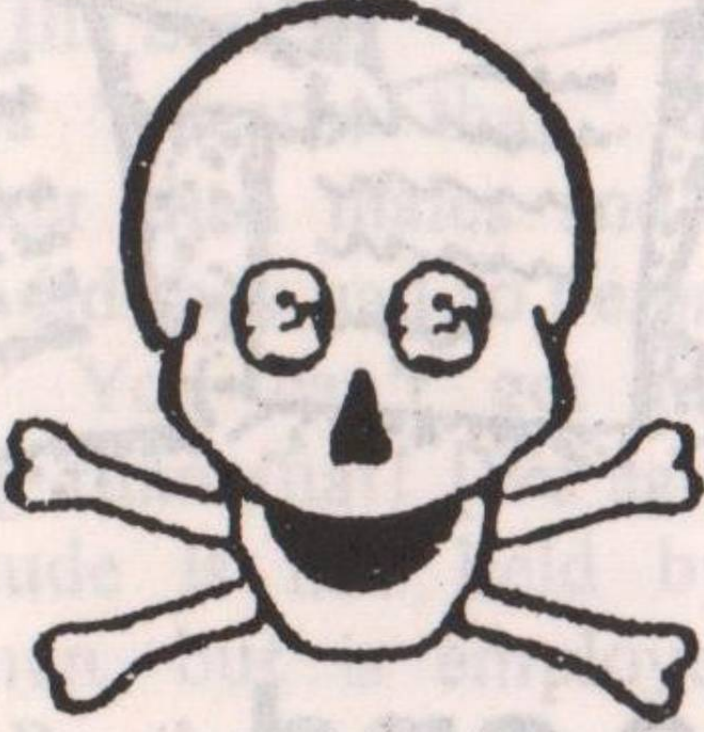
British political party conferences begin with a short Christian service, with one hymn. This year the Conservative Party sang 'Now thank we all our God', the Labour Party sang 'Oh God our help in ages past', and the Democrat Party (formerly the SDLP, the Alliance, the Social Democrats and Liberals, etc.) sang 'God moves in a mysterious way'.

5 November 1605 Guy Fawkes (if police evidence is to be believed) was captured in the cellars of the House of Parliament, preparing to blow it up. Now celebrated as the only man to enter Parliament with honest intentions, he is remembered each year with a firework display.



# Private Medicine

**PRIVATE MEDICINE**



**MAKES YOU SICK**

**Rich queue jumpers  
cause  
working class suffering**

Produced by the London Group of the  
Anarchist Communist Federation

A3 size poster available from London ACF

## Private Medicine

IN THE last few years there has been a great increase in the number of patients who use private health schemes in preference to the National Health Service provision. Who are these people, why do they choose to pay private sector fees and what is the effect on the rest of us?

We are all probably aware that the private health sector is parasitical on the NHS. Firms like BUPA may have their own clinics and one or two hospitals but mainly they use NHS beds, NHS paid nurses, NHS doctors, NHS equipment and NHS technical and clerical staff. Whilst these facilities are all being used for the well off scum they aren't being used on those who rely on the public sector. We'll just have to wait . . . and wait . . . and wait.

There has been a lot of talk about private health care being available to all — if you can't afford to pay, then maybe your boss or your scab union (e.g. the EEPTU) will. The reality is that the typical private medicine user is an upper class white male. This category accounts for over a quarter of all people who have private health insurance whilst in contrast only 3% of semi-skilled workers and 1% of the unskilled use private medicine.

Why do people pay for medical treatment when they can have it free on the NHS? Obviously, an important factor is that you don't have to wait very long for treatment if you have plenty of money. Doctors and nurses are falling over themselves to get a piece of the action. Secondly, if you have the money, you can call the tune. As a private patient you get more considerate treatment and you can fix the appointment and admission dates

to suit your convenience. The rest of us in the meantime have to wait.

Since 1980, doctors working full-time for the NHS have been allowed to do some private work. Supporters of private medicine argue that they help us to cut NHS waiting lists. In reality many NHS doctors *lengthen* their lists in order to see more and more private patients. Now, over 85% of hospital consultants have private patients — we wait longer while they line their pockets. Since the private sector employs only a tiny number of their own doctors, it is us, the poor and genuinely needy, who have to be sacrificed to suit the rich and the greedy professionals.

Of course, it is not only doctors who work for the private sector. More and more nurses are deserting the NHS for the juicier plums that private medicine offers. On average, every health district loses 5 1/2% of their nurses each year to private firms, especially from the specialist areas like theatre nursing. Remember, the private health companies rely totally on the NHS and the public sector to train and educate their doctors and nurses. Medical treatment is supposed to be available for our benefit *not* for profit. Sadly, unless we start to do something about the capitalists who see the NHS as ready for milking it is us who will pay the price — in terms of declining service, increased costs and more suffering.

**The Enemy Within**  
(Bulletin of the ACF London Group)

## TONY EARNSHAW'S VIEW FROM THE BACK OF TOWN

THE illustrations/drawings that we have been using in *Freedom* are taken from Tony Earnshaw's *Aspects des Bas-Quartiers (View from Back o' Town)*.

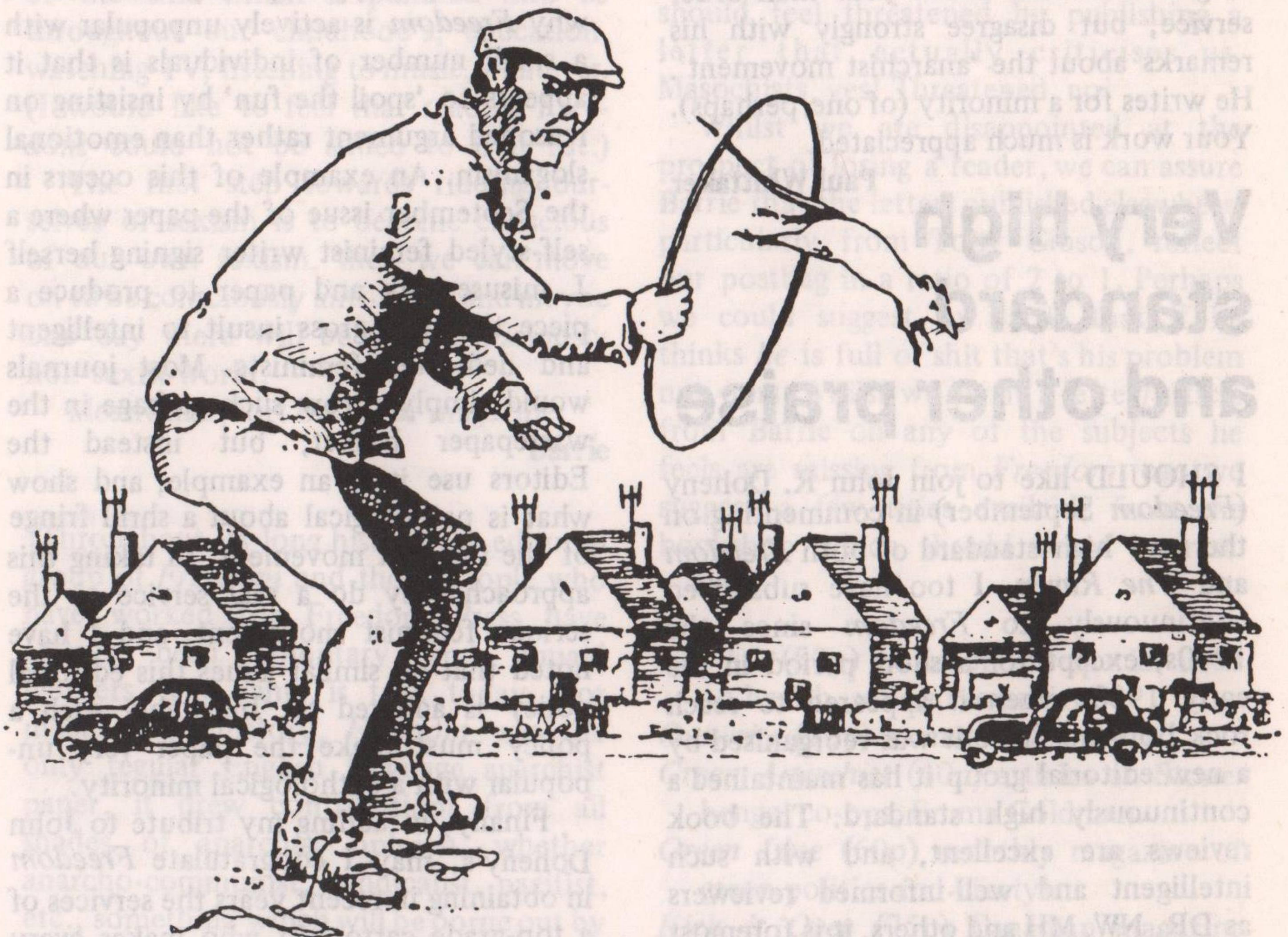
Published by Camouflage in Paris, it is available from Freedom Bookshop, price £3 plus postage, a collection of 49 'social realist' drawings, showing Tony's black and savage humour hitting the target firmly between the eyes.

Also available at the same price is *Carping and Kicking (aka My Shadow Floodlit)*, Tony Earnshaw's latest writings and thoughts, including such gems as: 'The wealthy tomato plant dwells alone in its own greenhouse.'

'The conscientious gardener leaves dirt under his fingernails until needed.'

'Authority takes many forms: the common weed teaches the gardener ruthlessness.'

'When the garden amounts to a few weeds and pests and not much else, the arrival of Spring is greeted with indifference.'



*Lowering the tone of the neighbourhood*



[The postal strike in September delayed many letters commenting on our August issue, and prevented dispatch of the September issue until the October issue was almost ready. Consequently we have an extended letters column in this November issue, including three months' worth of replies to articles.]

## Hysterical scare-mongering

I HAVE not got much to say in reply to the 'all men are potential rapists' notion. I just think that it is as meaningful as saying that 'all people are potential murderers', and merely serves as the sort of hysterical feminist scare-mongering that I talk about in *I Claudia*.

Claudia

## Each issue on its merits

THE best attitude to *Freedom* I can think of is to take each issue on its own merits, without comparing it with 'the good old days' when (if) ever they were.

As for Andrew Booth's comment (September) that you do not produce challenging ideas, the answer is that anarchism itself is *the* challenging idea. I agree with him about your mail order service, but disagree strongly with his remarks about the 'anarchist movement'. He writes for a minority (of one, perhaps). Your work is much appreciated.

Paul Whittaker

## Very high standard and other praise

I SHOULD like to join John R. Doheny (*Freedom* September) in commenting on the very high standard of both *Freedom* and *The Raven*. I too have subscribed continuously to *Freedom* since the 1940s, except for a short period in the early 1980s when it appeared to reach rock bottom. Since it was reorganised by a new editorial group it has maintained a continuously high standard. The book reviews are excellent, and with such intelligent and well-informed reviewers as DR, NW, MH and others, it is foremost among the journals published in Britain providing readers with a very valuable service.

The short letter from Andrew Booth suggests that 'much of the anarchist movement ignores *Freedom*'. I wonder what anarchist movement he is referring to. Over the years there have been a number of other anarchist publications, many of them rather short-lived, and some of them utter rubbish. I have hoped in vain for a long time that some anarchist group would publish an intelligent alternative to *Freedom*. We need variety. The fact is that the label of anarchism has become rather trendy and quite a number of people with very little real social consciousness have adopted the label of 'anarchist' with little knowledge or interest in what anarchism is all about. I will not suggest that all of these trendies are not anarchists of one kind or another, for there are many varieties of anarchist, but they do not appear to represent any coherent anarchist movement. I suggest, however, that their label is pretty superficial and reflects emotional needs that are often purely temporary. The reason why *Freedom* is actively unpopular with a small number of individuals is that it appears to 'spoil the fun' by insisting on reasoned argument rather than emotional sloganism. An example of this occurs in the September issue of the paper where a self-styled feminist writer signing herself J, misuses ink and paper to produce a piece that is a gross insult to intelligent and dedicated feminists. Most journals would simply throw such garbage in the wastepaper basket, but instead the Editors use it as an example, and show what is pathological about a shrill fringe of the feminist movement. In taking this approach they do a real service to the serious feminist movement, and I have noted that on similar issues this editorial policy is adhered to. Inevitably such a policy must make the paper very unpopular with a pathological minority.

Finally, in adding my tribute to John Doheny's, may I congratulate *Freedom* in obtaining in recent years the services of a top-grade cartoonist who makes every issue a delight to read with his lighthearted Wildcat.

Tony Gibson

## Rape and the State . . .

I AM writing in disgust after having read the article 'Rape and the State' in August's *Freedom*. The arrogance behind this article astounded me. It is overwhelmingly women who are raped by men, and then for a man to criticise what women — often rape survivors — write, and to patronisingly discount feminist's hard work in this field when his own article is entirely opinion, 'without a shred of evidence', astounded me.

Derrick Pike continually harps back to a past which he considers better for women — when men were brought up to be nice to them. All this meant was that rape, child abuse and pornography were not talked about and women were denied even the limited freedom we have today because of supposed 'weakness'. Times were no better for women then, they were just harder to question and break out of. Now, however, we are saying things that he doesn't want to hear so we are 'without a single shred of evidence' and we 'judge the many by the few'. Women neither need nor want to be protected by men as some sort of inferior life form. We want to get rid of sexism and patriarchy and men can only help in this if they will first overcome their own sexism and listen to women's experiences.

Along with these ridiculous ideas about women, Derrick Pike has some amazingly naive ideas about men. He claims that it is not rapists who are slaughtered in wars but 'loving family men' — only too often they are one and the same.

As a woman I hate this article. I hate the ideas and ignorance that it stands for. As a rape survivor (not victim) I hate the trivialising of my experience. As a feminist I hate the misogynistic deriding of my truth. As an anarchist I hate the fact that this article should be published in an anarchist paper.

I hate the hopelessness of 'libertarian' men not supporting feminism as this can only result in alienating more and more women from the anarchist movement and make further and further distant any chance of ever realising our dreams.

Juliette

## ... and again

I AM writing to comment on Derrick A. Pike's article (August *Freedom*) on 'Rape and the State'.

He says 'I learnt that . . . females were weaker than males and no matter what they did they had to be protected at all times.' You can't get much more patronising than that! [We agree — Eds] This attitude is not held by twisted, deviant men, but is employed by the majority. By those 'loving family men'. So, even though he considers himself to be incapable of rape, he obviously had adopted the view that he is a member of the dominant sex, in his desire to protect us weak and feeble females.

He implies that through the abolition of the state, rape would be abolished also. I have met many a sexist male anarchist. Surely he does not believe that none of the men opposing the state are rapists?

I wish I could believe this, but I just cannot. I do agree with him, though, that violence and rape is not an instinctive drive in men, but is a conditioned one. Even so, it does not occur in a few 'twisted characters', but in many, many 'normal' men.

I challenge his attitude to women which would seem to be steeped in the patriarchal view. We don't want your 'protection', least of all your 'chivalry'. We don't want your help because we're 'weak', but because we're your fellow human beings. We need your co-operation in challenging sexist attitudes, not after you've abolished the state to your satisfaction, but NOW.

Jojo

[Just two of the many letters (and several articles) making the same points. We have chopped them a bit. Note that signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of the editors — Eds]



Lucy Parsons depicted in *Anarchy and Anarchists* by Police Capt. Schaak, 1889.

## Instruction to sort out our old white men's magazine.

WHY are you so full of shit?

It is absolutely absurd for me to think of *Freedom* as a 'modern' anarchist magazine. It would seem from the lack of any articles on feminism, green issues, cultural diversities, etc., that the *Freedom* editorial group and/or those that write articles are predominantly white male older generation heterosexual anarchists.

It is no wonder that A. Booth (letters, September '88) will not be renewing his subscription, and I don't think I will be at this rate.

I was not at all surprised to see your male editorial group feeling threatened by 'rape and the state and men' (letters, September '88), and then having to add an editorial comment picking holes in the letter and not actually addressing the problem of rape at all.

I am used to seeing this type of editorial comment in sectarian magazines, but I feel that an anarchist magazine such as yours which does nothing for feminism cannot justify doing such a thing.

As a man, I am tired of listening to other men ignoring the problems of rape and sexism and thinking only of their own 'but I'm a nice man, I'm different' insecurities. Even those of us (men) that are aware of such problems are still full of the shit which is pumped into us throughout our childhood's, education, watching TV, listening to music, whatever. (I would like to feel that reading *Freedom* could not be added to that list.)

The first step towards ridding ourselves of sexism is to become conscious of our own sexism, then we can move on to be consciously anti-sexist and maybe one day there will be an unconsciously non-sexist world.

Meanwhile, sort out your magazine.

Barrie

[Throughout its long history the editorial group of *Freedom* and those people who have worked for Freedom Press have always been voluntary and unpaid workers. The same is true today. For most of its history, *Freedom* was the only regular English language anarchist paper, it drew contributions from all shades of anarchist opinion, whether anarcho-communist, syndicalist, pacifist, etc., something which will be borne out by our forthcoming volumes on *Freedom's* (and related titles *Revolt*, *War Commentary*, etc.) history. It was the

main forum for the anarchist movement, reporting and publicising its debates and events. Today, of course, there are many anarchist papers, all available in the *Freedom* bookshop, reflecting the different strands of anarchism; that fact we see as a strength of the anarchist movement, not a weakness on the part of *Freedom*. Unlike some other anarchist papers which are written by one person, *Freedom* has always relied on contributions from its readers, most of whom are subscribers and form the backbone of its continual existence. As editors we want to see as varied a debate in *Freedom* as is reflected within the movement. If there is a lack of certain types of opinion in *Freedom* it's because people don't write and send them to us — we can't write everything for everybody.

We at *Freedom* Press have plans for continued expansion — we want to expand *Freedom*, we started *The Raven* in mid 1987, we have a bigger publications list than at any time in our history. We feel that we are best placed within the anarchist movement to continue this expansion — we have our own premises, bookshop and book publishers. However, we cannot maintain this work without encouragement from the movement, whether that takes the form of financial help, physical help or written contributions.

In reply to Barrie, we often wonder what sort of person it is who writes 'that the *Freedom* editorial group and/or those that write articles are predominantly white, male, older generation, heterosexual anarchists', without even bothering to find out about us *as people* or coming and introducing themselves. Or that we should feel threatened by publishing a letter that actually criticises us. Masochists, yes! Threatened, no!

Whilst we are disappointed at the prospect of losing a reader, we can assure Barrie that the letters published elsewhere, particularly from Tony Gibson, reflect our postbag in a ratio of 2 to 1. Perhaps we could suggest to Barrie that if he thinks *he* is full of shit that's his problem not ours. Whilst we await a letter/article from Barrie on any of the subjects he feels are missing from *Freedom*, can we suggest a few titles available from the bookshop which should be of interest. — Eds]

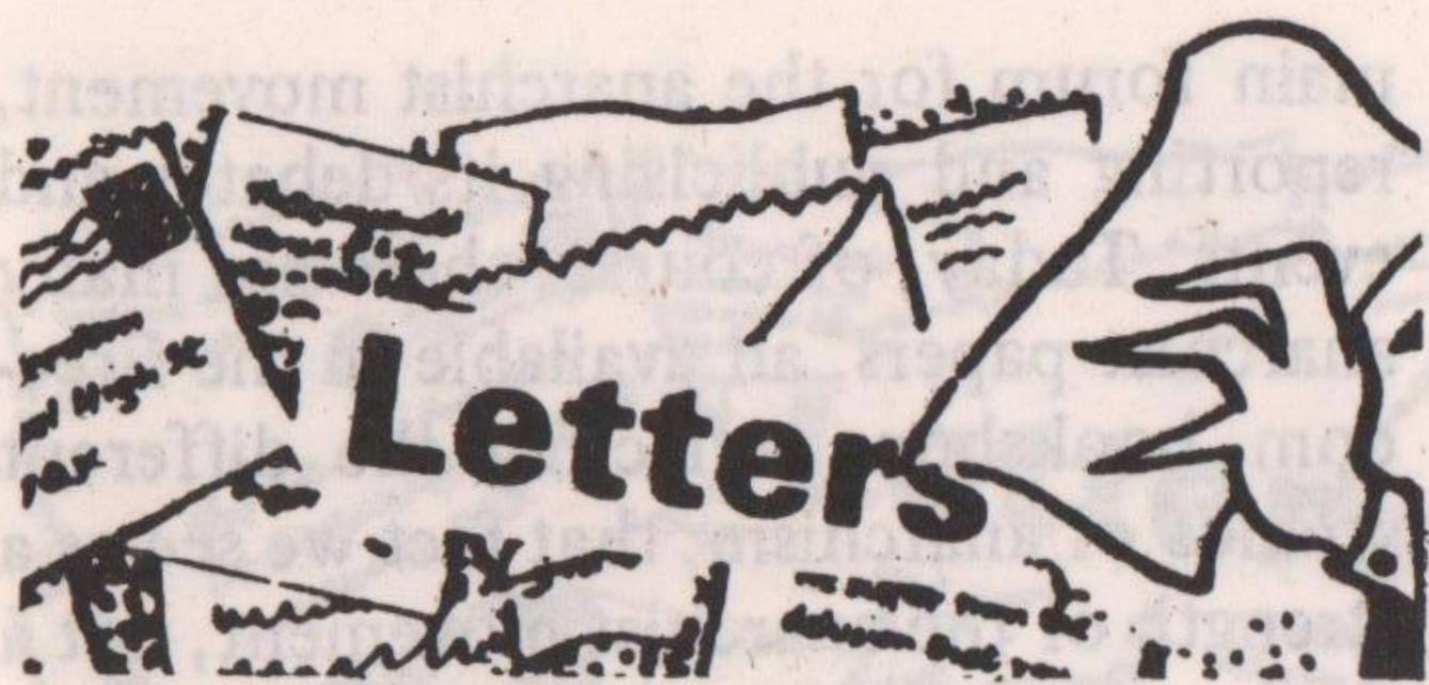
*Lib Ed* (50p) Summer '88 special issue on health, sex and sexuality.

*Outwrite* (50p) women's newspaper.

*Green Anarchist* (60p) articles on Stonehenge, co-ops, Emma Goldman.

*Green Line* (60p) monthly magazine of green politics and lifestyle.

*Kick it Over* (75p) Canadian magazine 'which examines personal and political issues from an anarchist, feminist and ecological perspective.



## Anarcho-pacifists?

I DISAGREE with Derrick A. Pike's proposal (*Freedom* October) that anarchists should call themselves anarcho-pacifists.

Many anarchists think like Bakunin, who stopped a cab he was riding in to join some men at a barricade, not knowing who they were or the precise cause of their confrontation with authority. Such anarchists recognise a potential for revolution in any such confrontation, and join it on principle.

For myself (and I am not unique) I am against fighting but not on principle. The basis of my opposition is cowardice. I never fight if I can run, therefore I cannot in honour urge anyone else to get into violent confrontations. However, I hope I would fight if necessary.

Other anarchists are opposed to fighting on principle. One such is Derrick A. Pike, of whom it may be said (not sparing his blushes) that if medals were rewarded for courage in resisting war as they are for courage in killing, his exploits would deserve the VC. If anarchists of his persuasion like to call themselves anarcho-pacifists, fine. But the term is inappropriate for the rest of us.

It may seem paradoxical that those who oppose fights on principle, and those who join fights on principle, are all comrades together; but in terms of practical activity the difference is less than might appear. The first objective is to convince people that government of any sort is not only unpleasant (which they know already) but also unnecessary and unhealthy. Unless people are convinced of that the anarchist revolution is impossible, because even if people reject a particular government they will accept another. If they are convinced, revolution is inevitable.

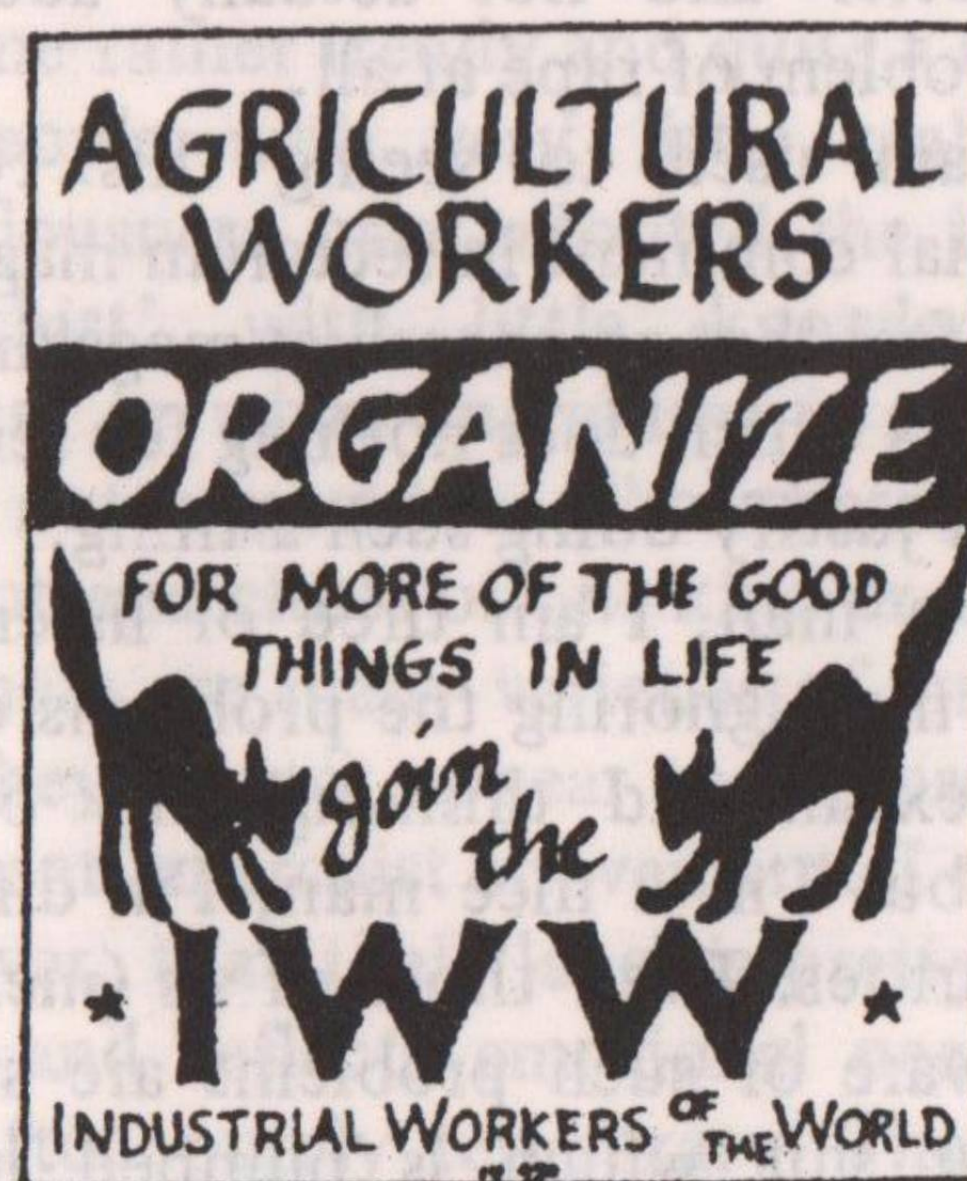
We cannot dictate how the revolution proceeds, any more than we can dictate how people in anarchy shall organise their affairs. All we can do, in Malatesta's phrase, is to express 'our personal opinion at this particular moment'. One may opine that a free society cannot be achieved through violence, another that it cannot be achieved without violence. As long as we are all working to convince people that it can be achieved at all, we are working together.

Donald Room

## Authoritarian anarchists

THE article on 'Authoritarian Anarchists' in the July *Freedom* turned the meaning of both anarchism and authoritarianism on their heads. Since when is it 'authoritarian' for members of unions or other organisations to speak out about what they feel are betrayals of principle? By that token rank-and-file rebels who denounce bureaucracy in the TUC are 'authoritarian', while the bureaucrats who try to shut them up are 'libertarian', protecting their members from having to hear such outrageous accusations.

In order to be authoritarian one must either abuse official power, or be an advocate of hierarchical rule. A lone anarchist who denounces others, rightly or wrongly, for 'opportunism' or 'revisionism', fits neither definition. That doesn't mean we should tolerate 'personal attacks' or slander within our movement. The trouble with the solution taken by the



IWW, however, of giving union officers the power to deny access to union publications to anyone making such 'attacks', is that it gives union officers an excuse to censor opinions they disagree with and don't want the rank-and-file to hear. Experience within the IWW has been that this censorship is selective depending upon what faction holds the official positions. It is a cure worse than the disease.

It is strange that the article should advocate 'tolerance of opinion', while at the same time suggest ways to make sure certain opinions can't be heard. The opinions of the author's 'bunch of friends trying to help ourselves' should be tolerated, but not those of 'authoritarian anarchists'. Anarchists beware lest you be labelled authoritarian and put on your organisation's blacklist! Is such a view different from the 'fragmented and unconnected, or reductionist thinking' it denounces? Apparently not, nor is it anarchism.

Jeff Stein  
Champaign, Illinois

## Investigation of Poll Tax

I AM making a visual documentary/investigation of the POLL TAX — its implications and more importantly the action being taken to prevent its implementation.

I want to make contact with campaigns against it, and with people involved in resistance of any form.

I am also interested in meeting anyone who can present real alternatives to the Poll Tax and to the structures that exist now, and in any stories about the Revolt of 1381 and the Diggers of St George's Hill.

As I intend this work to be active in itself I would also like to hear from any groups who might like to see the finished piece (probably on video). I want this to be part of mobilising creative, strong and ultimately successful opposition.

Can you help me?

Walter Walkapet  
c/o Greenpeace London

## A growing new Underclass

I HAVE noticed in recent years the growth of a new underclass. A class below the working class which is disenfranchised and estranged from the mainstream of society. Marx and Engels viewed this class with contempt and called them a lumpen-proletariat. These people were estranged from the mainstream of society as they are now, but surely these people had the same right to be emancipated as the working class, they were also victims of the system. The only way to get rid of an underclass or any other class is to get rid of central government and then we can live a natural life as human beings and not competing in a labour market rat-race and being fed media tripe like battery hens.

Brian P Scales  
York Libertarian Socialists

## Are you quite Shaw?

SURELY Nicolas Walter (*Freedom*, October) grossly underestimates the plays of Bernard Shaw by describing them as 'seldom much more than squibs or sermons'. It is true that such works as *Man and Superman*, *Major Barbara*, *Pygmalion*, *Heartbreak House* and *St Joan* contain some brilliant sermons, but they are also enduring masterpieces as shown by the fact that Shaw is, next to Shakespeare, the most frequently performed dramatist in the world today.

John L. Broom

# We need your knowledge

I WRITE in agreement with Peter Neville, in his article on community care, 'Another type of slavery?' (September). As anarchists we need to consider just what we mean by community care. On my part it means care by all within that community, this implies a much greater awareness of the problems relating to the mentally ill, an understanding of the medication they have to use, the effects these drugs can have on them. This information is held by the professionals within the system, i.e. the doctors, nurses and social workers. If there are any of these people who read *Freedom* we need your knowledge as well to be able to inform the rest of us, so that care in the community becomes more than a struggle for a minority of individuals who are left to pick up the pieces.

Furthermore the state has encouraged the closure of the hospitals as a cheaper form of care, but as MIND has pointed out, to provide proper support, it is more expensive than the hospital closure. That is a capitalist argument, but it shows the inadequacies of the policy at present.

I agree with Peter; time is running out.  
**Chris Platts**

## Protestant persecutions

NOT often do I feel moved to write to the papers, and certainly never expected to have to write to *Freedom* to say 'oi, hang about, that's not right', but I just can't let M. McM's statements in the September issue pass unchallenged. I have no sectarian axe to grind — I am not now nor ever have been either Protestant or Catholic (pox on the both of them, so far as I'm concerned) but 'The position of Catholics under Elizabeth was like that of Communists in the USA?', 'The persecution of the Catholics by Protestants was different?' Sorry, comrade, but that's utter crap, or 'totally historically inaccurate' if you prefer.

Well, all right, fair do's, maybe it's a semantic problem we have here. I mean, is Catholics burning Protestants at the stake in Lewes *different* from Protestants crushing Catholics to death under large stones at York? Or does the difference lie in the fact that the Catholics who were so tortured to death, like Margaret Clitherow, had been charged with a *State*-defined offence — harbouring a Catholic priest — and were therefore criminals? They weren't murdered for being Catholics, but for being criminals . . . is that what M. McM means when he/she says it was *different*? As a non-religious person,

I can't see the difference myself: it still looks like one sect killing another to me. And there really is no disguising that Catholics were persecuted and done to death under Queen Elizabeth. I suggest that M. McM knows Irish history better than he/she knows English history.

Of course, if you're religious, pointing out the errors of heretics and agnostics is a matter of Christian duty. If a person is slumbering on the edge of a precipice, is it not your duty to wake him/her up? How much more important it is to wake him/her up if it is his/her soul slumbering upon the precipice of incorrect doctrine. Even if you have to burn them at the stake to save them, or crush them under a few tons of stones . . . As a non-Christian all I can see at the end of the sixteenth century are dead Protestants and dead Catholics. I haven't a clue what the final scoreboard was at close of play, and I don't think it much matters. All those deaths diminish us, as John Donne says.

**Richard Moore**

## IN BRIEF

Responding to allegations that the 'softly, softly' approach to crime had failed, a Scotland Yard spokesman said 'We never had a "softly, softly" approach'.

Western Transport Incorporated of Uxbridge has published a scheme for bullet-shaped individual compartments running in a pneumatic tunnel network, at speeds of more than 250 mph. At present prices, the simplest network would cost at least £100 billion, the cars would cost £100,000 each, and the maintenance costs would be 'massive'. 'It will be a personal system, aimed at top executives who travel into the capital to work', but it is not envisaged as in operation before the end of the century.

The New Zealand government has asked the British government to release papers relating to Jack Braithwaite, a soldier found guilty of mutiny and executed by firing squad in 1917. His family in New Zealand thinks he was made a scapegoat for a mutiny by Australians, and are campaigning for a posthumous pardon. The file is officially closed until 2017.

A French appeal court has upheld a decision of a lower court that a four year old should be removed from her parents who were providing an 'unhealthy atmosphere'. There is no suggestion of physical abuse or making the child miserable. The complaint, originated by her grandfather, is that she has been taught to divide people into 'SS' and 'slaves', was encouraged to burn a doll said to be 'not racially pure', and has a swastika embroidered on her knickers.



## OBITUARY

### Carl Heinrich Petersen

DENMARK'S oldest and most well known anarchist died in August aged 73. Born in Viborg in 1915, of working class parents, he lived all his life in the town. As a worker in the cigar industry he became active as a trade unionist, and developed an interest in syndicalism. He was best known as an anarchist, having broken with the Social Democracy Party in 1962.

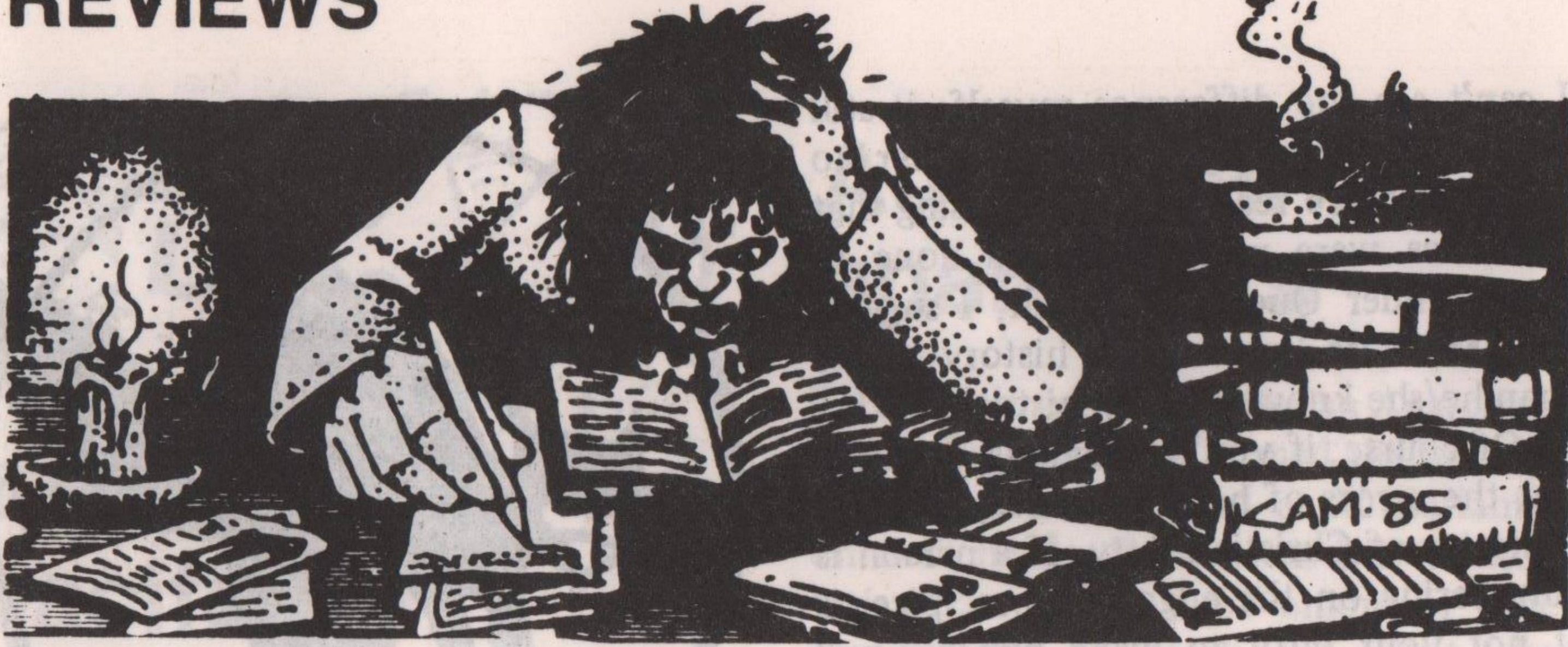
During World War Two he was involved with the clandestine newspaper *Arbejder Oppositionen* (Workers Opposition), for which he was arrested in 1944 and imprisoned until the end of the occupation.

Perhaps his most important work was as a writer on anarchism and the history of working class struggles in Denmark. With titles that include *Den Glemte Socialisme* (The Forgotten Socialism) and *Christian Christensen og den Danske Syndikalisme* (Christian Christensen and the Danish Syndicalism). He also translated a number of works on and by anarchists into Danish.

The funeral of Carl Heinrich Petersen took place on 20 August, at which many of his former Social Democrat and anarchist comrades attended. By his grave his life was celebrated by the singing of the 'Internationale', for which he had translated into Danish the fifth (anti-militarist) verse. Also sung was 'Nar jeg seret rødt flag' (When I see the red flag), composed by his good friend Oskar Hansen.

An obituary to Petersen appeared in *Information* on 12 August — *Information* being one of Denmark's most respected daily newspapers, which started as the only clandestine news agency in occupied Europe. In his will he left his library to be used as a study centre for anarchism and working class history.

**Martyn Lowe**



## The Fateful Triangle

N. Chomsky

Black Rose £7.95

## Pirates and Emperors

N. Chomsky

Black Rose £7.95

THESE political works of Chomsky's, in many ways excellent and certainly necessary, are in at least one important respect disappointing. Chomsky the polemicist not only works in a different way from Chomsky the academic, he works in a way which is intellectually inferior to the latter. Instead of the representative gathering and thoughtful analysis of evidence to which we are accustomed in his linguistic and philosophical writings, we have here an amassing of evidence selected to fit in with pre-conceived notions and an interpretation determined by prejudice. Instead of thoughtful reasoning and a balancing of the pros and cons of different viewpoints, we have here ferocious polemic, with no allowance for the possibility that some truth may come from elsewhere. Chomsky the intellectual looks for the truth, but Chomsky the propagandist is concerned only to justify an already established bias.

Thoughtful people could scarcely fail to recognise the validity of Chomsky's condemnation of the vindictive chauvinism of successive Israeli governments on the one hand, and on the other the self-interested and short-sighted stupidity of US governments in giving financial, military and moral support to this. One could, however, disagree with his selective presentation of the history leading up to the Arab-Israeli conflicts (and has there ever been a time without such conflicts?) as well as with his blatant partisanship.

In particular, everything in the book depends on the concept of 'Palestinians' and if you stop to think, you will realise that there are not and never have been any Palestinians. There are indeed Arab citizens of Israel, whose shameful treatment by successive Israeli governments closely parallels the treatment by US governments of their black citizens. But note that the latter are black Americans, not — let me think of a name — 'Amafrinians'. Palestine is as mythical as Amafria and the adjective 'Palestinian'

was not used of people until the 1950s, when it was coined by Arab nationalist leaders as a rallying cry for their less enthusiastic followers. Much could also be said on this point and there are other errors, but it is principally on this one that the arguments of Chomsky and most other propagandists depend. These arguments therefore have no foundation and he has reached the right conclusion by intuition, not reasoning. Many of his prejudices are to be approved, but they are nevertheless blind prejudices.

Chomsky's writing is, as always, lucid, fluent and telling. Despite the mass of facts (or alleged facts), statistics and quotations, his books are never dry or heavy and considering the significance to world politics and to US culture of what he has to say, it is a pity that he is no longer as influential on that side of the pond as he was a few years ago. But perhaps this is inevitable, for his influence was as an academic and he has now become a propagandist, whose methods are closer to demagoguery than to scholarship.

*Pirates and Emperors* concentrates mainly on Central America, but depicts the situation there as a parallel to that in the Middle East. The central theme is simply that the US government is the real terrorist in the New World, just as the Israeli government is in the old. This is to some extent obvious, but Chomsky has amassed evidence which makes it more than an impressionistic judgement. As he points out in his opening quotation, the terrorist with one small ship is called a pirate and the terrorist with a heavily armed fleet is called an emperor. The point has been familiar to anarchists for generations, but today even my bourgeois-liberal friend David Lloyd Thomas agrees: 'Government', he says, 'is an iron-fisted Mafia gang in the velvet glove of constitutionalism'. Chomsky has successfully shown how to reverse the descriptions. However, exactly the same strictures apply to this work as to the other.

The books are well-produced, clearly printed and apparently free from errors — unusual in paperbacks. The price, although — as the author of my 1926 *Pleasure Guide to Paris* says of certain restaurants — requiring well-filled purses, is no more than the current average for non-fiction paperbacks. Also available

from Freedom Bookshop are two collections of Chomsky's political and polemical essays: *Power and Ideology*, Black Rose, £7.95; and *Turning the Tide*, Black Rose, £8.95.

Oliver Mahler

## Stalker

John Stalker

Penguin £3.50

SUPERFICIALLY one may wonder what interest an anarchist is likely to have in a book by a man who spent 30 years as a career policeman, ending as Deputy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, which deals with the final stages of his police career. The Stalker affair became very public but people's perceptions of what the affair was all about have remained far from clear. Explanations of the sequence of events range from Freemason / Orange Protestant / Tory Cabinet conspiracy to protect members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary to a generalised example of the prevalence of cock ups in contemporary history. Having wondered whether it would prove to be a book I could read objectively I quickly became absorbed by it. John Stalker tells of his repeatedly hampered attempts to investigate the killings of six men by members of the RUC in quite a matter of fact style. He goes out of his way to be fair when discussing the role of those who were clearly hampering his investigation. He gives a careful reconstruction of the timetable of significant stages of his investigation, his sudden removal from it, and the police investigation into his not very close acquaintance with Kevin Taylor, a Manchester businessman who has seen his business ruined by police attempts to find something incriminating about him so that Mr Stalker could be discredited as guilty by association. All this helps to clarify a situation that had seemed unreal and confused.

Mr Stalker was removed from the investigation into the RUC and the killings of 1982 when he had built up a case which he believed required senior RUC officers to be charged with criminal offences. A tape recording which would have provided crucial evidence about the killings was withheld from him in circumstances where it was clear that if the tape contained evidence favouring the RUC officers it would have been readily provided.

His view is that responsibility for taking him off the investigation and setting in train the attempt to destroy his reputation and thus discredit his work lies at a very senior level. He mentions Sir John Hermon, Chief Constable of the RUC, and James Anderton, Chief Constable of Greater Manchester. Other more powerful people must also be involved. Indeed it is quite possible that someone

at Cabinet level authorised the attempt to discredit John Stalker, either with knowledge and approval of what was being done, or through unwillingness to withhold blank cheque authorisation from senior police officers even though details of what was planned were not disclosed. In retrospect either explanation seems culpable.

Very high ranking police officers are clearly guilty of questionable conduct in the Stalker affair, which means we will probably never get a full and truthful explanation of it. If Cabinet level politicians are involved the probably never should read certainly never. In which case this persuasive, intelligent and credible account of the events is the best version we are likely to see. It is good to read an account, clearly written by a man of integrity and with a sense of justice, somehow retained after a 30 year police career. To me the overriding message of the book was how dangerous a man of honesty and integrity who is intent on justice can be when he holds a very senior position in the police force. I suspect that Mr Stalker may also have pondered this since he took early retirement.

Peter Miller

### Eton Voices

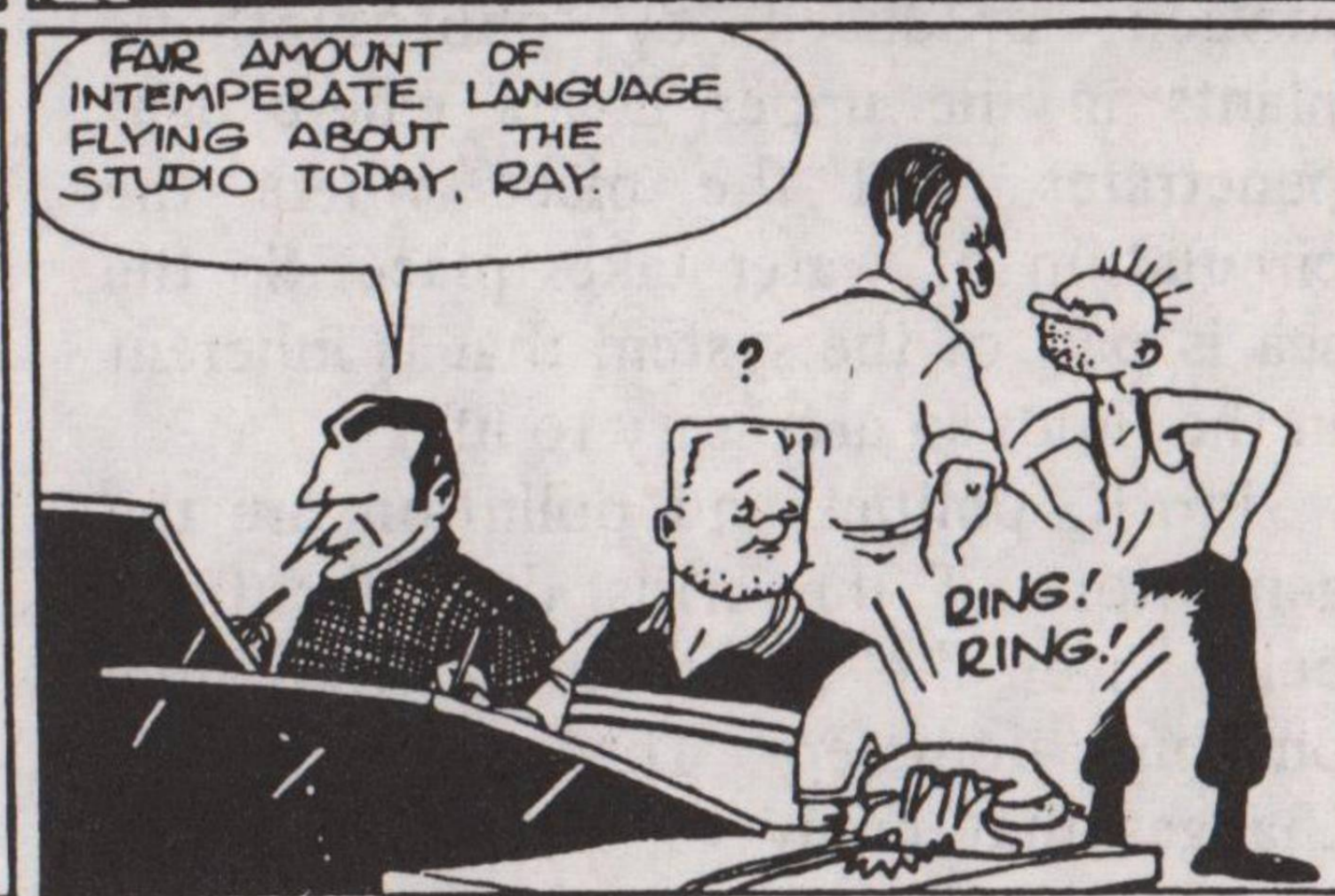
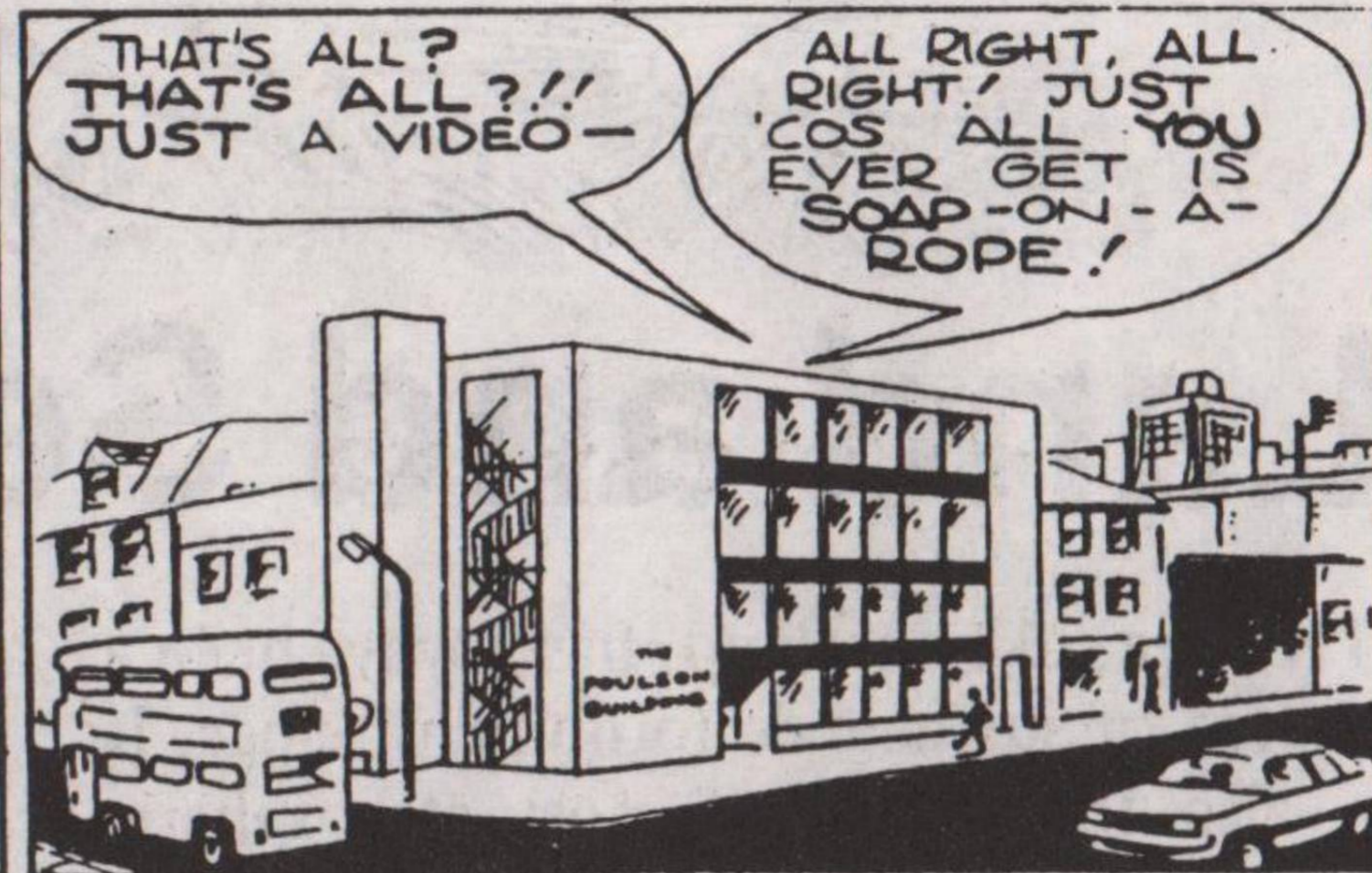
Danny Danziger

Viking £14.95

### And They all Pull Together

I WENT to Eton, but it was the little Church of England school one hundred yards away in units of distance and the other side of the world socially. On my way to school, I must have passed dozens of top-hatted future Cabinet Ministers and at least a couple of earmarked Prime Ministers. So I read the book with particular interest. One thing my school, Eton Porny, had in common, however, with the College, was a flogging Headmaster who put the fear of God Almighty into me and ensured that I never 'had the cane' throughout my schooldays.

Of the forty two Old Etonian contributors to this book of memoirs there is a handful of dissidents, including one who was expelled for doubling up in bed for a second time. He writes that he is astonished that 'relatively ordinary contemporaries of mine who happen to have been at Eton are in positions of such prominence, I mean running merchant banks, or in the Cabinet or whatever, because I can remember them as perfectly ordinary, not particularly distinguished or particularly clever teenagers. And you can never escape this if you are an Etonian, because there are so many of them and they are in such positions of influence, power, money ... There are just an awful lot of them — there are seventy



### Donna Meets the Dregs Peter Rigg 80p

OUR comrade who drew the well-loved Kronstadt Kids in *Freedom* exhibits his mastery of characterisation in this strip cartoon pamphlet about an advertising agency. Donna is the ruthless proprietor, but the character I enjoy best is Leon, a highly-paid designer who dresses punk and likes to imagine himself a working-class revolutionary. DR

in the House of Commons, and they swarm all over the City in the merchant banks and discount broking houses ... there certainly are plenty of people who would not be where they are if they didn't have the whole impetus and system of Eton behind them.'

Another dissident tells the reader 'I wouldn't send my child to a boarding school. I would rather be there myself to give him the emotional support and take the responsibility as a father should, rather than off-load the responsibility onto some person you have no idea about. That is the most extraordinary thing that parents do to a child.' And 'Well I think it was four wasted years, four very important formative years. They were emotionally barren years. Boys between thirteen and eighteen need emotional fulfilment. Maybe that is why some people were drawn on towards a sexual experience — we all had it ... we all had homosexual experiences.'

Another dissident: '... it was a homosexual society, a pederastic society. There was hardly anybody who didn't desire little boys ...' And another '... we were all gay, we were all queer ... you were odd if you had not some homosexual experience ... it was a main part of one's life.'

The reader does not hear so much about the sexual side of the College scene from the Etoniophiles, but one of them reckons that homosexuality was 'very much a temporary phase' and claims '... the most famous bugger I knew went on to be one at Oxford ... and went to Africa and made scandal because of the number of black ladies he had.'

Bishop Simon Barrington-Ward says, not too disapprovingly, '... when I was paying homage to the Queen on becoming a bishop, and Douglas (Hurd) stood by her side, holding the oath that you have to read ... It was almost as if everything was part of the school, or the school part of everything.' I suppose he is right; I don't know of any of my mates at the Porny even getting into Parliament, and I haven't had the chance of a refusal. But despite the bishop, Michael Bentine can say 'It sure as hell isn't a Mafia like the Oxford Mafia, which is very much in existence, specially in the media.'

Andrew Callender speaks for most of the contributors when he says 'Walking down the street at Eton, you felt as though you could do anything. You had total control over people ... these were lesser mortals.'

Well, I am glad I went to the Porny school down the road, especially so since many of the writers remark upon the old-before-their-time appearance of schoolmates they have met in later life; the ravages of the high life have taken their toll.

I make no apology for the preponderance of sex quotes; the book abounds with the subject. The 'pretty boys', or tarts, as they were called, are referred to by so many of the contributors, dissident or not. It has been suggested elsewhere that Greek literature has helped to concentrate the minds of both staff and pupils on 'passing the love of women'. The more I read about the place, the more convinced I become that 'consenting adults' are, in the main, just old dissenting minors. EFC



# Land and Sea Notes

THE sea, like the land, has always been a source of sustenance to human beings. It is also the source of most atmospheric oxygen, produced by photosynthetic plants in the upper layers where light penetrates, and the place where the circulation of water takes place. So the sea is part of the system that is inherent in the fluids so necessary to life.

Profit, politics and pollution are the generators of the crisis that, far from being over the distant horizon, is now on our doorstep. The environmental changes that many of us warned about are making themselves felt. The trees whose dying summits have become more and more evident, the floods, the droughts, the desertification, the polluted water, the polluted air, even in areas well out to sea where the air may be deemed purer, shows how widespread the dangers are.

The sea is deprived of oxygen by the overgrowth of algae, which is a response to the excessive nitrogen fertilisers that are poured into it from the land and

doused with those toxic substances. The politicians from Thatcher leftwards pay lip service to the problems while sustaining the system that produces the problem, supported by large sections of the population misinformed by a media which often mocks the intelligence.

Circulation is the name of the game, not the circulation of money but the vital circulations that sustain life on earth. The cultures that have recognised the nature of their environment are still being swept away by a culture that, unless there is immediate change, is likely to suffer extreme difficulties. And in a moneyed society the people who suffer are not going to be those multi-nationals that have made vast profits out of both human and resource exploitation. The victims are the generality of people who, through their water rates, poll tax, VAT and other taxes, will also continue to support a growing bureaucracy of environmentalists.

Alan Albon



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