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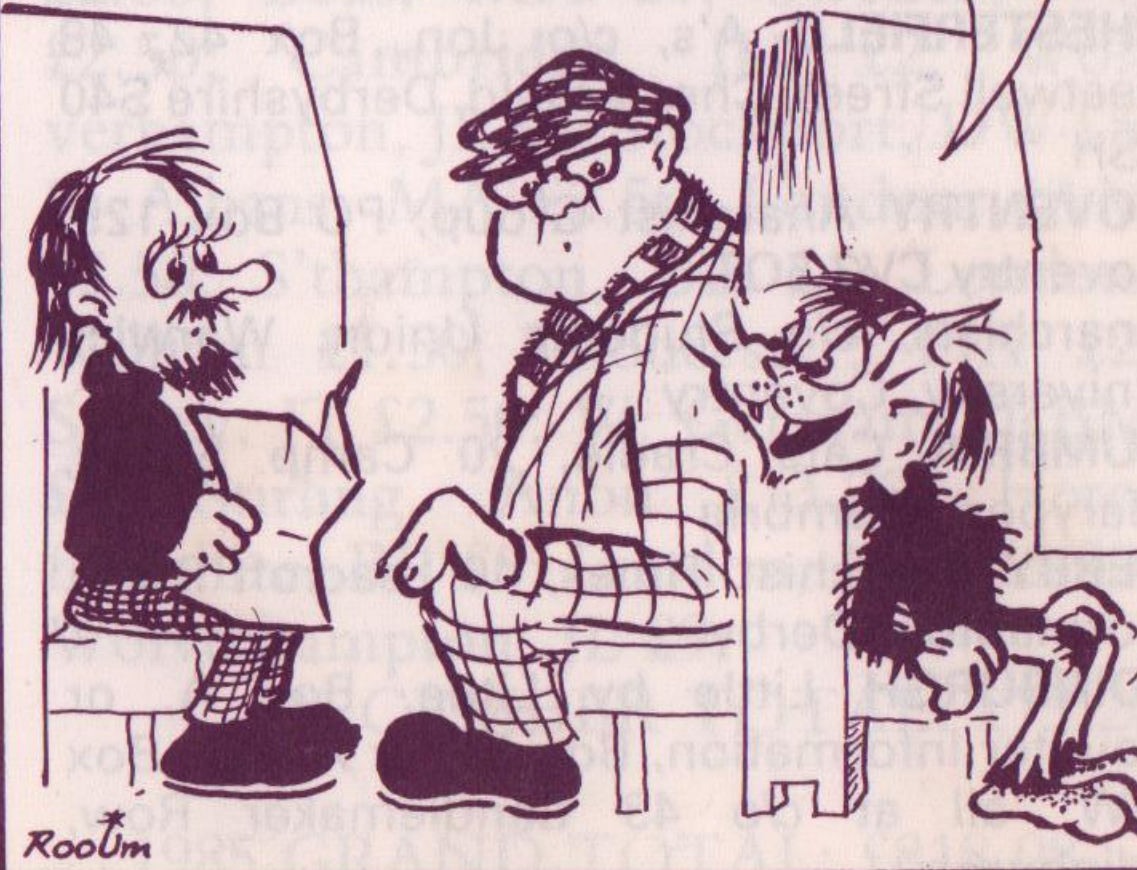
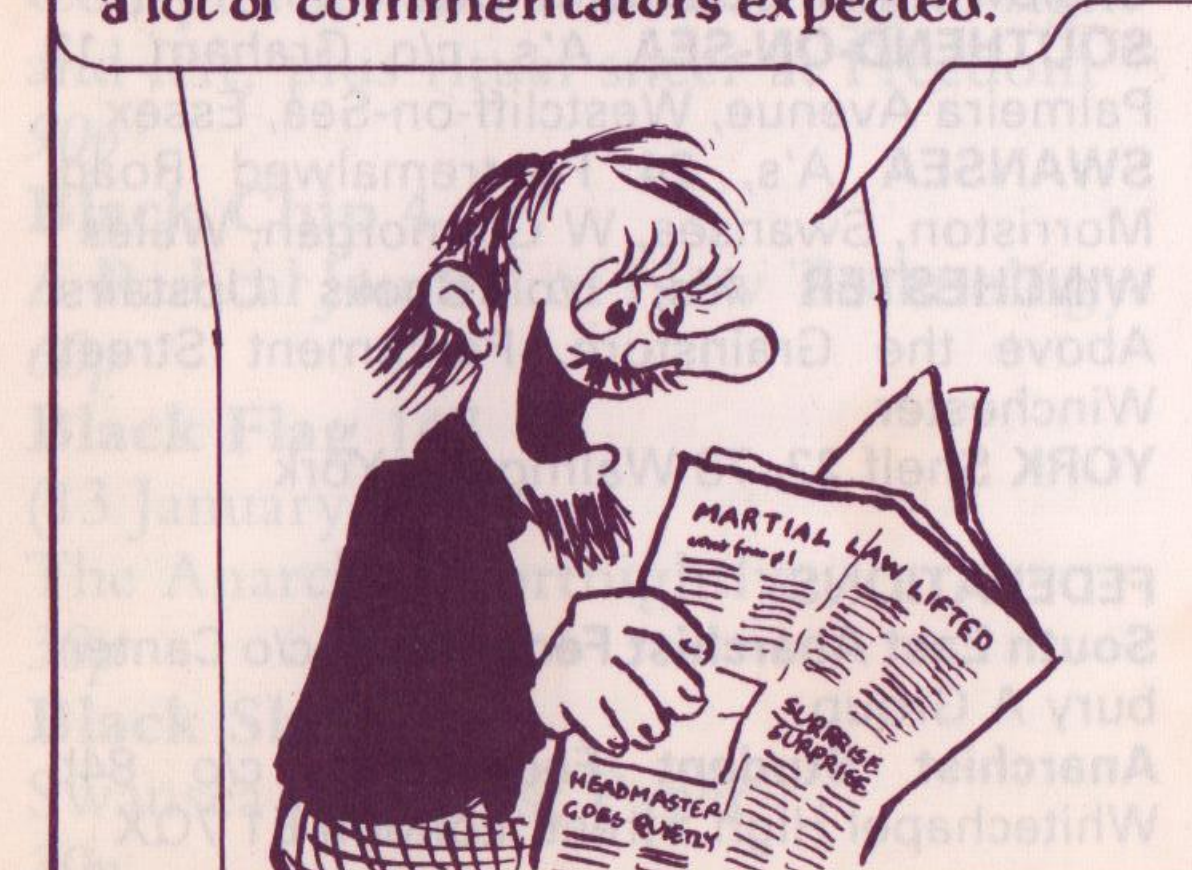
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Freedom Press, in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

FREEDOM PRESS

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in Pakistan has gone a lot further than
a lot of commentators expected.

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the weapons, and can overthrow the
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1886 : CENTENARY YEAR : 1986

WHY WE WUZ LATE!

SORRY. We missed the January issue. Blame my bronchitis, X-mas and our typesetter's small boy, who hurled his frail body at a passing car (he's alright now). Subscribers need not worry. We go by the volume numbers, so you won't lose out . . . 12 issues is what you will get.

The price increase

Sorry about that. We have to raise an extra £2,000 this year to cope with debts resulting from the theft of our sub-payments records and £1,000 borrowed to purchase a typesetter. The price will drop to 60p for 20 pages as soon as possible.

Stu Stuart

THE OPEN DOOR POLICY: *Freedom* welcomes news, reports and comrades contributions to genuine anarchist debate. Articles give the individual opinions of their authors. Only articles specifically signed **the editors** reflect the shared view of the *Freedom* Collective.

CONTRIBUTORS PLEASE NOTE: *Freedom* is a professionally typeset paper, which means that articles for *Freedom* need to be typed, on one side only, triple spaced with a large margin down both sides of the page. Neat handwritten material should be on lined paper using every other line. Keep your own copy rather than ask us to return the original. Letters — up to 400 words, articles — usually 1,000 words.

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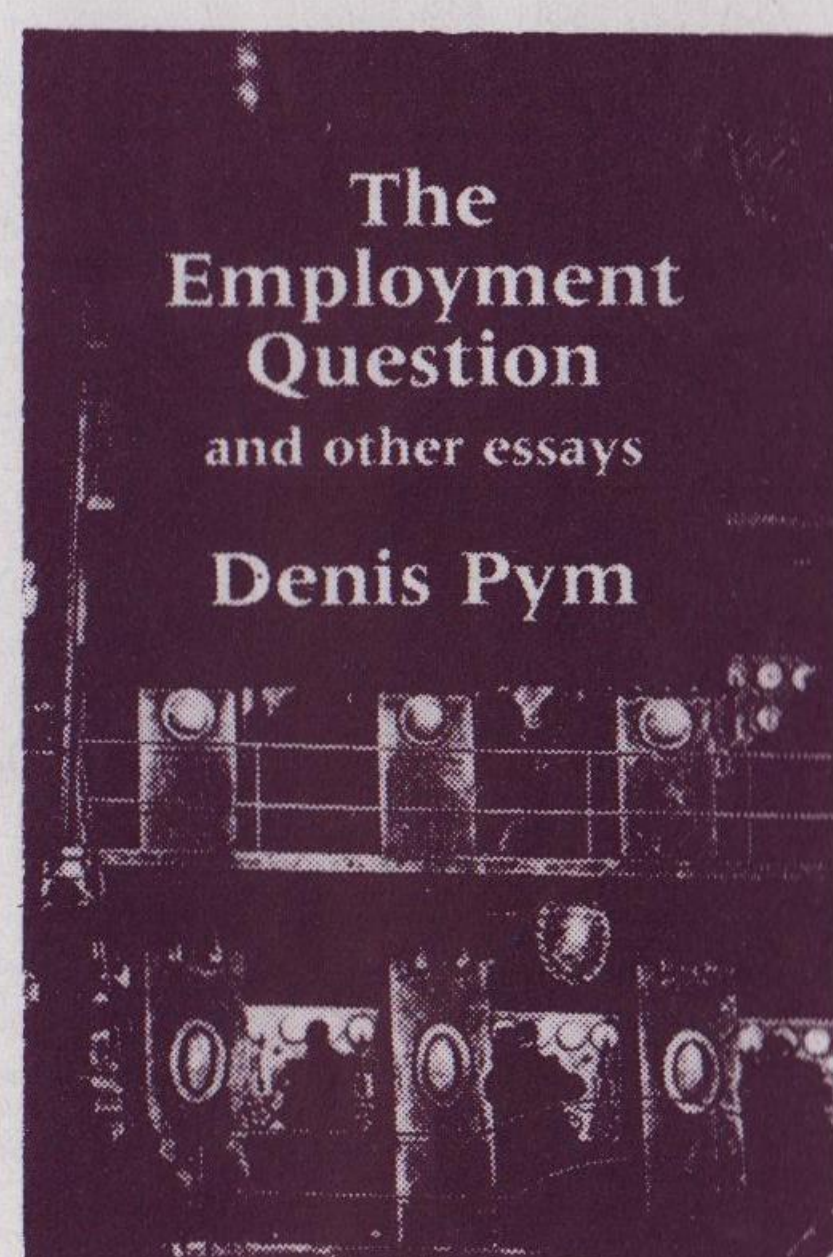
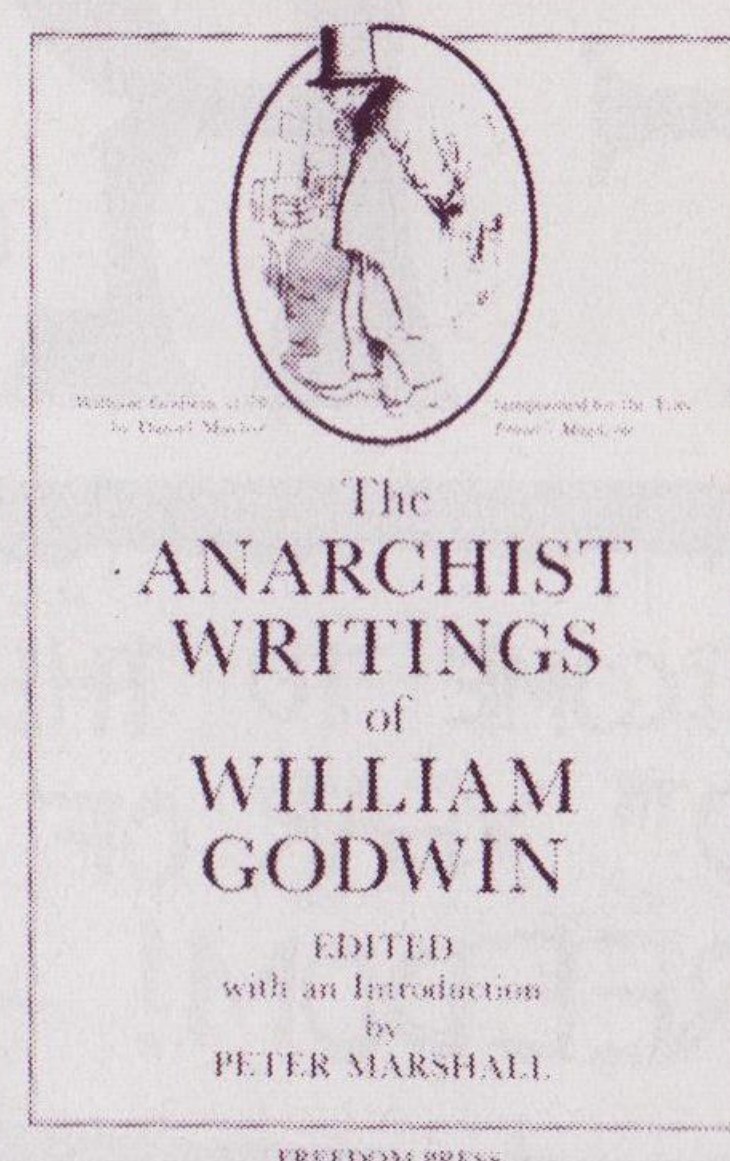
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NEW BOOKS FROM FREEDOM PRESS



Ireland THE REFERENDUM ELECTION

FIFTEEN parliamentary constituencies in Northern Ireland will be contested on 23 January. Unless there is an amazing upset, all fifteen will reelect the members who resigned in December, thereby demonstrating that the majority of voters in Northern Ireland are against 'advisors' from the Irish Republic having a say in the affairs of Northern Ireland.

So what?

Northern Ireland is a tribally divided country, where votes are cast for ancestry rather than ideology, and where the majority tribe has oppressed the minority tribe for generations. The Presbyterian 'Scotch-Irish' keep demanding a referendum, knowing that in Northern Ireland they outnumber the Catholic 'Irish' two to one. The 'Irish' demand Irish unity, knowing that in the island as a whole, they are the majority.

The conflict can only be understood in terms of long history. Early in the 1600s, people from the part of Scotland nearest Ireland were encouraged by the state to settle in the part of Ireland nearest Scotland. What chiefly divided these Scotch-Irish immigrants from the Irish residents was a differing perception of the Church of Rome. To the Irish, it symbolized resistance to English imperialism. To the Scotch-Irish, it was a malignant agent of Spanish imperialism. Some on both sides had been alive when the Queen of England was married to the King of Spain, and England subject to a reign of terror, torture and execution by fire. The Scotch-Irish (as they became) had been appalled; the Irish, who knew rather less of what actually happened, tended to approve.

The Protestant army of Oliver Cromwell, the Catholic army of James the Seventh and Second, and numerous legendary incidents of cruelty and heroism on both sides, enhanced tribal feeling and kept it going over the centuries.

As Irish independence approached the Scotch-Irish, still fearful of Catholic persecution, campaigned for the continuation of British rule with the slogan 'Home rule is Rome rule'. The British when they eventually gave in,

organized the home rule referendum not for the country as a whole, but county by county. Twenty-six counties voted for home rule. The six counties nearest Scotland, where the Scotch-Irish were the majority, voted to stay in the UK.

As predicted, Home rule was Rome rule. The new Irish constitution gave the bishops power to control legislation. To import any book on the Church's 'forbidden' list became an offence under Irish criminal law. Divorce and birth control were declared illegal. Village priests had the power to hire and fire village school-teachers. (The present constitution, introduced some years ago, gives no secular power to the bishops, but most of the repressive laws enacted in their time remain in force.)

Meanwhile in the Six Counties, the Scotch-Irish exultantly set about consolidating their dominance. It was forbidden to display the Irish flag. Some jobs unconnected with religion were reserved to Protestants. Constituency boundaries were redrawn, with the declared objective of minimizing Irish representation in the various elected assemblies. For local council elections the old property qualification was retained, which excluded more Catholics than Protestants. Protestant volunteers formed a special constabulary to keep the Catholics in their place.

Both countries guarantee freedom of worship and (now) electoral votes to all adults. However the non-Catholic minorities in the South are subject to Catholic censorship and sex laws, and the one-third Catholic minority in the North has no prospect of electoral power while Ireland remains divided.

The Republic is not tribally divided as the North is, but there is no reason to suppose tribal oppression would vanish from the Six Counties if the Republic took them over. More likely, it would be reversed.

No doubt many of those now fighting for a united Ireland would lay down their arms if a united Ireland were achieved, but not all. Some are on record, they will not be content until the Scotch-Irish are driven 'back' to Scotland.

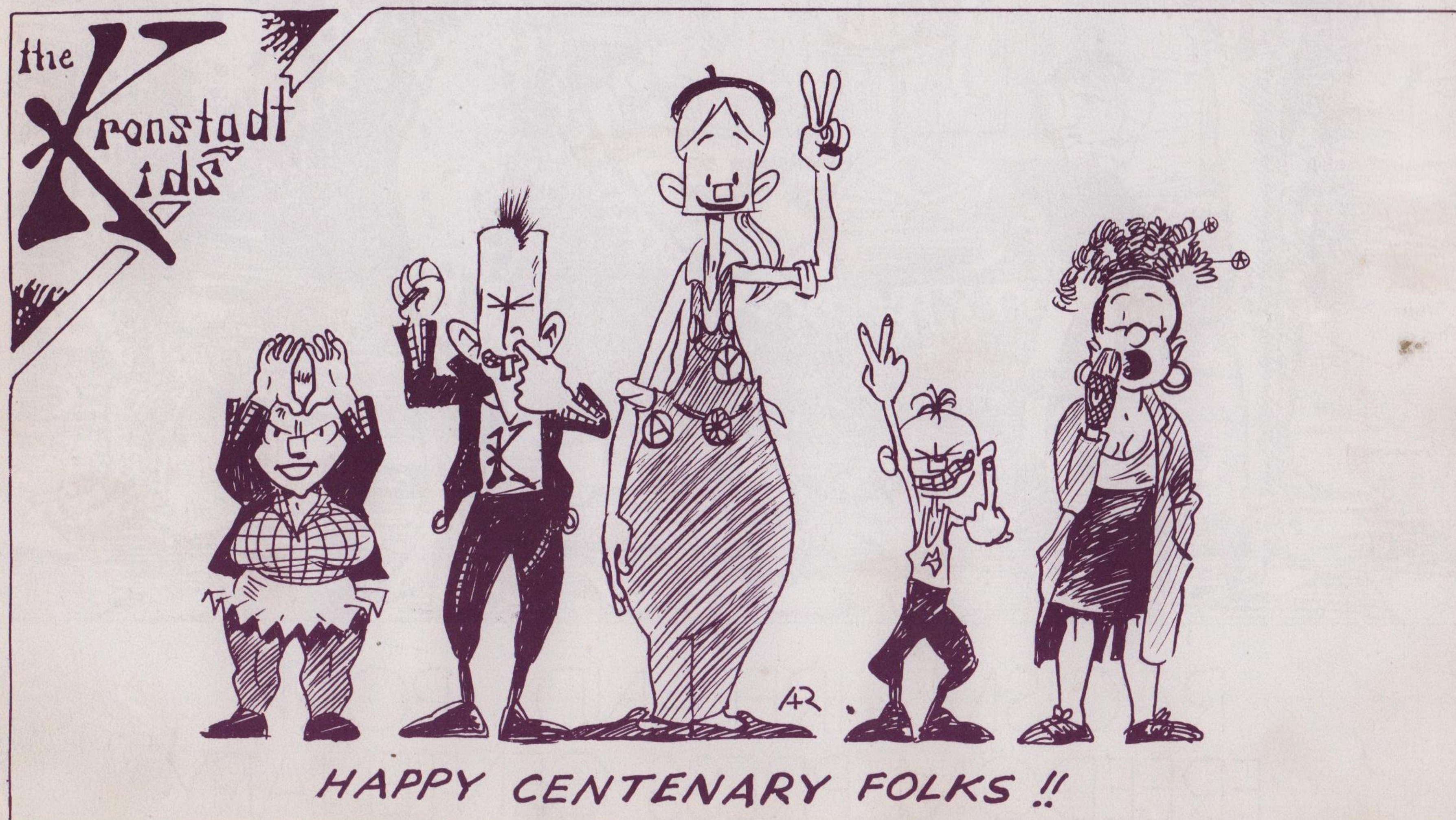
FREEDOM COMMENT

The Roman church is more open now than it was at the time of Irish independence. Sir Thomas More was canonized in 1936; it seems unlikely that such an enthusiastic burner of Protestants could be canonized now. Even the very conservative Irish clergy have grown more liberal since the 1960s. There can be little doubt, however, that if Ireland were united the censorship and sex legislation which afflicts the Republic would be applied island-wide.

What keeps tribal oppression going in the Six Counties is that both oppressed and oppressors think of themselves in tribal terms. They loathe each other without knowing each other, and much of the mutual hatred probably results from fear of the unknown. This might be overcome in time by the mixing of children in schools, but in Northern Ireland the Catholics go to their Catholic schools while the local authority schools, nominally non-denominational, are Protestant schools. Mixing is marginal and sometimes artificial, as with the earnest society who take small numbers of Catholic and Protestant teenagers on holiday together. Mostly the people of each tribe feel safer in their tribal enclaves.

There is no easy way of ending tribal oppression in Northern Ireland. It would be a grave error, to be led from a natural sympathy with the oppressed to support for those who simply want to oppress the other lot. Freedom will be achieved when individuals learn to think of themselves, not as members of this or that tribe, this or that country, this or that religion, but as individuals, freely co-operating to fulfill their individual aims.

M McM



THE next major demonstration by the nuclear disarmament movement is a direct action blockade at Molesworth on Thursday, 6 February, organised by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

At Greenham Common a march was organised and a camp established in 1981, leading to the famous Women's Peace Camps in 1982, since when there have been several huge demonstrations and many smaller direct action operations. Several peace camps have also been established at Molesworth since 1983, and there have also been major demonstrations and other actions. In August 1984 the Green Gathering there was a good opportunity for discussion and mobilisation, being followed by the growing of wheat for the Third World and the consecration of a peace chapel. In April 1985 the CND Easter demonstration took the form of a major direct action operation, being followed by a CND Pledge Campaign to maintain regular pressure by groups all over the country.

igned. The first anniversary will be marked by an attempt to blockade all four gates at the base by an illegal sit-down. This demonstration is being directed by the CND National office in London, but the detailed organisation is being done by the CND Regional office in Nottingham.

The organisers recognise the severe problems they face — Molesworth is difficult to get to at the best of times, February is in the middle of winter, and 6 February is a weekday — but they are working hard for a large attendance and an effective action. Detailed information (including a Mobilisation Pack and Legal Briefing) may be obtained from FEB 6 Working Group, 180 Mansfield Road, Nottingham NG1 3HW (telephone 0602 - 581178).

full of instructions about joining affinity groups and getting training in non-violent direct action, but there are no suggestions about what demonstrators might do to obstruct or if possible invade the base. Anarchists will therefore support the demonstration, though with reservations, and as many as possible will take part, though expecting rather small numbers after the experience of the Hyde Park and Greenham Common demonstrations at the end of 1985. As so often, we say: sit down, without illusions.

FC

A NOTE from 'Libertarian Organisation and Structures'

L.O.S. was set up with the intention of understanding some of the things which prevent groups with basically anarchist intentions from achieving them. We are also open to the possibility that we might have to modify what we mean by 'anarchist forms of organisation'.

We are dissatisfied with the usual anarchist ideas of what to avoid in groups. For example we feel the classical anarchist concept of authority as something a minority inflicts on an unwilling majority is only relevant in a limited number of situations. Our experience is that there are many more, subtler, ways in which authority can develop, such as people getting bored, people becoming well intentioned experts, personal links inhibiting challenge or criticism, etc, and these can affect even the most committed anarchist.

Also we believe that classical anarchist theory is not based on the way people really do think, feel and behave. For one thing it has not taken on the vast changes in culture and economics which have occurred since it's foundation. Also, it reflects an over-simplified nineteenth century concept that a group is a collection of autonomous individuals who decide everything through rational processes that they completely understand. In fact, a decision may be reached which seems rational (on first impression) but actually results from hidden motivations, such as a desire to smooth things over, the impressive way someone speaks for it, or even just because people want to go home. Such considerations may seem trivial, but they can often be as significant as what people insist their reasons were, and allowing for them can radically alter the way we decide to act.

Starting off from these criticisms we have been looking at groups, collectives and co-ops that we have been in. For example, the County Durham network of miners support groups has shown that large numbers of people can decide to adopt our ideas, such as delegates to be mandated, although they would never dream of calling themselves anarchists. Unfortunately,

We'd like your help.

We'd like to work with a wider range of experiences than just our own, so if you have been in a group which came across these 'structural' problems (bearing in mind that there is often more going on in a group hi-jacked by Leninists than just their manipulations) we'd like you to send us details of what happened, why you think it turned out the way it did and how such failings might have been avoided. Any other comments would also be welcome, all letters will receive a reply and, in a few months, when we bring out a pamphlet on the subject, you will get a free copy. Thanks,

Midlands anarchist get-together, Nottingham, March 15 and 16

There will be a get-together for Midlands (and round and abouts) anarchists on Saturday and Sunday March 15th and 16th in Nottingham. It will take place at Queens Walk Community Centre in the Meadows and will cost £2.50 (unwaged) or £3.50 (waged) each. (But please get in touch beforehand if you can't afford this.) It follows on from last year's successful conference and hopefully we will also be learning from our mistakes — this year there will be some pre-arranged introduced work-shops as well as those which occur spontaneously.

We'd also like something to come out of this year's get-together (beyond the new friendships and ideas which came out of the last) — and we're thinking along the lines of a regional federation for the purposes of regular contact, ideas and resources sharing, joint activities, etc — it's time we got organised! So please can people who come along discuss this beforehand in their groups.

If you'd like to come, it would help us not end if you'd register beforehand. Food, creche, entertainment and accommodation will all be provided. Wheelchair access is good.

More information from Notty Anarchists, Box A, Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote Street, Notting-ham or telephone (0602) 782137 or 624742.

THE Direct Action Movement is pleased to announce that *Direct Action*, Britain's only anarcho-syndicalist paper, is to resume publication in January 1986, after a lapse of several months.

Since *Direct Action* has consistently advocated the direct control of society by workers, completely unswayed by any political party — an attitude not only deeply rooted in the traditions of British labour, but more relevant than ever today.

1986 sees some important anniversaries for the International Workers' Movement. It is 70 years since the execution of key Irish syndicalist James Connolly and 30 years since the revolt of the Hungarian workers. It is also the centenary of May Day, a date celebrated by millions around the world in total ignorance of its origin in the American anarchist movement. And, of particular significance to anarcho-syndicalists, 1986 is the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, in which the Direct Action Movement's sister organisation, the CNT-AIT, played such a momentous role.

All these past events will be analysed in *Direct Action* with regard to the lessons we can learn today, alongside reports from industrial and social struggles up and down the country, news of workers' movements overseas and intelligent, independent comment on all the latest news.

Direct Action is not produced by party hacks, union full-timers or paid political journalists. It is written by militant, independent workers for militant, independent workers. It costs 20p monthly and is available from street-



Chicago MAY DAY HAYMARKET CENTENARY

1986 is a big year for centenaries. As well as *Freedom's*, Australian comrades are celebrating one hundred years of their movement. In the USA, May marks the centenary of the Haymarket affair. In Chicago, planning is underway for events from May 1-4, 1986.

A conference has been held, attracting 40-50 people from all over the country. A detailed bulletin is available (address below). This shows an admirable level of planning and realism.

Fairly quickly, it becomes apparent that May was to be an anarchist planned gathering. People saw this as a time to explore our historical anarchist root, as well as the present and future of anarchy. Possible 'entryists' such as the Revolutionary Communist Party were condemned and some of their

possible 'front groups' were identified. The 'respectable' celebration, presenting the Haymarket Eight as good enlightened Americans was noted. Such revisionism was deplored. 'Constructive engagement' will be necessary, especially if Chicago Anarchists' request to speak at the main rally is rejected.

Detailed planning also covered workshops, demonstrations (including an anti-capitalist one in the business district), arts and entertainment, publicity and finances.

The final topic discussed was the name for May Week, to be used for press and publicity purposes. Many names were suggested and there was little enthusiasm for any of them. Provisionally, it will be 'Haymarket 86', followed by a subtitle such as 'Anarchist Gathering' or 'Anarchy in Action'.

For more details, inclusion on mailing lists, questions, comments etc, contact:

Haymarket 86 Bulletin
Box 102
1200 W Fullerton,
Chicago, IL 60614
USA

(Contributions, postage, etc, of course, welcome).

International Letter of Appeal campaign

WE send you this letter urging you to participate in a letter-campaign for the benefit of our Japanese comrade Katsuhisa Omori imprisoned and on the death row in Supporo Detention Centre for 9 years.

The trial has now reached the court of second instance. The purpose of the campaign is to affect the trial and the Japanese Minister of Justice, as it is he, who (after all proceedings are exhausted) in practice decides whether a prisoner will be executed or not.

The campaign of course has to be followed up by actions. And why stick to the Japanese Embassy? There are a lot of official Japanese cultural/business/political arrangements and conferences where you can turn up. For further information: Ring up your Japanese Embassy!

The campaign will go off from December 1985 until and including January 1986.

The wording of the appeal letter can be changed according to temperament.

Please reprint the letter of appeal, spread it out through your organisation and contacts.

On the behalf of the Omori
Support Group
Peter Bach
Lars Jensen
Anarchist Black Cross, Denmark
c/o Anarkistisk Bogcafé
Nansengade 43
1366 Kbh K
Denmark

Minister of Justice
Hiroshi Shimasaki
Homu Sho
1-1, Kasumigaseki
1-Chome
Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo 100
Japan

Your Excellency

I take the liberty to approach Your Excellency in a matter of great concern to me.

From a highly esteemed source, it has come to my knowledge that a man named Katsuhisa Omori is on the death row after 9 years in Supporo Detention Centre.

I would appreciate to know the details of the particular offences of which he was convicted.

I kindly ask Your Excellency to investigate the above described matter, as I fear that the trial of Katsuhisa Omori may not have been in accordance with international standards.

Yours respectfully

Murray Bookchin

THE leading American anarchist, Murray Bookchin, recently visited this country for the first time since 1967, between speaking tours of Western Europe and North America.

Bookchin, who was born in 1921 into a radical family of Russian-Jewish origin, went through the usual stages of Communism and Trotskyism during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War, and then spent many years working as a union organiser in the automobile industry. During the 1950s, however, he became one of the pioneering writers and speakers in the new ecology movement, his book on *Our Synthetic Environment* (1962) appearing just before Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. He also wrote books on the *Crisis in Our Cities* (1965) and *The Limits of the City* (1974).

But Bookchin is best known for his specifically anarchist writings — those of the 1960s being collected in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (1971), and those of the 1970s being collected in *Toward an Ecological Society* (1980) — and for his editorship of the *Anarchos* magazine and his work as a lecturer across North America. He has also written a history of *The Spanish Anarchists* (1973) up to 1936, and a major study of *The Ecology of Freedom* (1982). Some of his essays have been published in many editions as separate pamphlets — especially *Listen Marxist!* (1969), also included in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, and *An Open Letter to the Ecology Movement* (1980), also included in *Toward an Ecological Society* — and have reached enormous circulations on both sides of the Atlantic. He has been the best-known anarchist propagandist in North America since the death of Paul Goodman in 1970.

For more than thirty years Bookchin has been arguing for a new revolutionary theory and practice which would be consciously utopian, based on an understanding of ecology and technology, a rejection of syndicalist and socialist myths about the working class and the vanguard party, and a realisation that the potentiality of abundance at last brings the possibility of anarchism. The style is Hegelian, the spirit Bakuninist, the vision Kropotkinian, but the flavour thoroughly modern. The original roots were Marxist, but since the 1950s the inspiration has reached back to the libertarian tradition of the American Revolution.

During Bookchin's visit, he gave talks in Cambridge, at Queen Mary College in London and at the History Workshop in Leeds. **MH**

KRAXIMO

DEAR friends and comrades, Our magazine has come out again after two years, in spite of the charges brought by the Greek socialist justice. We won after the international mobilisation for *Kraximo* and our editor, Pavlos Reveniotis. Pavlos was condemned for "insulting authority" and for "indecent publications", but now it's okay. We won, the international gay solidarity won!

Kraximo is an anti-authoritarian gay magazine and its themes are sexual liberation, anti-police, against the capitalistic family and school system, against heroin and fascism on all fronts, for self management and for social ecology. It's also writing about literature, art, about the underground-people's lives and problems (prostitutes, transvestites, boy-prostitutes, thieves, etc). Everyone can write to *Kraximo* about his/her daily oppression. There's also a new anti-authoritarian gay group around *Kraximo* named 'The Pink Triangles'.

We're open to any collaboration, exchange of opinions and magazines. Our warm greetings . . .

**Paola, Kraximo group and
Theo Thoughtless for the Pink
Triangles**

Kraximo magazine,
TO 50435 TT 14101 N iraklio,
Athens, Greece

Anarchist Forum

**January 24 Donald Rooum
Freedom of Access**

**January 31 Paul Bickle
Anarchism and Violence**

**February 7 Barbara Smoker
An Anarchic Life**

**February 14 Tony Gibson
The Anarchist Revival during and
after the 1939-1945 War**

**February 21 Tony Jones
Anarchism, the Individual, and the
Law**

**February 28 Jeff Cloves
Anarchism and Poetry**

**March 7 Anarchism and Murray
Bookchin's Ecology of Freedom —
an open discussion.**

**March 14 Colin Ward
Anarchism and the Informal
Economy**

March 21 Easter Social

**Fridays at 8.00pm
Mary Ward Centre
42 Queens Square, London WC1
Charlie**

French COs

The French Anarchist Federation has appealed for support for two imprisoned objectors to enforced military service. They are:

(sentenced to one year)

Jean-Pierre Gauthier

Matricule 751.794,

3e division,

1 Avenue de la Division-Leclerc,

94261 Fresnes Cedex

and (awaiting trial)

Gilles Ricochet

Matricule 3495, cellule 68

B.P. 3001 Montluc,

69391 Lyon Cedex 03

They would welcome letters, postcards and reading matter at the above addresses.

Letters and telegrams of protest should be addressed to:

Ministère de la Justice

13 Place Vendôme, 75001 Paris

Ministère de la Défense

14 Rue Saint-Dominique, 75007 Paris

(Please send copies of your protest to Comité de soutien aux insoumis, c/o French Anarchist Federation, 145 Rue Amelot, 75011 Paris.)

Italian Anarchists Federation

We must inform you that, following the decisions taken at the 17th FAI Congress (Livorno, 1st-3rd November 1985), the new address of the International Relations Commission is: **Gruppo 'P. Gori', C.P. 22, 17100 Savona, Italia.** As a consequence, any correspondence, including the possible request or sending of leaflets, posters and so on, should be made at the aforementioned address.

La Commissione di Relazioni Internazionali della FAI

Events

Anarchism: Theory and Practice, Past and Present Fourth annual series of five weekly talks by Nicolas Walter, followed by discussions, begins in Central London on Tuesday evening at 6.00, 15 April 1986. Information from Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, London WC1n 3AQ (telephone 01 - 831 7711).

Molesworth Cruise Missile Base Direct action demonstration organised by CND, Thursday, 6 February 1986. Information from FEB 6 Working Group, 180 Mansfield Road, Nottingham NG1 3HW (telephone 0602 - 581178).

In Brief

EDWARD Johnson became so annoyed by US television evangelists that he decided to do something about it. He was particularly irritated by Jerry Falwell, a big star in the movement who is linked with right wing politics. The final straw was finding that his mother was sending donations to Falwell and was even considering selling the family farm. Edward Johnson is a computer systems analyst. He programmed his home computer to dial Falwell's church's Freefone number every 30 seconds. This cost the church about a dollar every time it got through. Total cost after nine months is about \$500,000, to say nothing of lost donations with the phones busy. The Falwell church is suing him. The FBI is also interested. The British equivalent is not yet so advanced. The Freefone system is through the operator, so you have to ring a person, which is time consuming. However, direct-dial services are being introduced. The code is (0)800. An early subscriber is the Territorial Army recruitment office on (0)800 555555. Pacifists have already opened a dialogue. Any computer fans about?

STARTLING Survey Results — an occasional series. This time from no less a source than *Social Trends 1986*, the annual review from the Central Statistical Office. The rich are getting richer while the poor... The analysis shows that the bottom 40% of households are worse off by three different calculations. Their share of national income has fallen from 10.2% in 1976 to 7% in 1983. The income share of the top 20% has grown from 44.4% to 48%. In terms of straight income, the poorer groups are about 1% worse off and the richer 1.5% better off. Then, with indirect taxes affects the worse off. And things such as state education help the better off. And so on.

NICE work if you can get it. Paul Sabin has been appointed chief executive of Kent and County Council at a salary of £65,000 a year. This is £20,000 more than his predecessor and £12,000 more than the Prime Minister. The Conservatives who control the Council say that it is the 'going rate', a concept we thought had been discredited in the public sector.

Cultural racism

THE HONEYFORD CASE



THE Honeyford case has ended, in agreement and relief.

Ray Honeyford is the Bradford head teacher who kept appearing in the news during 1984 and 1985, because his school was picketed by demonstrators denouncing him as a racist. He has now agreed to retire, at the age of 51 after some 23 years as a teacher, with a lump-sum payment of £71,000 and an index-linked pension not less than £120 a week.

According to one lot of commentators, his story is that of a blatant racist in charge of a multi-racial school. Honeyford wrote an article for a loony right-wing journal to the effect that the education of British children suffers through contact with inferior races, and advocating that non-white immigrants and their children should be repatriated. After months of campaigning by parents and teachers of all races, the council sent in a team of inspectors, in the light of whose report he was suspended on full pay. He and his supporters manoeuvred to get him reinstated by a judge. He then demanded £250,000 as the price of his departure, but was persuaded that the most he would ever get was the most the council is legally entitled to pay, and settled for that. (A Bradford teacher told *Freedom's* correspondent, 'Every teacher is taught at training college never to reward bad behaviour, and this miscreant is being rewarded seventy-one thousand pounds for bad behaviour'.)

According to another lot, the story is one of a last stand for freedom of speech. Mr Honeyford wrote a careful article in an intellectual quarterly, saying that in his experience as a head teacher, the education of native English speakers suffers, when the majority of their classmates speak English only as a second language. This infuriated the Trotskyists and Muslim Fundamentalists who dominate the local council, and he was suspended from duty. However he had the full confidence of the school governors, who successfully applied to the courts for his reinstatement. This led to further demonstra-

tions, to the detriment of educational standards at the school. So for the sake of all pupils – English, Pakistani, West Indians, and others – he agreed to early retirement.

As they present themselves, both groups of commentators should be supported. It is wrong for a blatant racist to be in charge of a multi-racial school. It is wrong for an educationist to be forced out of his job for saying something reasonable but unfashionable. This is an attempt to get at some of the complex facts behind the sloganizing, to decide which story, if either, is true.

The Salisbury Review, in which Honeyford's offending article first appeared, conforms to both descriptions; it is both an intellectual quarterly and a loony right-wing journal. It is published by Longman's, its editor is Roger Scruton, a Reader in Philosophy at Birkbeck College, and its contributors include Enoch Powell, formerly a Professor of Greek at Cambridge. Following publicity from the Honeyford affair its circulation has increased (Bradford Reference Library, for instance, has taken out a subscription), but it is still smaller than the circulation of *Freedom*. It makes a loss, and Longmans plan to discontinue it some time this year.

What Honeyford said

The article, copyright by *The Salisbury Review*, has been reprinted in several publications with wider readerships. Our correspondent has studied it as reprinted in the (Bradford) *Telegraph and Argus*.

Many of the Pakistanis who live in Bradford maintain strong links with a particular region of Pakistan, and send their children there for months at a time, as part of their education. Many Bradford teachers object to this practice, Mr Honeyford says, because it interferes with schooling (or as he puts it, it interferes with education), and the local authority called a meeting to explain the importance of regular school attendance.

The meeting apparently resembled

the most unseemly of the series of meetings called by Local Education Authorities in the 1970s, to tell parents why the grammar schools were going comprehensive. Tempers were lost, the chairman was insulted, and a man near the door kept shouting 'Bullshit'. Such undignified goings-on are not unusual in England, when a public meeting is told of decisions which people do not like. Mr Honeyford, however, describes this particular example of unruliness as 'the hysterical political temperament of the Indian sub-continent'; and goes on to remark, without any sense of self-contradiction, that such freedom to dissent is 'unheard of in their country of origin'.

'We in the schools', he writes on another topic, 'are also enjoined to believe that creole, pidgin, and other non-standard variants have the same power for expressing fine shades of meaning, and for tolerating uncertainty, ambiguity and irony, as standard English.'

It seems incredible that anyone who knows about languages should enjoin anyone to believe that pidgin can express fine shades of meaning; pidgins, by definition, are sub-languages, used for limited communication between people who speak different languages at home. Creoles, on the other hand, are all-purpose first languages, used for saying whatever people want to say. That Mr Honeyford lumps pidgin and creole together as he does, suggests that he has not studied the subject even to the extent of consulting an encyclopedia.

He writes of 'the determined efforts of misguided radical teachers to place such as the following alongside the works of Shakespeare and Wordsworth', and quotes a rubbishy quatrain from a dialect poem by Linton Kwesi Johnson. People more often pick on Wordsworth, when they go looking for rubbishy bits in a major poet; but this does not seem to be Mr Honeyford's intention. What he means to say, more probably, is that any poem in a West Indian dialect is necessarily rubbish, because the language itself is rubbish. (He does not tell us what he thinks of poems in non-standard English by Robert Burns.)

Two other passages from Mr Honeyford's article have been widely quoted: "Cultural enrichment" is the approved term for ... the Notting Hill Festival whose success of failure is judged by the level of street crime which accompanies it; and 'Pakistan is the heroin capital of the world (a fact which is now reflected in the drug problems of English cities with Asian populations)'.

The point so widely emphasized by

defenders of Mr Honeyford in the media, that English-speaking pupils suffer when in a minority, is a point he makes in passing. Most of his article is an expression, in moderate language, of revulsion towards most of his pupils' families and origins. There is no evidence that he is a racist in the sense of believing his own race is genetically superior. But it seems clear he believes his own nation is culturally superior, and shares the concern expressed by Enoch Powell in the memorable phrase, 'the problem when we come into contact with a lower culture'.

Gill Seidel, in *The Rise of the New Right* (Blackwell 1986) describes this attitude as one of 'cultural racism', because it leads to the same policy as genetic racism: 'send them back'. Honeyford's article does not explicitly advocate enforced repatriation. But it summarizes the problems of culture-mixing as he sees them and concludes: 'I am no longer convinced that the British genius for compromise, for muddling through, and for good-natured tolerance will be sufficient to resolve the inevitable tensions'. The implication of this loss of conviction, in a journal which elsewhere advocates the 'send them back' solution, seems clear enough.

Support from the governors

Only some ten per cent of pupils at the school where Honeyford was head are ethnic English. It seems at first amazing, that a head teacher who despised the background of ninety per cent of the school population could retain the confidence of the school governors. But there is a simple explanation, in political opportunism and political cock-up.

Three of the eighteen governors are parents of children at the school, elected by the parents as a group; these 'parent-governors' are all enthusiastically anti-Honeyford. The other governors are political appointees, representing the political parties roughly in proportion as they are represented on the council: seven Conservative, seven Labour, one Liberal.

Without exception, the councillors of Bradford support the policy 'that since Bradford now has both a multi-racial and a multi-cultural population, all sections of the community have an equal right to the maintenance of their distinctive identities and loyalties of culture, language, religion and custom'. Many Conservatives, however, took the view that so long as Honeyford was carrying out council policy, he had a right to disagree with it and stay in his job; this more emphatically since a petition in support



of Honeyford collected 10,000 signatures; 'going for a nasty right-wing backlash vote' as a Liberal councillor put it.

A governors' enquiry into the running of the school started with a blazing row and the seven Labour appointees walked out, which was a strategic blunder. An unexpected motion of confidence in Mr Honeyford was put to the eleven governors who stayed, and carried by six votes to five. Such things do happen, when decisions are made by voting. This vote of confidence from the school governors was held to supercede the vote of no confidence from the Education Committee, by a High Court Judge who ruled that Honeyford should be reinstated and no further action taken. (The ruling was later reversed by the Appeal Court.)

Loony right-wing intellectuals

Anarchists do not subscribe to the maxim that all cultures are equally valuable. We think a culture in which women are oppressed, for example, less worthy than one in which the sexes are equally free. In general, the less coercive a culture is, the less we disapprove of it; and it may well happen that some of Bradford's various cultures are less coercive than others.

The Salisbury Review and its supporters, however, do not judge cultures on a freedom-coercion scale. They propose, indeed, that British society should become a good deal more coercive than it is, with the object of protecting 'British culture' from the 'alien cultures' which threaten to destroy it.

What do they mean by British culture? That was stated in the first edition of *The Salisbury Review* (quoting T S Eliot): 'It includes all the characteristic activities of the people: Derby Day, Henley regatta, Cowes, the Twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into set-

tions, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth century Gothic churches, and the music of Elgar'.

The proposition that one person's list of favourite pastimes, foods and works of art is intrinsically superior to any other person's list is manifest nonsense. Yet the intellectuals of *The Salisbury Review* take it as a self-evident truth, and build carefully reasoned arguments on it.

Citizens of places where there are race riots must envy the citizens of Bradford, where the various culture groups seem to take pride and pleasure in their heterogeneity. But there is a common feeling there that tolerance could easily break down, and people of all communities work hard to maintain it. Police leave was cancelled at the time of the India-Pakistan war, when the Bradford Indians and the Bradford Pakistanis called simultaneous meetings in different halls; but all the speakers, at both meetings, emphasized that they had no quarrel with anyone in Bradford. When the present Lord Mayor, Mohammed Ajeeb, expressed an opinion on the Honeyford case he was reproved by some who agreed with every word he said, but thought the Lord Mayor's impartiality essential to civic peace. Those members of the Education Committee who voted against the suspension of Mr Honeyford and were defeated, were careful immediately to propose a motion reaffirming the council's race relations policy (which was carried unanimously as it always is).

Mr Honeyford might be unsuitable as a head teacher because he despises the backgrounds of most of the pupils in his school. But such an attitude is not uncommon among middle-class teachers in working-class schools, and is not usually considered a ground for dismissal. The reason so many rejoice at Mr Honeyford's expensive departure is that he looked like threatening the city's peace.

D R

Freedom

OUR FIRST CENTENARY

THE new masthead title of *Freedom* for 1986 is in fact an old one, a hand-lettered version of the wooden type used when *Freedom* began publication in 1886. For this is our centenary year, which we aim to celebrate in style. A century is an odd thing, when you think about it, being only the number of years counted by squaring the number of your fingers. Nevertheless it is a good excuse for a celebration, now that we have managed to exist so long.

The first *Freedom* emerged from the British socialist movement in the early 1880s. At that time there were several overlapping organisations with associated periodicals — the Social Democratic Federation with *Justice* and *Today*, the Fabian Society with the *Practical Socialist* and *Our Corner*, the Socialist League with the *Commonweal*, and so on. Anarchists were active in all these, but there were no separate anarchist initiatives in this country until the first English-language anarchist periodical and the first specifically anarchist organisation appeared in 1885.

A monthly paper called *The Anarchist* was published by Henry Seymour from March 1885, and the formation of 'a circle of English Anarchists' was announced in it in May 1885. This group included both Continental émigrés (such as Nikolai Chaikovsky and Saverio Merlino) and native British anarchists; among the latter the leading member was Charlotte Wilson, who was both well educated and well off, and who was an active writer and speaker advocating anarchism in socialist organisations and publications from 1884.

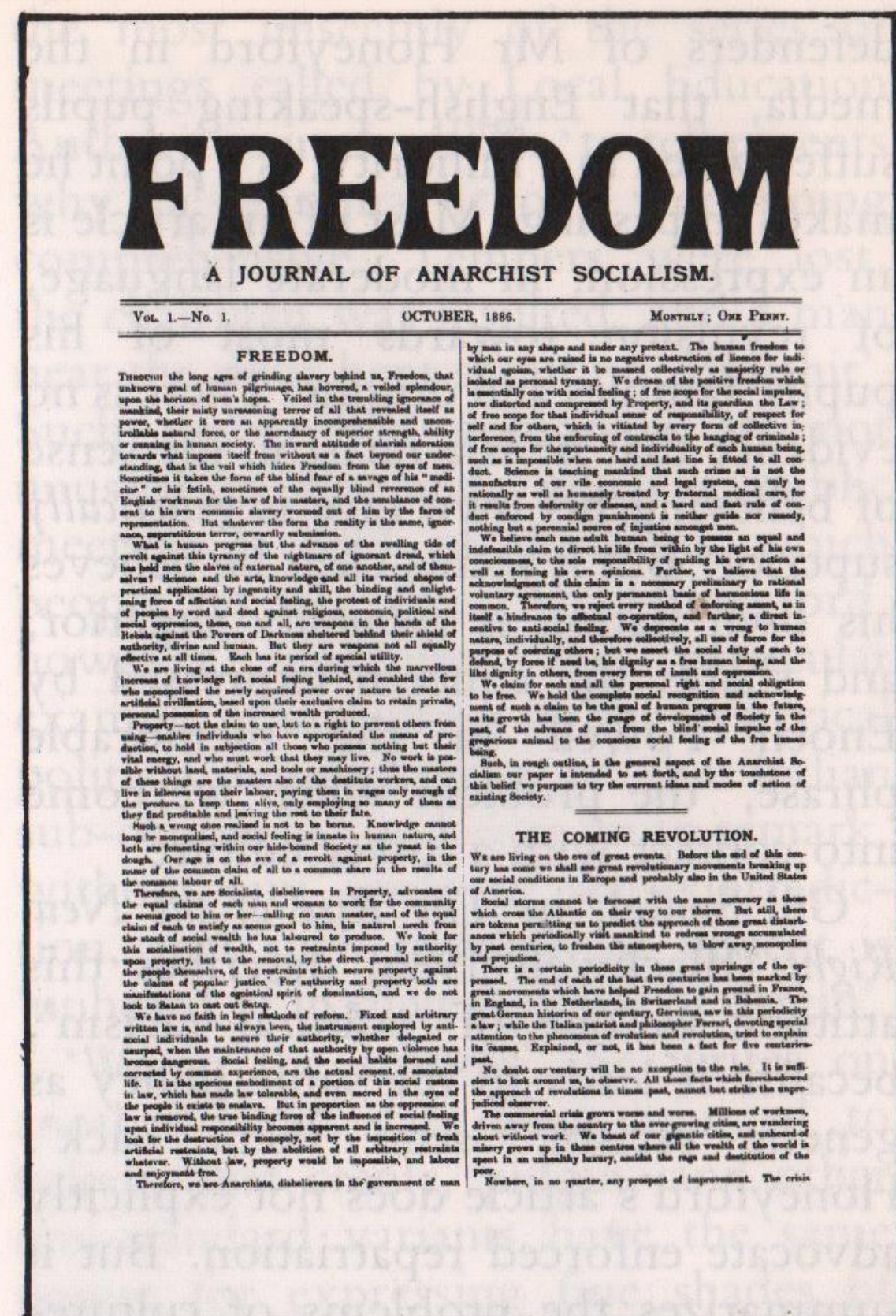
When Peter Kropotkin, the best-known figure in the international anarchist movement, was released from prison in France in January 1886, Charlotte Wilson was responsible for the group inviting him to come to Britain to join them. He settled in England in March 1886, and for a couple of months they continued to work with Seymour. *The Anarchist* being described as 'the organ of the

English Anarchist Party'. But this arrangement soon proved unsatisfactory; Seymour continued *The Anarchist* as a mutualist and individualist paper, while the bulk of the group decided to produce a new anarchist paper. This was the origin of *Freedom* and the Freedom Press.

Meanwhile Charlotte Wilson wrote an account of anarchism in the fourth Fabian Tract, *What Socialism Is*, which was published in June 1886, and led the anarchists at a joint socialist meeting which supported parliamentary socialism by a two-to-one vote, at Anderson's Hotel in London in September 1886. The time had clearly come for a new anarchist initiative.

Freedom began publication as a monthly in October 1886. From the start it was intended not as the organ of a particular group but rather as an independent voice in the wider movement. At first it was described as a 'Journal of Anarchist Socialism', but in June 1889 it became a 'Journal of Anarchist Communism'; it has always represented the mainstream tradition of anarchism, though giving a voice to differing views. Although the Freedom Press concentrated on the periodical, from 1889 it also produced other publications — first pamphlets and then booklets and books, mostly works by foreign writers (Kropotkin above all, but also Errico Malatesta, Jean Grave, Gustav Landauer, Max Nettlau, Domela Nieuwenhuis, Emile Pouget, Varlaam Cherkozov, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and, of course, Proudhon and Bakunin) and also works by British writers (including Herbert Spencer and William Morris). And from the start there were regular discussions and occasional public meetings.

For most of the first decade, *Freedom* was edited, published and largely financed by Charlotte Wilson, although its most important contributor was Kropotkin. *Freedom* was temporarily suspended in January 1889 when she became ill, but was resumed in March 1889, the editor being James

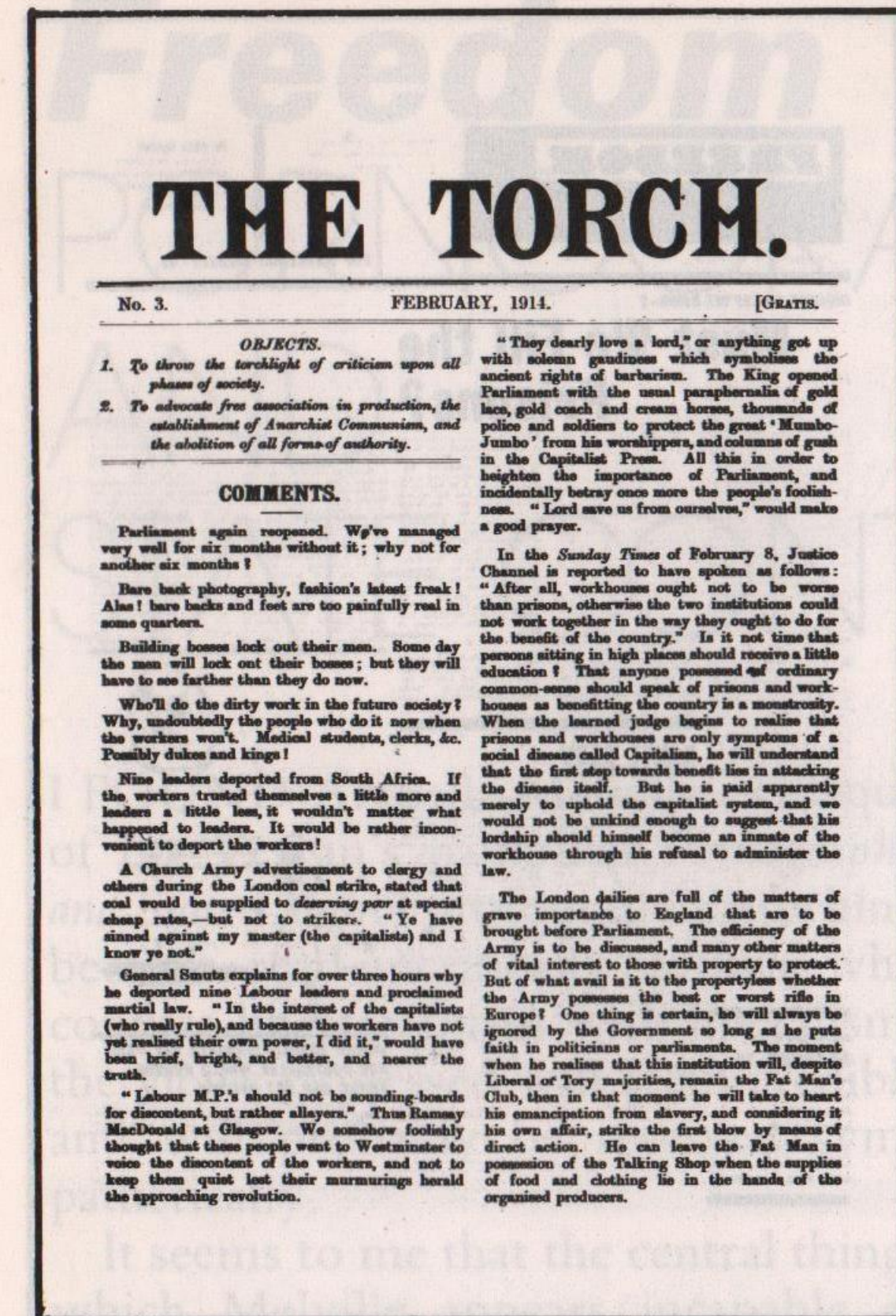


Blackwell, with the help of 'a committee of workmen'. She took over again in February 1891 when Blackwell left, but *Freedom* was suspended again in January 1895 when she left (though she maintained contact until 1901).

Freedom resumed publication again in May 1895, the new editor being Alfred Marsh. The revived *Freedom* group absorbed the survivors of the *Commonweal*, which had become anarchist in 1890 but ceased publication in 1894, and of the *Torch*, which had been begun in 1891 by Helen and Olivia Rossetti (daughters of William Michael Rossetti, the brother of the poets Dante Gabriel and Christina Georgina Rossetti) but ceased publication in 1896; the Freedom Press took over the *Torch* premises and press in Somers Town. Other anarchist papers, both old ones like *The Anarchist* and its successors and the new ones like *Liberty* and *Alarm*, shared the same fate, so *Freedom* became the main English-language anarchist paper in the country, a position it has held for most of the time ever since.

Freedom continued to appear through the difficult period of the Boer War and then the exciting period of the syndicalist movement. After abortive attempts to produce a syndicalist paper called the *General Strike*, the Freedom Press published a series of syndicalist papers — the *Voice of Labour* from January to September 1907, a new *Torch* from 1913 to 1914, and a new *Voice of Labour* from 1914 to 1916. Tom Keell, the Freedom Press printer and publisher, became acting editor of *Freedom* when Marsh became ill in 1912 and editor when he died in October 1914.

By this time the First World War had begun, and after a period of keeping *Freedom* neutral, Keell decided in

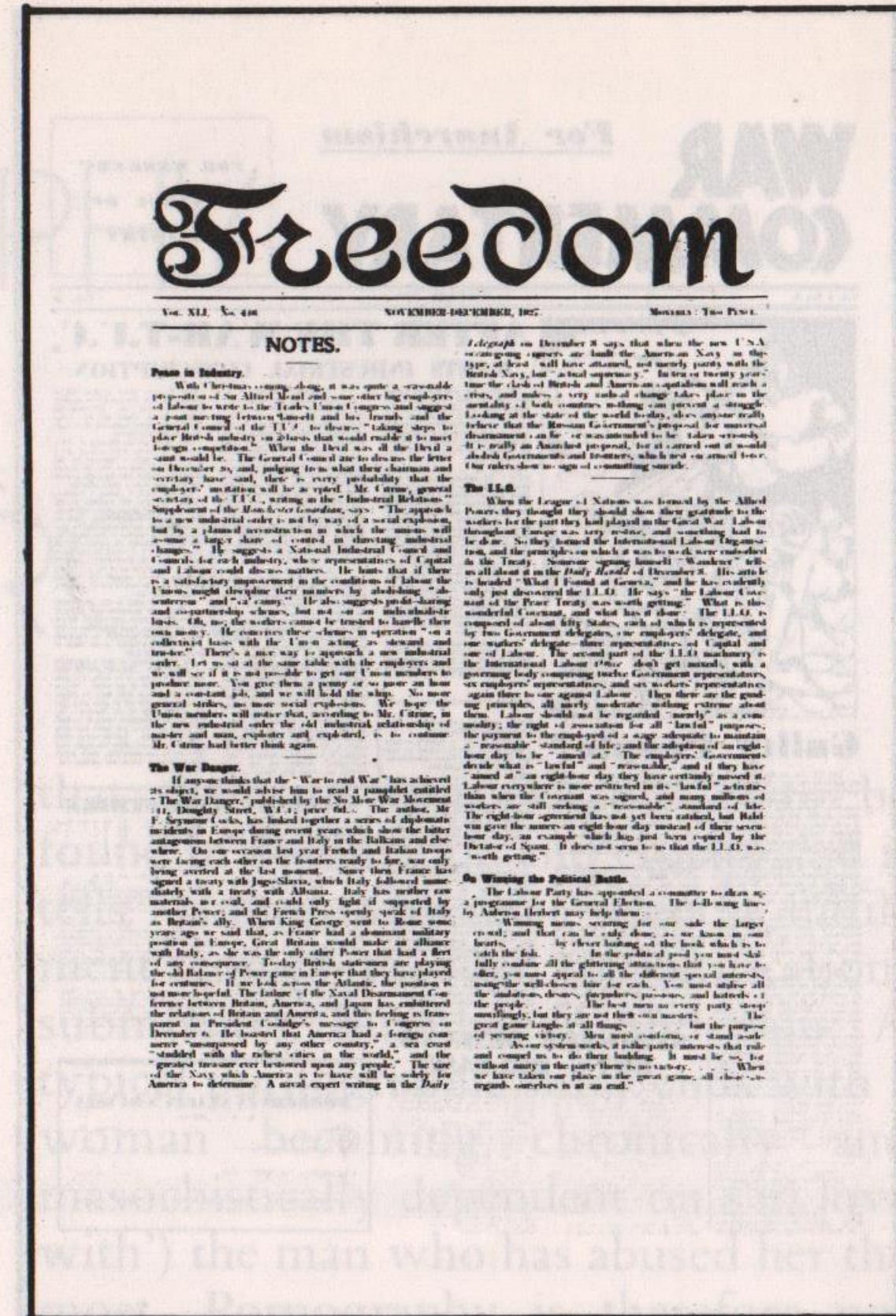


November 1914 to oppose the war effort. This caused a major breach with several members of the group, both those who supported the war (led by Kropotkin and Cherkozov) and those who objected to Keell's personal control (including John Turner and George Cores). But Keell's stand was supported by a reformed *Freedom* group (including Malatesta) and overwhelmingly endorsed by a national conference at Stockport in April 1915.

Freedom co-operated with radical pacifists and socialists in opposing the war in general and conscription in particular, and was involved in forming an Anti-Conscription League and in circulating anti-militarist material in 1916. As a result the Freedom Press was raided four times, in June 1916 Keell and his companion Lilian Wolfe were imprisoned for their activity, and in August 1916 the *Voice of Labour* was suppressed. From December 1916 the Freedom Press published Satire, a lively monthly edited by Leonard Motler, but in April 1918 this too was suppressed.

Freedom managed to continue throughout the war, but despite the help of the talented writer William C. Owen it ran into increasing difficulties afterwards, when anarchism seemed eclipsed by the rise of Communism and Fascism abroad and parliamentary socialism at home. The original *Freedom* finally ceased publication with its 446th issue (the numbering was actually slightly wrong), dated November/December 1927; but Keell produced another fifteen issues of an occasional *Freedom Bulletin* from retirement at Whiteway Colony near Stroud from April 1928 to December 1932, and he also continued to circulate *Freedom* Press publications.

Another *Freedom* was started by a



rival group containing old opponents of Keell (including John Turner and George Cores, and also Ambrose Barker) and new activists (including Victor Neuburg, Oscar Swede and Harry Jones). It began as a monthly in May 1930, and the last issue was dated July/August/September 1936; in August 1936 it merged with other papers which soon ceased publication.

By this time the Spanish Civil War and Revolution had begun, and the Freedom Press helped to revive the anarchist movement in Britain. After an abortive attempt to begin a third series of *Freedom*, a new paper was begun by Vernon Richards with Keell's support. *Spain and the World* appeared fortnightly from December 1936 to December 1938; after the end of the war, in January 1939, another six issues of *Revolt!* appeared from February to June 1939. The Freedom Press also helped with the publication of the Bulletin of the English Section of Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista (edited by Emma Goldman), from 1938 to 1939.

When the Second World War began in September 1939, yet another *Freedom* Press paper was started by Vernon Richards with a group including his companion Marie Louise Berneri, Tom Brown and Albert Meltzer, Ethel Mannin and Reginald Reynolds, and later George Woodcock, John Hewetson, Philip Sansom and Rita Milton. This is the origin of the present run of *Freedom* (explaining why we are now in Volume 47). *War Commentary* began publication in November 1939, the first issue being a duplicated magazine published from Whiteway, but it was quickly established as a printed paper in London, taking the subtitle 'For Anarchism' in August 1941. It began as a small-



format monthly, but in January 1942 it became semi-monthly, and in November 1944 it became fortnightly and increased its format. At the same time the production of other publications was resumed, a printing press was acquired in Whitechapel, and a bookshop was opened in Holborn. Most of the stock was destroyed in an air-raid in May 1941, but the publishing programme was continued, the bookshop soon reopened, and the Friends of *Freedom Press* was established in September 1941.

War Commentary again co-operated with radical pacifists and the few socialists who escaped the line of the Labour and Communist parties, and the Freedom Press was involved in subversive activity and the circulation of anti-militarist material. As a result the Freedom Press was raided in December 1944, and four of the editors were arrested in February 1945. At their trial in April 1945 Marie Louise Berneri was acquitted on a technicality, but Vernon Richards, John Hewetson and Philip Sansom (all three happily still with us) were imprisoned, just as the war was ending in Europe. When the war also ended in Asia, in August 1945, the title was changed back to *Freedom*, with the subtitle 'Through Anarchism' until December 1946. The Freedom Press also helped with the publication of George Woodcock's cultural magazine *Now* from 1943 to 1946 and of the Bulletin of the Freedom Defence Committee (edited by George Woodcock) from 1945 to 1948.

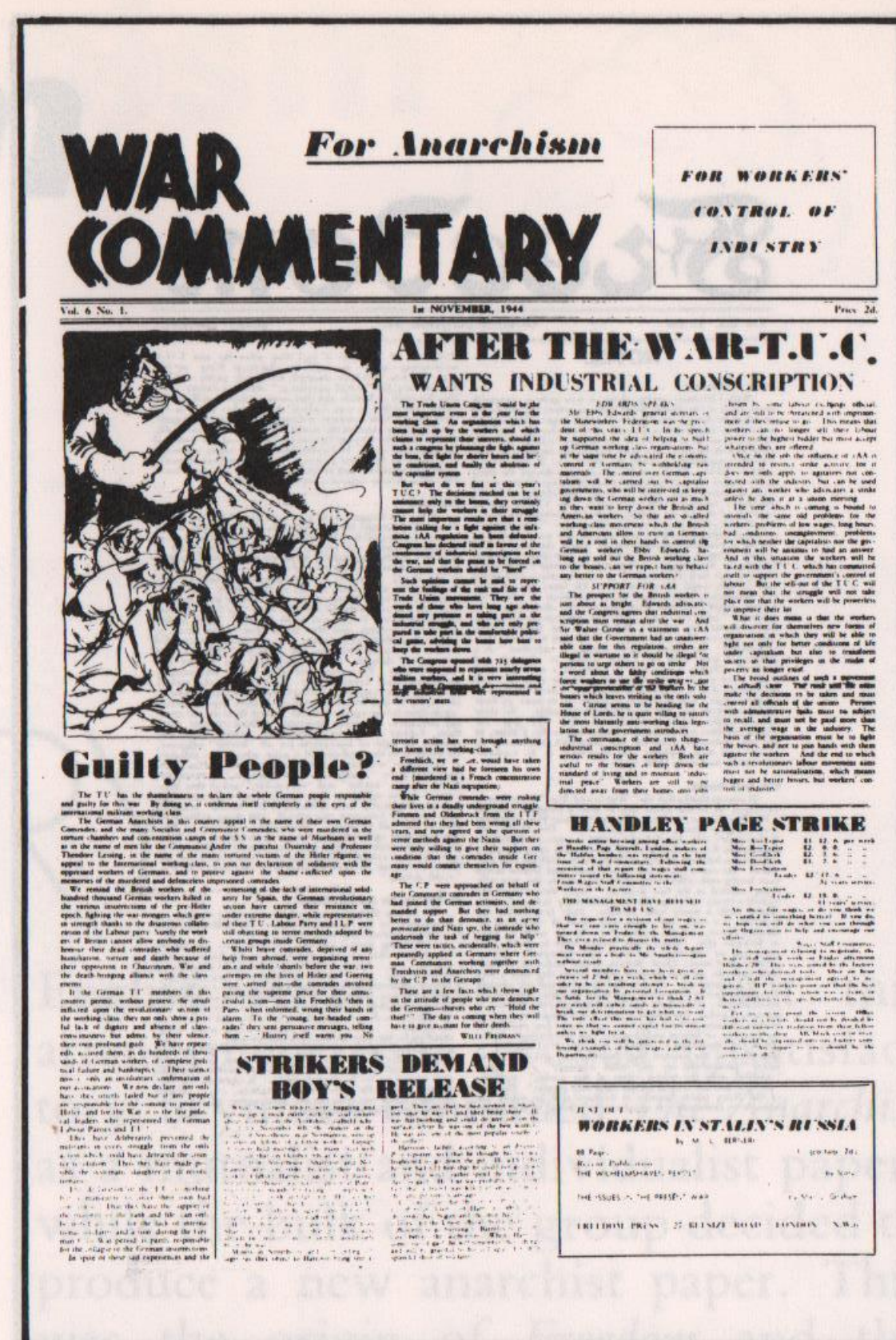
At the end of the war there was a damaging split in the anarchist movement between the strict anarcho-syndicalists and the rest; the former took over the Anarchist Federation of Britain, tried and failed to take over the



Freedom Press, and then started *Direct Action* (later *World Labour News*). *Freedom* continued through the difficult time of austerity and the growth of the welfare state under the Labour Government and then affluence and apathy and the growth of the warfare state under the Conservative Government, defiantly becoming a weekly in May 1951.

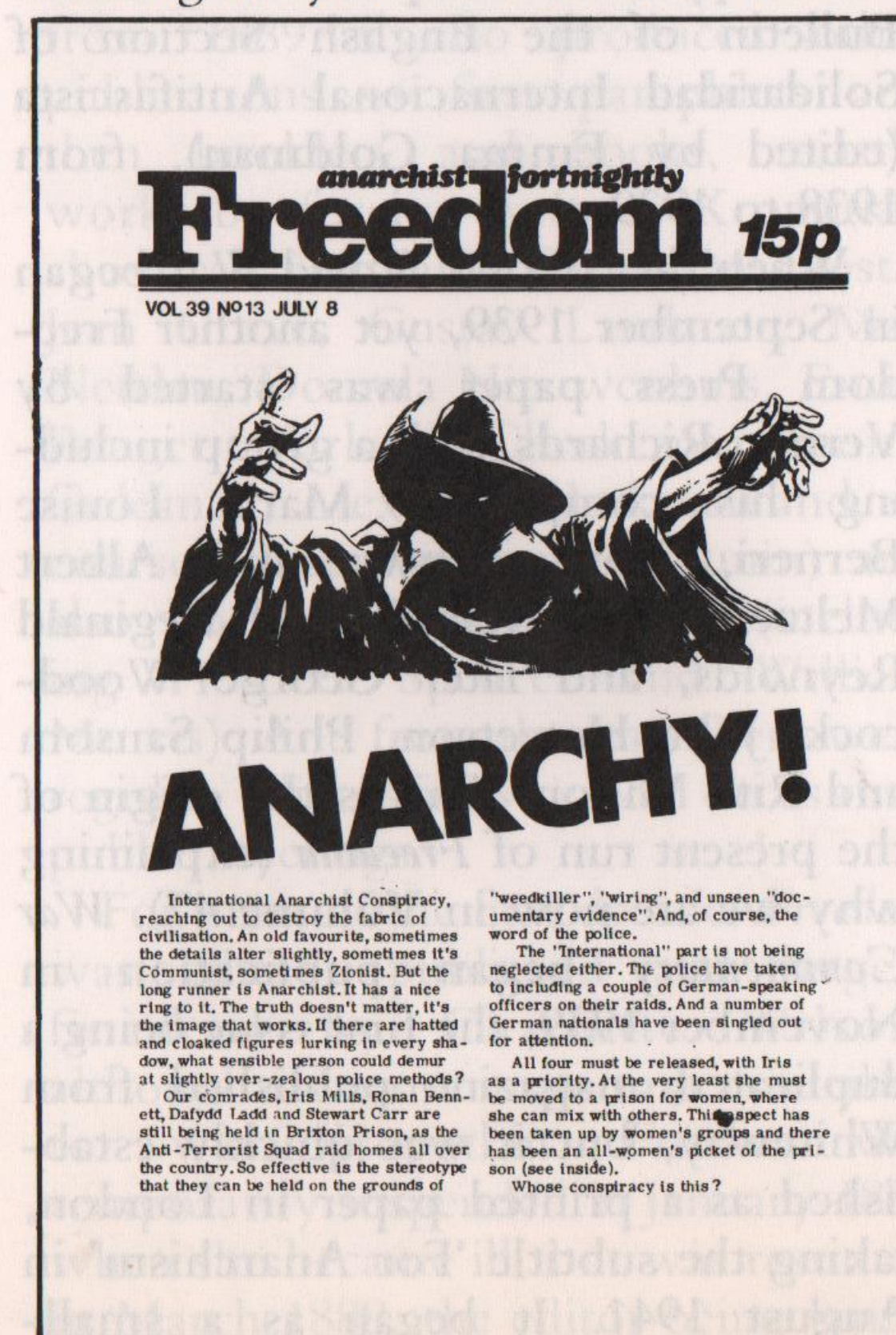
But gradually anarchism revived again, partly because of the work of the Freedom Press. The Freedom Bookshop in Holborn improved, Lilian Wolfe and Jack Robinson working in it until the 1970s. An associated group organised the Malatesta Club, also in Holborn, from 1954 to 1958. As well as other publications, annual volumes of selections from *Freedom* were published from 1951 to 1964. An associated group (including Philip Sansom and Albert Meltzer) published *The Syndicalist* from May 1952 to April 1953. The Freedom Press produced the monthly *Anarchy* (edited by Colin Ward) from March 1961 to December 1970, *Freedom* missing one issue each month when *Anarchy* appeared. The Freedom Press also published the first three issues of a new series of *Anarchy* during 1971, but from the fourth issue *Anarchy* was produced by a series of independent groups, and *Freedom* resumed full weekly publication in January 1972. The hundredth issue of *Anarchy* was reprinted as a pamphlet, *About Anarchism* (by Nicolas Walter), joining the classics kept in print.

In 1965 Vernon Richards left *Freedom* to concentrate on work for the Freedom Press, continuing to produce pamphlets and books, and since then the paper has been produced by a series of collectives. The Freedom Press and Bookshop moved to Fulham in 1960 and then to the present premises in



Whitechapel in 1968. The rising costs of production and postage forced various changes during the 1970s. In January 1973 *Freedom* changed to cheap offset printing, and in July 1973 the format was reduced. In March 1975 it became a fortnightly, with an 'Anarchist Review' as an insert. Then donations from several comrades, living and dead, facilitated improvements during the 1980s. The Friends of Freedom Press was re-established in 1983, and better production methods were resumed from 1981, when the Aldgate Press began. *Freedom* enlarged its format yet again in January 1983. Production was briefly interrupted by editorial difficulties early in 1984, but soon resumed; *Freedom* became a monthly in May 1984, and the format was reduced again in January 1985.

In October 1986 there will be a special centenary number of *Freedom*. During the year the Freedom Press will



be publishing many new pamphlets and books, including a series of selections from the various periodicals it has produced during its first century. And the Freedom Bookshop has been reorganised so that it is now open six days a week.

But ours is by no means the only hundredth anniversary to commemorate this year. May 1886 saw the beginning of the major episode in American anarchist history, the bomb at the Haymarket demonstration in Chicago which led to the trial of eight and the hanging of four anarchist martyrs in 1887 and to the adoption of May Day by the international labour movement in 1890. May 1886 also saw the formation of the first known anarchist organisation in Australasia, the Melbourne Anarchist Club. These events will be especially remembered in the United States and Australia, but they will also be marked in Britain.

There are also several fiftieth anniversaries this year. In Britain the Peace Pledge Union was formed in May 1936 and *Peace News* began publication in June 1936. And, above all, in Spain the Civil War and Revolution began in July 1936. These events will also be marked in appropriate ways.

And we may remember the 150th anniversary of the death in April 1836 of William Godwin, who is often described as the first real anarchist writer. The Freedom Press has just published Peter Marshall's edition of *The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin*.

The Statue of Liberty was dedicated in October 1886, the same month as *Freedom's* first issue. *Time* and *Newsweek* will no doubt celebrate the Liberty centenary, and the voice of *Freedom* may be heard amid the din.

Freedom PORNOGRAPHY AND STATE CONTROL

I FOUND Arabella Melville's critique of Liz Verran's pamphlet *Pornography and State Control* profoundly disturbing because, read uncritically by those who confuse libertarianism with liberalism, the views expressed will seem credible and will probably be received sympathetically.

It seems to me that the central thing, which Melville appears incapable of grasping, is the fact that pornography is by necessity to a very great extent a reflection of the society which produces it. Thus, in a deeply misogynistic society, pornography carries a deeply misogynistic message. Much in the tradition of liberal academic philosophers, Melville consistently 'abstracts' the issue, treating porn as if it existed in a vacuum, failing to realise that as with any art form or cultural artefact pornography can only be properly understood when placed in its historical context.

True, in a free society we would hope that our culture would be able to deal with sexuality in a more liberatory way but in a class-divided and patriarchal society there can be no 'neutral' (ie value-free) pornography (or anything else for that matter). To put this more concretely and using an analogy which I admit is problematic and doesn't always work: In the abstract there is nothing intrinsically wrong with golliwogs. But in a racist society where the word 'wog' is used as an insult, then golliwogs are offensive. My point is, how could we expect a racist society *not* to produce a racist toy? (The same can be said for militarist toys, etc, etc).

However, pornography does not simply *reflect* a society where women are even more economically exploited than men, it also rationalises and legitimises it. Continuing with the analogy, you could say that pornography is to sexism what National Front literature is to racism — a product of the sexism of everyday life, certainly, but aggravating it as well. (Incidentally, porn can be extremely racist. Is this also okay in Melville's view?)

Pornography conveys an unmistakable message of male domination as natural and therefore good. It tells men

that their greatest pleasure is to be found in domination and cruelty and it tells women that their deepest fulfilment comes through objectification, submission, humiliation and pain. A typical pornographic story ends with a woman becoming chronically and masochistically dependent on ('in love with') the man who has abused her the most. Pornography is therefore not just lies about women, it is also lies about men. By glorifying men's sexual alienation and emotional repression it helps to perpetuate both the sexual misery of men and the all-round misery of women.

Melville's condemnation of anti-porn actions as 'censorship' I find exasperating in the extreme for it rests on the classic liberal defence of 'free speech'. But anarchists have always

understood that while anyone can *speak* in our society, only a tiny minority have the power and money to make themselves heard. (For instance, I can write this article for *Freedom* but what percentage of the population has access to *Freedom* compared with porn which is openly available in any newsagent you care to enter?) It is in these circumstances that women who have been excluded from the system of power and influence resort to trashing porn shops as the only way of making their voices heard. In no way does this grass-roots refusal amount to censorship which is by definition imposed from above through the machinations of the law to serve the State's own ends. I would categorically never call for the banning of pornography, not merely because it wouldn't eliminate it, but because censorship laws will always be used against the advocates of freedom as much as (if not more than) against the proponents of tyranny and reaction. (The first person to be tried under the anti-racist laws in this country was a black man!)

To fall for the rallying call of 'Let us defend the individual's right to choose what s/he wishes to read' is to be played for a fool, for in reality there is as little freedom in this respect as in any other. Most boys make a study of



pornography in adolescence. When porn is tacitly sanctioned by all around and by society at large as an appropriate guide to human sexuality (mother may frown on it but it is available after all) I have great difficulty in seeing this as a 'free choice' in the sense of an informed decision made without pressure and chosen from amongst a range of desirable options — especially considering the penalties incurred for not being 'one of the boys'.

The consumers of porn are lonely, Melville tells us, and 'Sexual fantasy offers a warm dream of acceptance'. She does in fact obliquely hit upon an important point here though it's not the one she's trying to make. The important point is that porn is only a dream. Wanking off in a lonely room,

or having perfunctory, alienated sex cannot possibly provide the fulfillment that men really long for. Porn suggests ways of finding such fulfillment, ways which, one way or another, all boil down to subjugating women through sex. In a world like ours where rape and sex-murder are commonplace it is not too far fetched to say that complacency about porn endangers women's lives and furthermore puts in jeopardy any shreds of autonomy women are able to gain by their own efforts.

Arguing about whether or not the men who use porn are 'monsters' is surely missing the point! Peter Sutcliffe, so-called Yorkshire Ripper, was a human being and what's more he was deemed 'sane'. Personally I do find it

necessary to regard all men as potential rapists — not because I think they are 'monsters' or inherently prone to violence but because I understand that it suits class-society very well to have an expendable under-class of victims, and in a patriarchal system it is women's lives which are cheapest of all. What are a 'few' rapes and murders to the masters? 'Incidental expenses' of the system, that's all.

Being an anarchist means rejecting class-society and rejecting the patriarchy; in practice this means rejecting pornography and rejecting calls for censorship. True libertarianism is far wider and deeper than mere militant liberalism a la Melville.

Tracy Walker
Canterbury DAM

Censorship PORN AND INTOLERANCE

I THINK the debate on porn and censorship has been very important and I'm afraid it is far from over for 'feminists' who are more and more becoming identified with a puritanical rather than middle, or should I say, upper class intolerance towards anyone else's views except their own. Many readers probably know that apart from simply condemning pornography, some women in Leeds have burnt down four sex shops and also a night club where people, including women, do naughty things like taking their clothes off in front of other people.

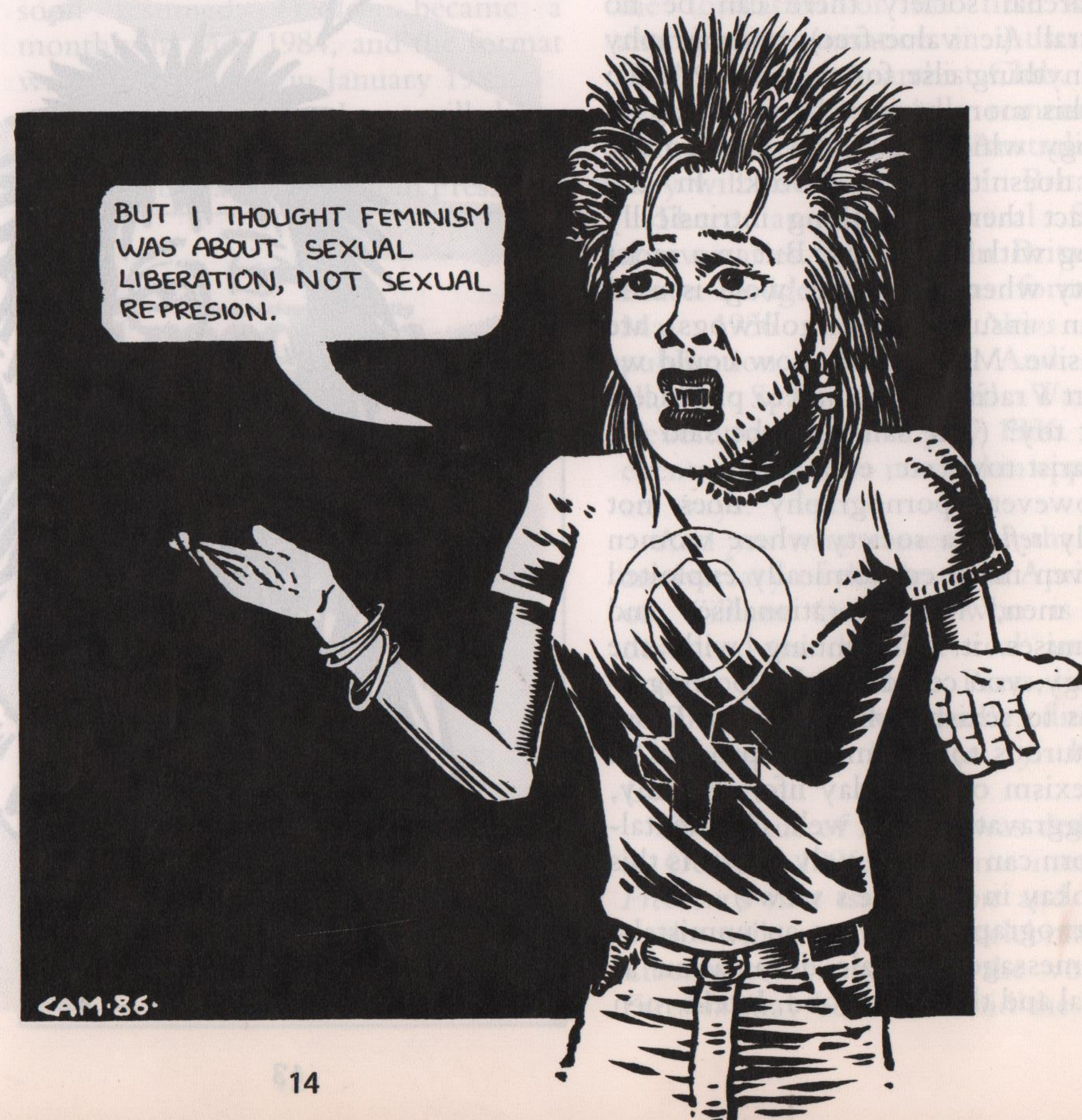
I agree with Andy and probably most 'feminists' that the sex industry is exploitative both of women and of human sexuality, and certain harder areas of the business such as were described by the former Linda Lovelace of Deep Throat fame should be exposed and challenged. But if the sex shops and soft porn industry is exploitative then so is any other aspect of work in the present state of things, this does not mean the exploited burn down their workplaces does it? In fact the miners, whom we all supported, have just had a year long bitter strike to preserve their jobs and their coal mines despite the exploitative and hard nature of their work. Many women who work in the soft porn market particularly in depressed areas of the North often do so in order to make a few extra pennies to feed their kids as an alternative to full time prostitution. Due

to the teachers strike many working class women have also lost legitimate part-time jobs and been forced into the porn industry, probably by those self same 'feminists' in the teaching profession who condemn the porn merchants.

Quite apart from the whole argument about censorship which has been

covered very well in your last issues, I would like to know what gives a few well heeled 'feminists' who have had the advantages of life the right to put other women's livelihoods in jeopardy, ironically in the name of defending women's rights, and what alternatives for economic survival are they presenting to those women they so self-righteously dispossess. It seems to me that it is very easy to destroy the things we don't like as the history of men proves, but it's harder to construct the alternatives to exploitation especially when 'feminists' show such arrogant contempt for the women they claim to represent in their actions. Controversially,

Flo
Free Fallen Feminist



LETTERS

A day at Summerhill

I READ with interest David Stephen's article on Summerhill: it brought back memories of a visit I made there in 1969 when I was a student teacher. 'Neill', as he seemed to be called by everyone, was then 85 years old. I had just read his book on 'Summerhill'. The book was prefaced by that famous verse of Kahlil Gibran:

'Your children are not your children

They are the sons and daughters of Life's longing for itself

They come through you but not from you

And though they are with you yet they belong not to you.'

I like Gibran's prose poem: and I enjoyed reading Neill's book. In those days it was like a breath of fresh air. Neill spoke with sense, compassion and candour about such things as fear, lying, discipline, sex, religion, stealing and jealousy. The book was readable and matter-of-fact, though clearly infused with the ideas of Pestalozzi, Reich and Homer Lane.

With a friend I thought it would be good to see the school for ourselves. We wrote to Neill. We got a friendly card back saying we would be welcome any Saturday, which was visitor's day. We hired a car for the weekend. Quite by co-incidence the local newspaper we bought on our arrival in Suffolk carried a front-page article on the school (Leiston Observer March 20, 1969). It carried the headline 'The "mad" school, with pupils in the nude who hold their own "court"'.

We spent the afternoon wandering about Summerhill and chatting with the children. Most of the older children had gone into town, but we were continually surrounded by the younger ones demanding 'piggy-back' rides, and all swearing like 'troopers'. One American educational psychologist who was also visiting the school spent the whole afternoon entertaining the children in this way.

What particularly struck me about the school was how aesthetically drab the whole place was. There was hardly a picture or decoration to be seen anywhere, and the ground looked like one of the bombsites I had played on as a child. Most of the trees had been very badly treated and hacked about, and there was no school garden as far as I could see. The school contrasted markedly with a Steiner school I had

visited only a few weeks before. It contrasted also with Neill's own garden, which was apparently out-of-bounds to the children.

In the afternoon Neill came across to the school to have tea with us and to chat. I had gained the impression from reading his book that Neill was a rather dour and dogmatic character, a real dominion, and rather set in his ideas. But I found him very refreshing to listen to, and at 85 still very lucid and alert. He was anything but dogmatic, and he answered all the questions we put to him with candour and humour, and with an open mind. He was hardly a 'guru' type figure. But he didn't brook any insults or intrusions by the children. One question I remember. The American psychologist asked Neill what you did with children who continuously wanted 'piggy-back' rides. Not understanding the question, Neill asked him to elaborate on the problem. The psychologist related how he had spent the afternoon at Summerhill giving the children rides around the school — obviously feeling that at a 'free' school the children's needs and wishes took priority. You mean to say, Neill asked, that you've spent the whole afternoon behaving like a donkey? And responding to the psychologist's blank look he rasped 'You're a bloody fool', and then went on to outline what he meant by freedom, which included not only respecting the rights of other people, but also respecting your own needs and feelings.

Brian Morris

Dishonest 'Rights'

IN response to Arabella Melville's latest offering on pornography. I don't think I am restricted by any 'fundamental anarchist beliefs'. I'm too busy just trying to live free. I don't know anyone scared to go out at night in case some anti-porn incendiary hurts them. I do know numerous people who don't go out unaccompanied after dark because of a very real fear that they will be in danger of attack. Particularly because they are female, and our society repeatedly propagandises the view that solitary females are, or deserve to be, victims. Pornography is part of that propaganda.

Shall I defend the 'right' of some individual to explore harmful fantasies, or offer my full support to the people I actually know are systematically being denied a freedom I take for granted? Others take it so for granted that apparently they don't realise how important it is to be able to move around free from the fear of physical attack.

One must be privileged in the first place even to consider the option of suffering one's oppressors' freedom to be immature. Perhaps they do need help and understanding. In which case they had better start helping and understanding each other, and not bother attempting to defuse or distract justifiable anger with dishonest intellectual arguments about 'rights'.

One last point: I reckon 'unreasoned hysteria' is the only sane and healthy initial response to lots of the shit most of us have to live in. For Freedom,

Randy McDonald
Reading

[Eds: Freedom to move around without being attacked, depends on a 'real' sense of community amongst people. Street crime, sexual or otherwise, always looms large in bad times. It isn't a product of "propaganda" by pornographers. "Unreasoned hysteria" is the 'soul' of fascism and repression, and some of you may yet pay the full price of forgetting that in the next 20 years!]

Pornographic liver

I have been following the discussion on pornography with a great deal of interest. However, there is one thing I'm not too clear about. Maybe Donald Room could answer my question: What has the size of a woman's liver to do with it?

Puzzled
Lancs



[I am told the different sizes of men's and women's livers have to do with different tolerances for alcohol, but I can't think what, if anything, it has to do with pornography. What makes you think I know? Puzzled D.R.]

CnD?

While I share many of Stu's doubts about National CND, I'm glad that I went to the (poorly advertised) Peace Movement Social in Hyde Park. I met Mary who I hadn't seen for years. 100,000 responsibly exercised our right to demonstrate non-violently in London (outnumbering the police).

Stu counted 200 anarchists — were they the noisy punks with leather anarchy labels? Was their chant 'Liberate the System'? Does CND stand for Cider n Drugs?

George Miles
Karelia

LETTERS
continued

Personal plan

MANY of us are realising that present day society is ripe for the growth of a mass anarchist movement, so the million dollar question is 'where do we go from here?' Well, here's my personal opinion for what it's worth.

Class War and other related groups have had an enormous impact in developing a populist, mass-circulatory anarchist press that has, (and will have further, hopefully) caught the imaginations of those such as inner-city rioters, schoolkids, and all those whose only means of hitting back at society is rioting/violent sabotage. The problem is this: the majority of people in this country simply don't want a violent confrontation with the state (would you honestly be prepared to die for some revolution that might not work anyway?) hence a more organised, tried and tested form of anarchism is required for popular appeal. Revolutionary syndicalism provides us with this strategy. In present day society the means of production/coercion/distribution are heavily centralised and bureaucratised, so we must recognise that any revolution is going to take a hell of a lot of planning. Remember, the population must be clothed and fed during the revolution, so any revolutionary ideology that revolves around mass rioting/council-communism can not be seen as being 100% relevant to our society. Unless we are totally prepared to take over industry ourselves *now*, how would we stop a Trot group from seizing power and doing things how they want it to be done?

Syndicalism itself, could, and should, be updated to include a more significant role for groups such as women and claimants, shifting the overall 'balance of power' from the workplace to the wider community. With regards to delegation, DAM's strategy for the development of non-oligarchical 'leadership' is fine as it stands, but could be improved further to increase accountability and democracy. Would it be so difficult for example, if delegate conferences were taped or filmed and thereby related back to the rank-and-file? This would mean that any sell-out by delegates would be clear for all to see, and action could be taken to ensure that it did not happen again. Similarly, the shift to

'community syndicalism' would help to ensure that those involved in workplace struggle within capitalism (ie for better wages, conditions etc) would be under constant pressure from poorer members of the community, and therefore any watering-down of revolutionary aspirations brought about by improvements within capitalism would be countered by the need and the wish of the community as a whole to bring about a self-managed society.

Outside of these community syndicates, the sort of violent sabotage advocated by the like of Class War could be carried out by non-workers, schoolkids etc, all to complement the industrial general strike. Each particular person knows where their specific oppression manifests itself, and how to deal with it. But in the immediate future, we can improve our organisation and our propaganda. The most popular anarchist papers appear to be those that are humorous (it shows people that we're human too), with lots of pictures, good covers, and written in intelligible language (that Tom Jennings bloke ought to practise his intellectual masturbation elsewhere) with lots of different topics covered.

But we've got to develop our arguments and pinpoint the weaknesses of capitalism/state socialism (not exactly difficult now is it comrades) and also put forward the anarchist alternative. (Why the fuck are most anarchist papers 100% *destructive*?) We've got to get out of our 'purist' ghettos and explain exactly how an anarchist society would deal with crime, and so on. Also needed are more cheap duplicated leaflets for specialist things (eg Fuck Skool, CND, Animal Rights) that explain why, on their own, single issues aren't worth piss-all. Still, too many @ papers (including *Black Flag* and *Freedom*) are written for internal consumption. Why, for fucks sake, is street-selling immediately denounced by so many people as being a 'Trot technique'? How else are people supposed to become anarchists and get involved with others of a like mind? One final point related specifically to *Freedom*. On reading *Freedom* one would get the impression that anarchists spend all their lives sat on their arses doing nowt. Why don't you publicise more events? It's hard enough getting @s to turn out for demos/actions as it is. Acne and peas.

Stiv Bator
Manchester

PS There have been some good articles in *Freedom* lately, (eg one on evolution) keep it up and good luck.

Heartless Thugs

I am writing to you in order to get some things out of my system. I am a pacifist anarchist and receive anarchist literature from various parts of the country and recently the anarchist press has taken a turn for the worse. I mean their disrespect for the dead. A believe life is precious whether it be a policeman's or black woman's.

The caustic wit of the last edition of *Crowbar*, ('Policeman — hacked to death by hyenas') does nothing for the anarchist cause but portrays us as heartless thugs.

The recent edition of my nearest anarchist paper, *Boot 'Em*, has a nasty article concerning the policewoman who was shot accidentally outside an embassy. *Boot 'Em* used to send me five copies every month which I distribute to friends or potential revolutionaries, but this time I threw them in the bin. As for the recent *Class War*, it's just full of hatred with no constructive, positive alternatives, but the worst thing about that paper is that its hatred is rubbing off and influencing other anarchist papers, resulting in a competitive game of vicious verbal cruelty. If we do not give dignity and respect to the dead I cannot see us giving hope to the living.

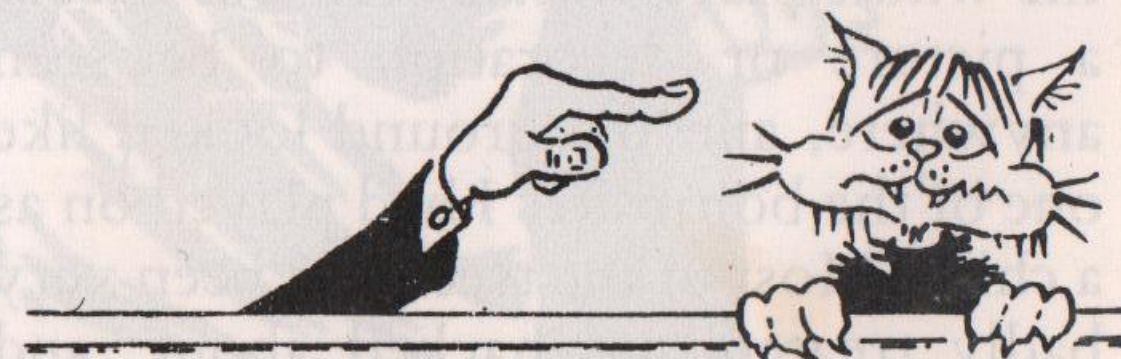
And now to come to another point. I may be wrong as I do not have the *Freedom* paper at the moment to verify it, it is just something that has stuck in my mind. A sentence which I could have sworn I read in *Freedom*, something to the effect of 'policeman attacked by someone with a penknife' referring to PC Blakelock. A bit of an understatement and not the sort of sentence I expect to read from the paper I demand the most of.

I am sorry for rambling on, but I expect a lot from *Freedom* because *Freedom* was the first paper that I could relate to, and then I delved into *Anarchism*. I am sick of violence. It does my head in.

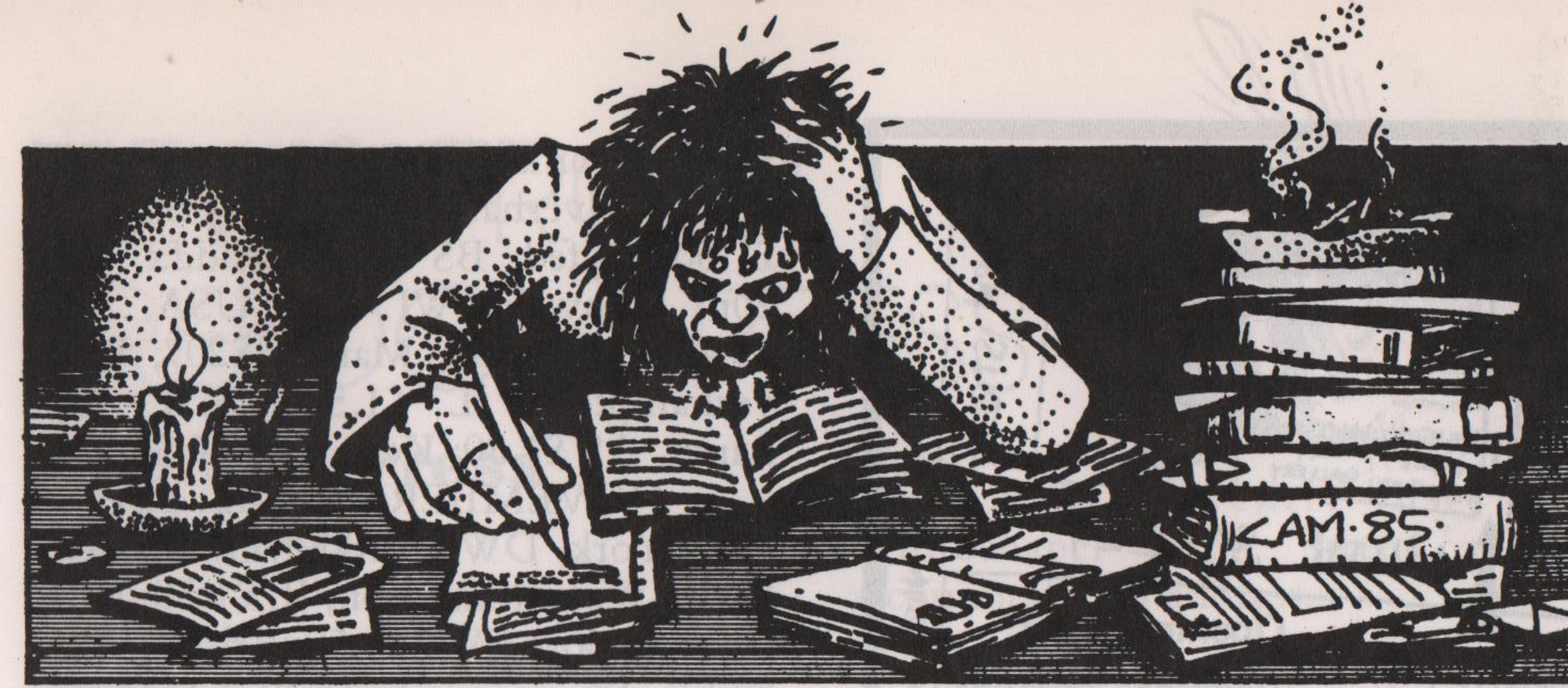
I hope we have some kind of revolution without a blood-bath. The printed word is a powerful force and can influence the actions of many people, we must be careful how we use it.

Thanks for letting me let off steam.

Berni
Bognor Regis



[Eds: We do not recall the passage Berni is not sure of.]



Aragon

The Anarchist Encyclopaedia

edited by Stuart Christie
(annual subscription £16.00)

Monograph 1

Civil War and Civil peace:
Libertarian Aragon 1936-37

by Graham Kelsey

(single copy £2.00)

Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir
Street, Cambridge CB1 2LG

THE original *Anarchist Encyclopaedia* (like the original *Encyclopaedia*) was French. It was edited by Sébastien Faure, and published in Paris in separate parts during the late 1920s and early 1930s and then in four volumes in 1934-35. It was a real encyclopaedia, containing nearly 3,000 pages, designed as a proper reference book with informative entries in alphabetical order.

The new *Anarchist Encyclopaedia* is British, and it is not so much an encyclopaedia as a continuation of the *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review*, edited by Stuart Christie and produced by Refract Publications. It is intended to be a bi-monthly series of miscellaneous folios (monographs, essays, articles, reviews, discussions, reports, and so on), considering all kinds of subjects from an anarchist point of view, and produced in a standard two-column A4 format which can be filed or bound.

The first folio, which appeared at the end of 1985, is an academic monograph based on Graham Kelsey's doctoral thesis about the province of Aragon during the Spanish Civil War and Revolution. It is 80 pages long, just over half being a chronological narrative and just under half being detailed notes and bibliography, giving a valuable account of an important aspect of the most significant episode in the history of the anarchist movement.

Kelsey describes the Nationalist military rising of July 1936, the failure of the Aragonese left to hold Zaragoza and other large towns, the collapse of the Republican state apparatus, the formation of the Regional Defence

Council uniting the left, the collectivisation of the rural areas not occupied by the Nationalists, the political and military struggles, then the attack on the libertarian regime by the Republican government under Communist influence during 1937, and finally the Nationalist conquest of the region during 1938. He comments that 'the destruction of libertarian Aragon proved to be the first stage in the collapse of Loyalist Spain', and emphasises the dominant factor in the process of total defeat was the opposition to the social revolution by the Republican-Liberal-Socialist-Communist forces.

The result is always interesting, sometimes depressing, but ultimately uplifting. All the more pity that it is rather badly written and very badly produced (with ugly typesetting and clumsy make-up, which should be improved in future instalments). But it is well worth having, and the subsequent folios will be worth looking out for. **NW**

The Slanguage of Sex

Brigid McConville and John Shearlaw

(Futura, p/b 288pp, £2.50)

SEX is a dominant force in life. Applications of sexuality shape much of our society. It is now less of a taboo subject, but the language used about it in public is still clinical, coy or coarse. Slang is non-formal language. It says a lot.

The stimulus for writing this review was a series of coincidences. I was surprised when there was an objection to the use of the word 'prat' (*Freedom*, October). I had always taken it to mean 'buttocks' and, by extension, 'twit'. This seemed to be reinforced by the Americanism 'pratfall'. I had never heard it could mean 'part of the female anatomy'. (I did know about the different British and American usage of 'fanny', which are comparable.) I checked around and found that people seemed divided about 'prat'. Most seemed to know one or other definition and to be completely unaware of the alternative.

While this research was going on, I came across this book. It claims that 'prat' meant 'buttocks' in the 18th century and had become 'the female genitals' in the 20th, 'which usage remains'. Well, so does the other.

With what I suppose is just an overgrown version of the childish hunt through dictionaries looking for dirty words, I checked the book further. It cover sexual and related slang from different English traditions, mainly British, Irish, American and Australian. It points out and condemns sexist and anti-gay attitudes, depressingly if not surprisingly, the majority.

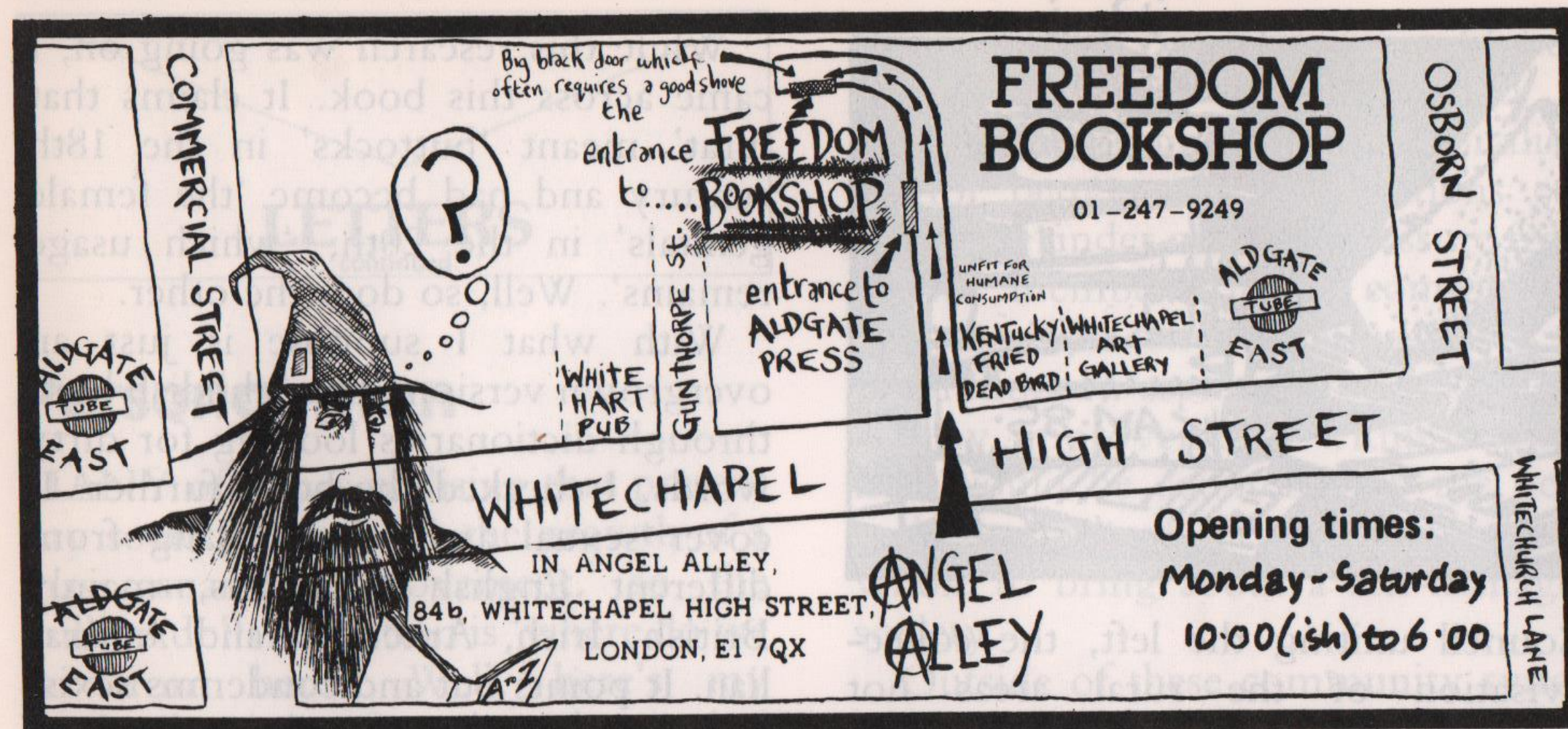
This area of language changes rapidly and, by definition, it is not subject to formal rules. So, it is not surprising that I found other definitions which conflict with my expectations. At times, the authors seem almost naive. They certainly don't know the North of England. For example, they think that 'kid' is a form of affection for women, apparently they learnt this by watching 'Coronation Street'. In fact, it is used almost indiscriminately. (For that matter, so is the stereotyped northern endearment, I've seen two men fighting outside a pub in Sheffield, yelling 'I'll smash your fucking head in, love'.)

They don't that 'tart' can be a term of approval or affection. In Liverpool, it means 'girlfriend'. They think that 'of the brush' is a 20th century UK expression and invite suggestions as to its origin. In fact, 'over the broomstick' is much older, referring to an unofficial marriage and is also found in the USA, Brenda Lee had a song about it. For a cruder example, they think that a phrase like 'two ferrets fighting in a sack' is a Dublin expression of limited application and only from the 1970s. They also think that it only applies to flabby buttocks.

These quibbles don't mean much in themselves, but they do emphasise that, understandably, many of the expressions in the book have been collected by hearsay. Different backgrounds give exposure to different slang. The authors do seem better at picking up obscure and limited items than at knowing terms which may be widespread in other cultures. That said, they are non-judgemental about personal habits and very judgemental about prejudice.

Sexual slang does say a lot about attitudes, which from most of the catalogue here is a dispiriting conclusion. And to resurrect an old plea, can anyone come up with any useful expletives which are not based on ideologically unsound and sexual, excretory or religious premises?

DP



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Recent Pamphlets

God and the State

Michael Bakunin

Reprint of 1970 American edition

Bash 'em Books, 80p

The Anarchist Introduction to the Russian Revolution

Alexander Berkman

Reprint of section of 1929 book *What is Anarchist Communism?*

Virus, 60p

Strange Victories

Introduced by Alfredo M. Bonanno

Revolutionary anarchist critique of American and Continental European anti-nuclear movement in 1970s

Elephant Editions, £1.95

Trotsky Protests Too Much

Emma Goldman

Reprint of Freedom edition of 1938 pamphlet

Virus, 40p

The Animal Liberation Movement

Peter Singer

Brief account of past, present and principles, emphasising non-violence

Old Hammond Press, £1.10

Broken Chains 3

(September-October 1985)

Canterbury Anarchist Magazine

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(November 1985-January 1986)

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(Spring 1986)

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25th birthday issue

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Variant

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Virus 5

(Winter 1985-86)

Militant Anarchism

20p

Recent Periodicals

Direct Action 27

(January 1986)

Paper of the DAM-IWA

20p

Anarchy 38

(January 1986)

Conspiracies and armed struggle, right and left, plus ritual sneer at Freedom

90p

Black Chip 4

A Radical Journal of New Technology

60p

Black Flag 147

(13 January 1986)

The Anarchist Fortnightly

30p

Black Sheep 1

Swansea Anarchist Paper

20p

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Freedom Magazine Fund

Bristol, AFC £8; Wolverhampton, JKW 50p, JL £1.50; Birmingham, GO £18.50; Ruislip, JG 55p; Wolverhampton, JKW 50p, JL £1.50; HGB £7.50; JF £45.50; London, DS £8, J 55p.

OCTOBER 22-31 TOTAL: £92.60
CG £2.05; Nottingham, Old Hammond Press £10; NP £1.55; DWP £15.66; Heidelberg, RS £1.50; Wolverhampton, JL £1.50, JKW 50p; Dave £1; Glasgow, AM 25p; MC £10; Middx, ROM £1.75; Brighton, EJ £1.05, CJ £3.50; Wolverhampton, JL £1.50, JKW 50p; Tyne & Wear, AS

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DECEMBER 1-21 TOTAL: £393.78

1985 GRAND TOTAL: £1758.81
The above total includes donations for the typesetter purchase appeal.

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DECEMBER TOTAL: £73.20

1985 GRAND TOTAL: £818.08

NEWS FROM FREEDOM PRESS

Freedom Press Bookshop

Rumours have circulated recently that Freedom Bookshop was on the point of closing for good. We are glad to say the rumours were false. Freedom Bookshop has indeed been re-organized, but it continues to open five, perhaps six, days every week (telephone 01-247 9249 to make sure the place is actually open, if you think of visiting the shop on a Monday).

In addition to keeping the Bookshop open, the group of volunteers who now run it are trying to sort out other problems. The following rather pompous letter has been circulated to all the people, a few of them quite inappropriate.

CONTACTS

ABERDEEN Anarchists, c/o Boomtown Books, 163 King Street, Aberdeen
PAX, c/o 50 Berrywell Gardens, Dyce, Aberdeen

BANGOR Anarchist/Libertarian Collective, c/o Greenhouse, 1 Trevelyan Terrace, High Street, Bangor, Gwynedd

BEDFORD Anarchist Society, Box A, Bedford College of Higher Education, Polhill Avenue, Bedford

BOLTON Anarchists/Direct Action, c/o Bolton Socialist Club, 16 Wood Street, Bolton, Lancs BL1 1DY

BRACKNALL A's, Box 21, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading

BRADFORD A's, c/o Starry Plough Bookshop, 6 Edmond Street, Bradford

BRISTOL A's, Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol

Anarchist Society, University Students Union, Queens Road, Clifton, Bristol

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE A Group, Bucks College of Higher Education, Newland Park, Chalfont St Giles, Bucks.

BURNLEY A's, 2 Quarrybank, Burnley

CAMBRIDGE Box A, c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge

CANTERBURY Anarchist Group, 20 Uplands, Class War, Libertarian Communist Discussion Group, Rebel Press, South Atlantic

CHELTENHAM Green Anarchist Group, c/o Tom, Flat 3, 19 Glencairn Park Road, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire

CHESHIRE Mail Housing Action Group, 87 Mill Lane, Macclesfield, Cheshire

CHESTERFIELD A's, c/o Jon, Box 42, 48 Beetwell Street, Chesterfield, Derbyshire S40 1SH

COVENTRY Anarchist Group, PO Box 125, Coventry CV3 5QT

Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Warwick University, Coventry

CUMBRIA Cats Cradle, 20 Camp Street, Maryport, Cumbria

DERBY Anarchist Times, 40 Leacroft Road, Normanton, Derby

EDINBURGH Little by Little, Box A, or Counter Information, Box 81, or Angry, Box C/W: all at c/o 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh

ate, who currently use 84b Whitechapel High Street as an accommodation address.

Dear ...

As you know, the Freedom Press Group and its various operational groups (Freedom Press, Freedom Magazine, Freedom Bookshop) exist for the purpose of anarchist propaganda. In pursuit of this purpose, certain other anarchist propaganda groups are privileged to use 84b Whitechapel High Street as an accommodation address.

Recently, by accident, the privilege of accommodation address has been extended to a number of groups and individuals who do not share the aims and interests of the Freedom Press Group. We ask these groups and individuals, in fairness to us, to find other addresses.*

ESH WINNING Spanish Information Network (Sinews), 37 South Terrace, Esh Winning, Co Durham, DH7 9PS

ESSEX Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

EXETER A Group, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter

GLASGOW Here & Now, Box 2, c/o Changes, 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow CT4 9HE

Clydeside Anarchists, c/o Clydeside Press, 53 Cochrane Street, Glasgow G1

HASTINGS A's, c/o Hastings Free Press, 14 Lower Park Road, Hastings, E. Sussex

HUDDERSFIELD A's, c/o Peaceworks Co-op Ltd, 58 Wakefield Road, Aspley, Huddersfield

KINGSTON Thompasorus People, c/o Mathew, 7 Elmers Drive, Teddington, Middlesex TW11 9JB

LEAMINGTON AND WARWICK A's, Box 17, The Other Branch, 12 Gloucester Street, Leamington

LEEDS Box DAM, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds LS2 3AW

LIVERPOOL Direct Action Group and DAM (confusing isn't it), c/o 82 Lark Lane, Liverpool 17, Merseyside

LONDON

Freedom Bookshop in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX. Tel: 01-247 9249

Freedom Box Number Users: A Distribution, Class War, Libertarian Communist Discussion Group, Rebel Press, South Atlantic

Souvenirs, Spectacular Times, Virus, etc. (others currently being reviewed)

Anarchist Group, QMC Student Union, Bancroft Road, London E1 4NS

Greenpeace (London), 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 — meet Thursdays at 7:00pm

North London Polytechnic, c/o Students Union, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5

Solidarity (London and editorial groups), c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E6

Streatham Action Group, c/o 121 Books, 121 Raiton Road, London SE24

MANCHESTER

Manchester University Libertarian Socialist Group, c/o General Office, Students Union, Oxford Road, Manchester

Timperley Village Anarchist Militia (TV-AM), Room 6, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester M1 2BU

Everyone who uses 84b Whitechapel High Street as an accommodation address, however long they have used it and whoever told them they could, should apply forthwith in writing to the Freedom Bookshop Committee for permission to continue doing so. The Committee will consider applications at its monthly meetings and extend the privilege, at its discretion, to some of those who share the aims of Freedom Press. (If you are not obviously an anarchist propaganda group there is no point in applying.)

After 31 March 1986, mail for anyone with no right to the address will be returned to the Post Office.

Freedom Bookshop Committee

*For the information of those who prefer not to use a private address, many anarchists use British Monomark addresses (details to callers at BM post room, 27a Old Gloucester Street, London WC1, or by post from BCM Mono, London WC1N 3XX) or Post Office boxes (details from any main Post Office).

DAM, National Secretary, 223 Greenwood Road, Benchill, Manchester

Poly A Group, c/o Students Union, Manchester Poly, Oxford Road, Manchester

Wildcat, c/o Raven Press, 75 Picadilly, Manchester M1 2BU

MANSFIELD AND ASHFIELD DAM, 28 Lucknow Drive, Sutton in Ashfield, Notts

MIDDLESBOROUGH A's, Box A, Red & Black Books, 120 Victoria Road, Middlesbrough

NEWCASTLE

Tyneside Libertarian Group, 41 Bishopdale House, Sutton Estate, Benwell, Newcastle upon Tyne

Careless Talk Collective, PO Box 294, Newcastle, Staffs ST5 1SS

NORTHAMPTON A Collective, c/o Rainbow Bookshop, 33 Collwell Road, Wellingborough.

NOTTINGHAM A's, Box A, Mushroom Books, 10 Heathcote Street, Nottingham

OXFORD A's, Box A, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford

PETERBOROUGH A Group, 5 Feneley Close, Deeping St James, Peterborough PE6 8HN

PLYMOUTH A's, c/o 115 St Pancras Avenue, Penryn, Plymouth PL2 3TL

PORTSMOUTH A's, c/o Spice Island, 30 Osbourne Road, Southsea, Hants PO5 3LT

PRESTON A's, Jez Appleton, 34 Elgin Street, Preston, Lancs PR1 6BH

READING A's, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham Street, Reading

Box DAM, 17 Chatham Street, Reading, Berks.

SHEFFIELD A's, PO Box 217, Sheffield 1

SOUTHAMPTON Verbal Assault, c/o Box A, 4 Onslow Road, Southampton

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA A's, c/o Graham, 13 Palmeira Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex

SWANSEA A's, 24 Pentremalwed Road, Morriston, Swansea, W Glamorgan, Wales

WINCHESTER A's, c/o Books Upstairs, Above the Grainstore, Parchment Street, Winchester

YORK Shelf 22, 73 Walmgate, York

FEDERATIONS

South East Anarchist Federation, c/o Canterbury A Group

Anarchist Student Federation, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX