

GARROTTED BY FASCISM

LAST SATURDAY, the 2nd of March at 9.40 a.m., Salvador Puig Antich was executed in the yard of Barcelona Prison. The method used? The "Garrote vil", a mediaeval killing technique that better than anything else on earth epitomises the true essence of fascism - SLOW STRANGULATION OF EVERYTHING THAT IS HUMAN.

The "crime" of Salvador Puig Antich? Having been an anarchist who took up arms against fascism in Spain. So, once more, one of our comrades was sordidly "tried" and barbarically liquidated by Franco, by his regime and by all those who directly or indirectly flirt daily, diplomatically or economically, with the most abhorrent, the most brutal, the most inhuman regime in Western Europe.

Salvador Puig Antich paid the price that social revolutionaries had to pay in the past for opposing and fighting fascism in Spain. The international campaign in defence of Salvador Puig failed to move the fascists in power in Madrid. Instead, the iron fist of Franco's regime swept aside the defensive barrier of international public opinion demanding that the life of our comrade be spared, if only on humanitarian grounds, and delivered a deadly stroke at life itself - the life of a 26-year old libertarian, aspiring towards freedom, justice and equality for the oppressed peoples of Spain and Portugal.

We have lost another comrade, but the struggle against fascism is not over. Now it is our turn to garrot fascism to death! All our collective and

individual efforts should be permanently focussed on the Iberian Peninsula, where, since 1926 in Portugal and 1936 in Spain, Iberian anarchists have been in the forefront of the anti-fascist struggle.

Salvador Puig Antich is the latest victim of this struggle, but others are already preparing themselves to carry on the indomitable fight for freedom. These comrades need our material and ideological support. That is why we are appealing to you to donate generously (as much money as you can spare) towards our SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND and also to BLACK CROSS POLITICAL PRISONERS FUND. We invite you also to attend Centro Iberico activities (film shows, discussions, conferences, Anarchist Cabaret, etc. - see Contact Column) proceeds of which are also donated to the above funds.

We remind you that four more members of the now disbanded M.I.L. are awaiting sentence in Spain by the Tribunal del Orden Publico. The sentences on Jose Luis Pons Llobet, Santiago Oriol Soler, Emilio Pardinias and F. Xavier Garriga could also be the death penalty. We all know that the smashing of fascism in Spain and Portugal will only be possible with the soli-



arity of workers, students and intellectuals all over the world. We hope that FREEDOM's subscribers and readers will not fail to ensure that in Britain this solidarity never will run short of libertarian spirit. Let us make sure that Salvador Puig Antich has not died in vain.

Claude.

Spanish Resistance Fund c/o T.P. and P.T. at FREEDOM, 84B White-chapel High Street, London, E.1. Black Cross Prisoners Fund 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3

with the two main parties. However it would be dangerous to claim that this meant a move in an anarchist direction. It is open to argument whether the high turn-out at the polls means that people are becoming politically conscious or whether a low turn-out in 1970 indicated apathy as a first step towards anarchism. Obviously an argument can be made on both counts, but not voting out of sheer apathy hardly implies

Continued on P. 2.....

Correction: Our issue last week (2 March) was wrongly numbered "Vol. 35 No. 8". It was of course No. 9. Apologies.

THE MINERS WIN THE ELECTION

FOR ANARCHISTS the result of the General Election is a good one. It is good because Mr. Heath and the Tories went to the country seeking a mandate on the basis of "Firm Action for a Fair Britain" and that has been rejected by the majority of voters. However like all politicians, the most important thing for them is power. Unlike other general elections since the war the politicians have been wheeling and dealing to find support to form a govern-

ment which can gain support in the House of Commons. Monday's decision by the Liberals not to co-operate with the Tories forced Mr. Heath to resign.

It is ironic that the electoral system of majority rule should throw up the present situation. The minority parties now hold considerable sway in parliament but these successes for the nationalist parties and the Liberals show people's growing discontent

THE MINERS

CONTINUED FROM
PAGE ONE

a social consciousness, whereas the weighing of the pros and cons of the issues at least means that people are thinking about things that are going to affect them.

Having said that, anarchists repeat that the election of a new government will not alter the power, social and economic relationships that form the capitalist system.

Kropotkin in The Wage System wrote: "It is moreover plain that, as the peoples become conscious of their interests, and as the variety of those interests increases, the system becomes unworkable. And this is why the democrats of all countries are seeking for different palliatives or correctives and cannot find them. They are trying the Referendum, and discovering that it is worthless; they prate of proportional representation, of the representation of minorities, and other parliamentary utopias. In a word, they are striving to discover the undiscoverable; that is to say, a method of delegation which shall represent the myriad varied interests of the nation; but they are being forced to recognise that they are upon a false track, and confidence in government by delegation is passing away."

Spanish Resistance

LATEST NEWS

IN BARCELONA, 3,000 mourners at the funeral of Salvador Puig Antich were barred from the cemetery and were dispersed by armed police. Only Salvador's four sisters, near relatives and a few family friends were allowed near the graveside of the young Catalan anarchist.

Franco's decision not to recommend clemency for Salvador Puig sparked off demonstrations last Saturday in Paris, Brussels, Milan and Rome. There were also two demonstrations in Barcelona, home town of Salvador Puig, but these broke up before the Spanish police could intervene.



Unfortunately this optimistic view has not been fulfilled. People are not conscious that their interests lie in the overthrow of all forms of government since basically they are all dictatorial. Electing a government gives that government virtually dictatorial powers, because if they command a majority or can obtain one by a coalition, they can legislate away what freedoms we still have.

Clearly people have rejected Mr. Heath's call for firm government. His gamble didn't come off. It was doubtful whether the miners would negotiate with Mr. Heath. Mr. Len Clarke, president of the Nottinghamshire miners, has said that as far as he is concerned there would be no settlement of the strike "if I have got to negotiate with Mr. Heath and Mr. Whitelaw". It is also doubtful whether the miners will accept the relativities report as its main recommendation is that extra pay increases be largely confined to underground workers. This "robbing Peter to pay Paul" is just not on as the miners want an across-the-board increase.

As far as the Tories are concerned their election gamble hasn't worked. The whole charade

Thermo Galvan, the Spanish socialist leader, has described the execution of Salvador Puig Antich as "political error" and from a humanist point of view "a monstrosity".

Last Monday morning bombs exploded outside an army barracks in Barcelona, a bank and an electricity supply pylon. In the Italian port of Genoa, a bomb exploded in the offices of a Spanish shipping company.

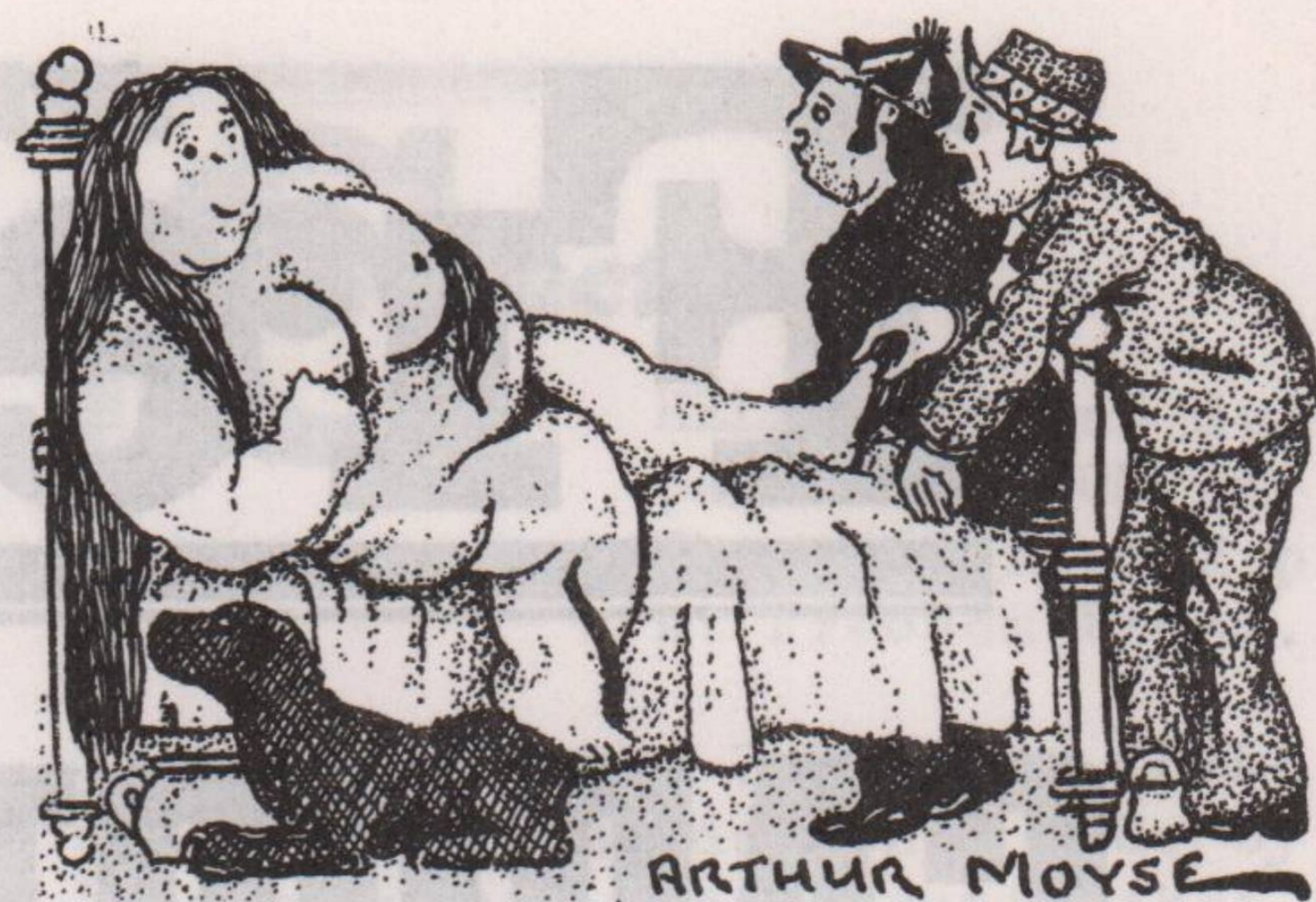
ANOTHER TEN alleged Communists have been arrested over the last weekend by the Spanish political police, this time in Granada. This brings the total of known political arrests under the new government of Arias Navarro to nearly 200.

Claude.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SHOT DEAD 117 PEOPLE AND WOUNDED 352 LAST YEAR. THE POLICE MINISTER SAID THAT AMONG THOSE KILLED WERE 96 AFRICAN ADULTS AND TWO AFRICAN JUVENILES.

The U.S. National Academy of Sciences forecast that the harmful effects of chemical herbicides (used in the Vietnam war by the U.S.) on the Vietnam ecology will last for at least a century. It also indicated that evidence showed that the chemicals resulted in the deaths of Vietnamese children.

PAGE 2



"I'M LIBERAL DARLINGS AND I perform for whichever gentleman pays me."

has been a waste of time. Big business, like the trade union leadership, want to return to full working. They would rather settle with the miners over and above Stage 3 than face an industrial standstill for lack of power. In fact the miners have won the election because, as everyone now admits, whoever forms a government, the first thing they will have to do is to settle on the miners' terms. Their position is that much stronger now because the "grocer" has lost his bid for "firm" government.

Industrial action has done just what Mr. Heath was accusing the miners of. However, all it has achieved is a change of masters, but this same industrial strength could be used to bring about the complete overthrow of the present system of wage slavery. Such action could overthrow the State and abolish government. Instead of daily exploitation at work, workers could take control of their industries and run them for the benefit of the whole community. If enough workers desire such a society they will organise and work for it. It is our task as anarchists to put it to them.

P.T.

SUBSCRIBE to FREEDOM

Inland and Surface Mail Abroad

One year	£3.25	\$8.10
Six months	£1.62½	\$4.05
Three months		85p \$2.10

Airmail

Europe	1 year	£4.00
N.Africa & M.E.	1 year	£4.25
The Americas	1 year	\$13.00
India, Africa &c.	1 year	£4.75
Australasia,		
Japan &c.	1 year	£5.75

2 copies £5.85 (\$14.00) per year

BULK: 10 copies 40p

A Venetian Court acquitted Michael Collin, the self-styled Pope Clement XV on charges of contempt against another pope (Paul VI). The court ruled that he (Collin) was incapable of understanding his actions and ordered him to be placed in a mental institution for two years--if he returns to Italy. He has also been excommunicated!

FREEDOM PRESS

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

Aldgate East Underground station
Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and
turn right - Angel Alley next to
Wimpy Bar.

A B C of Anarchism, Alexander
Berkman 25p post 4p
US 75c post free

About Anarchism, What Anarchists
Believe, How Anarchists Differ...
Nicolas Walter 12½p post 3p
US 40c post free

Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism
Rudolf Rocker 20p post 4p
US 65c post free

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution
V. Richards cloth £1.50
post 15p

paperback temporarily out of
stock - at the binders.

List of other titles, including
annual vols. Selections from
"Freedom" 1954-64; back issues
ANARCHY 1961-70 &c. on request.

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



BOOKSHOP open Tues-Fri. 2-6 p.m.
(Thursday to 8.00 p.m.)
Saturday 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.

Any book not in stock but in
print can be supplied. Please add
postage as in brackets

*Quotations from the Anarchists,
ed. Paul Berman £3.00 (19p)

*Native American Anarchism,
Eunice M. Schuster £6.00 (19p)

*Anarchism: Seven Exponents of
the Anarchist Philosophy - Paul
Eltzbacher on Godwin, Proudhon,
Stirner, Bakunin, Tucker,
Kropotkin & Tolstoy £3.50 (19p)

*The Trial of the Chicago Anar-
chists, Dyer D. Lum £4.00 (19p)

Bibliografia dell'Anarchismo,
Vol. 1 Part I, Anarchist Peri-
odicals publ. in Italy 1872-1971
Leonardo Bettini £4.00 (22p)

*War and the Intellectuals, coll.
essays 1915-1919, Randolph S.
Bourne £0.92 (9p)

*Anarchism, Jo Labadie £0.15 (5p)

BARGAIN BASEMENT

Message of a Wise Kabouter, Roel
Van Duyn on Peter Kropotkin
£0.15 (5p)

(publ. at 75p. We can give trade
terms on this title.)

Poster: Joe Hill. Large (33" x 24")
Lino cut. Black & White. £1 inc.
post & packing.

Postcards: Sacco & Vanzetti and
Joe Hill. Each in packets 1 doz.
assorted colours, 30p per pkt.

*denotes title published in USA

Please send SAE 9" x 4" for full
list of titles carried

ACTIONS — NOT WORDS

FOR AN ANARCHIST, heckling at a
political rally can be a frus-
trating experience. I suppose
it's like attending a cup final
and instead of screaming for one
particular team you are trying to
convince the crowd that it's all
ridiculous. But still we try.

With only three weeks notice
we hadn't much time but we man-
aged to print a ream of DON'T
VOTE leaflets.

Our first meeting was in our
village hall and three of us
comprised a third of the total
audience; hardly an arena of
social change. There we put
honest, straightforward questions
to our M.P. "Why did 60,000 pen-
sioners die of hypothermia under
Labour's rule?" "Why were pro-
perty speculators allowed to
throw up massive buildings and
take in huge profits during the
same time?" But these people
spend their lives wrapped up in
words. He seemed to say some-
thing that was convincing yet,
when you thought about it, was
meaningless. Our leaflets ran
down our reputation in the vil-
lage a little further - it may
take us five years to build it
up again.

Then into our local town to
meet the Tories. In a solid lab-
our seat he was merely fodder,
the son of a lord being given his
first taste of politics. It was
perhaps unfortunate that he bore
a close resemblance to Jerry
Lewis, making it even harder for
us to meet him on a serious level.
One is supposed to ask questions
here through the chairman, but
ignoring him we ask again direct,
honest questions: "When in liv-
ing history has any government
ever said, 'O.K., we have enough
money and resources to let every-
one have a fair share.' It's
never happened, has it? Surely
history has proved that anything
anyone ever squeezed out of an
employer had to be fought for.
Bearing this in mind, what advice
can you offer we agricultural wor-
kers, who even if we had an in-
crease under stage three, would
still receive an income one half
of that below the national
average?"

At this and similar questions
the audience, all but five solid
Tories, began to grow hostile.
Later giving out leaflets one is
amazed to see well-dressed, middle
aged spinsters turn into tigers,
filled with hate and venom - wel-
come recruits to any barricade!

But still we feel frustrated,
our message isn't getting across,
people see us as some kind of
fools. So at the big forum of
all candidates at the Aberystwyth
Students Union (surely the dead-

liest political university of
all) we dress as clowns to illus-
trate our leaflet that calls the
election a circus. What an ef-
fect, people were actually laugh-
ing and cheering us. Each speak-
er gave a short burst of nonsense
and our leading clown, a past
master of street theatre, strate-
gically interrupted his speech
with peals of laughter. It must
have been effective for six
Labour Party heavies came and sat
beside us. So up we jumped and
walked around the upper gallery,
gesticulating and heckling. In
some way we got our message ac-
ross; all this is a circus, those
people on the rostrum are clowns,
at best they speak empty clichés,
at worst they lie.

But overall one gets a depres-
sing sense of failure.

An anti-vote leaflet thrust
into the hands of a young mother
coming out of Woolworth's, an
elderly man with war ribbons
searching the shop windows for
cheap fruit, the six heavies from
the building site - it's all so
meaningless to them. The printed
and spoken word have become a
lie!

Whether it's Heath, Wilson or
Robin Day they all seem to speak
a strange cold language. A form
of double-speak that's irrelevant
to everyday life. However, this
feeling isn't new to me. For
years I spent hours in back rooms
of pubs talking about liberation;
I've spent hours shivering in the
wind peddling the words of revo-
lution, weeks sitting up until
the early hours formulating the
correct line. And that too became
a lie.

So, a year ago, we as a com-
munity came together to live out
our own alternative society.
We've established a successful
agricultural co-operative and are
working hard investigating other
forms of industry.

When you actually stand up and
say to yourself, Yes, I am going
to take responsibility for run-
ning my own life, then the busi-
ness of living takes on a new di-
mension. Open your eyes. Look
around you at the things you take
for granted every day. The tooth-
paste, the soap, the bread, the
paper, the ink, the fuel -- all
can be made by you and shared
with your neighbours. A start on
the small things makes the bigger
ones less daunting.

There's nothing at all stopping
you, man woman or pensioner, from
installing a plumbing system or
building a house extension -- onc
once you break the myth of crafts
and apprenticeships.

We have a son of two years of
whom the state says he must at-

THE LAST MAXIMALIST

AN INTERVIEW WITH KLARA KLEBANOVA

recorded by PAUL AVRICH

I was born in 1888 of a middle-class Jewish family in the town of Novozibkov in Chernigov province. My father was a prosperous timber merchant. I was the youngest of four daughters and a son, and we all went to gimnazia. The town was relatively progressive. It had no ghetto. It was an active educational as well as commercial centre, with several good schools. And it was there that I got my first lessons in revolution.

The main force that drove me to the revolutionary movement was my compassion for the oppressed peasantry. It was a feeling derived not so much from personal observation as from my reading of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Uspensky, Nekrasov and other writers who so vividly described the unbearable conditions under which the peasants were living. There developed within me a strong sympathy for these downtrodden and abused people. I came to idealize the Russian peasant, whom I knew primarily through my reading. Everything about him seemed lofty and enchanting, and his suffering became my own.

My last year in gimnazia coincided with the 1904 Revolution. The whole city came out to fight against the Tsar and the authorities. It was a wonderful sight! Social Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries came to the students and spoke to us and tried to draw us into their movements. I became a member of a self-education circle in which we studied social, economic, and political questions. But before long an ideological divergence emerged among us. Some of us leaned towards the Social Democrats, others towards the SR's. I belonged to the latter group. I devoured the literature distributed by the SR agitators. My older sister, Dora Lazurkina, had studied in St. Petersburg and was already a dedicated Marxist, and she tried without success to convince me that only the working class was capable of liberating Russia from capitalist exploitation, and that the peasant, with his disposition towards private ownership and his petty bourgeois psychology, would only be an impediment to the revolution. My sister, by the way, remained a lifelong Bolshevik, one of seven young women whom Lenin prepared in Switzerland for important roles in the party. She is still alive in the Soviet Union, and a few years ago she appeared at a party congress and told of having seen a vision of Lenin who spoke to her and said, "I don't want Stalin next to me in my tomb," after which he was removed.

DISLIKE FOR MARXISTS

To me, however, Marxist theory seemed too rigid and entirely unjust to the peasantry. I couldn't bear the thought that the peasants were unable to become true socialists without first being converted into factory hands and undergoing proletarianization. I argued that we would have to educate the peasant to understand his own plight and that this understanding would confirm his own instinctive feeling of communal ownership--of socialism. We also differed on other important questions, such as the role of the individual in history and of terrorism in the revolutionary struggle. My sister rejected terrorism. That made me extremely disappointed in her, and I even began to dislike her, as I did all the other Marxists.

By the time I finished gimnazia in 1905 I had joined a small student cell of Socialist Revolutionaries. I wanted more than anything else to play an active role in the revolutionary movement. I did not want to go on to the university. My university was the revolution! Instead, I went to the town of Borisov in Minsk province to teach in an elementary school and to seek contacts with

other SR groups. Meanwhile, a friend of mine from Novozibkov wrote to the SR's in Minsk, where there was a flourishing movement, and told them about me. They soon sent an emissary, a young girl named Rosa Shabat, to invite me to join them. I returned with Rosa to Minsk, and she brought me to the home of the SR leaders, Katya Izmailovich, whose father was a Lieutenant General in the Far East, taking part in the war against Japan. Her sister Alexandra was then in a St. Petersburg prison, beginning a life sentence for an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Minsk governor, Kurlov.

Katya was a marvellous person - so dignified, so sophisticated, while I was so young and inexperienced. In her mid-twenties, she was tall and slender, with smoothly combed brown hair, but not pretty, and always wore the same simple calico dress. She seemed to have some hidden source of energy within her, as well as a very strong will. All of the comrades, even the veteran revolutionists, showed her great respect. I idolized her. I lived with her for two weeks and she taught me many things.

NERVOUS FIRST MEETING

At last the day came when Katya asked me to speak before a group of workers, my first test as a revolutionary agitator. Rosa Shabat brought me to a small smoke-filled room with ten or twelve bakers and I spoke to them about the revolution. There was a book, a kind of revolutionary ABC, that I had read over and over so I would know what to say. But I was only seventeen, and extremely nervous. I began to talk about revolutionary ideas and programmes when suddenly I couldn't remember the book, which I had learned practically by heart. I became confused, upset, and finally began to cry. I will never in my entire life forget my mortification. It meant everything to me to succeed as a propagandist, and if I failed, I thought, my whole life was a failure. But the bakers started to cheer me up. "That's nothing, baryshnia. You'll remember. Don't worry." They understood my situation and sympathized with me, and through their encouragement I regained my composure and was able to finish.

On the way back to Karya's house I was afraid to look at Rosa, afraid to ask her what she thought, afraid she would say that it wasn't any good. Yet two days later, to my immense delight, Katya told me that they were assigning the bakers to me as my group. It was a great moment for me--the beginning of my revolutionary career!

THE "YOUNG ONES"

I remained in Minsk for several months, carrying out agitational work. During that time I learned from Katya that a split had occurred in the ranks of the SR's, that an opposition group had emerged in Bialystok, a group of young revolutionaries led by Lipa Katz and Meishka Zakgeim called the Molodye, the "Young Ones", who were later to take the name of Maximalists. The Young Ones rejected the parliamentary struggle and partial reforms, and they waged a campaign of terrorism against the police and government officials. They called for a social rather than a political revolution, a mass uprising that would usher in a dictatorship of the proletariat. They distrusted intellectuals in the revolutionary movement and said that the workers and peasants must make the revolution themselves by seizing the factories and the land.

The Young Ones resembled the Anarchists in their revolutionary spirit and their belief in terrorism, but disagreed with them on the question of organization. They didn't believe, as the Young Ones did, in a dictatorship of the proletariat. They refused to accept any dictatorship, and called instead for a federation of autonomous communes. The Young Ones, on the other hand, felt that some degree of organization, of centralization, was necessary. They were not much concerned with ideology but they were influenced less by Bakunin than by Lavrov and especially Mikhailovskiy, who, in spite

of his moderate views, was their main theorist. Like Mikhailovsky, they emphasized the role of the individual, of the human personality, in shaping history. They were also strongly influenced by the revolutionary syndicalists in France, above all by their notion of direct action and the general strike.

The programme of the Young Ones struck a responsive chord in me. I talked to Katya about them, and she got word to the Bialystok group that one of her comrades was eager to work with them. Soon afterwards, an emissary came from Bialystok -- "Michel", we called him--and told me all about the "opposition" and its activities. Many of its members, he said, had already been arrested, and they needed new speakers and organizers. I decided to go and immediately packed my things.

KATYA KILLED

Katya too was planning to leave Minsk, for another destination, and she arranged a little farewell party. Handing me a glass of wine, she said: "This will be our swan song." That was the last time I saw her. The next day she left for Sevastopol to assassinate Admiral Chukhnin of the Black Sea Fleet. Dressed as the widow of a sailor, she went to Chukhnin to ask for relief. She drew her pistol and fired, but succeeded only in wounding him in the leg. In a fury he ordered his orderly to kill her, and he cut her to pieces with his sword. Her sister, as I told you, was already in prison for an attempt on General Kurlov, and when their father heard the news about Katya he committed suicide.

I was in Bialystok when I heard of Katya's death. It was heartbreaking news, but I continued my agitational work, lecturing to groups of workers and students. The Young Ones, as I said, were intensely anti-intellectual and anti-bourgeois, and at first some of them called me "the goy" because I couldn't speak Yiddish, and the "intelligentka" or "beloruchka" because they detested white-handed idlers with intellectual pretensions. But it was not long before I won their confidence and affection, and we became great friends.

In an effort to expand the oppositionist movement, Lipa Katz, one of the leaders of the Bialystok group and my future husband, went to Ekaterinoslav to organize a group among the factory workers there. Lipa soon sent for me to help him, and we often spoke to the workers at the factory gates, arranged mass meetings on the outskirts of town, and succeeded in forming a small but active cell with about twenty members, nearly all of them of Russian nationality. In Bialystok, which had the first and largest Maximalist group, the membership was mostly Jewish, with a sprinkling of Russian and Polish workingmen and a small following among the peasants of the surrounding countryside. In addition, there were groups in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and other large cities, as well as one in Yuzovka organized by "Mortimer" Ryss.

In order to maintain and expand our revolutionary activities, "expropriation" became an important part of our tactics. One of the first of

these "ex's" was carried out in Kiev under Mortimer's leadership. He was an intelligent but nervous man who moved about as if mounted on springs. He was short and unprepossessing but with bright, burning eyes and enormous personal magnetism which attracted young radicals to his side. At the same time he was extremely polite and gentle, almost effeminate. In Kiev he organized the holdup of a government courier, but trying to assist a wounded comrade, he was himself captured and taken to prison. Azeff had long wanted to plant an agent in our organization, and he now hit upon Ryss as his instrument. Mortimer pretended to go along, and the police allowed him to escape from prison. But instead of going to St. Petersburg, as agreed, he went south and organized a small group in Yuzovka. It was soon rounded up, however, and Mortimer was hanged.

THE BEAR

The principal leader of the Maximalist movement was known as 'Medved', The Bear, a nickname he had acquired during the Moscow uprising of December 1905, in which he played a very prominent part. In contrast to Ryss, he was a handsome young man, tall, blond, and blue-eyed, with a face that radiated vitality. His real name was Sokolov, and he was the illegitimate son of a nobleman and a servant girl. When the split occurred in the SR ranks, he immediately joined the opposition and became its most dynamic leader, organizing a Fighting Brigade (boevoi otriad) modelled after that of the parent party. In March 1906, jointly with the SR's and the Bolsheviks, he engineered our first big "ex" in Moscow, which netted nearly a million rubles.

The Bear was constantly preoccupied with devising new adventures. He was the epitome of the revolutionary militant--dynamic, forceful, energetic, an idealist and activist combined. The most famous act of his Fighting Brigade was the attempt on Stolypin in August 1906. Our comrades were dressed in uniforms obtained by Natasha Klimova, the beautiful daughter of a member of the State Council, who had joined the Maximalists while a student at Moscow University. For her the struggle was important in itself, quite apart from the ends which it was to achieve. In revolutionary action she saw the highest beauty, a source of vibrant experience, almost a form of art. The young men threw bombs into Stolypin's dacha in St. Petersburg, and several of them were killed, along with more than twenty people in the house, though Stolypin himself escaped unharmed.

The last of the "ex's" took place in Petersburg in October of 1906. It was carried out on the Fonarny Pereulok in broad daylight by a group of Maximalists from Petersburg, Bialystok, and Ekaterinoslav, some of the finest comrades in our movement. They attacked a messenger with government funds guarded by mounted police. One of them threw a bomb while the rest opened fire on the police. The raid netted 460,000 rubles, but at the cost of eight comrades killed or captured.

TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT ISSUE

IN BRIEF

The Times (4.3.74) has a 4-col. 11-in. advert. for General Election medallions: Bronze £1.65, Silver £12 and Gold £385. The advertisement runs (in part) "The General Election 1974 could well prove to be, with the passing of time, the most significant election ever to be held in Great Britain". The medallion will have "on the reverse the details of the elected party and the name of the elected Prime Minister stating the number of

seats he won and the majority gained". How about one for Jeremy Thorpe instead? Or for the miners? Or a putty one for you-know-who? ***

A Jamaican starting a six-year sentence for his part in a robbery at the Birmingham mint hanged himself in Winson Green prison. He left a letter to his fiancée, who was pregnant, saying, "I was given no justice, which I was not expecting anyway, as no black people have ever got or will ever get just-

ice in this country, especially in this town called Birmingham."

A U.S. Senator told a mapping conference that a speck on a satellite photograph of Mount Ararat in Turkey may be Noah's Ark. The object, he said, "was about the right size and shape". ***

300 fingerprint officers from Scotland Yard, under the banner 'fighting Crime Does not Pay', marched in London last week in support of a pay claim.

Sancho Panza.

LETTER

Maoism - Portuguese Style

Dear Comrades,

I read an article in FREEDOM of 22.12.73 by Claude, entitled "Maoism - Portuguese Style" and I think your readers are entitled to know a bit more about this whole affair.

On a practical point first, I find it extremely silly, stupid and irresponsible to refer to people as 'Maoists' whatever that might mean. Claude should know why: the [Portuguese] League is under close scrutiny from the Portuguese and British political police and some of the people he is referring to travel regularly to Portugal... Fortunately this kind of silly behaviour is not within the traditions of the anarchist movement - so, let's keep it that way! This quite apart from the fact that such an 'accusation' is totally untrue: I do not consider myself a Maoist, Claude knows it, and neither does the large majority of the other 15 persons. However, this is all quite trivial.

My point about the article is that apart from high sounding but hollow words, it contributes little to solve the central problem (as I see it) of this whole question, and which is at the basis of the rowdiness and undemocratism that Claude seems to despise so much, namely how to go about involving the mass of the Portuguese immigrants in London in activities and struggles which will raise their awareness and ultimately allow them to become active participants in the problems of this society. Claude accuses people of being undemocratic (when in fact the whole 'strategic takeover' as he calls it was played strictly according to the rules accepted by the members of the organisation in question) but does not propose any alternative way of running the League. What is his 'model' for democracy, or, considering that he does not want to be called a democrat, what is his way of making organisations such as this one work and function positively?

A short history of how the League has been run up till now would probably make the point a bit clearer. The League from 1968 to December 1972 functioned basically through a decision-making body called the Co-ordinating Committee which met every fortnight. This Committee was open to all those who actively contributed to the work of the association (in practice to anyone who turned up at the meetings), on the basis of 'one man

one vote' when it came to voting. Late in 1972, a number of persons felt it was time for the League to have Statutes, a Managing Board, a President etc. I opposed this move (as did members of the current Board) as I felt it would restrict the possibility of people participating in the decision-making. However, the proposal was accepted at a General Meeting, Statutes drafted, a Board elected etc., and so the League was run for the whole of 1973. As far as achievements are concerned neither arrangement managed to solve the central problem I described above, and both tackled it in fairly similar ways. By the by, I myself never stopped giving my contribution to the League and collaborated in its activities to the best of my ability. I am now part of the list which 'took-over' the League and branded by Claude as a 'selfish and demagogic self-appointed ideological leader of immigrant workers' !?! The fact is that in an attempt to try and solve the problem I mentioned earlier and not wanting to start a new League 'all of our own' as this would only confuse people even more, the way out could only be to, complying to the rules, fight an election. This we did and won. I do not agree with the way the League is organised, but complied to its rules in order to change them.

In my opinion the League should not be the highly centralized organisation it is at the moment. This does not account for the realities of the London situation. Rather, it should be a federation of small 'leagues', operating wherever there would be a sufficient number of Portuguese people, community based and orientated, involved in local issues with which people can identify readily, and providing tentative explanations for those issues striving to make the Portuguese immigrants more and more involved in the problems around them. Then there should be a central meeting (perhaps every quarter or so) of all the various 'leagues', to examine and act on problems relating to all of us and organise big events (perhaps twice a year) which would try to attract each and every Portuguese in London. A 'standing committee' of these meetings could perhaps manage resources and services and services which can more profitably be run at the all-London level (printing press, dealings with the Home Office at official level, dissemination of news from Portugal etc.). This two-tier system would I think also be more effective in contacting, reaching and involving a much greater number of Portuguese immigrants, the majority of which are at the moment totally

outside the reach of the League. There are 20,000 Portuguese people in London and after 5 years in existence we only have 480 nominal members, and in fact only about 200 members in the real sense of the word; 1% !! A sad situation indeed. Claude's article does nothing to improve it either. So my wish is that we stop calling each other dirty names and start working on and debating problems in a fruitful way, both inside the League and why not in the columns of Freedom if they are open to us...

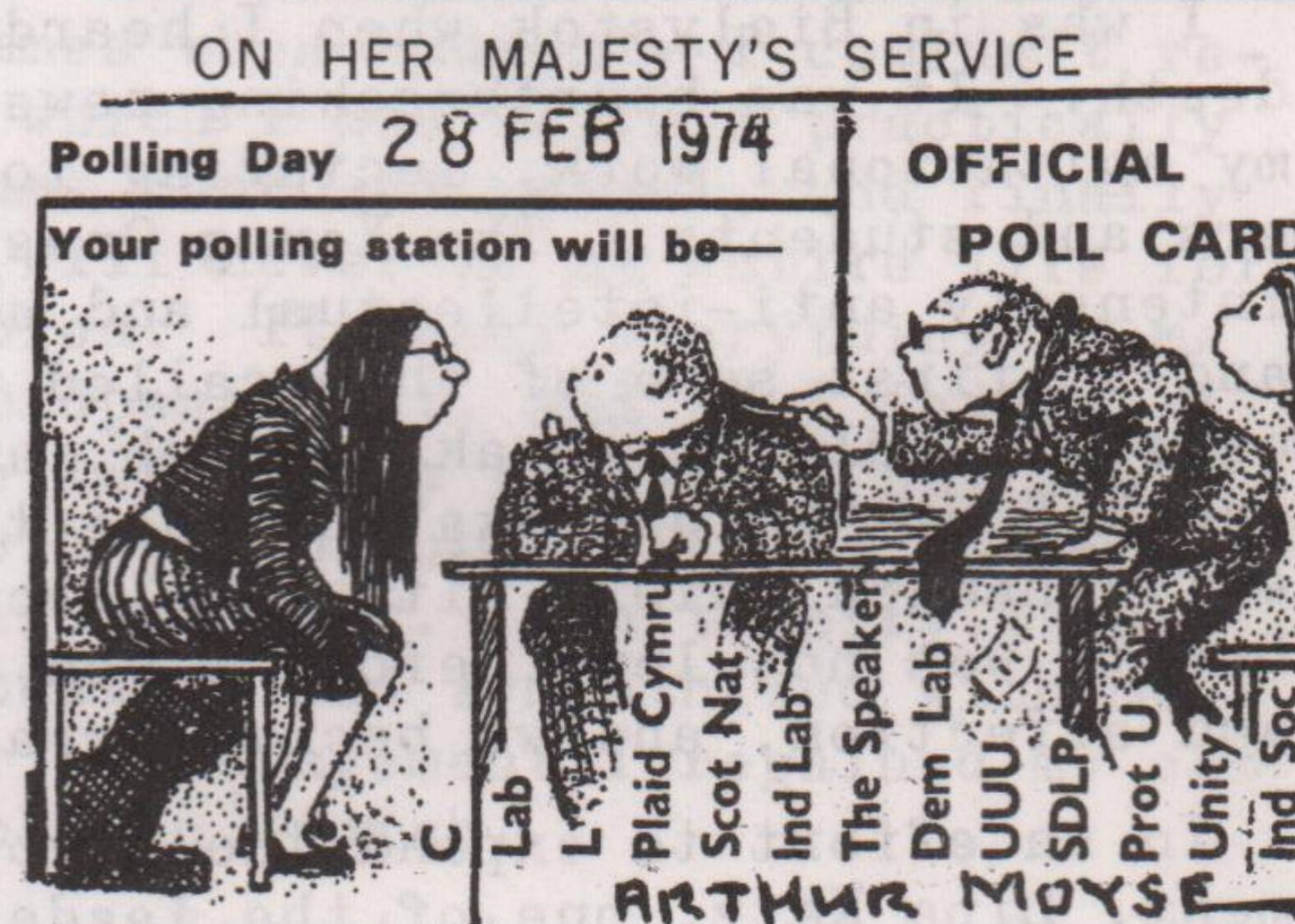
Yours comradely,

Pedro George.

From the Daily Express 11.2.74:

SPARE the rod ... there are some schools in California that still spank kids, reports the State's Department of Education. In the past year 46,000 school children received "paddings" for misbehaviour although hundreds of schools forbid capital punishment.

...Going soft, uh!



"Comrade, your Committee does not want to know WHY you voted...but for WHOM."

ACTION...cont'd from P.3

tend school in three years. But by then we must have a free school, we must have a choice of cooperatives that he can work for, there must be food co-ops where he can take what food he needs. He must have a life where things like Maplin, Concorde, the BBC news, elections, hungry pensioners are not taken for granted. Perhaps only then will young mothers coming out of Woolworths be able to question the automatic necessity of voting Labour.

We are all small cogs. We can never hope to influence more than a few square miles around us. Look around those few square miles. Is there a Claimants' Union, a free school, a food co-op, a co-operative? Anything where people are beginning to take responsibility for their own lives.

Actions have more truth than words. Make governments obsolete.

Peter Good.

Review

BILLY BLAKE'S REPORT

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

CATALOGUE OF LITTLE PRESS BOOKS IN PRINT 1974, publ. by the Association of Little Presses, 262 Randolph Avenue, London W.9 or from Freedom Bookshop. 50p plus 10p post.

AFTER MANY difficulties and setbacks, the second edition of Little Press Books in Print has at last been published by the Association of Little Presses. It contains as full a statement of the endeavours and achievements of the little press movement in the U.K. as I would think it possible to compile.

To mention its few and possibly unavoidable faults first: it is slightly out of date as soon as appears, although the ALP are promising an updating supplement next year. There are also a small number of misprints though nothing, as far as I can see, that is particularly vital. Proof reading a book like this must have been extremely difficult to say the least.

The book contains details of the publications of a total of 119 little presses varying in size from some which are practically as large (if more adventurous) as the "straight" publishing houses, to a large number of heroic one man bands operating without grants only upon shoe-string budgets, enthusiasm and imagination.

The difference between a small press and a large press is best described perhaps as that between emphasis on quality and quantity; the former publishes for love, the latter for money; and the quality of some of today's little press work both in content and presentation is remarkably high, indeed the production of this volume is sufficient testament to that.

The catalogue does not include little magazines within its scope for it was considered that that was too large an undertaking; though the ALP's sibling organisation, the Association of Little Magazines, intends to rectify that gap shortly.

It is the little press movement, both here and in America, that is the real beacon of progress and development in the literary arts, in the expansion of both language itself and of the literary into the visual, aural and who knows what further fields. The "Big Presses" by their very nature tend towards a more conservative, reactionary, parasitic and therefore destruc-

ALL STATES have a content of class or caste whose rôle is to make laws for its own advantage. In a capitalist society this domineering class is the bourgeoisie, supported as always by the State. Thus the bourgeoisie become dictator. Can it be the same in a socialist society, where the State becomes the expression of the proletariat, who in turn become the domineering class and exercise its dictatorship.

The Marxists answer "yes", The Anarchists "no".

Because of its character the proletariat cannot exert any dictatorship. Either it is exploited, and remains the proletariat, or it ceases to be exploited, therefore ceasing to be the proletariat.

The words "dictatorship of the proletariat" have no meaning unless it means the dictatorship of a minority of the proletariat over the majority of the proletariat. In this case the term which fits is: "dictatorship of a fraction of the proletariat". The purpose of this dictatorship (according to the Marxists) is to awaken the conscience of the masses and lead them to communism.

As Anarchists we refute this idea. History has shown us that far from communism, this shuts the door to it.

It is not by dictatorship that we reach freedom.

It is not by hierarchy that we reach equality.

These divergences between

tive attitude towards the art that they profess to serve. There are exceptions, but they are few and far between.

This volume - remarkably good value - should prove indispensable to libraries, bookshops and students; but it is really for anyone interested in the media and freedom of expression and communication - surely all of us - that this book should be of greatest interest; and it is not merely a book of reference, it's a joy just to read through.

As Stefan Themerson of Gabberbochus Press, who has contributed the preface of this book, has said: "The difference between the big presses and the little presses is not just a matter of size."

J.H.

Marxists and Anarchists, which at first seem only details, are in fact basic differences. We believe, contrary to the Marxists, that it is not by politics that you arrive at communism, but by economics.

To exert a political dictatorship on the bourgeoisie (in the best of cases we have seen it is equally exercised on the proletariat) is of no interest.

Instead it is necessary to take all economic power away from the bourgeoisie (but not with decrees of state, etc.). This will open the door for libertarian communism. This means the abolition of all forms of class, and the workers taking their affairs into their own hands, the suppression of the State, to be replaced by an economic and communal federation. The government of persons will be replaced by the administration of things.

This way is not an easy one, far from it, but it is the only one which is really revolutionary. This way necessitates workers' control, as a necessary step towards generalised workers' control.

The workers of the LIP factory, with all their mistakes and errors (which necessarily go with the first thrusts) have shown us the way to go.

We can only hope that other workers will take in their hands the revolutionary flame which has been lit in Besançon, and direct it towards its unavoidable purpose, the libertarian and self-managing society.

On our side we will make all the necessary effort to hurry this long walk from beast to mankind, from authority to libertarianism.

Long live the strikes for workers' control.

Long live libertarian communism

Translated from Le Monde Libertaire by D. & D.P.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science heard a report from the University of Oregon that wolves "have a very sophisticated social system and the complexity of their social life is very extreme"; they are "exceedingly friendly and tend to be far more subtle and sensitive than dogs".

WHY THE BLACK FLAG?

THE BLACK FLAG is the symbol of Anarchy. It evokes reactions ranging from horror to delight among those who recognise it. Find out what it means and prepare to see it at more and more public gatherings. . .

ANARCHISTS are against all government because they believe that the free and informed will of the individual is the ultimate strength of groups and of society itself. Anarchists believe in individual responsibility and initiative and in the whole-hearted cooperation of groups composed of free individuals.

GOVERNMENT is the opposite of this ideal, relying as it does on brute force and deliberate fraud to expediate control of the many by the few. Whether this cruel and fraudulent process is validated by such mythical concepts as the divine right of kings, democratic elections, or a people's revolutionary government makes little difference to anarchists. We reject the whole concept of government itself and postulate a radical reliance on the problem-solving capacity of free human beings.

Why is our flag black? Black is a shade of negation. The black flag is the negation of all flags. It is a negation of nationhood which pits the human race against itself and denies the unity of all humankind. Black is a mood of anger and outrage at all the hideous crimes against humanity perpetrated in the name of allegiance to one state or another. It is anger and outrage at the insult to human intelligence implied in the pretences, hypocracies and cheap chicaneries of governments. Black is also the colour of mourning: the black flag which cancels out the nation also mourns its victims - the countless millions murdered in wars, external and internal, to the greater glory and stability of some bloody state. It mourns for those whose labour is robbed (taxed) to pay for the slaughter and oppression of other human beings. It mourns not only the death of the body but the crippling of the spirit under authoritarian and hierarchic systems; it mourns the millions of brain cells blacked out with never a chance to light up the world. It is a colour of inconsolable grief.

But black is also beautiful. It is a colour of determination, of resolve, of strength, a colour by which all others are clarified and defined. Black is

the mysterious surroundings of germination, of fertility, the breeding hound of new life which always evolves, renews, refreshes, and reproduces itself in darkness. The seed hidden in the earth, the strange journey of the sperm, the secret growth of the embryo in the womb - all these the blackness surrounds and protects.

So black is negation, is anger, is outrage, is mourning, is beauty, is hope, is the fostering and sheltering of new forms of human life and relationship on and with this earth. The black flag means all these things. We are proud to carry it, sorry we have to, and look forward to the day when such a symbol will no longer be necessary.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 21 - 28 February

ST. ALBANS: R.B. 65p; HULL: G.W. £1.38; LONDON N.1: S.B. £1; NEW YORK: R.J.P. £1.92; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; RADLETT: R.O. 15p; LIVERPOOL: H.H.J. £1.75; COLCHESTER: T.O. £1.75; CHEAM: O.R.L. 37p; PITTSBURG: T.S. £1.10; BELFAST: P.C. 15p; BRIGHTON: J.P.B. 21p; NEW YORK: N.M. £3.25; EXMOUTH: A.B.H. 18p; LONDON SW19: P.W.C. £1.39.

TOTAL: £20.50
Prev. acknowledged: £393.23

TOTAL TO DATE: £413.73

HIS BAFFLING ELECTION?

● POLICE were yesterday seeking two men alleged to have tried to push a Liberal candidate down a 35ft hole. Mr David Bettell-Higgins, who is fighting Merthyr Tydfil, was reluctant to talk about the incident, which took place in Aberfan. The pair tried to push him into the hole as he was fencing it off. They accused him of vote catching.

The Guardian (28.2.74)

BRISTOL FRAME-UP DEFENCE FUND
contribs. to Arthur, 19 Brigstock Road, Bristol 2

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, 54 Harcombe Rd. N.15

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE: Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 20100 MILANO, Italy.
This comrade 21 months in prison awaiting trial.



HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursday from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press.

Sunday 10 March, 7.30 p.m. CHILE: audio-visual slides show made by "Chile Lucha" about events that led to fascist coup Sept. 1973, show followed by discussion. Refreshments at modest prices. ALL WELCOME at Centro Iberico, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (side entrance in Steele's Rd) tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Pk., bus 31 or 68.

ABERYSTWYTH anarchists meet each Thursday evening in Downie's Vaults, Aberystwyth at 7.30.

BRITISH ANARCHISM 1880-1914 any material - correspondence, pamphlets, minutes, etc. wanted by Ph.D. researcher. Haia Shpayev, tel. 01-624 3843.

DISABLED male (impotent) needs suitable books/magazines. Cannot pay. Can someone please help genuine case. Box no. 105.

SHEILA ROWBOTHAM (books rev. FREEDOM 16.2.74) lectures at Central London WEA on currents in radical ideas & movements. For syllabus send SAE to Sidney Billson, 33 Compton Rd., N.1 (also for programme of 6-week course starting 22 April on 'Agricultural & Labour History 19th Century')

Saturday 23 March: "Race, IQ and the Class Society" at Polytechnic of Central London. Enquiries to Br. Soc. for Social Responsibility in Science, 9 Poland St. W.1.

Alternate Sundays Hyde Park Anarchist Forum meets at Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcome.

NEW YORK: LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB 1974 LECTURES Alternate Thursdays 7.30 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Avenue (SW corner 29 St.) Admission free. March 14: Nuncio Pernicone "Errico Malatesta The Formative Years".
March 28: Sharon Presley "Anarchism and Feminism".

TUCSON, Arizona: April 18, 19 & 20th. Conference on the Life, Literature and Cinema of B. Traven Corres. to Leo L. Barrow, Dept. of Romance Langs. Univ. of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz. 85721 (tel. (602)884-3123 : home 793-0789)

LONDON SCHOOL OF NONVIOLENCE at Crypt of St. Martin in the Fields, Every Monday & Wednesday 6.30 - 9 p.m.

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION every Sat. 2 p.m. at Robin Farquarson Hse., 37 Mayola Rd., E.5 tel 986 5251. Open to all mental patients & ex-pts. & mtg. foll. by coffee & work group. MPU News 10p + 4p

Published by Freedom Press, London, E. 1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.