

"THE BEST GOVERNMENT" —

IT HAS BEEN calculated that by the laws of average, if a number of monkeys were set to randomly operate a typewriter they would by sheer chance over millions of years produce the works of Shakespeare. In the same way the electoral processes and the party mechanism (which has just ground out its results) might eventually produce a 'good' government. As it is we have been left with the monkeys.

It is said that we have a weak, a minority government. It is quite true that this government (of Harold Wilson to date) has an insufficient majority to put through controversial major policy decisions without getting defeated. In some respects, judging by the errors of all governments, this is quite a healthy situation. On the other hand, the Emergency Powers Act is still in force, and orders in council seem to have sufficient legislative powers and there is much dormant legislation which any government will find useful.

The really strong government is basically totalitarian. Among many who would welcome this (including prominent editors and publicists) is Sir Oswald Mosley

who (and there's guilt by association for you) thinks Jeremy Thorpe is 'charming' and in an article in The Times (28 Feb.) makes a recommendation of 'the candidate who is the best European' and urges a strong government. The majority of people who want a strong government are not basically totalitarian but are usually authoritarian and would be satisfied with a government which gets things done.

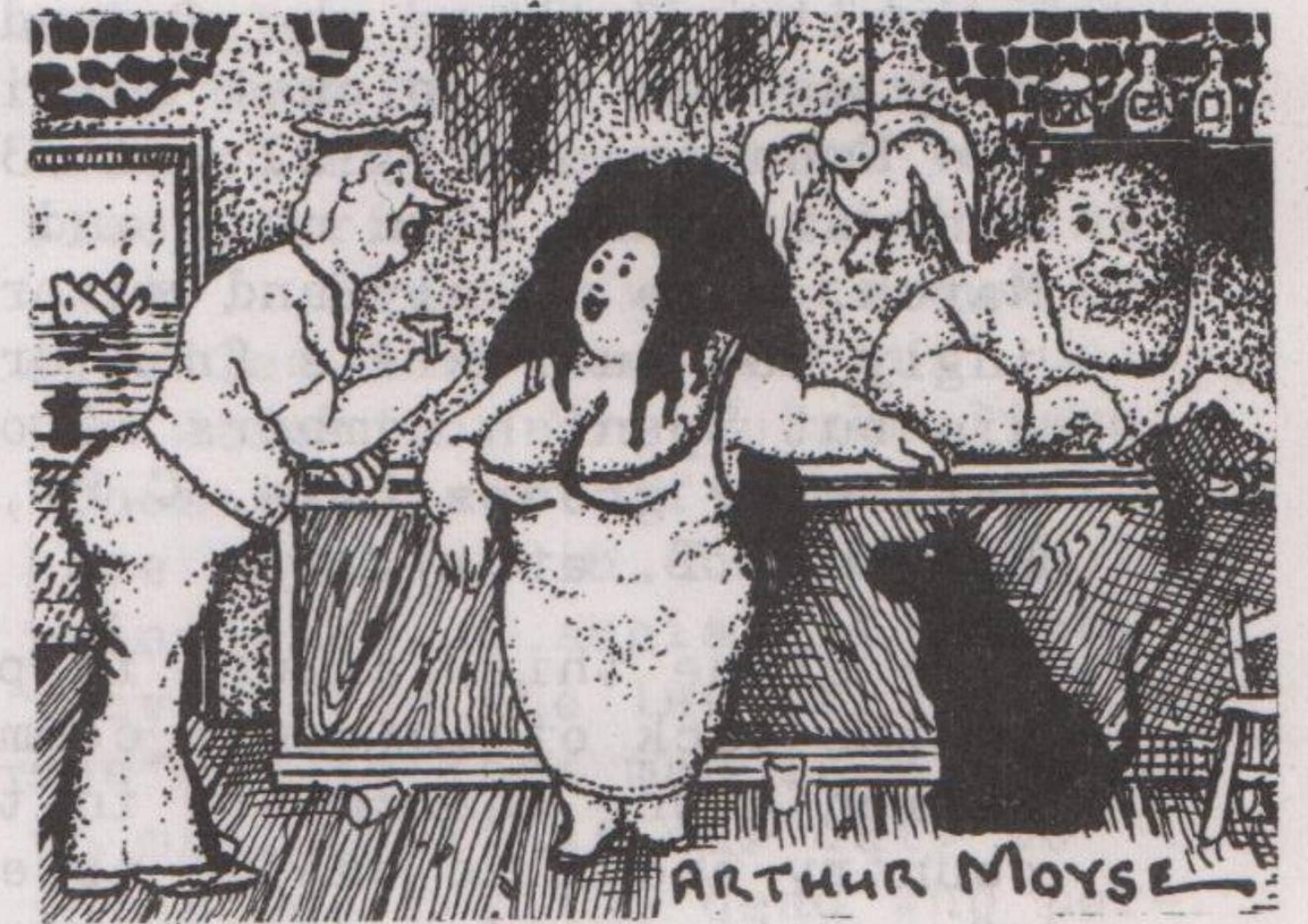
The secondary temptation of the strong-government supporters is for a coalition government; this generally rests on the formula of sinking-the-differences-and-getting-round-a-table-for-the-good-of-the-country. This ignores the economic and class basis of most parties and the absolute irreconcilability of interests and perpetual contradictions of the state system they each (and all) seek to perpetuate.

A coalition government is, by its nature, almost absolute power and is a tyranny to its subjects. It is no coincidence that the most successful coalitions were in wartime - for war is the health of the state. The pseudo-coalition, the National

Government, which reigned from 1931 and in essence, till 1940, was authoritarian and imposed a harsh regime on the unemployed in the name of 'national unity'. Only when rogue politicians fall out can honest voters come into their own.

Coalition is in fact only an evolutionary stage of parties; if parties are approximating each other, coalition is only natural. Left-wing Conservatives and right-wing Labour merge

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"HALLO, SAILOR! ARE YOU ON THE RUN FROM THE LAW OR A WOMAN?"

"NEITHER, DUCKIE-- THE CONSERVATIVE CENTRAL OFFICE."

THE MINERS' VICTORY, BUT

THE MINERS have once again shown the working class that militancy pays. Their example has been the high spot of an otherwise failure in the struggle against the Tory party's Stage 3. Their 16-week dispute not only smashed Stage 3 but put the Tories out of power. The first thing the new Labour government did was to get negotiations started in order to achieve a speedy settlement. That settlement goes far beyond Stage 3 and with surface and general underground workers exceeds the recommendations of the Relativities Report. It gives surface workers £32 a week, underground £36, and coal face workers £45. While this settlement gives the coal face workers the amount they were claiming, the other workers fall below their claim by £3 and £4 respectively. The National Union of Mineworkers wanted the increases to be spread more evenly among its members. Certainly this would have been a fairer settlement since many of the workers who now work at sur-

face jobs have had to do so because of ill health.

But the importance of the miners' dispute is that it shows that militancy does pay. It proves the point, that anarchists have always put forward as part of their propaganda, that direct action is effective and it is the only thing the employer and the State respond to. If other sections of the working class had taken similar action we would not have been saddled with the Tories' legislation on wages. This year the miners won without the picket line struggles of two years ago. However the preparations and supporting action had already started and workers abroad had pledged their solidarity. This miners' victory and the increased price of oil will give the government an added incentive to go ahead to the Central Electricity Board to build nine new nuclear power stations. These power stations will not

need very many operatives to work them and also would be less likely to threaten the nation's power supply by going on strike.

But while it is commendable that the brotherly hand of support was extended to the miners in this country and abroad, that international solidarity has not, as yet, reached our black brothers in South Africa. Only last week the British Leyland car company sacked all 220 of its African workers following a strike at its Durban plant. The South African management had refused to negotiate with the African Metal and Allied Workers' Union and so their members came out on strike. The union had refused the company's offer of talks through a works committee which is the official negotiating machinery for black workers.

The British Parliamentary Committee report on wages and conditions of African workers em-

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FOR A NEW FEDERATION

THE IMPORTANCE of the Anarchist Movement in Britain, if such still exists, was once more apparent in the lack of collective concern shown by anarchists over the life or death of our Catalan comrade, Salvador Puig Antich.

As soon as we learned that Puig Antich had been sentenced to death, the least we could have done was to publicly and mass-ively demonstrate, outside the Spanish Embassy in London and outside the provincial Spanish consulates, our revulsion against the death sentence and how much the life of one of our Iberian comrades means to all of us. Instead, the 24-hour picket at Belgrave Square was a deplorable and depressing failure compared with the show of strength and solidarity displayed in other European capitals, provincial towns and even inside fascist Spain, if one considers that the majority of those who sporadically manned the picket outside the Embassy on 21, 22 and 23 February, and also on 2 and 3 March, were mainly and surprisingly not anarchists from Britain but Spanish members of other left-wing groups (i.e. C.P., ETA, U.G.T. etc.).

We blame this failure in part on the lack of internal communication among anarchists in this country and also on the absence of a nation-wide organisation federating all active groups and individuals who belong to the anarchist "fraternity".

We of FREEDOM are as much to blame as anybody else for this depressing situation and we should be aware by now that something must be done to revitalise what is left of the anarchist movement, opening its pages and its door to newcomers to anarchism willing to work collectively in order to build a NEW ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN.

We also feel that the post-electoral climate in this country will quickly develop into a period of sharp social agitation, strikes and occupations which certainly will favour working class direct action tactics of confrontation with bosses, the State, the police and the bureaucratic leadership of the Trade Unions, and that many militant workers, students and minorities will seek support from the forces of the Left without having to compromise themselves politically or be used demagogically by the usual political parties (e.g. CP, WRP, IS, IMG, CPBML &c)

In this context it could be that the existence of a NEW ANARCHIST FEDERATION would have a magnetic role to play, attracting and winning struggles against capitalism. The existence of a

New Anarchist Federation would also make it possible for the anarchist movement of this country to make its voice heard on political and social matters, putting forward, for the benefit of those actively involved in direct action struggles, revolutionary alternatives to Capitalism or State Socialism. As it is, anarchists are today the laughing stock of the authoritarian Left, completely ignored by militant workers and are seen to be only able to get involved in personal muck throwing instead of passing into action.

The Leicester conference, which was held last November in order to discuss the possibility of relaunching the old Anarchist Federation of Britain has, as far as we know, produced nothing, probably because the old Federation has left bitter marks of personal antagonism among its former members and that it would be unrealistic for old "enemies" suddenly to change their sectarian attitudes in relation to each other.

The changed political situation makes it even more necessary for us to forget our past wrangles and we on FREEDOM would like to appeal to all anarchist groups and anarchists who are genuinely interested to work collectively in favour of a New Anarchist Federation of Britain to manifest themselves in the columns of FREEDOM stating how, where and when the first steps in this direction should be taken.

The initiative from a comrade

New Internal Bulletin

A NEW internal information bulletin for anarchists, WILDCAT, is to commence publication on 1st April. It will be published monthly at a subscription rate of 40p for 6 months.

The intention will be to stimulate activity by anarchists all over the country by providing information about the various initiatives being taken by others. Any necessary co-ordination of action can then be undertaken by groups and individuals aware of each others' existence making contact with each other directly. There are many other publications in which devotees of such things can bore everyone rigid with personal wrangles and sterile philosophy; we will only print material relevant to practical revolutionary action whether instigated by anarchists or anyone else. WILDCAT will be

in Corby offering to publish an internal bulletin comes at a crucial moment and we feel that WILDCAT can if it wishes play an important role in getting a federation off the ground.

We consider that a New Federation should be seen not as a "take over" but as a supplement to the present organisations and groups ASA, Black Cross, Industrial Network, ORA, SWF etc.

Comrades, let's organise ourselves and help each other to be better anarchists, putting unconditionally our experience, our knowledge and our thirst for freedom at the service of the exploited and oppressed peoples of this world.

Editors.

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produced by a group not linked with any particular faction or tendency.

An important priority will be the compilation of an up-to-date contact list. If you wish to be included in this list please write to the address below. If you have printing, duplicating, electro-stencil cutting, or silk-screen facilities (or any other useful services) which you can make available to others please send us full details. Only by making full use of the resources at our disposal can we hope to make anarchist activity effective.

Details of activities planned for April should reach us by 29 March at the latest. Please send subscriptions, donations, and details of pickets, demos, meetings, groups, publications, contact addresses, etc. to:

WILDCAT, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants.

T.P.

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...GOVERNMENT contd. from Page 1

into a fuzzy haze so they might
as well form a coalition and who
could they group around but
'charming Jeremy'.

H. J. Laski, the Socialist
theoretician, writes in Reflec-
tions on the Constitution:

"War apart /naturally/ a coal-
ition government seems to me to
inflict injury upon the process
of Parliamentary government. It
blurs responsibility, it prevents
the issues being clearly defined
and it hampers their realistic
discussion." This is a valid
criticism from a social-democratic
viewpoint.

* * *

AT THE MOMENT of going to press
it would seem that there is a
coalition within the Labour gov-
ernment, judging by the variety
of viewpoints within the govern-
ment offices. This is, of course,
an obvious bribe to various fac-
tions to restrain their critic-
ism of the Party (whether they be
left-wing or right-wing) in
these difficult days; at the
same time it enlists support
outside the party.

In one way Harold Wilson will
welcome 'minority' government;
it will give him his best excuse
for not carrying out 'Socialist'
policies he's ever had. (Not
that he needs one.)

One of the great catchwords of
the election was the choice be-
tween 'extremism' and 'modera-
tion'. For some inexplicable
reason the Labour Party was
thought to be the party of ex-
tremism and the Liberals, with
their untried virginity, appro-
priated 'moderation'. What ex-
tremism is there in the Parlia-
mentary system? Surely extrem-
ism is confined to extra-parlia-
mentary activities - strikes,
squatting, sit-ins?

It is not even true that ex-
tremism is to be deplored.
William Garrison, a friend and
biographer of John Brown (whose
violent insurrection helped al-
ong the liberation of American
slaves) said when reproved for
'extremism' that one might as
well ask a mother to gradually
withdraw her child from the
water into which it has fallen
or to slowly, or a little at a
time, take her child away from
the fire.

However, Mr. Wilson has his
way of dealing with 'extremists'.
Put them in the Cabinet, prefer-
ably with unpopular jobs which
will either tame them or break
them. This happened to Aneurin
Bevan, it is likely to happen to
Michael Foot. Even Mr. Wilson
once belonged to the Tribune
group.

* * *

We have seen the first slap of
government in the proposal to
cancel the rent increases due

this year. However, the people
and councillors of Clay Cross
who have put up a brave, isolat-
ed struggle against the 'fair'
Rents Act have been told that
the new measure will not be
retrospective and the increases
which they have resisted in the
past are still due to be paid.
This squares with the statement
at the Labour Party conference
last year by Mr. Short (now
Leader of the House) that the
Party did not wish to encourage
councils in illegal activities
- such as rent strikes - as
(said Mr. Short) they might when
in office pass unpopular meas-
ures which they would expect to
be obeyed.

A fleeting survey of the
Queen's Speech reveals it as
platitudinous and non-committal
in the main and unlikely to lead
to the overthrow of the govern-
ment by a divided Opposition be-
lieving in the same platitudes.

This is the best Labour govern-
ment we have got but since that
government is best which governs
least, the very best government
is no government at all.

Jack Robinson

IN BRIEF

Sovietskaya Cultura attacked
Mary Quant, the fashion creator,
as part of a capitalist general
strategy to distract young peo-
ple fighting for the revolution
and said that the exhibition on
her influence in the 1960s was
deliberately timed to draw Bri-
tish youth away from supporting
the miners' strike. In the
sixties, Cultura alleges, Mary
Quant consciously joined in a
campaign by big business to
blunt protests at the Vietnam
War, at the "reactionary univ-
ersity system, the high cost of
studying, and unemployment".
The 'campaign', says the author
Miss A. Belskaya, 'to let young
people, having earned a few
coppers, dance every night till
they are dizzy, play at free
love and smoke marijuana".

Solzhenitsyn attacked the West-
ern press in a statement accus-
ing it of childishness, irres-
ponsibility and lying, saying
"I am accustomed to all kinds of
slander in the Soviet press
which no one has the power to
correct or refute. But I never
expected that in the West such
irresponsibility could happen
...Maybe I fought in the Soviet
Union against the fact that the
press lied as they liked and
one could not verify it. Write
only the truth. As for what did
not happen, do not write it.
Otherwise it is impossible to
live."

THE CRUSHING OF KRONSTADT — 18 March 1921

1921

22nd February

Spontaneous meetings of workers in all large factories in Petrograd.

23rd February

First work stoppage at the Troubotchny factory.

24th February

Total strike at the Troubotchny factory. Demonstration by two to three thousand workers dispersed by Kourstanty (student officers) on the orders of Zinoviev. Creation of Petrograd "Defence Committee" by Zinoviev (with Abrov, Lachevitch and Bouline) which proclaimed a state of siege. 11 p.m. curfew on all meetings and "unlawful assemblies" whether public or private. All offences to be dealt with by martial law.

25th February

Strike leaders arrested. Units of Petrograd garrison who refuse to go against the workers are disarmed.

26th February

In the Petrograd Soviet, Lachevitch accuses workers of the Troubotchny factory of being "counter-revolutionary" and of "only looking after their own personal interests". Lockout at the Troubotchny factory. Striking workers lose their food rations. Delegation of Kronstadt sailors sent to Petrograd to report on the situation.

27th February

A proclamation of strikers' demands appears on walls of buildings all over Petrograd: "A complete change is necessary in the policies of the Government. First of all, the workers and peasants need freedom. They do not want to live by the decrees of the Bolsheviks; they want to control their own destinies. Comrades demand: Liberation of all arrested socialists and non-party workers. Abolition of martial law; freedom of speech, press and assembly for all those who work. Free election of shop and factory committees, of labour unions and Soviet representatives. Call meetings, pass resolutions, send your delegates of the authorities, and work for the realisation of your demands!!"

28th February

A military force of "loyal" detachments arrives in Petrograd, including shock troops. Mass arrests, and dissolution of workers' organisations. Workers are taken in groups to Cheka prisons.

The sailors' delegation returns to Kronstadt from Petrograd and reports on the situation. Sailors of the battleship "Petropavlovsk" draw up the "Petropavlosk resolution". The demands are:-

1. Seeing that the present soviets do not express the wishes of the workers, new soviets should be elected by secret ballot, and should be preceded by free electoral propaganda.
2. Freedom of speech and press for workers and peasants, for the Anarchists, and for the Left Socialist parties.
3. The right of assembly, and freedom for trade union and peasant organisations.
4. The organisation, at the latest on 10 March 1921, of a conference of non-party workers, soldiers and sailors of Kronstadt, Petrograd and the Petrograd district.
5. The liberation of all political prisoners of socialist parties, and all workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors imprisoned in connection with the workers' and peasants' movements.
6. The election of a committee to review the cases of those held in prisons and concentration camps.
7. The abolition of political sections (in armed

forces and state institutions) because no party should be given special privileges in the propagation of its ideas or receive financial support from the government for such purposes.

8. The immediate abolition of the militia detachments set up between towns and the countryside.

9. The equalisation of rations for all workers, except those engaged in dangerous or unhealthy jobs.

10. The abolition of Party combat detachments in all military groups. The abolition of Party guards in factories and mills. If guards are required, they should be nominated, taking into account the views of the workers.

11. To give the peasants freedom of action on their own soil, and the right to own cattle, providing they look after them themselves and do not employ hired labour.

12. To request that all military units and officer trainee groups associate themselves with this resolution.

13. To demand that the press give proper publicity to this resolution.

14. To appoint a travelling commission of control.

15. To permit free artisan production which does not employ hired labour.

A delegation of sailors returns to Petrograd.

1st March

Workers strike in all large factories in Petrograd. In Moscow there are riots outside the Kremlin. The government denounces "this vast counter-revolutionary plot".

In Kronstadt a meeting is called for by the 1st and 2nd Squadrons of the Baltic Fleet in Yakorny Square, which is attended by 16,000 workers, soldiers and sailors. The meeting was addressed by Kouzmin, commissar to the Baltic Fleet, and Kalinin, president of the all-Russia executive of soviets (who were received in Kronstadt with full military honours and brass bands). The delegates back from Petrograd gave their report. Petritchenko, chief quartermaster of the "Petropavlovsk", presents the "Petropavlosk resolution". Kalinin and Kouzmin violently attack the resolution, claiming that "Kronstadt did not represent the whole of Russia". The assembly unanimously adopted the resolution. (The only ones who voted against were Kalinin, Kouzmin, and Vassilief, president of the Petrograd soviet.)

Kalinin returns to Petrograd.

2nd March

Conference of more than 300 delegates in the Kronstadt House of Culture presided over by Petritchenko. Kouzmin and Vassilief again make aggressive speeches saying they would not give up their power without a fight. They are ordered to leave the meeting and are put under arrest, being detained on the "Petropavlosk". Revolutionary Committee to administer the town and the forts.

Over radio Moscow the Kronstadt sailors are denounced as "mutineers led by White generals and organised by French counter-intelligence."

3rd March

Workers demonstrate in Moscow.

Strikes in Petrograd continue.

The Petrograd Defence Committee takes the families of Kronstadt sailors as hostages. The Revolutionary Committee organises the defence of Kronstadt and decides to arm the workers.

Decree for re-election (within 3 days) of trade unions.

First issue of Kronstadt Izvestia. . ."The Communist Party, master of the state, has detached itself from

the masses. It has shown itself incapable of getting the country out of its mess. Many incidents have occurred in Petrograd and Moscow which show clearly that the party has lost the confidence of the working masses. The party is ignoring working class demands because it believes these demands are the result of counter-revolutionary activity. In this the party is making a profound mistake."

4th March

Publication in Moscow of official manifesto, signed by Lenin and Trotsky, declaring the Kronstadt sailors guilty of mutiny. Official proclamation orders the Petrograd strikers back to work immediately. An extraordinary session of the Petrograd soviet is held at night in the Tauride Palace. Admission is by special ticket only. When some factory delegates try to speak they are shouted down by party members.

5th March

Trotsky arrives in Petrograd, and that night gives an ultimatum to Kronstadt. The Defence Committee adds to this by transmitting an appeal over radio Moscow and broadcasts from a plane to the "insurgents": 'If you persist we will shoot you like partridges.'

The Petrograd strikes continue and the Kronstadt Izvestia succeeds in being circulated in the town, and is pasted on the walls of certain factories. The authorities fear a general revolt. The Northern Districts are now subjected to martial law, and Petrograd is maintained in an "extraordinary state of siege". The curfew is extended to 9 p.m. In Kronstadt the Revolutionary Committee replied to all accusations: "Our cause is just. We stand for the power of the Soviets, not for that of the party. We stand for the freely elected representatives of the working masses. Deformed soviets, dominated by the party, have remained deaf to our pleas. Our appeal has been answered with bullets. . ." "In Kronstadt power is in the hands of the sailors, of the Red soliders, and revolutionary workers. It is not in the hands of White Guards commanded by General Kozlovsky as radio Moscow lyingly asserts." The American anarchists in Petrograd (Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Perkus and Petrovsky) submit a plan to Zinoviev for a peaceful solution to the conflict with Kronstadt.

6th March

Trotsky assembles fresh troops, and detachments of elite Communist regiments, and special sections of the Cheka are positioned in the forts facing Kronstadt. The best technicians and "specialists" of the old regime make plans for the attack on Kronstadt. Touchatchevsky becomes commander of all the Red troops.

7th March

At 6.45 p.m. the first shots are fired against Kronstadt. The batteries on the coast bombard the town. In Kronstadt the sailors in the forts open fire. In Petrograd a meeting of workers in the Arsenal adopt the resolution of the Kronstadt sailors, and elect a special commission to go from factory to factory, agitating for a general strike. The authorities sack striking workers, and transfer the running of the factories to local "troikas" of the Defence Committee, who start to re-hire workers. Strikes start in Moscow and Nijai Novgorod.

8th March

"Let the workers of the whole world know that we, the defenders of soviet power, are guarding the conquests of the social revolution. We shall win or die in the ruins of Kronstadt, fighting for the just cause of the working masses. Let the workers of the world be our judge. Let the blood of the innocents be upon the heads of the Communist fanatics, drunk with power. Long live soviet power. . . Here in Kronstadt we have laid the first stone of the third revolution, struck the last chain from the working masses, and opened a broad new path for socialist creativity." (Kronstadt Izvestia 8 March)
First real bombardment of Kronstadt.
First attack waves sent on the ice. The soldiers wear long white blouses as camouflage. Many

soldiers surrender to the Kronstadt sailors. In Moscow the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party starts.

9th March

Some units refuse to join the attack on Kronstadt. The Kronstadt Izvestia is circulated in Red Army barracks.

10th March

Continued artillery bombardment. More soldiers refuse to fight.

11th March

Fog stops bombardment.

12th March

A general attack against Kronstadt in the evening is repulsed. The Orchan regiment refuses to fight.

13th March

Two more regiments refuse to fight and are disarmed. Many soldiers are tried by "revolutionary" tribunals who impose harsh sentences.

14th March

More regiments, which include many Cossacks, refuse to fight, saying, "We will not fight against our brothers from the same "stanttsas" (village). (There were Cossack soldiers fighting for Kronstadt.)
Massive desertions.

17th March

Just after midnight the general advance against Kronstadt begins. The outlying forts fall one by one. By 5 a.m. the invaders reach the town, and fierce hand to hand fighting starts. The sailors are reinforced by workers' militias. The civil population, despite the shooting, try to fraternise with the Red Army troops. Kouzmin and Vassilief are freed and later participate in the repression and summary executions which lasted 15 days after the fall of Kronstadt.

15th March

Reinforcements continue to arrive in Petrograd, mainly soldiers from Bachkir province in the Urals and Kirghiz in Central Asia. In Moscow the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party ends, and 300 delegates are sent to the Kronstadt front, including Boubnov, Zatonsky and Piatakov. Many of these delegates are appointed to the special "commissions" against desertions as political commissars.

16th March

The general bombardment by coastal batteries continues, supported by bombing attacks from the air to create panic amongst the civil population of Kronstadt. The hospital is destroyed.

18th March

Fighting continues through the night and into the morning. Thousands of sailors and workers lie dead in the streets. The Red Army's "revolutionary" tribunal is set up. One by one the last forts, Miliontine, Constantine and Obrontchev, fall. The last resistance, by 150 sailors in the Tolbukhin lighthouse, is finally defeated. 8,000 sailors and workers start the long walk across the ice to Finland. Dybenko, a former Kronstadt sailor and commissar of the fleet, is appointed commissar of Kronstadt with full power to "clean up the rebel town". Hundreds of prisoners are taken to Petrograd and given to the Cheka. Executions continue for several months.

The day Kronstadt fell was the 50th anniversary of the Paris Commune. During the public celebrations Trotsky and Zinoviev denounced Thiers and Gallifet for the slaughter of 35,000 communardes.

(Translated and enlarged from
Le Monde Libertaire by D. & D.P.)

THE LAST MAXIMALIST

AN INTERVIEW WITH KLARA KLEBANOVA

recorded by PAUL AVRICH

CONCLUDED

THE MAXIMALIST CONFERENCE

Part of the money was used to finance the first and only Maximalist Conference, which took place in a farmhouse in Finland. More than sixty delegates attended, workers and intellectuals from various cities. I was a delegate from the Ekaterinoslav group. At the conference we officially proclaimed our independence from the SR party and shed the name of Young Ones for SR Maximalists. We also drew up a programme that emphasized the importance of terrorist activity. A pall hung over the meeting because of the loss of our comrades in the Ponarny "ex". Of the proceeds of the raid The Bear said: "There is blood in every copeck, comrades. Let's make it all count."

After the conference, the members of the Fighting Brigade met with The Bear in Helsingfors to plan its next move. It was decided, at The Bear's suggestion, to blow up the main police headquarters in St. Petersburg. I was thrilled when The Bear asked me to take part. Natasha Klimova (who was by then The Bear's companion) was to obtain the dynamite in Finland, while I and Comrade Lukich were to smuggle it into the capital. We did this by pretending to be a newlywed merchant couple returning from our honeymoon in Finland. I sewed some of the dynamite into my petticoat, and Lukich fastened the rest to his belt. On the train, however, we were watched by a police spy, and when we got to St. Petersburg we found that our hideout had been raided the previous day and all of our comrades arrested. Lukich tried to return to Finland but was seized at the railroad station. I was chased in the street and caught just before I could jump into a carriage. Natasha too was arrested the same day, and in prison I found that the cell next to mine was occupied by Nadya Terentieva, who had gone to Odessa with Meishka Zakgeim and three other members of the Fighting Brigade to kill the governor there, but were caught before they could carry out the deed.

IN BRIEF

The police chief of Munich has recommended that non-profit-making municipal brothels be set up because of 'an acute shortfall in call-girls and prostitutes' and that the city should go into the business 'to prevent matters slipping into the hands of criminals'. A councillor said, 'Today's modern society is always showing the average citizen how sex is practised but it does not help him to find out just where to practise it.' According to the Sunday Times, "a spokesman, Dr. Heinrich von Mosch, said 'This is virgin territory we are entering - no other city has ever proposed such a plan'."

The Provisional IRA, in Republican News, has accused other political parties in Southern Ireland of using drugs, drink and sexuality to break the moral fibre of the Irish people and to entice the young away from the "struggle for freedom". The Provisionals say that by legalising contraception the ruling parties in the Republic of Ireland are introducing a permis-

sive society which would turn the people against the Provisionals and all they stand for, and it calls on Provisionals to do all in their power to make sure that Southern Ireland's birth control law which prohibits the importation or sale of contraceptives is not changed. It goes on to say that organizations closely linked with the British contraception lobby are the Irish Humanist Association, the Language Freedom Movement and Women's Choice, all classed by the IRA Provisionals as "liberal". The Republican News reckons that now is not the time to discuss changes in the constitution. That should happen after the British have left, they say. It is claimed by the article that the Provisionals will provide a rallying point for those who believe in the traditional Catholic way of life.

According to one Italian comrade recently arrived in Britain, the monthly anarchist paper Rivista Anarchica published in Milan has ceased publication due to an ideological split with and within the FAI (Italian Anarchist Federation). We sincerely hope that

EVERYONE KILLED OR ARRESTED

So I never did kill anybody—though not from any lack of trying. And now our entire organization had been liquidated. Everyone had either been killed or arrested. The Bear was executed in the police station without trial. The rest languished in prison until June 1908 when a mass trial, the Trial of the Forty-Four Maximalists, took place in the capital. Natasha Klimova was tried separately and sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labour. The news caused her father—a member of the State Council—to die of a heart attack. The rest of us got sentences ranging up to fifteen years at hard labour. I received the lightest sentence, two years with time already served deducted, because of my age and a lack of evidence against me.

While I was serving the remainder of my sentence, Lipa Katz escaped from prison and made his way to Paris. After my release in 1909 I joined him there, and we mingled with a whole colony of exiled revolutionaries—Chernov, Savinkov, Brashovskaya, Figner, Grossman-Roschchin, Martov, Lenin.

Lipa and I came to Boston in 1914, on the eve of the First World War, and we remained there ever since. In 1926 I visited Soviet Russia and saw Nadya and Meishka, who had married in Siberia, where they had sat until 1917 when the Revolution gave them an amnesty. They were both members of the Organization of Political Prisoners and worked in its book store in Moscow. Natasha Klimova, who had escaped from prison and joined us in Paris, was all packed to return to Russia in 1917 when she died suddenly of influenza. My husband died in 1971 at the age of 88.

So I am the last of the Maximalists, as far as I know. Those who remained in Russia were exiled, purged, executed, while those who went abroad have all passed away. They were the greatest idealists, revolutionists of the highest moral calibre. They sacrificed all the comforts of life to serve the cause of freedom, and many chose the path to martyrdom. Yet so much was packed into those few years in Russia—so much of life's excitement, of high ideals and hopes. They were wonderful years, you know. Without them, without those few years, my life would have no real meaning.

our Italian comrades will be able to overcome this crisis and still continue that excellent anarchist paper.

PRESS FUND

DOWN THIS WEEK!

Contributions 28 Feb.- 6 March

LEEDS: G.H.L. 21p; HOVE: B.P. 6p; WIMBORNE: D.M. 32p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; ILKLEY: S.M. £1.75; In shop: D.S. 25p; Anon 5p; E.R. 40p; J.P. 26p; Anon 10p.

TOTAL £3.90

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fortunes in the Great War,
Jaroslav Hasek, in an unabr.
transl. Cecil Parrott £2.50(22p)

SPANISH RESISTANCE

BISHOP'S MOVE

ALMOST TWO WEEKS after the garrotting of Salvador Puig Antich, Franco's regime has been unable to stop the daily demonstrations, bomb explosions, protests and cries of "Franco assassino" bravely and openly put up by the anti-Franquisti in Barcelona, Madrid and other major cities of Spain.

One would suspect that the so-called crisis between the State and the Spanish Church caused by the pro-Basque Bishop of Barcelona has been cleverly used by both parties to obscure at home and abroad the more serious political agitation caused by the wave of repression unleashed by Arias Navarro, new prime minister of Spain and former head of the secret political police. As for the four former members of M.I.L. awaiting trial, we hope that the state of unrest caused by the death of Carrero Blanco, the sentencing of the "Carabanchel 10" to long terms of imprisonment and the garrotting of Salvador Puig Antich, will favour our comrades J. C. Pons Llobet, S. O. Soler, E. Pardinias and F. X Garriga, and that Franco's "justice" will not be so adamant now as to execute four more of its enemies.

We feel that one way we can help these comrades is by sending as much money as we can to Spain, Our Spanish Resistance Fund was set up to collect the money of the comrades in Britain and abroad who feel that our Spanish comrades deserve our unconditional support in their struggle against Iberian fascism. Give generously. Any amount of money is welcome. Donations to Spanish Resistance Fund, c/o T.P. & P.T., 84B Whitechapel High St. London, E. 1. England.

L A T E S T N E W S

In the evening of Saturday, 2nd March, a petrol bomb was thrown at the front of the Spanish Cultural Institute in Dublin. Shortly afterwards the Sunday Press received a telephone message stating 'I am speaking for the First of May group. We have exploded a bomb at the Spanish Cultural Institute. It is in retaliation for the murder today in Spain of the Spanish anarchist'.

In an article on Spain entitled "The dark side of Sunny Spain", the Scottish Daily Record stated "the weekend executions and the expulsion of the bishop may serve as notice that there will be no significant change in those policies, whatever happens to Franco. Bacardi may cost only £1 a litre to the tourist. But

the real cost is immeasurably greater than that."

In Barcelona, on the boil since the March 2 execution of Salvador Puig, demonstrators clashed with police in the centre of the city, last Sunday (10 March). There were angry scenes when hundreds of people left the church where a memorial service for Puig had been banned by the Spanish police. The crowd stormed up the Ramblas to the Plaza de Catalunya chanting "Franco murderer" and "End the death penalty". Armed Police, out in force, made repeated baton charges to clear the area. Several arrests were made.

The military and political rift in Portugal over future policy in Africa deepened last Sunday (10 March) with armed forces throughout the country confined to barracks and put onto a state of alert.



"Madrid University announced on Sunday, 10 March that the Law Faculty will be closed for two days next week after student disturbances. The move follows a week of demonstrations by undergraduates against the execution of the Catalan Anarchist student, Salvador Puig Antich, in Barcelona. In one incident, police fired into the air to disperse students.

"Puig Antich, 25, was garrotted a week ago after being convicted by a military tribunal of killing a policeman while being arrested in connection with a bank raid."

(Financial Times)

Claude.

LIES!

R U S S I A N D E F E N C E O F F R E E D O M

IN MOSCOW the Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, in an open letter (February, 1974) given to foreign correspondents, said that a major radio and television programme of his works had been cancelled because he had interceded for Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

Soviet youth had nowhere "where they can learn about the tragic truth of that time - not from books or their textbooks," he said, referring to the Stalin period. "Even when our newspapers print articles on our revolutionary heroes who died during the Stalinist repressions, the cause of their deaths is glossed over. Truth is being replaced by suppression, but suppression is lies," he wrote.

On many points, he added, he disagreed with Mr. Solzhenitsyn and Gulag Archipelago, but "in that book there are terrible documentary pages about the bloody crimes of the Stalinist past". Several writers had been expelled from the writers' union for defending Mr. Solzhenitsyn. "Does this sort of behaviour have anything in common with the principles of socialist democracy? For the law of socialist society is that man is a friend to man. . . it is our duty to intercede for the dead who perished in the Stalinist camps, for they can no longer speak. It is also our duty to intercede for the living."

L I E S

"Telling lies to the young is wrong./ Proving to them that lies are true is wrong. Telling them that God's in his heaven/and all's well with the world/is wrong/. The young know what you mean. The young are people./Tell them the difficulties can't be counted,/and let them see not only what will be/ but see with clarity these present times./ Say obstacles exist they must encounter/Sorrow happens, hardship happens/The hell with it, who never knew/the price of happiness will not be happy./ Forgive no error you recognize/ It will repeat itself, increase, and afterwards our pupils will not forgive in us what we forgave

Yevgeny Yevtushenko (1952)

J.G.L.

YEVTUSHENKO, Selected Poems,
Penguin Modern European Poets
(20p)

A PRECOCIOUS AUTOBIOGRAPHY,
Yevgeny Yevtushenko. Collins and
Harvill Press, 1963.

LETTER

CONVIVIAL SOCIETY

Dear Comrades,

I don't think J. L. Wood (23.2.74) has understood properly the general criticism of industrial society.

Technological growth requires a class of experts able to sustain and improve its development. In an industrial society institutions are geared to producing experts, also to outfitting the majority of people with the roles they must play in the conceptions and creations of technocrats. This society's values are made by the few who have an unequal share of everything, leaving all others permanently deprived of the standard ration of, for example, housing, learning etc.

Increased technology reinforces these inequalities. People who believe in equity cannot work within the present system, that is the lesson of Salvador Allende's road to socialism.

Critics of industrial society propose limits at which the availability of techniques or the number of machines can be seen to be most useful to everyone; which goods remain open to personal use and control by everyone.

Incarceration of people in cities, factories, or in any routine necessary for the functioning of technological processes results in a distorted view of reality, a kind of prisoner's mentality, which associates freedom with the life-style of the screws (supervisors, teachers...)

In this way many people are committed to the values of industrial society and the myths which these perpetuate. The example mentioned by our comrade betrays a common misapprehension that less technology means disaster. If USA had sent 3000 helicopters to the Peruvian earthquake zone, it would have proved only that Americans were rich enough to give this assistance which people in neighbouring regions were not.

The choice is between present societies in which large numbers of people pursue the privileges only a few will ever enjoy, and ones in which people accept a limit on the amount of industrial goods they need, and therefore on the technology required to produce them; if you like, a lower standard of living but a more equitable distribution of finite resources. In the latter situation, disaster victims would be helped by their close neighbours, so removing the need for large-scale, rapid helicopter transport.

Finally, libertarians are critics of industrial society because precisely their values are excluded from the hierarchical and repressive social structures. Similarly a moratorium on, especially a decrease of, technological development is impossible under present capitalist and socialist governments; it's their reason for existence. Ivan Illich is correct to call his criticism subversive, and his proposals for change revolutionary.

Fraternally,
Stephen Bonnett.

S. American anarchism

The address of the monthly journal RUTA (mentioned in "Chile" item 2.3.74) is: Apartado 61881, CARACAS - 106, Venezuela.

MINERS...continued from Page 1

ployed by UK companies in South Africa recommends that these firms should negotiate with black unions where they exist. However with the present political set up in South Africa such a recommendation is unlikely to be implemented. BUT IF SOLIDARITY MEANS ANYTHING, IT MEANS INTERNATIONAL. IT MEANS THAT WE IN THIS COUNTRY SHOULD GIVE OUR ACTIVE SUPPORT to our black brothers who are fighting for the recognition of their unions. They are fighting to bring their wages up from the near-starvation rates which they are paid at the moment by companies like British Leyland who have only recently recorded record profits. We salute the miners, but as workers we should also give our support to those who need it most, the black workers of South Africa.

P.T.

Sat. 16 March ANARCHIST CABARET
Sat. 23 March CABARET OF THE MINORITIES, both 8 p.m. at Centro Iberico, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (side entrance Steele's Rd) tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Park, buses 31 & 68.

CENTRO IBERICO meets socially Sundays 7 pm at above address.

ANARCHIST CINEMA - weekly showing classic films being organized

THREATS TO FREEDOM: 4 public mtgs at Caxton Hall. First mtg. Tues. 2 April, 7.45 p.m. Threats to Sexual Freedom. Free programme from organisers: National Secular Society, 698 Holloway Road, London N19, tel. 272 1266.

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

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

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE: Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263; 20100 MILANO Italy

Contact

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

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

MOTHERS IN ACTION want material for pamphlet to provide information on day care/education. Available, "Plan for Day Care" free copy and material: Munro House, 9 Poland St. London W1V 3DG, tel. 01-734-3457

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

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 Ave (SW corner 29 St) Admission free. March 28: Sharon Presley on "Anarchism and Feminism"

TUCSON, Arizona. April 18, 19 & 20. Conference on 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.

NEW YORK: Preliminary Continental Anarchist Conference & Festival April 19-21. Details from Conference Correspondence, c/o Hunter Libertarian Alliance, 47 East 65 St. New York N.Y. 10021

STOCKWELL SQUATTERS facing eviction need support & help to fight a possession order. Please contact Kevin or Melody, Flat A, 295 Clapham Rd. SW9 or leave message at 01-274 6373

BRISTOL FRAME-UP DEFENCE FUND c/o Arthur, 19 Brigstock Road Bristol 2.

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