

THE FIRST OF MAY

ONCE AGAIN, the May Day demonstrations which will be held all over the civilised world will bring together millions of workers of all possible trades and all possible nationalities. Once more the feeling of International Solidarity which unites the workers across the political frontiers will be affirmed in the face of the ruling and exploiting classes who do their best at sowing national rivalry and hatred amongst the workers.

True that the grand demonstration has been split into two separate demonstrations; one on the First of May, the other on the first Sunday in May. True that in the speeches which will be made on these two days all over Europe and America, we shall hear but little about the great contest between Capital and Labour which has called to life these Demonstrations, and we shall hear a great deal about electoral policies.

But if we pass over these stereotyped speeches and look in-

to the real ideas which lie at the bottom of the whole movement, we shall see a quite different spirit animating the working masses in their endeavours to make the manifestations as imposing as possible.

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This movement was born in 1886 in America, especially at Chicago; and its leading idea was then the

THIS MAY DAY ARTICLE APPEARED
IN "FREEDOM" MAY 1895

idea of a general strike. On that day - it was hoped - a strike, nearly general, would be entered upon by the workers of the United States. The Knights of Labour, and many other labour organisations, encouraged by the success of the Pittsburg strike, hoped to induce the great bulk of the American workers to leave their workshops and factories, and to strike for an eight hours' day.

The most intelligent of the

workers fully understood that, if the strike took a great extent, this would have meant something more than a mere strike. The whole of the industrial and commercial activity on the surface of the continent would have been paralysed. No bakers to supply the rich with bread, no railways nor tramways running, no ships loaded or unloaded, no income derived from the work of the labour slaves; and millions of workmen would come together in the streets on the public places, and in the meetings to discuss their affairs, and impose their own conditions upon the exploiters.

Such was the leading idea of the movement. It would have meant a new departure in the great contest between Labour and its Exploiters; and whether it was successful or only partially successful, the labourers would have seen and measured their

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Spanish Resistance

BARCELONA ARRESTS

THE SPECIAL services of the 6th Regional Brigadé of Investigation (the newly formed anti-anarchist squad) have arrested 22 anarchists in Barcelona. These arrests, according to the Spanish police, are the result of intensive work in detection and infiltration of emerging autonomous groups of anarchists struggling against fascism in Spain. The comrades arrested were members of the local federation of anarchist groups in the region of Barcelona (Bajo Lobregat and Maresma) and were affiliated to the F.A.I (Iberian Anarchist Federation).

The police attribute to them a series of recent attacks which were motivated by the mediaeval execution of SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH and by solidarity with the jailed comrades, members of the ex-MIL, Pons Llobet and Oriol Soler, who are also in danger of being executed by "garrote vil".

The 22 are, according to the

police, responsible for explosions on 4 January at a police station in San Andres, several explosions at branches of the Banco Popular Espanol y Biscaya on 11 January at 5 a.m., and explosion one hour later against the Francoist memorial to the dead of the Civil War 1936-39, explosions at the police station of Mataro, and at the Francoist war memorial at Badalona.

The police report mentions equally the activities of the Libertarian Students of Catalonia. The disclosure presupposes that the anti-anarchist squad is properly informed, enabling Franco's anti-anarchist ' heavies ' to mount the operation in which a large group of comrades were arrested. These latest arrests are in reality a vast offensive of political repression against anarchists in Spain, aimed at dismantling the anarchist movement. This official

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MESSAGE FROM MOUNTJOY

WE HAVE received a message from Robert Cullen, who is in Mountjoy Prison, arrested with several other comrades (see "Dublin Anarchists" FREEDOM 20.4.74) on charges concerning armed robbery, possession of both firearms and explosives, bombing attacks and conspiracy. The comrade has called our attention to one or two errors and omissions in our original story of 6 April. Some of these were subsequently corrected in our last issue.

However, Robert Cullen points out that Paul Stephens is no longer in custody having been released after a few hours. Secondly, Robert Cullen indicates that Desmond (Des) Keane and Edward (Eddie) Jones are known to them. Marie Murry (erroneously referred to as Marie McPhillips) is out on bail.

Apart from pointing out our errors of fact (which we apologize for) the comrade passes the message that "our need of solidarity is somewhat greater. As yet a defence committee has not been set up but we would greatly like to hear from any comrades. . . .Yours in the Revolution, Bobby Cullen."

All are in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin 7. Robert Cullen's remand prison number is 683. We do not have numbers for the others but they are:

Columba Longmore,
Noel Murry,
Edward Jones
Desmond Keane.

We are assuming that tobacco, chocolate, papers, books, etc. may be sent as for remand prisoners in England.

tants, forestall future operations and gain personal kudos for putting down crimes which the police themselves have instigated -- of course with the best of motives! When an agent/informer such as Lennon or the Littlejohns (if one discounts some of their stories) becomes embarrassing or useless he is rated 'expendable' and is either exposed to dangers of retribution or turned over (like the Littlejohns) to the civil authorities.

With a police apparatus there is always the temptation to incite or stage acts of violence in or-

THE GREAT DOUBLE-CROSS

AN IRISH Republican Army was ready to invade Canada with the help of rebel Americans, the Inspector-General of the Irish army was a police spy and betrayed the Irish into an ambush and their plan was defeated. Later the same man infiltrated the English branch of the Irish Republican movement and finally exposed the Organisation before a Royal Commission.

The defence counsel for a famous Irish republican had been a British agent for many years. His client was sentenced to death and the counsel visited him in the condemned cell and obtained further information which was duly passed on to Dublin Castle.

* * *

THESE INSTANCES of betrayal and double-cross are all factual and taken from Irish history -- in 1869 and 1803 respectively. With these instances, and much else, in mind it is possible to believe the strange story of Kenneth Lennon and, almost, the even more incredible stories of the Littlejohn brothers. It has long been known that Special Branch used informers, in the same way that the police will use information given.

But given the powers of the police, and the even wider powers of agents in times of turbulence and despite the conviction of the press that the British police (in all its manifestations) is wonderful and policemen's behaviour always pure and beyond reproach (or justified in the circumstances) such behaviour as culminated in Kenneth Lennon, former police-informer and agent provocateur being found shot dead is open to questionings.

The Guardian at its most wet-legged thought the NCCL "sometimes goes too far. To call for a Parliamentary enquiry [into the Special Branch's activities] ... is premature". The Economist reaches into the depths with its theory based upon no facts: "Indeed, it would hardly be surprising if it is found that Mr. Lennon approached the police first, and not the other way round." Peter Gladstone-Smith of the Sunday Telegraph suggests a palpable falsehood in a throw-away line (Meant to be picked up) "It is not suggested that anyone in Civil Liberties organization would reveal the existence of Lennon's statement to Sinn Fein. But the fact that this typed statement lay under newspapers in the N.C.C.L. office" etc., etc. The B.B.C. managed to make two slips, calling the National Council for Civil Liberties "The National Council of Civil Liberties". It is a rearguard action not a conservation movement. And, by the way, why was the project dropped to make Commander Bond chief of the futile enquiry that has now been set up? One supposes that setting up the police to judge the police is farce enough without putting Bond in charge ... that would be crude!

* * *

We have never had any doubt that the Special Branch (which is really the political arm of the police) uses such methods as are described by Kenneth Lennon in 'setting up' crimes in order that the police may arrest mili-

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THROUGH THE PRESS

INVESTMENT IN SPAIN

As part of a major modernisa-
tion plan for the Spanish Air
Force, a combined missile and
aircraft defence system, costing
£14 million, is to be developed.
Called "Combat Grande", the sys-
tem is to be constructed by Come
co Electronics Corp, a company
set up by Hughes Aircraft, of
California, in partnership with
the Spanish company, Compania de
Electronica y Comunicaciones SA,
Cecca. Combat Grande is being
procured on behalf of the Spanish
government by the United States
Air Force. *

FORD MOTOR announced (16 Apl.)
that its world investments dur-
ing the period 1973-75 will total
about \$1,700m. Of this sum
\$1,100m. is to be spent in Eur-
ope, including \$500m. earmarked
for the company's projected fac-
tory at Valencia in Spain. Among
the projects outlined last week
by Philip Caldwell, Ford's execu-
tive vice-president for interna-
tional automotive operations,
were additions to existing plants
at Cologne, Saarouis, Bordeaux
and to Ford's truck factory in
Holland. . .

Ford expects that Spain will
join the Common Market, but does
not believe that the success of
its Valencia operations will de-
pend on this in spite of the fact
that under the terms of an agree-
ment with the Spanish authorities,
some 90 per cent. of the plant's
eventual output of 26,000
vehicles a day will have to be
exported. . . Ford is to build
plants at Valencia for engine
manufacture and for vehicle and
stamping assembly. Initial pro-
duction is due to start in 1976.

Among other major investments
planned are some \$400m. to be
spent in Latin America and
\$220m. in the Far East. Mr. Cald-
well revealed that Ford would be
"receptive" to the idea of doing

business with China, but said it
had not so far been approached
by the Chinese.

(from Financial Times)

G R E E C E

A "reign of terror" exists in
Greece in some respects worse
than the excesses in Nazi Ger-
many, a former Nuremberg trial
prosecutor claimed in London
yesterday.

Professor Mary Kaufman, pro-
fessor of law at Antioch College,
Ohio, made the allegation after
a week-long fact-finding tour of
Greece with a British barrister,
Miss Sarah Cockburn and National
Union of Students vice-president,
Miss Judy Cotter. They went
under the auspices of the League
for Democracy in Greece. They
said there was "reliable evi-
dence" of torture of 17-year-old
students.

Miss Cotter said that a 17-
year-old schoolgirl to whom she
had spoken last week was taken
to a military army interrogation
centre in Athens with another
girl, where they were "raped and
submitted to an orgy by both men
and women", she said. Other tor-
tures were carried out "as a mat-
ter of routine".

"There is extensive use of
electric shock treatment, depri-
vation of sleep, people are
forced to stand on one leg for
hours until they drop, and then
beaten," she said.

(The Guardian)

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FUNNY PECULIAR

LONDON IS A VILLAGE and every upturned stone reveals a saint or villain searching for an easy buck. We join in the laughter and we join in the condemnation and we protest their virtues and applaud their destruction for despite its sprawl London is as parochial as in the swinging days of Jack Sheppard and if you draw me a circle two miles in radius from Covent Garden you will find that it contains everything that makes life worth the living. There within the FREE Tate Gallery flying their bladders of wind for a victory of FREE entry that the directors feared to fight is an exhibition of the works of the late Yves Klein.

On the 24th June 1957 Victor Musgrove exhibited the works of Yves Klein at his Gallery One, a cabbage throw from the Berwick market. Musgrove was a strange and exotic character, tall, good looking, forever, it seemed, on the verge of some mysterious and shy-making adventure and whose disappearance from the public scene was in keeping with the man. His assistant within the gallery was John Kasmin, slight and silent, a creature of the mediaeval Italian courts. Dark eyed and waiting, never a king but a king maker. I stood within that cramped and stair-ridden gallery in June of 1957 and watched Victor Musgrove hang the canvases of Yves Klein while John Kasmin went for the wine. It was Klein's Blue Period and the collection of unframed canvases were of the same Royal Blue for no other reason than that Klein had used the same large tin of house paint and the same paint roller to achieve this overall coverage of his "platonic blue the blue of all blues". Every age produces its crop of charlatans from the godfreak to the faith healers and the kulture racket produces more than its fair quota. They are men without talent beyond a glib tongue and the confidence to sell their make-believe, and as long as they do no harm one can accept them. Men who trade on the pathetic misery of their fellow men are fit creatures for condemnation, and this only leaves the kulture racket for men like Klein and Piero Manzoni are a gas and a gag but never a menace. I admired Klein for he joined in the Town's laughter, thereby turning his fooling into a universal joke and the things he produced and did not produce were amusing. He daubed naked women with paint and allowed them to roll upon his canvases and sold that instant erotic art to those in search of a visual inspiration for a mental wank.

NEW AT THE TATE

He stood a kulture lover in an EMPTY studio and having allowed the kulture lover to visualise a Klein painting sold him the mental Klein painting. It was all good solid fun in 1957 but now the joke has found a fresh audience, many of them too stupid to realise that they are being conned, for the works of the late Yves Klein are now on mass display within the State's Tate Gallery. The 'all blue canvases', the garden-gnome size plaster reproduction of the Victory of Samothrace dunked in Klein's house beautiful pot of Woolworth's all-purpose blue paint and the rudely nudely abstract --year even the house painting rollers reverently offered for the London mob's adoration, accompanied by the playing or the hour and by the hour of Klein's 'Symphonie Monotone' which is simply one single note repeated ad infinitum. This musical non event was taped in 1957 and is no more than a continual high whine yet memory must sour the occasion by pointing out that in 1932 Cole Porter used the same gag of a single note for his long introduction into the chorus of "Night and Day" --but geltwise Cole made the money for he had the talent.

§§ In the next ward to Klein are the happy hours of Piero Manzoni who in 1963 joined the Great Ringmaster one year after Klein. Manzoni was limited in his visual wit and they ranged from signing his name on a willing female nude to putting his own shit in a tin and then exhibiting it as an art object. It is all good schoolboy fun and I would hold that it now has a second lease of life when the critics and the pseudo intelligentsia, as always, take this minor art clowning seriously. But that is their problem and tragedy.

Manzoni did however make two contributions that deserve to be taken seriously. In 1961 he placed an inverted base on the ground and called it the Base of the World, and if one visualises the earth from the spaceman's view it is drifting through time and space on Manzoni's base. Manzoni's other contribution to art was to make the point that if you place an empty pedestal within an art gallery then whatever you place on that pedestal will be accepted as a work of art and this is true, for if you call an empty room an art gallery then whatever is exhibited within it will, by word association, be accepted as an art object for by divorcing it from the real world one is now only concerned with surface values. So let the patriot and the Pope take heed, but unless they take their fingers out they must and will be accepted as no more than a Klein mental painting or Manzoni's packaged shit art artifacts whose only claim can be to amuse and confound.

In 1961 Klein had been invited by Jacopetti to stage his six nudes and an orchestra playing his Johnny One Note theme 'Symphonie Monotone' for the film Mondo Cane and when Klein saw the film in May of 1962 and found that he did not have the expected star role he curled up his blue-for-a-boy toes and had a heart attack, and in June went up into that great blue yonder to prepare a celestial loo for Manzoni of the exhibited tinned shit due the following year. These things amuse only as long as they appear in some small off-beat gallery but when the international art scavengers and the State give them credence then one has a right to ask who is kidding who. Musgrove has gone and his back street gallery went to the porn trade and is now no more than another shabby Soho shop. John Kasmin is now known to the art world simply as Kasmin and once more has surfaced with another new Bond Street gallery at 10 Clifford Street, W.1. and as always it will be exciting while Kasmin will stand quietly brooding in the shadowed corners. And with Barrie Bates still 'creating' his non-art under his old title of Billy Apple and the Lefevre at 30 Bruton Street W.1. dumping their French contacts for the local English talent the coming art scene should be exciting and full of good solid in-fighting.

ARBUS AT THE HAYWARD

§§ It was to the Hayward that the Town and his heaving breathing frau made their wayward way to view the hor-
ror photographs of the late Diane Arbus and if it was a fault it lay with the Hayward, for they used this one of three good exhibitions to drag in the mob. It is said that Diane Arbus is a cult figure of the class of Sylvia Plath but she was too much in love with death and human bitterness. She sought out the physical and mental kifsits of her age and put them on film and there they hang row by framed row in the Hayward. The transvestites and the physically deformed peered down at us and we peer back and in complete sincerity I would suggest that every few yards there should be placed among these sad images of human indignity a number of mirrors so that if the viewer ever falls into the trap of being amused he/she would find themselves gazing at their own face.

But for all that the Hayward has mounted two minor and one major exhibition for a single admission. The Vorticism exhibition at the Hayward must surely be the quintessential of that minor art revolt. Its most vocal propagandist was Wyndham Lewis and it was the mongrel of Cubism and Futurism. It belonged to the middle class muscle-flexing type of the period, all straight lines, single words of abuse printed upon the page to give the appearance of rage in heaven and it was only the romantic carnage of the First World War and the Italian comic Fascist Party that gave it any dynamic for it produced little of any worth and Epstein and Gaudier-Brzeska were reluctant prisoners of the movement. Richard Cork is to be congratulated on organising this exhibition and it has even managed to throw up a minor art furore, with the

septuagenarian William Roberts dashing off a pamphlet of about

septuagenarian William Roberts dashing off a pamphlet of about 120 words for £1 attacking Cork, which as Sergeant Bilko says is fun fun fun. But it is a major historical exhibition of what must have been the last middle class group to set their seal on their own period. They attacked the bourgeois yet they were defending the bourgeois values. They attacked the establishments yet in war and revolution these very same people defended the establishment. They cried violence and applauded war as the great leveller and saw the shadows of their lives cast upon the walls of overcrowded air raid shelters in a vulgar Second World War. They were the clowns who took themselves and their minor art too seriously, for despite all the straight lines and sharp angles they were scared and soft-centred romantics. Polemic and dynamic art has again gone back to the streets and to the people for the off-set litho is the key to the art of protest, and the police spies demand that it shall be nameless and it appears not on the walls of the student common room or the Bond Street galleries but on the street walls, pasted at night, of the working class streets. Working class and Irish revolutionary in character, it is feared; it is committed; therefore it is valid.

Arthur Moyses.

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FIRST OF MAY cont's from P.1

forces, and felt that, notwithstanding all influences to the contrary, there is a heart beating in common amongst the toiling masses.

This first attempt, in 1886, was an utter failure. Very few joined the strike, and the police, supported by assassins hired by the American capitalists - the Pinkerton men - stifled the movement in its bud. The workers' meetings were violently dispersed by the police, and the opportunity of a bomb thrown in the midst of the police was seized upon by the capitalists for imprisoning and hanging seven Anarchists who had taken a lively part in preparing the First of May movement. It was a defeat; but from that year, from the heroic death of the Anarchists - the officials of the American Labour Bureaus openly recognize this - dates the great Labour movement in America, which every year throws now into convulsion the whole of American industry and trade. From that year date also the May Day celebrations in Europe.

The general strike, on a given day, not having succeeded, the idea grew among the workers that a preparatory agitation was necessary. If the bulk of the workers hesitate to enter into a great labour war from fear of not being sufficiently supported by their brothers all over the world, let us at least make a One Day's general strike on the First of May. The Church imposes upon us its holidays. The middle classes have ordered us to keep bank holidays. Let the workers, too, have their holiday in contemplation of the date when men, free from the yoke of State and Capital, come together in the May fields to discuss and settle themselves their own affairs. And when the habit of holiday-making on May day shall become all

but general, when even the indifferent ones will have taken the habit of this One Day's strike -- then all the labourers of the world will feel sufficiently united for proclaiming a universal strike.

*

The politicians boast of having taken this sting out of the movement by making of it a demonstration for a legal Eight Hours' Day. But have they really succeeded in their cunning scheme?

The Eight Hours' Day begins to lose in the eyes of the workers the exaggerated importance which was first attributed to it. It is no solution of the Social Question -- not even of the Unemployed Problem. And the idea of a universal strike, which can give to the workers much more than a reduction of hours of labour, grows deeper and deeper rooted in the minds of the workers all over the world.

Its possibility has long been doubted. Now it has been demonstrated. The dockers' strike in London, the miners' strike in Belgium, and the railway strikes in America have given to the thinking workman the assurance that a great strike in several essential branches of industry is possible; and that such a strike would lead unavoidably to a general strike.

No one can foresee the possible results of such a strike; but one thing is certain. If the two parties into which mankind is divided - the employers and the workers, the rich and the poor, the owners and the proletarians - must enter into a fierce contest, the workers have all the advantage in fighting the contest with all of them united in a general strike, than that part of them should remain to toil for the other side. The whole contest would stand at once on its proper

ground - the economic basis, free from all side-issues of conflicts between political parties.

*

The May Day demonstration is thus not an electoral parade of voters. It is not made to frighten the rulers and thus to impose reforms. It has a much deeper meaning. It prepares the minds of the workers to commence action all over the world. It prepares a unity of feeling for the day when the great contest comes -- the contest out of which man must issue either again a slave for the next hundred years to the ruling and possessing classes, or a free human being, free to organize his life and his commonwealth on the basis of Equality and Freedom.

INDUSTRIALISTS TO END APARTHEID?

"At this juncture, the most effective action the British Government could take to improve the lot of Africans in South Africa would be to consult industrialists and others about the best way to follow up this report of the Parliamentary sub-committee on wages paid by British companies to African workers in South Africa⁷. Britain can no longer afford, by a Parliamentary vote, to devote some 5 per cent of one year's national income to financing its social conscience, as it did 150 years ago when it found the money necessary to end the slave trade. But if we go the right way about tackling the problems of apartheid, we may be instrumental during the next decade in scoring a comparable humanitarian triumph."

--Sir Arthur Snelling, formerly British Ambassador to South Africa, reported in the Financial Times (of course!)

der that their own position may be strengthened. We have never subscribed to the conspiracy theory of history and we feel that anarchists would be lacking in their duty and belief if they were not responsible for at least some of the attacks on authority that are laid at their door. But the police are manifestly responsible through their agents for some things that happen.

However, a study of the history of political espionage reveals (in spite of attempts at suppression) numerous incidents of the use by police of informers, agitators and indeed assassins to accomplish their mission of law and order. It is highly typical of British hypocrisy that the French expression agent provocateur is always used to describe that most odious type, the implication apparently being that such types are un-British.

If one goes back into English history only, one finds a spy, Oliver, who stirred up marches of the unemployed 'Blanketeers' in 1817. Spies were active in the 'Luddite' risings of 1812. The plan of action in The Cato Street conspiracy of 1820 was drawn up by a police spy.

The Paris police chief Andrieux subsidised two very violent anarchist newspapers, La Lanterne and La Revolution Sociale. It was said a police spy, Schroeder, published Johann Most's paper Freiheit in Switzerland whilst Most was in prison - and paid for it out of his own pocket!

The Russian Anarchist, Social Revolutionary and Nihilist movements of the eighties and nineties were honeycombed with Tsarist agents. Azev and Father Gapon were the most notorious. It was surmised that Father Gapon underwent a conversion to the revolutionary cause, a risk not very common to police but such a profession does entail some confusion.

In England, Coulon, the police agent ordered some Walsall anarchist youths to manufacture a bomb-casing in the foundry where they worked. They were then denounced to the police and received heavy sentences. Coulon subsequently re-entered the movement in London, becoming Louise Michel's secretary. It is significant of the cunning and protection given police spies that they are often undetected for years even after one exposure.

In England, too, the most significant so-called anarchist attentat, the 'attempt' to blow up Greenwich Observatory, was reputedly staged by Samuels, brother-in-law of the unfortunate Bourdin who was sent out with the bomb and blew himself up. Samuels was notorious for his advocacy of violence. He finished up as an anti-suffragist in a democratic party.

Bebel, the socialist, speaking in 1898 said, "And how often police agents have helped along in the attempted or executed assassinations of the last decades. When Bismarck was Federal Ambassador at Frankfort-am-Main he wrote to his wife, 'For lack of material the police agents lie and exaggerate in the most inexcusable manner'." Bebel went on: "These agents are engaged to discover contemplated assassinations. Under these circumstances the bad fellows among them...come easily to the idea 'If other people don't commit assassinations then we ourselves must help the thing along'. For, if they cannot report that there is something doing they will be considered superfluous, and of course they don't want that to happen."

* * *

Special Branch in this country has become very powerful. Recently it was detected intervening through an agent in a factory sit-in. The I.R.A. campaign has given it an excuse (did it need one?) to play a greater and more sinister role in British political life. If it was not for Lennon's conversation with George Melly and his direction to the N.C.C.L. we should never have wondered how or why he died. Assuredly after 'the enquiry' we shall still be left wondering.

Jack Robinson.

P O R T U G A L

Portuguese security police arrested at least 12 anti-government activists on 18 April, most of them allegedly with affiliations to the Communist Party.

Government sources claimed that the arrests are a precaution against possible demonstrations on May Day, which is usually used by the opposition as an occasion for manifestations against the government. The arrests are also said to be connected with a series of anti-government pamphlets that have been circulating clandestinely in Lisbon.

The 12 arrests included two candidates who stood unsuccessfully on the anti-government ticket in the last general election: Jose Tengarrinha, a public relations employee, and Maria Helena Neves. Security police visited offices of Left-wing newspapers and some of those detained are journalists and writers.

Earlier this month some 40 oppositionists were detained for questioning by the security police about their activities, though there is no solid indication about how many of these are still jailed.

--reported in the Financial Times:

SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH

Details of the execution by "garrote vil" of Salvador Puig Antich have reached us, confirming the barbarity of this form of execution so cherished by the fascists in Spain.

We know now that our comrade died bravely on Saturday, 2 March at 7.20 a.m.

It appears that the lack of "expertise" shown by the executioner caused the death of our comrade by slow strangulation which took five minutes. The "garrote vil" supposedly kills instantly by fracturing the vertebrae of the neck (as by hanging) but this was not the case for Salvador Puig Antich.

The doctor and the executioner could not agree whether our comrade was dead or not, an incident which caused the undertaker to faint in front of this bungled spectacle of state violence against a defenceless individual.

The nausea felt by tens of thousands of anti-fascists in Spain and all over the world and the violent incidents which ensued in Barcelona and Europe in protest against the murder of another anarchist forced the fascist regime in Spain to protect itself against the avenging acts of the countless friends of the oppressed Spanish people. More than 200 dignitaries and Franco's officials were each given the special protection of two armed policemen.

The days are gone when fascists in Spain could get away with murder. It seems that they are learning it too, thanks to the courage and the revolutionary spirit of Salvador Puig Antich. Comrade, you have not died in vain!

Claude.

The Guardian's correspondent commented:

"The sudden activity by the political police, the DGS, reflects the political insecurity in Portugal since last month's abortive coup. At that time the dismissal of Portugal's two most senior military commanders and the rampant disaffection among officers of middle rank brought a political reaction that reinforced right-wing influence in the Government and left the Prime Minister, Dr. Caetano, a shaken and isolated figure.

"That episode showed the real power in Portugal belongs to President Tomas and the hard-line Salazarists around him. Since the coup these men have been determined to stamp out any sign of opposition from whatever quarter and it is they who have instigated the latest wave of arrests."

SOLIDARITY FOREVER!

THE TWO most recent Solidarity pamphlets are typical of the two aspects of the group's publications throughout the four teen years of its existence -- Ken Weller's The Lordstown Struggle (10p) is a practical analysis of an industrial dispute in an American motor car factory a couple of years ago; whereas Paul Cardan's Redefining Revolution (15p) is a translation of a theoretical attempt to transcend Marxism, first published in France ten years ago.

It is a long time since Ken Weller wrote anything under his own name, though he has never ceased to produce much of the best material published by the Solidarity Group (and a note signed with the initials "M F" is a clear enough clue to his transparent pseudonyms during the past few years!) He offers here a brief account of the struggle in a new General Motors plant in Ohio. The factory was at the time the most advanced in the world, with the fastest production line and the youngest workforce. It was characterised by the extreme alienation of the workers and the extreme integration into management of their union (the United Auto Workers). As a result, when General Motors tried to rationalise production yet further in 1971, resistance took the form of informal, spontaneous direct action, including various kinds of sabotage, which was eventually defeated by an official strike in 1972, the union manipulating the workers into a formal ritual indirect action which they were bound to lose.

In his conclusion Ken Weller argues that "trade unions, in advanced industrial societies, are increasingly being shown up as one of the main obstacles workers have to face when struggling for their just demands" -- not because they have "bad" leaders or "wrong" policies, but because "their whole structure now mirrors the structure of the system". This means that the new syndicalism cannot develop within the unions. "To struggle effectively workers will need to build alternative channels of communication and coordination, rank-and-file committees that cut across formal union boundaries, linking together various crafts, the skilled and the unskilled, the employed and the unemployed, women and men, the young and the not so young." This means we must all become self-active. "There can be no substitute for a self-conscious,

London Borough officials are to ask the Home Office to postpone the local elections on May 2 because white-collar municipal staff are threatening to disrupt polling. NALGO, which is campaigning for immediate and substantial increases in London weighting allowances, has instructed its members in the 32 boroughs not to volunteer to man polling stations or count the votes.

--We would not be surprised to learn from government sources that this disruption is the result of an "anarchist plot".

autonomous rank-and-file movement, built up of self-conscious, autonomous human beings." With which we can only agree

¶ Paul Cardan is a much less satisfactory writer. He was the ideological guru of the Socialisme ou Barbarie group in France from the time it emerged from the Trotskyist movement in 1949, and later of the Solidarity Group from the time it took the same path in 1960. His vast amount of work, written under a variety of pseudonyms, has exercised considerable influence across the Channel; last year his collected writings began appearing, under his real name Cornelius Castoriadis, with the general title Socialisme ou Barbarie, and will fill a dozen fat paperback volumes. But for some reason he does not travel well. His line represents a prolonged struggle with Stalin, Trotsky, Lenin, and finally Marx, full of sound and fury, but not signifying nearly as much as he (and the Solidarity Group) seems to think.

Redefining Revolution is really redefining Marxism. Cardan applies a Marxist critique to Marx much as Marx applied a Hegelian critique to Hegel, and unless one is already involved in the argument it is difficult to find much interest in it. Thus when Cardan illustrates his thesis that it is necessary to make a total break with traditional ideology by listing eleven points in which Marxism has failed, anarchists will find that every single point is a familiar objection to Marxism -- and indeed any of them would have been obvious to the anarchists opposing Marx in the First International a century ago. It has always been a pity that Cardan's texts have appeared in English so long after appearing in French, but this one seems to be a hundred rather than ten years late. The most interesting Cardan text from the anarchist point of view is the pamphlet Workers' Councils and the Economics of a Self-Managed Society, which first appeared in France in 1957 and appeared in an English translation in 1972 (25p). Even here he cannot get away from pretending that he is working out libertarian socialism all by himself, but it is well worth reading despite the minor irritation. That is not true of Redefining Revolution, though one can see that it might have an appeal to Marxists who are attracted in a libertarian direction.

N. W.

Attempts to evict squatters at 220 Camden High Street had to be abandoned two weeks ago by the police, as the fire brigade, who had been asked to "lend a ladder" refused to cooperate with the police on grounds that "this would be a step further in the direction of a police state in Britain".

Unhappily, bailiffs subsequently succeeded in evicting the occupants.

THE BLACK FLAG

IN HIS Encyclopédie anarchiste Sébastien Faure explains the significance anarchists give to various flags:

"The white symbolises the monarchy and a surrender, the red which has its fanatics as much as the tricolour, and they do in front of both the same movements and theatrical gestures.

"The anarchists also have a flag. It is black. They are the only ones who see it not as a symbol, but as a piece of rag which is used to gather all the comrades in the course of a walk or a demonstration. They would just as well replace this flag with a poster or any other utensil, but a flag carried high is more practical because it can be seen from far away. Sometimes they have to defend it, not that they think a yard of old cloth is worth fighting for, or even costing the lives of a few comrades, but because it is never the flag which is being attacked, but their ideas."

*

The black flag first flew over a public building, the Paris Town Hall, at the end of July 1830. Later the building workers of Rheims, who were fighting for the right to work, wrote on their black flag, "Work or death!" In November 1831 the canute (silk workers) of Lyons, many of whom only earned one penny for a 16-hour day, flew the black flag with a skull and crossbones on it, over their barricades.

In March 1871 the Commune of Paris took for its emblem the red flag. In vain Jules Valles pleaded for the black flag, which he thought was "more dangerous because it was more sad".

Under the influence of Louise Michel the French anarchists adopted the black flag in 1883.

The black flag with the skull and crossbones was used again by the libertarian army of Makhno, in the Ukraine, first when fighting the White army, and later the Red army.

From 1936-1939 it flew over anarchist-held buildings and factories in Spain, and at the head of the Durutti column.

In May 1968 the black flag flew side by side with the red flag on the first barricades of the 'student revolt' in Paris.

BARCELONA ARRESTS cont's from P.1

offensive of the Francoist state is a political HOLD UP prepared well in advance with the co-operation of informers, spies and paid agents on the payroll of the fascist police.

Among the 22 comrades arrested figure in particular Enrique Conde Martinez and Nuria Ballart Capdevila, who the police claim to be the authors of some of the explosions. Enrique Conde Martinez was arrested when he crossed the Franco-Spanish frontier at Port Bou. The police claim he was armed with a "Star 9 mm. gun and 24 rounds of ammunition. It is feared that this comrade was savagely tortured after arrest.

There is no doubt that Spanish police are operating in southern France and that also French militants are under police surveillance while in Spain.

SOLIDARITY TOWARDS THE 22 COMRADES ARRESTED IS NOT ONLY A DUTY BUT ALSO A NECESSITY

OUR SOLIDARITY SHOULD NOT BE EXPRESSED SOLELY AGAINST THIS TYPE OF POLITICAL REPRESSION. THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IS HARDER THAN EVER BEFORE AND IT IS ALSO DIRECT ACTION WHICH SHOULD BE SUPPORTED.

--Communique issued by "Groupes Commune Libre", Toulouse.

THIS COMMUNIQUE reinforces our conviction that the SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND responds to the needs expressed by our comrades in Spain and in exile in southern France. We urge you to contribute generously to our Fund. The anti-fascist struggle cannot only be supported by academic considerations regarding the use or non use of violent methods against Franco's and Caetano's dictatorial regimes in Spain and Portugal. The comrades in the Iberian Peninsula are not, we believe, short of ideas about "how and when" to struggle. What they lack are funds (hence the necessity to attack banks for which Salvador Puig Antich was garroted) to finance the activities of reorganising the anarchist movement in the peninsula in order to more effectively struggle for freedom, equality and justice for the oppressed people of Spain and Portugal.

Please send your donations to:

SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND
c/o T.P. and P.T.,
84B Whitechapel High Street,
London, E.1. England.

WE WELCOME NEWS, ARTICLES,
LETTERS. LATEST DATE FOR
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London, E.1. Printed by
Vineyard Press, Colchester.

VALPREDA TRIAL

THE ITALIAN Supreme Court has ruled that Pietro Valpreda, held in prison two years and intermittently on trial since 1969 accused of planting the bomb which killed several people in a Milan bank, must be tried along with three neo-fascists subsequently charged with the same bombing.

Valpreda's trial, in its tenth session in Catanzaro when the Supreme Court's decision came through, was thereupon halted. One of his defence lawyers called the decision "shameful".

Six of the 52 former M.P.s defeated at the election applied for redundancy pay of £1,125. They are also paid for the three weeks of the electoral campaign.

Contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursday from 2 p.m. followed by social get-together and refreshments.

London, Tues. 30 April. FORMS OF FREEDOM - Discussion of libertarian ideas about the ways future society may be organised, drawing on Murray Bookchin's essay "Forms of Freedom" in Post-Scarcity Anarchism and on the Solidarity pamphlet Workers' Councils and the Economics of a Self-Managed Society - led by Nicolas Walter. 7 p.m. at SPES, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1

Birmingham May 10-12 THE POWER OF symbols Conf. at B'ham Univ. Guild of Students. (How Can We Understand Fascism? What Keeps Present Society Going? &c. Write Symbols Conference 53 Kitchener Rd. Selly Pk. B'ham 29

Biographer of Alexander Berkman, in Europe this summer/autumn, wd. like help from people who can guide him to people who knew Berkman. Write Bill Nowlin, Social S Sciences Dept., Lowell Technological Institute, Lowell, Mass. 01854. USA.

CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-CHILE-

DEMONSTRATE YOUR SOLIDARITY WITH CHILEAN WORKERS, PEASANTS AND INTELLECTUALS.

SUNDAY 5 MAY

Assemble Speakers Corner (Marble Arch) 2 p.m. March to Downing St. 3pm

Rally and Public Meeting 6 p.m. Speakers from trade unions, socialist organisations, MPs, etc. (Sorry no anarchist speakers. VENUE TO BE ANNOUNCED LATER BY ORGANISERS.)

Bring anarchist banners & posters and rally as usual around the black flag at Speakers Corner. We are needed to heckle self-appointed "revolutionaries" of the British Left incapable of learning about the pitfalls of leadership. SOLIDARITY WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF CHILE - YES. SUPPORT FOR PROFESSIONAL LEFTISTS IN BRITAIN AND CHILE? NO !

ANARCHIST CINEMA (7.30 p.m. sharp) Saturday 27 & Sunday 28 April: NAZARIN by Luis Bunuel. (Spanish dialogue-Eng.sub.titles)

Sat 4 and Sun 5 May PRAISE MARX AND PASS THE AMMUNITION by Maurice Hattom (English dialogue)

Sat. 11 & Sun 12 May VIRIDIANA by Luis Bunuel (Spanish dialogue English sub-titles)

All at CENTRO IBERICO 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (side entrance in Steele's Rd) Tube Chalk Fm/Belsize Pk. Buses 31 & 68, (Chalk Fm stop). Refreshments.

DEATH OF PINELLI - a play by Alfio Bernabei: The Jump at UNITY THEATRE 1 Goldington St. NW1.

Last perfs. Fri, 26 & Sat 27 Apr 7.45 p.m. Tickets 50p, membership 55p. Tel. 387 8647

London ANARCHIST WOMEN'S GROUP meets Mondays. Tel. 883 2457

Alternate Sundays HYDE PARK ANARCHIST FORUM, Speakers' Corner, 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

Every Sat. MENTAL PATIENTS UNION 2 p.m. Robin Farquarson House, 37 Mayola Rd, E.5. Tel. 986 5251 MPU News 10p + 4p post from above

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS meet each Thursday evening in Downie's Vaults, Aberystwyth at 7.30 p.m.

WILDCAT - Anarchist Internal Bulletin (monthly). PLEASE NOTE: SUB is 50p for six months (not 40p).

Send details of pickets, demos, meetings, group publications, printing facilities etc. and subs to Wildcat, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. Tel.(05366)-66781

ANARCHIST INDUSTRIAL NETWORK, Articles, letters, addresses & subs. to Peter Good, Trokes Family, Llanarth, Cards. Wales.

THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT wd. like to hear from groups working & living tog. & willing write about themselves in Communes jnl. Write Dave Puddy, Trokes Family, Llanarth

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

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 Milano, Italy.

SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND c/o T.P. & P.T., 84B Whitechapel High St. London, E. 1.