

## PORTUGAL

### HARD-FOUGHT FREEDOM

"I AM IN A POSITION TO HAND POWER TO YOU SO THAT THE STREET MOB DOES NOT TAKE OVER..!"

(Marcello Caetano's alleged words to General Spínola, before surrendering power to the rebellious Portuguese armed forces.)

THE EUPHORIA felt by millions of Portuguese people who have enthusiastically welcomed the army coup against Caetano's fascist regime, while understandable keeps out of critical focus the political, military and business background of the new messiah - General Spínola - director of companies and military man who, with the help of the British Press (particularly the Daily Telegraph and the Financial Times) has built himself a reputation of being a liberal-minded man, friend of the soldiers and now friend of the people, brave patriot, wise politician, the only one capable of extracting Portugal from its backwardness and to give a "federalist happy ending" to the Portuguese colonial adventures in Africa.

But General Spínola, one of the commanders of the Portuguese troops sent by the dictator Salazar to fight alongside Franco's troops in 1936 against the revolutionary aspirations of the Spanish people, and also sent as observer to the 'Blue Division' fighting alongside the Wehrmacht in Russia in World War II, is not such a liberal man. The fact that Spínola's colonial "experiences" in Guinea-Bissau inspired him to write the book Portugal and the Future in which he openly admits that the colon-

MÓNICAS  
LIMOIRO  
ANTÓNIO MARIA CARDOSO  
TRAFARIA  
PENICHE  
CAXIAS.  
ALJUBE  
TARRAFAL

XX



LILIAN G. WOLFE 1875-1974

We didn't really believe Lilian would die. But, working almost to the last for WRI and NCCL, her splendid life of which she gave so much to us and to the movement, ended on Sunday 29 April.

An appreciation will appear next week.

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TURN TO BACK PAGE...



# COWLEY WORKERS: ISOLATED AND DEFEATED

LAST WEEK we witnessed the misguided intervention of the wives of those on strike at the British Leyland factory at Cowley. Misguided because their solution to the strike was, as the management insisted, a return to work. The anti-strike demonstrators have paraded posters which indicate a puritannical attachment to work and they called for the sacking of a shop steward.

At the same time we can appreciate that since Christmas the Cowley workers, because of the 3-day week and strikes, have not received a full week's wage. We can also understand the frustration that this has meant to the men and their families. But what these women have done is to come down on the management side. Their action has allowed British Leyland to drive a wedge between the transport workers and the rest of the plant, and also undermine the backing that every shop steward should get when his position has been threatened by management.

If we, as workers are only concerned with obediently going to work, then we really are slaves, who do not need chains but are equally tied by the unseen manacle of the wage packet. These wives only seem to be concerned with the wages of their husbands and not with the issues and problems that affect their working lives.

These wives have been called "militant" but the very militants at Cowley that they are now attacking have done their best to represent and fight for the highest wages and the best conditions for their husbands. If these same husbands do not want those same shop stewards then all they have to do is to elect different ones. But if they are so spineless and apathetic then they deserve the name slave who need their wives to assist them to do the bosses' bidding.

What a marvellous field-day Mrs. Miller and the wives have given the press. The cult of the personality has been played up and scenes of verbal and physical clashes between the women and supporters of the strike have been highlighted on TV. Now all the anti-strike tory-minded people have a champion they can associate themselves with rather than stand as individuals. They now have a heroine.

Their demonstrations led to the management's decision to reopen the plant. Although the transport drivers did not return the majority of the other workers went back. This means that the

issue of withdrawal of recognition by management of Mr. Thornett the drivers' shop steward and chairman of the factory's joint whop stewards committee has become isolated and the support for him has been undermined. Is this what the wives want? If they do, then they should consider their allies who have called their action "a great victory for good sense". This came from Mr. Prior, Tory spokesman on home affairs. It has also given Lord Stokes an opportunity to say: "Too many industries today are deliberately ruined by the divisive and destructive attitude of a very small militant minority who appear able to hypnotise so many of their complacent colleagues."

What he really means is that management at Cowleys have not been able to increase production under the measured-day-work system; that workers had fought the use of work study engineers who just spy on you without even any prior consultation. Lord Stokes obviously wants this year to top last year's £52million profit but he is also worried that at today's prevailing prices his empire is only worth £80million. Could it be that this country's most profitable non-American car maker is due for nationalisation?

The issue at hand is support for a shop steward who is under attack from management. He should get every support from both the workers at the plant and from the wives. Otherwise they could be used as a useful strike breaking weapon which the National Housewives' Association would not hesitate to organise.

None of those who have congratulated the wives on their action have ever done anything for the workingman. But what all reactionaries fear is people refusing to work because they feel they have been victims of an injustice. Instead of giving heart and power to these reactionaries and enemies of the working class the wives should give the dispute the support it deserves. The liberation of both men and women could start with not being a pawn of the boss.

THE DECISION to return to work was taken by the transport drivers after their union, the Transport & General Workers Union, had refused official recognition. Rather than wait for a specially convened meeting of the full branch at which a vote could be taken, this afternoon's meeting took place knowing that the drivers and the issue of recognition of their steward has become isolated.

P. T.

## IN BRIEF

It is revealed in A Day's March Nearer Home that the British War Cabinet were contemplating using germ warfare against the Germans in 1945 had the Normandy landings gone wrong.

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Squatters were evicted from the Mayfair block of luxury flats which they had occupied for seven weeks. Some of them moved into an office block by Holborn Town Hall but the bailiffs evicted them again.

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The Hiroshima atomic bomb hospital said that 87 people who died last year were victims of the atomic device dropped in 1945. Fifty-six of them died of malignant tumours. Among 116 patients at present being treated are people who were embryos at the time of the bombing.

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The African Times, a Rhodesian government propaganda sheet, shows a picture of native chiefs visiting a Rhodesian Air Force station and comments, "During the visit, the party watched guard dogs in training with their handlers, one of whom is the son of one of the visiting chiefs."

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The Greater London Council decided to fly a red flag over County Hall on May Day. They decided not to buy one, in the interests of rate-payers, and could not borrow one from the Labour Party who had none to spare. The banner-makers didn't have one except for one emblazoned with a hammer and sickle. The International Marxist Group came to the rescue and will lend a flag free for the day.

\*\*\*

Roumania has decided to break with communist practice and have no May Day holiday this year. A decree said May 1 and 2 would be working days and only Sunday, May 5 would be a holiday. The new Portuguese rulers announced May 1 as a national holiday.

Sancho Panza



# STOCKWELL POLICE FLATS

IT IS WITH a spirit of determination that the families and single people squatting in the police flats in Clapham Road await the bailiffs.

For three months we have occupied eight flats in a block owned by the Metropolitan Police Estates Department, whose intention was to leave them empty for the remainder of the leasing period, then two years. Shortly after we moved in there was an attempt by the police to illegally evict us, but this was successfully repulsed with the help of Brixton Women's Centre and other friends.

Within a few weeks we were visited by representatives of both the Police Receiver and Lambeth Council, all of whom told us the sale of the block to the Council was being negotiated and we would have to leave. We replied that we intended to stay as we had nowhere else to go.

On March 6 we received Court Orders and it was from the affidavit which accompanied these that we discovered that the police had offered to sell the flats to the Council at a reduced price by allowing us to remain in them, but the Council refused, demanding VACANT POSSESSION which they say is Council policy, and which also doubles the price of any property. Since then we have been fighting the case in court but finally lost our appeal, in a judgement presided over by the reactionary Lord Denning, on Wednesday.

But our fight has not been confined to the courts - far from it - we have been trying to pressure the council into buying the block with us in occupation, we have contacted the press and radio and have issued leaflets to the neighbours (most of whom are friendly, several of whom actively support us) and to the public who are very sympathetic. But Lambeth Council stubbornly refuses to buy the flats with us in possession. Their argument runs thus: We must be made homeless in order that the council can rehouse the homeless. At a meeting with the Housing Director, Mrs. Grady maintained that she could not see the contradiction inherent in that absurd piece of gibberish, and at a public meeting held to discuss Lambeth's policy towards squatting, the Chairman of the Housing Committee, Charles Dryland, elected himself chairman of the meeting and proceeded to answer all the questions directed to the councillors.

The council may think they can get rid of 295 Clapham Road, but if we are evicted as is possible by the time you read this, we intend to make sure that the block is squatted again. We intend to resist eviction and already have the active support of squatters from all over London. We need more people to be available when the bailiffs arrive at short notice. So anyone who wants to help please contact 274-6373 or come and see us as soon as possible.

K.M.

## THE FRIENDS OF OUR ENEMIES

SINCE NOVEMBER 1963 Franco-Spanish military manoeuvres have been taking place. The disembarkation took place near Cartagena, which is also the base for the exercise. Who do we envisage attacking with such a disembarkation? To defend whom? What is the eventual need for such manoeuvres...? We were asking all these questions 2 years ago and the answer has now been confirmed. They are against THE INSIDE ENEMY WHETHER IT BE THE FRENCH PEOPLE OR THE SPANISH PEOPLE.

The majority of the para-commando regiments are concentrated on the Spanish border, and we learnt in December 1972

that the bases of para-commandos at Tarbes and Mont-de-Marsan were being used to train the SAC

On the economic level the offensive of the French government wanting the admission of Franco's Spain into the Common Market comes as no surprise. THE COLLABORATION IS ALREADY A REALITY.

We cannot count the number of French firms that have set themselves up in Spain. The French car industry in particular is well represented. To give a few examples: Citroen in Vigo (where strikes against French bosses are repressed by Spanish police), and also Renault, with its branch Renault-Fasa (2 million francs worth of investment).

Then there is C.O.P.E.F. (the Franco-Spanish chamber of commerce) with its base in Toulouse (Palais Consulaire, 2 rue d'Alsace-Lorraine). This organisation recently held a conference on the subject of informatique (information processing): the Pyrenees are no longer a frontier. We know that informatique is now part of military technique, and therefore COPEF is not confined to the economic field.

The collaboration between French and Spanish police is showing itself more and more.

On 9 March the Spanish daily newspaper Informaciones announced that Spanish police could be sent to France to protect the lives of Spanish persons and property. A partial denial by the French Minister of the Interior followed, BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT SPANISH POLICE WORK IN FRANCE, AND IT IS CERTAIN THAT FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY MILITANTS ARE FOLLOWED BY FRENCH POLICE IN SPAIN. THE FRIENDS OF OUR ENEMIES ARE ALSO OUR ENEMIES.

It is not only the Spanish government that garroted Salvador Puig Antich.

(Translated from Solidarite Internationale by D. & D.P.)

## The glorification of anarchism

### The Jump (Unity).

THE historic incident on which Alfio Bernabei based his play is the alleged "accidental" death of the Italian anarchist Pinelli during police interrogation of his supposed part in the 1969 Rome bank explosions.

Such a starting point could have produced an illuminating insight into the way the capitalist state uses the extremist activities of such petty bourgeois groups as an excuse for attacking the progressive working-class movement as a whole.

Unfortunately, instead of a critique of anarchism, what comes across is a glorification.

From the start we are bombarded with an often incomprehensible tirade on the aims and ideas of anarchism, delivered statically out front, as if they were to be accepted unquestionably.

### THEATRE

Interspersed between these intellectual harangues are a variety of loosely connected themes, often characterised by crude, ineffectual, sexual allusions attempting to pass for political satire, e.g., the continuous rape of the Italian people, first by the US then a rejuvenated Mussolini and finally the "left" ("not in love with democracy but with the rule of power!").

The most effective sequence—both theatrically and ideologically—is the expose on the methods of fascist infiltration into the Italian police force.

Set against this, however, is the complete distortion of the Communist Party's role. A

typical scene shows how Pinelli's Marxist wife, seen previously arguing against her husband's lack of commitment to the working class, abandons her former beliefs as theoretical "half solutions" and praises his "practical" attempts to change society.

Throughout the play, in fact, even at the end where Pinelli starts to realise how they are being used by the authorities, the "complete action" of the anarchists is contrasted to the "non-militancy" of the Communists and other progressive forces.

In keeping with this political distortion, the direction and acting are embarrassed and unconvincing. But perhaps the saddest feature of all is that this play should have been produced by Unity.

Alan Clarke

-the Morning Star didn't like it !



# FREE LIFE EDITIONS Review

FREE LIFE Editions, the New York publisher started by the people who produced four issues of the New York magazine Libertarian Analysis during 1971, has issued its first three books -- two reprints of right-wing libertarian classic texts, and a new documentary account of a classic episode in left-wing libertarian history.

\*\* The first book will have the least appeal here. John T. Flynn's As We Go Marching (paperback \$3.45), which first appeared in 1944 at the height of the Second World War, argued that the United States, far from fighting fascism in the war, was itself becoming fascist, as shown by the growth of the interventionist state both at home and abroad -- by corporatism and imperialism. Despite his ingenious attempts to use the Italian and German examples to illuminate the American case, Flynn surely mistook the real nature of fascism when he played down such essential factors as the dictatorship of the party, the mobilisation of the masses, the elimination of representative democracy, the suppression of free speech, the persecution of minorities, and so on. The factors which he played up -- centralisation, bureaucratisation, militarisation, corporatisation -- were certainly important but surely much wider than mere fascism.

Unfortunately for Flynn's reputation, his position evolved from a traditionalist opposition to the New Deal and the American entry into the war towards a curious combination of McCarthyism and antimilitarism which effectively alienated him from virtually all political support on either the left or the right. Yet he was one of the very few who condemned the American role in the Korean war and who also predicted the even more disastrous American role in the Indo-Chinese war. Ronald Radosh suggests in his preface to this reprint that Flynn, like Wilhelm Reich should not be judged by his later works, and he makes a good case for reconsidering the thesis of this book in the light of what has happened during the thirty years since it was written.

\*\* The second book has already been reviewed in FREEDOM by S. E. Parker (April 13). Albert Jay Nock's Our Enemy, the State (paperback \$2.95), which first appeared in 1935, is reprinted together with his essay "On Doing the Right Thing", taken from a collection of essays which appeared in 1928. Nock was the most influential representative of the native American libertarian tradition after Benjamin Tucker -- a tradition which Walter E. Grinder in his intro-

duction to this reprint calls "tory anarchism" -- and he has come back into favour during recent years with the rise of the so-called Radical Right. Nock is certainly well worth reading, though his style is nowhere near as good as is claimed, mainly because he is much clearer than most of the writers who have followed his line since the First World War. If he still fails to convince, it is partly because he said openly what right-wing libertarians tend to keep quiet (that most people are not fit for his concept of freedom, which is really a philosophical idea rather than a political ideal, and that he is curiously willing to accept a considerable degree of authority so long as it is not actually called the state), and partly because he directs all his energy against a thing called the state which is seen as somehow alien to society (ignoring the authoritarian relationship between people represented not only by the state but by many other institutions, such as slavery, property, violence, conformism, and so on).

In the end, Nock may be good for liberals and socialists, but fails to say much to anarchists of the collectivist/communist/syndicalist tradition, and this book will appeal more to people who are already anarchists. In the old controversy between the various wings of the anarchist movement itself, Benjamin Tucker remains a more persuasive exponent of the individualist line, if only because he addresses himself deliberately to other anarchists, whereas Nock is, as it were, an anarchist outside anarchism.

## S P A I N

THERE IS no doubt that most anarchists will be most interested in the third book. Sam Dolgoff's The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-1939 (paperback \$3.45) is basically an anthology of a couple of dozen passages from such writers as Gaston Leval, Diego Abad de Santillan, Augustin Souchy, Jose Peirats, Hans Kaminski, and Isaac Puente, together with some anonymous and collective documents of the period, with the addition of a large amount of editorial material by Dolgoff himself and also a long introductory essay by Murray Bookchin. Unfortunately editorial intervention of one kind or another is so frequent that in the end only about half the book actually consists of direct description or concrete discussion of the central subject

-- the libertarian collectives of north-eastern Spain which emerged from the popular response to Franco's military rising against the Republican regime in July 1936 and which were violently suppressed during the Civil War not only by the advancing Nationalist armies but also by the Socialist and Communist authorities of the shrinking Republic.

As Dolgoff says, "the Spanish Revolution of 1936-1939 came closer to realizing the ideal of the free stateless society on a vast scale than any other revolution in history", including the Russian Revolution, and it "is an example of a libertarian social revolution where genuine workers' self-management was successfully tried". Its importance lies in setting this example against the versions of workers' participation in their own exploitation put forward either by Marxist revolutionaries or by non-revolutionary liberals and social democrats, especially now when "workers' control" is a slogan which is echoed on every side. The point at issue is not the role of the anarchosyndicalist leaders in the political struggle among the Republican parties, or the role of the anarchosyndicalist soldiers in the military struggle on the Republican front, but the nature of the libertarian forms taken by the social revolution in both the towns and the countryside of the Republican territory.

Anarchists have frequently insisted that this is a seriously neglected subject, and Dolgoff has done an excellent job simply by translating so much primary material from French, Spanish, Italian, and German and putting it together in one place. After Bookchin's essay and further introductory sections on the historical and political background, there are sections on the basic economic problems of the Spanish Revolution, on workers' self-management in industry and the urban collectives (mostly in Barcelona), on the expropriation of the land and the rural collectives (mostly in Catalonia and Aragon, but also in other north-eastern provinces). Some of this material has previously been translated on one side or other of the Atlantic, and an English edition of the whole of Gaston Leval's most recent book on the subject -- L'Espagne libertaire (1971) -- will shortly be published in this country, but Dolgoff has produced the most useful collection on the subject so far, and it adds up to an impressive record.

The main trouble with the book is that it gives only one side of the story. The editor and all the contributors are libertarians, or at least strongly sympathetic to the libertarian experiments, and even those contributions which are at all sceptical are not really critical. Dolgoff's many comments are entirely expository, and his conclusion is tantalisingly brief. The book is in



fact propaganda rather than analysis. It is very good propaganda, but anarchists who are not revolutionaries and revolutionaries who are not anarchists both need something more. This makes Bookchin's thirty-page contribution particularly welcome.

Bookchin is writing a two-volume history of Spanish anarchism, and speaks from a thorough knowledge of the century-long drama of the biggest movement in the world. Moreover he speaks from a critical standpoint, fully conscious of both the weaknesses and the strengths of the structure which had to face the crisis of 1936. He points out that "the revolution of 1936 marked the culmination of more than sixty years of anarchist agitation and activity in Spain" and insists on the importance of this long apprenticeship for the success of the revolution when it came. He describes the essential nature of the movement both in the towns and in the countryside, giving proper emphasis to the significance of the peasant tradition of libertarian communism, and rejecting the traditional assumption that this was religious in form or primitive in content. He brings out the peculiar strengths of the libertarian methods of organisation which were developed in every area and at every level, but he also brings out the particular weaknesses of the syndicalist CNT and the anarchist FAI, with the creeping dangers of hierarchy and militancy.

Bookchin characterises the Spanish Revolution as the last and greatest of the classical proletarian revolutions, based on the class struggle and the violent insurrection -- a phenomenon he thinks will not recur in the post-scarcity world (a theme discussed at greater length in his book Post-Scarcity Anarchism, which has at last been published in this country by Wildwood House) -- and he discusses the ways in which the CNT-FAI was almost too well suited to such a situation. He expresses doubts about activity which is exclusively class-based and work-based, and indeed one of his reasons for preferring the rural to the urban collectives is that the latter were mainly concerned with workers' organisation of work and were run by workers' committees which were eventually taken over by the trade union bureaucracy, whereas the former were concerned with the people's organisation of life, and were run by popular assemblies which could not be taken over but had to be destroyed. In this connection Dolgoff and several of his contributors observe that the peasants showed a generally higher level of libertarian and revolutionary consciousness than the industrial workers -- it would be interesting to extend this view to the Mexican, Russian, Chinese and many other revolutions. Bookchin stresses "the

limitations of the trade union movement, even in its anarcho-syndicalist form", as a product (despite itself) of the capitalist system, stresses the narrowness of the Marxist and anarcho-syndicalist concentration on the industrial working class, and stresses the importance of the unit of a free society being not the workers' collective/committee/council but the people's commune/assembly. Dolgoff acknowledges the significance of this critique, but scarcely manages to do more than glance at it.

There are other gaps in the material -- the role of violence, even terror, and of opinion, even conformism, in establishing and maintaining the collectives; the actual methods used in making decisions and in putting them into practice; the kind of literature produced for and by the collectives; and so on -- but the great merit of The Anarchist Collectives is that reading it makes one eager to know much more about this astonishing episode. (Incidentally, a curious omission from Dolgoff's list of books on the subject is Vernon Richards's Lessons of the Spanish Revolution.) The book is essential reading, but not sufficient on its own.

N. W.

A 25-year old African who was politically banned for student activities was given a suspended sentence of nine months for breaking his restriction order. He was seen by a security officer in the back of a van gesticulating and the officer formed the impression "they were talking".

Sir Hugh Fraser, newspaper owner and heir to drapery millions has, following his establishment of a newspaper monopoly in Glasgow with the death of the Scottish Daily Express group, joined the Scottish Nationalist Party.

York churchmen organized a telephone service on which cinema-goers can seek comfort from ministers if they become emotionally disturbed after seeing The Exorcist. The film deals, as FREE-DOM readers know, with the Churches' power to cast out devils.

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In 'the fastest piece of legislation since the Second World War', to quote the Times, the Italian Parliament passed a Bill to finance political parties represented in Parliament (with public funds). 'Under the Bill, backdated to January 1st, £40.2 m. will be distributed among the parties each year.'



# ECONOMY NOTICE

It has come to the Department's notice that agents are being thrown away unnecessarily, sometimes only partly used and, in some cases, in circumstances likely to offend the general public.

It should be pointed out that the cost of securing such agents (as much as £200 in some cases) must be borne in mind when considering whether or not there is further use in the agent, (most of them can, of course, be used on both sides); with some imagination an agent has been known to be used for years, a mere disclosure is insufficient to render one useless, with some re-adaption it can be used for years in a variety of situations.

It is well-known that agents can be turned inside out and used for feed-back, the mere fact that an agent has reversed need not inconvenience any department.

If it is absolutely necessary to dispose of any agent it is always possible to trade one in with agencies for other brands. In any case should it be necessary to dispose of the agent altogether care should be taken to see that there is no littering of the public highways with consequent unfortunate repercussions.

In any case it must be remembered that the Department has a duty to the taxpayer and economy and discretion are necessary - under all governments.

JS/FP

Dept. D.15 & D.16

For eyes only of Wilson Drummond  
Sillitoe Hiller  
Bond Melville  
Gilbert



A P P E A L

FREE SCHOOL

Leeds Free School is housed in a converted chapel in the Woodhouse area of Leeds, an area of small factories and densely packed workers' housing. We have been open for 15 months now, have 33 children aged between 5 & 16 on the register, and 20 on the waiting list. At the moment there are 5 full-time unpaid 'teachers', some part-timers and two unpaid people working on the building.

27 of the children may be said to be 'at risk': 10 have appeared in court, 9 come from single parent families and 11 have parents receiving either unemployment or sickness benefit. Almost all of them fit the three criteria of the 'socially disadvantaged' child set out by Wedge and Proeser in 'Born to Fail'. These are 1) a large number of children in the family and/or one parent-figure; 2) low income household; 3) poor housing. In many cases they have fallen out (or never fell in) with the state system of schooling. They refuse to go to a state school, risking and often suffering incarceration (being put into care) by way of remand home, for just that.

Our activities are many and varied. They originate from both teachers and kids, or just seem to happen. If a suggestion involves the whole school or a large part of it, or the spending of school money, a school meeting is held. This morning (26.3.74) five or six lads are helping to clear the site for an adventure

playground at the rear and side of the school. This will be open to the whole community - the nearest adventure playground at the moment is 4 miles away. Other people are busy painting a room, doing building maintenance, carpentry, paper mache and clay pots in the art room, maths and playing the piano. Others are chasing/playing football/sitting/talking/reading newspapers and comics/haven't come.

Having found a place where they can choose to work/play in their own time, at their own speed, a place that many of them strongly identify with, the kids are keen to see the Free School carry on. Cherie, one of the girls, writes:

"I like the Free School because you can do anything at any time, like to say lessons. You can do any lesson you choose and for how long you want to do it. In a State School you sit in a classroom and you are told to do a lesson if you like it or not, and if you like a lesson you have about 25 mins. to do it and no longer."

We subsist entirely on donations and need money to cover essential day to day costs - heating, lighting, lunches, petrol and school equipment.

PLEASE HELP IF YOU CAN. All monies will be receipted. WE ALSO NEED HELPERS.

Please enquire: Leeds Free School  
Eldon Chapel, Woodhouse Lane,  
Leeds 2. Tel. Leeds 787008.  
(Reg. Charity No. 502179)

# THROUGH THE PRESS

A.P.-DOW JONES REPORTED THAT WHILST THE SOVIET UNION WAS PUBLICLY SUPPORTING THE ARAB OIL BOYCOTT AGAINST THE USA, THE RUSSIANS WERE SHIPPING QUANTITIES OF THEIR OWN PETROLEUM TO THE U.S.

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The Chile government has been given a loan of \$22million from the Inter-American Development Bank; this is intended for agricultural recovery. China is to provide Tanzania with £31million to develop coal and iron ore mines.

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The "Chicago School" of economists has been the most active in developing a theory of human capital. On the assumption of competition in labour markets, they have taken variations in earnings by level of education as a measure of its economic benefit and costs of education (including earnings lost through not being at work) to calculate private and social rates of return on educational investments. Governments were thus provided with guidelines as to whether expenditure on education or certain types of education, should be contracted or expanded. The calculus of cost and benefit has been carried out in more than 30 countries, including U.K. Generally speaking, these studies have shown education to have been a worthwhile investment (compared with alternative investments in physical capital) and they have shown that further expansion of educational facilities is warranted in most countries, except at postgraduate level.

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Pravda said that the ideal Soviet man should be morally perfect, both in public and in private. There was too much "Philistine talk about one's private life allegedly being nobody's business". Such an attitude, says Pravda must be 'severely criticised'. It usually belonged to "people who are morally untidy in their private life, who ignore the rules of socialist communal living to cover up their unseemly behaviour". Many letters had been received from hard-working readers who were "justly indignant at the tolerant attitude shown toward drinking, hooliganism, bad language and other breaches of our moral standards". The newspaper called for "militant rejection of any kind of amoral behaviour". The Communist Party's basic duty was the shaping of a new combination of "spiritual richness and moral purity".

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DEMONSTRATE YOUR SOLIDARITY WITH CHILEAN WORKERS, PEASANTS & INTELLECTUALS

SUNDAY 5 MAY

Assemble Speakers Corner (Marble Arch) 2 p.m. for March to Downing Street at 3 p.m.

Rally and Public Meeting 6 p.m.

Speakers from trade unions, socialist organisations, MPs, etc. (Sorry no anarchist speakers)

Bring anarchist banners & posters and rally as usual around the black flag at Speakers' Corr. at



# Forgotten American Anarchists

**RADICAL ABOLITIONISM**, Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought, by Lewis Perry. Cornell University Press. (no price given).

AMERICANS who want to demonstrate that anarchism is consistent with their country's traditions usually go back to the War of Independence and Jefferson, then leap forward to Thoreau and Josiah Warren. Lewis Perry shows us that in doing this they are leaving out an entire historical epoch. The 1830s, 40s and 50s saw the last effort of radical Puritanism and religious anarchism, before the development of science made the whole thing seem out of date.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the antislavery movement attracted to itself a large number of people whom Lewis Perry calls "anarchists", on the whole justly, although they themselves used the word "anarchy" in the sense of "chaos". They believed that slavery was wrong because the slaveowner put himself between God and the slave. Their ideal society was one directly under the rule of the Almighty, which meant in practice that each individual acted according to his conscience.

Many of them called themselves non-resistants, which meant that one did not resist evil with evil. The state, slavery, the army and police were rejected together. There must be no violence and no authority. If necessary one should allow oneself to be killed rather than kill.

Marriage and (in some cases) property were rejected too, as forms of slavery, and people opted for free love and community living. The resemblances to modern radical movements break down however on closer examination. These sexual reformers were attacking the arranged marriage, or the family-approved marriage, of those days; they did not, for the most part, favour promiscuity. They tended to be anxious about sex. In *The Liberator* masturbation was sometimes attacked as if it were as great an evil as slavery,

Although the doctrine of non-resistance implies non-violence the reader will look almost in vain in this book for accounts of non-violent actions. The author says that hardly any took place, but I think he means the non-violent sit-down or demonstration or blocking tactics, because of course a number of devoted people went to great trouble and risk to rescue slaves and smuggle them into the North, or into Canada. This involved cunning, skill in planning and concealment, rapid movement across country and so on, rather than violence.

In the 1850s the non-resistants began to turn to violence. Those who adhered to the original ideal stared aghast as their associates began to urge the formation of guerilla bands to go into the South and start slave revolts. However most of the preachers of violence limited themselves to preaching. When the Civil War began they supported it, and gave up the New Testament for the Old. Although Lewis Perry warns again and again about the

dangers of making comparisons with the contemporary situation it is difficult not to think of the turn towards violence that has taken place in radical circles in recent years.

The Civil War ended the movement, and it was completely forgotten afterwards. Years later Tolstoy rediscovered it with surprise. There was no continuity, and our author does not believe that modern American radicalism was influenced by it at all. Some of those who were in it, associated with it or influenced by it later went on to become spiritualists, individualist anarchists, free-thinkers, Darwinians, feminists, social reformers, trade unionists or revolutionaries. God and Christ were left behind. This last wave of the Reformation began too late. There was no place for it in the cosmopolitan, modern America that followed the Civil War.

The author includes an appendix where the ideas of Proudhon, Bakunin, Stirner and Tolstoy are compared with those of the non-resistants. The Europeans seem modern, while their American contemporaries seem to be in the seventeenth century. Proudhon, Bakunin and Stirner had no influence on the abolitionists. Proudhon, interestingly enough, supported the South in the Civil War "in part because he thought the obliteration of the states' rights would make the Negroes into proletarians and thus ensure their further enslavement". This is exactly what did happen.

The war did not liberate the slaves. They merely exchanged one form of bondage for another, and now a new war is looming on the horizon.

Arthur Stone.

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Dublin Anarchists in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin 7: Columba Longmore; Noel Murry; Edward Jones; Desmond Keane; Robert Cullen (prison no, 683). Would like to hear from comrades.

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### BOOK OF THE WEEK §

\* *The Limits of the city*, Murray Bookchin, 148pp, paper £ 1.50 (7p)

*Daughter of a Revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin/Nechayev Circle*, ed. by Michael Confino £ 4.50 (22p)  
*The Paris Commune of 1871: the view from the Left*, ed. by Eugene Schulkind £ 1.50 (13p)

*Michael Bakunin: Selected Writings*, ed. Arthur Lehning £ 2.25 (12p)  
*Direct Action & Liberal Democracy*, April Carter £ 1.40 (10p)

\**The Ego and His Own*, Max Stirner £ 1.50 (19p)

\**The Essential Works of Anarchism*, ed. by Marshall S. Shatz £ 0.60 (10p)

\**Individualist Anarchist Pamphlets: sel. writings of Henry Boal, Lysander Spooner and Edwin C. Waller* £ 3.75 (12p)

\**Caleb Williams*, William Godwin £ 2.25 (13p)

\**The Life & Work of Wilhelm Reich*, Michael Caffier £ 0.85 (6p)

\**My Social Credo*, Gregory P. Maximoff £ 0.20 (3p)

\**The Haymarket Affair: Chicago 1886, the "Great Anarchist Riot" & trial* Corinne J. Nader. Illus. £ 0.95 (12p)

Poster: *Joe Hill*, lge. (33" x 24"), lino cut, black & white. £ 1 including postage & pkg

The first issue of *FREEDOM* - October 1886. Photocopy. 20p including postage. (50¢)

\*denotes titles published in USA

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ial wars cannot have a military solution favourable to Portugal and its capitalist allies, does not make him a lesser fascist than he was 38 years ago.

The release of almost 200 political prisoners from the hands and jails of the nazi-trained PIDE/DGS, the dismantling of this state security political apparatus (it appears the DGS will be replaced by a special military police force responsible for the control of military secrets and subversion as in Brazil, Chile, etc.), the concession of political freedom, freedom of association, the abolition of press censorship, the promise (always promises) of free elections in the near future and free trade unions are not the result of a liberal gift handed to the Portuguese people by a faction of the army with a human face, but the undeniable result of 48 years of constant opposition by workers, peasants and intellectuals who ideologically never accepted Salazarism, Caetanoism or colonialism as a way of life. What has happened in Portugal is indeed a victory scored by the people against fascism.

We welcome to freedom all political prisoners released by the new regime (militants of the Communist parties, socialists, christian democrats, liberals, students, etc...) for the only crime they have committed was to have opposed in different forms the second oldest dictatorship in the world, after the Russian "proletarian" state dictatorship.

It is now up to the Portuguese people never again to allow itself to be enchainned by any other dogma. Only equality, justice and freedom are worthy of serving.

We hope that our Portuguese comrades, former members of the CONFEDERACAO GENERAL DE TRABALHADORES (CGT), FEDERACAO ANARQUISTA DA REGIAO PORTUGUESA, FEDERACAO ANARQUISTA IBERICA (FAI) and today's young libertarians will be able to meet freely and use this hard-fought freedom to express themselves about the coup, about the possibilities of reorganising the Portuguese Anarchist Movement which up to 1939, in 1947, in 1952 and in exile always expounded the revolutionary implications of anarchism to the Portuguese and Spanish peoples.

Portugal today is a freer place to live in thanks to the anti-fascist spirit of those who since 1926 fought against fascism under the most repressive regime in Western Europe, and also thanks to the nationalist "guerilheiros" who bravely have been fighting since 1961 against the conscript colonialist armies sent Africa by the Portuguese fascists (with the holy blessing of the Church) to protect the imp-

erialist interests of the Western powers in Southern Africa.

In Africa and in Portugal, the price of freedom has been paid in lives, in blood, tortures and human degradation. For that reason alone, we anarchists say that no political or religious dogma has the right to curtail it again.

Today, General Spinoza is another obstacle on the road to freedom for the Portuguese, and the African, peoples, and it is already time for him to go.

THE FIRST DAY OF MAY

The first free May Day demonstration in Portugal in 48 years will put to the test Spinoza's "liberalism". The first free May Day demonstration by the Portuguese people will also echo to appeals for discipline by the socialist leader Mario Soares (politicians' freedom is invariably used to limit other people's freedom) and will probably witness the first containment of the working class by "stewards" and commissars appointed by the Portuguese Socialist Party, the Portuguese Communist Party and other authoritarian political organisations.

The professional politicians of the Portuguese Left are starving for power and probably will be given a chance by the military junta to govern under army control, and as their ideological sponsors in capitalist Europe, Russia or China will finally betray the wishes of the labouring masses and the cause of freedom.

Unfortunately, only through this inevitable and bitter experience will workers, peasants and intellectuals practically and objectively understand the meaning and the validity of an anarchist way of life, devoid of political, religious and police control from above!

Meanwhile, and before it is too late, libertarians all over the world should help anarchists in Portugal to reorganise their movement in order to present as soon as possible to the exploited people of Portugal the only revolutionary alternative to right-wing or left-wing authoritarian and professional leaderships -- workers' self-management within a permanent social revolution.

Donations and offers of co-operation should be addressed to O CLARAO, c/o Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High Street, London E.1., England.

Claude.

**TUESDAY 14 MAY: THREATS TO IMMIGRANTS & EXILES, 7.45 p.m.** Caxton Hall, SW1 (tube: St. James's). Org. by Nat. Secular Soc. Speakers from 'Race Today', Vietnam Veterans, Immigrant Advisory Service.

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



HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays at 2 p.m., followed by social get-together with refreshments.

**TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT** Conference on The Army, Ireland + Repression. SATURDAY 11 MAY 10.15 am to 6 p.m. at Collegiate Theatre 25 Gordon St. WC1. 50p per delegate. Credentials from T.O.M., 38 Lammas Park Rd. Ealing W.5.

**ANARCHIST CINEMA (7.30 p.m. sharp)** Sat. 4 & Sun. 5 May PRAISE MARX AND PASS THE AMMUNITION by Maurice Hattom.

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

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

Birmingham May 10-12 THE POWER OF SYMBOLS, Conf. at B'ham Univ. Guild of Students Bdg. (How can we understand Fascism? What Keeps Present Society Going? &c. Write "Symbols Conference", 53 Kitchener Rd., Selly Park, Birmingham 29

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 pm Robin Farquarson House, 37 Mayola Rd, E.5. Tel. 986 5251. MPU News 10p + 4p post.

Every Mon. & Wed. LONDON SCHOOL OF NON-VIOLENCE 7 - 9 pm No. 3 crypt St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square. (but May programme religious & mystical).

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

WILDCAT - Anarchist Internal Bulletin (monthly). Send details of pickets, demos, meetings, group publications, printing facilities etc. & subs (50p six months) to Wildcat, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. Tel. (05366) 6678

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

ANARCHY MAGAZINE No. 13. Main features on Battered wives -babies -children in care; Pregnancy & coping with hospital authorities, etc.; How parents of a handicapped child can meet the problems; a Men's Group. 20p + 4p post 29 Grosvenor Avenue, London, N. 5.

THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT wd. like to hear from groups working & living together who wd write about themselves in Communes. Write Dave Puddy, Trokes Family, Llanarth, Ceredigion (Cards.) Wales.