

# YOU'RE HERE FOR PUNISHMENT

A 'DO-GOODER' friend of ours involved in the rehabilitation of prisoners by art passed on to us a memorandum from the Home Office proclaiming 'changes in prison rules'.

The first 'improvement' is the abolition of the bread and water diet as punishment. Needless to say other punishments, such as loss of remission, restriction of association, are retained. modified so that smaller deductions are made each day over a longer period." "This means," says the Home Office, "that while he is serving the award /i.e. being punished/ a prisoner will be able to retain an interest in the level of his earnings and to have an inducement to work harder so as to increase the amount of money available to him." The big stick and the sliced carrot! ing whose letters are worth reading.

The increase of entitlement of visits to every four weeks instead of every eight is merely giving statutory effect to what is already operating in principle.

The relentless struggle for

Secondly, the Home Office informs my friend that the powers of the prison governor to 'award' stoppage of earnings or forfeiture of remission for a disciplinary offence are increased from fourteen to twenty-eight days. Before this, the monopoly powers of the Governor were substituted for by the oligarchical powers of the Visiting Committee.

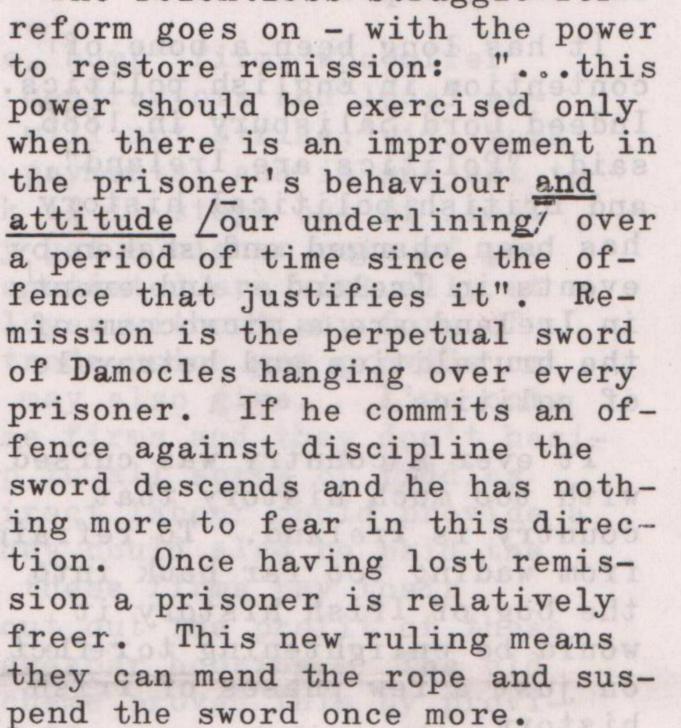
One effect of the stoppage of earnings as a punishment was to slow up the prisoners' workstint. No pay - no work. The ever-cunning Home Office proclaimed "that stoppages of earnings for a given period to be

Spanish Resistance

as dealt another blow to this ideal of

science, perhaps not as immediately catastroph-

To go with this wild orgy of reform -- the experiment of relaxing censorship of letters is being considered! Letters hetween 'visitors and their friends' will have censorship relaxed. (Did you know that you couldn't write to someone in prison whom you didn't know before sentence? Recently a letter was returned by the Home Office on these grounds.) However the censor ship is to be discretionary instead of mandatory. This means, in plain English, that the censor officer will read only those letters likely to be of interest, and not all letters. Prison officers have a knack of determin-



Governors and the Visiting

### Continued on Back Page, Col. 1

becuase we had publicly given the lie to their triumphant statement, made a fev days before our actions, that they had smashed anarchism in Barcelona.

The Police's "triumph" had been the arrest of three comrades (two men and a woman) and the subsequent discovery of a variety of material. On the 7th of April, to be precise, Juan Vinyolas and Giorgina Nicolau, (and Ramon Carrion, who was waiting for them at the station), had been arrested, with a great show of force, on a train coming from France. The two comrades had been found in possession of a bag containing an anti-tank mine, another mine, four grenades, detonators and explosives.

For the first time in many years, Anarchists played a major role in the May Day "celebrations" in Barcelona. On Friday 26th April, a railway station was "occupied". The action lasted for several minutes and developed in the following way: when the locomotive arrived at Muntaner station (in Barcelona), fifty comrades got off, after immobilizing the train by pulling the communication cord. Some began to cover the train with anarchist slogans, some flew a black flag, some distributed fly-posters in the carriages, and in the neighbourhood of the station, and others, armed with iron bars, guarded against possible police intervention. Then the comrades left the station shouting "Anarchy, Freedom, a Libertarian May Day", and rapidly dispersed whilst

the train, covered in slogans and flags, set off again: it still had three stations to go through before reaching its destination! The next Sunday, 28th April, stones and Molotov cocktails were thrown at a bank in the centre of Barcelona.

DADCIONA

Tuesday, 30th April, slogans daubed on the walls of the Universitad Autonoma, and a large student meeting arranged by anarchists; in the evening a "phantom" demonstration, with black flags. Yesterday, May Day, at mid-day, a demonstration in the working-class district, "Pueblo Nuevo", Molotov cocktails thrown at five banks, large Anarchist slogans on walls.

Besides all these more or less spectacular actions, slogans were painted, and posters stuck, on walls all over Barcelona.

The hysteria and hatred of the police at this time is indescribable, principally The three comrades were immediately handed over to the "Special Anti-Anarchist Brigade": the interrogation lasted for three whole days (the "legal" limit is 72 hours), during which every kind of torture was applied to them, including the "third degree" (electric shocks to the genitals, etc.) At the end of this, eight apartments were "discovered", in which were found eight machine guns, eight pistols, ammunition, 300 kg. of explosives, a remote controlled detonator, other kinds of detonator, typewriters, cameras, tape-recorders, radio

Continued on Back Page, Col. 2

THERE ARE NO anarchist solutions to problems of the redistribution of power - such as the problem of Ireland. In 1886 (No. 3 of FREEDOM) a series commenced on 'Law and Order in Ireland'. When it inexplicably concluded in 1887 after eleven short chapters it had reached the Ulster plantations under Charles I. It is possible to chronicle the history of that unhappy country in terms of law, of repression and of attempts at 'order'.

PILT FS ARE

RELINIT

ward another Home Rule Bill which was more certain of success but for the fact that the Conservatives headed by Lord Carson threatened a military mutiny if the provinces of Ulster came under Dublin (mainly Catholic) rule. Subsequent history of the 1916 Rising, the Civil War (to decide who should govern this new state of Ireland, or Eire as it was nostalgically called) merely created the same problems in different THE NEED for DISOBEDIENCE

LETTER

#### Dear Comrades,

The Milgram experiment was conducted on a basis of deceit. Dr. Milgram lied to his volunteers. If he had told the truth there could have been no experiment. Yet we are told that science is the search for truth. If a scientist puts forward a controversial theory he will urge the public to judge on the basis of the evidence and not be swayed by their emotions. Yet here we have lying in the cause of truth, like the war which was supposed to end war -- and didn't. The Jesuits are credited with the slogan, "The end justify the means." Apparently this is true in the realm of science as well. At least Dr. Milgram must believe so, if he is logically consistent.

It has long been a bone of contention in English politics. Indeed Lord Salisbury in 1886 said, "Politics are Ireland", and British political history has been changed and shaken by events in Ireland. And events in Ireland are a microcosm of the brutalities and betrayals of politics.

It ever a country was cursed with too much history that country is Ireland. To refrain from wading too far back into the bog of Irish history it would be enlightening to reflect on just a few phases of Irish history.

In 1845 a terrible disease of the potato, which was the peasants' mainstay) led to a widespread famine, handled incompetently by bungling officials which led to thousands of deaths and wholesale emigration. Ireland has never recovered from this.

The question of the land and the peasantry was always cent-

### form. in to taxons odd esseront

But beneath all these superficial but telling events has been the struggle of the common people. This has not always been in terms of Protestant and Catholic; the prominent figures in such movements have been of all religions - or none. There was a perceptible streak of syndicalism running through Larkin's and Connolly's teachings. Many anarchist techniques were developed or invented in Ireland. The 'boycott' owes its name to an English landowner who was treated thus by his tenants. The Land League fostered many of these, rent strikes and resistance of evictions. On the positive side, should one consider such things negative, many Irish communes and co-operatives were set up.

It is not historically inevitable (nothing is) that Ireland's history should proceed with the same messy mistakes. When we reflect that the present series of events started with a Civil Rights movement, and the Catholics invited in the British Army to protect them against the Protestants, it is ironical that the British claim that they cannot leave Ireland because the Irish would slaughter each other but that since the British army intervened the slaughter has increased.

I think that in the future we should be extremely careful about participating in scientific experiments or research. Probably a number of us have been offered questionnaires to fill in and have accepted them, or have done intelligence tests or have volunteered for this or that, either out of a genuine scientific interest or a belief that we were in some way helping the human race in its onward march, or maybe just "for fun". From now on we should be sure that we can trust the person who is doing the research before we cooperate. We should develop the same instinctive hostility to such things as many of us already have towards such institutions as the Census, which also was presented as a piece of scientific research.

The ideal of science as a discipline, often seemingly harsh but ultimately of benefit to humanity, an austere creed of the search for truth, however unpalatable, and the destruction of superstition, has taken some hard knocks during the course of the present century. Dr. Milgram has dealt another blow to this ideal of science, perhaps not as immediately catastrophic as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but ultimately damaging enough. He has undermined trust. From now on no one will be able to be quite sure that he is being told the truth. Things may not be as they seem. For instance, some sociologist may come forward with what he claims is evidence that Jews are a disruptive element in any society in which they have settled. There will be indignation, but he will say blandly, "Ah, you must not be emotional. Science is the pursuit of truth, no matter where the search may lead. You don't want to be like like the Inquisition persecuting Galileo, do you?" After this there is silence, while every everyone feets ashamed of their intolerance. And after all it turns out that the man does not believe what he has been teaching at all. It was only an experiment to test public reaction to "controversial" ideas.

ral to Irish politics, and Michael Davitt and others founded the Land League which struggled by every means, violent and non-violent, against the rapacious landlords (mainly English or of English-Scots descent).

Between 1830 and 1881 fortyseven coercion acts to restore law and order to the conquered province were passed by the English Parliament. The last one noted by Davitt is significantly called 'An Act for the better Protection of Life and Property'. In the face of all this Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule Bill. This was defeated by the House of Lords in 1893. Following this failure of democracy and reason, the terrorist campaign of the Fenians commenced . in earnest, with all too familiar and sickening consequences.

In 1912 the Liberals put for-

It is possible that even the Protestant workers may realize the power they have in their hands and use it against their Protestant masters instead of against their Catholic fellowworkers. Workers have more in common with fellow-workers than they have with bosses. No matter how Protestant or Catholic the boss is, his real religion is still money.

Jack Robinson.

PAGE 2

Yours fratemally,

Ingitsdestingtion

John Brent.

### PAST AND PRESENT !

 Infinitional and an antique of the second second

After 48 years of fascist oppression in Portugal, we are glad to announce that the M.L.P. is still alive and fighting back against the opportunists of the Portuguese Communist Party (pro-Moscow) and their front organisation in the trade union movement - A INTERSINDICAL - who are insidiously working in the newly freed portuguese Unions, in order to regiment the Portuguese working class into Party line of class collaboration with the capitalist friends of Gen. Spinola.

We appeal to all comrades in this country and overseas to support ideologically and materially our anarcho-syndicalist friends in Portugal and help them to rebuild the C.G.T. (Confederação Geral do Trabalho) and print a daily paper A BATALHA (The Battle).

Books, free copies of journals and magazines on anarchism, personal visits and money will be very much appreciated.

Please forward all you can spare to:

. Tlessivd .te

MOVIMENTO LIBERTARIO PORTUGUÉS RUA ANGELINA VIDAL 17 - 2- - Esquerdo LISBOA I - PORTUGAL.

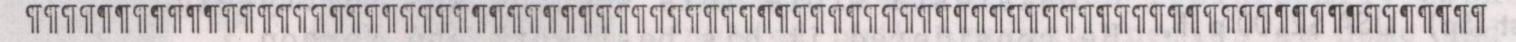
P.S. Please translate and reprint this appeal in the next issue of your paper.

General Spinola of Portugal said that the country's new freedom was 'criminally threatened' by counter-revolutionaries and anarchy which could result in a return to rightwing dictatorship. Jose Luis Saldanha Sanchez, student editor of the Maoist <u>Luta Popular</u>, has been arrested by the army. The paper was published without permission.

Brief

### About Anarchism, what anarchists believ

At least four agencies dealing with young people's difficulties, such as drugs, may close because of lack of money. The co-ordinator of the Standing Conference on Drug Abuse said that drug difficulties among the young still carried a stigma, which made it difficult to raise money.





OCTOBER 1935 - A group of militant anarcho-syndicalists at the São João Baptista fortress,

Judge Anwyl Davies giving sentences in pornography cases at St. Albans Crown Court said, "In my judgement their /the jury's/ verdict was a clarion call for reticence and privacy in sexual behaviour, The shrill, petulant protest of licentious libertines has been resoundingly rejected."

Squatters in Bristol occupied a brand-new empty office block in the centre of the city. At Brighton demonstrators were arrested for obstruction outside the housing department. This followed an eviction of a family with four children from a council owned house.

The North London Blood Transfusion Centre has lifted a ban on the use of blood given by coloured people. The ban was imposed after tests had alledgedly indicated an abnormally high risk of hepatitis in the blood of coloured people. The Centre claims that it has now introduced tests which can detect the presence of the hepatitis virus in the blood.

Angra do Heroismo, to where they have been deported by Salazar's secret police, for having organised the popular uprising of the 18 of January 1934, which was aborted by the C.P. and other "organisers" of the working class. Many of the above comrades died in the concentration camp of TARRAFAL (Açores), othersfought against Franco and against Nazism in the 40's. Their names are: 1) Acácio Tomas de Aquino, 2) Joaquim Montes, 3) Custódio da Costa, 4) Casaleiro Pratas, 5) Mário Castelhano, 6) João Gomes, 7) Joaquim Duarte 8) Joaquim Ribeiro, 9) Abilio A. Belchior, 10) Anténio Montes, 11) Arnaldo Simões Januário, 12) Abílio Gonçalves, 13) Joaquim Pedro, 14) Pedro Matos Silva.

### Valpreda Free

A documentary on Italy's Matteotti affair when Fascists kidnapped and killed a Socialist (during the Mussolini era) was presented on television on the day that six people were killed and 79 injured by a fascist bomb at an anti-fascist meeting in Brescia. Peter Nichols commented in his script

for the documentary, "The judiciary is still arguing whether the trials of a group of anarchists arrested for the crime /the bombing at Milan, 1969/or a group of neo-fascists arrested later for the same crime should

3

PAGE

rices of:

Communist forces attacked with rockets the air force base at Bien Hoa, near Saigon. Most of the casualties were Vietcong women prisoners held in a gaol near Bien Hoa.

\*\*\*

be conducted separately or together".

THE COURT AT CATANZARO HAVING REFUSED TO TRY VALPREDA IN CON-JUNCTION WITH THE TWO FASCISTS SUBSEQUENTLY CHARGED, THE SUP-REME COURT HAS RULED VALPREDA'S TRIAL NULL AND VOID. PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS TRIAL ON MARCH 18 THIS YEAR, VALPREDA HAD SPENT 3 YEARS IN PRISON AWAITING TRIAL.

\*\*\*

FREEDOM PRESS in Angel Alley

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

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

BOOKSHOP open Tuesday - Friday 2 - 6 p.m. (Thursday until 8 p.m.) Saturday 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS (full trade terms available)

Anarchy, Errico Malatesta, in a new translation from the Italian 54pp 25p (post 5p) USA 75¢ post free About Anarchism, what anarchists believe, how anarchists differ..., Nicolas Walter 32pp 15p (post 4p) USA 40¢ post A B C of Anarchism, Alexander Berkman 86pp 25p (post 5p) USA 75¢ post free Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rudolf Rocker 48pp 20p (post 5p) USA 65¢ post free The State, Its Historic Role, Peter Kropotkin 56pp 20p (post 5p) USA 65¢ post free Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, 1936-39, Vernon Richards



ANARCHY by Errico Malatesta. Freedom Press, 54pp. 25p.

Some of the things included in the 44 pages of text of this pamphlet are:-

an analysis of the origins and function of government;

an answer to the authoritarian claims that the universal law of social life is the struggle of each for him/herself and that government is an impartial arbiter of people's conflicting interests;

an argument as to why we should adopt the principles of mutual aid, cooperation and solidarity;

why universal suffrage will not, by itself, lead to socialism;

why anarchists can't set out a detailed plan of what anarchy would be like.

240pp cloth £1.50 (post 20p) USA \$4.00 p.f. paper £0.75 (post 15p) USA \$2.00 p.f.

Neither East Nor West, selected writings of Marie Louise Berneri 1939–1948 : I Defenders of Democracy. II The Price of War and of Liberation. III United Nations. Index.

192pp30p (post 9p)USA \$1.00 p.f.Towards a Free Society, Charles Martin (publ. for the author)62pp12 p (post 5p)USA 40¢ post free

### Freedom Pamphlet Series:

petulant protest of lfcentious

Nibertines has been resoundingly

- #2. Students for a Stalinist Society (an abridged version of "Listen Marxist" by Murray Bookchin)
  #4. Peter Kropotkin: Words of a Rebel
  #5. " " Anarchism and Revolution
  #6. Leo Tolstoy: His Life and Work
- #7. Towards Workers Control
- #8. The Paris Commune : The Defence of Louise Michel

Each 5p (post on 1 or 2 copies 3 p; on 6 copies 6p) USA 15¢ each post free.

FREEDOM Vol. I. No. I OCTOBER 1886, photocopy 20p (post 3 p) USA 65¢ p.f.

SELECTIONS FROM "FREEDOM" (annual vols. issued between 1951 and 1964)

Vol. 3 1953: Colonialism on Trial (only available in cloth edn.)

Malatesta wrote this when he was thirty-eight. He considered it his best work and Vernon Richards who made this new translation agrees with him. In his introduction Richards gives a brief biography of Malatesta's later career, some notes on the pamphlet and he also suggests that the anarchist movement should publish Malatesta's complete works before the academics get at him. A recent Italian edition is made up as follows: Malatesta's text - 54 pp; Introduction - 40 pp, Notes - 46 pp. Since the notes & introduction are in smaller type than the text this gives Malatesta roughly one-third of his own pamphlet; if the academics and commercial publishers disseminate Malatesta's propaganda instead of ourselves then there won't be much left of him.

MO "

## subscribe

THE MOST CONVENIENT WAY OF OBTAINING FREEDOM IS BY DIRECT SUBSCRIPTION. USE THE COUPON TO ORDER, THEN COPIES WILL ARRIVE EACH WEEK BY POST. PLEASE SEND PAYMENT WITH ORDER. CHEQUES AND P.O.'S PAYABLE TO FREEDOM PRESS.

FREEDOM SUBSCRIPTION RATES

6 months

Matte

1 year

Vol. 4 1954:	Living on a Volcano
Vol. 5 1955:	The Immoral Moralists
Vol. 6 1956:	Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol. 7 1957:	Year OneSputnik Era
Vol. 8 1958:	Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol. 9 1959:	Print, Press and Public
Vol.10 1960:	The Tragedy of Africa
 Vol. 11 1961:	The People in the Street
Vol.12 1962:	Pilkington vs. Beeching
Vol.13 1963:	
Vol.14 1964:	Elections Year (U.K. & U.S.

Per volume: cloth £ 0.52 p (post 15p) USA \$1.75 p.f. paper £ 0.37 p (post 11 ) USA \$1.25 p.f.

This series was discontinued after 1964. All of the available vols. as above are offered as part sets at the reduced prices of: cloth £ 6.00 (USA \$15.00) post free paper £ 3.50 (USA \$8.75) post free

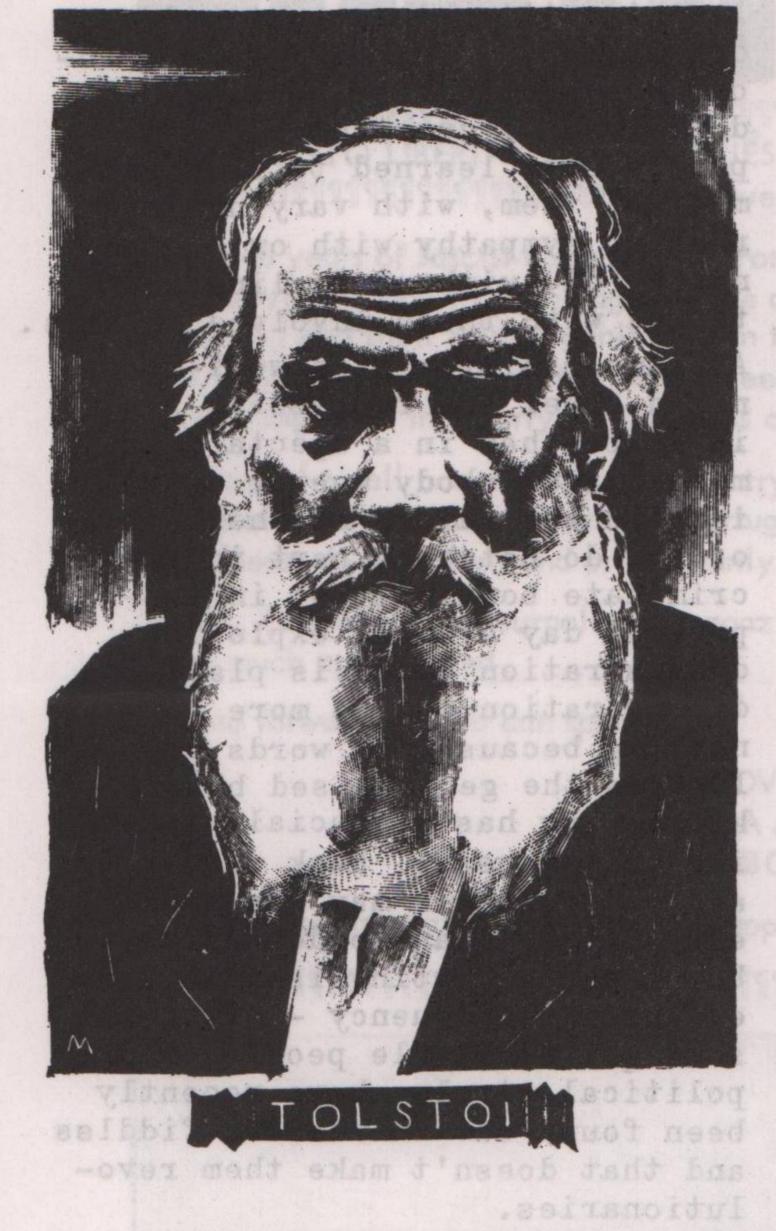
THIS LIST will be completed next week - including titles of available back issues of ANARCHY 1961-70, and some titles from other publishers which we can offer on trade terms for quantities.

AWAITING TRIAL

UK AND OVERSEAS SURFACE MAIL	£3·25	£1·62%
EUROPE AIRMAIL	£4·00	£2.00
NORTH AFRICA & MIDDLE EAST AIRMAIL	£4·25	£2.12%
THE AMERICAS AIRMAIL	\$13.00	\$6.50
INDIA & AFRICA AIRMAIL	£4·75	£2·37%
AUSTRALIA JAPAN & ASIA AIRMAIL	£5·25	£2.62%
acht-diatha ann ann ann ann ann ann ann ann ann a		and the second se

> N.B. Owing to summer holidays there will be variations during the three weeks 18 June - 6 July. On Tuesdays and Wednesdays the bookshop will be accessible mornings 10-12, afternoons 2 - 4, and you may not get replies to 'phone calls. Thurs-Fri.-Sat. as usual.

cobberies kidnerpings, to the seed beneetb the snow actualties and as squatting, the treener of sducation, the wereast of uppopu-



# TOLSTOY SPEAKS

### 

ARMIES ARE NEEDED by all governments first of all to keep their subjects in submission and to exploit their labour. But a government is not alone; beside it there is another government exploiting its subjects by violence in the same way and always ready to rob its neighbours of the toil of its already enslaved subjects. And so every government needs an army not only for use at home but also to protect its booty from neighbouring brigands. Every government is thus involuntarily led to increase its army in rivalry with others, and the increase of armies is infectious as Montesquieu already remarked a hundred and fifty years ago.

Every increase of the army in a State, though directed mainly against its own subjects, is dangerous to its neighbours also and evokes an increase in their forces.

The armies have reached their present millions not merely because the governments were threatened by their neighbours, but chiefly from the necessity of subduing any attempt at revolt on the part of their own subjects. The increase of armies arises simultaneously from two

causes, each of which reciprocally evokes the other: armies are needed both against enemies at home and to maintain the position of a State against its neighbours. The one conditions the other. The despotism of a government at home increases in proportion to the increase and strengthening of its army and its external success; and the aggressiveness of governments grows in proportion to the increase of their internal despotism.

As a result of this the European governments, constantly increasing their armies against one another, arrived at the unavoidable necessity of universal military service, since that was the way to get the greatest number of soldiers in time of war with the least expense. Germany was the first to hit on this plan, and as soon as one State had adopted it the others had to do the same. And as soon as this happened all citizens were under arms to maintain all the injustices inflicted on them, and all the citizens became their own oppressors. .

The establishment of general military service resembles what happens when a man wants to prop up a rotten house. The walls bend inwards and he inserts supports, the roof sags down and other supports are put up, boards give way between the supports and still more supports are erected. And it comes to this, that though the supports hold the house up they render it impossible to live in it. It is the same with military service. It destroys all the benefits of the social order of life which it was employed to maintain. . .

Governments assert that armies are chiefly needed for external defence, but that is not true. They are needed first of all against their own subjects, and every man who performs military service involuntarily becomes an accomplice in all the acts of violence the government inflicts on its subjects.

To convince oneself of this one need only remember what things are done in every State in the name of order and public welfare and the execution of which always falls on the army. All the civil outbreaks arising from dynastic or party reasons, all the executions following such disturbances, all the repressions of insurrection, and the employment of military forces to disperse meetings and suppress strikes, all forcible collection of taxes, all unjust distribution of land, all the restrictions on labour - are either carried out directly by army or by the police supported by the army. . . Universal military service is the last stage of violence that governments need for the maintenance of the whole structure, and it is the extreme limit to which submission on the part of their subjects can go. It is the keystone of the arch holding up the edifice, and its removal would bring down the whole building. . .

#### INTERESTED IN THE PARTY?

BEFORE you make such a commitment, here's a few things you should know:

The Communist Party is the champion of many popular issues, including:-

MINORITY RIGHTS: A gay person was beaten up because he suggested that homosexuals be represented on a Communist-dominated coordinating committee to free political prisoners.

SEXISM: "Any woman, no matter what post she occupies, should remain a woman. She should know how to cook and how to keep house nicely. If she does not, she is not a woman." (Yekaterina Alakseyevna Furtseva, Minister of Cultural Affairs, USSR.)

POLITICAL PRISONERS: Recently, Jiri Pelikan, a Czech leftist, wrote to Angela Davis, asking her to help in freeing political prisoners in Czechoslovakia. Ms. Davis replied that imprisonment was the best way to deal with "counter-revolutionaries".

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION: An elderly woman writer has been denied the right to publish her works (her only source of livelihood) in the USSR because she gave shelter to Alexander Solzhenitzen.

ANTI-IMPERIALISM: The Soviet Uni-

PAGE 5

on invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956, because the Czechs and Hungarians took the phrase "workers' control" too literally.

SOCIALISM: FIAT is at present building a giant automobile factory in the USSR. (This was probably allowed due to the owner's well-known "communist" sympathies.)

REVOLUTION: The French Communist Party suppressed "irresponsible adventurers" in 1968, when students and workers threatened to destroy DeGaulle's regime. The Spanish Communist Party (the majority of whose members were drawn

#### Continued on Page 6



Every day of every week some head of state, some captain of industry, some minister of the crown or of religion tries to bolster his security by frightening his subjects with the prospect of anarchy - Harold Wilson, General Spinola, Arias Navarro, the Greek Colonels, General Peron, the Yugoslav Workers' Council for a start. They mean their hearers to imagine horror and death, the breakdown of the links and supplies by which human beings keep each other alive, but they themselves recognize and fear the potentiality for self-determination in methods of direct popular revolt.

Authority is more conscious of the knock it is taking than are the people who are socking it to them, and we might perhaps feel that if ever there was a time when people might be impelled towards putting anarchy into practice this is it. But as every anarchist knows, not every opposition to the state is a rejection of authority, and not every act of revolt is liberatory in aim and method. ola). And to quote Eddie Shaw quoting Eugene Debs: "If I could lead you into the Promised Land, somebody else could lead you out again." Nonetheless the taste of freedom has aroused appetite, and next door premier Navarro is warning the Spanish Cortes that the regime can fall if it does not change.

On our own home ground we've become dizzied and perhaps a little wearied of continuous industrial disputes and action for the simple unreachable goal of trying to get abreast of the inflated cost of living. Until the Ulster Workers' Council did what anarchists have urged for a century applied their power where it really lies, at the point of production, and for the purpose of shaping the society in which they wish to live. But what kind of society (see "Who is the Enemy?" FREEDOM Vol. 35 No. 22 last week)? They have used, and demonstrated the efficacy of, a syndicalist method. Up to now the Protestant working class of Ulster have been fanatically patriotic-English Tory voters. Their disillusion with the British Labour government impelled them to this mass act of civil disobedience, and in the process they have probably become no longer English nationalists but Ulster nationalists. Will the experience of their independent power as workers widen the chink of light or will they remain blinded by religious bigotry and warped by the power of having a minority to dominate?

robberies, kidnappings, to the 'seed beneath the snow' activities such as squatting, the freeing of education, the refusal of unpopular minorities to accept underdog status. . Different methods used for differing aims, in differing circumstances, And people have learned to live with most of them, with varying degrees of sympathy with or condemnation of, without feeling identified with these involved in them.

A prime minister of a well-recognized cruel and repressive regime is despatched in a spectacular manner and nobody weeps; anarchists in the nature of their philosophy do not take part in indiscriminate bombings but in the present day even an explosive demonstration which is plainly a demonstration and no more says nothing because its words are lost in the generalised blast: kidnapping has a special sicken. ing callousness; bank robberies and money frauds may arousemild envy rather than condemnation but are not distinguishable from ordinary delinquency - after all some quite notable people in . political circles have recently been found out in massive fiddles and that doesn't make them revolutionaries. I do not think that propaganda ever converted anybody unless it struck a chord already there or met with experience or conditions or needs of life. But the anarchist philosophy is about the essentials of life; its aims and methods are one and the philosophy, far from being sterile is the living soil out of which both the aim and the method grow. Therefore I think the main task of anarchists is the spreading of the anarchist philosophy in every spehere, whether the overthrow of a fascist regime, a minority struggle, or a general strike. M.C.

Paradoxically, the event which caused most excitement in recent weeks was the least revolutionary on its home ground. The Portuguese coup was not a populist revolution within Portugal, for although the fact that the books of the "Three Marias" and General Spinola were written and published - along with the revelations of the colonial missiona ries - was a gauge of the groundswell of feeling against the 19th century regime, the fact is that in fifty years the people did not move directly, but welcomed "the freedom that is offered to us by the armed forces" (General Spin-

Almost everywhere in the world there is revolt and turmoil in some degree, from the hideous Arab-Israeli terrorism, the 'red' guerrilla groups, bombs, bank

IN CONCLUSION: If you are a member of the Communist Party, you will probably call attention to

GETS YOUR EYES SMOKE IN People who regarded tobacco workers as "purveyors of death" were hypocritical and inconsistent, according to Mr A. Betts, president of the Tobacco Workers' Union. In a speech read on his behalf at the union's conference at Whitley Bay, Northumberland, yesterday, Mr Betts accused the Government of hypocrisy for warning people not to smoke while welcoming more than £1,000m a year in tobacco duty. Mr Betts missed the conference yesterday because he was taken to hospital on Wednesday night when he broke his leg while jiving at a dance. In the speech read for him Mr Betts said : "I have no hesitation in saying 'hands off the tobacco industry'. Smoking in moderation provides pleasure and stimulus to millions "If tobacco workers were going to be maligned, their critics should also attack engineers and foundrymen who made armaments, the brewing industry whose products could lead to alcoholism, the pharmaceutical industry whose drugs could produce tragic addiction. and the automotive industry SEXISM whose cars killed hundreds of people every year. "It is this inconsistency which I find hypocritical. We are not more responsible for the excessive use of our products by individuals than the workers in any of the other industries. I have mentioned ".

THE PARTY continued from P. 5

from ex-capitalists and bour-

geois technicians) dispossessed workers and peasants who had' taken over factories and large estates during the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1939.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE EXPECTED TO HAVE A VARIETY OF ADMIRABLE QUALITIES, which include

NON-VIOLENCE: You will be expected to use any means necessary to suppress "violent and irresponsible" yippies and anarchists.

FLEXIBILITY: You must be able to change your views often (as the Party dictates).

DISCIPLINE: "YOU WILL OBEY!" Lenin always said that army discipline was good for revolutionaries.

INTELLIGENCE: C.P. leaders are infallible, only the masses are stupid and must be "guided".

Continued on Page 6

the fact that much of what has been presented here has been the actions of foreign parties or individual party members. These actions, however, are not the results of individual peculiarities. They are the result of the idea that ordinary people cannot possibly define the conditions of their own freedom, and that this can only be done by a party of "revolutionary leaders". Thus, any atrocity can be justified which brings this party to power and keeps it there. This principle is true for all communist parties and members. In short, if you believe that peace, freedom and equality can be achieved through the means of brutality, treachery, and deceit, then the Communist Party is for you.

/Text of a leaflet by a Chicago anarchist group.7 PAGE 6



THIS LATEST PAMPHLET from Solidarity keeps up to their usual high standard of presentation and analysis of a subject. As usual they try and create a position which establishes some new ground but most of their analysis is not new. For instance their approach to leadership is anarchist. However, personally I believe that their Marxist background makes their approach authoritarian. They are basically a group which is interested in recruitment of members rather than propagating ideas.

Dave Lamb writes that shoddy work is not the concern of the worker but is the employer's responsibility. While I would agree that often the employer does not want a first class job and that the money allowed for building council housing means second rate materials and poor design, the building worker owes it to himself and to the people of his own class to do the best job he can under the difficult circumstances in which he works. After all council workers are providing homes for working class families and why shouldn't they have the best that we can provide?

MAR DAY IN BARCELOMA. Frank

It is also on local authorities that the 'Lump' is well established; where workers directly employed often have to go round afterwards to put right the shoddy work of the 'fly by night' lumpers. Perhaps Dave Lamb would like to meet some of the mothers who have moved into new flats and then found that their walls and ceilings were running with water because of poor craftsmanship and rushed work. It was after all these same Tories that Dave Lamb says are against the 'Lump' who demolished many of the direct labour schemes on councils and introduced the different form 'Lump' labour.

Perhaps this is why they now come along with their "heretical analysis" of the 'Lump'. But one gets the impression that Dave Lamb, the author, has not worked very long in the building industry. Having said this, I must say that on many points I am in agreement with the author, including his criticism of the attitude of the traditional Left towards the 'Lump'. I don't think any anarchist would oppose the 'Lump' because workers can dodge paying either all or part of their taxes. We would also agree that it is a good thing that hourly rates of pay over twice as high as those negotiated by the unions have been gained.

The pamphlet says that this "militancy has " not gone unnoticed by the ruling class". It is true that even Tory M.P.s and many of the big employers are now opposed to the 'Lump'. But because they have now adopted this attitude does it mean that the 'Lump' is now respectable as far as revolutionaries are concerned? They may now oppose it but this was not so in the past. The 'Lump' has been used by the employers to break site organisation\*. 'Lump' workers have scabbed on trade unionists. We know that these things happened before the advent of the 'Lump', but the 'Lump' workers, or those I've come across, are only interested in making as much money as they can and in the shortest possible time. Although this is the whole basis of selling one's labour to the highest bidder as all wage slaves do, there is more to it than that. I spent three weeks outside the gate of my site during the 1972 wages strike while 'Lump' bricklayers, despite all appeals, continued working. They only left when, because of our picketting, they ran out of materials. When we returned to work they also came back and it needed another week's strike after the official return to get the 'Lump' off the site.

There are also the 'Lump' firms who offer both the large private contractors and local authorities labour which will not strike, will work overtime without extra payments, and is subject to discipline and the sack if it steps out of line. These men although they get a higher rate of pay than the unions have negotiated are virtually at the mercy of their employer without any form of the protection that a trade union may provide or that site organisation may also give. I've come across a number of these firms and they don't hesitate to sack and are up to all sorts of fiddles with public money. Direct labour could provide a higher class job and they could also be paid the same rates of pay that these firms pay their lumpers. This would cut out the profit of these parasites and provide cheaper housing. The old Fulham direct labour scheme proved this by providing housing as much as 25 per cent less than private industry and with very high earnings for the employees.

The pamphlet claims that the 'Lump' provides lessons in self-management. But this also occurs on well organised sites. I would agree that 100 per cent T.U. is not a prerequisite for this but the lumper is usually only interewted in making money and not worried if another has an accident, is sacked, etc.

Anarchists would agree with Solidarity that

The pamphlet looks upon the 'Lump' romantically in that it sees gangs of workers going around from site who are only loyal to one another, force up their earnings and generally manage their own affairs. No doubt there are such gangs, but similar gangs have done this in factories and building sites but within the framework of rank and file union organisation.

The 'Lump' worker really considers himself a small business man. This may take the form of gangs of self-employed men or the self-employed worker who takes on a contract employing others and working himself. These people are hardly interested in the wider aspects of work, but rush in and out as quickly as possible. Often their work is shoddy.

Incition Vibeyard Press, Goldherter.

the traditional Left has a vested interest in the unions and sees their role as a leadership of the working class. But because some "bloody minded gangs" of workers have pushed up their earnings this is hardly a threat to the system. All they have achieved is what the middle class do all the time. Good luck, but I think the organisation and solidarity built up with or without the help of the trade union officials and linked up with other sites, tenants' associations, and other industries will pose a greater threat to the interests of the employer and the State than workers trying to become small business men.

1905 ..... P. T.

\*St. Thomas's Hospital is a good example of this, where with the help of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers they smashed the site organisation and used the 'Lump' firm of Whelan and Grant. (See FREEDOM Feb. 21, Feb. 28, March 9 and March 21, 1970 for a detailed account and analysis of the dispute.)

CILCO STAL TOTAL TO DATE ES87.06

### PRISON. . . cont'd from P. 1

Board are now given power to use even disciplinary sentences (imposed by non-judicial procedures) as a method of discipline by suspending their operation.

But the most astonishing aspect of the 'reforms' is the cool revelation that unsentenced prisoners (meaning remand prisoners) found guilty of an offence against discipline may be awarded (that word again!) forfeiture of remission which will take effect if /our underlining7 such prisoners are later convicted and sentenced to imprisonment. Thus, by a mere administrative device the already perilous and dreadful existence of an unconvicted, possibly innocent, remand prisoner is made more abysmal by threat of future punishment.

This memo from a Home Office regarded as 'reformist' and 'enlightened' concludes with the double-edged sentence: "The amendments to the Prison Rules give governors and Boards of Visitors increased flexibility when dealing with offences against prison discipline."

### MAY DAY IN BARCELONA from P. 1

transmitters and receivers, many plans of military and police installations, false papers, keys, 500,000 pesetas... Amongst the various palns of action, the police said they had discovered a programme of attacks for May Day, including one on the barracks of the Armed Police (the hated "grises").

It was only when the three comrades had been transferrred to the "Model Prison", after ten days of torture, that the Chief of Police released the news of the arrest and a torrent of photographs of the captured material to his tame publicity machine, the newspapers and television; and announced to all and sundry, with an air of triumph, that his meant, no more and no less, the end of anarchism in Barcelona (!).

Little more than a week later began the series of actions for the Anarchist First of May, which stridently contradicted the triumphant statements of the police.

From comrades in Barcelona via Umanita



HELP FOLD and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m.

at Freedom Press, followed by get-together and refreshments.

Tom Taylor, now living at 30 Melbreak Ave., Cockermouth, Cumbria would like his friend Mr. Dobbs to get into touch with him.

BUILDING COLLECTIVE needs one or two more members with some building experience • Conversion of house to community centre near Finsbury Park, and other jobs. Ring Dick/Alison at 263 2111.

ANARCHIST women's group meets Mondays. Tel. 01-883 2457

BLACKBURN Anarchist group forming. Please contact Keith Sowerby (correspondence only) 150 Shorrock Lane, Blackburn BB2 4TT. Lancs

Much nonsense has been written about prisons and the Price sisters affair has added to the flood. The simple truth is that loss of freedom itself is the punishment and anything added to that is added viciousness on the part of the State. Anything extra is to maintain discipline in a manifestly unnatural and deservedly unacceptable regime. An ironic comment in prison is, 'You're here for punishment, not for nourishment.' This is quite untrue. The punishment is prison itself. Until judges have served sentences it will continue to be used and useless.

J.R.



heir role as a leadership of the

Nova.

Spanish Resistance Fund c/o P.T. & T.P., 84b Whitechapel High St. London E.I.



Dear Comrades

In FREEDOM of April 13, the editor compains that "More anarchists are needed in order to bring about social change in this society". How can anybody create a sufficient number of anarchists if the members of the society do not feel themselves the need of such a change. An anarchist is not made by order, but by a long process of mental evolution. If you hope and think you can influence a big majority of our sadistic society to embrace the anarchist ideal in the near future, you

CENTRO IBERICO meets social Sats & Suns 7.00 p.m. 83 A Haverstock Hill NW3 (side entr. Steele's Rd. Bus 31 or 68, Tube Chalk Fm or Belsize Pk.

EVERY SATUR DAY Mental Patients Union 2 p.m. 2 p.m. 37 Mayola Road, London E.5. (tel. 01-986 5251). Contact same address re activities elsewhere.

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers' Corner I p.m. Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcome.

PLAYERS for London based Anarch ist Football Team(s) required. No natural skill necessary. Age/sex/etc. totally immaterial. Contact Jim at Freedom Press.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM N.IRELAND campaign still continues. Info., leaflets &c from BWNIC, c/o 3 Caledonian Rd. London N1

DIRECT ACTION paper of Syndicalist Workers Federation, monthly 5p + post, sub. £ 1. SWF c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Rd. Manchester 13.

UNITY THEATRE Case for a Rebel by Emmanuel Robles (Dutch Indonesia 1948; a Europe an takes part in nat. rev. mvement) Fri., Sat.-Sun. June 7 - Jul 6 at 7.45 p.m.

Contributions

### 30 May - 5 June

LONDON N6: D.B. 15p; LYONS: P.Z. £1.75; CHELTENHAM: J.L. 38p; GATESHEAD: G.D. 37p; SPALDING: N.L. £1.75; WOLVER-HAMPTON: J.L. 80p; J.K.W. 20p; LONDON SE1: J.L.N. 65p; CHEL-TENHAM: J.L. (again): 75p; STROUD: S.L R. 37p; LONDON, Ont.: D.B. 90p; BERKELEY Ca.: A.G. £3.15; Kage, Sweden: L.W. 37p; LLANARTH: P.G. 21p; LON-DON SW19: D.T. £1.

TOTAL: £12.80 Previously acknowledged£574.26

TOTAL TO DATE £587.06

are very naive.

If you feel the urgent need to do what you are doing and derive satisfaction from it, that in itself is reward enough and one can be glad that he has dedicated his life to a worthy purpose, even if the goal wasn't achieved.

We were sorry to read in the May 4 issue of the death of Lilian G. Wolfe who lived to be 99 years of age. We remembered her working in the office of the Freedom Press when we were in London. I'm sure she would continue to work without thinking if she was able to change society in her lifetime.

Best regards. We know it is difficult to put out a paper, but keep at it.

Sincerely,

Lino Molin.

Tel. 01-387 8647.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBER-TIES says "If we do not get a healthier bank balance your civil liberties as well as everyone else's will be in even greater jeopardy." S end donation/ask for details of membership NCCL, 186 Kings Cross Road, London WCIX 9DE (tel. 01-278 4575).

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Robert Cullen, Eddie Jones, Desmond Keane, Columba Longmore and Noel Murry all remanded in Detention Centre, Curragh Military Camp, Ireland wd. like to hear from comrades.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Solidarity Committe, 54 Harcombe Road, London N.15. GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO. Letters, postcards to Giovanni Marini, Carcere di Potenza, 85100 POTENZA, Italy Still awaiting trial after 2 years in gaol.

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