

**YESTERDAY'S BOMB**

AN IRONIC comment by a cartoonist on the recent French and British bomb-tests was of a middle aged man saying to another, "I've forgotten the way to Aldermaston." Not inappropriate to the state of people's memories is the reminder that the pilgrimages were (in the majority) from not to Aldermaston, indicative in itself of the reliance of CND upon action by Whitehall government to 'Ban the Bomb'.

Bitterer still is the remembrance of a dynamic ginger group of the new Left (where is that party now?) who chanted interminably all the way from Aldermaston: Labour to power--out with the Bomb!

It is easy now to be cynical about the rise and fall of CND but it can and will be recalled

**WHICH FASCISM?**

THREE WEEKS ago there was a march and public meeting held in the Conway Hall by the fascist National Front. During a counter march by the Marxist-Leninists and various student groups a young man was killed, apparently by the police who attacked the counter march while trying to protect the National Front. This is not the first time (nor will it be the last) that the fascists and the communists (Marxist-Leninist of course) have confronted each other. Yet these two rival groups, fighting for the allegiance of the working class, have, on the face of it, completely opposing ideas, but when studied are dangerously similar.

The communists are working for the overthrow of the present capitalist state (as are the anarchists), yet they want to replace it by a workers' state, aided of course by the dictatorship of the proletariat (which always means a dictatorship over the proletariat). Industry, land etc. would be administered by the state. Workers' organisations, instead of being organised by the workers themselves, would be organised by the state through local party officials. This system would immediately create an elitist society, those in the party being given preference of those not in the party. All

as the one new brave cause which rallied the youth of the fifties and sixties and gave a shape to their idealism and indignation. That it was betrayed is indisputable, that it was futile in method was debatable, but that it was unsuccessful in its aims is questionable. It did to some extent succeed in making the test-ban treaty -- sanctifying underground tests only. It did succeed in giving publicity to the dangers of radiation which scientists seem to have concealed from governments and peoples. It never succeeded in making the Labour party (in or out of power) subscribe to its doctrines. The Labour party could never go naked into the conference chamber, without the bomb, and would (as it was proved) fight, fight and fight again to keep the bomb.

reactionary, revisionist or deviationist views would be eradicated by force whether from the left or the right. Yet despite calling themselves revolutionaries the Marxist-Leninists are in fact only reformist.

They wish only to shore up the existing tottering state. Their social revolution is a fraud.

While the Marxist-Leninists look forward to their state, the fascist National Front look backwards. They want to stop time and return to some mythical past when the great English race was not polluted by Lefties, drug addicts or coloured people. A time when "England ruled the waves". They too want a strong state with state control (through private individuals) over much of industry, etc. They want to see one great national leader. In fact "one reich, one people, one leader".

As in the Marxist-Leninist state, workers' organisations would be formed by the state. All opposition would be crushed. The fascists would put into practice their evil racial policy. The deportation (or repatriation as they say in polite society) of all coloured people. (In fact the very people who keep the English middle class in the manner to which they have grown accustomed.) Of course the National Front would

Since those heady, footsore days we have seen the Bomb proliferate through the nations of the world. The do-it-yourself atom bomb has not yet arrived but even the poorest nation - India - is well on the road to making its own bomb -- a guarantee that it will remain poor. Mr. Nixon in his recent Middle East tour in quest of Middle West votes offered both the Israelis and the Egyptians nuclear know-how. The French, to the indignation of Australia and New Zealand, have persisted with their bomb-tests in the Pacific and it was only just of the French to retort "You too" when reproached by the British for carrying on their over-ground tests. The difference between underground and over-ground tests is more apparent than real for the radioactivity

Continued on Back Page

give everyone the "law and order" that they all want. But at what price? The state never gives anything away free. The price demanded would be absolute obedience.

As anarchists we reject communism as much as fascism. For us they are the same face of intolerance and injustice. Neither would give working people the freedom or the opportunity to organise their own lives, free from state or bureaucratic interference.

As anarchists we believe that any social change or revolution must be brought about by working people themselves free from the need of any party elitism or state intervention because the existence of a state is incompatible with any social revolution. We believe that the complete abolition of the state is necessary and desirable for the free and happy development of all human beings.

Today the fight is against fascism, but not only the overt fascism of the National Front, but against all expressions of fascism. Although we ally ourselves with many people and groups in the anti-fascist struggle, tomorrow many of those may become fascist, but under a different name, but if the name changes the ideas remain the same.

D. P.



# COALITION MISH-MASH

IT HAS OFTEN been said that if you scratch a Tory you will find a fascist underneath. Now it can be said of the Liberal M.P.s that underneath they are Tories. After the last general election they resisted the overtures of Mr. Heath to form a two-party coalition. They only did this because their party workers were against such a move.

Now that the Labour government has been defeated in the House of Commons on a number of issues, these M.P.s are again putting forward their views on a coalition. Once again the Liberal M.P.s have come out in favour of a coalition with the Tories only to be cut down to size by their national executive who rejected any coalition with either the Tories or the Labour party.

With everyone predicting an economic recession, politicians are again talking of national unity. Such unity many believe can be got by parties sinking their differences and coming together to form a coalition.

If the thinking behind this supposition is correct, then Italy with its numerous coalitions should have the strongest economy in Europe. As we all know, this is far from the truth.

But we do not have to look as far as Italy to see that a coalition does not solve the economic ills of capitalism. The National Government of all three parties in 1931 did little to revive confidence. Indeed the

TUC's 100-year celebration book has this to say on the subject:

"Throughout their terms of office during the 1930s, neither the National Government nor the Conservative Government had given any indication that they were capable of finding any solution to the unemployment problem. Indeed, until war came, no solution was found."

Obviously an all out war with nuclear weapons is out of the question but weaponry still forms a large part of a capitalist economy and enables the system to take up any slack necessary (see "Yesterday's Bomb", front page this issue). Industries closely connected to war, like aircraft and the enormous waste of money and human effort being employed to build Concorde is another example of how work is made to keep the system ticking over.

Whereas profit is what motivates the bosses at work, power is the driving force of the politicians. The Liberals after years of being in a political wilderness, now see an opportunity to get their hands on it. We can see the same happening in Portugal with the Communists thinking more about their positions in the government than of the demands of workers.

As anarchists we are opposed to all governments no matter what party or mishmash of parties forms them. To have a government means that we are being governed by others who have power and authority over our lives. We declare that

Labour, Tory, Liberal and the Communist Party share the same power ambition, they want to govern and as such they are all authoritarian. We believe the political parties serve class interests rather than serving the interests of society. Anarchists want a society without government. No one person or collection of people should hold power over others. Anarchists want power to be in each individual's own grasp so that he or she can regulate their own lives without being employed, taxed, ruled, judged, jailed and conscripted.

Rather than to fall once again for the three card trick of a general election people can organise for themselves through rank and file controlled organisations at work, tenants' associations, community action groups, communes and wherever the initiative comes from below and is not imposed by those in authority.

Perhaps those Young Liberals who have taken part and organised community action will now realise that their support for their Party will only lead them to power but not to any real social change. Their tactics of direct action and their criticism of their Party places them closer to anarchism than to power politics. They could not do better than to adopt anarchism and join us in the struggle for the abolition of government and the social revolution.

P. T.

## SQUATTING UNDER LABOUR

IT IS A continual experience with anarchists that methods of social protest that seem original and newsworthy for a while become hackneyed, commonplace and routine. Such is the effect of the non-newsworthiness that one tends to forget that it is a triumph in itself that squatting, sit-in strikes and civil disobedience in one shape or another have become conventional forms of social protest accepted by people whose basic views are indeed far from radical, not even to mention anarchist.

Correspondingly there is the sad phenomenon of the institutionalization of protest, and the method itself becomes respectable and the aims become socially acceptable. Such happened to some degree with squatting but that is another story.

On June 4th a London paper estimated that squatters held 400 London homes and squatting is certainly a social action which has come to stay, even under Labour.

But there is a secondary development in the history of protest when the powers-that-be clamp down on the protest by changing the law and making what was never an offence into an offence.

Now, under Labour, the friends of the working class and the dispossessed, a government Law Commission has issued a 'working paper' on suggested revisions of the law concerning squatting. As every squatter knows the legislation on squatting is rather complex: trespassing does not exist, some of the law used goes back to 1381. Now (under Labour) new laws are

meet some new friends



"Even'n all! Fancy coming in to form a National Government at £1 a head?"

proposed which would make it a criminal offence for squatters to remain on property after being ordered to leave by the person entitled to occupation



# FREEDOM PRESS

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

# LETTERS

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

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

"Anarchist Classics" pamph. ser.:  
About Anarchism, what anarchists  
believe, how anarchists differ...  
Nicolas Walter 15p (post 3½p)  
USA 40c post free  
A B C of Anarchism, Alexander  
Berkman 25p (post 5p)  
Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism,  
Rudolf Rocker 20p (post 5p)  
Anarchy, Errico Malatesta  
25p (post 5p)  
The State, Its Historic Role,  
Peter Kropotkin 25p (post 5p)

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

Spain:  
Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, 1936-39,  
Vernon Richards  
cloth £1.50 (22½p)  
paper £0.75 (22½p)  
The Spanish Collectives, 1936-39  
ed. Sam Dolgoff £2.00 (22½p)  
Homage to Catalonia, George  
Orwell  
Franco's Prisoner, Miguel Garcia  
Garcia (20 years in Franco's  
jails) £2.25 (22½p)  
The Spanish Cockpit, Franz  
Borkenau  
The Revolution and Civil War in  
Spain, ed. Broué & Témime  
£6.00 (30p)

Periodicals:  
A : rivista anarchica June-July  
£0.20 (5p)  
Liberation March-April (Back-  
ground Document about Oil :  
US Navy & Middle East : The So-  
cialized Penis) £0.40p (7p)  
W I N, May 16, 200th Issue "Ser-  
ving the People". May 23 "Resis-  
tance at home & abroad" (Soviet  
Dissidents : Direct Action : Tax  
Refusal) each £0.15 (3½p)  
Black Flag Vol. III no. 11 (  
(Suarez kidnapping arrests,  
Dublin 7, etc.) £0.10 (3½p)

Anarchism : Seven Exponents of  
the anarchist philosophy - Godwin,  
Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Tucker,  
Kropotkin, Tolstoy, ed. Paul  
Eltzbacher. £3.50 (23p)  
Anarchy in Action, Colin Ward  
£1.75 (9p)  
Decentralization, Rudolf Rocker  
£0.30 (3½p)  
Anarchism, Jo Labadie £0.15 (5p)

Utopias:  
The Communist Societies of the  
United States, Charles Nordhoff  
£1.68 (22½p)  
The New Harmony Movement, Geo. B.  
Lockwood £1.96 (22½p)  
Heavens on Earth, Mark Holloway  
£1.00 (17p)  
Paths in Utopia, Martin Buber  
£1.05 (11p)

## FREE SPEECH MATTERS.

Cde Parker made a valid point (FREE-  
DOM 22nd June) when he asked why  
marxist socialist meetings are not subject  
to the same attacks as fascist meetings,  
especially when the established regimes  
of the former are as antagonistic towards  
anarchism as those of the latter.

The reason that the two previous items  
in FREEDOM have not dealt with this  
question is that they were comments on  
the policy of the National Union of Stud-  
ents which specifically related to fascists  
and racists.

I believe that Cde Parker's question is  
partially answered in the leading article  
of the same issue, "Our hearts are on the  
Left. Emotionally we share the humanitar-  
ian aspirations of the Left." Aside from  
emotional responses there is also a practi-  
cal answer. In a pluralist political situ-  
ation groups with varying analyses and  
direction join together to fight a common  
enemy.

Anarchists being internationalists oppo-  
se racism. It is natural therefore that we  
should join with other groups who also op-  
pose racism. We will find these groups  
with a common cause on the Left, not the  
Right of politics.

Consequently if we attend a meeting on,  
say, racism, we would find ourselves  
broadly in agreement with much that was  
said by a CP or Trotskyist speaker, and  
disagreeing with all that was said by a  
National Front speaker.

Surely it is not only reasonable but es-  
sential that we co-operate with other  
groups fighting racism.

There are many instances of public criti-  
cism of the Left by Anarchists. For instan-  
ce, when the Left placards on the Viet-  
nam marches read "Victory to the NLF"  
and "Ho Chi Minh" the anarchist placards  
read "Neither Washington nor Hanoi but  
Peace and Freedom".

A more recent example is the anarchist  
involvement, albeit small, in the rapidly  
expanding Trade Union Rank & File move-  
ment. While supporting and helping to  
build the Rank & File movement along with  
other groups of the Left, the anarchists  
have constantly attacked attempts to take  
the initiative away from the shop-floor  
workers and into the hands of a political  
elite.

It should not be forgotten, in closing,  
that many people came to the anarchist  
movement during the CND heyday. Had  
we not united with groups from the Young  
Liberals to the CP to fight against nuclear  
armaments, our voice may never have been  
heard.

Larry Law.

## STATEMENT

from South Place Ethical Society

### CONWAY HALL

There have now been two bat-  
tles of Red Lion Square, one on  
October 13th last that attract-  
ed little attention, and the  
second one recently when Kevin  
Gately died. This is two too  
many.

We give notice to whom it may  
concern that freedom of speech  
and assembly obtain at Conway  
Hall and that in future any id-  
entifiable group that assails  
it in the Hall, or in and ar-  
ound Red Lion Square (in a way  
connected with the Hall), will  
forfeit its own access to Con-  
way Hall for an indefinite  
period.

Peter Cadogan  
General Secretary

25.6.74.

## BORIS YELENSKY DIES

ANOTHER VALIANT FIGHTER for free-  
dom, the veteran anarchist Boris Yelensky,  
passed away on June 11th 1974 at the age  
of 85. An active militant in the Russian  
Revolution, Yelensky also played a key  
role in rebuilding the Russian anarchist  
movement in the United States and found-  
ing the ALEXANDER BERKMAN FUND to  
aid anarchist and other political prisoners  
in Russia and abroad.

Yelensky's activities were not limited  
to the Russian movement. His far flung  
efforts, here in the States, constitute a  
significant chapter in the history of Amer-  
ican Anarchism. A definitive evaluation  
remains to be written. He will be sorely  
missed by his many friends and comrades.  
His loss is particularly painful for those of  
us who have known and worked with him  
for over 50 years. His passing marks the  
close of a distinguished and fruitful car-  
eer in the continuing struggle for freedom.

To the children by his departed first com-  
rade and wife Bessie, Leon and Ruth and  
their families, and his devoted present  
comrade and wife Sarah Yelensky, we ex-  
tend our most sincere condolences.

Sam Dolgoff.

AS ANNOUNCED LAST WEEK, WE HAVE  
REGRETFULLY HAD TO INCREASE SUB-  
SCRIPTIONS. THE RATES ARE NOW:  
Inland and Surface Mail abroad  
1 year.....£4.00 (\$9.60)  
6 months.....£2.00 (\$4.80)  
3 months.....£1.00 (\$2.40)  
Europe .. Airmail . 1 year £4.60  
The Americas..... 1 year \$14.50  
Australasia, Japan 1 year £5.85  
(six months pro rata)



# PORTUGUESE LETTERS.

Cascais, Portugal.

Dear Comrades,

This will be a long and joyful letter. As you already know, this country has refound the long-lost light of its freedom in the last days of April. Among the happy things that took place in the last few days I count the reading of the FREEDOM issue no. 18 you kindly sent to me.

Firstly because I thought you had stopped publication after the last 1972 issues I received, in which you announced your financial troubles. By that time it was impossible for me to make contact with you after the co-operative society which took care of my subscription was closed down by the fascist police, my mail was being searched and returned when disapproved, and myself being victim of pressure and prosecution. I can see now that you pulled through your problems and reassumed publication in new printing and format. What about "Anarchy"? Is it still being published? I will be glad to start a new subscription as soon as I settle my own present financial troubles.

Secondly, I can see from your main article on Portugal ("Hard-Fought Freedom" by Claude), that your concern over the country's immediate future is well beyond the general euphoria of the national and international political press. Its aim is undoubtedly more to mystify the people into worshipping the military junta and the newborn political leaders than to expose the innocuous solutions they are proposing to end the colonial war. In fact, though I don't think General Spínola is becoming a new messiah, because the Armed Forces have him under tight control right now, he has, nonetheless, succeeded in the boycott of an immediate cease-fire and negotiations with the liberation movements, with the purpose of gaining support among the misinformed population for his neo-colonialist views, even if, for the moment, they mean the continuation of war and death to the soldiers who brought him to power. Spínola is imposing a plebiscite solution as his Gaullistic memory is unable to remember that no plebiscite can prevent the formation of racist separatist attacks of the O.A.S. type, with South Africa as a relieved godfather.

The left-wing parties, defenders of immediate independence, are much more interested in securing their positions in the Provisional Government by bowing and bootlicking to the junta, than in pressuring it into recognizing the Liberation Movements and the Republic of Guinea. Meanwhile the Portuguese people is living happily its spring of political fetishism by creating all the parties they can name. By the time of writing 70 have already been announced and the list is growing all the time. Maoists and Trotskyists are trying to infiltrate the unions with their own sorts of dogma and cure-all slogans, while the Communists and Socialists prefer to direct their propaganda towards such important and revolutionary issues as a free Saturday afternoon for all workers and a minimum national wage.

Anyhow, the people in general are very much aware of their true interests and take care of the organization of their jobs by themselves. Many public departments and schools are being run by workers' councils, and several industrial complexes went on strike demanding control of their work, and participation in the profits. But the country is going through a trance, trying to use the regained freedom at any cost without understanding that the coup has benefitted most the wealthy capitalists who are in a better position now to fool the unions with quick concessions, welcome, even if forty years late, but no real advancement to the present chaotic situation of the Portuguese proletariat.

The Anarchist Movement is getting back on its feet. We are in a somewhat unique situation: for one, the old comrades from the FAI, CGT and FARP, survivors of the Fascist persecutions and tortures, still full of organizing power and precious experience, are unable to relate to the young people, who haven't known much besides books on the intellectual brands of Anarchism such as the Situationists, March 22nd Movement and the Provos. In Oporto a meeting took place yesterday with many hundreds of people and it ended by a demonstration in front of the Spanish Consulate to protest against the recent violence of the Francoist Reich against the comrades of the MLI. I was glad, of

course, to see the possibilities of mobilization of the comrades of the North, though their recent manifestoes to the Press, made me suspicious of some confusion in their conception of anarchism. Related to some aesthetic and sexual minority groups they show a distinct preference for sensationalistic "boutades" (like, "the revolution has attained its libidinal phase" and the like...) over the urgent necessity of some organization for the continuation of the fight.

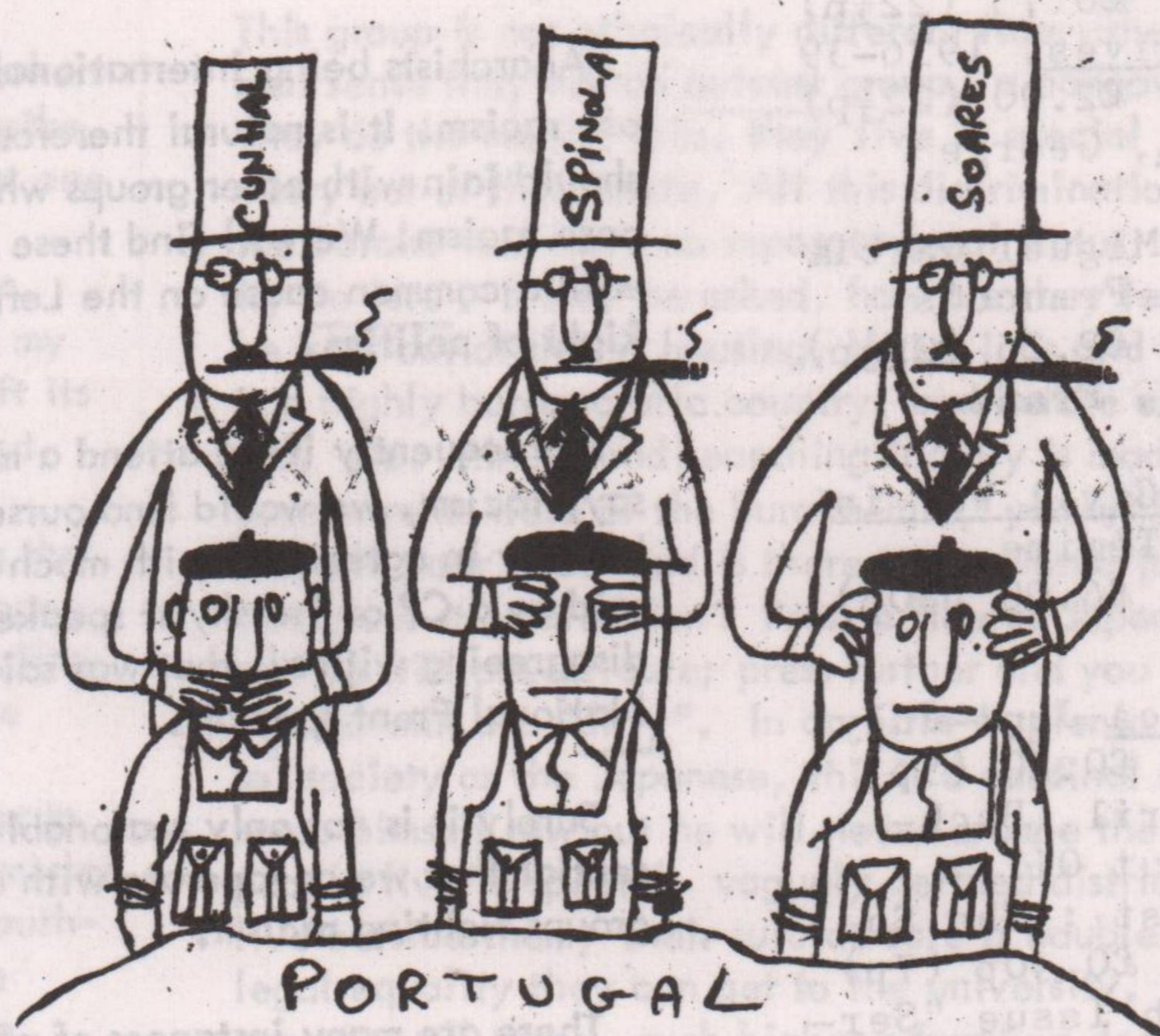
As for myself, I am trying to get together a few friends and comrades to publish a local newspaper that could serve as a platform for the many unresolved tendencies here in the region of Lisbon. I am a student at the University of Lisbon, and I was brought to Anarchism by the hypocritical marxist dogmatism of the leaders of the student unions, who have jeopardized all the student movements from 1962 on in ideological fights and stupid rhetoric. I have very definite views on anarchism now, and I would appreciate a chance to write in FREEDOM and ANARCHY if you are interested.

I am trying for the moment 1) to find extensive documentation and general information on Portuguese Anarchism, to start writing a full and detailed history, 2) to get in touch with anarchist communities all over the world, for knowledge and propaganda of their fights, experiences and needs of support.

I ask for your help in my projects, and at the same time offer you my fraternal support, and promise to keep you aware of the developments of the situation of our movement in Portugal.

Saudações,

João Pedro Leão.



Comrades,

I have read with much interest the article on Portugal, published by FREEDOM on the 4th June 1974, to which I would like to reply as an individual, without reflecting the views of any Portuguese anarchist organization.

I agree completely with what you said about General Spínola, from whom the Portuguese people cannot expect its true liberation, or, for that matter, from any other leader, even those belonging to the extreme left, because, as we have always said in the past (and not cynically, as stated by marxist parties, which, in practice, act exactly in the opposite way...) we believe that the emancipation of the workers will be the task of the workers themselves.

Contrary to what the Portuguese Press has given the impression, it was not General Spínola who prepared the revolt of the Portuguese Armed Forces (apparently he heard it about it only on the eve of the coup) but young officers and soldiers, tired of 13 years of colonial wars in Africa where they were sent to die.

It is true to say that these officers did not appeal to the people to revolt against fascism, but had they done it, their call would have been promptly answered, even by anarchists, always ready to struggle against all tyrannies.



This was what the Portuguese anarchists did during the military revolt of 1927 against the emerging dictatorship of Salazar, in which many comrades fought with weapons in the streets until the last moment. They fought independently, preserving their autonomy, without renouncing their final objectives, the disappearance of the state and property. But on the 25th April, 1974, the military forces this time acted in isolation, probably having had contact with marxist politicians, which explains the presence of a communist and a socialist in the Provisional Government. Supposedly this decision was based on the necessity of obtaining the collaboration of the Communist and Socialist Parties in solving the problems raised by the colonial wars in Africa, where liberation movements are largely influenced by agents from Moscow and Peking, convenient ideological links which could be used to facilitate peace negotiations.

Nevertheless, these negotiations seem to be slow and difficult, probably because of ideological rivalries, certainly not founded in excessive love towards the oppressed people of Africa. It surprises me to see peace being negotiated and, short of an armistice, both sides giving orders to their men to carry on fighting. But this is politics, in which the people are always kept in the dark.

As stated before, the Portuguese people were not involved in the military preparations which led, on the 25th April, to the destruction of the fascist dictatorship. Although the armed forces' advice to the population was to keep out of it, and stay at home, the people, as soon as they understood that the regime of Marcello Caetano was at stake, took over the streets, and in jubilant mood, enthusiastically encouraged the rebellious troops to action. 48 years of mental agony and repression had not been sufficient to erase from the minds of the people their aspiration to freedom. And during the last May Day demonstrations the people, at last free, showed not only its happiness, but also its generosity and fraternity, unique sentiments that we should not allow to die.

It is undeniable that the armed forces, although motivated by reasons of self-preservation, did strike a serious blow to Portuguese fascism; but fascism in Portugal is not yet dead: it is still alive, within the State, the Banks, monopolies, big industries, etc... Fascism will only die with the disappearance in Portugal of all authoritarian institutions. Meanwhile, fascism is lying low, the claws withdrawn and waiting. So we should be on the alert, use any opportunity to rally our forces in affinity groups, and propagate with more intensity our aims: the Social Revolution. The Portuguese Libertarian Movement has already a meeting place, which is very convenient to us, and we are preparing the publication of our paper - A BATALHA - name of the former organ of the Confederacao Geral do Trabalho (CGT). We also hope to publish books and pamphlets on anarchism, but in order to put these plans into practice it would be a great help if we were assisted internationally by all comrades, our resources being limited by being a very poor country.

The social transformation we want is different to the one put forward by all the marxist parties in Portugal. They want power and through decrees and party orders they pretend they will impose from above their social revolution. The anarchists rely instead on the will of the people who will have to act freely and solve by their own means

what concerns them. We need only to act in its midst, advising and telling them about our experiences in past revolutions, inciting them into action without waiting for any orders from any party.

The history of past revolutions shows that workers have been able to create, at the right moment, almost instinctively, organizations capable of shaping society without governments and governed people, exploiters and exploited. It was the case of the Sections and Communes during the French Revolution, the Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Committees during the Russian Revolution, and the Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, historic facts which prove that the masses have the capability to solve radically their own problems.

But anarchists need also to be consciously prepared to assist the people in these tasks in order to avoid past mistakes, as in Russia, where militant libertarians with experience relied on marxists to solve people's problems, realising too late their mistake, and also in Spain where bigger errors were committed in the shape of participation by some anarchist elements in the government of Catalonia, debasing by so doing, the ideal of anarchism, a gesture which in no way helped the Spanish people. These facts should set us thinking and should help us to understand that, before anything, we need to care about our libertarian education, correcting in us vices imposed by capitalist society, putting into practice among ourselves fraternal and respectful relationships.

I would like also to stress that a society of free and egalitarian people in a small country like Portugal, isolated by a long coastline and frontiers, could only last with the help and assistance of the nearest European people. I am already 81 years old and don't expect to see such a society, but can only give my contribution in matters of propaganda towards this society, with the co-operation of other old comrades, and also with the help of the young elements who, to my deep satisfaction, are coming into our Movement, undeterred in their search for freedom by the authoritarian propaganda from fascists and marxists alike.

Although the Provisional Government is already threatening freedom in Portugal, we are glad to observe the social agitation taking place in free trade unions, working class residential areas and other workers' organizations, where workers meet to discuss their problems and agree that their just claims should be listened to. These struggles can only develop their libertarian instincts, and will convince the people that they have enough power to improve, through direct action methods, their present and future lives.

Having written probably too much, I send you, comrades, my fraternal greetings,

Adriano Botelho, Lisbon.

P.S. The Portuguese Libertarian Movement's address is:

Rua Angelina Vidal - 17 - 2º - Esquerdo, Lisboa I, Portugal.

All correspondence should be sent to the above address. Cheques should be made payable to ACACIO TOMAS AQUINO (the treasurer of the Movement) and should be put in a sealed envelope addressed to Ligia de Oliveira, Avenida Almirante Reis - 12 - 2º -, Lisboa, Portugal.

## LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by Vernon Richards

This is not a reprint of the work with the same title published by FREEDOM PRESS in 1953. It is a new and considerably expanded version which the author prepared for an Italian edition published in 1957, and recently published in Paris in a Spanish translation.

Additional chapters deal with such important topics as the Militarization of the Militias, the Cult of the Organisation and of Personalities, the Rank and File's Responsibility.

As well as a Select Bibliography, the author has contributed a 20-page Bibliographical Postscript in which he discusses the most important works that have appeared on the subject in the past twelve years.

240 pages 8½ x 5½

cloth edition £1.50 [p.p. 15p]

paperboards £0.75 [p.p. 15p]

Order your copy now from Freedom Press

The Guardian carried a paragraph with verses by Pat Arrowsmith seemingly in response to a psychological questionnaire to determine her fitness for an open prison. BBC Radio carried a Saturday-night play, *The Enquiry* by Charlotte Hastings, a rather emetic production about life in a woman's prison. A character in it is a well-known left-wing demonstrator frequently in prison who, according to the plot, attacks a woman imprisoned for alleged infanticide (wrongly of course!) and is guilty of other crimes. Pat should sue.

\*\*\*

The Guardian's "Open File" reports that organizers of the demonstration about Kevin Gately's death were in trouble for lack of power for their loudspeakers. The police allowed, in the interests of order, to use police-van batteries.

\*\*\*

Lord Gardiner, the chairman of Justice, the lawyers' society, complained that our police are the least controlled and most powerful in Europe. However, he merely would like them put under more State and ministerial control.

\*\*\*

Quote: "His" (Mr Tony Benn's) "ideas are not new. They derive from syndicalism, the doctrine that an industry should be controlled by the workers in it and run in their interest."

From "The Ugly Face of Mr Wedgewood Benn" - Aims of Industry.



# LETTER FROM JAPAN

TO BE LIVING and working in this country is something of an experience. It is not so long ago that it was one of the most authoritarian, militaristic and nationalistic in the world, yet superficially all that has passed away. One is reminded of living in Italy by the friendliness of the people, yet here, in contrast, there is little real poverty, no military service, more formal equality between the sexes, and an infinitely better degree of educational opportunity for all. To the foreigner there is little evidence here of renascent fascist groups, such as is a feature of the Italian scene, but admittedly, the foreigner must miss a great deal that goes on under the surface here.

Little more than a century ago this country was in a feudal state, dominated by feudal lords and their retainers. As late as the 1940's, the present Emperor, who now lives harmlessly and powerlessly in Tokyo, was regarded as a god. The state myth is, or was, that the whole of the Japanese people are descended from a God who landed on an island which can be identified. This myth of the divine origin of the people was, of course, played up in the ridiculous religion of Shinto, which was the State religion during the late militarist regime. Now there is no official religion. Shinto shrines, some beautiful, some tawdry, exist alongside the Buddhist temples and Christian churches. But the marks of feudalism are everywhere. There is formal legal equality between the sexes, but it is a curious experience to visit the house of a friend and to be greeted by his mother bowing her forehead to the floor before me because I am a man. What does one do about that? The nature of Japanese feudalism in industry is now pretty well known in the West, in that firms treat their employees with a mixture of paternal care and obedience-exacting authority, which results in labour kowtowing to capital, both figuratively as well as literally.

The recent transport strike here was on a curious issue. The workers were striking to demand the right to strike. But if they are on strike, why do they need to demand the right to strike? Try arguing that one with a Japanese.

For me the most encouraging aspects of life here have been in my contacts with students. True, the beastly oriental kowtow has left its traditional mark, in that students sometimes bob to lecturers, but this is little more than an automatic reflex, just as some British schoolchildren cannot say three words to a teacher without using the word "sir". Students in Japan are very much like students in Europe - but having said that, one has remarked upon an enormous revolution in manners. One must contrast the easygoing way of life of these young people with the sick and militarist society in which their fathers were reared. True, one may say the same of Germany, or to some extent Italy, but the decades of fascism to which these countries were subjected do not compare with the history of Japan. Non-authoritarian relations between the old and young, and between the sexes, are far more novel to Japan than to the cultures of Europe. The older generation say that the younger generation ape the West. But if the young hanker after Western clothes, manners, pop-music and speaking English, did not the older generation ape the West in hankering after bigger and better bombers, tanks, battleships and methods of capitalist exploitation?

The Japanese are conscious of the fact that what degree of social liberty they have is tenuous. The criminal law is ferocious and dominated by a gang of old, old men. Currently there are efforts on the part of these old men to put the clock back to the time when it was lèse-majesté to doubt the divinity of the Emperor.

What Japan suffers from is the sickness of obedience, and this permeates their revolutionary politics. On a university campus I have seen a little mob of steel-helmeted students (the helmets were painted red) squatting on the ground before a similarly attired student who bawled into a loud-hailer. The loud-hailer would intone a slogan, the slogan would be repeated and the squatting figures repeated it. I thought that after a while they would get up and march or do something, or that the loud-hailer would think up a new slogan, but they had more patience than I had. Although my knowledge of Japanese is minimal I can translate the slogan rather freely: "Two legs bad: Four legs good". These steel-helmeted sheep were revolutionary Marxists. Occasionally the "left" revolutionary Marxists murder those of the "centre", or vice-versa, steel pipes being the weapons of choice. These are the new samurai of Japan.

In the museums one may see the armour of the old samurai. One interesting feature is a helmet which conceals the face, not like the visor of European armour, but moulded so that it was in the form of a ferocious, frowning mask. Behind such a mask a timid little man could hide his pale, battle-scarred face, and show to the world a ferocious front. The ideal of the samurai was utter obedience to his lord, an obedience and loyalty so grotesque that unlimited murder in his service, if thwarted, could be honourably followed by ritual suicide. While our home-bred mugs in Britain, (Marxist-Leninists, Leninist-Marxists, Maoists, left-of-centre-revolutionary-Marxists, simple Trots, traditionalist commies, etc., etc.) probably spout no greater nonsense than their Japanese counterparts, at least they have not got this absurd samurai tradition to give their obedience to. As yet, they go no further than murdering one another with their mouths and typewriters. Did not we have some such threats in a letter to FREEDOM sometime this year? But the Japanese nit-wit counterparts have a tradition of utter obedience and self-sacrifice to a party of some kind. Hiding their shy little faces under steel helmets, they use the steel pipe as their ancestors used the sword.

The student movement as a whole followed the student uprisings in Paris of 1966/7. Like the French students they had some formidable grievances, variously formulated, but very manifest in an antiquated and authoritarian system of education. The students in Japan have their special social issues to combat, the threatened re-militarization of the country in the service of American imperialism, the pollution of their environment by the spreading contamination of industry, and interestingly enough, a special form of social discrimination.

The main target of social discrimination in Japan is the Buraku-min. This group is not ethnically different from other Japanese but in a real sense they are an outcast group, a hangover from feudal history. They do the menial jobs, they live in special districts, they cannot marry out of their caste. All this discrimination is entirely unofficial: the Buraku-min have no separate legal status; they have formal equality de jure. It may be asked, how are they then identified in order to be kept out of better housing, better jobs and intermarriage? Japan is a highly bureaucratic country, and before a person may get a house, job, etc. minute and searching inquiry is made as to his origins. If your parents were of the Buraku-min, you will be similarly stigmatised all your life. And is there any rational justification for such a monstrous stigmatisation? Press a liberal Japanese person to explain and he will prevaricate; press further and you will hear that the Buraku-min are "dirty". In an ultra-hygienic (though inconsistently so) society as the Japanese, this is a cardinal sin. Let a Buraku-min scrub himself raw but he will never escape the family taint. These people live in special, vaguely defined districts. Where they try to live outside them, their suicide rate is double. Because of their legal equality they can get to the university, but even though they may do well there, such higher education does them little good -- they might as well have stuck to mending shoes. How much impact on this form of discrimination the students' championship of their cause will make remains to be seen.

It may be seen that struggles for formal legal and political equality in Japan are bound to be of only limited success. The people have this sickness of obedience, and it is the anarchist approach to revolutionary change which is far more appropriate in this society. Japan has had its upsurges of the anarchist movement. Kotoku Shusui (murdered 1911) and Osugi Sakae (murdered 1922) are much-quoted anarchist heroes. But Japanese history is all too preoccupied with heroes, their murder and revenge. What is needed is something like the student movement of disobedience percolating down to a younger age-group.

The most oppressed group in Japan are not the Buraku-min, but the adolescents of high-school age who are being systematically oppressed and corrupted. On the face of it Japan has a wonderful education system. I am proudly told that in Kyushu 90 per cent. of children go to senior high school. That is, instead of leaving school at the age of sixteen, they continue for another two years and compete for university entrance at the age of eighteen. The university entrance examination is of enormous difficulty and it is the excuse for keeping Japanese adolescents slaving at their books for years, instead of enjoying themselves and developing their personalities in more con-



genial pursuits. Interestingly enough in this male-dominated society, it is often not the Japanese father who is the authority-figure in relation to the children's subjection to the discipline of scholarship, but the mother.

Boys at senior high school wear a horrible dark uniform and a militarist cap. This uniform sets them apart from society and they are supposed to wear it at all times, weekends, holidays, the lot. They are supposed to have cropped haircuts. They may not drink or smoke, and as for fucking, ask the Japanese dragon-momma what time the boy is allowed in which he is away from his books in order to get stuck into the tempting two-leaved book!

The Japanese adolescent is horribly suppressed and repressed. Girls have their counterpart in uniform and have to aspire to idiotic ceremonies like the tea-ceremony - a matter of intense training. Really they are being groomed for matrimony to beget more children through whom the parents can live vicariously in trying to keep up with the Tanakas.

In Europe we talk of bourgeois values, but we cannot compete with the bourgeoisie of Japan. They have a far, far higher degree of material comfort, formalism, tradition and snobbery than we can aspire

to in Europe, even in France. The aspect of revolution which Japan needs is not the slogan-chanting new samurai in their silly red steel helmets, but a revolution of disobedience of schoolchildren to their teachers, of children to their parents, of wives to their husbands, and of husbands to the figure of the dragon-momma which haunts them all their lives.

In my search for contemporary anarchism in Japan I have been told of a little island off Kyushu where there is an anarchist commune. And can I visit it? Further inquiry informs me that they are "hippies" and I fear to arrive by boat to be greeted by the Japanese equivalent of the Reverend Father Fuck and his sheep. But maybe to be a hippie in this country of coloured television, airconditioning and super-fast trains is a revolutionary act of supreme importance.

Enthusiastic young students ask me "and did you know A.S. Neill?" Well yes, I did, and he did not like my assessment of his school in my pamphlet Youth for Freedom. The pamphlet is out-dated long ago in Britain, where I am happy that events have overtaken my early endeavours. But maybe a Japanese translation might be appropriate. They are keen on learning from the West.

Tony Gibson.

SQUATTING...cont'd from Page 2

and a criminal offence for property owners to enter their premises forcibly to drive out squatters.

The first offence would carry a maximum penalty of six months imprisonment (for remaining in a squat) and the second (for owners forcibly re-possessing) two years. This would seem to be the even-handed working of justice but, under the proposed law, since all legal processes would be on his side, it would no longer be necessary for the owner to forcibly re-possess. The same law against squatting could, and no doubt will, be used against sit-ins and occupations of any and every kind.

It is highly probable that this will pass into law since the Conservatives and Liberals will not vote against its law-and-order appeal. It may not even split the Labour vote since the Catch 22 of prevention of owners' illegal re-possession looks progressive.

It was significant that an anti-squatter B.B.C. interviewer commenting on these recommendations was told by a lawyer that if there hadn't been any squatting in the past the institution of property could never have been founded.

The defence of property rights is one of the reasons for the institution of governments - left or right.

J. R.

Available from Freedom Bookshop: the current issue of East London squatters paper Flashpoint 5p including post

French police officers have been co-operating with London police in enquiries into the kidnapping of a Spanish bank manager in Paris. They accompanied Scotland Yard officers in a raid at Wimbledon and visited several anti-Franco stalwarts.

\*\*\*

MOVE ALONG, SIR!

THE SILENT MARCH in protest against the death of Kevin Gately, held on Saturday, 22nd. June (see FREEDOM no. 26 of 29th. June), passed peacefully and unopposed through the shopping centre of London.

Inevitably, this silent demonstration against police brutality raised some right-wing eyebrows, particularly those of a little middle-aged man, expensively dressed, nicely tanned (probably on a South African beach), holding a snobbish walking stick and wearing an aristocratic gold ring on his little finger, who, when the march was entering Pall Mall, started madly shouting at the marchers, "Kill the commies...Kill the commies...Kill the commies..."

This outburst prompted a high ranking police officer to intervene and grab the heckler's arm, persuading him respectfully to move along, advice which was firmly refused with another outburst of "Kill the commies...Kill the commies...Kill the commies...Thank God Gately was killed...Kill all of them..." Again the police officer advised the fascist to move along and be quiet, "Move along, sir!" advised the inspector, "Don't upset yourself...You don't want to be attacked by them, do you?" "I don't care", replied the little man, by now moving alongside the police inspector, "I want to cause a riot...Kill the commies...Kill the commies". "In that case, sir," said the police inspector, "I have no other choice than to arrest you...BUT WHY SHOULD I ARREST A RESPECTABLE MAN LIKE YOU...?"

Tactfully, peacefully, firmly but sympathetically, the fascist heckler was taken away to a side street by the inspector, but I doubt very much if this respectable middle aged man, expensively dressed, nicely tanned, holding a snobbish walking stick and wearing an aristocratic gold ring on his little finger, ever tasted the humiliation and the blows generally dispensed by the British police to those who, like Kevin Gately, oppose injustice, racism and fascism in the streets of London.

Claude.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 22-26 June

COSHAM: S.G.B. 15p; TODMORDEN: G.B. £3; LONDON NW3: K.L. 38p; CAMBRIDGE: J.P.H. £5; ADDISCOMBE: M.S. 50p; OXFORD: Anon £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 10p; J.L. 40p.

TOTAL: £9.53

Previously acknowledged: £624.39

TOTAL TO DATE: £633.92

In Brief

According to a Guardian report from Berlin, Soviet soldiers levied "private enterprise" tolls on motorists driving to West Berlin from the Eastern zone.

\*\*\*

A British Army lance-corporal, who killed a boy of 12, in a shooting incident in Newry, N. Ireland last year, has had his conviction for manslaughter quashed by Belfast High Court.

An officer from the Colchester unit of a private charged with causing actual bodily harm said, "The battalion is leaving for duty in Northern Ireland next Tuesday, and for the past five weeks all soldiers have been under extremely high pressure, as we have been undertaking intensive training ready for our tour of duty. It has been drummed into them that they must act aggressively when it is called for. It may be that in this case there was an over-reaction." The soldier was fined £ 15.

\*\*\*

A Halsted (Essex) firm making, among other things, chastity belts, has gone into voluntary liquidation.

\*\*\*

For seventeen minutes the BBC lost the sound-track of a TV programme on President Nixon. The tapes had been left in an office overnight, and were found next morning with seventeen minutes of the sound-track missing.

\*\*\*



engendered underground must accumulate, possibly leak and certainly pollute underground water sources.

The Bomb is one of the trap-pings of power to which all nations, and all political groupings, aspire. The logic of power involves the logic of the power of life and death. That the use (or even the test-ing) of the bomb will inflict as much damage on oneself as upon one's enemy is one of the gambles inherent in the power-structure of the State. Indeed the pre-emptive strike is the only known and admitted 'def-ence' against the enemy's bomb. Such is the nature of fall-out that the presumed victory is Pyrrhic in the universality of defeat.

Since the relatively simple days of Duff and C.N.D. the nuclear arms situation has grown more complex with the combination of missiles, nuclear warheads and atomic subma-rines. Politicians have found more complex reasons for, and complicated ways of, doing no-thing about nuclear arms except proliferate them.

The recent exchanges between America and the Soviet Union are more concerned with the advisa-bility of securing supplies of oil and keeping China in her place (what that place is, dif-fers as between Russia and USA)

than with the preservation of peace through reduction of arms.

Perhaps a return to the more simple issues is too complicated for the statesmen and it still requires the simplicity of an individual's firm 'no' to set the world to rights. Indeed, Daniel Ellsberg's 'no' to offi-cial secrecy about Vietnam and the Pentagon was the push that set the mass of Watergate roll-ing. With the right fulcrum the world can be moved.

\* \* \*

We are never surprised by the duplicity of governments. After criticising the Chinese and French bombs it was typical that the British had exploded their own nuclear warhead (by permis-sion and assistance of the USA) in Nevada. It was, as the girl said to the priest explaining her unsanctified baby, "only a little one" but the nuclear war-heads are sufficient to pollute the whole of Scotland and the ominous dangers of their exist-ence are further underlined.

Particular odium has attached to the fact that it was exploded in secrecy, depriving demonstra-tors of a chance to plead with the government not to explode it. Fat chance! Perhaps it was bet-ter that way, indeed most deeds of government that are done

without publicity exhibit some scintilla of shame. If in fact it was something to be proud of would they not publicise it?

The venerable New Statesman has only just got over the fact that the ineptitude of govern-ment policies has caused the N.S. to advocate the treatment of Northern Ireland as a con-quered province. Now, it is distressed because it was left to learn from the Daily Express, that right-wing rag, that the British were about to explode the device they had in fact al-ready exploded. What would the Statesman have said had they found out about such a test? They would, of course, have de-plored it but would have learned to live with it. We may all die with it.

Jack Robinson.

WE WELCOME NEWS, ARTICLES, LETTERS. ALL MATERIAL FOR PUBLICATION IN NEXT ISSUE HAS TO BE IN BY MONDAY OF WEEK OF PUBLICATION.

## Contact

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

CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER: In Issue 54 - TV, Drugs and Religion Oppose Social Change, Women Speak on Class and Religion, On the Road in Africa. 10p. a copy. Subs: £ 1.60 for 12 issues, 80p. for six. From 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester 21.

Guy, 22, would like to get to-gether with 6-8 people to start a commune. If interested please write to Steve Cook, c/o 60 Settle Street, London, E.1.

Tuesday 9 July 7.30 p.m. London PPU members have reformed a London Area Peace Action Group and will be meeting to organise plans for the coming months - including discussion of the de-velopment of a Peace Centre. 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Some London Anarchists meet so-cially at Finch's The One Tun, Goodge St. Sundays at 7.30 p.m. (Don't ask at bar) Tube Goodge St

British Withdrawal from N. Ire-land. GENERAL MEETING Sat. 27 July at 2 p.m. Martin Luther King Centre, Aston University, Birmingham.

ANARCHO FEMINIST NETWORK formed at Anarchist Conference April 19-21. We'd like to make contact with our sisters everywhere. A-F Network, c/o Unity Press, E.17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

ANARCHO-FEMINIST ANTHOLOGY - we are collecting material for an anthology of anarcho-Feminism. Arlene, c/o Siren, 713 W. Armit-age Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60614 USA

ARTHUR MOYSE'S ironically wound-ing, lamentably laughing, dread-fully beautiful evil flower gar-den. \$2.50 (£1) post pad. IDEA Publishing House, c/o Matsuki Building, 1-464 Higashiokubo, Shinjuku-ku. TOKYO. (All monies to help future publications of the Tokyo anarchist group.)

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

BLACKBURN anarchist group. Con-tact Keith Sowerby (corresp. only) 150 Shorrocks Lane, Blackburn BB2 4TT

CENTRO IBERICO meets Sats/Suns 6.30 p.m. 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3. (side entrance Steele's Rd) Bus 31, 68. Tube Chalk Farm or Belsize Park.

EVERY SATURDAY Mental Patients Union, 2 pm 37 Mayola Rd, E.5 (tel. 01-986 5251). Information on activities elsewhere from same address

POETRY READING for East Enders Half Moon Theatre, Alie St. E.1 (tube Aldgate East) Tuesday 23 July 7.30 pm. If you have poems bring and read them (or have them read if you're too shy).

WILDCAT monthly anarchist bull-etin. Send details demos, groups &c to WILDCAT, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Robert Cullen, Eddie Jones, Desmond Keane, Columba Longmore, Noel Murray, all remanded in Detention Centre, Curragh Military Camp, Co. Kil-dare, Ireland would like to hear from comrades.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Solidarity Committee, 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.15.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy. Letters, postcards to Giovanni Marini, Carcere di Potenza, 85100 POTENZA, Italy. Still awaiting trial after 2 years in prison.

11 held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach; Georges Riviere; Lucio Urtubia Gimenez; Pierre Gilbert and Arnaud Chastel at Prison de Fresnes, Paris, and to: Ariane Gransac Sadori; Jean Helen Weir; Annie Playen; Anne Urtubia; Daniele Hass and Chantel Chastel at Prison de Femmes, Fleury Merogis, Paris.

PORTUGUESE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT needs books, pamphlets, free copies of anarchist publications, money & ideological support. Send what you can spare to Movimento Libertario Portugues, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2<sup>o</sup>-E, LISBOA 1, Portugal.

Overcrowded bachelor has 4 kittens & 18 month old female cat for which homes needed. Peter Neville, Flat 1, 28 Kings Avenue, London SW4. (Tel. no. in directory)

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