

Portugal — END OF THE HONEYMOON

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to detach oneself emotionally from certain issues and a close involvement, either in exile or from other associations, makes it impossible to preserve detachment. Such an issue was Spain, Ireland is another, and when the recent upheaval in Portugal took place there were high hopes that this might lead to real liberty, to real revolution.

The release of so many prisoners, the lifting of press censorship, the break-up of the secret police and the formation of hitherto forbidden political parties gave hope that Portugal's military rebellion might lead to a real libertarian revolution. In the circumstances it was possible and necessary to withhold carping criticism of the possibilities and programme of the new regime. Meanwhile our endeavours were to give support and help to Portuguese comrades and print manifestos and statements which were issued from time to time.

It was hardly likely that General Spínola would usher in a new regime of peace and freedom. Portugal has failed to settle her colonial wars, indeed the war has intensified; press freedom has been curtailed, and inevitably the problem of inflation has not been solved (nor has it elsewhere). The 'progressives' in the Government, both Socialist and Communist, seem to have accepted with equanimity their failures to maintain the promise of the rebellion. But the coalition premier seems to have given up the struggle and forced the dissolution of the Government. It is said that Spínola's choice for Prime Minister was rejected by the military junta of young officers and it is thought probable that a government of a more right-wing character will emerge.

However it cannot be alleged that the Socialists and Communists in government have acted otherwise than in a statesman-like manner, curbing strikes and demonstrations. They have not gone out of office in protest against the failure to solve the African problems or deal with inflation. It has only been half a revolution, and as was quoted about Chile under Allende 'He who makes half a revolution digs his own grave.'

Whatever happens in Portugal the military presence in government makes it improbable that the Portuguese people will gain freedom through the ballot box. The real Portuguese revolution will be made in the farms, the workshops, the schools, the publishing houses and the bed.

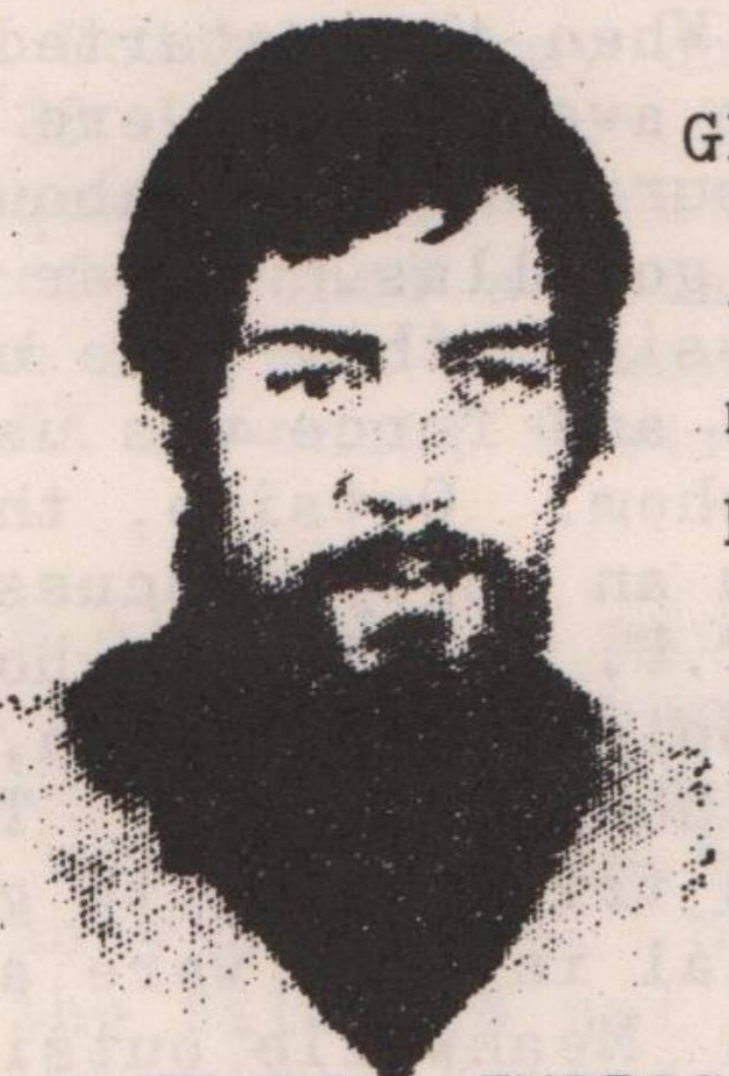
Jack Robinson.

July 19, 1936.



SPANISH CIVIL WAR BROKE OUT.

THE PEOPLE OF BARCELONA WHO DEFEATED THE FASCIST RISING.



GIOVANNI MARINI

--a telephone message from Milan tells us that "After long discussion by the court" our comrade is sentenced to

12 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT for "voluntary murder"

--Fuller report next week.

All our reports showed self-defence. Ring us for details if you wish to write Italian Embassy.

SIT-IN

WORKERS at a Kirkby plant (IPD) have taken over the factory and welded the gates together to prevent closure and seizure of machine tools worth £2.5 million by British Leyland. The fact

ory, when Fisher-Bendix, was occupied previously by workers to prevent closure. The present owners are primarily interested in overseas property development and, says the chairman, only took over the factory at the request of Mr. Harold Wilson and now they are asking for £1 million to keep it going.

FOOD IS FOR EATING

NOTHING ILLUSTRATES THE FAILURE of the capitalist system better than its inability to provide enough food to feed the peoples of the world. Despite all the chemical fertilisers, phosphates, nitrogen compounds, pesticides and insecticides the world faces an increasing shortage of food. Under the present system there is no answer to this problem. At the moment one third of the world's population don't get enough to eat, and according to the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation and the Friends of the Earth, the situation is unlikely to improve.

But the fundamental reason for this is that, like any other commodity, food is only grown if it can make a profit. Like any other owner or boss the farmer is really only interested in making money. Don't believe all the romantic notions about a love for the land; farmers are hard-faced businessmen. In fact, as the system eliminates the small farmer and we get larger farms, the land will become less productive per acre.

Growing food has developed into an industry. It is no longer a basic need for survival but a vast industry. In America, growing food is just like making motor cars and just as boring. California grows nearly half of all the fruit and vegetables eaten in the USA. As such it leads the world in mechanisation of agriculture. This mechanisation has meant the virtual elimination of the small farmer in California. Now this process is taking place within the European Common Market. It seems that this is the main object of the Common Market.

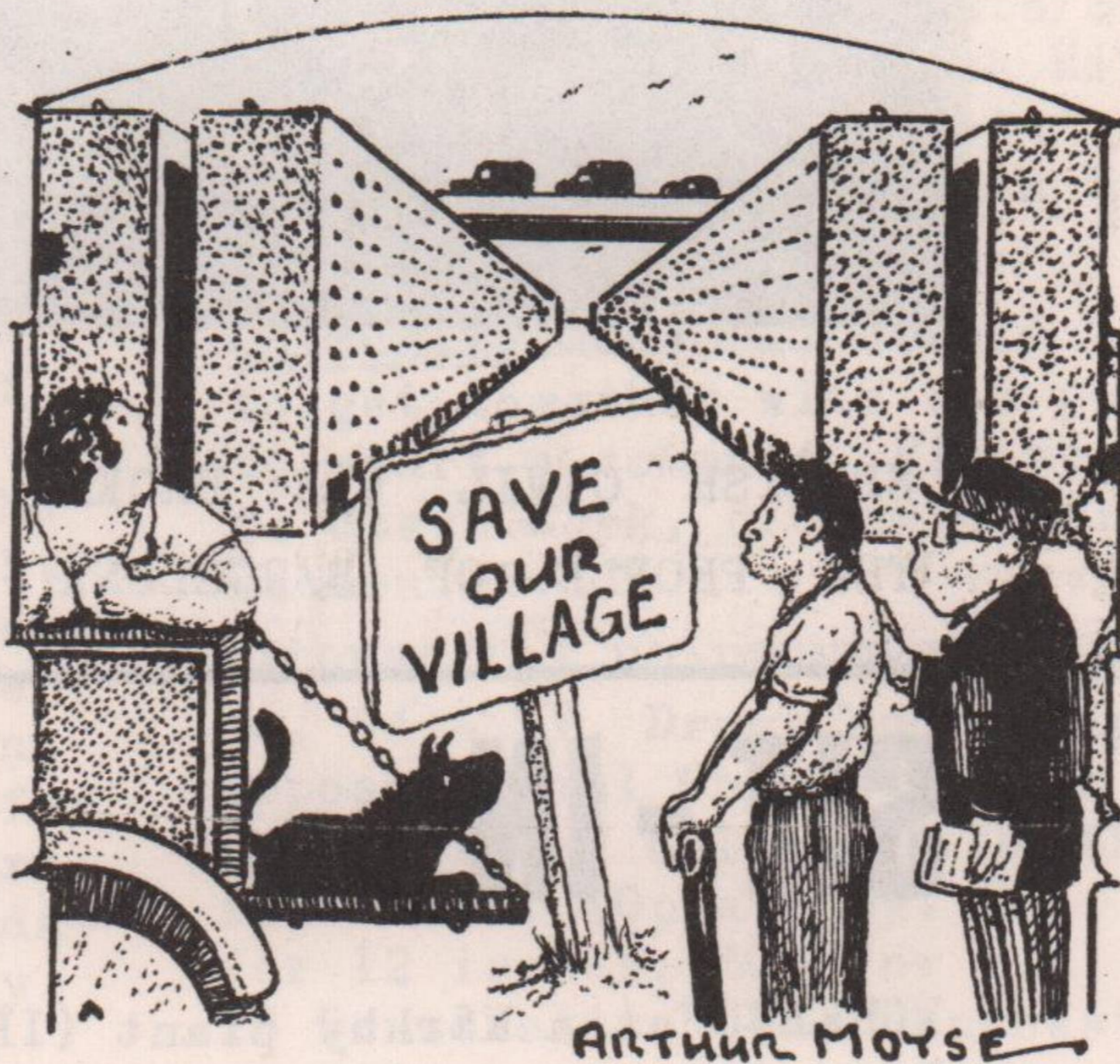
With the continuous decline in small-scale farming we have seen the growth of the supermarket. The two are part of the same process of capitalist rationalisation in growing food. Large-scale cultivation means more mechanisation, packing stations and bulk buying by the supermarkets. Even the shape of the Californian tomato has changed to suit the needs of mechanisation and profit. The growers found it cheaper to use machines to pick tomatoes than the immigrant workers from Mexico. A machine was designed to pick them but it was found that because the fruit ripened on different days the machines had to be used three or four times. To get over this, the tops of the plants were cut off with a mowing machine. All

the tomatoes could now be picked at one go, but because of large quantities the old field box holding fifty-six pounds was too small. However a 'bulk bin' was made but then the tomatoes tended to get quashed and broken as they fell into the larger bin. Then a new tomato was grown with a tougher skin but which also had a different shape, more oblong so that it would fit better into the bin.

Like all other products of a capitalist society, food is being mass produced to conform to a uniform pattern. Tomatoes are all one size, one shape, but with no taste. Carrots no longer have their tops on them, which gave away their freshness. They are also all the same size.

Nowadays farming is known as 'agribusiness'. Large-scale farming, 'agribusiness' calls for mechanisation and the use of chemicals. But all this industrialisation is having an adverse effect on the natural mix of the soil. Everything is becoming artificially treated so much that the health of everyone is being placed in jeopardy.

By its very nature food has to be grown on a small-scale basis. If this was done with more intense growing and care, more food could be grown per acre. On capitalist terms of profit this would mean employing too many people, thus making farming unprofitable. Food growing has become so important to the health and perhaps the survival of the human race that it can no longer be left to the profiteers. The land must belong collectively to each one of us. Only when this social revolution



"JUST THIS SIGN TO DEMOLISH, AND THE JOB'S FINISHED."

takes place will we begin to grow and distribute enough food to the hungry. The social ownership of the land is as much part of the struggle for freedom as workers' control and the revolutionary slogan of Land and Liberty is as valid today as it was in the past.

P. T.

A REGIMENTAL sergeant-major from Colchester in the Military Police refused to go to Ulster, because of his wife's health. He was originally threatened with discharge but upon representations from members of Parliament the decision was altered with an implication that he would not be ordered to go to Ireland. However, he has now taken his own discharge and forfeited pension rights. Commenting on this case the local paper, Essex County Standard, says: "An army cannot tolerate the presence of soldiers who choose which orders to accept, whatever the domestic circumstances. Otherwise the whole concept of the military machine breaks down."

Sancho Panza.

anarchists barred

ON JUNE 22, Saturday, we arrived in Geneva for the Spanish Communist Party meeting. In front of the big hall where Ibarri was to speak, we met some of our comrades. When they saw the leaflets and brochures we were carrying they told us the organizers would not let us in with them. Libertarian materials were only allowed outside the fence around the building, and there were plenty of Party gorillas around to make sure no anarchist material would get in.

In spite of this, two comrades hid their leaflets under their jackets and made their way through into the hallway of the building. When they started giving them away, they were immediately surrounded by about ten of the gorillas. After some loud discussions they were urged to get out, and force was used on one of them. Outside, they found us in an angry discussion with some C.P. Spaniards who absolutely wouldn't let us in, with or without leaflets. Then three of us tried again to get some material in, but were again chased out. Meanwhile outside things were getting close to a battle. We then were so disgusted by this scene that we distributed our leaflets and brochures outside the fence and drove home.

From a correspondent in Switzerland.

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LETTERS

POPULAR FRONT

Comrades,

I feel that the situation between us and the rest of the left needs clarification and further expansion. There must, must be cooperation between us and the rest of the left, the Trots and the Maoists and all the others. This must come or the left is doomed to failure. We must achieve unity. The whole left must bring and win the revolution. We anarchists must devote ourselves heart and soul to this task. The cooperation must be between we anarchists and the rank and file of the other parties. As the true rank and file Trot or Marxist is in some aspects very libertarian, only being dogmatic and authoritarian in that he will obey the commands of his authority blindly, a tenet which is encouraged by the various central committees to enable them to hold power over these party members. Some of the ideas instilled and then betrayed by the central committees are good and libertarian, such as the fabled "dictatorship of the proletariat" (which we anarchists would prefer to replace with "of the people") and of course that slogan All Power to the Soviets. But these ideas have, were and will be defiled by the central committees - remember Stalin.

But we must cooperate as we did in 1917-21 but we must not make the same mistake, we must cooperate with the rank and file and not with the central committees. We must unite with our revolutionary brothers and sisters but fight against the central committees. We must fight against the systems of the dogmatic left as that of capitalism, it is the system which we fight and not the system's members. We come to liberate and not to punish or revenge. We, if you are a true anarchist, intend to disarm the oppressions and not to give our holy judgment followed by the extraction of our pound of flesh. That may well be a stumbling block for our acceptance by the people, as we as anarchists do not accept the tenet of an eye for an eye, we as anarchists would have been duty bound and glad to accept Tsar Nicolas into the proverbial fold, to accept him as a member with equal rights and not to kill him as the Marxists did.

We can indeed feel "comradeship" for the infidel reds, but, our watchword must be: Remember

'21. Down with the central committees.

One of the major problems we have at present is that of actions. The Trots especially are active which we are not (openly) and therefore we do not give the same attractions as they do. We are truly inactive but that must be changed and with an eye to that I would say that if you are in the Manchester area on Wednesday 24 or 31 July you should call in to the Loyds Arms pub behind the new Music College (in the university area) where we hope to form a cell (remember Auguste).

Yours fraternally,
and in expectations of liber-
ty and equality,

John from Manchester.

FREE SPEECH MATTERS

Dear Editors,

Larry Law appears to have misunderstood the point of my letter on free speech. I am for free speech for "fascists" (are all National-Frontists fascists?) as much as I am for free speech for Marxist-Leninists. I don't think that a policy of disrupting meetings does anything except gain publicity for those whose meeting is disrupted. Indeed, the National Front march of June 15th would have got little, if any, publicity but for the mindless militants of Marxist-Leninism.

L.L. makes the common mistake of assuming that "enemy's enemy must therefore be my friend". He isn't - necessarily. The only effect L.L.'s holding up his little banner of dissent on a Vietnam march would have on the none-too-subtle spectators would be an impression of solidarity with Uncle Ho and his band of assorted political cut-throats - for the very good reason that such marches were held to support one side in the Vietnam war: the Vietcong.

The plea of "political pluralism" is an evasion of the real issue: the basic affinity between "left" and "right" totalitarians. Would L.L. take part in a march organised by the National Front if it were directed against something he also opposed and he was allowed to carry his banner of dissent?
S.E. Parker.

P.S. An appropriate quote from the July issue of "The Socialist Standard":

"When the Socialist Party held a debate with the National Front, members of International Socialists came to shout down BOTH speakers. They did not want the fascists' claptrap exposed - because it would have exposed theirs too. To them a brawl in the streets is preferable to argument..."
For once: Right on, SPGB!

LEN WINCOTT, one of the leaders of the Invergordon Naval Mutiny in 1931, returned temporarily to Britain from Russia to launch his book on the Mutiny. He was in a Russian labour camp for eleven years during the Stalin era. When asked about this, he said, "I know nothing about labour camps in Russia," and broke off the B.B.C. interview.

PORTUGUESE MANIFESTO

The following text was drawn up by an informal group of Portuguese comrades, who are deserters and draft-resisters. They came together to make public their opposition to the positions of the Portuguese Communist and Socialist Parties, who are calling for their return to the Army, and to the Maoists, who are asking people to join the Army, only to desert before the embarkation for Africa. The text will be distributed in Portugal, but we wish to get it more generally known as it applies to what is a not merely Portuguese situation:

WORKERS, SOLDIERS, SAILORS!

SO AS TO MAKE OUR POSITION ABUNDANTLY CLEAR, AND SINCE, IN DOING SO, WE DISSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE GENERAL POSITION:

WE, draft-resisters and deserters from the Armed Forces of the Portuguese State, wage-earning workers, declare that what follows is our firm conviction:

- our desertion and refusal of conscription have an essentially anti-capitalist content. The consequences of these acts, which in certain circumstances have turned some of us into workers, have led us to go beyond our individual cases, the refusal of military service, to a critique of society as it is actually organised - on the exploitation of paid work.
- living parasitically on the exploitation of the working classes, the army is, in all societies without exception, a "man-grinding" machine. Its function is the maintenance of the existing social order, and the defence of the ruling class of each country and its national interests in confrontation with those of the ruling classes of other countries. The army is the institution in which young workers undergo the first organised and implacable domination of the ruling class. This is true in state capitalist (or socialist) countries: USSR, Cuba, North Vietnam, Albania, China, etc...
- in the contemporary world, divided into two, apparently antagonistic, Western or State, capitalistic blocs, no country can develop independently, but only under the control of one of these blocs. All development, therefore, implies the organisation of society into classes, based on the paid work of the majority of the population for the benefit of a minority. In this way, national independence does not constitute a step on the path to the emancipation of the workers, but the continuation of their exploitation in a form which is more profitable for capital. Right now, the Nationalist Movements in Africa are organised within these limits, and rest on the old scenarios of the social division of work, power, and decision-making. The armed forces of these movements are just as oppressive as the Portuguese, surviving largely by expropriation of the meagre agricultural production of local peasants, and on "aid" from state capitalist countries, which is only the product of the exploitation of the workers of these countries. From the point of view of the working classes, the similarities between these two (colonialists and nationalists) are greater than the differences.
- in the Portuguese colonies, the Nationalist organisations are the expression of a local petite bourgeoisie aiming at national independence as the political and social framework of its economic domination. After independence, the task of these organisations will be the management and development of the accumulation of exploitation, with the "aid" of one of the two world capitalist blocs. The more or less imminent possibility of a "transfer of power" from the hands of the Portuguese colonialists to those of the Nationalist organisations has already brought into the open internal struggles within these organisations, which have thrown into confusion all those who saw in them "revolutionary intransigence".
- in this situation, the revolt of the rural populations against progressive pauperisation and the destruction of traditional conditions of production, like the the revolt of the over-exploited in the urban zones, cannot be dissipated by a declaration of Independence. Once in power, the Nationalist organisations will have no more to offer than an appeal (which will be followed by repression) for "sacrifices" for the building of the beloved mother-country! What similarities with the tactics of the Portuguese Left in power!
- this does not mean that the spirit of revolt against the colonialists (white, but also, in certain circumstances, half-caste or creole or Asian) among broad sections of the African population in these countries is not worthy of our greatest respect. This spirit may find some expression in the Nationalist movements, in the struggle against Portuguese domination. At any rate, expressions of radical revolt - like that of March 1961 in the north of Angola with its extreme violence - have the feeling of attempts to recover an essential dignity, brutally crushed by centuries of oppression and exploitation.

THE logic of all this is that we, deserters and draft-resisters, declare:

We refuse all or any drafting or re-drafting into the Armed Forces.

We consider an illusion the idea that it is possible today to enter the Armed Forces so as to destroy them from inside. The military machine will crush all efforts in this direction. It will only accept integration into the reformist plan of the Armed Forces Movement. It was with this in mind that we were "granted an amnesty" in order to "help with national reconstruction".

We refuse to provide any such "help", which is no more than an acceptance of society as it is. Our reply is, "WE HAVE NO OBLIGATIONS TO A SOCIETY WHICH GRANTS US NO RIGHT OTHER THAN THAT OF ACCEPTING IT AS IT IS". As workers, this has been our situation in the country in which we are exiled: it will be the same in Portugal. Being obliged to sell ourselves so as to live, we have no reason to prefer one boss over another just because of the colour of his flag, or the language that he speaks.

We refused to be accomplices in colonisation, we refuse now to be accomplices in decolonisation, whatever shape it takes: civil service, co-operation in the colonies after independence... In the same way, we say to all those in the Armed Forces in the colonies, who more or less openly demand that "it should be the turn of the draft-dodgers and the deserters to come and fight here now", that such a sadistic attitude reveals their recognition that by accepting the war, they have been used by the system. We shall continue to maintain our position.

The naturally repressive function of the army is already revealing itself: against the prisoners of the Limoeiro (a gaol in Lisbon), against striking postmen, and workers in the Saponata oil refinery, in the arrest of editors, the eviction of squatters, etc...

We do not support any nationalist organisation which claims to represent oppressed peoples, whose exploitation will continue after independence in a new form of class domination. Right now, our sympathy tends toward the rioters in the prisons of Luanda and Lourenco Marques, toward the strikers in the port of Lourenco Marques, and in other urban areas.

For the immediate present, we declare our solidarity with:

-all acts of real subversion against the military machine in Portugal, which go beyond simple support for the new government, such as agitation in the barracks, refusal of military honours and other forms of discipline, the collective refusal of the sailors of the "Pero Escobar" (in the naval base of Lisbon) to take to sea, and the decision of certain garrisons in Guinea to abandon their posts, etc... Only such acts can lead to the immediate end of the war, and to a convergence with the working classes in their struggle, by making the use of the Armed Forces against the emancipation of the working class impossible.

PORTUGAL-

An Anarchist Perspective

WHILE ENTHUSIASTICALLY applauding the overthrow of the long entrenched fascist dictatorship and the partial restoration of civil liberties, it would be dangerous folly to harbour illusions about the sudden conversion to democracy of the army officers who initiated the revolt. Experiences in Italy, Spain, Greece, Bolivia, Guatemala, Argentina and more recently Chile, should by this time confirm our principled opposition to all armies - particularly professional militarists who undertake to establish liberty!

Changes in political government directed from the top reflect not the sentiments of the oppressed masses but primarily splits within the ruling classes. The government of Portugal fell because of its inability to effectively defend the interests of the ruling classes. Steps had to be taken to halt the erosion of governmental authority and its inability to deal effectively with the mounting social and economic crisis threatening the stability of the state. Portugal has a per capita yearly income of \$390.00 (£105) and was being bled white by a war which was becoming more and more hopeless.

Essentially, the military revolt represents an attempt to institute a more modern form of imperialist domination, long overdue and resisted by the ossified rulers. While other countries have reluctantly conceded complete or partial political independence to their colonies, Portugal still clung to outmoded forms of domination. While the French militarist De Gaulle granted independence to Algeria and realized the impossibility of squelching the movement for national independence, while England divested herself of an empire, Portugal, the poorest country in Europe, remained the only one with a real empire. While both France and England learned that they had more to gain by accepting political independence and retaining some economic advantages, the deposed Portuguese rulers refused to modernize their old-fashioned outworn imperialism.

The new government is determined to save what it can. It would like to dominate Angola, an area 14 times the size of Portugal, rich in oil, diamonds and coffee. It would like to safeguard the hundreds of millions invested by American and British oil corporations. It would like to dominate Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, and it will be hard pressed to absorb the return of 100,000 colonists which could further increase the poverty of its nine million inhabitants.

In addition to colonial revolt, the old government was threatened by increasing revolt in Portugal

itself. 80,000 Portuguese youths refused military service to defend the interests of Portuguese capitalism in Africa. Desertions, revolts, and disobedience took place on a mass scale. There was hardly a Portuguese family without a rebel. A difficult economic situation with a galloping inflation rendered the situation even more precarious. The united front of the traditional supporters of the regime began to crack--in the Church among the lower clergy and liberal sectors of Catholic opinion, and now among the younger officers of the armed forces. Even before the military coup, the Portuguese workers began - or, better yet, resumed - their fight for a better life. The workers are no longer passive. It is in this context that the attempts of the new rulers to arrest the progressive decomposition of the regime must be understood.

While the military junta which grabbed power is reluctantly compelled to tolerate a measure of democracy and relax some of the strict controls, a member of the military junta "...General Carlos Galvao de Melo went on television to warn the nation that the military movement would not tolerate 'anarchy'...the military movement would not stand idly by if Portugal were threatened by a wave of strikes or other disorders..." (New York Times 28/5/74). The same dispatch reports "...Strikes in Portugal despite Government warnings..."; unauthorized 'wildcat' strikes by streetcar and bus workers, by bakers, post office and public utility workers; a demonstration by "300 black Africans and about the same number of white leftists...for immediate independence of all of Portugal's African possessions..."

That the ruling junta would not hesitate to impose a right-wing military dictatorship in Chile to crush the movement of the masses is certain. That the Portuguese Leftist parties, Socialists, Communists, etc. should support this government, should join in suppressing the strikes and protests of the workers, should go on television together with the leaders of the junta and threaten the dissidents with arrest or worse -- is inexcusable. In this respect, both the Socialists and the Communists, in league with the Portuguese military and the bourgeoisie are repeating the suicidal counter-revolutionary policies practised during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39.

The Communist Party has appealed to deserters from the Portuguese army to return.

Continued on Page 6 col. 1

-all actions which aim at total insubordination, the right of refusing to participate in the actions of the Army in Portugal, as in other countries where such movements are developing.

-all actions which aim at the immediate liberation of all prisoners of war, whether in Portuguese prisons, or those of PAIGC or FRELIMO, ...

-all actions which aim at creating the right of real political discussion, and rank-and-file organisation of soldiers and sailors in all armed forces of the world, in Portugal as well as Russia, France as well as China, in the armies of MPLA as well as FRELIMO. We are thus in solidarity with the attempts made by the most radical elements in the Armed Forces Movement, as we are with the French sailors imprisoned in Toulon because of their action in this direction.

We shall refuse military service, as it will be reorganised at the end of the war, into a civil-war army, for the repression of the working class, and the maintenance of the social order by intervening in strikes, and conditioning young workers to submit to hierarchy, power structures and blind, degrading discipline.

Let all these actions be an integral part of the struggle of the workers of the world for their total emancipation, by the abolition of states and nations, and of the exploitation of paid work.

Let a new society be constructed on the ruins of the old by the autonomous action of the producers; one in which the administration of men, considered as objects, is replaced by the administration of objects by men, at last masters of their lives and actions. Deserters from the Armed Forces, we are today deserters from a social order, against which we struggle daily. All the rest flows from this initial act and its consequences.

COLLECTIVE OF "DESERTERS FROM THE RULING SOCIAL ORDER". Paris, June 1974.

PORTUGAL ANALYSIS...from P. 5

The strategy of the Communists and their allies is to take over the full control of the unions. On the First of May they urged the workers to boycott militant syndicalist demonstrations because they carried signs reading:

Now that fascism is out, it is necessary to begin the open struggle between Capital and Labour...

The Emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves.

The metal workers union of Lisbon voted unanously to install a huge sign on the front of its headquarters reading:
FELLOW WORKERS! WATCH OUT! NEW BOSSES ARE ALREADY CONNIVING BEHIND OUR BACKS TO AGAIN CAPTURE YOUR UNIONS IN THE SERVICE OF THE STATE!

In many enterprises the workers spontaneously dismissed the old fascist administrations and replaced them with workers councils elected by the general assemblies of the workers. Workers at the Portuguese Airline chased out the managers who called the police to break the wildcat strike for higher wages. In the post office, mass meetings of workers demanded the dismissal of government spies and of the end of police surveillance. Workers stormed and took possession of the offices and installations of the state controlled 'unions' and other anti-popular institutions.

It is obvious that the reforms that the junta was forced to grant and their collaboration with the 'democratic' political parties are temporary expedients to be retained only while the new rulers consolidate their power and feel strong enough to dump their allies and revert to a de facto dictatorship. In the meantime the situation is still fluid...the short-lived truce does give the opposition radical movements, suppressed for almost a half-century, a little time to re-

build and rejuvenate genuine grass-root organizations. If, how, and when this necessary reorganization will be successful cannot be predicted. The situation is still unclear and must await further developments.

In this connection the May 1974 declaration of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia and the National Confederation of Spain and the Portuguese Libertarian movement - in exile and in Portugal itself, is particularly timely. Especially so, because the libertarian movement and ideology is historically deeply rooted in the Portuguese Labour movement:

"...The National Confederation of Spain, on the downfall of the despotic regime of Salazar and Caetano sends its most fraternal greetings of solidarity to the Portuguese people, to the Portuguese workers and to the Anarchist Federation of Portugal...And in these decisive hours of struggle and hope the Anarchist Federation of Iberia and the International Working Men's Association (Anarcho-Syndicalist International) also pledges its solidarity.

"The struggle for the liberation of all the people of the Iberian Peninsula is far from over. In Portugal as in Spain, the people, the workers, the youth, the students must redouble their efforts for the full conquest of their rights and liberties. For the establishment of a new, just and harmonious society.

"Portuguese Comrades, your trials and tribulations are not over. Your joy at the fall of the dictatorship, the fact that the prison doors have been opened for hundreds of militants and the promise of more civil liberties, must UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES blind you to the clear perception of realities and cause you to relax, even for a moment, your permanent alertness for the dangers that threaten you.

"The state remains, capital

"The state remains, capitalism with all its ramifications, still threatens you. While part of the army contributed to the fall of the dictatorship, military institutions and new police replacements still constitute a permanent threat, re-enforce the pillars and tentacles of the state, without whose abolition no people can be free.

"Workers, Comrades of Portugal! Do not forget, that if today the junta retains its power under the pressure of the masses, offers certain facilities to the socialists, communists, the left and centre parties; it does so only to better halt the development of the Portuguese Revolution and a radical transformation of society. Workers and Comrades of Portugal! Now, more than ever, you must remain vigilant. Unite to defend and expand your freedom with audacity and determination, by DIRECT ACTION. Till final victory we will always be on your side.

"LONG LIVE THE FRATERNITY AND SOLIDARITY OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE FREE IBERIA OF THE FUTURE!"

Sam Dolgoff

Reprinted from WIN (USA)
June 13, 1974

In Brief

REPORTS on hearing of complaints of alleged breaches of Article 3 of the European Human Rights Convention (relating to torture) will be presented to the Human Rights Commission this week. These allegations refer to detainees in Northern Ireland.

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PRESIDENT TITO of Yugoslavia disclosed at Bonn, speaking to migrant workers from Yugoslavia, that when he was young he contemplated migration to the USA, adding, "If I had done so, I would be a millionaire today." One of the audience retorted, "You probably are!" Tito replied: "I have no millions, only millions of Yugoslavs."

!!!

THE ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury rejected a suggestion for a national day of prayer in England for Ireland but said, "We would all support any initiative taken by the Irish churches in this matter."

!!!

MRS NEIL McELLIGOTT of Marlborough Street police court described Red Lion Square demonstrators as 'baboons'. He said he sympathised with the police "who really suffer as a result of being in between".

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MORE ABOUT LANGUAGE OF LOVE

MORE ABOUT... is a sequel to the highly successful (and also once banned) THE LANGUAGE OF LOVE, and like its predecessor, is a candid, frank and totally straightforward film of sex education and enlightenment. The doctor talks, and we see what we are being told about in a natural and explicit manner.

Social problems are also discussed, and the film examines the needs of the handicapped in sexual matters which are often ignored or not thought about. We see a class of blind schoolchildren being shown the human sexual parts through the use of live models whom they are free to touch and explore at will. We see present day methods of treating venereal disease (and how many of us knew that it is now possible to contract gonorrhoea without any symptoms whatsoever to alert you to the fact?), and ideas are discussed which will perhaps lead the young to a healthy and natural acceptance of their own sexuality. As one doctor put it, "We teach the young all the physical facts, but we leave out the most important point of all that sex is extremely pleasurable."

Of particular interest too, the film examines sexual communes in Denmark and Sweden, and tries to seek some answer as to why they have either failed or have been only partially successful. It came as no surprise to me that the main reason for failure is due to the gender roles that people play. Why are men generally such lazy slobs, who so dread their own latent homosexuality that they recoil in horror from any task which is not "manly" or which requires stamina rather than strength?

In the year of our lord, 1974, a film such as MORE ABOUT THE LANGUAGE OF LOVE is banned by the official censor. The GLC (no pruders they as at present constituted pass the film uncut, but their nerve failed at the last minute, and instead of passing it "AA" (which would have allowed 14 year olds to see it, they passed it "X", thus ensuring that the very age group who would most have benefited from seeing it is excluded. But, it is good that it is being shown, and since one finds irrational murkiness in the minds of most adults when it comes to the old in-out, in-out, I hope that people will flock to see it in their hundreds.

Economic and sexual misery are just about two of the biggest headaches that spoil day to day existence, and it comes as no surprise to learn that anarchists were always in the advance-guard of sex-education reformists long before today's heady permissiveness. Since sexual matters are more personal than economic affairs, the individual can, to a degree, retain more personal autonomy in such intimate activities and become fairly liberated without always coming a cropper at the same time. But outside influences, no matter how much we may resent or disagree with them, continue to have a bearing upon all of us, and sexual ignorance still needs to be combatted by sexual education.

Males too generally take advantage of the fact that women will undertake what has to be done simply because they know that it is essential and can not be left. Men, by devising false hazards to face and overcome, demonstrate their biological inferiority to women just as much as when they read the papers whilst the little woman prepares

the food.

This tyranny of gender roles (though based on a warped view of sexuality) is perhaps the biggest myth that must be demolished, for it is truly the arch-enemy of liberation and autonomous freedom, just as much as the more visible enemies are. I write of course as a well-known "man-hater" of the worst possible kind, i.e. I am one myself!

MORE ABOUT... then goes further than similar films in this genre since the doctors and sexologists who appear in it and who assisted in its making, are interested only in one thing - the maximum happiness that the individual can attain in the field of human sexuality. They admit that sexual freedom is comparative, and that in Sweden it is abused, but what field of human activity is not subject to profits and losses all over the world? In a world which places money and wealth above individual happiness, it is small wonder that we are only just, slowly and painfully, beginning to approach some small degree of sexual liberation. Present day "sex" is all in the head, and I can assure Mrs. Whitehouse and her pals that actual carnal contact is still a source of fear and dread to many, thanks to the educational system and society which instills these inhibitions in the minds of the young. And we as anarchists and libertarians should not assume that the battle on this front is over before it is really won. We have only taken a few steps in a journey that has no foreseeable ending - like all other forms of freedom, and films like MORE ABOUT THE LANGUAGE OF LOVE are valuable assets in the struggle.

David Godin.

The Night of San Juan

"The Night of San Juan", which was shown on BBC 2 on Friday, 12 July, is a film made by the Bolivian film director Jorge Sanjimes. It tells the moving story of the massacre of tin miners in the town of Sigla XX by the Bolivian army on the night of 22/23 June, 1967. This film is unique, because instead of using professional actors Sanjimes has let the men and women of Sigla XX re-enact their own story.

Sigla XX is a tin mining town in the middle of the Bolivian Plain. The T.B. rate is 76%, infant mortality rate 50%, life expectancy 26 years. Unfortunately the film did not show much of the working or living conditions of the miners, but to quote from M. Niedergang's book The 20 Latin Americas: "The living conditions of some 50,000 men working in the tin mines is in striking contrast to those of the tin barons. In the mine gal-

leries it is so hot that the men in front cannot stand more than five minutes against the rock in the shattering noise of the pneumatic drills. Their bare torsos running with sweat in passages where the humidity often reaches 95°, and almost suffocated by the dust, the workers emerge after eight hours into the rarefied air of the plateau 4,000 metres above sea level, where the temperature may well fall below zero during the night.

"On coming out of the mine the daylight seems blinding. At the foot of the mine enclosure stands the camp, a collection of low huts with corrugated iron roofs... Heating in these camps is non-existent. ...Independent miners, or those working for the small foreign companies earn at best four dollars a week, whereas a worker in the nationalized mines

earns on average eleven cents an hour. To all of them coca is the pathetic remedy for their permanent hunger."

In 1967 (during the guerrilla campaign of Che Guevara) the miners' wages were cut. After a protest about this several union leaders were arrested. The next day the women started a hunger strike, over a lack of food in the local store. When they tried to explain the reason for the strike to the mine director he accused them of staging a "political strike" and of supporting the guerrillas.

The mineworkers' unions, who incidentally were strongly influenced by Anarcho-Syndicalism, were to have a national conference at Sigla XX on 23rd June, and many delegates had started to arrive, but on the night of 22/23 the Bolivian rangers (a section of the army trained by North American instructors in anti-insurgency) invaded the town. They broke into the miners' homes and dragged them

WHITE WASH

THE INQUEST on Kevin Gately brought in a verdict (by 11 votes to one) of 'death by misadventure' with recommendations (urged by the coroner) that rival factions should not be allowed in the same place at the same time; that more attention be given to the implements carried by demonstrators (alleged implements were produced in court: but it was denied that long police batons were used); thirdly the jury expressed concern over the fact that hospital doctors did not know that Gately had been injured in a demonstration (why this was important was not made clear). The police were represented by a Q.C. and Deputy Assistant Commissioner John Gerrard, who had been in charge of the police, addressed the jury and coroner for thirty minutes.

SAN JUAN...continued from P. 7

into the streets, where many of them were murdered. A few miners began to resist, after the alarm was sounded, but as they were poorly armed this did not last long. The pretext for the attack was to silence the miners' radio station. This they succeeded in doing. In the morning five miners armed with sticks of dynamite continued the resistance, but they were attacked from the air.

The number of men, women and children killed by the army on 22/23 June in Sigla XX was never known. Stones marking the graves of the dead, or just marking the spot where they fell, were removed by the state. Children left mother- and fatherless were taken to other towns.

This was not the first nor was it to be the last massacre of workers in a Latin American country. The same thing happens when workers and peasants organise themselves into unions, or when simple working people want to decide their own lives and take control of the means of production for themselves. (Recently peasants have been shot down in Bolivia and Mexico after demanding land reforms.) While the hand that murders, tortures and maims in the hand of the state, the arm operating the hand is in Washington. The armies that do the dirty work of these states are trained and financed from Washington. The peoples of Latin America fought very hard for their independence from the Spanish (and from the bloody dictatorship of Dias in Mexico), but now they have a far worse master. These people are held in abject poverty, degradation, and near slavery, merely to support the capitalists in the USA who would rather see a whole continent suffer, and even die rather than lose one cent from the price of their shares.

D. P.

PRESS FUND

4 - 10 July

DUBLIN: C.F. 75p; LONDON: U.S. 50p; GRAZ: G.A. 38p; BANGOR, Co. Down: J.T. £10; COLCHESTER: P.E.N. 25p; BOXFORD: A.A. 10p; LONDON, SE14: M.R. 40p; ILFORD: D.P. 37p; CHRISTCHURCH N.Z.: S.R.H. 88p; LONDON NW6: D.B. 69p; GUERNSEY: N.J. 50p; ILFORD: A.G. £2.27; LONDON NW6: R.R. £21.75; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40; J.K.W. 10p; SYDNEY, Australia: R.P. £6.75; NEW YORK: A.B. 40p; BILLINGHAM: S.K.J. £2; LONDON E.4.: S. & A.G. 50p; HAYES, Kent: S.L.B. £1.

TOTAL: £49.09

Previously acknowledged: £648.77

TOTAL TO DATE: £697.86

THANK YOU, comrades, for more donations this week. Renewals also are coming in, but if yours is overdue, please send it as soon as you can.



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

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

Sat. July 27 Birmingham. BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM N. IRELAND CAMPAIGN General Meeting 2 p.m. at Martin Luther King Centre.

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners, hecklers, welcome.

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

BLACKBURN anarchist group. Contact (letters only) Keith Sowerby 150 Shorrock Lane, Blackburn.

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

Community: Guy, 22, would like to get together with 6-8 people to start a commune. Please write to Steve Cock, c/o 60 Settle St. London, E.1.

CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER: In issue no. 54 - TV, Drugs and Religion Oppose Social Change; Women Speak on Class and Religion; On the Road in Africa. 10p a copy. Sub. £1.60 for 12 issues, 80p for six. From 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester 21.

DIRECT ACTION No. 2 Out now. Paper of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation, 5p from C/o Grassroots, 178 Oxford Rd. Manchester 13 or Freedom Bookshop (post 3½p)

ARTHUR MOYSE'S ironically wounding, lamentably laughing, dreadfully beautiful, evil flower garden. \$2.50 (£1) post paid. IDEA Publishing House, c/o Matsuki Building, 1-464 Higashiokubo, Shinjuku-ku, TOKYO, Japan. All monies to help future publications of Tokyo Anarchist Group. PLAYERS for London based Anarchist Football Team(s) required. No natural skill necessary. Age/sex/etc. totally immaterial. Contact Jim at Freedom Press.

HOUSEWORKER'S HANDBOOK, articles, cartoons, poems, comments on Women's work. \$1.0 c/o Leghorn & Warrior, Women's Center, 46 Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

WILDCAT, monthly anarchist bulletin. Send details demos, groups &c to Wildcat, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

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

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

Portuguese Libertarian Movement needs books, pamphlets, free copies of anarchist publications money & ideological support. Send what you can to Movimiento Libertario Portugues, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2^o-E, LISBOA 1, Portugal.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Robert Cullen, Eddie Jones, Desmond Keane, Columba Longmore, Noel Murray, all remanded in Detention Centre, Curragh Military Camp, Co. Kildare, Ireland, wd. like letters.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Solidarity Committee, 54 Harcombe Rd. N.15.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy. Letters, postcards to Giovanni Marini, Carcera di Potenza, 85100 POTENZA, Italy. More than 2 years in gaol awaiting trial.

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 Chantal Chastel at Prison de Femmes, Fleury Merogis, Paris

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

Some London Anarchists meet socially at Finch's The One Tun, Goodge St., London W.1. Sundays 7.30 p.m. (don't ask at bar)

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