

PORTUGAL — Revolution or Reaction?

IT IS DIFFICULT to know exactly what is going on in Portugal. In a situation so ringed with Portuguese censorship and security, and British and world press bias, the very fluid events of the last weeks are capable of several interpretations according to one's political predilections, optimistic hopes or gloomy forebodings.

It is easy to make historical parallels with Kerensky, Prince Lvov, the Russian Revolution or the Spanish Civil War or even, in more recent history, with the unfortunate Allende. But a major fact is that there are no absolute historical parallels. History does not repeat itself, men only try to repeat history.

Neither are there any geographical, social or political parallels. It is impossible in England (or in America) to think of an army as a revolutionary or even as a reforming institution.

Indeed, embarrassment has been caused in international Communist circles by the suppression of the Christian Democrats' party in Portugal at the precise time that the Italian Communist Party has re-affirmed its alliance with the Italian Christian Democrats. Political parties of the same name and tendencies are not the same in all countries. Not even all anarchists are alike!

Although we hold no brief for democracy (as normally defined) or elections, it would seem to be a bad omen for freedom of political thought in Portugal to ban political parties, whether or right or left, no matter how extreme.

The reason has been put forward that the attempted coup d'état (if such it was) made it necessary to be more vigilant. Predictably, revelations of a C.I.A. plot have been unearthed and the sceptical anarchist may query why this has been so long delayed.

The even more sceptical (and there are some in Portugal) may even query if the reported coup took place at all, or in the form reported. It may be, as has worked before, that Government agents were planted in reactionary circles and instigated an ill-prepared attack which could easily be nipped in the bud and justify the subsequent repressions which are only a logical development of that which has gone on for some time.

Coupled with this suppression was the imprisonment of two newly-elected officials of the Chemical Workers Union,

who happened to belong to the wrong left-wing political grouping. A group of London Portuguese saw the military Minister of Labour in London last week (when he was en route to enquire about Swedish shipping orders) and complained about the party suppression and imprisonments. They got no change from the military.

One of the evidences of revolutionary intent by the military government (what's Portuguese for junta?) is the nationalization of the banks and insurance companies. Even a pink British Labour government under Attlee could (and did) do more than that. The military hint that they will remain in power (to guide) even after the proposed election.

We know too that this Government has not yet put on trial its political opponents or members of the secret police. What has it to fear from such trials, and would it not mark some distinction from the previous regime for a semblance of justice to be offered?

The people have not spoken yet. They believe they will speak through the ballot

box - even in spite of the 57 varieties of communism, maoism and trotskysm which all taste the same. Some peasants here and there have seized land to make sure of their future.

Meanwhile we have some indication of the revolutionary promise and intent of the new Portuguese Government by the following from the New York Times Service (reprinted by IWW Industrial Defense Bulletin, Ontario):

— PACT WITH SPAIN

"Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares revealed in an interview published here yesterday that his Government had an understanding with the Spanish Government to restrict the activities of each government's opponents in the other country.

"The existence of such an agreement was acknowledged by Mr. Soares in an interview given in Lisbon to Marcel Niedergang of the Paris newspaper, Le Monde.

"Replying to a question about the cancellation of a meeting in Lisbon to protest against the Spanish Government, Mr. Soares said: 'Our good relations with our Spanish neighbours could have been hampered by that meeting.'

"The Foreign Minister, leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, added: 'We have reached agreement with the Spaniards that each side proceed with the maximum of realism and cautiousness. An escalation of violence could lead very far and be very near dangerous for Portugal as well as for Spain. We agree on this with Madrid,' Mr. Soares said, adding that in the instance

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DISOBEY! — DEFLATE!

IN ROME THE OTHER WEEK a new call to civil disobedience came from the recently formed group of trade unionists, the "Committee for Fiscal Justice". The Committee urges husbands and wives not to comply with the rule on the declaration of joint income, which it considers to be one of the many unjust aspects of a tax system "clearly anti-social and anti-worker". (Corriere della Sera, 6th March).

Camillo Benvenuto, one of the Committee members, admits refusal to declare joint income could well be interpreted as an act of civil disobedience. But he quickly alludes to the abuse of power by government corporations and administration, the clientelism, the cheating of the public over food prices, the bureaucratic obstructionism, the pollution, the building speculation, etc. The workers, he says, have no part in all that. "But if our action is one of civil disobedience in the sense that it's a revolt against injustice, then all the other actions I've just mentioned are forms of uncivil disobedience."

The most striking outburst of civil disobedience in Italy took place last autumn in Turin and Milan, where as much as 30 per cent. of the working population refused to pay fare increases on public transport. Sheet metal workers and commuters joined in the campaign.

Many who took part were old hands at "blocking trains at dawn in stations lost in mist between Crema and Lodi, with a police-force that dares not interfere, since two thousand workers lined up defensively on railway ballast, strike fear into the hearts even of those with shields and cudgels" (L'Espresso, 6.10.74). That same autumn the local inhabitants of the Como region, incensed with the weekend visitors from the city who drove blithely down into the Val Cavargna to make off with the mushroom harvest, blew up the valley's bridge and slashed sixty car tyres. In Naples unemployed people occupied public buildings (as is now happening in Sardinia where fishermen have been put in jail for fishing on a lake the State, the Sardinian Region and the local barons all claim is their own!) and in the suburbs of Rome, autonomous workers' collectives and area committees began fixing their own rents and slashing prices (autoriduzione). In fact, this kind of thing has been going on for about three years in the poorer quarters of the city, especially where rent fixing is concerned. Some people began printing their own newspaper. On the walls slogans read "We'll pay the light bills at eight lire per kilowatt like the bosses!", referring to the electricity com-

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of the banned protest meeting, 'Spain didn't brandish any threat, did not put pressure on us, only informed us discreetly of its preoccupation. We took note of this.'

"In the background of the Portuguese-Spanish agreement to minimize friction between the two countries is the fact that the new Portuguese Government that took over last April is still fragile."

We can hear hisses of 'C.I.A. inspired', but it all rings true to the form that we anarchists expect of States and Governments - right, left and centre.

Jack Robinson.

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panies who charge private users 45 lire per kilowatt but the big companies only five or eight lire. In Turin groups of people cut their own electricity, heating and water bills sometimes by 50 per cent. without awaiting the cautious advice of their trade unions or the Communist-run area committees. The Turin Camera del Lavoro was obliged to support some of the spontaneous new groups of militants and workers by accepting the reduced bills.

Referring to "autoriduzione" in *Umanita Nova* of 15th February this year, a group of Turin anarchists attacks the centralised trade unions for making their members now pay the overdue differentials together with a new lot of rises without even consulting them. The workers feel a "confused love-hate relationship with the trade unions who, before the betrayal, were still thought of as the indisputable reference points of the working class." The Turin anarchists hope the trade unions' actions will accelerate the formation of autonomous groups throughout the city. At the same time, to judge by the new call to disobedience by the Committee for Fiscal Justice, some trade union members seem to be changing their minds about civil disobedience campaigns.

In Britain squattings and occupations have been among the commonest forms of civil disobedience, but have been carried out in general with little public sympathy, let alone participation. This, of course, is partly due to the remarkable achievement of our "liberal democracy" in lulling the majority into a persistent, Panglossian assumption that we live in the best - and freest - of all possible worlds. How many people have we not heard drawing that incorrigible Doctor's conclusion that - with apologies to Voltaire - if you didn't work on the assembly line for x hours a day, and if you didn't welcome with cries of joy the construction of a petro-chemical plant or motorway in your back garden, and if you didn't accept enforced scientific experimentation with your fellow creatures, human and non-human, and if you didn't let the Army spray all those nasty blackbirds with detergent so they'd freeze to death, and if you didn't go into the Common Market, and in short if you didn't put your faith in the businessmen, the scientists, the planners and the politicians who always know what is for the best in this best of worlds, you wouldn't be sitting here now eating candied fruit and pistachio nuts in freedom!

Yet Parliament has been living off its democratic reputation since Magna Carta, even though, television cameras or not, its facade has long grown wafer-thin, if not painfully transparent. (Any naive person or persons who have tried to stir the consciences of our ruling class by the law-abiding means of letter-writing

SQUATTING IN EAST LONDON

THE All London Squatters GLC Action Group says:

"Recently the GLC (Greater London Council) has mounted a large scale publicity campaign against squatters, who are of course just homeless people who have been forced to take action by the housing crisis. They created the label 'smash and grab squatter' which associates squatters who stand up for their right to a home with destructive vandals. . . We believe that some aspects of the GLC's own housing policy shows a record of destructiveness and failure, for which it would be glad to find a scapegoat in squatters. However, there are thousands of homeless and yet more empty dwellings in London; so it is reasonable to see the squatting movement as a constructive movement, and squatters as the unfortunate victims of a housing system which has inbuilt homelessness, rather than as the cause of the housing crisis."

EAST LONDON VANDALS

Tower Hamlets, the London borough where are own premises are, is the working class area where the working people and poor immigrants who from the beginning of this century, and before, manned the docks and treadled out the production of the sweat shops against which Rudolf Robker inspired and helped organize the workers' resistance. Despite material improvement and large rebuilding projects since the devastation of the Second

AS A POSTMAN, I hope the public will boycott the 7p letter post. If they do they will turn the second-class mail service into a first-class one.

I cannot imagine any postmaster allowing his postmen to stand idle while he has mail in his office. So if all the letters are 5½p ones, they will go out straight away like the 7p ones do now.

Postman (Stafford)

-- Letter in *The Sun*

only to receive cold and polite - or not so polite - acknowledgements in return, or to protest to their local "representative" only to be confronted with a vague and condescending assurance that their views will be "noted" - or even with an honest warning that he cannot promise to be in the House at the right moment to make their protest known, will be tempted to think again about those tired old arguments against civil disobedience).

Direct action and civil disobedience on a large scale, on the truly civil issues of conscience and freedom, provide the only effective method of challenging our democratic despots from their committee rooms and laboratories into the severe light of day. Where, though, are the Londoners of yesteryear who, through open disobedience to government played so vital a part in securing our liberties (and not least freedom of the press) in the age of Wilkes? Did they emigrate to Italy perhaps?

G. F.

World War, the borough is still dirty, poor, and with a large population of people who need homes. For long years the council has had an unshakable Labour majority, plus a couple of Communist members.

The borough contains many blocks of flats and streets of houses scheduled for demolition. And several groups of squatters who have been occupying these in the last few years. On Monday, March 3rd the council's demolition contractors arrived in Corfield Street, Bethnal Green with a bulldozer the scoop of which was loaded with bricks, and deliberately smashed the mains pipe conducting water to the block of flats occupied by squatters. A local newspaper (*East London Advertiser*) reported this as "the latest in a series of flashpoints between squatters and demolition workers. There were ugly scenes when squatters tried to prevent workmen from smashing up empty flats three weeks ago."

The squatters challenged the council on the legality of depriving them of water, and we understand they did get the water supply repaired.

Another local paper this week (*Stratford and Newham Express*, 21 March) carries a two-page sympathetic feature on squatting in Newham, where, they say, "All over Newham houses are standing empty - some for reasons of redevelopment, others for reasons of profit. . . The council has ten families squatting on its property" -- but in the editorial paragraph introducing the feature they say "their exact number is not known - much of the success of squatting depends on its secrecy. Some are in council property, others in private."

The Newham council has not come to the *modus vivendi* with squatters that operates in several other boroughs. Its policy is "We would go to court to repossess the house. Once that order came through we would look at the families to see if they could be rehoused. If they couldn't, and that would depend on their circumstances, we would try and be as helpful as we could."

About privately owned property, a spokesman for the community action group, "East", said "A lot of property is left empty by private landlords who want to sell at the right time. It's amazing. You never see these people from one year to the next, but as soon as they get a squatter in they suddenly take an interest in that house." He also said that the council have started smashing down houses very quickly now, rather than leaving them empty.

All London Squatters GLC Action Group has started an Inquiry in order to "investigate the mechanism of this housing crisis (especially the role of the GLC - the largest strategic hous-

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The syndicalist strike strategy involved the organisation of workers into industrial unions, the frequent use of the sympathetic strike and allied with these an intensive anti-military campaign in which the anarchist, Yvetot, author of the "Manuel du Soldat", played a prominent part (an attempt by Tom Mann to copy the C.G.T.'s anti-militarist tactics landed him in an English jail.)

Social revolution was the long term aim of the revolutionary syndicalists but the methods of direct action were widely employed in the course of the necessarily long drawn-out struggle towards that objective. And they saw themselves not as a revolutionary elite leading the mass of workers towards a visionary utopia, but rather as a leavening agent at work within the mass, their ideas and methods slowly permeating the mass and in course of time bringing about a transformation. As they saw it, the emancipation of the working classes was a task that would be carried out by the working classes themselves - or not at all. No political elite which claimed that in some mystical fashion it had substituted itself for the working classes could do it for them. As to the notion that this social revolution would simply be a spontaneous happening occurring sometime in the future without any need for organisation in the present, they might well have told those who held this notion to watch the night sky on the eve of the dawning of this happy day - in order not to miss the sight of the cow jumping over the moon.

H.B.

"Largely in reaction against the notorious policy of 'propaganda by deed', many of the younger anarchists, led by the redoubtable Fernand Pelloutier, joined the syndicates with the object of developing their revolutionary potentialities. Such work seemed to them to offer a constructive alternative to a policy of negation and destruction which, however justifiable it might be in theory, had done much to discredit the anarchist movement in the sight of the world at large."

(Anarchism & Trade Unionism, by Gaston Gerard, in *Anarchy* 40).

"No destruction, no waste, no return to barbarism. A higher plane of civilization is to be achieved. When the workers understand how the industrial system of today has developed, how one industrial pursuit dovetails into another, and all constitute an indivisible whole, they will not wantonly destroy what generations of industrial and social forces have brought forth."

(Bill Trautman, IWW organiser, quoted in *The New Unionism*, 1913).

"At the anarcho-syndicalist conference held in Moscow in 1918, Maximov had attacked the Marilovs (day-dreamers) in the anarchist camp as 'romantic visionaries who pined for pastoral utopias, oblivious of the complex forces at work in the modern world. It was time to stop dreaming of the Golden Age; it was time to organise and act.'"

(*The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control*, p.48, Solidarity, 1970).

(1) Prior to the passing of the law in 1884 these local syndicates were constantly harassed by the police. Andre Tridon says, "This law merely sanctioned an order of things established in the teeth of ferocious reaction. While it recognised the legal existence of the syndicates or trade unions, it aimed in reality at damming up the revolutionary current in motion among the labouring masses." (*The New Unionism*, New York, 1913).

Letters

LISTEN, SOLDIER

Dear Editors,

M.C. (FREEDOM 15.3.75) appeals for the 14 charged with sedition or whatever on the grounds that "imprisonment...will not change their minds, as their leaflet could not change the mind of any soldier who believed in his calling". The former statement cannot be disputed. The latter is dubious, to say the least. If there is such a thing as a soldier's "calling", it is probably the lure of plenty of money and no responsibility, everything laid on (including widows' pensions and military funerals) with no need to think. Very few, even in an army of volunteers, have a specific "calling", such as a Jehovah's Witness might have.

Because of this the 14 are being prosecuted. It is precisely because they, in their leaflet, have attempted to make the soldier think for himself instead of "just obeying orders" like Eichmann, that the authorities have deemed them a threat. The trial will continue, and the 14 will languish in jail somewhere despite M.C.'s appeal. The authorities know that literature which will make their minions question their role as functionaries at the bottom of the line of command must not be allowed to reach them, and must be suppressed with maximum speed and efficiency. They know, even if M.C. does not, that leaflets such as this do have an effect. If they did not, would these people have risked their liberty and livelihood just to hand out a useless piece of rhetoric?

Yours etc.
Nigel Pennick

on DESCHOOLING & ALL THAT

Dear Comrades,

Your writer D.B. (issue of 1 March) does Illich less than justice in suggesting that he does not realise that deschooling implies restructuring of society. The Illich criticisms of institutions in general have been levelled by anarchists for many years.

Obviously institutions in general reflect the society in which they exist. An article in *New Society* of 6 March entitled "Illness is created", shows how institutions not merely fail to deal with problems but actually create them. Its writer, John Sanger, says, "The schools of inner cities are positively manufacturing mental illness. Worse still, this is happening because of muddle, because of lack of will to help the children, and because of fear."

Institutions become powerful in their own right, reflecting the growth and size of power in society generally. Such institutions become vehicles for the ambitious and powerful, and inevitably the needs of the power-structured institution and basic human needs diverge. The administration becomes divorced from the field, and economically the higher echelons live in a different world from the patients, clients, pupils.

There is in the current issue of the

magazine *Anarchy* a criticism of the social services, much of it of course true. However, the writer refers to the "taking away of our children" (my emphasis). This of course assumes that children are the property of the parents, which must be rejected; the family is also an entrenched institution and probably the source of most child suffering, particularly when combined with poverty and ignorance, although ignorance is certainly not confined to the poor. There remains the problem of dealing with the suffering prior to the restructuring of society.

The institutional treatment of social problems divides the problem from the cause and professionalism tends to reduce human involvement in human problems. This treatment of human and social problems keeps human physical contact to the minimum and separates caring from sharing. Problems become the health of institutions, as criminals are the health of the law and police, sick people necessary to the medical establishment, and social deprivation to the social services.

Here Illich's ideas of self knowledge and self help are very much in line with anarchist thought. There is very much to be done in this area in the fields of health, housing, transport and food production. The administration and centralised control of society is very resistant to the revolutionary reorganisation of society necessary to deal with the insistent problems of our times. Today is a time of danger, challenge and opportunity in which the existing organisation of society has shown itself incapable of coping. Therefore the anarchist concepts of do-it-yourself organisation of society are very relevant providing anarchists descend from the realm of theory to practical cooperation.

Alan Albon.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Dear Editors,

Michael Tobin (FREEDOM 15 March) protests quite justifiably about the maltreatment of West German and Irish 'political prisoners' (when are any prisoners not political prisoners?), and argues passionately against the 'materialist' society (so do some Conservatives). But what does it all amount to? What answers does he suggest?

"The present struggle of the German and Irish prisoners is also our struggle". Which prisoners? All of them, including bombers and assassins? What struggle? That of the IRA, UDA, Second of June Movement, and all the rest? Who is the struggle against? "The creeping fascism" of the modern state. "The time for reflection on abstract theories is over. The time for action is here." What abstract theories? And what action is it time for?

Of course it is shameful that men resort to imprisoning other men, and the legal system, certainly, is fraught with hypocrisy and double standards. The treatment of the "Baader-Meinhof" group, for example (as detailed in the *Sunday Times*, 23 February), obviously deserves more than savage condemnation. But generalised critiques are as in-

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CAPITAL

excusable as mere condemnation is impotent. Until we can propose practicable alternatives to the system as it is, let us at least recognise emotionalism in argument, and try to temper, if not replace, it with rationalism. The rationalism necessary for genuine change for the better.

I am not myself aware of the "creeping fascism" of the state. Maybe I am deluded. It is arguable that economic measures are being implemented which compare with the characteristics of a corporate statism (re: Pahl and Winkler, *New Society*, 10.10.75), but I'm sure that Mr. Tobin was thinking on a broader - and more superficial - level than that. Even if "the paranoid is the real -ist" (William Burroughs), can the cause really lie with the state? I do not think so. I would put it down to a number of factors, not the least of them being the size and consequent complexity of modern society, and not excluding subjective psychology. (Such views are not original: as long ago as Marx, Weber and Durkheim, sociology examined the concepts of anomie and alienation).

Do all of us not desire some sort of social order? If, as I believe, we do, then the utmost care (yes, conservatism) needs to be taken in even contemplating drastic change -- unless, of course, one is content to fantasise about the big street fight of revolution, which so much of such talk amounts to. In short, a dangerously utopian projection of problems of an ultimately psychological, and not political, nature, with as much relationship to the real world as masturbation has to sex.

If this sort of rhetoric is indicative of the action suggested (but not stated), with a defence of violence in the pursuit of chaos, then give me the *status quo*, with all its imperfections, every time. It is not, I fear, the shortcomings of man, that are to blame for the violent and unjust society.

Brian P. Boreham.

ONE MORE of the colourful characters of the radical scene has slipped his moorings. It gets a bit lonely out here.

George Foulser died from natural causes about two weeks ago. He was living alone in a London squat and it was not known by his many friends that he had died. The cremation took place at Kensal Green last Saturday.

GEORGE SHIPS OUT

He had not been to sea for some time. He had spent some time in hospital and was very happy and grateful to nurses and doctors when he was discharged, cured.

We do not know, but expect that he was black-listed as a seaman, which he probably merited by his agitation. In his only book, *Seaman's Voice* (1961) he wrote: "It was in Swansea that I endured much which has impressed indelibly on my mind the reason why a black-listed seaman not infrequently sinks right down into the community of drinkers of surgical spitts, methylated spirits, Brasso, or any

Dear Fellow-Workers,

May I dissent from Henry Bell's "Workers' Control of Capital" (FREEDOM 1.3.75) in which there is no specific advocacy of the workers' acquiring (by whatever means) capital in order to take over and run industries; but there is an obvious concern by Henry Bell for the workers to understand the workings of the financial system, including, apparently, the need for capital and profit (as in the authorities he quotes).

I do not know if H.B. is an advocate of 'syndicalism' or 'anarcho-syndicalism' since there are, of course, some differences. Syndicalism may believe in the necessity for profit and the accumulation of capital but I should have thought that - assuming the monetary system is retained - that any achievement of savings in production would be passed (in a free society) to the consumer (who is also a worker) in a reduced price. One assumes that since the wage system is being retained a fair wage (whatever that is) is already being paid. Questions of reserve funds for expansion and depreciation are a matter of routine book-keeping and have nothing to do with the classical idea of capital.

For myself I believe that retention of the monetary wage-profit system is a barrier to the production of welfare for all. The anarchist (or anarcho-syndicalist) revolution must be total or not a revolution at all.

Finally, might I add that many pre-1920 syndicalist ideas (blighted no doubt by Sorel) were malformed by Mussolini's syndico-corporate state for which he stole many syndicalist ideas.

Yours fraternally,
Jack Robinson.

other commodity which gives a man's heart surcease from suffering, at the same time as it destroys him mentally and physically."

Besides his only book (which George always hoped would be reprinted as a paperback), George contributed as a free-lance to *The Observer* and (too rarely) to *Freedom*. His real love was his own publications, *Seaman's Voice* and *East London Speed-Freak* (a revelatory title) which George not only edited but usually wrote single-handed in his free-swinging, humorous style.

Politically he was somewhat of a maverick. An ex-member of the Communist Party, he was repelled by its authoritarian nature and was attracted by the Industrial Workers of the World. He stated, "After Baltimore, I shall always have a weakness where the Wobblies are concerned; they are on the level, and people can't come any better than that." He was active in the 1960 Seamen's Strike (his pamphlet of this title is published by the SWF)

George was latterly his own worst enemy and wearing on his friends, but reading of his life and his ideas, all pervaded by his impish sense of hum-

News from N.Z.

AT PRESENT all is reasonably quiet in New Zealand on the industrial side, with this being election year and with most of the Unions being merely subsidiaries of the "labour" party which is at present attempting to keep a good image in election year. This "help the government" attitude by the unions has enabled Fletcher Holdings to close down a Christchurch plywood factory that wasn't making them enough profit.

I was interested in the reaction of the union* (N.Z. Timber Workers) as I worked in the factory for six years and shortly before I left was elected union delegate (unpaid) on the job. This would be one of the weakest unions in the land, with the Christchurch full-time secretary, Martin Drake, being the epitome of the Gutless Corps bureaucrat who is completely out of touch with the actual members of the union. Many of the men who work in this factory (at least 60 per cent) have worked in this plant for six or more years up to 25 years, and all have watched the management drive the factory to ruin over the past 7 years while treating the workers like simple children. At one stage the workers were asked to give up their bonus (\$10-\$15 a week) for six months because their profit was down \$20,000 over six months; this was when the Fletcher Group had still realised \$526,000 profit over that six months. Anyhow the total of bonus saved would have amounted to approximately \$16,800.

We refused the offer!

*A local newspaper reports: "The decision was attacked by the N.Z. Timberworkers Union, which accused Fletcher of closing one unit when it should have taken its New Zealand-wide profitability into account."

S. H.

COOPERATIVE WORKSHOPS

OPEN MIND is a cooperative workshop in central Liverpool. At present there are 12 of us (hard core) engaged in furniture, electronics, screen printing, leatherwork, and running various things such as the Open Gob food co-op, Open Ear info service, festivals and events, etc. We have just put a roof on two-thirds of our building which had previously been very wet, and have room for lots more people. Anyone interested should either be skilled and looking for working space or be interested in projects - in particular we are about to convert the ground floor into a coffee bar and exhibition area, and we are about to put on a Mayday festival.

We need people now. Anyone coming will need to be impervious to financial crises, cold, dirt, noise, etc., and interested in cooperatives. Address: Open Mind, 39/41 Manestys Lane, Liverpool 1. (Phones, both phones frequently cut off): 051 709 0264 and 708 7174 (projects).

Rick Walker.

our, one can forgive him much. He was not a character to be forgotten.

We hope to publish something more of his soon.

J. R.

MEXICAN HUMBUG

"Latin America cannot remain indifferent to foreign intervention in its internal affairs," said President Luis Echeverria in his opening speech at the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City, where the third session of the Helsinki Commission is being held, and he offered the commission, on behalf of Mexico, "a headquarters and full freedom for its deliberations" aimed at investigating the crimes of the Chilean military junta.

(Reported in Gramma 10.2.75)

Politicians are renowned for their short and rosy-tinted memories (of their years in office, that is, of the crimes of their opponents). Nixon is perhaps the epitome of that quality for our time, but Echeverria must run him a close second.

The man who was Secretary of the Interior when over 300 students were gunned down by the authorities in the middle of Mexico City for daring to protest against the spectacular waste of resources involved in the staging of the Olympic Games in 1968, recently had the effrontery to imagine that he could address a large body of students at the beginning of a new term as a gesture of reconciliation.

The scales of benevolence fell from Echeverria's eyes at the end of his speech in the Salvador Allende (!) auditorium, when he was driven from the place by hundreds of enraged students throwing bottles and other missiles. Perhaps his cut head brought home to Echeverria the reality of 1968, and the humbug of his speeches about Chile.

(For further information on Echeverria's regime see FREEDOM 22.2.75 p.4)

D. L. M.

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ing authority in Europe); to contribute to the efforts of the broad housing movement to create a solution; and to defend squatters from the absurd charges of vandalism." They ask particularly for information on (1) needless or premature destruction or gutting by the GLC, (2) GLC property lying empty, (3) GLC treatment of tenants; failure to do repairs, harassment, lack of consultation about housing and estate plans, (4) The Waiting Lists, how long are they, who gets housed..., (5) the economics of GLC housing and its social consequences (This should include a study of the crisis in the building industry and its relationship to housing,

Those interested in helping the Inquiry should ask for information about meetings etc. from ALS GLC Action Group, c/o 59 Welby House, Hazelville Road, London N. 19.

M. C.

ITALY THE APPEAL of Giovanni Marini against his sentence of 12 years' imprisonment for the "voluntary homicide" of the fascist Falvella has been set for 2nd April in Salerno. The defence will appeal on the grounds of distortion of the facts, hiding of the truth and predetermination of the sentence. Fienga, the judge in the case, (an ex-fascist policeman) ruled as 'irrelevant' all the facts circumstantial to the fight in the via Velia, which resulted in the death of Falvella. The whole history of fascist provocation and aggression in Salerno was deemed "out of court"; and the declarations of witnesses, both written and verbal, were distorted by omissions and rulings of "inadmissible".

Finally Fienga only took minimal account of the extenuating circumstances when passing sentence, and it was obvious that Marini's resolute behaviour in court was the major factor in his being given a twelve year sentence.

Law, like medicine, is "iatrogenic", that is, the cure is not only worse than the disease, but provokes new illnesses. In Marini's case this has meant that as a result of his behaviour in his various long trials, he has been charged with other offences, mainly under the head of "vilification of institutions and of the State".

Two of these cases have recently come up for trial, but both have been postponed, one for lack of evidence, the other on a technical point.

In the meanwhile, the comrades of Le Refractaire in Paris have produced two printed postcards (in Italian), one to send to the president of the appeal court in Salerno, demanding Marini's release, and the other to send to Marini as a gesture of solidarity. These will be available from Freedom at 10p for two cards (including post) - lower rates for large quantities.

*

The Italian anarchist Belgrado Pedrini, imprisoned for thirty years in 1945 for crimes committed against the fascist dictatorship before the liberation of Italy (see FREEDOM 4.1.75, p.3) was finally released on parole on 4th March, thanks to pressure put on the authorities by anarchists and anti-fascist Resistance Veterans groups. But his release is only provisional and he may have to go back to jail.

* * *

PORTUGAL Hundreds of young people took part in a demonstration organised by anarcho-syndicalists in Lisbon, on March 3, to protest against the Franco regime and the imprisonment of the four anarcho-syndicalists, Burro, Edo, Urbano and Ferran (see FREEDOM 8.3.75, p.1). The protests were particularly vigorous in the vicinity of the Spanish Embassy, and the seat of the Armed Forces Movement government. Windows of the building housing Iberia, the Spanish airline, were smashed.

D. L. M.

* MARINI POSTSCRIPT

WE READ in today's (24.3.75) papers that Italy's magistrates and judges have decided to continue their 22-day old "work to rule" (for higher salaries and judicial reforms), which has practically paralysed the country's courts. This may affect the timing of Marini's appeal, which may in turn allow us more time to send our postcards of protest, and of solidarity.

C.I.A. in NEW ZEALAND

THERE IS a furore at present over the local branch of the CIA (known locally as the SIS) created in 1956 by the "National" Government to save the country from "subversive" elements.

The present uproar is over the arrest, trial and subsequent acquittal of Dr. William B. Sutch for meeting a Soviet Embassy member at night in strange places. He was charged under the Official Secrets Act which apparently is supposed to make it difficult to prove yourself innocent. However he was found Not Guilty and later in a TV interview, in which he sounded rather like a pedantic and self-opinionated patriot, he said he was not surprised to get off.

One of those charged was found not only to work for a government department (he had worked there for 15 years) but he was also a member of the Communist Party and had stood for parliament twice. A National MP wanted to know why the Labour government let commies work for them in state jobs, and the Minister in charge replied that as the National government had been satisfied with the man's work for the 12 years he had worked while they were in office he didn't see what their point was.

Last week a left-wing publisher named one of the security agents, on an independent radio station. Now he and the announcer (who stood as Labour candidate for Wellington Central in the last election and lost by about 100 votes) are being charged with contempt of court or something.

S. H.

BULGARIA

On 26 April 1974 many searches were made among the old and long-standing anarchist comrades in Kustendil, Pernik, Stanke Dimitrov, Sofia, Stara Zagora, Hascovo, Plovdiv, Varna and in many villages in the country with the sole purpose of seizing old pamphlets, issued thirty and forty years ago. About 25 comrades, of whom twelve are from Pernik (metallurgical centre near Sofia) were interrogated.

After three weeks' detention, the following comrades were condemned to five years internal exile under strict police surveillance:

- 1) Alexandre M. Nakov, from Pernik, a railwayman and an Esperantist, banished to the village of Khouma in Razgrad district.
- 2) Athanas Kucev, from Pernik, a teacher, banished to the village of Cermerdjievo in Rousse district.

Continued on Page 4

ANARCHISM & ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

PARIS, it has been said, would scarcely seem to be Paris unless there was revolution in the air. But after the downfall of the Paris Commune in 1871 the revolutionary spirit was forcibly subdued and it was not until a law was passed on March 21, 1884 that workers were permitted to form open associations of a temporary or permanent nature "for the defence and study of their professional, economic, commercial and agricultural interests." French industry at this time was backward, with small-scale workshops predominant and less than 7 per cent. of workers organised, but even at this date the old craft guild system of organisation had been on the decline for decades, the basic unit of organisation being the *syndicat*, a local union of workers employed in the same trade (1). There is an important distinction to be made between the guild system and the later development of syndicalism: the guildsmen had struggled within limited horizons, largely content to improve their working conditions; but revolutionary syndicalism had wider horizons and aimed at the eventual overthrow of the capitalist system.

BULGARIA... continued from P. 3

3) Loubmir Ivanov Djermanov, from Pernik, a highly qualified mining engineer, banished to the village of Okorg in Silistra district.

(The reason for these comrades' banishment was their attendance at the funeral of Dimitar Vassilev, from Pernik, and collecting funds to erect a monument to him.)

4) Sacho Guigov, a sculptor, banished on 25 July to the village of Letnitsa in Lovetch district; then transported to the town of Loukovit where, deprived of cultural life and separated from his friends and relations, he died on 8th September, 1974.

Guigov was the sculptor who carved the bust of Vassil Ikonov, the great fighter for liberty. He had intended also to create a work on comrade Tino Simov.

5) Gantcho Damianov, an accountant from Kazanlak, removed to a village in the Sliven district.

6) Athanase Artukov, sent to Rousse district.

7) Cristo Kolev Joranov, whose deportation to Pet Moguil had already been reported, was arrested and interrogated by the "people's militia". He was sent to the village of Balvan in Tarnovo district, where he is unable to find work and has to live on a miserable pension hardly enough for him to buy a kilo of bread a day.

Our comrades have been forced to make declarations in which they agree not to undertake anarchist propaganda. This has happened to Delcho Vassilev, from Hascovo; Boian Mangov, from Varna, and other comrades in Kustendil, Plovdiv and other parts of the country.

(Information transmitted by Bulgarian comrades, December, 1974 and translated here from the *Cahiers de l'humanisme libertaire*.)

This is not to imply that syndicalism was simply a fresh idea emanating from the minds of a few academics and theorists, and passed on to the untutored masses. On the contrary, syndicalist theory has constantly evolved from practice, and is mainly a product of experience gained on the industrial battlefield: the living movement has to exist before the theorist can attempt to explain it. Attempts have been made to trace the origins of syndicalism back to the ideas of the philosopher Bergson, or the intellectual Sorel, but such attempts fail to take into account important economic and political factors. Without briefly considering the conditions necessary before a syndicalist movement could come into existence we shall not progress very far in an understanding of syndicalism.

1. Industrialisation; syndicalism is a child of the industrial revolution.
2. Large numbers of workmen concentrated in large towns.
3. Freedom for workers to combine legally in trade unions. (The second and third factors are a consequence of the first.)
4. A settled social order with sharp class distinctions.
5. A leavening agent, in the form of an intelligent and politically active minority, at work within the mass of workers.

These are the necessary pre-requisite conditions for the growth of syndicalism and the last one is very important. In France, this politically active minority consisted mainly of anarchists who had traditionally scorned parliamentary activity and favoured the use of "direct action", a term which is by no means synonymous with violent action. But the new movement was not a purely anarchist movement, containing as it did rebels and revolutionaries of all shades from deepest red to palest pink. The anarchists included Emile Pouget, who had been active as a propagandist in the working class districts of Paris along with his girl friend, Louise Michel, the heroine of the Paris Commune. There was the carpenter, Joseph Tortelier, an anarchist orator and advocate of the general strike; Emile Pataud, later to be known as the king of electricity after he had organised a successful strike against the Edison Company; Yvetat, Monatte and Delaselle were other prominent anarchists, but the foremost of all was Fernand Pelloutier who is regarded as one of the most able exponents of anarcho-syndicalist ideas and whose name is synonymous with that of the C.G.T. (*Confédération Générale du Travail*), the title later adopted by the organisation.

The anarcho-syndicalists believed that the *syndicats*, when organised along the right lines would constitute the nuclei of the future society, and in their emphasis upon the necessity for organisation they differed sharply from adherents to the individualist school of anarchism. The thin but sharp edge of the wedge is revealed in the following from the pen of Pelloutier:

"We must carry on more methodically and more stubbornly than ever the work of intellectual, administrative and technical training necessary to fit a community of free individuals for existence... We must demonstrate to the workers by a series of experiments conducted in their midst, that self-government by themselves is possible and also give them weapons against the corrupting suggestions of capitalism, by instructing them as to the necessity of a revolution."

Edouard Berth is more explicitly critical in his *'Les Nouveaux Aspects du Socialisme'*, when dealing with anarchist responses towards

the system of coercion employed by the state: "Against that system of coercion, anarchism has constantly protested; it curses civilisation which demands so much effort and gives us so little happiness in return; we might say that this protest of the anarchist merely voices the revolt of the lazy individual, of the primitive savage, of the mature man against a system which tried to break him to the discipline of labour... Such a protest is purely negative, nay, reactionary... For society is a co-ordination of efforts, not just a juxtaposition of egos seeking mere enjoyment... An anarchist is often a decadent bourgeois; his eagerness for a return to nature is very similar to the tired bourgeois craving for a fresh air cure in the country."

There is a good deal of truth in this if we consider the shafts to be aimed at the individualists, but similar criticisms could hardly be applied to Peter Kropotkin (or other anarcho-communists) who had been consistently constructive in his analysis of society and had foreseen the need for an international labour union and advocated the international general strike. His experience of the Russian revolution later convinced him, as he told Emma Goldman, that revolutionaries must prepare thoroughly for the organisation of the economic life of the country, everything else being of minor importance; syndicalism and the co-operative, he thought, would save other countries some of the blunderings and sufferings Russia was going through. (The C.G.T. had earlier advocated that the industrial syndicates should form agricultural alliances).

The gap between the individualists and the syndicalists is very clearly marked in what Frederick van Eeden wrote in the *Syndicalist* (London) and nothing more needs to be said on this issue:

"Anarchism neglected the immense importance of organisation, and supposed the workers to be capable without leadership, without discipline, of achieving the tremendous task of creating a well-organised commonwealth. This was Utopia in its worst sense. It jumped long periods of slow and difficult education. It did not teach the workers the terrible strength of their opponents, the exploiters. It did not realise how the intricate structure of modern society demanded great organising capacities, scientific knowledge, economic insight, first-rate leadership, and strict discipline, in order to replace the old order by a new and better one."

The necessity for long periods of slow and difficult education, as van Eeden puts it, was clearly recognised by the revolutionary wing of the C.G.T. and this evolutionary side of revolutionary syndicalism is all too often ignored. Ironically, it was often the reformist wing of the C.G.T. which chose to launch ill-timed strikes, a fact which was deplored by the syndicalist militant, Pierre Monatte. "We need another fifty years of struggle to reach the final hour," declared one of the militants in 1901. And Pouget, himself the organizer of the successful strike against the Edison Company, was a capable exponent of strike strategy and not an unthinking advocate of wildcat strikes. Against present society, said Pouget, which only knows "the citizen", a new society is rising made up of "producers", and the producers realising that the social body is shaped by its system of production, intend to transform entirely the capitalist mode of production, to eliminate the employers and thereby to conquer industrial freedom.

STINKING FISH

AT THE moment a series of blockades of ports is being staged by boat-owning fishermen to protest against foreign competition in the fish market. It is said that Norwegian fishermen, eased out of the American market by the Japanese, are capturing the British fish market.

The men's leader makes a pious exception of E. E. C. countries; although France bars British fish -- how the E. E. C. loves one another! It is also significant that the threshold of Easter is chosen for the blockade. For some inscrutable reason the demand for fish is greater at this time.

Whilst one can have sympathy and understanding with the struggles of workers no matter how clumsily expressed and misdirected, one can instance this as an affair leading to the exploitation of the consumer (who is a worker too!) and to the profit of British wholesalers and middlemen. It will exploit the unnatural selfishness and chauvinism of the fishery workers. It was pointed out some time ago in *Anarchy* (April, 1968, No. 86 - some copies still available 15p + 5½p post) that the only hope for the fisheries was co-operatives.

The lessons of the cruel sea and the crueller profit system are the same. Co-operation must be truly international (between workers, not between exploiters), as set out in the following extract from Peter Howden's article.

"Co-operatively owned fishery industries are to be found in every part of the world, from the Eskimo fishing co-operatives to the Nigerian community of Aiyetoro, where the boats are communally owned and the proceeds of the catch shared out among all members. In Iceland, where most of the population depend in one way or another on the fishing industry for their livelihood, there are co-operative freezing plants as well as co-operatively owned trawlers. The whole of the catch in Norway is marketed co-operatively, as it is in Labrador and Nova Scotia. In Japan, the foremost fishing country in the world, the co-operatives, according to Hebe Spaul, 'work closely together, and if a fishing fleet is away from home waters it can land a catch at the harbour nearest to the fishing grounds, and the value of the catch will be credited to the fleet's home society. The societies not only own and control the markets but they also act as wholesalers... Some of the co-operatives go in for fish-processing, and a number join together to operate joint processing factories. All these societies are joined together in the National Federation of Fishing Co-operatives. Among other services which the Federation carries out on behalf of its member societies is to operate ice-making and freezing plants. Both produce ten tons of ice daily, as well as providing cold storage between them for several hundred tons of fish. As with co-operatives of all kinds in Japan, the fishing societies consider that social

IN BRIEF

THE FOURTEEN accused in the case of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland leaflet (which they were accused of 'possessing' and only 'conspiring' to distribute) were committed - on bail - for trial at the Old Bailey; probably sometime in the autumn. By which time the British Army will probably have cleared out of Northern Ireland!

AN EXPLOSION wrecked the unoccupied weekend home of a Bilbao (Spain) Firestone Hispania factory public relations director. There has been, said *The Times*, 'labour unrest in the factory'.

Spanish police clubbed mourners at a Requiem Mass for six miners killed in a Pamplona mine accident. Police alleged that mourners shouted 'subversive remarks'. * A Pamplona labour court rejected the plea for reinstatement of four workers on the grounds that they had organised a strike. * In Bilbao the police announced the arrest of fourteen people for painting 'subversive' slogans on walls, and nine arrests were made for attending an illegal meeting.

THE UNITED STATES Army dropped charges against Lt. Matthew Carroll who grew his hair in an 'Afro' hair-style in defiance of military regulations. He claimed that the regulations were a violation of his constitutional rights.

FREE SCHOOLING

THE A. S. NEILL TRUST exists to support any projects which promote freedom for children. The Trust is particularly keen to support Free Schools and educational-commune ventures like Life Span in Yorkshire. Money will also be sent to the Stepney Basement writers. It costs only 50p to join the Association and the next meeting will be a weekend at Monkton Wyld School in Dorset (bring sleeping bags and food). Write to Ray Hemmings, 7 Manor Road Extension, OADB, Leics.

During this month the Trust has paid out money to Leeds Free School, Bermondsey Lamport School, Kirkby House, North Kensington Free School, Delta Free School, Southampton, Life Span, and Little Digger Book.

Val.

welfare schemes for the members are very important and much of the profit is used for such schemes. Fisherman's co-operatives are in an underdeveloped state in this country, and cater only for inshore fishermen. The Fisheries Organisation Society has, over the years, assisted in the establishment of societies supplying nets, gear, paint and sea-clothes, and marketing fresh fish. In Scotland the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has set up fishery co-operatives in Shetland and in the marketing of lobsters from the Western Isles. There is no co-operative organisation in this country owning distant-water vessels."

MC & JR

A CORRESPONDENT to *Tribune* is seeking help with writing a book dealing with 'the imperialist stage of the second world war (Sept. 3, 1939 to June 22, 1941)'. No prize for guessing what happened June 22nd 1941 to entirely change the war.

THE NATIONAL Union of Journalists voted to tell its magazine branch that it was wrong in rejecting a membership application from a worker on *Britain First*, the National Front newspaper.

THE KURDISH nationalists, deserted by their ally Iraq who has made a pact with Iran, are taking refuge in Iran. The former leader, who told the partisans 'the fighting is over', is seeking refuge in the United States. According to the Save the Children Fund thousands of Kurds face death from starvation and disease.

A FRENCH journalist in Saigon was shot dead by police as he left police headquarters after an argument. There is conflicting evidence on the circumstances of the case but the journalist's widow has lodged a complaint of pre-meditated murder.

ACCORDING to *Soviet News*, *Pravda* refuted the allegation that the Soviet Union welcomed the economic difficulties of the capitalist countries. *Pravda* for March 9 said 'The builders of a new society are true to their international solidarity with the workers of the capitalist countries which [sic] are suffering severely from the crisis. This is again convincingly illustrated by the constructive participation of the delegations of the socialist countries in the work of the European trade union conference devoted to labour safety measures. As for the policy of international detente, this is principled Leninist policy of the U. S. S. R. and of other socialist countries, a policy which is not subject to circumstantial changes.'

THE CELEBRATED Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson of the Cambridge 'Garden House' trial fame attacked defence lawyers in a case of IRA men on trial who were sentenced to twenty years for bombings. Mr. Justice Stevenson said it was a sad day for the Bar of England when defence lawyers were prepared to make insulting suggestions about police-men, and to conduct a 'mud-slinging' defence. Evidence had been given that it is perfectly possible to transfer a fingerprint from one object to another. The Scotland Yard fingerprint expert at the trial, Mr. Barrington-Smith, felt that such revelation and demonstration was 'not in the best interests of justice'.

FOLLOWING his attack upon demonstrators, Sir Robert Mark, Metropolitan Police Commissioner, accused criminal lawyers (for the defence?) of being mercenary. He also said 'the criminal trial today is more a test of tactics, eloquence, expertise and self-control than of guilt or innocence'. Sancho Panza

PRESS FUND

Contributions 6 - 19th March

LUXEMBOURG: B.S. £5; GRAZ: G.A. £1.20; CARDIFF: R.A. £6; LONDON E4: S & A G: 50p; WHALLEY: P.G. £1; BRIGHTON: D.F. £2; GAINESVILLE, Fla. A. & R.S. 40p; LONDON SW7: D.L.L. £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 90p; J.K.W. 10p; SAN BRUNO Calif.: L.M. £2; WAINUI-O-MATA, N.Z.: C. & G.E. £2; NEWCASTLE: G.D. 25p; ENFIELD: Z.J. £1; LONDON NW2: D.S. £2; SYDNEY: C. & R.P.: £4.06; LONDON N10: A.W. £16; SACRAMENTO, Calif.: R.F. £1.37; CORINTH Vt.: V. & T.R.J.: £3; GLASGOW: A.J. 20p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 50p; J.K.W. 10p; CHRISTCHURCH, N.Z.: S.H. £2.05;

TOTAL: £ 52.63
Previously acknowledged £ 340.25

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 349.88

ERRATUM

The lines missing from the article "Letters from Exile" of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman (this issue, Anarchist Review, bottom of Col. 1 P.5) are:

It has dehumanized the German masses and completely robbed them of all revolutionary spirit and libertarian feelings. It is no exaggeration to say that the German Social Democracy has throughout its existence been training slaves, and that particularly...

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THE NEXT ISSUE OF FREEDOM'S ANARCHIST REVIEW WILL CONTAIN AN ARTICLE BY PAUL AVRICH on Makhno and his Biographers.

Out on 12th April, 1975

MEETINGS

WOMEN'S LIBERATION National Conference MANCHESTER April 5/6 at Abram Moss Centre, Registration fee £2.50 to 218 Upper Brook St., Manchester, 13. (Say if bringing children, how many and what ages.)

LONDON Saturday May 3. ANARCHIST GALA (Anarchist Black Cross.) Details to be announced.

CONCERT MAY 3 (Sat.) Large & Small Conway Halls. Details to be announced. Keep the date free: In aid of anarchist prisoners everywhere

MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Enquire Secretary c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M17 2DU.

NEW YORK Libertarian Book Club Lectures, every second Thursday at 7 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Avenue (SW corner 29th Street)

April 10: Paul Berman: Anarchism and the American Novel.

April 24 Robert Barnes: Class, Culture and Revolt

CONTACT

W.E.A. Central London. 6-meetings course, fee £1. "Modern Radical Movements"; Anarchism, Communism, Trotskyism. Tutor: Sheila Rowbotham, B.A. Mondays 6.30. Start April 7, at 29b Torrington Sq. WC1

PUBLICATIONS

NEWSLETTER for all anarchists, subversives etc. in the North West. Send a few 9" x 4" SAEs to Andy Sidwell, 14 Tulketh Avenue, Ashton, Preston, Lancashire.

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) for information read Industrial Unionist from Freedom Bookshop 10p + 5p or from Organising Committee, 116 Chadderton Way, Oldham, Lancs. (Greater London local ring Watford 39124)

THE MATCH! U.S. Anarchist Monthly. News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. P.O. Box 3480, Tucson, Arizona 85722, \$3.00 per year - or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy, 13p including post.

Recevez journal individualiste La Feuille. Ecrivez a M. Stephane Lefort, a/s Monde Libertaire, 3 rue Ternaux, Paris 75011, France. North American Individualist paper soon off the press, The Vulture - write to C.P. 95, Stn. Place D'Armes Montreal, P.Q., Canada.

Direct Action No. 6 out now. Obtainable from Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester and Freedom Bookshop (5p + 5p post)

Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists, by Makhno, Arshinov, Mett, Valevsky, Linsky. An Anarchist Workers Assn. pamphlet, 20p + post from AWA, 13 Colman St., Hull.

POEMS & SONGS WANTED from all over the world, for Abolish War Encyclopaedia/Anthology. Pacifist, Anti Militarist, Anti Racialist, also Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal Statements, any language, all welcome. Mark Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church Street, London, S.E.5.

GROUPS

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write to 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick, Coventry.

EDINBURGH. Contact Bob Gibson, 7 Union Street, Edinburgh (tel. 031 226 3073)

GLASGOW. Contact Gerry Cranwell, 163 Great George Street, Hillhead, Glasgow.

PORTSMOUTH. Write to Rob Atkinson at 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants.

N. London Anarchist Workers Association for working class anarchist activity in N. London. Write: BCM-N. Lon. AWA, London WC1V 6XX.

NEW ZEALAND anarchists contact Steve Hey, 54 Bucanans Road, Christchurch 4. Phone 496-793.

PRISONERS

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219039, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS. Letters & postcards please

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Address for letters and papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKENEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 259, 240 Camden High St., London, NW1. Needs donations to supply books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

NOTE: Latest date for receipt of items (news, contact, letters, articles) for inclusion in our next issue is MONDAY 7th April

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