

COAL IN THE BALLOT BOX?

AS WE GO to press it is possible that Mr. Heath will play his trump card to solve all our energy and economic problems at a stroke. He will go to the country, submit the resignation of his government to the queen or, in short, admit his policy has failed and that, backed up by confidence of some of the electorate he could try all over again -- with almost the same policies!

It is quite unlikely that the miners - or the Arab sheikhs - will be impressed with this bid for popularity. It is unlikely to dig an ounce more of coal or squeeze out a pint more oil for our money but it is the kind of grand empty gesture that passes for political wisdom.

On the other side of the house Mr. Wilson too waits for his hour to come round again. His return to office will perform no miracle save for a little more honeymoon overtures to a more tractable Trade Union movement - however the unions have not forgotten Barbara Castle's "In Place of Strife" and what will Wilson do for an incomes

policy?

The miners are tough, they have not forgotten the betrayal by the Trade Unions in 1926 when they were left to fight on alone. Or the mirage of rationalization and the wholesale closing down of pits and the switch to oil-fuels which marked the Labour government's term of office.

The propaganda for the next election has been well-placed beforehand - as usual. Whose finger is on the controls? Are the unions to have the power over the electorate or is the democratically elected government? Every delay by a union so that the democratic process may be seen to operate is taken as 'evasion'. Swift dictatorial decisions by the government are taken as 'firmness' -- no matter how muddled! The waspish rejection by Mr. Barber (personally) of the Trade Unions' slightly sham and shop-worn olive branch was immediately repudiated by Mr. Heath who took a more urbane step in taking seriously the doubts of the Confederation of British Industry. Ultimately it was disclosed that

the offer of the T.U.C. not to mention the miners' "special case" as a reason for wage increases was never mentioned to the miners.

Meanwhile, all the old stuff about reds under the bed - or in the bed - is being dusted off from other elections and Mr. Heath's sole comfort (if he needs one) is a Daily Mail opinion poll. On his own right flank Enoch Powell is going round saying "I told you so" as the deflationary cuts in the Social Services bite home.

As an election it promises to be a little livelier than the last one but it will not, whatever the result, bring one more ton of coal out of the ground. This can only be done by the miners, and can only be done by recognizing the miners' social worth which, in this imperfect world and society, can only unfortunately be done by cash payments which are an unsatisfactory substitute for recognition of the danger, disease and artificially created degradation of the miner.

Jack Robinson.

SPANISH RESISTANCE

OUR COMRADE Salvador Puig has been sentenced to death. If General Franco gives the go-ahead for this judicial murder Salvador Puig will die before a firing squad.

He is an active member of the resistance against fascism in Spain and as such he poses a real threat to the dictatorship, which has ruled since 1939. The fascists will be crying out for revenge following the assassination of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco.

In order to save Salvador Puig's life it is necessary for an international campaign of protest and action to deter the Franco regime from taking his life.

Salvador Puig was captured following a shoot-out with armed police during a bank robbery last year. No doubt as usual the regime will claim that he was merely a "bandit". Needless to say, the bank robbery was not for personal gain but in order to raise

urgently needed funds to continue the struggle for freedom.

ALL SERENE IN SPAIN?

The blasting of Carrero Blanco, the trial and sentences of "the Carabancel Ten", accused of being members of the illegal "Comisiones Obreras", the heavy jail and death sentences imposed on members of M.I.L. (Movimiento Iberico Libertario) are, among others, indications that the fascist regime is far from being ideologically accepted by the Spanish people. To days after the death of Carrero Blanco, La Vanguardia Espanola - the staunch fascist paper - felt obliged to print an editorial, "Serenity", in which it acknowledges that it cannot be denied that the assassination of the Admiral Carrero Blanco is a grave political attack that falls over the country which is facing future circumstances which do not appear easy. Paying tribute to the loyalty of the Spanish institutions (the fascist ones of course) the same editorial congratulates the leaders of the

Nation for having shown serenity in the face of this attack. "Nothing would have been more justified than some moments of disorientation and vacillation, some gestures of inquietude, nervousness or pain caused by this criminal act. Such reaction would have been extremely dangerous."

It is clear now that the fascist regime did fear serious troubles caused by the violent death of Carrero Blanco. Again, in the same editorial, La Vanguardia Espanola went out of its way to state: "...the brutal disappearance of this essential piece of our political system did not produce the institutional and political commotion that we had feared."

The Spanish fascists know better than anybody else that opposition to their regime is serious and stronger than ever. This editorial, full of praise for those who rallied around Franco lets it clearly transpire that the regime expected troubles from the anti-fascist forces. (Why these foreces

continued on P. 2

SPAIN

were not set in motion is another matter that we hope time will tell.) As far as the Spanish anarchists are concerned, the struggle against fascism never stopped and today they are still resisting it in a revolutionary manner, putting aside reformist and electoral "struggles" which characterise the authoritarian Left in Spain and Portugal.

* * * * *

To those anarchists who have some doubts about "removing" by force tyrants and despots we just say the death of Carrero Blanco has plunged the Spanish regime into its most acute and serious crisis since the end of World War II. The opposition to the regime is coming from all anti-fascist quarters and by now Franco's jails are bursting at the seams, full of political prisoners.

It is up to us to prolong this crisis which is putting the fascists against the wall by supporting the anarchist comrades who are organising themselves in order to eventually smash fascism in the Iberian peninsula. The international reaction to the death sentence passed on our comrade Salvador Puig Antich is already causing some apprehension in the Cortes in Madrid. The chances are that our comrade will not be executed due to pressures put on Franco by international public opinion abroad and resistance at home. An intensification of the Spanish repression could lead to serious political agitation in Spain. According to a Spanish comrade who is in close contact with Barcelona, the execution of Salvador Puig Antich would unleash all over Spain retaliative and punitive action against fascism.

It is up to us anarchists to make sure that our Spanish comrades don't run short of any material and ideological support. They need now as much money as you can spare. The best way to show your solidarity with our Spanish comrades is to donate to the Spanish Resistance Fund c/o I.P. & P.T., "Freedom", 84B Whitechapel High St. London E.1.

THE CONFIRMATION or commutation of Salvador Puig Antich's death sentence by the War Council in Barcelona could take, according to Le Monde (12.1.73) several weeks. His defence lawyer has lodged an appeal against the death sentence.

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST

LAST THURSDAY (10 Jan) about two thousand people demonstrated in Paris in protest against the death sentence. Among the organisations taking part were:

Rouge; Revolution; Lutte Ouvrière; ORA; Youth Alliance for Socialism; La Liga Comunista Revolucionnaire; ETA VI, and the Anti-Fascist and Patriotic Revolutionary Front.

This demonstration extended its solidarity to the "Carabanchel 10", members of the Communist and illegal "Comisiones Obreras" who recently received heavy jail sentences in Madrid.

TOULOUSE - on 10 Jan. about 30 left-wing militants occupied the pro-fascist Spanish Cultural Centre. The French police did intervene, checking the identity of the occupants. The same evening a group of about 10 people broke the front windows of the Bank of Spain and an incendiary bomb was thrown into the offices, causing a fire to start.

TURIN - a bomb exploded (10 Jan) in front of the Spanish Consulate and Chamber of Commerce, causing extensive damage without anyone being hurt.

BARCELONA - three small bombs exploded on Friday (11 Jan). One damaged the war memorial to the Franquists who died during the civil war.

ZURICH - the Spanish Consulate was the object of a bomb attack

LONDON - comrades demonstrated on Saturday (12 Jan) outside the Iberian Airways offices in Regent Street. Leaflets explaining our protest and the nature of the fascist state were given out. These were well received and although our protest was not so explosive as others, the office was forced to close early.

SUPPORT

The Confederation of Free Trade Unions (C.I.S.L.) and Amnesty International in Paris sent telegrams to Franco demanding the pardon of Salvador Puig Antich. The French trade unions, CGT, CFDT, the FEN, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the PSU and the League of Human Rights also sent a telegram to Franco requesting that "the life of Salvador Puig Antich should be spared."

The International Federation of Human Rights telegraphed UNO general secretary Kurt Waldheim asking him to "intervene with the Spanish Government in order to obtain the pardon of Salvador Puig Antich". The C.M.T. (Christian International Confederation of Workers) also sent a telegram to the general secretary of UNO asking him to "intervene and request Franco to save the life of Salvador Puig Antich".

Professor Federico Alessandrini, a Vatican spokesman, stated "I believe that action will be taken in favour of the young Catalan anarchist, Salvador Puig Antich."

COMMENT

With the exception of the Daily Telegraph, which published the most comprehensive news about the death sentence on Salvador Puig Antich, the British press has chosen to ignore the fascist repression in Barcelona.

Of the Sunday press, only the Observer (13.1.73) managed to write an article "Spain faces anarchist reprisals", in which Stuart Christie, "the Scots anarchist released from a Spanish jail in 1967 after serving 3 years of a 20 year sentence for an attempt on Franco's life, said he imagined that Puig's comrades would try something very soon".

According to this paper "Mr. Christie, who is Secretary of the Anarchist Black Cross, which seeks to help political prisoners, said that he considered kidnapping to be the most likely retaliation. 'The sort of protest,' added Stuart Christie, 'that went off in Zurich and Turin, which are really gestures not intended to injure anybody, don't exert so much leverage on Franco as a kidnapping.'"

Claude.

PRESS FUND

THANK YOU, COMRADES, FOR A GOOD START TO A NEW YEAR. Please help us to a bigger FREEDOM by sending in all renewals as soon as you can.

Contributions 1 - 9 January

SALERNO: G.M. 80p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 30p; J.L.: £1.20; J.H. & R.H. £2; WEMBLEY: R.G. 16p; Anon 9p; ST. CLOUD, Minn.: M.G.A. £22; ISLEWORTH: L.K.W. £1.25; CHELTENHAM: L.G.W. 75p; STOCKHOLM: O.H. 55p; GOTHENBURG: V.K. £2.57; LEEDS: G.H.L. 17p; GLASGOW: J. H. B. 65p; NOTTINGHAM: A.B. 15; FIFE: C.H.K. £2.60; STOCKPORT: D.W. £6.75; ILFORD: A.G. £1.10; HITCHIN: L.A. £1.75; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; MAIDSTONE: M.P. 75p; LONDON E.4: S. & A. G 50p; CARDIFF: L.E. 75p; BIRMINGHAM: T.H. £1.75; SEVENOAKS: B.R. 50p; ABERYSTWYTH: R.C.M.C. £1.75; HOVE: B.P. 75p; ST. ALBANS: R.A.P. 25p; LONDON SW2: M.S.D. £1.75; LONDON WC1: A.J. 25p; OXFORD: J.H. 50p; LONDON E7: J.R. £1.75; LONDON NW2: D.S. £5; ILFORD: A.G. 75p; LONDON NW6: B.S. £3.70; SUTTON: B.R. £3; CHELTENHAM: J.L. 37p; NEW YORK: P.A. £11.50; NEW MALDEN: G.B. £1; LEEDS: S.R.D. 60p; LONDON E17: B.J.M. 75p; LONDON N7: J.H.J. £3.55; WARE: A.F.S. £5; LONDON SW18: J.A.M. £1.25;

TOTAL: £94.96

THE USEFUL SPECTRE

THE REASON given by the government for the joint police and army action at London Airport was that information had been received that Arab "terrorists" might fire SAM 7 missiles on Israeli airliners. Just how great was this possibility is difficult to assess. It is true that people had earlier been arrested for bringing in arms but this so-called threat has given the authorities a chance to mount a joint operation without much opposition from the general public. The impression has been created that this mobilisation has been against a foreign attack and we have been treated to the spectacle which has become part of the daily pattern of life in Belfast.

But wherever the military is used our liberties are at stake. We have seen it happen in Northern Ireland. Perhaps those six counties don't count for many people but imprisonment without trial and torture are used as a method of interrogation. One ex-officer interviewed on television last week thought the army should have been given a freer hand to root out "terrorists".

For some the present social and economic situation in this country calls for much firmer government. These people only favour "democracy" when their social and economic position is not threatened. When this seems imminent they quickly turn to an authoritarian answer which could mean a military takeover or at least the military defending "democracy" with guns.

continued on P. 7



In Brief

Pat Arrowsmith, who was to have appeared before the (very apt) Warminster Magistrates' Court on Tuesday, 8 January to face charges under the Incitement to Disaffection Act and the Public Order Act, refused to appear before the court and a warrant has been issued. She was charged in connection with the distribution of a B.W.N.I. leaflet at Army married quarters. Pat Arrowsmith claims in a statement that others have distributed the same leaflet and "I have been singled out and am being victimized... /I consider/ that the British Government are the criminals. It is they, not I, a pacifist who are breaching the peace by maintaining an army of occupation in Northern Ireland." According to the Guardian Pat is now in Dublin from where she thinks she cannot be extradited.

Michael Schroeren, member of the German Grassroots Revolution group was arrested at NATO headquarters at München-Gladbach for distributing B.W.N.I. leaflets (fact-sheets).

A Spanish judge investigating the assassination of Luis Carrero Blanco has asked for the extradition from France of six members of the Basque ETA group.

The Nov-Dec 1973 issue of The Pacifist, the journal of the Peace Pledge Union (15p from 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1) contains a supplement on Crime and Punishment with a reprint of an article by Douglas Curtis, co-founder of PROP. The journal of the Institute for the Study of Non-Violence (still seeking a title) contains in its Oct-Nov 1973 issue articles on Cesar Chavez and the Grape-Pickers strike (\$5 a year, Box 10C1, Palo Alto, California 94302). The Peacemaker, 10208 Sylvan Avenue, /Gano/, Cincinnati, Ohio 45241, is still appearing (sub \$3). Peace News is still a weekly and available from Freedom Booms at 7p + 3p or £2.47 for 6 mos. sub (5 Caledonian Road, London N.1).

Police Review printed an identity-kit guide to the shoulder-flashes and brassards indicating the higher echelons of the force. It apparently contained errors since the last issue had a new picture - to be pasted over the old, wrong one. Wouldn't do to greet as a sub-Inspector-General a Commodore-Superintendent's Assistant Deputy.

The Soviet weekly Literary Gazette attacked the BBC Russian Service for publicising George Orwell's views on 'The Freedom of the Press'. It also attacked Animal Farm as "a malicious caricature of the revolution, which slanderously pictures the revolutionary people as a herd of animals". Literary Gazette defends "the most hardened Conservative publishers" for not publishing it. Orwell, goes on the Gazette, never visited the Soviet Union and collected material for 1984 from "murky émigré sources" including Zamyatin's 'We'.

David Markham, secretary of the Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals (Lear Cottage, Coleman's Hatch, Hartfield, Sussex) writes to the Observer that the picture of 'Orel Prison' in the Observer is in fact Oryel 'hospital'. A distinction without much difference.

The United States Supreme Court ruled that states may not keep the Communist Party off the ballots simply because it advocated the overthrow of the government. There must, they ruled, be concrete action aimed at accomplishing it.

Our admirable contemporary Inside Story ceases publication with its January issue. They write, "Since several of us are joining the Anarchy collective, we hope that some subscribers will transfer their subs to Anarchy - which we hope will start to appear more regularly than in the recent past". A complete set of Inside Story is available from 3 Belmont Road, London, S.W.4. for £1.50 post free. By no means a counter-balance to this sad news but nevertheless a burst of ribaldry is the sporadic re-appearance of East London Speed-Freak, the solely begotten progeny of George Foulser. Obtainable from Freedom Books at 5p plus postage 3p.

A French film director specializing in gangster films went on trial in Paris charged with robbing seven banks to finance a film "Shoot-out".

Three Welsh newspapers, the Western Mail, The South Wales Echo and the South Wales Argus refused to publish an advertisement from the miners' union which called on the newspapers to be more fair in their presentation of the miners' case.

Barrie Quartermain, who will be remembered for his strong-arm tactics in the Ilford squat, has been arrested in South Africa; he is wanted on a driving charge and an alleged blackmail offence in this country. Perhaps he thought he wouldn't be noticed in South Africa.

FREEDOM PRESS

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET

LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

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

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution
V. Richards cloth £1.50 \$4.00
paper £0.75 \$2.00
post 15p

A B C of Anarchism, Alexander
Berkman 25p post 4p
US 75c post free

About Anarchism, What Anarchists
Believe, How Anarchists Differ...
Nicolas Walter 121p post 3p
US 40c post free

Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism
Rudolf Rocker 20p post 4p
US 65c post free

The State: Its Historic Role
P. Kropotkin 20p post 4p
US 65c post free

List of other titles including
Selections from FREEDOM 1954-64;
Back issues ANARCHY 1961-70 on
request.



BOOKSHOP OPEN Tues-Fri 2 - 6 p.m.
(Thursdays to 8.00 p.m.)
Saturdays 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.

Any book not in stock but in
print can be supplied. Please
add postage as in brackets.

Housman World Peace Diary. Dble
page a week with 64pp Int. Dir.
of Peace Orgs. £0.50 (4p)

*The Utopian Vision of Charles
Fourier, ed. by Jonathan
Beecher & Richard Bienvenu
£1.75(19p)

*Rebel America: The story of So-
cial Revolt in the United States
Lillian Symes & Travers Clement
£1.75(19p)

*Paths in Utopia - Martin Buber
on Proudhon, Kropotkin, Landauer
and others £1.05 (9p)

*The Works of Gerard Winstanley
ed. by George H. Sabine, 686pp.
£6.00(28p)

*Mutual Aid, Peter Kropotkin
£0.90(19p)

*Anarchism - Paul Eltzbacher on
Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bak-
unin, Kropotkin, Tucker &
Tolstoi £3.50(19p)

The Slavery of Our Time, Leo
Tolstoy £0.25 (4p)

*William Godwin, Elton E. Smith
& Esther G. Smith £3.75(13p)
What Rough Beast? Alex Comfort
with an introduction by Colin
Ward £0.15 (5p)

*denotes title published in USA

BERKMAN'S UNCLE

IT IS SELDOM easy to explain why a person becomes a revolutionist. The reasons are often complex and sometimes quite impenetrable. Frequently, however, the influence of a friend or relative plays a part--at times a decisive part--especially during the impressionable years of childhood and adolescence. Such was the case with Alexander Berkman. In his Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist Berkman speaks with great emotion about "my favourite uncle Maxim", his mother's youngest brother, whose banishment to Siberia for revolutionary activities helped to set young Sasha on a similar path. Berkman took his uncle as a model of revolutionary courage and dedication, "my ideal of a noble and great man," he called him many years later, when his own revolutionary career was drawing to a close.

Who then was "Uncle Maxim"? A letter in Berkman's archives in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam reveals his full identity, which had not (to the best of my knowledge) been brought to light until I briefly noted it in my introduction to the Dover edition of Berkman's What Is Communist Anarchism? (New York, 1972). In 1932, four years before his death, Berkman received a request for biographical information from a correspondent for the Associated Press named Hudson Hawley. In his reply (dated June 12, 1932) Berkman identifies his uncle as "Maxim" [Mark] Nathanson, one of the leading figures in the Russian revolutionary movement, whose long career, spanning half a century from the heyday of Populism through the 1917 Revolution, strikingly paralleled his own.

Max Nathanson--or Mark Andreievich Natanson, to give the Russian form of his name--was born in 1849 of a well-to-do Jewish family in Vilna province. As a medical student in St. Petersburg at the end of the 1860s, he organized a revolutionary commune whose members, above all Natanson himself, opposed the immoralism of Sergei Nechaev, for whom every crime and treachery was justified in order to overthrow the tsarist order. (See my essay on "Bakunin and Nechaev", serialized in FREEDOM in November and December 1973). Instead, Natanson sought a "revolutionary ethic" based on libertarian rather than authoritarian methods. Inspired by the decentralist socialism of Fourier and Owen, his brand of Populism was strongly tinged with anarchist sympathies; and he was admired by his comrades

for his clear-headedness, organizing ability, integrity, and self-sacrifice, traits which his nephew was to exhibit in equal measure.

In 1869 Natanson took an active part in student disorders in the capital, and the following year he was arrested and briefly imprisoned in the notorious Peter and Paul fortress. In 1871 he was expelled from the medical academy for distributing radical literature. Undaunted, he threw his energies into organizing the so-called Chaikovsky circle, of which Kropotkin and Stepniak were among his fellow members. Arrested in November 1871, he was deported a few months later to Archangel province, but after being moved to Voronezh and to Finland, he escaped in 1875 and returned to St. Petersburg where he led a precarious underground existence.

By this time the Chaikovsky Circle had been riddled by arrests. Kropotkin, for one, was locked up in the prison of St. Petersburg Military Hospital after spending nearly two years of solitary confinement in the dungeons of Peter and Paul. It was Natanson, interestingly enough, who organized Kropotkin's sensational escape on June 30, 1876, and who drove the coach which spirited his comrade to safety.

Natanson next turned his organizational talents to the formation of Land and Liberty, the largest revolutionary society in Russia during the 1870s. To establish connections and gain recruits he travelled from city to city--Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa--rallying the scattered Populist groups under the common banner of overthrowing the autocracy and emancipating the people. He also journeyed abroad to confer with Lavrov and other expatriates (though he did not see Bakunin, who died the same year, on July 1, 1876). Returning to St. Petersburg, he organized a network for smuggling revolutionary literature from abroad and also took part in the famous demonstration of December 6, 1876 in front of the Kazan Cathedral, in which George Plekhanov, the "father of Russian Marxism" (though then a follower of Bakunin), was another participant.

Natanson was arrested again in 1877 and, after two years in the Peter and Paul fortress, was exiled to Siberia where he remained for the next ten years. When he returned to St. Petersburg he took up where he had

left off, organizing the Party of People's Rights, which formed a link between Land and Liberty and the future Socialist Revolutionaries. In April 1894, however, he was once again arrested and banished to Siberia until the beginning of the new century.

In 1905 Natanson joined the Socialist Revolutionaries and soon became a member of their executive committee. Always on the extreme left wing of the party (and therefore quite close to the anarchists), he was--like his nephew--a staunch anti-militarist during the First World War, taking part in the famous Zimmerwald Conference of September 1915, where he called for the transformation of the war into a social revolution. With the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917 he returned to Petrograd as one of the oldest and most respected veterans of the revolutionary movement.

After the October Revolution Natanson was, with Maria Spiridonova, I. N. Steinberg, and Boris Kamkov, a founder of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, who formed a temporary coalition with the Bolsheviks in the Soviet government. But he soon became disillusioned with the new dictatorship. With the anarchists he criticized the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the growing centralization of power, and the persecution of other revolutionary groups. In 1918 he finally emigrated to Switzerland, a deeply disappointed man, and died in Bern (the burial place of Bakunin) on July 22, 1919.

Paul Avrich.

The French Government has declared that the workers at the Lip watch factory must return to work by Jan. 15th - otherwise, the Prime Minister proclaimed, "Lip is finished". Last week workers entered the empty factory which is the proposed works for the armaments section of Lip and removed many of the doors, windows and roof-tiles to prevent the use of the building and the reduction of the original watch factory.

A jury at the Old Bailey decided, by a majority, after six hours' deliberation, that a book Street Boy Swinging London (about a male prostitute) was not obscene. However the distributor was fined £300 for possession of 1,368 magazines and books described as "hard-core pornography".

Sancho Panza

LETTERS

NORWEGIAN FEDERATION

redruth days

CHILE

Dear comrades,

It is distressing to see S. E. Parker, of all people, iterating the sloppy argument (FREEDOM 5.1.74) that because all governments are enemies of individuality, the differences between them are insignificant. Parker himself, with commendable energy, pronounces, writes and publishes all kinds of statements against government and against the prevailing anti-individual morality. It must surely be significant to him that some governments, such as the present regime in Chile, suppress all dissent with the utmost vigour, while others, such as the Allende regime, make only slight difficulties for the opposition.

The object of anarchism is to increase the range of individual opportunity. It is ridiculous to say that, short of absolute individual sovereignty, whether individuals have more or less power is unimportant.

Fraternally,

Donald Rooum

APELO

PORTUGUESE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

SINCE 1934, date on which it went into exile in order to avoid total destruction by the fascists in power, the Portuguese Anarchist Movement has slowly withered away and today only a few members of this movement exist, some living in Europe, some in Canada, U.S.A., Central and South America, and I presume some in Australia. Others are still living in Portugal, completely isolated by the fear of individual repression. It is regrettable that such a movement, which up to 1930 was in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle in Portugal, was allowed to "die". Since 1969 some libertarian groups have tried to emerge in the cities of Lisbon and Oporto but because of their isolation, completely cut off from the revolutionary past of the Movement and without material support from outside, these groupings had to disband and once again their members isolated themselves as in 1934.

In order to support the activity of young libertarians who in Portugal are tempted to do something in the field of revolutionary thinking and action, a few comrades who actually live abroad would like to revive the Portuguese Anarchist Movement in Exile, and publish a monthly pa-

Here everything is going well. During Xmas we have had our second all-Norwegian congress this year, and have been discussing plans for a "Norwegian Federation of Libertarian Socialists". We have made a programme 'Where We Stand', with class analysis and libertarian history. The group in Trondheim is very active and now publishes a monthly paper which is the most revolutionary paper in Norway today. Here in Oslo there is also a paper, more theoretical and cultural, which is sold over the whole country. It comes every second month, is called The People's Paper and sells 3 to 4 thousand copies. The one in Trondheim is called The Town Paper and goes to 1000 copies. We have also got an A4 printing machine again, and will soon start to make pamphlets.

The bookshop is now looking better with a new floor and new "clothing". Being in Oslo sales are good. The record is £15 in one afternoon. Oslo District Federation of Libertarian Socialists are also working away. The group in the eastern part of Oslo has many people in a study-circle on anarchism and libertarian socialism; especially economics studies.

Fraternally,

Michael Hudtwalcker

Hoff. Terr. 1
OSLO 2, Norway.

per which would link all the Portuguese comrades living in the "four corners of the world" and those trying to struggle in Portugal.

We appeal to anyone or any group interested in helping us to revive the Portuguese Anarchist Movement to put us in contact with Portuguese anarchists wherever they live. This appeal is specially addressed to Spanish, Brazilian, and other Central or South American comrades who could have had the occasion in the past to be in contact with members of the old Portuguese Anarchist Movement.

Please send us also any information relevant to this subject. We beg anyone reading this appeal to translate it in his own language and ensure that it will receive the maximum publicity in the international anarchist press. Please forward any information to CLAUDE PIQUEMAL, c/o O CLARÃO (publicação de textos anarquistas) 84B Whitechapel High Street, Angel Alley, London, E.1. England.

REDRUTH DAYS by Dennis Gould. Whisper & Shout 2, c/o Books & Things, 6 Penryn St. Redruth, Cornwall. (25p, post 3p) or from Freedom Bookshop

A new book by an English anarchist poet. Imaginately designed. Poems for Patchen, Goldman, Apollinaire, Shelley, Blake and all we human animal outlaw beasts. "...better to write one poem down the road than sit inside any institution". That includes the open concentration camps of capitalism.

Julian Beck articulated his non-violent anarchist revolutionary poetry in the New York sixties and Dennis Gould now sings the same songs with different words and rhythms. From general roots of oppression - "Thee Middle-Clarse/hath a great fat arse!" to its obscene flowerings:-
"Of course, there is no housing problem

So, naturally, to squash their hasty direct action we called a meeting but, foolishly, they occupied a building without authority we passed resolutions yet, obviously, they belong to a political party we congratulated each other: church and party/they, anarchists & agitators, did their job successfully meanwhile, in every district, cottages stand empty."

Starkly simple, with direct emotion and beauty "beyond pews of anarchy's utopia".

Right on brother Dennis!

"obey no laws love government is nothing free say the word love move into me move in with me."

Dave Cunliffe.

SUBSCRIBE to FREEDOM

1974 RATES

Inland, & Surface Mail Abroad

One year	£3.25	\$8.10
Six months	£1.62½	\$4.05
Three months	85p	\$2.10

Airmail

Europe	1 year	£4.00
N.Africa & M.E.	1 year	£4.25
The Americas	1 year	\$13.00
India, Africa &c.	1 year	£4.75
Australasia,		
Japan &c	1 year	£5.25
(six months pro rata)		

2 copies £5.85 (\$14.00) per yr.

BULK: 10 copies 40p

PLEASE RENEW SOON if your subscription has expired.

RENT STRIKE OVER

USEFUL SPECTRE contd. from P.3

AT THE LAST meeting of the Tower Hill 'Unfair Rents' Action Group, it was agreed by a substantial majority to call off the rent strike that we have been on for the last 15 months. This decision was not taken lightly and a lot of discussion and debate went into the two meetings that we had prior to calling the rent strike off.

The reasons that we called it off should be apparent to the majority of the tenants who have had the guts to have been on rent strike for 15 months. But just to put the record straight for any tenants who have not attended the action group meetings since the jailing of the rent strikers; the main reasons are: (1) When we went round to the factories, building sites etc. we got absolutely no support whatsoever from the trade union sector. (We do recognise and appreciate the solidarity of our brothers and sisters at Anglia Paper Products, the only factory to strike in support of the Tower Hill tenants.)

(2) We did at one time hope for more support after the Xmas holidays but because of the short-time working in industry it became obvious that many workers were now going on the defensive, to protect guaranteed weeks, &c. and the tenants issue would be pushed into the background. Without mass industrial support there is no way whatsoever of getting any of our jailed brothers out of jail, unless they (purged their contempt' and made arrangements to pay up. This way the court and the council could have picked us off one by one, also the council upon seeing the lack of support could have reversed the decision of no evictions and undertaken to try to evict tenants remaining on rent strike. This could be a real possibility if tenants were jailed and had to purge their contempt one after the other;

the demoralisation of this could leave the way open to the council to do what they liked.

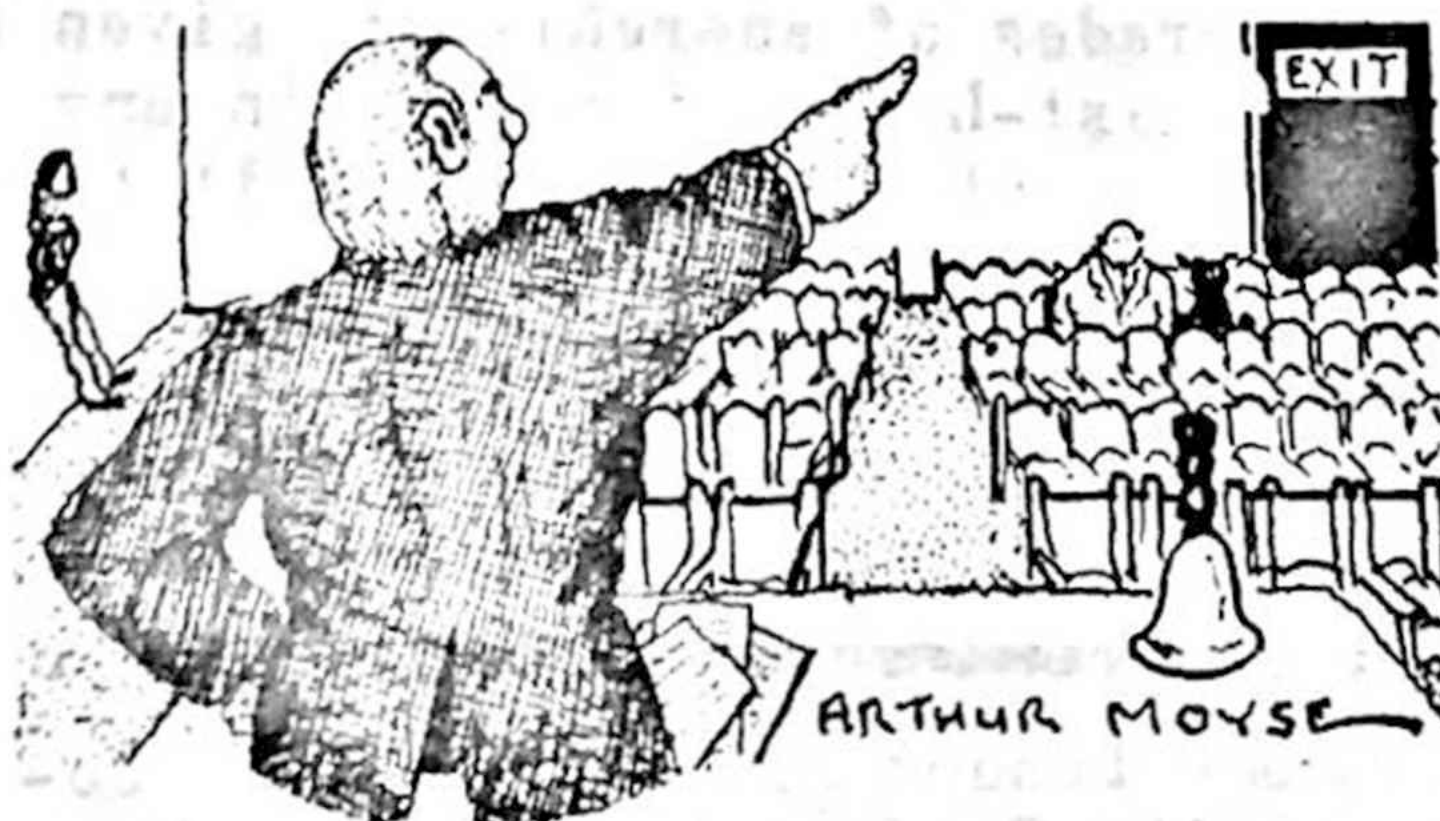
Given these ugly but true facts the action group decided to call the rent strike off while we still had the strength to bargain with the council; if we had continued many of the tenants would have gone to the council to make offers to pay up, leaving the remainder isolated. The council have agreed, in order to end the rent strike, to accept repayment of the rent arrears at a maximum of £1 per week; in certain cases the council will be prepared to accept lesser amounts but the tenants will have to go up to the council and discuss this with them. The council have also agreed to stop all legal proceedings against rent strikers.

NO MATTER WHAT IS SAID ABOUT THE TENANTS OF TOWER HILL WE CAN HOLD OUR HEADS UP BECAUSE OF THE MAGNIFICENT FIGHT THAT WE HAVE PUT UP AGAINST THIS FOUL ACT.

Tower Hill "Unfair Rents" Action Group.

Our correspondent adds:

Some of us wanted to keep the rent strike going (even though we couldn't get industrial support). Because of the 3-day week people won't be able to pay their rent. We saw this as an opportunity to get more people to go on rent strike, but some of the tenants (I should have said the majority) put too much faith in the trade unions and when union support never came they thought it was now a useless fight.



"ALL MY LIFE BROTHERS I'VE ADVOCATED THAT THE MILITANT WORKING CLASS SHOULD, THROUGH THE UNIONS, USE THE STRIKE WEAPON TO OVERTHROW THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM BUT ONLY IN THEORY BROTHERS, ONLY IN THEORY."

Chapman Pincher of the Daily Express thinks that the airport alert might be less to do with a terrorist threat than with a full dress rehearsal for action against other groups. "The Home Office decided to use the Arab terrorist alert to test a much greater security plan against terrorism and subversion by Arabs, Irishmen, the Angry Brigade or from any other quarter."

It was also reported in The Times over a year ago that the Army was worried about "law and order" in this country. "We are worrying about society a hell of a lot more than we used to. The whole period of the miners' strike made us realise that the present size of the police force is too small... Things have now got to the stage where there are not enough resources to deal with the increasing numbers who are not prepared to respect the law..."

The sight of 6000 demonstrators at Saltley Coke depot in Birmingham during the miners' strike in 1972 has brought it home to the authorities that they have to be prepared for any repeat of Saltley. At a seminar on Police-Army relations, the Assistant Chief Constable for Bath claimed that if all police leave was cancelled they could outnumber pickets. However if they couldn't do this it would be an "insurrection" and the army would be called in to assist the police.

Is it not possible that the present energy crisis could lead to further industrial unrest; that the three-day working week could change into a bid to occupy places of work, with the army moving in to defend property. It is because of the increasing class conflict that is occurring in recent years that Police-Army co-operation is taking place. The imprisonment of three pickets at the Shrewsbury trial shows that the authorities are prepared to use their fullest powers under the law to crush militancy among trade unionists.

The Army-Police co-operation is an indication that these joint operations might be used against trade unionists. In fact the same police officer - Deputy Assistant Commissioner Gerrard - who was in control of the Heathrow show of strength is also head of the anti-picket intelligence co-ordination.

If in the present energy crisis industrial action spreads to other workers and they start to take over their places of work the authorities will not hesitate to use the army to restore "order". The Heathrow rehearsal could be a softening-up process to prepare the public for an armed intervention during such industrial conflicts.

P.T.

BELFAST NINE DEFENCE COMMITTEE
88 Roslyn Road, London N.15

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE is at 54 Harcombe Rd. London, N. 15.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE: Paolo Breschi, C.P. 4263, 20100 MILAN, Italy.

THE RELEASE MARTIN SOSTRE COMMITTEE (U.K. group) 82A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (tel. 586 2038), Trying to raise £5,000 Fighting Fund to assist appeals & combat his ill-treatment in prison. Donations above address

Review **UKRAINE: CAMPAIGN FOR RELEASE**

UKRAINE, Unrest and Repression
by Andrea Martin. The Committee
to Defend Ivan Dzyube & Vysches-
lav Chornovil, 83 Gregory Cres-
cent, London, S.E.9. (15p)

READERS of FREEDOM may recall an article on the back page of the issue for 10 November last year, where the Committee to Defend Dzyube and Chornovil was mentioned, and something said of the two persons involved. Here in this pamphlet is a wealth of information about Dzyube and Chornovil in particular, but also about some other issues of importance in the contemporary Soviet Union, with particular reference to the Ukraine.

One such issue is the documentation of dissent by working people as well as intellectuals, drawn from the underground publications A Chronicle of Current Events and Ukrainian Herald, both suppressed by the KGB in 1972. One such instance happened in May 1969, when workers at the Kiev Hydro-Electric Station marched in the streets in protest against abominable working and living conditions. Their leading spokesman went on a delegation about this to Moscow, and has not been seen since. Other incidents have occurred in Dniprodzerzhinsk - twice Kiev, and Dnipropetrovsk. The incidents at the Hydro-Electric Station are well documented in an appendix to the pamphlet.

After a brief flowering in the 1920s, Stalin crushed the Ukrainian cultural revolution. Under Krushchev, there was a minor revival of this flowering, but with the coming of the Brezhnev regime has come a tightening up by the KGB against all forms of dissent. New arrivals from the Ukraine have swelled the numbers of Ukrainian inmates of the Mordovian labour camps east of Moscow; anything up to about half of the prisoners there are Ukrainians, many of them nationalists. What is significant about recent arrivals and arrests in the Ukraine is the central point of this pamphlet.

Dzyube and Chornovil spotlight this new significance: they are not nationalists, but Marxist-Leninists. They examine the present Soviet regime, in Dzyube's case primarily on the issue of Russification, while Chornovil documents the violations of civil rights. They are posing the questions: how has Soviet society changed since Lenin's death, and how does official theory match up with practice? Their answers were skilful and devastating; an official reply - for distribution abroad only - was printed in answer to Dzyube's book Internationalism or Russi-

fication. This was necessary, because both authors were attacking the fundamental Soviet thesis that, apart from a few excesses by Stalin, the present government and party leadership is the ideological heir of Lenin.

Dzyube, who has TB, has been released following a recantation in print after KGB pressure. Chornovil has served almost a year of 7 in prison, to be followed by 5 in exile; they are our comrades, and deserve all the support we can give them. The first task is to publicize their condition and that of others like them, languishing in the prisons and labour camps of the Soviet Union. I would urge all readers to get hold of the pamphlet and distribute it as widely as possible. Lobbying and protesting on their behalf should be organized. If only a small part of this gets back to the Soviet Union via broadcasts and the like, we will have given an enormous psychological boost to our comrades. It would also be a good start to the campaign for their release.

M. Malet

/"Dzyube and Chornovil.../are/ Marxist-Leninists...they are our comrades, and deserve all the support we can give them." We certainly do support and hope our readers will and do take part in campaigns to assist Soviet dissidents imprisoned, tortured and robbed of human rights by the Bolshevik regime, whether as nationalists, liberals, intellectuals or any other unpopular minority. But the editors of FREEDOM are not under the illusion that Marxist-Leninists are comrades of anarchists; given a Marxist-Leninist regime in any region of the globe we will be dissidents destined for the concentration camp. --Eds./

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

SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND c/o T.P. & P.T. at FREEDOM (84B Whitechapel High St. London E1)

Secretary N.W. Syndicalist Workers' Federation for details of membership contact J. Moorhouse 559 Didsbury Rd., Heaton Mersey Stockport, Cheshire.

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



New arrangements INT. LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO will meet in future only on Sundays (7 pm) Programme to be announced! All welcome. 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (tel. 586 2038) entrance in Steele's Road, second door.

In support of Political Prisoners ANARCHIST CABARET, Feb. 2 & 16; CABARET OF THE MINORITIES "Gay Chansons" Feb. 9 & 23. All perform at 83A Haverstock Hill start 8 pm sharp. Doors open 7.30 p.m.

LONDON SCH\$ OF NONVIOLENCE at Crypt of St. Martin in the Fields Trafalgar Sw. Mon. 21 Jan GREECE. Wed. 23 Jan. ALTERNATIVE ECONOMICS & TRADE. 6.30 - 9 p.m.

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION meets Sats 2 p.m. at The Robin Farquarson Hse., 37 Mayola Rd. Clapton E.5 (tel. 986 5251). Open to all mental patients & ex-patients. Mtg. followed by coffee & work group. "MPU News" no. 3 avail. soon, price 10p + post.

New York: LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB 1974 Lectures: Alternate Thursdays 7.30 p.m. at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave (SW corner of 29 St.) Admission free. Feb. 28: Sam Dolgoff "The Spanish Collectives"; Mar. 14: Nunzio Pernicone "Errico Malatesta: The Formative Years".

CANDLES made by community residents. All shapes, sizes, colours, scents. Catalogue 5p from Walnut Cottage, Moorland, Bridgwater, Somerset.

ART TEACHER recently arrived from Australia (actively involved in free schools movement) URGENTLY needs place to live. Also wants become involved in community &/or free schools movements. Dick Heley 01-402-8531

MOTHER with child (3), present living situation intolerable, seeks accom. with friendly people in North or East London. Also baby-sitting 2 nights a week so that I can continue attend college. Write Rose, 81 Woodberry Grove, London, N.4.

ANARCHIST WOMEN'S GROUP meets Mondays. Phone 883 2457

CORBY ANARCHISTS, Discussion mtg. first Friday every month at 7 Cresswell Walk, 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool.

LONDON ASA phone 226 0817 for info INDUSTRIAL NETWORK - W. Allin, c/o 9 Wood Road, Manchester 16

IRISH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST FED write New Earth, 112 Thomas St. Dublin 8