

anarchist weekly **Freedom**

5p

Vol. 35 No. 31
3 August, 1974

LIBERTY, MORALITY, AND THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF MAN CONSIST PRECISELY IN THIS, THAT HE DOES GOOD, NOT BECAUSE IT IS COMMANDED, BUT BECAUSE HE CONCEIVES IT, WILLS IT, AND LOVES IT. ---Bakunin.

Cyprus:

FREEDOM IS FOR TAKING

WHILE THE wrangling is still going on about Cyprus -- the Turks confident in their nine points of possession; the Greeks uneasy in their loss of face but acquisition of late respectability; the United Nations baffled in the prospective threat to N.A.T.O.; the British conscious of their powerlessness and need to keep their bases; U.N.O. conscious (as ever) of its impotence in the face of power and Russia sitting-in with poker-playing impassivity -- we only see the Cypriots (be they Greek- or Turkish-) as victims. It is almost impossible to follow the labyrinthine ways of Cypriot politics and history or of Greek-Turkish relations; only the naked outbursts of

power and slaughter punctuate the Byzantine mess of this bargaining pressure point of the Near East.

It is obvious that neither Turkey nor Greece nor Makarios' Cyprus are enlightened regimes; all are equally adept at political persecution and torture and even the re-exhumed Karamanlis sponsored an eight-year regime not without blemish. The character of the regimes in Turkey and Greece is a matter of indifference to the United States, its only concern being stability. Britain has a similar indifference to the regime in Cyprus; as long as there is stability enough to maintain the bases, what cares Callaghan if it's Sampson or

Makarios or Clerides? Indeed we once interned Makarios.

The centuries old enmity between Greece and Turkey is no bar to the N.A.T.O. alliance or the British bases. Indeed, to sponsor a conflict in an occupied country between the 'natives' is an old trick of conquerors. They are then so busy arguing between themselves that they cannot see what the occupiers (whether they be American NATO bases or British NATO bases) are putting over on them.

The increasing demands made by and for the military of client-states must indeed be a perpetual drain upon the American economy and with her efforts for detente or at least a slackening of tension in Europe, one finds it hard to believe that the sinister hand of the C.I.A. is behind every military move in Ankara and Athens. No doubt the American State Department wishes it were, in the same way that the Russians must wish that Communist influence is as widespread as its enemies and more optimistic friends believe it to be.

However whatever the reason, the junta in Greece has failed, whether it failed militarily or politically or whether it was pushed by Sisco on behalf of the American State Department. Another facade has been put up for the old business. The military cannot stand failure so someone had to go, the Army still exists but the political wing went because it was incompetent not because it was brutal. The exiles have returned like homing pigeons -- Theodorakis, Mercouri, Lady Fleming all giving their bravura performances. Perhaps it is the effect of Plato and all that crush but Greek politics do seem to be the absolute depth. Greece has never forgotten (nor has ever repeated the performance) that she was the mother of democracy.

Continued on Back Page



AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY

ABOUT SEVENTY comrades, members of the Anarchist Black Cross, Centro Iberico, Freedom, O.R.A., Oxford Anarchists, Sussex Anarchists, Syndicalist Workers Federation, and individuals took part last Saturday afternoon in a demo. protesting against the arrest of 11

comrades in France. According to police information 600 police officers were drafted to control the demonstration that started in Hyde Park and finished peacefully in the French Embassy, where a comrade handed in a letter of protest against the police action in France.

FREEDOM PRESS

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

Adgate East underground station, White-chapel Art Gallery exist and turn right - Angel Alley next to Wimpy Bar.

BOOKSHOP open Tues. - Fri. 2-6 p.m.
(Thursday until 8 p.m.)

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

A B C of Anarchism, Alexander Berkman
25p (post 5p) USA 75¢ post free

About Anarchism, what anarchists believe,
how anarchists differ..., Nicolas Walter
15p (post 3p) USA 45¢ post free

Anarchy, Errico Malatesta
25p (post 5p) USA 75¢ post free

Neither East Nor West, Marie Louise
Berneri, selected writings 1939-48.
30p (post 10p) USA \$1.00 post free

The State, Its Historic Role, Peter Kropotkin
20p (post 5p) USA 65¢ post free

Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rudolf
Rocker. 25p (post 5p) USA 75¢ post free

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution 1936-39
cloth £ 1.50, paper 75p (post 22 p)
USA cloth \$4.00, paper \$2.00

SELECTIONS FROM "FREEDOM"
(annual volumes issued between 1951-1964)

Vol. 4. 1954 Living on a Volcano
Vol. 5. 1955 The Immoral Moralists
Vol. 6. 1956 Oil on Troubled Waters
Vol. 7. 1957 Year One--Sputnik Era
Vol. 8. 1958 Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol. 9. 1959 Print, Press and Public
Vol. 10. 1960 The Tragedy of Africa
Vol. 11. 1961 The People in the Street
Vol. 12. 1962 Pilkington vs. Beeching
Vol. 13. 1963 Forces of Law and Order
Vol. 14. 1964 Elections Year
per vol. paper 37 p (\$1.00) post 15p 35¢
cloth 50p (\$1.25) post 17p 40¢

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

*Wm. H. Carwardine: The Pullman
Strike £1.50 (11p)
Alexander Solzhenitsyn: The Gul-
lag Archipelago £0.80 (15p)
*Mother Jones: Autobiography
£1.95 (15p)
*William Godwin: Caleb Williams
£2.25 (17p)
Jaroslav Hasek: The Good Soldier
Svejk £2.50 (30p)
The Freethinker. Complete Bound
Volume of Issues for 1973
£3.00 (23p)
*Fred Woodworth: Anarchism
£0.10 (3½p)
*Alexander Herzen: Memoirs, My
Past & Thoughts £6.50 (30p)
*Franz Borkenau: The Spanish
Cockpit £1.50 (13p)
*George B. Lockwood: The New
Harmony Movement £1.96 (23p)
*Peter Kropotkin: Revolutionary
Pamphlets, ed. Roger N. Baldwin
£1.40 (15p)
Colin Ward: Anarchy in Action
£1.75 (9p)

*These items published in the USA

THREE DUBLIN ANARCHISTS JAILED

On 10th July three anarchists were jail-
ed by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin
after being tried by three judges sitting
without a jury.

Bob Cullen was sentenced to 7 years
imprisonment after being charged with
"armed robbery, possession of firearms and
explosive substances, causing an explosion
and maliciously setting fire to property."

Des Keane was sentenced to 5 years im-
prisonment after being charged with "con-
spiring to cause explosions."

Columba Longmore was sentenced to 4
years imprisonment after being charged
with "receiving £ 1,500 knowing it to
have been stolen, and possession of fire-
arms".

Marie Murray received a 2 year suspend-
ed sentence after being charged with "re-
ceiving £ 500 knowing it to have been
stolen".

Noel Murray jumped bail and is being
sought by the Irish police.

Eddie Jones was acquitted on a charge
of "conspiring to cause explosions".

The charges related to attacks on the
Spanish Institute and the offices of various
finance houses in Dublin last March, and
the armed robbery of Contract Cleaners
and Allied Irish Banks. After pleading guilty,
Bob Cullen stated in court that there
had been no intention to cause injury to
anyone and, indeed, the prosecution all-
eged no injury other than to property.

Desmond Keane and Eddie Jones pleaded
not guilty. However, Marie Murray, Bob
Cullen and Columba Longmore decided to

plead guilty because the Special Criminal
Court, without a jury, afforded no opport-
unity for turning the proceedings into a
political platform. Indeed, any such state-
ments from the dock would have ensured
even longer sentences and would have been
misrepresented by the press which revealed
its prejudice in its coverage of the trial.
One headline in the Irish Press referred to
"anarchists' in Dublin" - with inverted
commas to show its incredulity! (The label
"anarchist" is frequently used in reference
to the IRA). The Irish Press also made much
of the fact that the attacks had been made
by way of "letter-bombs" although they had
been delivered in person by Bob Cullen and
although an explosives expert had testified
that they were only "very basic incendiary
devices".

Writing after the trial Bob Cullen appe-
ars in remarkably good spirits and he refuses
to have his revolutionary hopes crushed by
the State. He expresses his own gratitude
and that of his comrades for the solidarity
which has been shown by comrades in Eng-
land in the last few months. He finishes his
letter with these sentiments:

"KEEP UP THE STRUGGLE! EVERY RE-
VOLUTIONARY ACTION ON YOUR PART
MAKES OUR TRIBULATIONS EASIER TO
BEAR."

It is important to maintain our solidarity
until our comrades are "free" again. Please
send letters and copies of your papers, etc.
to Bob Cullen, Des Keane and Columba
Longmore at:

Military Detention Centre,
Curragh Camp,
Co. Kildare,
Eire.

Terry Phillips.

IN BRIEF

THE GOVERNMENT have offered the
workers who want to take over
the defunct Scottish Daily Ex-
press £1 million loan condi-
tional upon the workers' commit-
tee raising the balance of about
£1.5 million. The Government
is providing the £4.95 million
to a workers' cooperative to buy
the Norton-Villiers Triumph Com-
pany. (The company was set up
18 months ago with the aid of
£4.8 million of public funds to,
as The Times says, "rescue the
ailing British motor-cycle indus-
try".

THE BRITISH Steel Corporation
(subsidized by the Government
with £500 million capital) made
a pre-tax profit of £56 million
for 1973. If they had charged
European C.S.C. prices during
1973 they would have increased
profits by £230 million. This
glad news was broken to the

proletariat in the Morning Star
which now and again sits up and
begs for Government advertising.
The B.S.C. threatens, however,
that prices (despite profits)
will go up after the end of the
year.

A MILITARY TRIBUNAL IN BARCELONA
SENTENCED TWO YOUNG ANARCHISTS,
JOSE ORIOL SOLE SUGRANYES and
JOSE LUIS PONS LLOBET TO 48
AND 21 YEARS' IMPRISONMENT
RESPECTIVELY. THEY WERE SAID TO
BELONG TO THE IBERIAN LIBERATION
MOVEMENT AND WERE INVOLVED IN
BANK RAIDS WITH SALVADOR PUIG
ANTICH.

AN EDUCATIONAL survey of every
middle and secondary school in
England and Wales asked how many
pupils were away on January 17.
In spite of press claims of mass-
ive truancy the answer was 9.9%
--only 2.2% without a 'legitimate'
reason.

THE MAKHNOVIST MOVEMENT

ARSHINOV, Peter: *History of the Makhnovist Movement 1918-1921*. Black & Red (Detroit) & Solidarity (Chicago), 1974. £ 2.00 (+20p. post) from Freedom Bookshop

THE MAKHNO MOVEMENT was a peasant-based insurrection originating, and largely active in, the S.E. Ukraine, organised and led by the anarcho-communist Nestor Makhno (1889-1934). The movement was tinged with anarchism, and this was fostered by the anarchists who came from outside to help Makhno from time to time. The book is mostly concerned with the military history of the area in those years.

Our comrades in Detroit and Chicago have done a considerable service to libertarians, historians and interested general readers in translating this prime source on the Makhnovist movement into English. For many years the book, first published in Russian in the early 1920s, has been unavailable outside the specialist libraries. Now, at last, over 50 years later, it can be read in English.

The translators have acquitted themselves well. Certainly, there are some points about the translation which the reviewer disagrees with, but these are of a relatively minor nature which need not detain the non-Russian speaking reader. Technically, the book has a pleasing appearance: the photo on p.232 is blurred because blown-up from a much smaller original in Maximov's "The Guillotine at Work". There is one unexplained omission in the appendix: beside the eleven proclamations which appear here, the Fedeli archive also contains a copy of Number 43 of the irregular Makhnovist paper "The Road to Freedom". A translation of this could well have been included. The reader would also be well advised to have handy a map of European Russia, ideally with pre-1914 boundaries. This would give some idea of scale and could be used in conjunction with Arshinov's own rather sketchy map.

It is to be regretted that the publisher's foreword is so short, but this is understandable. Volin's preface is quite lengthy, and it may have been thought that another preface would unbalance the book. However, the result is a rather serious omission which could easily have been rectified. The omission is to fail to point to the polemical, and sometimes uncritical nature of the book. As Arshinov himself said in 1921, "It was still altogether possible to rescue the Russian Revolution in 1919 and 1920. This is still possible today. What can save it is the revolutionary spirit of the masses, the self-activity of the workers' and peasants' organisations, their independence in thought and action... Statists lie when they state that the masses... are great and heroic only when they engage in destruction, and that in creative work they are inert and vulgar". (p.259-260).

In similar vein Arshinov attacks Bolshevism which he regarded as a fourth estate, led by "handpicked groups of intellectual democrats" (p.73), allied with, for the sake of appearances, "the so-called 'conscious workers', namely those who uncritically accept the principles of Marxism and the socialist movement of the intelligentsia". (p.74). The mushrooming red tape, military and civilian, of the Civil War, Arshinov called the "new bourgeoisie". (p.75). He does not proceed to the logical end of this argument - anti-intellectualism, but he does point in this direction (cf. p.242-3), as Makhno himself did in his memoirs.

As we would expect, Arshinov also attacks the Nationalists and the White regimes of Skoropadski, Denikin, and Vrangeli, but not in the depth of his anti-Bolshevism. This compounds the basic distortion, which is reinforced by Volin in his preface: "If the Makhnovschina... had its low points, its errors, its deviations, its negative aspects, they were, in the author's view, so trifling and unimportant in relation to the great positive essence of the movement that it is not worth speaking of them seriously". (p.20). This is not the declaration of partiality which should be expected of every historian, but its willful encouragement. True, Arshinov does say that the "present work may also suffer from the fact that the negative aspects of the movement were not sufficiently examined" (p.252), but by the time that the reader reaches this point near the end of the book, he may well have been led to a different conclusion.

It is so easy to romanticise the outstanding military figures of the past: among anarchists Durruti stands out along with Makhno in this regard. It is all the more necessary therefore to examine rigorously their historical and ideological credentials. How many readers know what sort of anarchist Makhno was? How far is his story fact, and how far fiction? What of accusations of anti-Semitism against him and his movement? (On this latter point it can be stated that Makhno was no anti-Semite, but severely punished any anti-Semitic acts among the insurgents). Such questions can never be completely answered, but they need tackling at a much greater depth than that attempted by Arshinov. The same criticism, to a slightly lesser extent, can be levelled at Volin's own work, "La Revolution Inconnue".

Bearing this serious reservation in mind, the welcome given to the appearance of the book at the start of the review must be emphasised. The work itself contains a wealth of historical detail, including documentary material, some of which is not available elsewhere. At the present time, there is no other work in English,

BERNERI STUDY CENTRE

Italian Anarchist Documentation

A large group of Italian comrades (from all parts of Italy) are appealing for funds to set up the Camillo Berneri Study Centre. The aims of the Centre are:

- 1) to collect, classify and microfilm pamphlets, manifestoes, periodicals, and other works on anarchism, in all languages (but particularly in Italian) so as to prevent their total dispersal.
- 2) to make a catalogue of manuscripts and other works about anarchism, which are now scattered in academic institutions, and are difficult to find.
- 3) to provide information on anarchist history and activities; to encourage historical, sociological, literary, artistic, educational and bibliographic research into anarchism; and to provide people requesting it, with microfilms and photocopies of any material possessed by the Centre
- 4) to organise study seminars, meetings and conferences, to record the contributions made at them, and to bring them to the attention of interested parties.

The initial outlay for the Centre (transportation of material, cost of shelving, of acquisition of books, photocopies, microfilms etc.) up to the end of 1975, will be in the region of 2,500,000 lire; and the annual running cost (rent of premises, salary of librarian, postal charges, etc.) is estimated at 3,000,000 lire.

Any comrades wishing to make a contribution to this valuable work should write to:
Maria Teresa Pascarella,
via G. Sforza n.4,
42100 Reggio Emilia,
Italy.

British anarchists should be doing something of the kind for British material. Practical suggestions only to Dave Mansell, c/o FREEDOM.

SOCIAL DISLOCATION caused by the intrusion of western ways upon the hunting and fishing so society of the far North has been followed by a severe outbreak of mental illness, suicides and murders among Eskimos, according to mental health experts.

Sancho Panza

and only a few in Russian (all very difficult to get hold of for ideological reasons) which can equal Arshinov's detailed record of the Makhnovschina. To have it available to a much wider, English-language public is also welcome. That libertarians have produced it before a commercial publishing house grabbed it, is a credit to those who have translated, printed and marketed it.

M. Malet.

Reviews

COMPANIONS OF THE LEFT HAND..

THE WORKING CLASS, by Christopher Wright. (Batsford, £ 1.30)

USEFUL TOIL, edited by John Burnett. (Allen Lane, £ 2.50)

THE WORKHOUSE, by Norman Longmate. (Temple Smith, £ 4.00)

AND THE BANK manager and the barrister and the high-priced brain surgeon smile and say "but I am of the working class" and the Hiltonbound millionaire pushes aside his caviare crying that there are no longer any rich and the counting-house clerk lapping the intellectual spew from the Daily Mail wishes to believe that with the mythology of £ 50 a week take home pay his brute companions in the human comedy are the *nouveaux riches* and 'there are no working class'. Yet we did exist and we do exist and the books about the lives and roles of the working class continue to fill the booksellers' lists. It could be dismissed as a middle class guilt complex or the liberal belief that a social evil is no more and that all that is needed is a few tidy reforms on the way to the bank and the polling booth but we exist whenever a major strike takes place, whenever a government denied milk to schoolchildren and whenever the political educationalists demand that a certain strata of the children of our society should once more be denied an access to education after the age of 15 years. In our complex society of interweaving functions it is understandable that at ten in the morning the student, the art gallery director, the typist and the managerial corps should believe that in their common fight for transport they share a common role and a common wage with the clerk and the bus conductor. But the gulf between classes is still as rigid as in the Victorian period and the lack of knowledge and understanding is even greater, for the rags have given way to the mass produced clothing wherein the middle aged of all classes ape a common conservative cut and the young from Winchester to Whitechapel parade in the working class industrial overall of the 1930's. Therefore let us define the working class. And there is no easier way than accepting the semantics of history and allowing the barrister and the brain surgeon to keep the title of 'working class' and dropping one degree lower in the social scale and seeing who will follow the class role of the lumpenproletariat. We have been defined as the great unwashed, the many headed and various other terms that the middle class and the ultra wealthy seem hesitant to adopt, so why not accept our true place within their society. Many a sad-eyed intellectual from Orwell and points west have attempted to seek out the elusive millions of working class and only discovered the pathetic dross of their society -- and the great romantic myth of the left wing intellectual, the noble savage, all dropped aitches, beer gut and pristine moral purity, is as elusive as a Guinness version of the Holy Grail. Yet let any seeker after social truth walk the streets of a drear northern industrial town at five on a November morning and they will meet the working class and no other, for the grey shapes moving through the dark mornings of the west are the labouring classes, faceless in their universal company, trudging to clean the offices, open the factory gates and switch on the power plants; and at seven in their millions the working class will make their way to these factories to begin the long day and there are no barristers or brain surgeons among them and the directors of the great State galleries and the members of the Boards of Directors are still laying in their beds waiting for the maid to bring them their *Times*, their tea and the *Daily Mirror*, so be it.

Christopher Wright in his book *THE WORKING CLASS* offers a good and solid piece of minor research. He carries no banner and merely records, and his book with its list of books for further reading suggests that the value of this book lies with the student rather than the man with a conscience, though at the tail end of Chapter Nine he states that "The long history of working class suffering has left its scars on a generation which knows little through personal experience of past humiliations but has inherited a bloody-mindedness and a refusal to cooperate which persists, despite lack of contemporary justification and which lies at the root of so many industrial disputes", and may I suggest that this is a virtue not a vice. Professor John Burnett's *autobiography of working people from the*

1820's to the 1920's *USEFUL TOIL* consists of 27 contributors who range from the labouring class to the skilled worker. Burnett is to be congratulated on publishing these unknown writings and they range from the pompous declamations of a butler to an account of Lucy Luck who worked a 12-hour shift in the silk mills for 2s. 6d a week. The point has been made that there was no conscious rebellion against the awful conditions of the time but only resentment, but I would hold that when a worker is being interviewed they, be they adult or child, do not indulge in a revolutionary dialogue and you cannot struggle for a change in your society unless you have some idea of what form that society will take. All else is revolt and the history of the working class is one of brave, noble and heartbreaking rebellions against a prison within a prison.

It is Norman Longmate's well researched survey of the Workhouse system that should find a permanent place on every liberal's bookshelf. The history of the British workhouse system is one of pure horror and Longmate produces the facts and gives the figures from the scandal of the Andover Workhouse to that of all those middle class Boards of Guardians forever whining at the expense of keeping the dispossessed from starvation. The workhouse replaced the old system of outdoor relief and this humane system of humane system of small charities was too much for an entrenched middle class to accept and all over the country they raised these prisons for the working class who were unable to fend for themselves because of age, sickness or national economic reasons. The workhouse is today regarded as something of a sick joke and each Christmas someone will belch out that "It was Christmas Day in the Workhouse" but alter the title to German Concentration Camp, Russian Slave Labour Camp or American Chain Gang, and it is no longer amusing and it was not amusing for the thousands of men, women and children who wasted their lives in these awful places. Longmate is correct in his conclusions that "the human suffering is too high a price to pay for tidy administration" and "that it is better for a dozen spongers to grow fat than for one deserving applicant to be turned away". So spoke Christ.

There were two ways for the establishment of that time to deal with a social problem not of the victims' making, one was a sum of money to clothe, feed and house them and the other that all bureaucrats love, and that is to build a building and segregate your social ills from sight. This they chose as they always will and generations of people yea even up to my own lifetime lived in fear and horror of the Workhouse. Reformers and people of compassion fought against these and other evils as they always will and must, but it was only when the working class through their industrial organisations and local councils began to manage their own lives that genuine reforms took place. It can be argued, and rightly, that the working class did these things for the motive of pure self interest for in the end we must accept the rewards or punishments of our own actions, therefore tend the sick, house the homeless and care for the aged for they mark our path to the grave. We of the anarchist movement can claim to see much of what has been advocated by our minority now accepted as part of the social fabric. The old, in certain areas, are housed in rooms of their own choice within the community. The insane within Broadmoor are now to be transferred to wards within the general hospitals. On a local level one hears that the school for the mentally retarded children is to be closed and the children incorporated within the local primary school to save them from the stigma of having to say in later life that they went to the 'barmy school'. Good and worthwhile reforms, and are they not worth the fighting for. By all means let us spell out the new utopia but always remember that our struggle is also of the day. We live within a society that daily performs many evil things, and it is done because men are greedy and frightened and their tragedy and our tragedy is that they wield authority and control the physical force to implement that authority. And while we must struggle and propagate to change that way of life we must never allow ourselves to fall into the role of intellectual pharisees fearing to play the samaritan to the daily suffering for fear of history's tired and biased pen.

Arthur Moyses

THE LISBON PICNIC PART 1

AT THE START of each year, tours are organised from Lisbon to see the almond-blossoms of the south, which cover the countryside like snow. Legend has it that a Moorish prince, married to a Swedish princess who pined for her northern snows, planted the Algarve with almonds to make her feel at home. At any rate, this was the feudal romantic myth behind an old Portuguese tradition that played a vital role in the planning of the coup which took place on April 25th.

The Army captains were being closely watched, as a matter of routine, by the secret police -- the DGS -- and were suffering the usual harassments of mail-interception and telephone-tapping. Trips, however, were organised when whole families departed from the capital for a day of sight-seeing, developing into hamper picnics once the sun had become hot in the second quarter of the year, at which other families were invited -- being the families of other Captains, of course. All the planning for the military take-over was conducted with a background of almond trees, beating sunshine, and children playing on the hills. This strategy completely fooled the DGS.

General Spínola, whose book on the Portuguese African colonies had raised such an outcry, played no part in the April coup, although he was approached and invited to. This was understandable, since an earlier attempt to overthrow the regime had failed. No senior officers were involved, mainly because seniority and promotion within the armed forces implied at the very least, tacit acceptance for the existing regime. To the Captains fell not only the task of planning the whole operation, but also the far more difficult task of persuading their troops to join them.

Early in the morning of April 25th, the popular radio station (equivalent to our Radio 1) played a record of the song which had been Portugal's entry for the Eurovision Song Contest. This was the "stand-by" signal to the coup forces. Shortly afterwards, the station played one particular revolutionary march; this was the signal -- "Go!"

The anti-fascist forces descended upon and swept through Lisbon as the workers were arriving on the ferries from the south side of the river -- the Presidential palace and major Ministries are situated on the waterfront, near the ferry landing stage. A rush-hour situation added a hopeless complication to a tense military situation, as loyal troops advanced towards the Ministries only to see their path blocked by hundreds of workers streaming into the capital. The Major in charge of these forces could only have opened fire with the certainty of inflicting huge casualties on the civilian workers, and this he was not prepared to do. He chose to leave his troops, push through the crowd and present himself before the officer in charge of the besieging troops. "I cannot fire for the people in the way, and I cannot return to command my troops because I am not fit to lead", he is reported to have said, adding, "shoot me". The "rebel" officer's reply was an indifferent shrug of the shoulders and an invitation -- "Why don't you come and join us, then?" Which, after a moment's hesitation, was what happened. Workers on incoming ferries were thereafter told not to disembark but to return home and await developments.

The "rebel" control of one radio station proved to be invaluable for the operation. Not only was it possible to use the medium -- thanks to an anti-fascist staff -- to signal the commencement of the operation, but with a sympathetic medium transmitting continually, the rest of the country was manipulated by "remote control", and it was only in Lisbon and Oporto that military operations took place. The popular radio station played the day's moment-to-moment events as a suspense drama. When the troops were on the move, the radio broadcast short new flashes and "statements from the junta" chiefly asking everyone to remain indoors. All other stations and TV were off the air by this time -- more a matter of expediency than anything else, although jamming did occur for a time. Because of the country's widely dispersed and isolated population, together with the poor communications set-up generally (at the early stages of the coup its political affinity was not announced) most people did in fact stay indoors: more out of curiosity than fear, and they were kept in suspense until the operation was at an end.

The national TV station started up again fairly quickly after the coup. A remarkable film was shot by the technicians, later shown on TV itself, of the anti-fascist troops, with the inevitable Captain at their head, driving into the TV station grounds with armoured cars. The Captain stood in front of his hardware and announced that there had been a coup; that there was no intention of interfering with the control of programmes, and that the producers and broadcasters could beam out what they wished; that a few troops would remain to protect the station against attack by any isolated pro-Caetano group, and that he would now be leaving. Cheering men and women leaned out of windows as the convoy pulled out.

Portuguese national radio -- government-controlled -- was off the air the longest -- twenty-four hours. This station was heavily purged as regards staff, but one older broadcaster who had broadcast to Portugal from London during the 1939-45 war is still there.

Many familiar faces disappeared from the television screens. In all cases, appointments have been terminated, and no further steps have been taken.

The only department to be immediately closed down and its employees hounded and rounded up was the hated DGS, and the only deaths incurred by the coup were in dealing with DGS resistance. With the DGS headquarters surrounded, a car load of the secret service men decided to make a run for it, and came bursting out into the Lisbon streets firing as they went. One civilian watching the proceedings was shot, and the DGS men in the car were killed when coup forces returned their fire.

Since the DGS, apart from their internal policing activities, were additionally responsible for immigration, a large number of DGS men, posted at border roads, effected their escape. All DGS personnel were removed from immigration postings, however, and the responsibility for immigration control passed to the Guarda Fiscal -- roughly the equivalent of the 18th-century British excisemen. This body of mildmannered ordinary men, the butt of many Portuguese jokes re illiteracy and so on, have nevertheless adapted to their new duties sufficiently well for the incoming tourist to feel welcome and at home.

The DGS, while besieged, destroyed their informer files, but payment accounts were later discovered, each informant designated a code name. A number of arrests have been made, (facilities for those arrested include a lawyer of their choice and an absence of torture) but by and large the informer network remains latent but intact. One informer who was arrested was the head of the Christian Democratic Party -- he is now in prison awaiting trial. "Informer-naming" became a favourite pastime for several weeks, leading to indignant members of the population, perhaps hated for very sound reasons but which did not include being a paid informer, printing declaiming announcements in the national press. The Portuguese sense of humour developed this syndrome into the world of advertisements -- "Have you seen these men?" -- who are in fact electric-cooker installation men and the like.

Before the coup there was a rumour circulating -- never proved -- that a mutual defence pact existed between the armies of Portugal and Spain, or rather, their governments. Because on April 25th, however, the coup had been effected by the Portuguese Army, there was little fear of Spanish forces invading Portuguese territory in defence of the Caetano regime. The Portuguese army, because of its colonial wars, was in a permanent state of readiness, which the Spanish army is not, and the Spanish forces are additionally inferior regarding spirit, numerical strength and armaments. If they had moved in, it would in all probability have led to a retreat which might have become the touch-paper for a similar shift of power in their homeland.

Once the military objectives had been achieved, it only remained for General Spínola to make his triumphant entry as the figurehead of the new regime, and for the Army Captains -- 80 per cent. of whom figured in the coup in some way -- to return to their army duties, with one of their number initially made a member of the junta that nominally ruled the country for just over a week until the formation of the first provisional Government.

I. D.

(To be concluded next week)

LETTERS

Red Lion Square

Dear Editors,

It is a common political technique to attribute false principles to one's opponents, and then proceed to demolish their case by criticising the false principles which one has attributed to them. By using this technique George Bernard Shaw did a propaganda job on Anarchism. With that in mind, I would like to challenge some of the points raised by Bob Potter and David Lister in FREEDOM (13th June, 1974).

Bob suggests that to "clear the fascists from the streets" is the "only solution" presented by some left-wing groups. Were it true it would indeed be nonsense, but I don't believe that even the W.R.P. is naive enough to believe that it is the only solution. Similarly, David asks why we are so "amazed" and "surprised" when the police react violently to violent demonstrations. I don't believe that we are either amazed or surprised. On the contrary, I believe that what happened in Red Lion Square was expected by all of us, although we hoped that it wouldn't happen. This is what is so frightening about being an Anarchist in the 1970's; all those things that we said would happen, are actually, literally, starting to happen!

I would, however, like to attempt an answer to the questions raised by David in his letter.

1) Anarchists do, by and large, accept the right of self-defence. However, has our comrade ever considered that the very existence of the Special Patrol Group is an act of aggression in itself? Does this make the police violence self-defence or a counter-attack? As regards our feelings about a fatal attack by the police on the National Front, I can only say that personally I would not have been so upset about a dead fascist as I was about Kevin Gately. Rightly or wrongly I am not one of those unique personalities who can feel equal compassion for a fallen comrade and a fallen enemy. The outcome of such an attack would have been most interesting indeed. As I said before, the Left expects to be attacked by the police, the N.F. doesn't. It might prove most educative for them.

2) I would imagine that the number of demonstrators eager to get at the police was fairly evenly matched by the number of policemen eager to get at the demonstrators. Nevertheless, does a tactical withdrawal of foot police to allow a mounted police charge smack of angry retaliation in self defence?

3) A punch-up between the Left and the N.F. may not fight racialism, but it can depress the racialists. I imagine that Mosley's blackshirts didn't strut so proudly after Cable Street.

4) I fail to see the point of mentioning "scruffy, hairy students" unless David is suggesting that smart and short-haired students would have made more impact in the fight against racism. This may well be the view of a large proportion of the population, but that is little justification. Many people see

homosexuals as limp-wristed perverts, but surely this shouldn't prevent them from voicing their right to freedom in the street.

5) I was not at Red Lion Square so I don't know the proportion of "black faces" present. There were certainly a number of blacks on the Kevin Gately memorial march, but I am not sure what this proportion is supposed to indicate. One thing is certain - the immigrant population of this country has enough trouble with the police while going about their everyday business, without directly exposing themselves in a demonstration. A more important question is, "Where were the trade unionists on this march?"

While agreeing with Bob Potter in much of what he says, I find his comments regarding the struggle of libertarianism versus authoritarianism in the battle "for the mind" just a little naive. The difference between the impact of these opposing arguments is that libertarian ideas are propagated in a handful of small-circulation newspapers while authoritarian views are propagated twenty-four hours a day by the media, the schools and the inherent structure of our society. In full awareness of the accusations to which I open myself, I do state that the general public are in an intellectually weak position when receiving any kind of propaganda. If people are stupid and gullible (Bob's words) enough to accept capitalist exploitation, censorship, pollution, etc., then they are certainly stupid and gullible enough to accept racialism. Please understand though that the answer does not lie in banning fascist speakers, but in hard grass roots education and access to the mass media for libertarian ideas.

The attempts to ban fascist speakers and beat up the N.F. are the direct result of fighting the battle for the mind with one arm tied behind our backs. I remain convinced that given the mass media libertarian ideas would permeate our whole social structure. Unfortunately, the authorities are equally convinced of this view. The important thing to remember is that the mass media are not a neutral service which have been taken over by the state and big business, they are some of their most highly effective, purpose-built weapons for destroying the revolution.

Larry Law.
(Farnborough, Hants.)

Comrades,

It's a pity that in the same issue as Bob Potter's excellent article, stating how little the N.F. is a real danger, and the extent to which the I.S. and similar groups are diverting energy from the real struggle to a phoney one, (to say nothing of the patronising attitude to the working class in a vanguard party setting out to decide who shall be and who shall not be permitted to address it) that one gets the superficial letter from Lister.

The pity is that, unfortunately, there are to be found on the Left (not just the Stalinist Left, indeed not even just the Leninist Left) people who use an amalgam technique of argument to discredit their opponents. These will fix on Lister, say "ah! and he's published in the same issue as Potter, of the same paper, therefore Potter can be alleged to hold the views that Lister holds."

In Brief

THE AMNESTY announced for illegal Commonwealth immigrants (arriving between March 1968 and January 1973) has only been taken up by about one hundred. Police guess (according to the Daily Telegraph) that there are at least 10,000 illegals. The Telegraph puts forward the explanation that 'illegals' expect the return of a Conservative government would reverse the concession.

THE MINISTER of Sport has asked the Sports Council to consider taking over responsibility for grant-aiding chess.

Lister, having invoked the right to self-defence for the police, without raising the issue of why the police were there in the first place, let alone why the police exist in the first place, is able to come down in defence of the police who were attacked by the crowd. The whole presupposes the liberal myth that police and state are impartial upholders of justice in society. Obviously, Potter does not believe this, but unfortunately there will be those who claim he does, and that both views represent FREEDOM's viewpoint (since there was no editorial rebuttal of Lister, and since the letter was given a heading that FREEDOM has used in an editorial in an earlier issue on the Gately killing, and since, again, the amalgamist will find sufficient basis to claim that the letter and the editorial represent the same viewpoint).

The case that the N.F. is not the real enemy (which you said in your editorial and which Potter argues more fully) needs to be put; but having put it, there is still a need to analyse what the police were doing. There is still a need to point out that the police were obviously hoodwinking the demo and leading it into a trap. (Having said which, one could add that the Trots ought by now to have learnt that the police do lead demos into traps and how to take avoiding action; - every one of the old Vietnam Solidarity Committee marches was led into a similar trap and the fact that the leadership never learnt and never took precautions, when even the old legalistic C.N.D. always took care to make allowances, rather suggests that the V.S.C. leadership, largely the same people as led the present Liberation demo, believe that leading their rank and file into such traps is a good way of educating their cadres.

The police certainly did not play a neutral role. Anyone who thinks they might have done needs to remember the infamous letter in the Nazi paper, Spearhead, from a West London police barracks, saying that two thirds of London police - according to the writer, a policeman in the N.F. - broadly support the N.F.; and the N.F. has grown since then. (Again the Trots, who frequently republish that letter, ought to have made allowances.) But the danger outlined, for instance, by Martin Walker in Open File on Saturday, or boasted in Kitson's book on Counter-Insurgency, is far more to the point.

Fraternally, Laurens.
(Wellington, Salop.)

ZAPATA SPEAKS

...Seek justice from tyrannical governments not with your hat in your hands, but with a rifle in your fist.

*

...We do not want the peace of slaves nor the peace of the grave...we want peace based on liberty.

*

...Men of the South, it is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees.

*

THE REVOLUTION which that army [the Liberation Army of the South] heads has been fighting for seven years now to obtain that which the powerful and the deceivers have bound themselves not to concede: the liberation of the land and the emancipation of the peasant. THE LAND FREE, THE LAND FREE FOR ALL, LAND WITHOUT OVERSEERS AND WITHOUT MASTERS, such is the war-cry of a revolution which is directed against the hacendados* that obstructive remnant from other epochs; but this cry is respectful of all rights which do not signify a usurpation, a monopoly or a spoliation.

*

THE PEOPLE of the countryside, WANT TO LIVE THE LIFE OF CIVILIZATION, THEY TRY TO BREATHE THE AIR OF ECONOMIC LIBERTY, which they have not known until now, and which they can never attain if the traditional 'lord of the rope and knife' remains standing, disposing at his will of people and their labour, extorting them with the norm of their salaries, annihilating them with excessive labour, BRUTALIZING them with misery and bad treatment, diminishing and exhausting his race with the slow agony of servitude, with the forced withering of beings WHO ARE HUNGRY OF THE STOMACH AND MIND, WHICH ARE EMPTY.

*

...The enemies of freedom of the people have always denounced as bandits those who sacrifice themselves for the noble causes of the people.

*



Emiliano Zapata

...We tend our arms to everyone except the enemies of the popular cause.

*

...I want to die a slave to principles, not to men.

Emiliano Zapata, Morelas, Mexico
(1910-1919)

*the wealthy landowners.

BOOK REVIEW

BAKUNIN : THE FATHER OF ANARCHISM. Anthony Masters (Sidgwick & Jackson, £5.95).

AS ONE OF the most striking figures in the history of anarchism, Bakunin has interest for almost all anarchists; but there is little for us in this book. Anthony Masters began it in 1972 and finished it in 1973; not surprisingly, it shows many marks of haste and few of understanding. It follows much the same pattern as the best-known English book on the subject, E. H. Carr's Michael Bakunin (1937), with the addition of some new material mainly taken from work recently done on the Herzen Archives in Paris by Michael Confino (collected in his new book Daughter of a Revolutionary). Masters ignores -- and is presumably ignorant of -- the much larger amount of

material in the Bakunin Archive in Amsterdam and the work done on it over many years by Arthur Lehning.

The book gives much the same old story, concentrating on Bakunin's personality, his sexual and financial difficulties, his travels to and fro, his friendships and quarrels, his actions and reactions. Masters refers to Bakunin throughout as "Michael", and the book stays on that level. There is no serious discussion of the one really important thing about Bakunin -- his political activity and the theory which derived from it. Master's main source for Bakunin's own writings is Sam Dolgoff's recent anthology Bakunin on Anarchy, which he has read carelessly and uncritically. He shows no familiarity with the various editions in

PAGE 7

French -- either the Oeuvres produced by James Guillaume between 1895 and 1913 or the Archives produced by Arthur Lehning since 1961. He quite wrongly describes Bakunin as "the father of anarchism", and then fails to explain just what Bakunin's crucial contribution to anarchist theory and practice was; a final chapter on Bakuninism since Bakunin is an absurd travesty of the history of the anarchist movement during the past century.

So there is no need for anarchists to waste time or money on this book. It is only to be hoped that the centenary of Bakunin's death in 1976 is marked by something better. In the meantime Anthony Masters is writing a biography of Alexander Herzen....

N. W.

CARELESS AND UNCRITICAL

subscribe

INLAND, and SURFACE MAIL OVERSEAS

AIRMAIL THE AMERICAS

AIRMAIL EUROPE

AIRMAIL INDIA, AFRICA

AIRMAIL AUSTRALASIA, JAPAN &c.

	1 year	6 m	3 m
	£4.00	£2.00	£1.00
	£14.50	£7.25	£4.00
	£4.60	£2.30	£1.20
	£5.35	£2.70	£1.35
	£5.85	£2.95	£1.50

Name.....

ADDRESS.....

PRESS FUND

Contributions

18 - 24 July 1974

COLCHESTER: M.T. 25p; TOLEDO, Ohio: T.H. £1.15; LONDON SW4: P.N. 50p; MANCHESTER: B.P. £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 40p; J.K.W. 10p; LONDON N.W.2: D.S. £5; EXMOUTH: A.B.H. 20p.

TOTAL: £8.60

Previously acknowledged: £738.62

TOTAL TO DATE: £747.22

CYPRUS...from Page 1

It may be true as The Times stuffily says, that "an" advantage of allowing dictatorships to run their course is that in the end they usually bring about their own defeat". Would that it were so, but the Greek 'liberalization' has a sinister resemblance to the Spínola regime with its air of window dressing to cover over an unsupportable military defeat and to prepare for a regrouping and a come-back.

The truth is that freedom is a thing which is taken, not a thing which is given. Had the Portuguese, the Greek or Cypriot people taken their freedom (violently or non-violently) it would be more certain to last. A contrived freedom attendant with its politicians, priests and soldiers (and even a king in the background is no freedom at all.) It is merely a charade for propaganda purposes, whether sponsored by Turkey, Greece, America, Britain, Russia, N.A.T.O., U.N.O., the C.I.A. or the Y.M.C.A. it is still a fake freedom.

Only the Cypriots have lost. All the others (save for the dead, maimed and imprisoned) will save their faces. Whatever freedom is given will be useless. If the Cypriot people would take freedom for themselves from the parasites infecting their land it would be a real freedom.

Jack Robinson

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



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

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

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

BLACKBURN anarchist group. Contact (letters only) Keith Sowerby 130 Shorrock Lane, Blackburn.

NEW MAGAZINES:

1) "La Feuille", published by the Association Max Stirner Du Kébec, is an individualist mag. in French from Canada (Quebec to us). Anyone wishing to receive a free copy should write to FREEDOM, (please enclose a 3p. stamp for postage) or direct to the Association at: C.P. 95, Stn Place d'Ames, Montreal, P.Q. H2Y 3E9, Canada.

2) "Poing Noir", also for French-reading comrades, published by the Groupes d'Actions et d'Etudes Libertaires, 33 Rue des Vignolles, Paris 20, France, is entirely produced by its readers. Nos. 4 & 5 have recently appeared. We're not sure of any price; interested comrades should write to G.A.E.L. at the above address.

3) "Undercurrents" no. 7 is a special number 'dedicated to the liberation of communications'. If you're interested in phonephreaking, unofficial local radio, cable TV, or alternative technology generally, this is a good 35p. worth (+ 7p. postage if ordering from FREEDOM).

4) "Libertarian Education" no. 15 is about sex, sex-roles, and education. 12p. + 5p. postage from FREEDOM.

5) "Wildcat". First issue - 31st August. There will be a launching party on Saturday, 31st August at Seven Dials Social Centre, 27 Shelton St., W.C.2. starting at 7 pm. Disco, Cabaret, Wine, etc. Admission - £1. The yearly subscription rate for "Wildcat" will be £2.50

Box 99,

197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.

INTERNAT. LIBERTARIAN CENTRE & CENTRO IBERICO - Sats & Suns 7.30 - Disco. 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd, 2nd door) nearest tube - Chalk Farm.

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

EVERY SATURDAY Mental Patients Union, 2 pm 37 Mayola Rd. E 5. (tel. 01-985 5251). Information on activities elsewhere from same address.

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

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

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

Would the Ruislip Federation of Anarchists please ring Fred or Gill: RUISLIP 72345.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS: Harmony Village Project, 3 Salubrious, BROADWAY, Worcs. Whole Earth News, Harmony Cottage, Harmer Hill, Salop.

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

ARTHUR MOYSE'S ironically wounding, lamentably laughing, dreadfully beautiful, evil flower garden. \$2.50 (£1) from IDEA Publishing House, c/o Matsuki Building, 1-464 Higashiookubo, Shinjuku-ku, TOKYO. All monies to help future publications of Tokyo Anarch. Grp.

HOUSEWORKER'S HANDBOOK, articles, cartoons, poems, comments on Women's work. \$1.00 c/o Legorn & Warrior, Women's Center, 46 Pleasant St. Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

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

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

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