

ARGENTINA

True to general form as regards Argentina, where the press reports attacks by Tupamaros but never action by Peronistas, there has been a persistent report of "guerilla" attacks around Cordoba on a "military factory". But what is the "military factory" producing?

It now appears that the Government factory in Cordoba is building a series of aircraft called the Pucara which are almost totally useless in warfare. They are twin turbo prop machines with a short take on which have no place in modern war, but are highly relevant to "anti-guerrilla action" as shooting down the people is now called.

They have cannon and machine gun, with attachment points for air-to-ground rockets and bombs, with an acute diving speed. They could not measure up to enemy aircraft. But they are fantastically useful in vicious attacks on an unarmed or only partially armed people.

The first customer lined up is the South African Government. No psychological equipment or extra-sensory process has been found that could be fixed to the Pucara to enable it to distinguish between people with views opposed to the Government and those who agree with it, or acquiesce in its domination. If such a thing were possible, it would lessen its effectiveness.

\* \* \*

Draco Jenkins

As we go to press Mr. Roy Jenkins is planning "draconian" measures against "the IRA and other organisations" like all repressive measures in England it is said to be temporary and is probably intended for the next century.

We take this opportunity of reiterating that up to the present time there is no ban and no legal objection to the possession of libertarian socialist views nor has the Home Secretary yet admitted that there may be. If such measures are ever taken, if they ever can be, and if they are ever deemed necessary they will need to be given the force of law.

At present anarchism has been an integral part of the British working class movement for nearly a century and a half. Anarchist views have been regularly publicised and anarchist activities freely held constantly for over a century. The belief amongst many ignorant and politically illiterate police constables that anarchism is in some way illegal, or that the possession of a journal such as this is the mark of the commission of a crime, is totally erroneous. The seizure of this paper - in whatever province and however backward the local constabulary without a proper receipt, constitutes theft.

We already have many complaints that local beat-pounders do not understand this. Legislation against the IRA may make some police all the more believe that authoritarian prejudices taken from their Conservative Association or National Front branches have already the force of law, whether this is so or not, and that anarchism - libertarian socialism - is by its nature criminal intent. Readers may care to bring these few paragraphs to their notice.

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Letter from Spain:

POLITICAL PANIC AND AMERICAN INTERESTS.

Franco is going to croak any day, finally, and everybody knows it. Nobody gives one single peseta any more for his life.

The bourgeoisie, who supported him in his war against the people, is now in sheer panic. Only some 15 years ago, the pass-word amongst them all was to have been "life-long right-winger" - today only a small bunch of fanatic madmen do not disguise themselves as left-wing in some way or other. The Church underlines once and again every day how repentant she is for her complicity with the old pirate. The rats have already abandoned the ship, and now they are even screeching out that they do not have anything to do with it. After the last Cabinet crisis, nobody wants to occupy the seats left by ministers, general-directors, etc. For the first time in the history of Spain since 1939.

Maybe the people are not any more as "politically castrated" as they were, and how mercilessly, in 1939. Maybe the people are not any more as "politically indifferent" as the bourgeoisie has been pretending all these last years - but only waiting in silence for their moment to come finally. And maybe everybody is realising it just in this very moment.

The rats have already gone, but the crew around the pirate are still on board, - they know that there is even less salvation for them once off the sinking ship. And maybe they are going to try a last, desperate, criminal play for their survival: In and out of all his last flutterings around the Middle East, Kissinger lands every single time in Barajas or Torrejon airports - "technical bases". And in every single one these "technical bases", he is holding interviews with all the eminent lieutenants of the old pirate, one after the other.

"American interests": The fantastically powerful American bases in Spain can be turned in a few hours into a perfectly sufficient base of an invincible (for the time being) occupation army.

After all, the glorious Spanish army enjoys already a solid tradition of selling out the whole country to the most powerful buyer, in order to survive itself as his, still glorious arse-licker.

Liberto Miguel.

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## NATIONALISM AND VULTURES

The swiftness of right wing authoritarians to follow up the Birmingham bombings with the demand that the country now wants what the right-wing authoritarians have always wanted prompts the cynical reflection that it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good . . . to avoid the slanderous and uncharitable question who profits

Reaction to the bombings by the IRA is exactly what was planned. The Provos want to provoke anti-Irish feeling precisely because they live on anti-English feeling, and one cannot exist without the other. The indiscriminate nature of the bombings - the personal tragedies of the people caught up in senseless pub bombings - provokes genuine reactions of horror. But the reactions are skilfully exploited. The porno-dailies Sun and Mirror scream that something must be done and this must stop because they imitate Hitler's skill at oratory, which was not to say what you necessarily wanted to succeed, but to say what you felt people were thinking - this gave you the support to do what you wanted.

The public could live with this sort of thing as long as it was far away in the colonies: it could especially live with State repression and State massacre however much it objected to terrorists hitting back at soldiers. It even managed to bear the fact that all but civil war had come to British cities, since they were on an offshore island. But the Provos brought the bombing war to the mainland cities. (Or - who knows - perhaps it was authoritarian forces more sinister than the Provos who did this. We are not allowed to know what Special Branch or the Intelligence Forces are up to. We know they penetrate the Provos. We are not allowed to know to what degree they direct strategy).

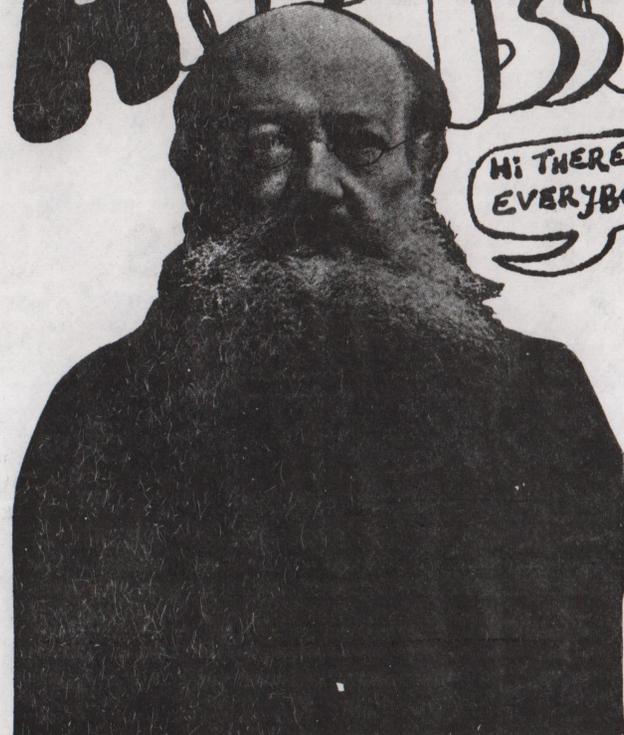
Used to State control, the people immediately hit or distressed by the attacks call on the State. Somebody should do something. The IRA should be banned. The

Irish should be sent home. The death penalty should be brought back. The police should have more powers. All the authoritarian cries come out because the public in the face of senseless violence and tragedy in its midst, cries to Big Mum like a child crying in the dark. It looks to authority for reassurance and comfort. The wicked will be punished. The good have died in a great cause. Have no fears and sleep on. That which disturbs and discomforts in such moments is the voice that says that Mum is lying: that the police have enough powers and can (literally) get away with murder if they want to. That nationalism is a load of rubbish and the good have died for nothing on both sides . . . that vigorous penalties cannot silence that which authority has called into being and much more radical action is needed.

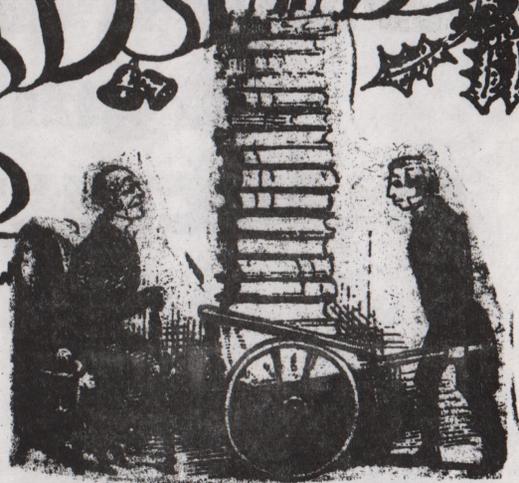
The fact that these murders are ILLEGAL whereas normally murders for Church State and Nationality are LEGAL underlines the stupidity of the bombings. That is why so many authoritarian propagandists are anxious at such time to blame "anarchists". It is a far cry from anarchist attacks on specific tyrants to the indiscriminate bombing of a pub. But it is not a far cry at all from the ILLEGAL indiscriminate bombing of a pub - because the IRA hasn't got a Republic of its own - to the LEGAL indiscriminate bombing of a pub, if the IRA were a legal entity like the Royal Air Force, as success to its arms and that alone would make it.

Those who blame "the Irish" and attack Irish workers in a factory should ask themselves a plain fact: Would they themselves - if they thought it was for "England" - perpetrate such acts of violence? Those who have done far worse are the greater in their condemnation of what others think they are doing "for Ireland".

# BUMPER CHRISTMAS ANTI-CHRISTMAS ISSUE



Hi THERE EVERYBODY!



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... AND TO STOP THOSE XMASS MORNING BLUES, WHEN YOU GOT SOCKS INSTEAD OF A COPY OF "MAN!", TRY ANSWERING...



**ANARCHO QUIZ**

1. What was the Know-Nothing Party?
2. Why does Wal Hannington's account of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement in the inter-war years omit any account of the vigorous West London branch?
3. What in Tsarist Russia, was the main difference between the two chief Opposition parties - the Social Democrats and the Social-Revolutionaries?
4. Which philosopher said (1901): "There is no home-made anarchism in England. Only foreign anarchists meet there. England has political freedom."?
5. In which Western European country is it still possible to compel a woman to change her religion by law when travelling north?

answer page 15.

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## — Vultures

**THE WAR OF JENKINS' FEAR**

Hysteria sweeps the judiciary in the wake of the press-induced hysteria following the bombings. James Dunn (26) has a name that might well be Irish, though he probably is not. He was fined at Wakefield Court for throwing stones through the court windows. He could not pay the fine so he made a hoax bomb call. "Quite irresponsible" in today's conditions, said Judge Donald Chapman, who was at Oxford University before the war and undoubtedly knew many a "merry jape" similar or worse that was treated as a harmless practical joke but which might, if brought into court, merit a fine of ten shillings before a severe magistrate. HE GAVE JAMES DUNN FIVE YEARS JAIL.

Those suspected of belonging to the IRA - legal one day, illegal the next when Scotland Yard was hunting down those who had not even had time to read the legislation from the lists already prepared (a precedent that will affect English people next time, not Irish) - can appeal to "independent assessors". Mr. Jenkins said their impartiality will be beyond question... will it be someone like Bond or Habershon? He did not say whose question.



**A rabid Loyalist's fate**

Unnoticed in the general atmosphere and unremarked upon is the sentence upon a Scot, David McNaught, who had in his possession three rifle magazines and six rounds of ammunition. Nothing more. He was not guilty of terrorism. No other charges were preferred against him but the minor offence of not having a firearms' certificate for which he was given the maximum of six months' imprisonment. Normally speaking, the first offence would have been punishable by a £5 or £10 fine. David McNaught received FIVE YEARS imprisonment because it was found he was a member of the UVF who "boasted" of it and "a rabid supporter of the Protestant cause in Ulster".

Numerous members of the Conservative Party have been charged with this offence and received minor fines of a few pounds they could easily pay. Had McNaught been an ordinary Conservative, he would have got away with a few pounds' fine... but, alas, he took Toryism seriously enough to be a "rabid supporter of the Protestant cause"... as who put it? THE CROWN, yes, dear Orange friends, THE CROWN stated that McNaught was a RABID SUPPORTER OF THE PROTESTANT CAUSE. He believed in King Billy and Loyalism and Protestant succession and the British connection... but he was not a foxhunting squire or a Wolverhampton Wanderer, not a gentleman landowner or a dog-collared bible-thumper. Mr McNaught was stated to be an unemployed welder, and a member of the UVF which took the Tory Lie seriously. That was why he got five years jail.

**End of an old song?**

Quick as a flash, no sooner had the IRA bombs in Birmingham gone off than the National Front was demonstrating IRISH GO HOME... treat the Irish in Britain as aliens... more daring rightwingers were painting up KILL THE IRISH or chanting it in the streets. The problem of the blacks vanished as the Irish came in for a beating.

Irish men and women smarting under the new right wing affronts upon them may at least learn from this the perfidy of the right wing authoritarians. There were in the early days of Mosley's fascism a preponderant number of Irish (usually Catholic Loyalists) in fascist movements. Irish fascism grew upon the "anti-Jew anti-Freemason" stories of the days when Gen. Franco was a "great Christian gentleman". It lingered on among its deliberately ignorant supporters - revived after the war beyond fascist circles with an outburst of anti-semitism over the attacks on British soldiers and hanging of two sergeants in Palestine by Jewish nationalists.

With eh fanning of attacks on coloured immigrants by the right wing public-bar fascism came completely into its own...

Can it be that by now the Irish Loyalist-authoritarian-fascist anti-Freemason anti-Semitic anti-Black fringe realises it has been made a monkey of by English fascists? The public bar English authoritarians have not got round to realising what monkeys they make of themselves in the anti-Irish agitation. It will do them no good at all when the next target for hatred, as it already is for contempt, by saloon-bar fascism is themselves.

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# Security Risk

RED FLAG 74.

This 'group' was first heard of at the end of October 74, when a caller phoned the Press Association saying that he was a member of this organisation and claiming responsibility for the recent bomb attacks, on two pubs in Guildford (where five people died) and at three private clubs in London.

Later they claimed two bombs found attached to magistrates' cars (which failed to go off) and a bomb which blew up the car of the Minister for Sport (Denis Howell) in Birmingham. The caller claiming responsibility for these bombs also said that there was a big demonstration planned in Birmingham the following weekend in which both the IRA and UDA would participate! Besides the fact that this was an obviously bad political mistake, no demonstration in fact took place nor did anyone else know that one was planned.

In London the car (a taxi painted all over with the union jack) belonging to the National Front candidate for Tottenham, Roy Painter, was destroyed by fire. Later, the next day, the NF issued a statement blaming this incident on Red Flag 74.

More recently the bombs planted at the two pubs in Birmingham (where nineteen people died and over 200 injured) are also claimed by Red Flag 74.

All the bombs were claimed after they actually blew up or were found i.e. after they had all been announced over news broadcasts, which casts some doubt on whether in fact it was this group who planted the bombs. But if they planted the bombs then who are they? And if they didn't why are they claiming them?

With the first phone call claiming the first bombings, it was ensured that the groups supposed origins were known - it was stated that all the members were ex-members of the IMG (International Marxist Group), who had trained with the IRA in Southern Ireland (this is probably the first the IRA knew of it!). There are supposed to be forty members in London alone, plus others "all over the country".

These figures indicate an incredibly complex network, with a high degree of security as shown by the fact that no-one has been arrested as a suspected member of this terrorist group, despite the havoc the claim to have caused in the first month of their existence and this despite the fact that the police were supposed to have prior knowledge of the groups' formation.

The caller also described the group as "militant left-wing" who intended "pushing the country by force to the Left".

These two statements are suspect in themselves. The phrase "militant Left-wing" is how the right-wing and the Press describe revolutionary groups, rather than being how such groups would describe themselves. Moreover any true revolutionary socialist has no concept of pushing anyone anywhere (except of course, pushing the ruling class out of existence!)

It is hard to believe that in England today there exists a hard-core group of people committed to such horrible and senseless bombings as those in the pubs. The only organisations at present who could possibly muster such cold-blooded people are the SAS, the police or even the National Front\*\* or such other right-wing organisations as Colonel Stirling's Great Britain 75 (note the resemblance in the names of the two groups). The State in other countries (notably at present in Italy) has been shown to be actively co-operating with the right-wing in planting bombs which will discredit the Left. Indeed the British Army is already involved in such activities in Ireland.

The bombings in the pubs which resulted in so many deaths and injuries have only resulted in working people becoming enraged and hostile to the Left. The two recent bombs in Birmingham, which were at first announced to be the work of the IRA, have resulted in Irishmen being beaten up by their fellow workers (at the British Leyland car factory in Birmingham) and in petrol bomb attacks on Irish clubs and pubs.

More sinister still is the general call now to ban the IRA and to bring in emergency acts to give the police wider powers, e.g. to detain people in custody indefinitely before bringing them to Court. No doubt if bombings like this continue the police will be carrying guns sometime in 1975.

These bombs, far from rallying the support of the working class, have succeeded only in causing fear and distrust and dividing the workers. If Red Flag 74 had any element of revolutionary socialism they could not have been responsible for these bombs. Who Red Flag 74 is and whether they in fact planted the bombs cannot be known for sure yet. But the very fact that they claim to be Left-wing and to have planted the bombs, throws discredit and hatred on the Left.

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Why did the NF specifically blame Red Flag 74 for the bombing of the car? Was it perhaps to ensure that the name stayed in the headlines?

Urirsia.

## THE NORTHCLIFFE TRADITION GOES ON

In the Times (Sept 16) David Cross and Sue Masterman both cover the kidnapping at The Hague. They say the hostage to be released "Mr Furuya, like the terrorists in the embassy, is believed to belong to a Japanese anarchist group called the Red Army". If David and Sue are so ignorant of political affairs as not to know the Red Army of Tokyo is Marxist-Leninist, did not the name itself strike them as incongruous? Or were they following the secret police directive to change political descriptions.



# SPAIN

## THE SUAREZ AFFAIR

The continued pogrom against French and Spanish Anti-Fascists in France.

On 16th January the French police arrested Pierre Roger, Michel Camilleri, Miguel Moreno and Jean-Claude Torres. The two last named were accused of belonging to the MIL and to have taken actions against Iberia Airlines in an effort to prevent the execution of Salvador Puig Antich. The first two were set free in February but Roger was arrested again when the GARI attacked the Spanish Consulate in Toulouse. He was taken into custody and beaten up - spending six days tied to a radiator, constantly assaulted. He was then put into secret custody and tortured to obtain a confession - an action by the French police which has been brought to the attention of Amnesty International. He had convincing proofs against the accusation but was finally tortured to signing a "confession" to something quite different - a bank robbery.

In September Mario Ines Torres, Jean-Michel Martinez and Victor Manrique were also arrested - all under the Law of Exception passed by De Gualle which sets aside guaranteed safeguards. Meantime they are subject to torture, and it is believed the police obtained from Camilleri and Ines-Torres signed confessions to 17 attentats and 5 armed bank robberies - from Belgium down to Rosellon - to almost every unsolved political crime and many non-political ones! It is as impossible not to understand what is going on as it is to believe in Russian election figures.

Miguel Moreno and Jean-Claude Torres were acquitted in Paris in October. Their friends came to meet them and they were arrested - on the basis of friendship with the two who had just been set free. They were kept for 24 hours, but one of them Jose Maria Condom-Bofill (Spanish) was kept in custody. He has now been taken to Toulouse and charged with an attack on the Spanish Consulate there. He is also accused of belonging to the GARI - in order to justify being tortured.

The judge, M. Bensoussan, has ordered an investigation into the conduct of the police. But the comrades remain imprisoned. Once again French and Spanish political police have acted in accord.



Following the kidnapping of the Banco de Bilbao's director in Paris - with a demand for the return of the funds of the CNT, the anarcho-sindicalist majority trade union in Spain - eleven anti-fascists were arrested. They included Octavio Alberola - known to the Spanish press as "Public Enemy No. 1" of the Franco regime.

After months of detention not only have eight been released - two with charges dropped and the rest on bail - but the Banco de Bilbao has strenuously denied paying the ransom. Half a million pounds worth of francs and other foreign currencies were found in Alberola's possession, but nobody admits paying it.

Is it possible the affair was arranged in order to compromise Comrade Alberola in good time before the regime came to an end?

This seems the real reason behind the entire affair.

Meanwhile three remained in jail: Octavio Alberola, Ariane Gransac and Jean Weir. The latter was abandoned by the British Government, which so far from protecting its subjects, allowed Scotland Yard to co-operate with the French and Spanish police, so that French police could raid British homes in the hope of incriminating Jean Weir. The French Government now knows it can treat Britain as it does Andorra. But there was never the slightest evidence against Jean Weir. She was a Scots girl on holiday in France. She accepted a lift from a couple. What had it to do with her what they had with them? Now at last - no thanks to the cowardly Foreign Office - Jean Weir has been released on bail. We heard no news for some time (owing to the post strike in France). We fixed up legal aid for her and now she is out pending the trial that may never come. It is anticipated that Ariane too may be out on bail soon, hopefully within the next ten days. Only Octavio will be left in jail. . . too important to release, for he is a menace to Franco. . . Besides, if he is to be set free, what are they going to do with that huge ransom-that-never-was, the money made out of the suppression of the trade union movement. "Nobody" put it in the boot. . . it must belong to the owner of the car. . . and with that money in the pockets of the Spanish Resistance - which has never had a peseta or a bullet from abroad (while socialist states and Christian Action have lined the pockets of nationalist movements) - what may it achieve?

It is no longer possible to say Octavio is in prison waiting trial. HE IS INTERNED BY FRENCH "DEMOCRACY" AWAITING THE TURN OF THE SITUATION IN SPAIN.



# The Spanish Labour Movement

FRANK MINTZ

(translated by W. Lea & D. Humphreys).

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera did not satisfy the Spanish bosses who blamed it for its weakness. The political parties shifted their position and conflict grew. The UGT gained 277,000 members by 1930. The CNT had contact "with political forces, not to work toward a republic, but to combat the regime of shame which stifles us".

Their opponent did not understand the anarchist position. In an article based on the analyses of Marx and Lenin, Andres Nin concluded, "And anarchism, which has now given all that it can give and has shown its basic inability to be a vanguard of the revolutionary working class, will disappear into one of the dark niches which remain to it".

Since 1927 there was an anarchist federation, the FAI, whose aim was to help the development of the CNT.

In this climate the April 1931 municipal elections were held and gave overall victory to the republicans. On April 14th the republic was declared, with neither King Alfonso XIII nor the bosses willing to provoke direct armed confrontation.

This is a history of the Spanish republic from the standpoint of the CNT and FAI organisations of the majority of Spanish workers in both industrial and agricultural sectors, plus the attitudes of other tendencies.

A logical question is to ask why anarchism was so strong in Spain at a time when it had disappeared from other countries. Indeed to put such a question is to behave as a marxist forgetting the essential fact that real socialist ideas, authoritarian or otherwise, never penetrated the industrial countries at all (with past exceptions of anarcho-syndicalism in the USA up to 1914, anarcho-syndicalism and marxism in Germany up to 1920-1933) as is clearly evidenced by the present workers movements in the USA, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and Germany.

In Spain the anarchists, as we have shown, were practically alone in using revolutionary tactics, and naturally a soviet historian draws from this, "Thus in Spain anarchism did not restrict itself to utopian social propaganda and acts of terrorism. It got mass support and gained a number of practical successes. After half a century of growth this same tradition of the anarchist movement has become a weighty material force and influence."

This influence can be explained by the make up of the CNT, the social and political origin of its members. The objectives of the CNT were libertarian communism as defined by Bakunin and Kropotkin among others, the union being at the same time open to all workers without political or religious prejudice. Moreover the leaders, the top men came from the ranks of the working class themselves, from a background of anarcho-syndicalism. And they are in evidence from the time of the first international in Spain: Anselmo Lorenzo from 1870. Out of the movements at the end of the century from 1890 came Tarrida del Marmol, Sanchez Ros. With the formation of the CNT in 1911 came Negre, Bienacasa. After the uprising of 1917 Salvador Segui, Pestana, Peiro. During the Primo de Rivera dictatorship Buenaventura Durruti, Garcia Oliver and Francisco Ascaso etc. At the start of the republic: Peirats, Vazquez, Prieto, Mera, David Antona. During the war the Sabate brothers etc. Thus uninterrupted from 1870 until 1936 there have been successive generations of trained and experienced union men. These sixty years of workers' militancy in the towns and country areas are still the strength of the CNT. Compare this with 19th century Russia where one finds only three sorts of agitation: 1) the Decembrists at the beginning of the century, 2) exiles like Herzen and Bakunin who were converted to socialism, 3) the Narodniks and Populists who went among the people but who were themselves the sons of the bourgeoisie and the nobility, and if one compares this with 20th century Russia when, in practical terms the working class movement formed its ranks in only the fifteen years from 1905 to 1920, and yet no worker could hold any important position and in the end such petty bourgeois intellectuals as Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin etc., could make them devour each other. Nothing like this happened in Spain; the leaders from the petty bourgeoisie were weak: Ricardo Mella before 1931 and the doctors Vallina and Puente after.

The second factor to explain the strength of the CNT is its organisation, working as it does towards the three goals of direct action, united union and federalism.

Direct action conforms to the tactic worked out by the French anarcho-syndicalists and consists in refusing to negotiate direct with the bosses and in demanding that as many claims as possible be met. On making the most far reaching demands possible on them two attitudes are open to the authorities; first opposition, a show of strength which would generally provoke a chain reaction among the ranks of the workers. In 1919 the famous strike at La Canadiense showed powerful solidarity in different firms and between different grades. Again during the republic there was a strike of employees of the telephone company. The peasants of Ronda, a town in Andalusia, decided to support it and all the telegraph wires in the area were cut. That is to say that peasants who were illiterate for the most part and acting to a large extent instinctively, had displayed efficiency and solidarity in their action.

The united union as its name suggests, brought together the workers in the same company, or in the same area if it were small. The important effect it had was to unite the wage earners instead of dividing them into the artificial categories by the bosses; executives, technicians, engineers, employees, workers etc; consequently they presented a united front when making demands. This produced a solidarity and a strength far greater than obtained in the UGT, organised on European lines, that is to say as in France or Germany. One can easily understand why strikes were successful. At times, when the pressure of the masses was not enough, individuals or small groups undertook to strengthen it. Victorious strikes led to an influx of militants and the subsequent strikes became more significant because of the past successes, and had a far greater number of participants.

Federalism gave great flexibility of action to the CNT since each area or local federation could take initiatives without having to consult central committees who might not be up to date with the situation. A typical case was in 1934: The CNT and the UGT, for reasons we shall see, disagreed over a tactic. Meanwhile in the Asturias two regional groups formed an alliance (which shows the influence of anarchist tactics on the UGT). But to the dismay of the local CNT organisation the Felguera federation withheld agreement. This, which at first sight appears contradictory, indicates the realities of local situations between CNT and UGT.

A third completely different and remarkable aspect is that which we will call internationalism. The CNT never restricted itself to syndicalism, and its committee rooms housed literacy classes as well as Ferrer type children's classes. For though Ferrer was shot in 1909 the schools carried on in all the provinces of Spain with financial support from various unions. Militant teachers taught after working hours. There were classes in Esperanto, vegetarianism, herbal medicine, birth control propaganda, female emancipation and social gatherings. These schools were not only well known but were supported by many magazines both local and national. If we take only the year 1932, as well as the classic publications such as "Solidaridad Obrera" (Barcelona daily) "Tierra y Libertad" (Barcelona weekly) "La Tierra" (Madrid) "La novela ideal" (monthly) "La Revista Blanca" (Barcelona monthly) "Nosotros" (Valencia

monthly) "Redencion" (Alcoy) "Accion" (Cadiz) etc., other publications make their appearance - "CNT" (Madrid weekly) "Orto" (Valencia) "Solidaridad Proletaria" (Seville) "La voz del campesino" (Jerez) etc.

That this militancy had an important cultural side to it was in no way fortuitous. It stood in opposition in every way to the Catholic culture, from the first names chosen Acracio, Floreal, Germinal, Helios etc., Luz, Libertaria, Alba to the literary authors read, Multatuli, Panait Istrati, Zola. And marxism, theory and practice, was attacked and presented for what it was, that is to say an ideology to enable the owning class to continue to exploit the workers. The writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Rocker, Nettlau were published as books and pamphlets along with the writings of the Russian anarchists Archinov, Makhno, Voline and the commentators who had seen Russia first hand, Prieto, Perez Combina, Martin Gudell, Pestana.

But one must not imagine that the CNT was without weaknesses. The first was the refusal of industrial federations, which some comrades proposed, through fear or bureaucratisation. There could always have been branches like in the metallurgical industry, building, textiles etc., which would certainly have better prepared the militants with a clearer conception of what was needed for collectivisation. The united union was preserved and its action was unblemished, but something more was lacking. The propaganda in leaflets and books for libertarian communism, that is organising post revolutionary society by and for the workers, without the intervening period, foresaw the industrial federations liaising among themselves just as did the groups and agricultural communes.

A further factor was development without bureaucratisation. One needs to understand that from 1931 to 1936 the CNT with about one million members, had only one permanent official: the secretary of the National Committee. It goes without saying that all those who occupied a union post on the national regional or local committees carried it out after their own work, in their own time and often out of their own money. This practice enabled the discouragement of careerists, ensuring that those in positions in the union remain in touch with the work and with the rank and file.

The number of followers is explained by the personal magnetism of certain militants like Peiro, Vazquez etc., workers who had acquired a deeper understanding, and who passed it on to their fellows. From this power there grew a power quite similar to bureaucracy. Peirats recalls that after a planned insurrection ordered by Durruti and his friends for the FAI "someone asked for explanations on behalf of the local federation of anarchist groups of Barcelona. The answer was that Ascaso, Durruti and Garcia Oliver were not controlled by the FAI, although it was they who had spoken to the tribune in the name of the organisation".

Finally there was the problem of alliances. One can well understand that a social movement, regardless of its strength and power, can rarely pursue a revolutionary tactic, and the CNT was a case in point. And further, the CNT was deeply split into two camps. The one sought to gain from the republic by pitching itself into social insurrection, that was the "faistas", among whom were Durruti and his comrades. The other group insisted on a trial period, a policy of neutrality and respect towards the republic. The faistas attempted three risings which petered out after attempts to establish libertarian communism in villages and small towns in Aragon, Valencia, Andalusia and Castille. The militants of the opposing tendency, called "treintistas" because they supported the position set out by thirty officials on the CNT like Peiro, Pestana etc., had taken no part in these movements.

From early 1934 the CNT was practically split in two and severely weakened by the arrests following the attempted risings in 1932 and in January and December 1933. Further the deputies were by a majority rightists, for the faistas had proposed electoral abstention "TURN TO THE FACTORIES; SOCIAL REVOLUTION".

The other political groupings had little influence on the UGT; at no time for example did the UGT launch strikes in solidarity with the attempted uprisings by the CNT faction. The socialist party threw itself into a campaign of revolutionary propaganda, and the former Minister of Labour, Largo Caballero, became known as the Spanish Lenin (true on the level of being of the masses and a political agitator). In fact he agitated solely for a political deal to set up an armed force to put pressure on the right. At no time was an attempted insurrection throughout Spain, of the sort attempted by a section of the CNT, foreseen.

Thus there was a CNT-UGT alliance in the Asturias and caches of arms in this region alone. In October 1934 two insurrections broke out simultaneously in the Asturias and in Catalonia. The CNT took part in the first but was not consulted in the second. The outcome was rapid: the right refused to negotiate with the socialists and attacked. The Catalan insurrection, led by Catalan separatists, gave in almost at once because they had no reserves of heavy arms. One of the first measures taken by the Catalonians was to outlaw the CNT. As for the Asturias, where there were many armed workers following the occupation of the arms factories, the area was isolated, then bombarded and defeated.

The animosity between the socialists of the UGT on one side and the CNT/FAI on the other grew worse, except paradoxically in the Asturias, where UGTers, CNTers and even a minority of communists had fought alongside each other under the symbol UHP - Unity among Brother Workers.

In the 1936 elections the left united to win. The CNT discreetly recommended its members to vote and the ballot figures show how strong it was. In 1933 the left had 3,200,000 votes, being 20%. In 1936 they had 4,800,000 votes and 35%, representing a gain of 1,600,000. (Naturally the CNT influence, the growth of the electorate, the return of some of those who had left Spain for economic reasons and the lowering of the voting age all played a part: a figure of 1,300,000 for CNT is reasonable.

The left gained a slight majority of 1.1% of overall votes, but owing to the polling procedure it held a majority of 55 seats.) The greatest gains went to the Communist Party; 14 seats against 1 in 1933. Why? The answer is curious. Let us look at the returns.

Malaga 12,900 votes in 1933, 52,750 in 1936. Cadiz 3,000 and 97,000. Oviedo 16,830 and 170,500. At this time the party, according to its own sources had only between 17,000 and 30,000 members, and its propaganda was limited because of that. But even so it gained a total of about 1,800,000 votes. The only explanation is that it benefitted from CNT votes, and in fact of their 14 deputies, 13 came from regions with an anarchist majority.

The CNT's political blunder of supporting their most stubborn political opponents can be explained by the bitterness felt toward the UGT. At all events the Popular Front was nothing more than a masquerade: police continued to fire at workers, the government took no steps against the right, and moreover the left forces did no more than conduct polemics, as can be seen from the headline of "Solidaridad Obrera" 16 July 1936: "That is enough. Only fools and agents provocateurs can see any common ground between fascism and anarchism . . . may the gentlemen of the Popular Front note that." "The lack of vision in times of crisis and the counter revolutionary behaviour of Spanish marxism opens the door to fascism". July 17, 1936.

On July 18th the right launched a military putsch. The time was well chosen, for the left was in disunity, the workers as well as the CNT.

The detractors and defenders of the SLA.

The establishment media, press radio and television painted the SLA in the ugliest colours. This is only to be expected when a real threat to the system is being made.

But unexpected to some was the reaction of the so-called radical movement. The manifold marxian sects were first to condemn the SLA as not representing the great masses. The liberals and pacifists followed suit. The most insidious attack was penned by "Ramparts", which considers itself to be the most radical, in the May 1974 issue. The heading of the attack reads "The SLA Terrorists and the Left", followed by these sub-headings; 'A License to kill', 'Counter-revolutionary Drama', 'A Doomed Strategy', 'Out of a Nightmare'. The double talk reveals itself in the final paragraph of the attack;

"The SLA's emergence is directly attributable to the collapse of the organised Left at the end of the sixties, and its continuing failure to regroup itself and revive . . . If there is a lesson to be learnt from the SLA it is that in a society as violently racist, exploitative and aggressively heartless as America is we cannot afford to be without an organised mass movement of the left."

Stew Albert, a former editor of the defunct "Berkeley Tribe" wrote a letter to Ramparts which appeared in the August 1974 issue;

"Your article on the SLA (may 1974) slandered selfless revolutionaries who, as much as anyone else in North America, chose to walk the dangerous heroic path . . . All over the United States radicals stumbled over each other . . . to proclaim their total disdain for the SLA . . . The most ironic part . . . is when reading the long list of condemners, I find many . . . who once proclaimed the absolute necessity of establishing guerrilla units. The SLA leaders are dead, murdered genocide style, and doesn't Ramparts and the rest of the New Responsible Left have a little blood on its hands?"

The "Daily World", the official organ of the U.S. Communist Party made no mention of the massacre of six revolutionaries on May 17, 1974, and only carried a small news item in its issue of May 23, 1974, related to the fact that the "American Civil Liberties Union of Los Angeles charged the police with using excessive power in a shoot-out which killed six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army". But, between May 18 and May 23 the Daily World carried stories about the U.S. Communist Party protesting against "terror in Uruguay", "Portugal Advances", and about a demonstration in Washington for African liberation at which Angela Davis spoke! Nor did any kind of protest emanate from China or Russia from their marxian governments against the U.S. government's brutal burning to death of six revolutionaries!

Neither had there been a single expression of sympathy from the Chicago Eight, Angela Davis, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, the twelve black Congressmen or any of the scores of lesser black elected officials throughout the United States towards the revolutionary acts of the SLA, or any protest against the massacre of 17 May 1974.

A biting explanation of the marxists' position appeared in the "San Francisco Phoenix" in May 1974. It reprinted a chapter from a forthcoming book by Warren Hinckle, a former editor of Ramparts, from which the following extract is taken.

"The urban guerrilla tactics that the streetwise SLA has excelled in performing had just been retired by the new left after several late sixties' years of scientific testing, on the grounds that guerrilla was unworkable and/or counter-revolutionary in the United States . . . The genesis of the hostility can be traced to Marx, Engels and Co., who mightily distrusted and despised the lumpen-proletariat-historically that big class, below the most unskilled workers, consisting of criminals, street anarchists, frenzied poor, hopelessly jobless, brooding cripples and the like. Engels, when reading them out of the revolution, scorned them as "gutter proletarians", and the premonition that the uncontrollable lumpen might one day get their dirty paws on the Revolution has remained one of the nightmares of the left . . . Note that the SLA's heralded food handout from the pantry of Bwana Hearst completely stiffed the workers. Any Catholic school child can tell you that Communist sugar-plums are constantly being dangled in front of the workers to lead the weak of will down the primrose path of revolution. However, the SLA didn't offer belly-button fuzz to the workers. The treats were instead to the sub-economic group below those on general assistance, the jobless, ex-convicts, the elderly and infirm, citizens on the dole - if the whole system went belly-up tomorrow these people would have nothing to lose . . . The cyanide bullet assassination of Dr. Foster, the good black guy Oakland school chief . . . was roundly denounced on the left . . . explaining how the shooting was appalling . . . But that leaves someone out. The youngland-ten to fourteen years young-East Oakland blacks who live to jive on the streets and see their schools as prison and look beyond to society at large as, at best, a concentration camp with lawns. If these dudes are part of the 'new lumpen' that Cinque is trying to reach, offing the principal is one way to go . . ."

Shameless vilification.

A tabloid, The Match of Tucson, Arizona, embarked upon a series of distortions and vilifications against the Symbionese Liberation movement that has no equal. In its April issue, it carried a front page story headed "THEORIES HOLD SLA IS PLOT TO DISCREDIT THE LEFT" and an editorial note of the same issue is headed "SLA Kidnappers Are Criminals, Not Radicals", without making any mention of the distribution of food to the needy that was the sole ransom demand! In its June issue it carried a one page article headed "Is the SLA a License to Kill for the State?" by Conrad Goeringer, and under the heading "Bulletin" its editor wrote, in part;

"As the Match goes to press six members of the SLA have just been killed during a shoot-out with the police and FBI . . . Information regarding Donald DeFreeze's long history of co-operation with the Criminal Section of the L.A. Police department is finally breaking in the Establishment media . . . Was the furious police assault . . . designed to eliminate informants or provocateurs like DeFreeze who, if captured, might expose the government's role in this entire affair? . . . In any event, no matter the crimes of these misguided people in the SLA, the murderous police attack . . . shows the State's henchmen as far worse criminals than the SLA."

There must have been quite a few protests against the shameless vilifications that the Match received. But instead of printing even one such protest, as any honest editor would, he published a second tirade of distortions by the same Conrad Goeringer, followed by a call to "radicals everywhere to repudiate the SLA". The editor first makes some retreat from the slanders he has heaped upon Donald DeFreeze, and then repeats it again: "I don't know if DeFreeze was in the employ of the

police or not. I do think it is possible . . ." Finally the editor appealed to another collaborator, Paul Roasberry, to come to his rescue, and introducing him as "one of the clearest thinking anarchists".

Roasberry was too honest to fully comply with the request, as some of the things he wrote fully repudiate his shameful vilifications, and those of Goeringer. Wrote Roasberry;

"Some analysts have suggested that the SLA kidnapping . . . was conceived and executed as an FBI . . . plot to discredit the Left . . . I cannot believe that it coincides with the complexity of the whole affair . . . But I feel that the tragicomic escapades of the SLA have been the handwork of people genuinely honest in their intentions, yet naive in their basic strategy".

The reason for dealing at all with the vilification of The Match lies in its background history. It began as a mimeographed magazine issued by a 'Student Libertarian Action Movement' with Conrad Goeringer as editor. After he left one Fred Woodworth became its editor. He dropped the claim that the tabloid was being issued by the 'S.L.A.M.', stating instead that he himself was the publisher, and that it is 'An Anarchist Journal' later adding the word 'International' before Anarchist. Goeringer promptly published two issues of a tabloid contending that The Match was too revolutionary. The same Goeringer, evidently very satisfied with the counter-revolutionary position of The Match, is now one of its "staff" collaborators!

There have been diverse opinions within the anarchist movement about revolutionary deeds. But no sincere anarchist has ever denounced revolutionary deeds by anarchists or non-anarchists as acts of criminals and as government agents! Consequently when one finds The Match having the audacity to still call itself an anarchist publication, its deliberate slandering of the newly arisen revolutionary movement, the SLA, is the act of an imposter and it should be exposed and denounced by everyone who holds dear the anarchist idea and its movement.

The treachery enacted by The Match is not going unchallenged by those who understand the anarchist ideal and its movement. An anarchist oriented group, according to the Berkeley Barb of August 9-15, 1974, has issued a reprint of Emma Goldman's essay on "The Psychology of Political Violence", and introduced it, in part, as follows;

"In the last three years many people have decided to work for electoral reform through petitions and election of liberal candidates. The myth that strongly perpetuates the ruling class is that Americans freely choose their political leaders to run institutions in the people's best interests. In fact these institutions (governments, banks, multi-national corporations, the military) serve only to increase the wealth and power of those who control them. We are constantly told that if a particular official is too indiscreet about his corruption, specifically who benefits from his rule, he may be voted out of office, or even be impeached, someone better can be elected to replace him. This is the game the ruling class uses to keep us busy, impeaching, voting, petitioning, appealing. This makes absolutely no difference in who controls wealth . . . and who suffers . . . the first step toward taking control of our lives is to understand the lies that separate people who have common political and economic interests . . . The kidnapping of the Hearst's daughter forced access to the media for the many communiques which revealed just how wealthy the Hearst family really is . . . We strongly suggest that this type of direct action not be labelled 'terrorism' by people on the left . . . This type of condemnation gives the pigs further justification to murder people as they did in Los Angeles".

This clear cut exposure of the Establishment, and the revolutionary position toward kidnapping naturally leads this group to brand the slanderers of the SLA as actually aiding the police to continue murdering sincere revolutionaries, and therefore can only be considered as counter-revolutionists.

In the same issue of the Berkeley Barb a letter was published from a newly formed Bay Area Research Collective which told about a rally held in Berkeley on June 2nd 1974, attended by "500 supporters of the SLA", and of a forum held on August 4, 1974 in support of the SLA.

Voices of support and understanding

"Resistance", published in Santa Cruz, California had a ringing front page editorial in its issue of May 28, 1974, stating, in part;

"Six of our comrades of the Symbionese Liberation Army are dead, assassinated by an army of police. The media proclaims that the SLA has been destroyed, and that the revolution has failed. This is a calculated lie, designed to keep people from realising how much the ruling classes fear armed and conscious revolutionaries . . . The government claims the war is over, said Joe Remiro and Russell Little, 'Fully realising as we all do that it is only one battle that is over, and the war has just begun! The government has claimed this is their victory. But the facts are that it took over six months using thousands of specially assigned pigs using millions of dollars to murder six revolutionaries. What if there were not just six guerrillas, but 60, 600 or 6,000?' "

In striking contrast to the cowardly silence of so-called black leaders, and dishonest slanderers of the SLA, the liberal 'Nation' of June 29, 1974, printed an article on "Women and Violence: the SLA" by Gilroy Geis, professor of Social Ecology at Irvine University, in which the concluding paragraph truly evaluates the motivated soul of the newly arisen revolutionary Symbionese Liberation movement:

"No decent and intelligent person can ever maintain that he is doing all he can to create a better society (or) claim that ours is as just and fair a society as it ought to be. All 'mature' people understand that they have been diverted by their desire to live a little longer and a little more peacefully from making a maximum effort to achieve those things they believe in . . . We all really know this, we decent intelligent people . . . Their (SLA people) inability to make a bargain with 'reality' is the key to the six dead bodies, and the fugitives identified with the SLA."

The history of past struggles by oppressed people attests to the fact that these six martyrs of the Symbionese Liberation Movement have not died in vain. Their names will forever be remembered in the same spirit of love and admiration as those martyrs who were slaughtered by the oppressors whilst fighting to maintain the Paris Commune. How true indeed are the words of William Harris:

"The SLA is not dead and will not die as long as there is one living fighting member of any oppressed class, race, sex or group left on the face of this earth."

The truth of this prophecy is already being borne out by many new revolutionary acts that have followed and will continue to follow in the wake of the six massacred heroic revolutionaries.



### SOLDIERS' SOLUTIONS

Could British soldiers have acted in defence of the civilian prison guards in mass extermination? Well, it would be a frightfully dreadful experience but really old boy, if those were our orders, what what? That was the impression which came over in a radio programme on the deportation of the Cossacks to Russia.

The Cossacks co-operated with the Nazis. But the decision to co-operate was taken at high level. For years Cossacks had been exploited by the Tsar in defence of his regime. Under the Bolsheviks they were both used and abused. They turned against Russia and fought with its enemy. But the ordinary men, women and certainly children, had only surrendered their destiny to leaders. They may have condoned many crimes. But the fault was not theirs.

When the war was over they did not think the British would send them back to Russia. The Army was given the "distasteful" job of loading hundreds of weeping praying men and women on to trucks and sending them back, making sure they were properly sealed up in the trucks and that they did not cheat by committing suicide beforehand. "It was not our concern how they were treated when they arrived at their destination". All the clean-limbed young Englishmen explained how their duty was distasteful. But it was their duty. They obeyed orders. One said naively — but how revealingly — it was something that had to be done only once, and for all — "it was a final solution" . . .

Would they have done the same had they been, say, Jews? The Army was in fact doing precisely the same with the trainloads or shiploads of Jews who "jumped the queue" for Palestine out of the concentration camps.

But in what way, precisely was the German Army to be criticised? It lost the war didn't it?

### SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE

A blow for the judiciary came with the acquittal of film producer John Lindsay for "conspiracy" to publish obscene films, at a time when the grim joke of "catch-all" charges of conspiracy is coming under question. There was no nonsense this time about whether the films were "artistic" or not. They were sheer porno. They portrayed sexual acts for titillation with no pretence about "artistic excellence", including acts which are still, incomprehensibly, punishable by criminal law though performed between consenting adults of different sex.

The judge, like all the bench, made no secret of his views on the subject — views taken from the almost defunct Christian Church and stated by a vociferous but tiny minority to be those of "the silent majority", severely enforced with the more determination as law by judges who privately do not believe in the Christian dogmas at all.

Stating that the films were "manifestly obscene" Mr. Justice Wien handed out suspended sentences and fines to five defendants who had admitted performing in the films and on legal advice pleaded guilty. But the producer said he was not guilty, that no normal person would regard such films as likely to deprave or corrupt them and after sticking his neck out (financially — the costs are said to total £20,000) through two trials has now been found unanimously not guilty by the jury.

The code of judges is simple. These films do not corrupt "us". "We" see them and pronounce on them as obscene and emerge pure and unscathed. But they are liable to corrupt "you". Sometimes the self-appointed censors vary their line: such things might corrupt youth . . . but what do young people say . . . "Well it's all right for a bit of a giggle but supposing some old parson saw them — that would be a bit much wouldn't it?"

This jury decision follows a long line of similar decisions. If cases come before magistrates alleging obscenity, then the case is proved. If a judge could act on his own, again the case is proved and is "manifestly" dreadful. But juries won't convict because they know that such things, books or films, don't corrupt them any more than they corrupt the "master minds" who pronounce from the coward's castle of the Bench that other people's minds are dirty and their minds are pure.

It may be that these decisions do not do a lot for aesthetics. They do not affect the morals. But they do a lot for freedom of printing. Is there any reason — even culled from the backwater of religious dogma — why the artistic and highly literate should be allowed their porn and not those whose cultural standards are lower?

Solzhenitsyn arrived in Zurich to launch his new book — a collection of essays on the future of Russia, written by himself and friends still in the USSR, "From Beneath the Boulders". It may be a surprise to some that the Russian dictatorship relented enough to let Solzhenitsyn out; and has relaxed pressure enough to let some writers express "opposition" — though subject to harassment, yet the amazing thing is that they can do it at all.

The surprise will be lessened when one hears what Solzhenitsyn and his friends have to say in the book, if his interview is any criterion. "The age of physical revolutions is over; they solved nothing," announced the exiled author in one of those grand generalisations that roll easily off the tongue and prove nothing. "We aim to initiate a debate on the future of Russia . . . we want a dialogue with men of good will . . . we stand for the rejection of primitive political solutions," he told reporters, awash with liberalism's clichés that sound even more absurd from someone who has lived in a totalitarian state.

He criticised the Labour Prime Ministers of Britain and Australia for suggesting that Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States, respectively, should be "forgiven and forgotten". But what should the Prime Ministers have said? It is not to be supposed that they should declare for war (at least in the presence of the press) and they, like Solzhenitsyn himself, have decided against "physical revolution" in Russia as elsewhere to the extent that Russian revolutionaries have been as pitilessly treated in the West as in the East. They have not been feted like Solzhenitsyn; they have been returned. There they have not lost their jobs; they have lost their lives.

## COURT CIRCULAR

What — asked Sherlock Holmes in a famous question — was significant about the dog barking? The fact that it did not bark. In the *Times* (26 Nov) a minor headline explained HARROW FIRE NOT TERRORIST WORK POLICE DISCLOSE. "Police officers investigating the fire that destroyed part of Grove House at Harrow School, London, early yesterday, have excluded any possibility of a terrorist attack." Yet the original headlines had added to the wave of hysteria generated by the IRA bombings "The police yesterday interviewed all 62 boys in the house. . . inquiries had disclosed that no petrol bombs were thrown into the school from outside. Last month a bomb damaged a cottage in the grounds of the school."

What was significant about the report? The fact that the police, and the *Times*, already knew the identity of the boy responsible for an attack that the housemaster admitted "might have killed" someone. The boy is a cousin of the Queen and a godson of Princess Anne. It was not terrorism at all therefore. Youthful high spirits. But where is his name? Can we help you? Simon . . . . . ?

The Marchioness of Lothian, chairman of the Order of Christian Unity — a Christian pressure group — polled (she said) two thousand Parliamentary candidates at the recent General Election and received answers from 615 — on which basis she worked out that "a high percentage of candidates are concerned with ethical and moral problems" — 75% of all candidates, she reckoned (but she probably meant those polled) being against divorce on demand and 69% against abortion on demand. Sex education took its usual bashing, and a demand for more Christian broadcasting had overwhelming support. Yet no serious candidate dare put these views to the electorate which leaves the churches empty while the candidates, fearful of losing supporters — even among the twos and threes that huddle in the empty churches — echo any and every Christian platitude to private delegations. Concerned about ethics, are you Marchioness? Look into that one.

### THE BEST FORM OF DEFENCE

Walter is a general  
Who's worn much braid of gold;  
He likes to rattle sabres  
Though he is getting old.  
He has chronic paranoia  
(Far dealer than gout),  
So discipline and ranks and drill  
Don't fail to freak him out.

Walter's raised an army,  
And when 'tis time to act  
He'll lead his stalwarts from the rear  
And keep his skin intact.  
But we'll not wait for Walter;  
He shall not have his fun.  
We'll take the fire into his camp—  
Then watch this Walker run!

Pigsticker.

The choice is not between order and liberty. It is between liberty with order and anarchy without either. Robert H. Jackson — (Daily Express 23.11.74. — Talking Point, after the editorial).

Who the devil Robert H. Jackson is we cannot elucidate. But what an idiotic point to make! "Liberty" with order must be circumscribed. It will be relative liberty, liberty within limits. "Anarchy" — no government — without freedom, that is to say without limits — could not exist.

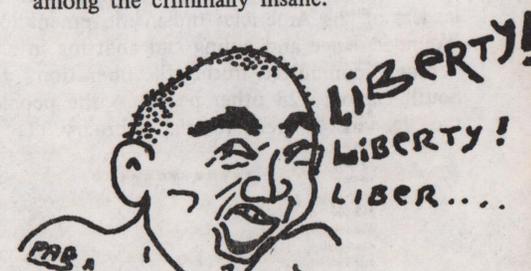
The Governess to the children of the Earl of Lucan was found brutally and viciously murdered after the Earl turned up at their Belgravia home. He then proceeded to severely batter his wife, but she managed to escape with her life. The Earl was then reported missing, and detectives feared that his friends might "out of mistaken loyalty" be hiding him.

But they did not stage immediate raids on the Earl's friends. Those who live in Belgravia are not to be treated like those who live in Bermondsey. Besides, the Earl (though his father became Chief Labour Whip in the Lords, an unusual departure in the family) is a Conservative, who was on the verge of a political career. No connection between his Conservative views and the alleged murders could be made by the police even when warrants for his arrest were finally made out.

Lord Lucan was an upper-class drop-out — he spent his time gambling in fashionable clubs (his milieu is described euphemistically by the *Observer* as a "Bertie Wooster world" but others would describe it as one of wastrels and scoundrels). Imagine how the circles he mixed in would have been treated by the press had they been hippy drop-outs! Manson would have been small fry!

But had it been a worker of the libertarian left (which is so unlikely) what a song and dance they would have made of *Anarchist's Brutal Murder — Yard Swoops on Homes*! But there are never any anarchists' brutal murders despite the political police's allegations of a morning that are withdrawn in the afternoon. And *Tory's Brutal Murder of Nanny* is a headline we have yet to see.

Bishop James McGuinness of Nottingham is more of a humbug than benefits his profession. Deploring the Birmingham bomb attacks of the IRA he said (Nov. 22) that "these horrible deeds" might be the work of some "Irish fanatics or anarchist group". Liar McGuinness knows full well that the attacks of the IRA are made by Irishmen — indeed he goes on to say that "such acts of violence have besmirched the good name of Ireland" — but that, fanatics or not, they are Catholics and Republicans not anarchists at all. His concern is to get out from under, not to tell the truth. Were it otherwise, he would not be a bishop.



WOUNDED KNEE

The Longest War: 1890 - 1973.

The longest war that the United States government has ever waged has been against the American Indians. The war has never ceased. In 1890 federal troops massacred 300 unarmed Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. In 1973 the government again mustered its forces against the Indian people of the Pine Ridge Reservation who had gathered at Wounded Knee to protest at the continuing injustices to their people and the government's violation of their treaty rights under the 1868 Treaty, states the Wounded Knee Defence Committee.

On February 27, within hours of calling for aid from the American Indian Movement, members of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organisation and its supporters were surrounded. Police set up road-blocks, cordoned off the area and began arresting people leaving Wounded Knee. The Oglala People prepared to defend themselves against government aggression - once again.

Under heavy fire from government troops and local vigilantes, the Oglala people liberated the village for 71 days - from February 27 to May 8 - establishing the Independent Oglala Nation. Two Indian men, Buddy Lamont and Frank Clearwater, were killed in the fight for their treaty rights.

Like its history of broken treaties, the government failed to honour the agreements ending the liberation of Wounded Knee signed on April 5 and May 5. The liberators asked for, and the Wounded Knee trials support, three basic demands:

1. A treaty commission (Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs) should examine the 371 treaties the United States has made - and broken - with Indian people. Rights should be enforced by law. The Oglala people should receive control of their reservation, as spelled out in the Treaty of 1868.
2. Repeal of the Indian Reorganisation Act of 1934, a major weapon in robbing Indians of their treaty-guaranteed reservation, and a means of setting up white-controlled governments. On Pine Ridge, hold new elections with impartial observers protecting against violence and fraud in the election.
3. Remove the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the U.S. Department of Interior - its oil mineral park interests conflict with Indian interests - and make the BIA an independent agency. On Pine Ridge, there should be an independent investigation of the BIA's handling of Indian affairs, and an independent audit of the tribe's books and land rent records.

As a result of the liberation, approximately 130 people face heavy federal charges; and many more indictments are expected. Another 150 people face state and tribal charges for their stand at Wounded Knee and other Indian civil rights protests. The trials are in process. In St. Paul, Minnesota Russell Means and Dennis Banks went to trial January 8 for conspiring with five other leaders of the American Indian Movement to "take over" Wounded Knee and aiding and abetting in all the alleged "crimes" committed during the liberation. In Sioux Falls South Dakota 123 other people - the people who led the "leaders" - went to trial February 11.

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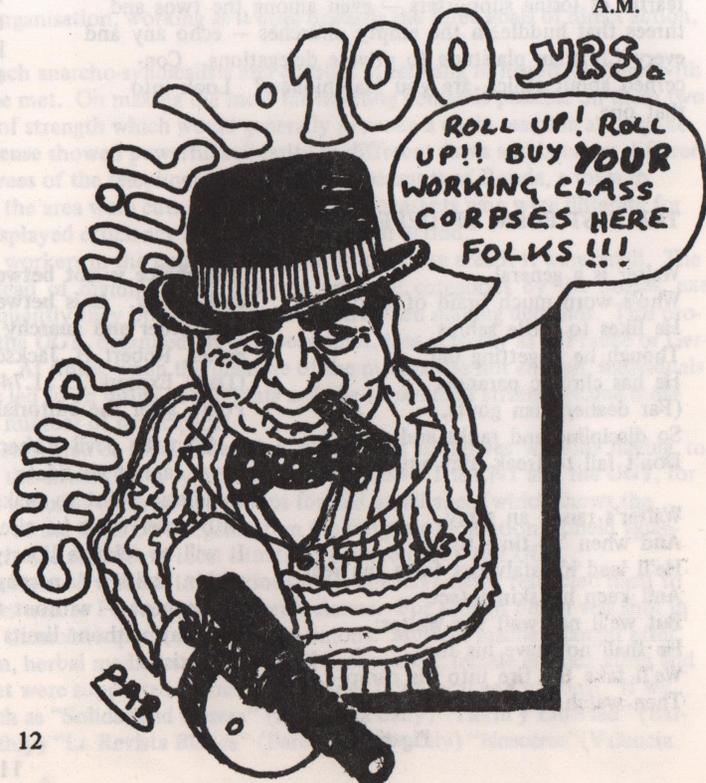
WOODEN HORSE

"TENIAMOS QUE PERDER!" - "We had to lose!" or perhaps "We deserved to lose!" - is a book by literary traitor Garcia Pradas well known in anarchist circles. It has appeared in Madrid, highly praised by public figures and even recommended by a Minister. It nearly won a literary Grand Prix but was pipped on the post by something nearer to official taste. It denounces the "excesses" of libertarianism and above all of federalism . . . the idea of self-determination by Basques and Catalans which is the root of all evil to the unitary Spanish state.

Pradas turned up, a freelance journalist a few months before the civil war, to get a job as editor of the daily paper "CNT" in Madrid. He was picked by Cipriano Mera, then secretary of the local - a builder's labourer by profession, who was impressed by Pradas's literary abilities. He was expelled from the libertarian movement in 1951. Between times he had written reams of articles and books, all highly nationalistic. It is amazing that this was not recognised.

His first article in English - published in *Spain and the World* - contained the phrase "Hatred of the Moors is in our blood". I protested about it in 1938, to be told it was a "momentary aberration" and successive editors have been equally naive. In one book Garcia Pradas deprecates Marx because he took to revolutionary politics as a "refugee on racial grounds" rather than on political grounds. He was clearly under the impression Marx was expelled from Germany as a Jew! His limitations should have been obvious long ago, like those of other literary traitors that have used the movement to pass on to literary rewards. In his new book his nationalism is neither more nor less obvious that it always was. Only he does not have to disguise it with such rubbish as that quoted.

A.M.



Book Page

"MAN!"

Ed. Marcus Graham (Cienfuegos Press. P/b £3.25; H/b £7.00).

The international anarchist movement has suffered for too long from mis-representation. When not portrayed as a collection of sinister fanatics and "mad-bombers" by the deliberate lies of the bourgeois press, it has been left to "respectable" academics (uninvolved in the movement themselves) to divide anarchism up into neat little packages, able to bring profits to their publishers and embellish their own scholastic reputations with a whiff of the avant garde so sought after in the drab university talking shop.

With the exception of "Floodgates of Anarchy", no account of what revolutionary anarchists themselves believe has been available in recent years. Now, with the publication of "MAN!", another significant contribution towards redressing this balance has been added.

The journal "MAN!" appeared in America for seven and a half years, between January 1933 and April 1940. Under Marcus Graham's skillful and courageous editorship it became a milestone in the development of anarchist ideas and a model for political journalism throughout the world.

The selection of articles represented here in book form serve a double purpose. They offer a fascinating insight into the philosophy and practise of anarchism for those seeking answers unobtainable outside the pages of the anarchist journals, and also act as an important contribution to the discussions taking place today within the anarchist movement itself. For this reason, "MAN!" is a welcome (and very powerful) corrective to the "Eltzbacher" interpretation, fostered by academics outside the movement, of what its participants are SUPPOSED to think.

The essays included in "MAN!" cover a staggeringly wide range of topics - cultural and artistic just as much as political. Such gems as Hippolyte Havel's "An Immoral Writer" and Graham's own "Native American Anarchism" are lessons in book reviewing which the over-paid hacks of today could well afford to look to for inspiration! Indeed the latter essay also contains what could be a timely rebuke for those historians of the Woodcock stable who write-off the anarchist movement as a corpse:

*"The basic idea of Anarchy - freedom - is as inherent within the mind of every human being as the faculty to breath even when society prevents*

We need hardly say we are hardly what you might call Marxists . . . But journalist Jeremy Campbell is paid high sums for writing from Washington *THE SECRET LIFE OF KARL MARX* (Evening Standard Oct. 30). *Discovered letters that shatter myths about the birth of Communism* . . . not to say sell the Standard and enhance Mr. Campbell. What are these "discovered letters"? They were written to his agent in Washington Adolf Cluss and may lead "scholars to suspect the existence of a long lost correspondence likely to shed important new light . . ." For he wrote articles in the New York Tribune "at £1-£2 a time" at a time when his command of English was limited. "How large a hand did he have in them?" All presented as high sensationalism . . .

Alas, Mr. Campbell did not have the opportunity to consult the Home University Library (1939, 3rd edn 1963) 13

*the exercising of this named faculty. So the flourishing activity of an individual Anarchist or many - even whole Anarchist groups - when they cease to function does not, nor can it imply that the ideal of Anarchism has died".*

No less significant are the biographical sketches and accounts of the persecutions endured by anarchists under "democratic" governments and fascist and communist dictatorships. Revealing insights into already renowned figures like Makhno, Berkman, Keel, Malatesta and others as well as welcome acknowledgement of the personal heroism of revolutionists such as Muesham, Schirru, Duval, Van der Lubbe, Berneri, Kate Austin and a host of comrades previously ignored by history. People who by their tireless actions and selfless example provide the backbone of the struggle for human liberty, with only their relentless faith in the future of humanity as their reward.

Taken as a whole, the essays, poetry and ideas contained in "MAN!" provide for the first time an accurate picture of the life of an anarchist paper, the men and women who give it life, and the ideals which drive them forward. People who, as Stuart Christie writes in his introduction, "have this urge to proclaim the idea, and who cannot be crushed whatever the repression . . ."

The expression and style of presentation may differ from that of today, but in its essential aspects - the struggle to remove social, political and economic injustice and introduce a free society based on self-management, mutual-aid and co-operation - the determination of modern anarchists remains unchanged. A struggle that cannot be defeated, and one in a long tradition.

If your library has not yet ordered a copy of "MAN!" now is the time to remedy matters. To Cienfuegos Press, the heartiest congratulations in making this book possible; to its readers the words of Michael Schirru:

*"History teaches us that outraged liberty has found ardent upholders at all times. While tyranny hires venal assassins, liberty inspires generous avengers and heroes. And no army of hired assassins has ever succeeded in chaining the will or in stopping the hand of the vindicator".*

Phil Ruff.

in which Isaiah Berlin on "Karl Marx" would have given him all the answers.

Marx wrote for the Tribune for ten years. He did not know he was going to be a god. The articles were hack reportage and required comments on modern warfare. "As Marx was entirely ignorant of the later subject and had at this period very little English," writes Berlin, "and to refuse anything which offered a steady if meagre source of income was unthinkable he turned to Engels." Later Engels' articles "were reprinted as a pamphlet by Marx called the German Revolution and Counter Revolution" (Berlin) . . . "It is well known that (this work) was in fact the work of Friedrich Engels," writes Campbell enthralled with his discovery.

It is too much in these days to leave it there. Could all Marx's work have been written by his wife? asks Campbell. "It would create a dilemma for the Soviets!"

**Fields, Factories and Workshops**  
 Tomorrow Peter Kropotkin.  
 (a new edition of the Anarchist classic  
 — introduced by Colin Ward).  
 (Allen & Unwin £3.95 hardback  
 £1.95 paperback)

This is a beautiful edition of Kropotkin's great work, clean as a new pin production-wise (a great commercial publisher coming up to the standard recently set by many new works on anarchism by penniless collectives in the past few months!). Colin Ward has revised it, but not drastically; what he has done is to prune the text of the original magazine form in 1888-90 and retained not only in the book (1899) but in subsequent editions. He has provided up to date statistics which make Kropotkin's work exciting. It was this work (together with Mutual Aid) which gave Peter Kropotkin his reputation as a social scientist. It appealed profoundly to the spirit of the time, both to the working class movement, which sought scientific proof of what they knew by instinct, and to the liberal-minded bourgeoisie, who — pacified when they felt a revolutionist was not actually talking revolution — took it that revolution might in the finish be a painless adjustment of the economy which would preserve their privileges perhaps not intact, but at any rate for a fair part of the year.

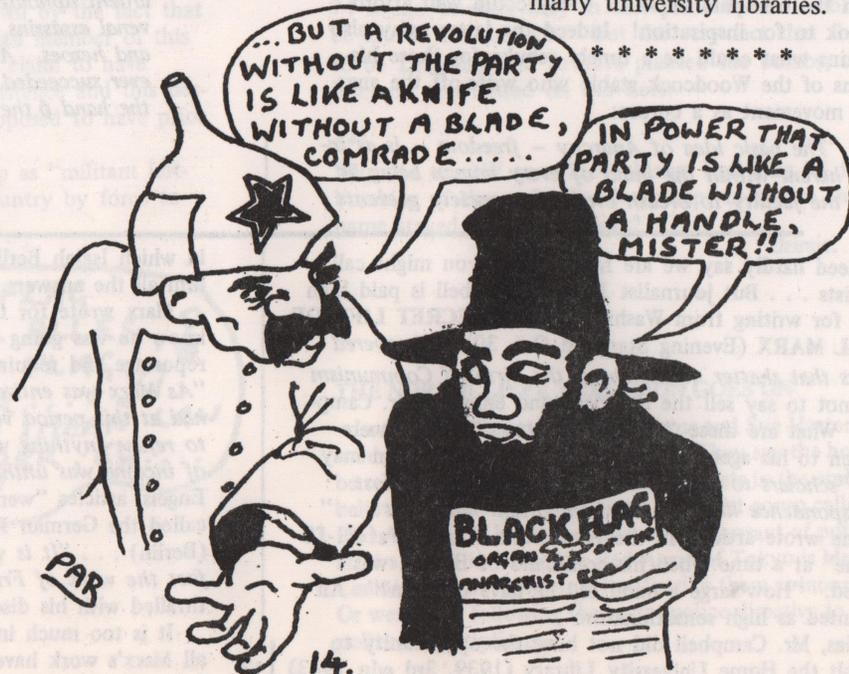
The mildness of Kropotkin's social writing has deceived the liberal bourgeoisie and may still do: his ideas have significance only to those who are for revolutionary change, and the clarity of his vision is in stark contrast to the economic rubbish of today, the neo-Keynesian theories, the inflation myths and the national 'economic survival' saga — all of which are total verbiage; it 'deliberately contradicts the conventional wisdom of economics as enunciated both in his day and ours,' writes Ward.

The usual reproach to Kropotkin is over-optimism. But scientifically he is usually proved correct (his idea of Britain feeding itself, derided for years — "one could grow roses on top of Snowdon if one spent enough," wrote one bourgeois economist — was proved correct during the war, when financial interest was not the barrier. He was not optimistic in thinking that his vision of the future would happen unless the State was destroyed. It was this that made him a revolutionary.

**Anarchist Classics:**  
 P. Kropotkin *The State its Historic Role*;  
 R. Rocker *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism*;  
 E. Malatesta *Anarchy*  
 A. Berkman *ABC of Anarchism*.  
 (Freedom Press 20p each)

This series of pamphlets (well-produced, in contrast to the lowering of production standards at 'Freedom' in the past year or so) should need no introduction to the anarchist movement. They are an integral part of its 'literature'. The introductions could be bettered: the editor complains that "our political critics on the Left seek to concentrate their attacks on personalities" instead of "discussing the ideas which should transcend the personalities" but in each case goes on to do the same himself, not always accurately. It is a pity, too, that after so many reprints, Berkman's work could not be given in full instead of cut in half. But these are minor points. The pamphlets are a joy to handle and deserve to be widely read.

**CIENFUEGOS PRESS** Planned for 1975 (At long last) *The Anarchists in London 1935/55*; A collection of Flavio Costantini's illustrations of the romantic past of anarchism in the class struggle; (The delayed) *Anarchist Activism in Europe 1945/1973* and Simian reprints include Tolstoy's *Power and Liberty*; Miguel Garcia's *Looking Back After Twenty Years*; and many others.



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**NOTE** — Can we impress upon comrades the absolute necessity of seeing we get a good library sale of **MAN!** the anarchist anthology which should be widely available for its own sake. The production of a hardback edition, aimed at libraries, subsidises the paperback production of both **MAN!** and **SABATE** and only a good library sale will ensure our continued production which looks very promising incidentally. It costs very little to order a book through most public libraries and nothing from many university libraries.

## Letter

# Troops out of UK

Dear Comrades,

On Thursday October 24th I received three communications telling me I ought to take part in a demonstration to get the troops out of Northern Ireland on Saturday.

I am all in favour of getting them out not only of Northern Ireland but as your (I hope not melted) Butterstorks had it, the United Kingdom too. The last thing I want is to have them here with rubber bullets and truncheons. Still I didn't want to be narrow-minded about it, as Communication No. 1 lectured me severely saying that 'libertarians' took part in demos on Vietnam, Indochina, etc (mentioning several places but not Spain or South America, or wherever there was an anarchist preference) and Northern Ireland was on our doorstep. Leaflet No. 1 assumed 'libertarians' had never heard of or never done anything about Northern Ireland. Oh, what a dressing down. It urged us to support a demo on Saturday which was the substance of Leaflet No.2.

Leaflet No. 2 was signed by half a dozen of the most reactionary Labour MPs you could hope to find outside the waiting room of a safe Labour constituency when the candidates were being selected . . . The demo was as it turned out supported by authoritarian parties, such as IMG, IS etc — proving once more that the package deal left can turn out 3,000 or 4,000 but not exactly proving anything the Home Office didn't know already, and while giving a good time for all and mucking up police leave for the weekend, the troops were still in Northern Ireland on Sunday.

Leaflet No. 3 came to me in my capacity as shop steward of a Hackney factory condemned to get National Front and other rubbish in my postbox as a reward for my services. It wasn't exactly from the NF. It was from the private army (to which you refer) of Paul Daniels. His 'British Military Volunteer Force' affirm "English blood should no longer be shed in Irish battles". (I heard that slogan, the other way round, when home in the Emerald Isle in 1939. But a good many disregarded it). "This weekend we shall be out among the shoppers getting our petition out to take Parliament by storm" said Leaflet No. 3 — even more progressive than Nos. 1 and 2 who were only going to march down the Embankment. "The whole of the British nation is being exploited by a few limited politicians." (Your Butterstorks could make much of this similarity in phrasing). "Our boys should be taken from the middle of it — we have no friends on either side and both sides are taking pot shots at our boys — and now coming over to this country killing us here," Mr. Daniels confided later to the local paper.

Mr. Daniels opposes the sort of confrontation in Ulster that he wants here. Well, he's several sorts of idiot, but what I want to know is, seeing the other leaflets, how do I recognise Brand X?

I can see how useful it would be for those of Mr. Daniel's way of thinking to have the troops back home if this is to be the winter of confrontation. Could this be the idea of the Labour MPs too or are they purely concerned with humanitarian motives?

I don't believe myself in having the same objective as the enemy. When you talk about Ireland in workers' terms it upsets a lot of people I know. But you're on the right track.

O.MAC.  
 London E9.

IT'S A DOG'S  
 LIFE UNDER A LABOUR  
 GOVERNMENT!  
 MOVE OVER  
 BONZO, IT'S TIME  
 FOR ME DINNER...



## ANSWER TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. The Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, an anti-immigration party founded in America in the 1850s, became known as the Know-Nothing Party (because its members said "I know nothing in our aims contrary to the American constitution" when charged with illiberalism and lack of democracy); grew rapidly by feeding on anti-Irish and anti-German feeling in the Northern states and, after large electoral successes in 1854, became the "American Party"; but collapsed because of its pro-slavery attitude when this became an issue.
2. The activists of the West London NUWM through most of the thirties were anarchists and Hannington was a hard-line Stalinist.
3. The Social-Democrats were orthodox Marxists and believed in theory at least, in the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Social-Revolutionaries were not anarchistic (as alleged by many Marxists) but they believed in the government of the peasants as the road to Russian socialism. Later, the SDs divided into Bolsheviks (majority-ites; the followers of Lenin) and Mensheviks (minority-ites; who followed German Social-Democracy). The Social Revolutionaries divided at the time of the Revolution into those who at first supported Lenin, but later went into opposition (the Left SRs); and those who opposed the revolution as precipitate (the Right SRs).
4. Thomas Masaryk said it in one of his Prague lectures. The naive assumption that if a nation had limited political freedom nobody would want to fight for social freedom or to overthrow capitalism was typical of Masaryk and the naive approach to totalitarianism that characterised him as President vis-a-vis German nazi encroachment; and his son Jan Masaryk as President vis-a-vis Russian Communism.
5. The Queen, an Anglican and Head of the Church of England, is obliged by law to become a Presbyterian when travelling to Scotland, where she is Head of the Scottish Church and the Anglican Church is a dis-established heresy.