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**BLACK FLAG
QUARTERLY**

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NEWS & COMMENTS**

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A remarkable number of donations, for which we hardly need say how grateful we are - which has pulled our loss on the issues down to its lowest ever (£74). Our big deficit on the year is probably due to the various disasters attendant on our first two quarterly publications. Our printing debts stand at the moment at £750 or so, which has to be added, but on the other hand we have hopefully about half this amount to come in from sales. So though it looks bad we're not exactly flooded at the moment.

DONATIONS

Devonshire T.M. £5; Strathclyde R.G. £5; Norwood L.R. £30.50; Brixton Squatters £20; Cork R.C. £20; Guam S.S. £65.27; Hull P.S. £1; Brixton M&P £30; S.London T.H. £120; Southwark J.G. £30; Saffron Walden M.E. £5; London Anon £240; Lancs. N.J. £1; Germany A.B. £13; G.H. £10; Anon: £3.95

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Exceptional problems, due to some uncool behaviour, meant we were faced with a major problem during the production of the last fortnightly which could have closed us down - we cannot comment at the moment. However, if any items have gone astray please let us know, such as subs not being received and so on - this was literally due to forces beyond our control.

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ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Which 17th century English novelist, brought up in Surinam (Dutch East India), became the friend of the "noble slave" known as Oinoko, put him in a novel, & succeeded in introducing this country to the criminal horror of slavery - possibly the first to do so?
2. Which 19th century American novelist brought the crimes of slavery to the attention of the US and the world?
3. Who first called police 'pigs' - and why pigs, inoffensive enough animals, unlike bulls (as the German police are called)?



4. Which Spanish political party is called fish - oddly enough, not because it happens to be the slipperiest in Europe?
5. Who are proud to be called pigs and use the word themselves though it was originally used against them offensively?
6. What have eggs got to do with Franco's rise to power?

Answers on Page 39

HOW TO WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE

Why is it we seem to fall behind on circulation as compared to another Fortnightly? One illustration: a reader sent us in some months ago an article, (about half the size of our fortnightly!) "In Defence of Pacifism", retailing arguments that we've all heard before, as if they were new - and which we're quite prepared to answer over and over again - but adding a novel one (not quite novel, originating from the renegade George Woodcock - the only one whom we can trace morally degenerate enough to make it) that the Libertarian Youth of Spain murdered people for the sheer hell of it, including all homosexuals "as they were against nature", and that's why Franco won and why anarchism can't work unless the non-violent take charge

We didn't publish it and say (if anyone raised an eyebrow) that this did not necessarily represent our point of view, or sit smugly behind it if not asked. We wrote back saying if he could name ONE instance of the Libertarian Youth doing anything of the sort we would publish the letter but we knew damn well he was lying and would the shitbag kindly get lost

We even made it easy for him by saying that there is no record of any homosexuals who were murdered as such in Spain 1936-9 but if he had proof, named one instance (other than Garcia Lorca) killed by fascists or anyone else, never mind anarchists, just for being homosexuals, we would still degrade ourselves by publishing his letter. (Garcia Lorca was murdered by the Centre, the Catholic CEDA, not by the Falangists, though by armed Francoists; chiefly because he was known for mocking at Catholicism, traditionalism and cherished Hispanism. He was a homosexual and it has been alleged, in defence of the Catholic CEDA, that he was murdered for that reason "by the homosexual underworld". That was why we made the exception, but we don't accept the version).

Anyway, needless to say, we never heard from the creep again . . . probably going around saying how "violent" we are, what a load of tearaways honest punks can get mixed up with . . .

The Libertarian Youth of Spain in the thirties was made up of people who, if they survived, are now into their sixties and seventies. A lot did survive. Don't forget that, though the official membership of the anarcho-syndicalist union in 1936 is given as a million or two, the anarchist movement as such was a lot larger (just as the Labour voters of Britain are more numerous than the T.U.C.). While Franco's post war holocaust accounted for a million, and the war time toll has never been reckoned, thousands of these veterans passed into exile, or went to prison and possibly had their death sentences commuted.

Still more stayed in Spain, concealed their identity, travelled around, maybe changed their name, organised, resisted

Getting around a bit, a lot have become personal friends over the years. They were into resistance . . . but tell me they're sex murderers or maniac axe fiends and my blood pressure goes up alarmingly . . . So let me tell you a delightful little story from a recent visit to Spain . . .

Mamita

You surely must have read "Miguel Garcia's Story" (considering the slip-up in communications by which we have been selling it under price, despite our huge expenditure on getting it printed, anyone who hasn't got it by now from Black Flag can't be reading it). On page 20 there is a photograph of a crowd of young people waving rifles - don't forget they weren't used to them, they were enthusiastic about the Revolution and their stand against international fascism - in what has become a historic 1936 pose. But the people aren't actors. They are real people. In the centre is a pretty girl whirling her rifle. She is still alive. Rosa came through the war and the genocidal repression afterwards, through the police raids on the resistance, she helped in the resistance, she is living in Barcelona today. Catalans are as notorious for giving nicknames as Cockneys for their rhyming slang. Hers is now "La Mamita" (Mummy) a graceful old lady in her seventies, well known in her barrio for her anti-fascist activities

during the years and loved by all. When I showed around Miguel Garcia's Story everyone commented "Ah - Mamita" at seeing that photo.

Rosa, or *Mamita*, is one instance of someone who has literally passed through the valley of the shadow of death, and come out unscathed. But a great many who passed through that same valley are now living in desperate circumstances. Franco "gave" nothing to the vanquished, the Spanish State - now under control of the Socialists - "gives" nothing by way of war pensions to the losers - only to those who served the invaders. War veterans, crippled perhaps limbless, shine shoes in Spain or live on spasmodic charity in France. There are people who served sentences of ten or fifteen years under Franco, just for being Anarchists. Now, in their old age, they have nothing. There are a few from the action groups in France who have spent years first in French, then German, concentration camps, and finally in French or Spanish prisons.

Does this explain our revulsion from the anti-anarchist sentiments of would-be anarchists, who think "anarchism" may be summed up in peace, fancy hair styling and punk music, or the anti-syndicalist rubbish printed in another Fortnightly, which includes such airy-fairy generalisations as "Oh, the Spanish syndicalists - well they entered the government . . ." without comment.

LETTER LIMERICK FROM LIMERICK PRISON IRELAND

I've been having a half hour visit with Marie Murray every week since I came here in May, and before that I got to see her once every two months. The conjugal rights campaign is not quite as dead as the article in BLACK FLAG suggests. A fund was set up at the time to cover legal expenses and we initiated a case in the high court and we expect some movement on it shortly after Xmas. The solicitor has been making some moves recently to have it speeded up. I don't know what the state of the fund is but I think there's enough there to get things moving anyway.

It sounds as if the CNT are beginning to get fairly well organized again. How many members do they have now? It wouldn't be any harm to have a good strong syndicalist trade union movement in Britain just now. It looks as if the TUC has conceded defeat in the struggle. It looks like there will be no

more strikes unless the membership decide to challenge Tebbit's law without the backing of the TUC.

If you have any contact with the Vancouver 5 you could send them my best wishes. I hope things work out alright for them. The anti Nuke campaign seems to have really taken off in the last year. I think the Greenham women are doing a great job but it looks bad when they turn back bus loads of men who turn up to support them (!? - typesetter). The CND seem to be fairly widely organized over here now too, but they don't seem to be doing a lot.

Marie is in very good form. She finished her exams in June and is trying to organize a course now for a masters degree. It would be better for anybody writing to us to write to us separately as there are different censors for the men's and women's prisons so any letter addressed to us jointly would have to be censored three times.

That's all for now. Happy New Year.

Noel Murray

Noel & Marie Murray
Limerick Gaol, County Limerick, Ireland

IS TRADE UNIONISM ILLEGAL?

The Government's type of thinking at present was recently summed up by one of Mrs Thatcher's advisers when he said that economic problems could soon be solved if he could import "Half a million Indians" - the hard fact behind this apparently racist statement being that if he could get a sufficient quantity of people to work at the type of wages now ruling in India, he could get wages down to a satisfactory level and thus solve inflation.

For political reasons, from which racialism cannot be excluded, the Government couldn't do this. But they decided to tackle the problem from the other end by trying to make trade unionism illegal, in a manner by which the trade unions had to defend themselves, on grounds generally unpopular.

The disputes the print unions have been involved in cannot be dismissed as disputes relating to only a handful of well paid printworkers, or confined to the issue of the closed shop, or related solely to the determination of the NGA to cling to an obsolescent craft. All these things come into it; but Mrs. Thatcher has marshalled her forces with a skill that our Army Generals have lost, to a degree that is nowadays only confined to dealing with internal subversion. She has succeeded almost overnight in illegalising trade unionism and yet retaining the enthusiasm of a major part of the public whose living is directly threatened.

The reason Mrs Thatcher has tackled the print unions first is precisely because they are the best paid and the most sensitive to their rights: and yet none too popular with the mindless majority which resents what their members have managed to screw out of the system. . . (not forgetting a mindless majority which resents that they haven't screwed more out of it, and therefore do not deserve to exist!).

The massed funds that are collected by the unions - and mistaken for power - can be seen to be capable of vanishing overnight. Collected penny by penny, they can disappear in chunks of half-a-million pounds for a technical infingement of the bad new law (while breaches of the law involving death can cost the employers some £25 plus £2,000 for a good lawyer). Reminiscent of the German trade unions giving away their money to sports clubs and veterans associations when Hitler took power - to save them from the Nazis - all over the country print union branches and chapels are hiding their funds in the names of individuals, or in strongboxes - because any maverick employer can take them to court and grab the lot.

JACKBOOT JUDGES

The government has asserted its supreme power and been faithfully served by the judges who are by nature prone to fall in with any dictatorship, but especially a dictatorship which favours the role of judges as a substitute for jackboots. Mr Justice Eastham declares: "The attitude the unions have maintained is that they are above the Law." It surely was the position that wages and conditions were subject to negotiation and in the last resort strike action, and it surely is the case always that people who cannot resort to strike action must by that definition be slaves. But what of it? As Mr Justice Bush remarked in another case, "This country seems to be full of people who are intent on breaking the Law if it does not suit them." A wistful glance at the ideal countries where everybody obeys the Law? Such exist. Russia (Czarist or Bolshevik) is one supreme example, Germany (Nazi or Federal Republican) another.

The closed shop brings in reluctant or hostile trade unionists, the union is inclined to take the easy way of parliamentary pressure rather than independent action, and militancy is stifled because expulsion from the union means economic disaster. But it is the only weapon the trade union movement has relied on. Had they exercised any other

option, the government would have gone for that - possibly unsuccessfully if it had been used right, possibly not. **A NEW TUC?**

As we go to press the latest news is that the NGA, betrayed by its colleagues on the Trade Union Congress General Council - not out of malevolence but out of fear for their funds or of imprisonment - is wondering whether to form a "new TUC". An excellent idea. . . insofar as abolishing the old TUC is concerned. . . but to what purpose if the new TUC is built in the same lines as the old?

Bearing in mind that we are about to enter into a period of illegalisation of the trade unions, nevertheless that is a situation in which workers organisation can still survive and flourish even, but not on the basis of having large funds and parliamentary connections. The idea of the divine right of Parliament has to be smashed just as did the old idea of the divine right of Kings. The elective dictatorship is not democracy; one of the conditions for a democracy in present-day capitalist society is the existence of workers organisation at the factories, and for these to be able to withstand the encroachment of the State they need to be decentralised to stand upon the places of work and to break from the Labour Party.



Graphic taken at Stop The City London 1983 by Tracey

FROM ONE DICTATOR TO ANOTHER

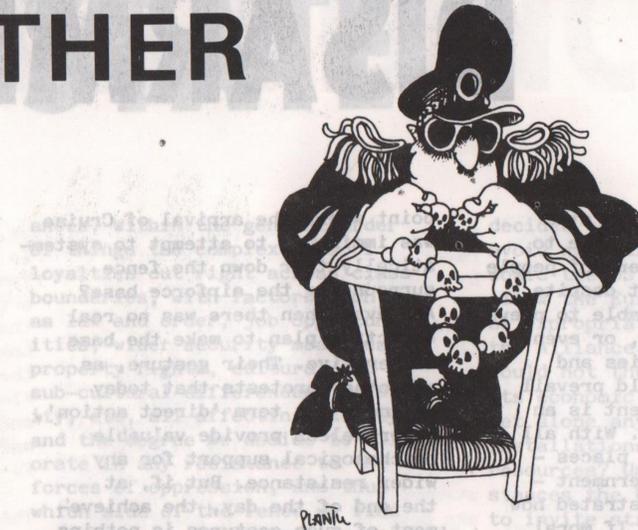
Brazil, unlike Europe, was a country "invaded" by libertarian ideas as there had been no libertarian movement in Brazil until exiled libertarians from Europe, Russia and other South American countries began to settle there. While energetically fighting against the capitalist system, obligatory National Service, wars, the Clergy and the big bourgeoisie, these first libertarians had also to come to terms with a different culture, language and climate. Nevertheless, their public meetings, demonstrations and newspapers shook the Republic and soon other emigrants, plus a certain amount of Brazilians, became interested in libertarian ideas.

As an answer to these protests Brazil's politicians hastily approved of deportation laws, much to the delight of the police. The most active anarchists were soon deported, classified as foreign agitators. Others, less fortunately, were kidnapped and dumped in the middle of the Amazon Forest in the hope they'd be attacked by wild animals.

By 1930, under Arthur Bernardes's dictatorship (1922-1927), more than 1,000 anarchists who had never been tried, let alone convicted, had been murdered and buried at Oiapoque Concentration Camp (in Northern Brazil). In the following years, from 1930-1945, Brazil struggled to live under the iron fist of dictator Getulio Vargas while the deportations continued.

Such deportations considerably devastated the libertarian movement, most libertarians being from other countries. The few who managed to survive the dictatorships of Epitacio Pessoa, Arthur Bernardes and Getulio Vargas had to be content with spreading libertarian ideas by word of mouth.

Yet on the re-establishment of freedom in 1945, anarchist newspapers soon reappeared, especially in Rio de Janeiro ("Remodelacion", "Acao Direta", "O Archote", "E Spartacus") and San Pablo ("A Plebe", "O Libert-



ario" "Dealbar"). Such freedom however was to be shortlived. In the same year, ex-dictator Getulio Vargas was democratically elected and from 1945-1963 Brazil once again returned to repression. Things didn't improve when there was a military coup, followed by yet another harsh dictatorship.

Despite this, libertarians managed to continue circulating newspapers and distribute books, including works by Kropotkin, Jose Oitica, and Edgar Lewenrth. They even managed to hold reunions, conferences and congresses, some being advertised on the radio!

But as libertarian activity increased so the new regime stepped up the repression by transforming barracks into jails and Army officers into police interrogators, torturers and judges. Many disappeared or were killed in mysterious circumstances.

Then, between 1969-1973 the army raided the "Centro de Estudios Profesor Jose Oiticica" (an anarchist centre in Rio de Janeiro) and destroyed or confiscated everything including typewriters, photo-copiers, books and other materials; on the same day libertarians were harassed at work and at home by police who confiscated their money and

other "subversive objects". Needless to say, none were returned.

Seventeen members of the Centre were tried and sentenced. Several suffered electric-shocks, others were ordered to walk bare-footed over broken tin cans, some were raped and all suffered psychological torture.

Now, out of the ashes, a new libertarian movement is slowly being re-created, even in places where the libertarian movement had never taken root before, like in Bahia (where they now publish the newspaper "El Enemigo del Rey" and the magazine "Barbarie") in fact it is no exaggeration to say that the most important anarchist works have never been so widely distributed and that anarchist history is being re-established with the same tenacity and seriousness that we have seen in countries where the anarchist movement has been, or is, much larger.

Comrades who wish to help out in supporting the anarcho-syndicalists of Brazil should write to the DAM or us here at Black Flag as, through the IWA-AIT, a call was made for help with getting a printing press established.

TIERRA Y LIBERTAD

As preparation for a possible International Anarchist Congress, the Mexican 'Tierra Y Libertad' Group who publish T.Y.L./Land & Liberty monthly are asking for anarchists from all countries (especially you) to contribute essays on all or any of the following:

1. Looking at the world today, do the basic concepts and usual activities of anarchists and anarchism seem anachronistic or useless?
2. How would the revolutionary movements (of the guerillas) of the capitalist world and the non-conformist movements operating in the Communist countries be of interest to anarchists or anarchism?
3. Considering the whole worker's movement, what are the prospects for anarcho-syndicalism and how

far, if at all, should anarchists take an interest in the 'marginal' groups like the ecologists, local community groups, the gay movement etc?

4. How should anarchists view the increasing number of Parliamentary Socialists now willing to form into Governments in many countries?

5. How can we analyse the world-wide increase of mysticism and religion on the one hand, and the general collapse of the values around which society is based on the other hand, from an anarchist viewpoint?

Please send all articles/requests from more info - to: Domingo Rojas, Apartado Postal 10596 MEXICO 1, D.F.

Source: Tierra Y Libertad

DISARMING

The pacifist movement is at a crossroad. It has been able to mobilise massive numbers of people in many countries; but despite this it has not been able to prevent one war, one invasion, or even one death. The cruelties and injustices of the world prevail as if the peace movement is an invention of the mind. With all their friends in high places - in the Church, in government - they have only demonstrated how ineffectual they are. If moral certitude was indeed a weapon then history would have been rewritten. CND and its offshoots grew out of the realisation that Europe was quickly becoming a target because of the arms race. It is significant that its support has remained where it is and centred still on its main theme: not the disarming of all forms of militarism, but the containment of war by securing its adjournment in Europe. In the meantime the third world functions as a battleground for the superpowers and their allies to fight out their disagreements on spheres of influence. The pacifists have no realistic view on the causes of war; their superficial reasoning that violence can be eliminated by campaigning against its weaponry is naive to say the least and has been formulated more out of a sense of paranoia. In the end their campaigning may actually lead them to believe that they are moving towards a greater degree of self-security. A sense of security is what the bourgeois get when they know that the police are around to protect them from the violence of the outside world. They are moved by fear, or a sense of moral 'duty'.

Through history struggles of one sort or another have often followed a single issue approach and the pacifists of today are no exception. They succeed in only providing a focus of the lowest common denominator around which the widest number of supporters can offer the least form of solidarity. CND, for examples, perceives itself as being a movement that can effect change because of the sheer number of those who support its aims. They, like all pacifists of today, believe that by the sheer weight of their moral stand, the forces of authority will crumble and wither. Why else did it take the Greenham women 18 months, at the

point where the arrival of Cruise was imminent, to attempt to systematically tear down the fence surrounding the airforce base? And even then there was no real effective plan to make the base inoperative. Their gesture, as all other protests that today go under the term 'direct action', nevertheless provide valuable psychological support for any wider resistance. But if, at the end of the day, the achievement of such gestures is nothing more than the creation of a false sense of security, brought about by mass solidarity, then the protests will in themselves only provide a counter to any real possibility of tackling militarism.

Nor can libertarians completely absolve themselves. It's true that 'every little bit helps'. But taking on the state is no game. For the moment things are easy, but if we really were to score a few points, then we'd soon know about it. Stop 'n' Search would seem mild, the Waldorf incident commonplace, raids and cell deaths an everyday occurrence. We've never had it so good! For the radical chic, the anti-nuclear issue is a god-send. What better way to spend a Sunday than to go out on demonstration and meet a few friends or even get into a good argument. If symbolic protest can take over where resistance is left behind, who needs a police force? Even pea-brained Reagan can clearly see through it all and has had the 'decency' to let us see just how hollow the pacifist strategy is. A few months back he castigated the international peace movement for adopting peace as a policy and not as an objective and he went on to compare their strategy to that employed by Neville Chamberlain when he made those futile gestures that were supposed to secure peace for the 'great nations'. Chamberlain was not after peace, but security from attack. He wasn't interested in stopping the nazi's from oppressing people either inside Germany or anywhere else for that matter. He was only interested in containing the nazi threat within 'acceptable' proportions. Reagan quite rightly apportioned some of the blame for WWII on the policy of appeasement. This, of course, is only partially true, but the comparison still stands up.

Our own comparison may be more appropriate. Had the anarchists in Spain, when confronted with the Franco rebellion, simply employed the same strategy then the result would have been, perhaps, no civil war, but neither the revolution that took place and which is now in the annals of history. More to the point Franco would have been given a free hand to do how he wanted, which was to destroy by whatever means possible those who desired liberty, and freedom from injustice and a society absent of power. CND, as all the major anti-nuclear movements, is only interested in abolishing some of the tools of war, not the causes. It may pretend otherwise, but it nevertheless has caught itself in a contradiction from which it is unable to escape. Namely, the tools of war can only be got rid of if there is no longer a need for them, and as militarism is in the main a component of the nation-state and its need to protect its economic interests, then it is not the tools of fear that have to be removed but the state, and all forms of power and authority, that has to be destroyed.

It has been suggested that deployment of nuclear weaponry - dual key or no dual key - is additionally a means of tightening up the waning defence alliances. In the Eastern bloc, Czechoslovakia is now home for the Soviet equivalent of Cruise - the SS20. The cold war thus provides the ideal excuse for increased militarisation within both blocs. The Soviets are constantly facing the possibility of rebellion from within - from disaffected troops, AWOL's in Afghanistan, from free trade unionists, from Lithuanians, Estonians, Uzbeks, etc, not to mention movements from within the Warsaw Pact 'satellites.' The same applies to the West. Both blocs wish to generate fear, while at the same time encourage greater dependence upon their respective leaderships. Neither bloc wishes to experience the reality of an all-out nuclear war, but is willing to make the odd sacrifice to make a point. Over recent years sacrifices have included Viet Nam, Lebanon, El Salvador, Chile, Afghanistan, etc, etc.

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THE STATE

Lets not mince words. Only a general strike or a massive campaign of effective sabotage or a widespread mutiny within the military will affect, partially, the defence policy of a country. Only an international revolution will have any noticeable effect on militarism. The numerous international military and economic alliances (e.g. NATO, the Warsaw Pact, the Commonwealth, the EEC, the OAS, etc) will ensure that any serious threat to capitalism or the nation-state is dealt with swiftly and with utmost force.

One of the most recent examples of how military, in the form of external intervention, will step in where there is an undesirable trend is the Grenada invasion. In Europe if there was an all out attack on capitalism, and that attack gained some ground, then the forces of capitalism would unite to ward off the threat. This is the dual reason for a nation-state to form alliances: protection from outside aggression and revolution from within. The alliance of nation-states is but a grander version of many other, smaller and more complex, alli-

ances. Within the general order of things the complexities of loyalties cut right across class boundaries, with factors such as law and order, job opportunities, wider security measures, property rights, cultural and sub-cultural differences, sexuality, etc, all affecting the way and the degree we decide to collaborate in any resistance to the forces of oppression, and thus which side of the fence we find ourselves on. Unilateralism applied to the question of weapon disarmament is a dead-end policy in the same way as the 'single issue' approach or the separatist line can only narrow the possibilities for attaining our objectives.

In the event of Britain (or Western Europe as a whole) disengaging from the nuclear alliance, and turning instead to conventional defence, will Soviet (or for that matter US) expansionism be curtailed? Some would argue that any threatened invasion by the Eastern bloc upon a unilateral disarmed UK (or Europe) would be fought along conventional lines. But even if the Soviets

decided to 'play it cool' and avoid nuclear confrontation, would the US stand idly by and allow the European territories be expropriated? Whether or not the Alliance was still intact would not the US wish to defend its economic interests in Europe, let alone any of its military installations or communication resources? Under these circumstances the US would not wish to invite strategic retaliation and so would consider tactical deployment a viable option.

If at the same time Western Europe began to move towards non-alignment (which is a doubtful possibility), the US may be forced to consider taking drastic precautionary measures - especially if it felt psychologically and physically threatened by both Soviet expansionism or the uncertainties of, what would seem from their point of view, a power vacuum. After all the US has proved time and time again that its foreign and defence policy is governed by a global strategy and that it has little regard for its 'friends and allies'. In other words if the US was caught in a particularly paranoid - more so than usual - mood (aggravated perhaps by an increase in leftism or anti-militarism in Europe), then there would be nothing to prevent it from formalising its already partially complete invasion of the Western European territories; but only, of course, (as with Grenada) for the 'protection' of democracy. Already West Germany is a near-colony of the US, and Britain and Italy are moving in the same direction. The situation now is that the USA is irreversibly dependent on European complicity and cooperation and that as surely as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, etc, are satellites of the USSR, the NATO countries are caught up in a 'no going back' pact, mediated and maintained by the elected politicians and the non-elected military. The threat to our well-being comes not only from those who wish to rob us of what little freedom we have, but also from those who retain their powers by virtue of their claim to provide protection in our name.

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- STRATEGY

While unilateralism is unrealistic because of the interdependence of nation-states, international revolution could never feasibly be multilateral and therefore anarchists need to conceive of an 'alternative defence' policy against those nation-states that have the intention to crush revolutionary tendencies where and whenever they occur. Ideas on anarchist alternatives to NATO and the Warsaw Pact have been outlined elsewhere. The citizens militia or defence network would have to evolve out of the kind of approach that we enact in our resistance here and now. That is why it is important that we act with foresight and that our organisation and motives never take short-cuts that only lead to counter-revolution. Our perception is that imperialism has been turned inside out: like the north of Ireland we are an occupied nation. But the forces of occupation are not just US troops, but the UK security forces.

With over 22,000 US troops, wholly or partially occupying more than 60 bases in the UK - limited nuclear disarmament or not - Britain would still continue to function as a valuable springboard for a 'limited' offensive in the preparatory stages of a potentially protracted nuclear war. With the retention of intermediate weapons (Cruise, Polaris and Trident, etc) the UK nuclear arsenal would be deployed as an integral part of NATO's flexible response. This strategy (shared by both blocs) argues that war would be limited, initially, to battlefield weaponry and would only progress to tactical, theatre or strategic weapons as a direct result of threatened or actual escalation. But either side can always pre-empt the other, despite 'promises' of a no first-strike policy. Both Cruise and the SS20's are defined in theory as 2nd strike weapons, but it only takes one side to fire the first 'warning shot'. Nevertheless both weapons, which can additionally come in air and sea-launch models (for greater flexibility), have their design faults: vulnerable to radio jamming, navigation system sensitive to unreliable terrain.

Cruise is manufactured at the Boeing plant at Kent, Mass., at

a rate of around 40 per month; radar equipment is manufactured by Honeywell. The main test site is at Dugway, Utah and the main holding centres are Griffiss AFB (NY) and General Forks AFB (N. Dakota). The TEL's (launchers) are built by MAN of Nuremberg (their computer centre was recently the object of a bombing by, what is thought to have been, the Revolutionary Cells - R.Z.) The TEL's are powered by turbine generators (with a back-up battery unit in the event of an attack) and a control centre services four of the launchers.

More important, perhaps, is the 'Blackjack' - the new top secret combined long range strike unit, with a penetration capability far superior to Cruise. Also in the pipeline is a new SLBM (within the Cruise family) that has a range more than twice that of the ground launched version. Currently Marconi (UK) are competing for a contract for the development of a new torpedo for the hunter-killer subs; this is a nuclear weapon with a theatre role. (Not so long back the base at Devonport where the hunter-killers are based was closed down temporarily after it was discovered that builders sand had been tipped into the diesel generator in an act of sabotage). Theatre weapons are also used on the B52's. The main B52 base in the UK is Marham; there are an additional 19 other bases that are capable of use by B52's: 7 are controlled fully



by the US and 4 are US reserved. In the event of a war these all function as 'forward bases' i.e. a front line set-up. Plans for the future include the use of Lakenheath and Upper Heyford as the main forward base for the F1-11 strike bombers. Woodbridge and Bentwater have also been earmarked as reserve bases for the F1-11.

The US also has a comprehensive network of storage bases and fuel dumps within the UK. The main US storage bases in the UK are at Welford, Upper Heyford, Woodbridge, Bentwater, Lakenheath, Caerwent, Burtonwood (Warrington), Hythe (Hants), Poole and Marchwood. Other US fuel and arms dumps are at Bramley (Hants), Broughton Moor (Cumbria). Altogether there are a total of 17 weapons dumps and 7 nuclear weapons stores. There is also a nuclear stockpile at Stornaway, stored for naval purposes. Other naval nuclear stores can be found at Prestwick, St. Mawgan and Cambletown. Glen Douglas is used to store warheads for Polaris and Poseidon at the Holy Loch base; it is thought that there is currently a complement of an excess of 300 such missiles (and their warheads) stored at Glen Douglas. The number of service personnel guarding these stores vary: at Burtonwood there are around 600, at Welford access is more or less impossible, given that the store is underground (it is thought to be of gigantic proportions - around 5 miles of tunnelling).

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FOR RESISTANCE

On the administration and communication fronts the US has several strategic bases. Strategic Air Command has facilities at Fairford, Marham, Boscombe Down and Brize Norton. The Euro-Reserve HQ for NATO is at Northwood (Middx). The main computer control centre for Cruise will be based at High Wycombe. NATO's main communication and satellite monitoring station is at Menwith Hill, while Martlesham Heath operates as one of two stations (the other is at Hillingdon) for monitoring signals as part of a NATO controlled world-wide telephone network. Other communication centres are at Croughton (Northants) and Barford St John. Altogether the US have around 38 different communication sites, 10 intelligence centres, and 3 radar/surveillance stations (includes the sonar station at Brawdy, south Wales, which functions as NATO's ear for the whole of the Atlantic). Just outside Banbury (the home of Defence Minister Heseltine) at Croughton the USAF has a satellite monitoring station which it uses, in addition for military purposes, as a CIA listening post. The US Navy has a similar listening post at Thurso for the northern reaches of the Atlantic. Other listening posts, which the US shares with the UK security forces, are at Morwenstow (near Bude) and at Oakhanger (Hants). RAF Oakhanger controls a satellite link-up that helps to guide Cruise missiles in flight via its complex radar facility.

Theatre facilities for UK forces include Polaris and Poseidon weaponry, while strike and tactical weapons are of the air-launch type. At Scampton and Waddington there is a complement of around 50 Vulcans, and at Cottishall there are Jaguars and Buccaneers on stand-by. The UK Air Defence HQ is at High Wycombe and at Doncaster it is believed that the UK nuclear bomber command HQ is sited. RAF Nimrods (anti-sub) are based at Kinloss and St Mawgan (a total of 4 squadrons). As for Cruise dispersal sites there are a number of possibilities set aside: appropriate areas include Filton, Lyneham, Kemble, Pershore, Scampton, Cranwell, Fenton and Henlow. These sites are all in secluded areas that are within geographical reach

of the two main Cruise bases and are known to be favoured by the security forces.

Besides Greenham and Molesworth where Cruise will be based, other sites of significance include the ordnance depots at Burghfield and Cardiff (controlled by AWRE, Aldermaston), the Faslane polaris base (with its nuclear dump at Coulport) and the combined operations HQ for war-time at Corsham. The latter is a huge 5 mile square underground bunker reserved for government chiefs; it is situated beneath the Mendips and is approached via a branch line, inside a tunnel, off the main Chippenham to Bath railway line. Other bases for submarines are Rosyth and Devonport. Strategic military airfields not already mentioned include: Woodbridge, Farnborough, Benson, Honington, Lossiemouth, Machrihanish, Wittering, Finningly, Leeming, Northolt, Abingdon and Cottesmore. Besides the operational HQ's at High Wycombe (USAF and RAF) and the government HQ at Corsham (Hawthorn), command centres are also situated at Northwood, Plymouth, Stanmore, Northwood and Whitehall (London). Wilton, the home of UK Land Forces HQ, will also function as a command centre. Radar defence installations can be found at Dundonald, Ventnor, Clee Hill, Hartland Point, Saxa Vord, Burrington, etc. The communications network includes many links with stations at Goonhilly (telecommunications), Sennen, Boddington, Rugby, Oakhanger, Cheltenham (GCHQ), Chicksands, Morwenstow, Alconbury, Brampton, etc. and around a dozen more (mainly BT). In addition to the main RAF and USAF forward bases, conventional and civilian airfields may very well be utilised as secondary and reserve bases or dispersal sites. Military stores, as part of the Royal Ordnance set up, are sited at Leeds, Manchester, Bridgwater, Crewe, Radway Green, Chorley, Birtley, Enfield, Nottingham, Blackburn, etc. Intelligence and Communication Command centres are also based at Northwood (NATO - East Atlantic), Bawtry (RAF Strike Command), Brampton (Home Defence), etc. Northwood also functions as a NATO reserve HQ.

Taken in its global context Cruise can clearly be seen as element,

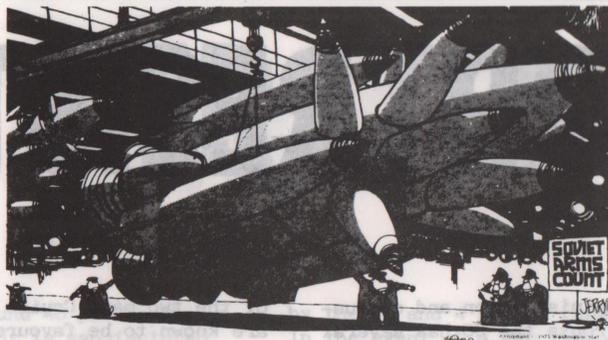
albeit integral, in the total military makeup of Airstrip One (UK). Currently the main first strike weapons in the UK are SLBM's. But as a first strike target the UK is important in its role within NATO as communication and strategic planning base. It is this aspect of the UK's strategic position that ensures our double role as a prime target. And that is why Cruise is needed by NATO as a deterrent: to protect this function. As weaponry becomes more sophisticated it is likely that NATO will concentrate more and more on SLBM's - intermediate and tactical weapons launched from subs. This option would become likely if internal security ever became a threat to the GLCM's. The UK already has a limited nuclear capability via Polaris and the air launched missiles. In addition the UK provides strategic back-up, in terms of vital communication facilities and front line storage bays, for US and NATO forces. Further alliance back-up is on tap if the conventional forces (UK Land Forces, BAOR, etc, and the Navy) are taken into consideration. The UK already provides 2 Para battalions (one stationed at Tidworth, the other at Aldershot) as part of the UK contribution to the Rapid Deployment Force. Other world-wide provisions include the use of bases (air and naval) as outstations and monitoring sites, anti-insurgency training, surveillance back-up, dirty tricks deals, special 'one-off' consignments, technological aid, etc.

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On the Soviet side the reality is that they have far more missiles and nuclear artillery than does the West, if the total complement of both alliances are taken into account. Although at the last count NATO has far more warheads stockpiled. At the beginning of 1983 the figures for ICBM's were Soviet 1400, US 1050; SLBM's - Soviet 990, US 620; Land-based intermediates - Soviet 606, US currently around 20; Land-based tactical - Soviet 950, US 144; Sea-launched Cruise - Soviet 1008, US nil; Air-launched cruise - Soviet 315, US 1250 (short range). The Warsaw Pact countries (excluding the USSR) have 347 tactical Land-based missile, while the NATO countries (excluding the USA) possess 281 tactical Land-based missiles, 144 Sea-launched missiles (ie Polaris, etc). But while the US has more warheads (9268 compared to the Soviets 7300), the estimated megatonnage of the Soviet inventory amounts to almost twice as much as that ascribed to the US weaponry. This is where the numbers game gets complicated and the whole thing starts to get a bit meaningless.

It has been suggested in the last issue of the Black Flag Quarterly that a feasible alternative to nuclear defence, and possibly to the NATO/Warsaw Pact alignment, would be if a citizens defence force was created as a standing army. It is unlikely that any government - including a left-wing Labour government-would ever agree to such a proposal; instead this alternative arrangement would have to be imposed on the state by popular demand. A citizens defence network cannot, however, be built up through any change in policy, but would need to evolve out of the wider resistance to the military and the security forces. At the moment we are capable of carrying out limited acts of sabotage against military targets; we are capable of, perhaps, influencing others to question the form and degree of resistance they are involved in; we are capable of using imaginative means of increasing the number of options open to us in the sabotage of targets. The resistance is no where wide enough to even contemplate the possibility of solidarity actions in the workplaces so as to lead up to a general strike; but this will have to be an objective we can't ignore. At the same time we are not vanguardist - none of us - and we should never forget that if we are interested in change and not just action for the sake of it, then no resistance movement will succeed in realising its objectives unless that movement has widespread popular support.



By itself the peace movement can only achieve so much: all in all it is fighting not just indigenous militarism, but also the might of the international alliances. But if the sub-structure of militarism is to be effectively challenged then the peace movement will have to accept that sooner or later it will need to seek the active collaboration of those inside the military. Security inside bases is severe and if the defences are to be breached then this will inevitably mean loss of life. Inside every cruise silo, for example, are armed US troops who have orders to shoot anyone who unbelievably manages to get inside the silo after dodging the impressive tier of defence outside. The TEL's (Transporter Erector Launchers) are purposely designed to withstand all forms of weaponry, excluding nuclear attack: once a TEL has set off nothing, theoretically, can stop it. In any case it is highly likely that in an emergency if the military wishes to bypass any massive peace blockade then the TEL's would simply be airlifted out of their base and dispersed to an unknown site. In the meantime there is nothing to prevent US/UK personnel from practising TEL manouvres with dummy vehicles on Ministry of Defence land, say on Salisbury Plain or on the artillery ranges in Dorset. Short of a massive offensive on the bases, or a demoralised personnel, conventional protests or resistance will undoubtedly fail to achieve their objective. In this context it was disappointing - if not unsurprising - that CND at its recent conference voted against trying to organise anti-militarist groups within the armed forces. The real test, though, would be whether disaffection showed itself within the US military based here in this country and elsewhere, especially as those troops who work on/near nuclear systems are supposedly hand-picked for their loyalty. At least the US Armed Forces still resort to conscription, which provides the right breeding ground for mutiny.

The US armed forces has quite a history of anti-militarism. For example, in 1970 over 100 GI's threatened to strike over general living conditions in a US base in W. Germany. A year later there was a sit-in at the Augsburg base. On 31 May of that year 300 US airmen and their families presented an anti-war petition to the US Embassy in Britain; anti-war resisters were present in all 8 USAF bases in the UK. In October '72 GI's attended a major anti-war demonstration in Frankfurt. In nearby Karlsruhe GI's from the 78th Engineers Battalion raided the commanders office and, using fire-bombs and pickaxes, sabotaged the adjacent Atomic Demolition Maintenance Section. There was a riot at the Ayers Barracks at Kirch Goens, when troops from the 36th Infantry attacked the Officers Club. In March 1970 GI prisoners fought against MP's and German police after a prisoner was beaten to death by a guard at Mannheim base. In July, August and September 1970 at Nellingen there was a series of fire-bombings, bomb threats and sabotage enacted on officers property; on 21 September GI's threatened to blow up the base and later over 100 held a 3 hour demonstration. In May 1973 38 trucks and 7 rocket launcher platforms were sabotaged by troops in a nuclear missile unit. The same year 59 vehicles were sabotaged at Nuremburg by troops in 3 Battalion/17 Artillery; molotovs were used against the 1st Squadron HQ building at Schwabach; and a war resisters league - RITA - was started in Paris.

There is one other strategy worth pursuing as a last resort, if mutiny proves unlikely, or effective resistance impracticable. That is the systematic and gradual isolation of the military from the indigenous population. To a certain extent this has already happened with US troops abroad. But to achieve it with a country's own troops would be near impossible. In countries like Chile or the Philippines, where the military are automatically identified

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with oppression, the fight there is of a different nature altogether. But in the West the military is still seen by many as a necessary and essentially benevolent force. Their image is yet to be tarnished.

It is feasible that outside of the mainstream pacifist/anti-nuclear movement there will be no effective (i.e. preventative) response to the militarist threat. It is equally feasible that the degree of effective response from those who are prepared to use direct action may not be sufficient to counter the threat. Currently direct action is used mainly as a means of demonstrating protest, not necessarily resistance. At the same time, while isolated examples of effective resistance will prove to indicate the possibilities that lay ahead, we also have to accept that effective resistance needs to be widespread if it is to mean anything at all. Few governments have been frightened by protest movements. And isolated acts of resistance can often be used to the state's advantage. True, the rallies and demonstrations are nevertheless important: but we should not necessarily use them as a shield because we have been unable to develop a movement based on active resist. When it comes down to it we have to see just what we are capable of.

It can be deduced, not unreasonably, from the response over the last few weeks up and down the country, that patience with conventional means of protest is wearing thin: even the more imaginative examples of direct action are, when it comes down to it, reactions that express anger but nevertheless ensure, perhaps, merely a symbolic penetration into the state's defence. Limited and isolated attacks on legitimate targets can only be seen as reactive to the over- and global militarist strategy: instead we need to organise ourselves on a scale where we can easily employ a pro-active strategy, to the degree where our act are no longer simply defensive, but offensive. We have to reach the point where the state actually experiences fear! The left often talk about making the state (and the police) accountable for its actions. But in a sense the state can - and does - argue that it does account for its actions already through elections and through the continuing support of that sector of the electorate who confirm their support for current policies, not only through the ballot box, but by its general complacency. The liberal left and the working class conservatives both contribute tacit support for government policy by their

refusal to take an active critical role - but is this surprising? After all many on the left are part of the establishment anyway. Let's face it, the only way the government - any government - can be made accountable (especially with its defence policy) is not through pressure groups, or even by mass demonstration (CND could mobilise 10 times its number and still the government would stick to its policies), but through coercion. While mass opposition is partial and reactive we can have no effective opposition to the policies of the state and it is for that reason that we have to use every means possible to destabilise the process by which the state moulds public support.

For those anti-militarists and libertarians who believe the governments and powers of this world are gearing themselves towards a state of war, they are but deluding themselves: we are already in a state of war and they simply do not notice or recognise it in this way. For the oppressed the war takes place every single day in the struggle to survive; for the liberal, there are only campaigns to follow up or issues to solve. In the meantime the state is strengthening its powers to the extent where all popular dissent can be controlled or channeled and made harmless. It's therefore essential that we do not put all our faith in spontaneous rebellion, nor should we - out of ill-judged recklessness - act except from a position of relative strength. In this sense direct action can also function as a means of testing our capabilities.

Ahead of us, anarchists and anti-militarists alike have a clear choice: we can either continue to act like a fringe group or we can draw upon the lessons of the past, within both the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist traditions, and create a resistance worthy of our ideals. Intervening in movements that are guaranteed to, at best, influence some public opinion, but not government strategy, is a luxury (given our limited resources) we can ill afford. Interventions are a symbol of our frustration and we can do better. Rather, let others learn from our successes - and mistakes - as we test the strength of our convictions through practice. There are many within CND who are cynical of the leadership and the only way that CND can be shown for what is - a distraction with only limited means - is by our developing an independent line of action, using tried and tested workable tactics, that can be recognised for its effectiveness.

If we want real disarmament then we have to ensure that there can never be rearmament. We have to ensure that the politics of fear do not remain the guiding principal by which people are moved to resort to weapons of fear. In the end there is only one moral argument and that is to disarm, effectively, all those in power and who use power to create misery for others. This means disarming the state and taking on those who defend its powers. We need no excuse to use defensive measures, nor do we need to limit ourselves to targets that are purely related to the issue at hand. As anarchists we have never fallen into the trap of seeing oppression in terms of single issues. Using classic guerrilla tactics we need to strike when they least expect it and at targets that are accessible and related to our limited resources. Furthermore, sooner or later, our 'autonomous' response will need to take on a different organisational form as the forces of the enemy, out of desperation, begin to employ extreme measures. We need to start thinking no longer about protest, but about organised resistance - operating alongside and integrated within a community and workplace defence network.

'Mahatma Gandhi'.

NOTES:

¹ Limited unilateral nuclear disarmament, as claimed policy of the British Labour politicians, does not take into account the strategic importance of the logistical assistance (eg listening posts, bases, research, etc) the UK provides to the US/NATO, or the other tactical support (eg Lance, or the nuclear capable strike bombers: Tornado, Vulcan, Jaguar, etc) still retained as part of the forward strike function. This support is vital to NATO's 'flexible response' strategy (illustrated so vividly in the initial build-up in the film, 'The Day After').

² In Sicily, where Cruise warheads are currently being stored at an airforce base just outside Catania, a RDF is being organised for possible use against the Mid-East. The RDF will be US controlled, but will come under the auspices of NATO. In the meantime the NATO Regional HQ for the Mediterranean, based at Naples, is to move permanently to Catania. The cruise missiles, which will be deployed in the south of the island at Comiso, will have a range not only covering the Ukraine, but also Syria, Iraq, Iran, etc.

³ In Glasgow workers at the Rolls Royce plant have blacked an order for the production of a prototype component for Trident, despite the threat of future US orders being withheld and consequent redundancies.

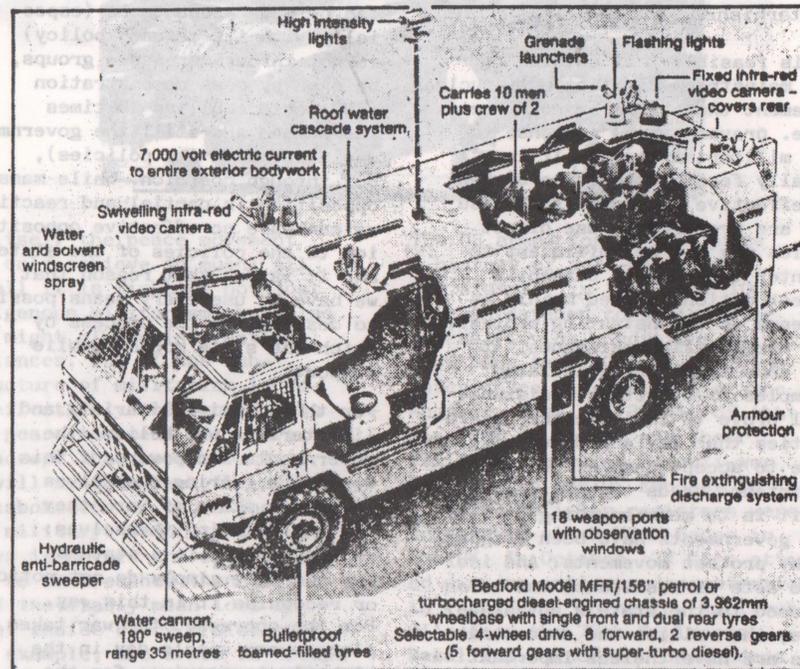
HESELTINE'S ARMOURY

In a recent Black Flag News Bulletin we commented on Defence Minister Heseltine's threat that if security at the nuclear arms bases is seriously breached then anti-militarists may be shot at by troops. The possibility of an unarmed pacifist being killed by a soldier is, however, a bit remote - the bad PR would not be to Heseltine's advantage. Nevertheless the threat was made and - as was pointed out in the News Bulletin at the time - the government would have to face the inevitable consequence of massive retaliation if they resorted to such imprudence. Since we made our comments, details of the latest in High-Tech weaponry available to troops for use against protesters has come to our attention via a 'document' sent in through the ASDNN network. A summary of some of the weaponry listed in the document is given below.

The baton round pistol that fires rubber/plastic bullets is probably the more widely known of the crowd control devices available to the armed forces, but design improvements have established a new generation that have a 'multi-capability' function. For short-range use Schermuly has devised the 1.5 inch Multi-Baton Round and can be employed with a standard Webley-Schermuly Signal Pistol. Range with a CS round is 120m; for a baton round 60m. The pistol can also be used with the standard baton rounds (plastic) made by Brocks Explosives (the same company that makes November 5 fireworks - think about that when you next celebrate Guy Fawkes night!). The Schermuly Multi-Baton Round is different from other rounds in that each projectile contains three baton rounds for use against a broad target at a range of no more than 30m.

The latest in CS grenades is the L13A1 commissioned by the Royal Ordnance Factories and manufactured by Schermuly. The grenade is also multi-functional in that it is not one grenade but twenty-three. When it reaches its target the grenade bursts, scattering its payload of 23 CS charges over a wide area.

But perhaps the most terrifying of these crowd control devices is the new 37mm ARWEN (Anti-Riot Weapon Enfield), developed by the Ministry of Defence and manufactured by the ROF. ARWEN is a multi-shot weapon with the



A formidable new vehicle for controlling riots will soon go into production in Britain. It is being promoted in the Far East and South America, but not in Britain nor, at present, in Europe. It will be equipped with an intimidating array of defensive and offensive systems, including:

- 16 grenade launchers;
- 18 gun ports;
- A 7,000-volt electrical charge running through the bodywork's external skin;
- Armoured bodywork;
- High-pressure water cannon capable of knocking over a vehicle and also able to spray dye so that suspects can be identified;
- Searchlights and floodlights;
- Infra-red camera.

The vehicle is equipped with other facilities. The armoured bodywork is claimed to be waterproof and airtight and can be closed down, allowing the crew inside to survive for

capacity to handle up to five rounds simultaneously. It has a rotary magazine and can fire up to 60 rounds a minute if need be. Unlike other similar weapons loading is child's play. Maximum range for the ARWEN is 100m but with an explosive grenade this can be increased to 300m. ARWEN's own special rounds are designed with in-built spin-stabilisation, providing unusual accuracy.

Schermuly (International) is based at Newdigate, Dorking and owned by Wilkinson-Match (razor manufacturers). The Schermuly directors (as per 1982) are listed below.

- Edward Thompson, 15 Bradley Road, Chiswick.
- Sydney Howlett, Brick Hill, Church Rd.

more than an hour using the air-conditioning and oxygen supplies. It has a chemical lavatory. The windscreen-washers can dispense white spirit for removing paint or other materials thrown at it, and the windscreen-wipers are fitted with what are described as "heavy-duty household brushes", also for removing paint and other materials. The vehicle has a "cow-catcher" on the front for pushing aside barricades and other obstacles. The AMAC-1 as it is known, will be built on to a heavy-duty Bedford chassis. The bodywork fabrication will be carried out by Hampshire Transtech, of Southampton. The vehicle will be marketed by the AMAC Corporation, a British company based in London. Mr Paul Latham, AMAC's marketing director, said: "It is not an aggressive vehicle essentially. It is designed to

avoid people killing each other. It is intended to look and be frightening. If objects were thrown at the vehicle, he said, it had various levels of defence, the most important being its armour protection and bullet-proof tyres. Mr Latham said the 7,000-volt charge in the exterior of the bodywork, when switched on, would deliver a 2-amp shock to anyone touching it. This would be enough "for people to get a bit of a nasty shock and receive a burn", but it would not kill. The first prototype is expected to be ready by Christmas, and production is hoped to be running at five a week by 1985. Mr Latham said his company was close to agreement on a first order for 20 vehicles from a Middle East country. It is also being promoted in Pakistan, India, Indonesia and parts of South America.

- Adminton, Salisbury (Adminton 610571)
- G. A. Smith, 14 Butler Road, Crowthorne, Bucks (Crowthorne 3842)
- John Stevens, 1 The Fairway, Chobham Rd, Camberley (23835)
- Ross Colwill, Beech Lodge, The Croft, Bishopston, Salisbury (Broadchalk435)
- Philip Horley, 44 Barnfield Rd, Northgate Crawley.
- Brian Taylor, Washoe Lodge, Brimpton, Reading (Woolhampton 3153)
- John Decker, Grahma Lodge, Linwood, Hants (Ringwood 5614)
- J.A. Hope, Moor End, The Moor, Cookham, Berks (Bourne End 21434)
- Andrew Scott, 26 Knareswood Rd, Kensing, Sevenoaks.
- Roger Barle, 'La Symphonie', Devey Cross Road, Horley.

SIGN OF THE TIMES

THE FIRST TIME THAT CELL DOOR SLAMMED SHUT IT FELT LIKE BEING BURIED ALIVE--BUT I'VE A LOT OF TIME TO GET USED TO IT--A LIFETIME LIKE THE JUDGE SAID--20 YEARS FOR MURDER--15 FOR ROBBERY--3 FOR EXPLOSIVES--



-A TRUE TALE OF THE '80'S

-I'LL BE 63 WHEN I GET OUT

GRAPHIC: Cliff Harper from Knockabout Comix

More information has come to light on the strike that took place that lead Eddie and others to take matters into their own hands.

Chamberlain Phipps, a huge company with over one hundred subsidiaries, installed a new computer-controlled process machine with double output capacity. The company brought the machine in at the workes expense: they forced down wage-levels, doubled production targets, etc. The company could do as it liked as the union - the NUFLAT (a footwear union) - ran a closed shop and had a special arrangement going with CP. This arrangement revolved mainly around Eugene Malone and a man called Edwards (or Edmunds) who were based at the union branch offices in Leeds. Later, after the workers had refused to take even more cuts in wages, the rank and file decided to take action of their own. However Peter Wilkinson, the newly elected shop steward, had ideas of his own and persuaded the majority to go for a token one-day strike instead of action that would actually force the company to respond. Wilkinson was elected in a very dodgy way: the other candidate, Fred Bailey, who was more popular, was told by the union that if he was elected he simply wouldn't be recognised by the union head office.

When the token one day strike arrived everyone was instructed to report to work as usual as a wage agreement had been negotiated. It was the union that issued this instruction and the negotiations had been carried out behind the backs of the workers. Dismissal threats were issued to those who ignored this instruction; this was an unusual hardline action as never in the 8½ years since the plant first started had there been any disputes. Wilkinson, the bosses man, was outside the factory gates to see the 7-3 and 3-11 shifts sacked for not reporting in. He just stood by and watched. He, and a small handful of workers then entered the factory

and broke the strike. The following pay day letters of dismissal were sent out to the strikers and those sacked attempted to sign on at the dole office. The DHSS and the Unemployment Office refused to accept that they had been sacked, saying that the case was still under adjudication. Meanwhile the Unemployment Office had sent 25 men down to the factory to take the vacant jobs. Chamberlain Phipps made full use of their victory and conditions in the factory grew steadily worse: health and safety conditions deteriorated, tea-breaks were abolished, etc. One man was sacked for asking why there were no breaks during the long 12 hour shift. He was new and had only been working at CP for 2 days. Some workers were obliged to work 16 hours a day if production was low, otherwise they would be threatened with dismissal. Management made more demands on the now smaller workforce: increased production put a strain on everyone and one man eventually died of a heart attack brought on by the stress of it all.

The lesson we learned is that the bosses will use and are using every trick in the book to re-introduce sweated labour back into the factories. They will use strike action (and the reformism of the union leaders) to cut back on the workforce levels and keep wage demands down. This is the terrorism of the capitalist political economy.

(The above is a transcript of an account given by Eddie in a letter from prison.)

E. Homer E31008
HM Prison
68 Hornby Road
Liverpool L9 3DF

THUNDER

by Pa Chin

translated from the Chinese
by Bob Palmer

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

Pa Chin was the favourite author of the students of China during the 1930s and '40s. His writing caught the spirit of the revolutionary movement that had arisen among educated young people in protest against feudal and foreign oppression.

Each of his works of fiction reflected some aspect of this struggle for change. For example, in the novel *Family* he depicted the breakdown of the traditional family structure; in *Destruction* he tackled the question of revolutionary terrorism; in *'Morning Star'*, which has been reprinted in translation in the American anarchist publication, *Black Star*, he dealt with the problem of the artist as revolutionary.

This short story 'Thunder', which has never before been translated, concerns itself with women's liberation, especially with the themes of sexual freedom and the rebellion of women against domination by the traditional Confucian family system. Both *Emma Goldman*, with whom Pa Chin was in correspondence, and *Sofia Perovskaya*, the Russian heroine, are mentioned.

'Thunder' is a separate but integral part of *Love: A Trilogy*. Pa Chin once called *Love* his favourite work. The parts of the trilogy explore the theme in the context of the revolutionary movement. One of the principal characters of 'Thunder' is a young woman, Hui, whose goal is to live as an independent revolutionary person according to the model of *Emma Goldman*. Hui appears again in the third novel of the trilogy, *'Lightning'*, where at one point she poignantly expresses her philosophy by singing,

*'I know my life is but a moment.
So I should live it to the utmost.'*

Hui's philosophy is in sharp contrast to that of the traditional Chinese young woman, who has always been more hesitant than her sister in the West to engage in premarital sex or to condone public kissing and the exchange of caresses. Hui's behaviour is shocking not only to the young men in the story but to the Chinese reader as well, because her actions strike a blow at the whole Confucian system with its emphasis on natural order and a hierarchy of relationships.

The character that Pa Chin created is no mere two-dimensional symbol. In her attempt to be a free woman, Hui makes mistakes, gets caught up in her own devices, and is sometimes bewildered by events. Like all great characters in fiction, she can be discussed almost as a living person beyond the confines of the work in which she appears.

Pa Chin was an anarchist. He was a translator of many works of anarchism into Chinese. But in his fiction he made few political distinctions. The political activity that he depicts in 'Thunder' and in his other works could be that of Communists, anarchists, liberal revolutionary nationalists, or even members of the early Kuomintang. The chief anarchist quality of these writings is in their rejection of hierarchy and authoritarianism. Many of the characters are individuals who play decisive roles in revolutionary situations, but there are no commissars arriving with orders from far-away committees; nor are there any parties, constitutions, rules, or regulations. Disputes are worked out face to face in an atmosphere of supportive love; women participate equally in decision-making; groups at a distance communicate with one another without any hierarchical in-betweening.

Instead of 'anarchism', Pa Chin in his fiction generally uses the term *shih yeh*, which could be translated as 'life work', 'enterprise', 'cause', or 'movement'. In this story I use the word 'movement'.

How far the revolutionary situations he depicts correspond to real-life revolutionary activity of the time is a historical problem. (The entire trilogy, including 'Thunder', was written between 1931 and 1933.) In the general preface to the 1935 edition of the trilogy, Pa Chin complains that people 'off-handedly use my work in front of strangers as a substitute for scholarly research'.

After the fall of *Chiang Kai-shek's* regime Chinese anarchists took one of three options: Some went to Taiwan and threw in their lot with the Kuomintang exiles; some went to



Hong Kong, where there is today explicit anarchist activity; perhaps the majority stayed behind, accepted the Revolution, and became supporters of the People's Republic. Pa Chin was one of the latter. He became a leading literary figure in Maoist China, but ceased writing fiction as before. He even went so far as to expunge all explicit references to anarchism from his previous works. Mention of such famous anarchists as *Emma Goldman* and *Mikhail Bakunin* either disappeared or else they were transmuted to orthodox Communist heroes, such as *Lenin* or *Mao Tse Tung*. An explanation of this can be found in his reason for remaining in the People's Republic: He was attempting to work within the Communist establishment in order to change it from within.

But in the Cultural Revolution he received his lumps. *Chiang Ch'ing* denounced *Family* as a 'poisonous weed'; his library in Shanghai was destroyed by Red Guards; he was publicly humiliated but refused to make a confession; and finally he was sent to a labour camp in Manchuria. Today he is living quietly in Shanghai; his novel *Family* has recently been republished.

There are two biographies of him in English, one written by *Olga Lang*; one by *Nathan K. Mao*. His name incidentally is pronounced 'Ba Gin'. In the story, Hui's name is best pronounced as one syllable: 'Hway'; De's name is pronounced like the first two letters of 'dungeon'.

This translation follows the 1935 edition of *Love: A Trilogy*, reprinted in 1968 in Hong Kong by the *Nan Guo Chu Ban She*. Occasionally for fine points I have consulted the first version of the short story in a 1934 edition.

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THUNDER

1

The silent street was bordered by a few trees and a few houses surrounded by desolate courtyards. The roadway was narrow and paved with stones; grass grew in the cracks between the stones.

There were no streetlights. The gate to each courtyard was tightly closed. It was almost midnight; the sky was black. Not one person was on the street. No sound could be heard except the wind blowing through the leaves of the trees. It seemed that all had gone to sleep.

Abruptly in the middle of the darkness there was a low sound. The gate of one of the courtyards opened. From inside there darted out a speck of fire. One shadowy figure dodged out; then a second, a third. . .

'Min, did you take the draft proposal?' whispered a person from inside the courtyard.

The young man named Min was just stepping over the threshold of the gate. He turned his head and replied tersely, 'I took it.' Then with one big stride he left the courtyard. In his right hand he held a torch—not a very bright one—which illuminated his round face and accented his bright eyes. He appeared to be about twenty years old.

The courtyard gate was then closed. Ten or more people crowded down the deserted street. The quiet of the night was broken by the monotonous and deliberate tread of leather shoes.

The force of the wind was exploding the torch like a comb, cascading the sparks to the ground. The pitchblack street seemed to shudder in the flickering light. And the footsteps of the young people in the middle of the street had the deliberation of eternity.

They silently turned from one street into another. A brisk wind constantly agitated the leaves of the trees. Then two or more people would separate themselves into a group. The groups arranged themselves at intervals of about ten paces. Finally they entered a broad avenue. Everybody then dispersed.

There were three people in the last group. Besides Min were a tall, thin young man and a young woman of medium stature.

'Min, why haven't either of you opened your mouths?' The young woman who said this watched as Min silently threw the almost burned-out torch to the ground and stamped it out with his foot. She could not endure his silence. He sighed.

It was the thin young man who responded. He was rude and coarse. 'We did not say anything! We did not wish to break the silence! Who but you has so much lip?'

He was a little over twenty years of age. The young woman was almost as old.

'De, I did not speak to you. I forbid you to interrupt!' The young woman became angry. She turned her head to Min, who was walking beside her.

Min smiled. 'De has always been very crude. That's no good. He ought to stop it!'

The young woman laughed impolitely, 'I have a good analogy. De is like the sound of thunder—suddenly very fierce, but then immediately subsiding.'

De responded with utmost seriousness. 'Hui, be careful! Beware that one day a thunderbolt does not strike you!' He had also become a bit angry.

De was a person who became easily enraged. His friends knew this and often said things on purpose to enflame him.

With a sort of laugh in her voice, Hui said arrogantly, 'I am not afraid. Let me see just how your thunderbolt can come down on my head. You're just a woman-hater—not a revolutionary.'

De did not make a sound, holding back his anger in silence. With effort he plodded on down the stone street. He raised his head and looked at the sky. It was black—without stars; like a piece of ocean—without waves. It was peaceful, profound. There was not the least sound of thunder as an omen. His heart pounded cruelly.

Min then said, 'Hui, you shouldn't struggle with De. Whenever you two meet, you cannot help but quarrel. We should let De have a little peace. Wait a bit. He has work to do at my house. I still want to discuss and improve the draft proposal.'

Suddenly turning red, Hui said excitedly, 'Draft proposal! You are always talking about draft proposals! Min, you and De are the same! You think there is nothing in the world but draft proposals! Neither of you has any youth!'

But the two young men did not notice her agitation. They had been immersed in their own thoughts.

Min then said, 'You women are really very strange. Just now, weren't you eager to discuss the draft proposal?' Then he abruptly changed the subject, because they had come to the gate of his house. 'Hui, we will escort you back.'

Hui said irritably, turning and looking directly at Min. 'I don't think I'll go back. I doubt if there's anyone there to open the gate for me.' She feared returning to her lonely lodgings.

'Not going back? . . .' Min pondered this with difficulty. 'OK. We three can squeeze in together.'

Hui did not dissent. Min knocked at the gate. Then he knocked a few times more. The three of them stood on the stone steps, waiting. None of them spoke a word. Each had their own thoughts.

The gate opened. A young man with a kerosene lamp peered out. 'You returned.' He mumbled as if he were still asleep and dreaming.

Min entered first. Hui followed. When it came to De's turn, he said in a determined voice, 'I have to go back to the college and sleep!' He started to go.

Min looked at De in alarm and tried to dissuade him. Back to the college? It's not easy at this time to get the gate opened. We still have something to do this evening. You can't go!

De's face changed colour and then became deadpan. 'I will come again early in the morning.'

He did not say anything more, but went away fast, as if he were afraid someone would pursue him. Min stood at the gate, looking after him. De was quickly swallowed up by the darkness, but the monotonous tread of his leather shoes could be heard for a long time.

Min locked the gate unhappily. He turned to Hui. Her face in the light of the lamp had taken on a strange expression.

They entered the room. The young man who had let them in asked a few questions, then left to go back to sleep.

Min and Hui sat down. They were not tired but rather stirred up. Neither had any thought of sleep. All sorts of things were going through their heads.

Min complained, 'De's thinking is really a bit strange. Originally we planned to tackle the draft proposal this evening. Now he goes back to the college to sleep.' It was as if he were speaking to himself.

Hui explained, 'Most probably it's because I'm here.' She did her best to say this calmly, but she was clearly excited.

'Most probably. . . .' Min pondered. He tried to understand this statement.

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'This evening he went away on purpose—after he had ridiculed us.' Hui said the word 'us' in a special way, holding the sound and emphasizing it.

Min did not answer. He uncomprehendingly looked at the dull flame of the kerosene lamp. After a brief moment, he suddenly stood up, went to the table, scratched his head several times, then with effort said, 'Hui, now we will tackle the draft proposal. We don't have to wait for De. Tomorrow he can have a look at it and that will be enough.' He groped for a bundle of papers in his pocket, found it, and put it on the table.

Hui wrinkled her tiny eyebrows into a frown, then calmly watched Min sit down, spread out the papers, and start to read aloud in a low voice. He sat in front of her, his head completely bowed as if he were afraid to look at her.

She understood the situation, did not speak, but gave out one cold, laughing syllable, 'Hm!'

Nothing happened. Min lifted his head and silently glanced at her a moment. Then he bent his head again, but the sound she had made caused him to tremble a bit.

The silence stirred up Hui all the more. She finally could not endure it and called out one word, 'Min!'

Min acted as if she had not heard. She again called out his name.

Min stopped his work, lifted his head, and looked at her. He became alert. He knew that she was about to say something out of the ordinary.

Hui spoke emotionally, 'Why do you try to tidy up the draft proposal on a night like this—on this spring night? Why do you now torture yourself with it?' Her face reddened; her eyes flamed.

'The draft proposal? Isn't it urgent? It must be ready at the beginning of the meeting tomorrow night!' Min seemed to know that she was challenging him to battle. And he knew his fighting forces were weak. He had hurriedly said this in self-defence.

Hui responded, 'The draft proposal? That's something for tomorrow night! Don't you feel there is a big difference between tonight and tomorrow night? Perhaps tomorrow night we will leave the world forever. Why shouldn't we tonight think of something else—something personal? Min. . .'

She spoke passionately—in a way that seemed to be argumentative, but in her voice was an irresistible force. Her voice changed as she spoke; at the end it became soft and gentle. Then she reached out her hands, grabbed Min's papers, and clutched them to her bosom.

'Hui, don't joke around! We must talk seriously. Give me back the draft proposal!' Min was embarrassed. He stood up, saying, 'I know what you want. It's not right. We should not think about our personal feelings.' Hui unyieldingly argued back, 'You should know that we women do not only base our lives on draft proposals. You men are able to bury your heads the whole day in some sort of draft proposal. That won't do. We women need other things.'

Min spoke with great difficulty. 'But *Sofia Perovskaya*. . .'

But just as soon as he spoke that name, Hui interrupted, '*Sofia Perovskaya*. You men's theories are those of *Sofia Perovskaya*! Didn't she have her *Zhelyabov*? What woman does not need love?'

Hui was very bright. She saw from his expression that her words had an effect on him. She was like a victor, continuing to pursue the enemy.

'It's not surprising that De is such a woman-hater,' Min said with a smile. He used this smile to cover up his own emotion.

'We are surrounded on all sides by nothing but weeping and misery. How can you women even think of love-making now?' But in his heart Min was completely in agreement with her.

'Now you are talking like De!' Hui continued. 'It's really a very natural thing. Life is not only for selfishness but for enjoyment as well. Since we have this instinct, we should have the right to use it! Why should we sacrifice this right? People think a revolutionary should be like a withered tree. That's really a stale, outdated idea!' Hui's smiling expression masked her emotion, but her face was flushed.

Min looked at Hui expressionlessly for a moment. All sorts of ideas circled through his head. Then he said with determination, 'Possibly what you say is reasonable! I don't want to argue with you! And now I also—like you—do not want to go back to the draft proposal. I am going upstairs to Ming's to sleep. I hope you sleep well too. Tomorrow we will talk again.' He spoke in a wrought-up way. Then not daring even to peek at Hui, he hurried to go out of the room.

Hui did not detain him. She did not even stand up, but said with a chilly smile, 'I know you don't have any courage!' On her face was a look of contempt.

Min has already left the room, but when he heard this, he turned back. He was covered with a layer of cold sweat. But now he was looking at her pale face, half of it covered by thick black hair. He stood a brief moment, his gaze fixed. Then he moved directly toward her and stretched out his arms.

There were now no arguments between them. They were united by their passion, which flamed up like a fierce fiery blast that transmutes everything around it and turns darkness into brilliance.

The passions of the night slowly cooled; the colour of the night slowly paled.

2

The next afternoon Min took the revised draft proposal for De to see. He met De at the college. De looked at Min; his first words were, 'Did you make any changes last night?'

Min blushed. He could not immediately find an answer. After a while he started speaking of other things.

De was not diverted by this, but said, 'Why didn't you come this morning? I waited a long time for you.'

Min did not find this easy to explain. Hui's image constantly filled his mind.

The two of them went into De's tiny room, which contained a wooden plank bed, a broken-down table, a heap of old books, and two round stools.

In the midst of discussing the draft proposal, De suddenly asked, 'What time did Hui leave this morning?'

'Eight o'clock,' Min replied after hesitation.

'I don't believe it,' De said suspiciously.

'I am not trying to deceive you!' Min replied seriously, his face again flushing.

After a moment De put down the draft proposal. He turned to Min with a solemn expression and said, 'Min, you should be very careful! Hui is very cruel. You shouldn't fall into her trap.'

Min was forced to respond. He said with emphasis, 'She and I have no relationship. What do you mean by saying these things? Last night why did you want to go?' Hui's image still constantly possessed his mind.

De's face took on a happy expression. 'Well, you shouldn't have let her sleep at your place last night.'

They went back to the draft proposal, but they did not need to spend much time on it.

Then Hui came. With her was a female student named Ying.

When De saw Hui, he turned away from the draft proposal and suddenly began to interrogate her. 'Hui, I ask you. What time did you go home this morning?'

'Ten o'clock,' Hui immediately replied without thinking.

Min had gotten a fright when he saw her. He tried to stop her, but she had already said it. He immediately took on an embarrassed look.

De became silent and his face fell. Then he got up to go out. He did not seem to have paid any attention to Hui's reply.

'We have just come and you leave? Why?' Hui asked with a smile. But her face also appeared strained.

'I am busy. I have no spare time to accompany you in your games!' De replied in his rough voice and then left.

'But Ying wants to talk with you. She hurried here especially to see you,' Hui quickly called after him.

Then Ying stepped to the doorway. De stopped, looked at her, and asked, 'What do you want?'

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'I have finished the books you gave me. I would like to return them and ask for more.' Ying's demeanor was that of a little girl. She smiled modestly.

De smiled back at her. 'Good. Tomorrow I will ask someone to bring you more. Did you understand everything?'

'I understood the general ideas,' She turned her head towards Hui. 'What I didn't understand I asked her to explain.'

'Good.' He nodded his head, turned around, and quickly went into the other room.

Min came in, touched Hui lightly on the shoulder, and said in a low voice, 'Hui, I have something to say to you.' Then the two, ignoring Ying, went out.

After about a half an hour of good work on the draft proposal, De left the other room, pushed open the door to his room, and looked at Ying in surprise, 'Are you still here? What a person! Where did they go?'

'I was waiting for you,' Ying timidly answered. 'I want to talk something over with you.' It was if her oval face was topped by two heaps of black clouds—her eyebrows—which were tensely wrinkled. Her expression was pitiful, altogether different than before.

'What is it?' De's voice became warm and gentle.

Ying stood up and spoke in a sad voice. 'Father does not allow me to read books. He wants me to return home and get married. What am I to do?' She spoke as if she were about to cry.

De did not know what to say. But a sort of strange feeling rose within him. He would not have known how to describe it. It was sympathy, it was compassion—it was something else.

'I really do not want to return home—I do not want to. . . ' Ying repeated this over and over sorrowfully. She bowed her head so he could not see her face, biting her lips with force.

'Don't return! Absolutely don't return!' De spoke angrily; he felt very unhappy. 'Because such misery exists now doesn't mean it will always exist. But we move so slowly!' He began to pace the room with large strides. But the room was very small and he was held back by it, as if it were a prisoner's cage.

Ying continued in a mournful voice. 'It's Hui who persuades me to resist. I have no

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will. I love Mother. . . ' Her voice wandered off in a weak way. It was clear that she could not make up her mind at all.

Through the window could be seen happily laughing students in the yard, their voices ringing through the spring air. These sounds penetrated the room, adding to De's and Ying's misery.

De's face was black and his eyes red with anger. He felt as if the house had fallen down, as if it were pressing on him, as if he could not move. His whole body trembled; he made a fist and pounded on the table, shouting in a loud voice, 'You will absolutely not go back! We will find a way!'

Ying was surprised and raised her head at him. She did not understand the reason for his decision. After a moment she said timidly, 'Hui says I should move in with her. She advises me not to live at the college any more.'

'That is certainly a way out,' De said. 'It does seem that we can help you!'

'But there's Mother. . . ' Ying emphasized the word 'Mother.'

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'Mother? You're not responsible for Mother. She could die soon. There is no reason for you to sacrifice yourself for Mother!' He spoke firmly. His expression was like that of a judge who has just passed a death sentence on a whole generation.

Ying meekly argued back, 'I can't think like that. Perhaps I am too weak. Perhaps I like the old traditions too much. . . I don't know if you people would be willing to accept a person like me. My capabilities are very limited. But I really would like to work with you.' She looked imploringly at him. Her sad look gradually faded away.

De became happy. 'From now on you will become stronger. We welcome you. We welcome everybody.' He began to smile. 'You should certainly move to Hui's at once. Don't worry about what is happening at your home. We will find things for you to do.' He got up to go. Ying also had to go.

'Ying, I tell you, when I see one more young person who is resisting the family system and the present society, I am always happy.' De shouted this out as he put his tall body in motion. He was smiling in a satisfied way.

De walked down the street with Ying, talking to her encouragingly as they went.

At the entrance to the college, Min and Hui stood talking at the foot of a giant banyan tree. Hui was leaning against the tree trunk, her black hair blowing over the side of her face. A jacket—in a pattern of blue flowers—covered the top of her relatively short black skirt. Her hands were constantly in motion.

When she saw De—even while he was at a great distance—she sent a smile to him, her eyes shining like sharp points of steel blades.

'Hui is certainly magnetic!' This was a thought that De was not aware of; he was aware of nothing but Hui's image pressing upon him as he approached. Then he suddenly began to shake, just as if he wanted to shake off such a frightening image.

Min stood at Hui's side. When he saw De, he shouted to him. Ying started to go away, but Hui called her back. 'Tomorrow evening there will be a student meeting. Ying, you should certainly take part in it.'

A rosy colour spread over Ying's cheeks. She was stirred up by her feelings; her eyes were glowing. She consented to come.

In the college a bell sounded. The last classes had ended. In one solid mass, the young students rushed out.

3

At dusk Ying went with Hui to participate in the student meeting. Hui did not tell Ying where the meeting was to be held; Ying went silently along with her. She was in a very strange mood. She was tense and fluttery. She almost never felt this way and would not have been able to find words to describe her feelings.

They went through an alley and into a long street, which was paved unevenly with stones. On the sides were a few old houses, surrounded by small courtyards. Here and there were patches of deep vegetation.

It had just rained; the stones were a bit slippery. The air was fresh, filled with the fragrance of plants and trees. From the courtyards stretched out lichee trees in bloom.

There was no moon. A few stars were hung on the heavenly curtain. The sky was crystal clear. Ying and Hui walked through quiet and out-of-the-way streets. At this time there were almost no passers-by.

Then a dog ran after them, barking.

Ying was afraid; her heart began to pound. But Hui showed not the least fear. Ying had to admire her calmness and serenity.

Finally they stopped before an old courtyard. Two low gates were firmly fastened from the inside. Ying could not see any difference between this courtyard and the other ones. Hui lightly tapped twice; one of the gates quickly opened. A boy's face peered out.

'Hui, it's you.' The boy smiled back at Hui, but looked closely at Ying. Ying gazed in surprise at his young face. He appeared to be no more than fifteen or sixteen years old.

'This is Ying, the person whom I spoke to you about,' Hui explained to the boy, as she led Ying in.

'Isn't he a bit young to be a part of your group?' whispered Ying.

'He's hardly the youngest here. He's already eighteen,' Hui replied offhandedly. As they entered, she busily responded to the welcomes of the other young people.

They went into an open courtyard, then through a small passageway, and upstairs to the second floor.

In the two rooms on this floor were quite a number of people. One of the rooms was joined to a terrace. This room, which was not big, had a few sticks of furniture in it. Many people sat on the floor. De had already come. Ying saw him standing on the terrace, talking with a couple of students.

Some people invited Ying to sit on the long wooden bed. She took a place next to two women students. Hui however went onto the terrace. People from the group were talking in low voices in the room. Afterwards a few more people came. It was now already night-fall.

From the terrace De turned to the student at the door and asked, 'Ming, there aren't any more people coming, are there?' Before Ming had a chance to answer, he continued, 'Let's not wait for anybody else. Let's start the meeting.'

'OK, everyone is here,' Ming replied. People in the corners of the room and on the terrace began crowding forward towards the centre. With the exception of five or six persons, everyone sat down on the floor. The door then was shut. On the table was a kerosene lamp, which shed a dull glow on the faces of the persons near it. There was a heavy silence, broken by three or four people coughing. After a moment Ming's voice could be heard.

Ming explained the purpose of the meeting, then yielded to De, who spoke. De was sitting in front of the table, his back to the lamp, so that his features could not clearly be seen, but his words were heard by all. He discussed all the issues from beginning to end without hesitation. Passionately concerned himself, he was able to passionately convince others. He explained when the present situation required the young people to work harder. His testimony sounded especially eloquent to them; they were moved by his words.

In this environment Hui felt a bit distant. But De's words attracted her. She could not take her eyes off him. It was if his eagle's face pressed on those very eyes. She was torn between two thoughts: she wanted him to stop speaking; she wanted him to go on and on. His words went completely into her ears; she carefully paid attention. Many words were unbearable to her. She was hardly able to endure hearing him, but in her heart she said, 'You are right!' In her girl-like humility, she overvalued De.

There was not a bit of noise from the street. Night peeped in through the windows. The air in the room became stale. Some people began to cough quietly. But De's

words flowed on. The stream of these words washed away the timidity in her heart. When she heard De say that there should be no compromise with the old established powers, she became excited. She thought to herself, 'Many of his words are directed toward me; he is pointing out my mistakes.'

The stream came to an end. De yielded to another person. A third person spoke on the same themes. Then followed reports on word done and to be done.

Ying felt that she did not understand everything. But she tried to listen carefully.

One thing surprising to her was that so many young students could be so brave—students she had seen every day at the college. For example, the somewhat ugly student next to her had also spoken several times in an inflammatory way. Therefore when she was introduced to a few of these fellow students, she couldn't help but feel ashamed, and she blushed. When some people came over and asked her a few questions, she was almost unable to answer.

The meeting was over. The door was opened; people gradually dispersed. The students went downstairs in bare feet, having originally left their shoes on the first floor. As they went onto the street, they had a certain solemnity about them and did not speak. It was as if they were leaving on a special mission.

Ying left with Hui. The two women did not walk very fast. A moment later, De rushed up from behind. He walked past them and began talking to a student in front.

No one had prepared torches, because a gray sky illuminated the street. Ying talked to Hui and at the same time watched De's back. His tall, thin shadow was like an eagle circling her head, its great wings covering everything before her.



4

Ying and Hui went home to their room. Ying lighted the coal-oil lamp on the table and looked at her watch; it was already midnight.

Hui asked Ying, 'What did you think of this evening?'

'I was very moved. I'm not really qualified to say anything more.' As Ying said this, she felt her heart pounding.

Hui sat down on the bed and suddenly asked with a smile, 'How did you feel about De?' Her bright eyes looked sharply at Ying.

'De. . . ' Ying only spoke one syllable and then closed her mouth. As she looked at Ying, she blushed. She dropped her head for a moment, raised it again, and asked in an unnatural voice, 'What is the meaning of your question?'

'Look how you are blushing,' Hui said with a clever smile. She laid down diagonally on the bed, then got up again, went over to Ying, put her hand on Ying's shoulder, and, still smiling, said, 'We say that De is a big woman-hater. But this does not stop women from loving him!'

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Ying looked at Hui in alarm; the glances of the two women became riveted together. Then Ying lowered her eyes. Her face lost all expression. She did not answer Hui.

Hui pressed herself gently against Ying and spoke sympathetically into her ear, 'Ying, I didn't mean to hurt you. Why did you suddenly become so sad?'

'I was thinking of all my problems. There was no connection with what you said.'

Ying began to explain. My life has been very bitter. . . . Father is very stern. Mother has often been sick and has become blind as well. There have been very few happy moments in my life. . . . Ying's voice trembled. Tears began to flow one by one down her face. Her expression was one of utter misery.

Hui pressed herself closer against Ying and said gently, 'Why talk of the past? Things are different now. You have entered upon a new path.' She treated Ying like a younger sister.

'Hui, you are lucky. You come from a good background. You have courage. You already stand on your own feet. But I'm afraid I don't have the same courage. I really don't know how to break off from a sea of troubles.' Ying's melancholy voice deeply moved Hui. Ying covered her eyes, apparently afraid even to look at the light of the lamp.

Hui moved her head close to Ying's and softly spoke directly into her ear, 'Hui, don't feel sad. In society today, the life of us women is very bitter, but we should struggle to regain our happiness. Do you remember seeing Bee and Ping this evening? They came from very bad backgrounds—even worse than yours. For example, when Bee was little, both her parents died. But now they are able to take an active part in the student group.'

Ying heard Hui's words clearly. She remembered Bee and Ping. Bee was the one that always expressed her own opinions and was often called 'that ugly girl student' because of her tiny eyes and prominent cheekbones. But her enthusiasm and precise reasoning made most people agree with her.

Ping looked very proper and did not talk very much, but she was highly regarded by the people in the group. She and a male student rented this house under assumed names as man and wife. Hui told Ying that she had already done a good many things for the group.

Ying had exchanged a few words with Bee and Ping earlier this evening. Since they were no older than she, why were they so different? 'I hope I will be able to do as much.'

Ying had to struggle with herself a long time to get these words out. As she spoke, it was as if she saw the black shadow of a great eagle pressing down on her head, but then slowly the eagle flew away.

Hui whispered, 'Ying, happiness will come. In our lives there should be happiness. We are sacrificing everything for the movement—even tomorrow's sun and air. Therefore in our leisure moments we should adopt a happy style of life. It is a necessity that we be happy!'

Ying felt her body relax in Hui's arms. She was conscious of Hui's warm breathing. The sorrow that had been lumped forever in her belly rose to her throat and melted. Then she was able to stretch out her arms and return Hui's embrace.



The work of the group became more critical day by day. For many nights De hardly got any sleep at all.

On Sunday afternoon the college was quiet. The students had either gone home or out somewhere. No one came to disturb De, so he yielded to the quiet and laid down on his wooden plank bed. Warm spring breezes easily affect a tired person. Very soon he tossed away the book in his hand, closed his eyes, and fell into a deep sleep.

De never dreamed. When his eyes closed, he lost all sense of perception until he opened them again. But this day he had a muddled experience. He felt something press against his face and hot air blowing against his lips. His body began to feel very soft. He tried to struggle back. He thought that this was certainly a dream.

Then he opened his eyes a little. A female face was snuggling close to his. Her hot lips were pressing tightly against his. Her fragrance penetrated his nose. He was shocked. He opened his eyes fully, thought he wanted to get up, and then said with effort, 'It's you?' But that soft body kept pressing against his. Her hot breath put his brain into a state of confusion. He accepted defeat and embraced her.

De had forgotten himself in this sudden ardour. But then he slowly roused himself. Hui's smile was like one of victory. It pained him to see it. He suddenly got angry, jumped up from the bed, and furiously began to pace the floor with large steps. But the room was too small, so he had to hold back his pacing.

'Hui, you little devil! Why did you push yourself in here?' De shouted with hostility.

Hui was sitting on the edge of the bed with a clever smile on her face. 'I wanted to investigate how really powerful your thunder is!' She saw that De was very annoyed; she felt her victory more proudly.

De cursed. 'I say that you women are no good! You are all selfish and cunning! You should all be struck by a thunderbolt!'

'Unfortunately your thunder is empty thunder! No woman could ever be afraid of you!' Hui responded with an icy smile. 'Now I have captured your very last defense. Ha-ha!'

'Captured my very last defense? What do you gain from this?'

Hui responded, 'I am annoyed that you men have some sort of formula for us women. Whether we open or close our mouths, you say that women are no good! You say that love is the enemy of the revolution! Now you should understand your own weakness! Ha-ha!' She got up with a smile, gazing at him in a half-despising, half-seductive way.

De did not say anything, but merely hung his head.

'Unfortunately Ying still thinks of you as a sacred, unapproachable sage!' Hui pressed on, a mocking smile on her face.

'OK, I will give you satisfaction,' De suddenly said in his rough way and went ahead and struck. He grabbed Hui by her slender waist and madly showered her with kisses on her face and lips. His embrace was so tight that it caused Hui to become weak. Never before had Hui been weak like this.

After a short while, De loosened his right grip, put his hands against Hui's body, and roughly pushed her onto the bed, as if he were tossing away some secondhand goods.

Then he laughed in a half-crazed way and cried out, 'You injured Min! Now you want to injure me! I'm not afraid. Don't forget that I'm thunder—I'm thunder!'

Hui responded, 'Min? How did I hurt him? We were two people united by an affair. But now our accounts are closed.' She sat on the

bed rubbing her aching body. She had completely lost the arrogance over her victory. Her tears flowed, but not from sorrow.

Two pairs of eyes were fixed on each other. They were like two fighting animals, each waiting to swallow the other.

The moment passed; Hui gave way first. 'De, now we ought to have a peace talk. Why do we pretend this mutual hatred? What good is it?'

'But . . .,' De struggled to speak. He averted his glance, so he could not see her. 'Our movement has been betrayed many times by the passions of you women. Today you came . . . You grabbed Min and others just to toy with them. But I am not the same as Min.' In self-defense he tried to search out the shortcomings of women in order to draw up an indictment against Hui.

Hui replied mildly in a reasonable voice. 'It's not the fault of us women. Everybody ought to share the responsibility. We women have certain natural instincts and desires. We have the right to satisfy them. Emma Goldman in her autobiography does not conceal any secrets. She relates many instances of her sexual love. My views and behaviour are no different than hers.'

Emma Goldman was a revolutionary woman whom De adored. He had read her two-volume autobiography. This was candid to such an extent that it recounted how once in her youth she had solicited men in the streets to gain money for the movement.

Hui was really bright. She knew De's weakness. She brought up Emma Goldman because she knew De could not speak a word against her. There was no way he could pick an argument with her over this.

All of Hui's behaviour had a reasonable basis. In any case, she was a brave revolutionary comrade. She had an attractive face, with a lock of black hair always floating over the right cheek. Her eyes were bright; her lips were sensuous; her skin had a healthy glow. Every young man had a crush on her. He was one of these young men. Now it was her wish to give everything to him.

He would not be able again to be so obstinate and rejecting.

6

In the evening at a meeting, De happened to run into Min. As they talked, De's face flushed several times. A quarrel broke out over a certain issue. De suspected that Min challenged him on purpose.

After the meeting opened and De was going forward, Min called urgently from behind, 'De, wait for me afterwards. I want to talk with you.' De knew that Min wanted to discuss his affair with Hui. De did not really want to hear this, but he consented.

Later the two set out together along the silent street. Min used an electric flashlight to find the way. They had just left. De could not see Min's face, but could hear his quick breathing.

Min spoke as if he was suffocating. 'De, why haven't you stayed over with me the past few days?'

'I had no time,' De spoke shortly and gave Min an icy smile.

'That is false! I know it's false!' Min trembled as he spoke. 'You did not come. You were displeased with me because of Hui!'

When De heard this, he felt his heart jump. 'Don't use such words!' De feared that Min would continue talking about his affair with Hui, so he tried to stop him.

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Min, moved by emotion, went on, 'De, now I want to tell you the truth. I can't hide it from you. Hui and I have begun a relationship.' Apparently he wanted to spit out his whole heart to De to see.

De was embarrassed by this. He did not want to deal with it. Naturally Min did not know of his scene with Hui. But could he always conceal it from Min? He could not find the proper words. For the very first time he hesitated in expressing his feelings.

Min continued in a distressed and urgent way. 'Perhaps this is not right. I feel very sorry. All of you should despise me.'

De was very moved by what Min said. He felt that he should comfort him. But suddenly another idea took control. He thought that perhaps Min was testing him, that perhaps Min knew what had happened between him and Hui. Therefore when he spoke to Min, he used words that had no practical use in the situation. He was first only able to respond with the word 'no' a few times. Then he added that people would absolutely despise Min.

Min's voice was still shaking. 'These last few days Hui and I have started to have problems, but I don't know why, I feel I am losing my life! . . . She most certainly has fallen in love with someone else. This person is probably laughing at me. . . . But when I leave her, I feel I am losing my life! Help me, De!'

The wind blew a little melody through the leaves of the trees. Not too far away two dogs began to bark. In the surrounding darkness all the streets were asleep. The flashlight threw a bright circle on the feet of the two men. This love sick man, in this deserted and lonely place, was to be pitied.

'Min, what kind of ideas are these? How can you talk this way? You are stupid! Don't you feel ashamed of yourself?' De, fraught with many terrible thoughts, was unable to untie the knots. He became angry at having to exert his strength to get out of this net. He began to rebuke Min, but there was no hatred in his voice, only concern. 'This is all infantilism, I am not able to help you.'

Min could never have imagined that De would reply in such a way. He shook his head regretfully and said, 'You cannot change my heart! You don't understand at all!' Then he clutched De's arm with his shaking hand, over which he had no control. 'De, you go to Hui for me! You go! You must go!'

De became irritated. He could not listen to Min any more. 'Min, don't pretend to be stupid. If you go on like this, I can't walk any further with you.' Hui's face came to him in the darkness. He heard her words about Min, 'Now our accounts are closed.' Ought he or ought he not tell Min? Should he inform Min of his relationship with Hui? The idea was like torture to him.

Min cried in a mad, begging way, 'You must go! You must tell her! . . . My heart pounds so terribly! . . . I want her. . . I need her!' As before, he grabbed Min's arms tightly with his shaking hand.

At first De did not reply, but then a frenzied idea seized him. He shook himself, throwing off Min's hand, and cried out, 'You are stupid! . . . See you tomorrow!' Then he hurried off into the darkness with long strides, leaving Min behind.

Min following him; De walked all the faster.

At a street corner, Min in pursuit had his eyes fixed on De's figure, when suddenly he was stopped by an arm around his waist.

'Where are you going?' A soldier standing next to him asked in a harsh voice.

'Returning home to [such-and-such] street.' Min shone the flashlight into the soldier's face: a thin, triangular face.

'Give me the flashlight,' the soldier ordered in the same harsh voice.

'I won't give it to you! It's mine!'

'Give it to me,' the soldier insisted. 'I won't give it to you! You have no right to issue this order!' Min spoke in a proud and unsubmitive way.

'You're not afraid?' The soldier pressed his Mauser pistol against Min's chest.

Min realized he could resist no longer. 'OK, take it!' He gave the flashlight to the soldier, turned, and started to walk away.

The soldier took the flashlight, then shouted in a loud voice, 'You are not allowed to go!' He shone the flashlight into Min's face.

'I gave you the flashlight. Now why can't I go?' Min said this in an artificially calm voice, but he could not prevent it from shaking.

'Not allowed! I want to search you!' An alarm shot through Min. He knew he carried documents that he could not let the soldier discover. He tried to think of a way to escape.

The soldier looked at Min and did not speak. He moved his hand to search Min; Min prepared to resist.

Just at that moment the sound of thunder was heard; and a thunderbolt struck the soldier on the head. Behind the soldier appeared a thin, black shadow.

'De, it's you!' Min cried out happily. 'Min, get away! I came back because of the things you have. I am stronger than you!' De's rough voice struggled with the quiet night. At the same time he had grabbed the soldier's Mauser. Min pulled at the soldier's hand.

'Min! Go! The documents you have are vital!' De ordered.

Thereupon a fight to the death broke out.

7

The next day a sensation spread through the city. A student from another province had killed a soldier, grabbing his Mauser, but then was seized by other soldiers and executed that very night.

The body of the young man was displayed in front of the courtyard of an old house, in which someone had once been murdered. It was said that the young man was killed by gunfire.

Many people came to see the dead body. They looked directly and, being satisfied, went away. None of the onlookers crowded around or stayed any length of time.

The soldiers guarded the corpse, thinking they would catch the political comrades of the young man. But they waited the whole day without a clue. Then they buried the corpse. The soldiers never found out who the dead man was or what his name was.

As a matter of fact, many of De's good friends came to see. Hui and Ying were there a number of times. Each time they wept as they left, but the unperceptive soldiers paid no attention.

When they returned home from the very last visit, Ying could not bear it any more. She collapsed on the bed, put her face in the pillow, and began to weep.

Hui did not weep. She paced the floor. But the sound of Ying's weeping made the room feel sorrowful indeed. Hui found her own silence unbearable. And the sound of the weeping began to get her down.

Hui sat down on the edge of Ying's bed. She began to stroke Ying's shoulders lightly to console her. 'Ying, you shouldn't cry. Didn't you hear Min tell why De died? It was

a very glorious deed. You shouldn't be broken-hearted over him!'

'But that won't bring him back!' Ying sobbed.

'There are still others. If one De dies, other new De's will continue his work. You can't count this a great loss!' Hui spoke these words almost against her will. She did her best to hold her voice steady. She did not want to show the least emotion.

'This is not a great loss?' Ying felt like a little girl who had to explain why she was crying. 'You don't know! You didn't love him! You didn't have any relationship with him! You didn't know his magnificence!'

These words created chaos in Hui's heart. She abruptly stood up. She saw De's eagle-like face before her. His eyes flashed like lightning. His hand felt like iron. He was aflame with passion. . . . Now he had been wiped out! And she had said this was no loss! She was not able to cheat herself in the same way.

Ying spoke in tears, 'Now he is dead. I can tell you one thing: I love him. I love him, but he did not know at the time of his death. I thought of him as a shining lamp, but now this lamp has been snuffed out by the savage elements! . . . He died terribly! But we hide ourselves away and shed a few tears in secret! Ying held back her sobbing until she was finished, then began to weep broken-heartedly without restraint.

Hui stood in the centre of the room, dully looking at the blown-up photograph of Emma Goldman that hung on the wall. She thought that the firm and resolute countenance of this woman revolutionary would encourage her to resist Ying's grief.

She tried to turn her thoughts to more distant things, but it was no use. Finally she spoke something like this:

'De, didn't I often say that our lives could not last very long? . . . Now we are separated forever. Your thunderbolt cannot strike my head any more. Oh! Your thunder is now truly just the sound of thunder!' As she spoke the last words, she felt her voice become as rough as De's voice had been.

Suddenly the agitation rushed through her whole body and overflowed. She felt that she wanted to dash outside and abandon all control. It was more than she could bear. She ran over to Ying's bed, bent down, put her lips close to Ying's ear, and faintly whispered, 'My grief is also very great. I love him too. I have been in love with him for a long time.'

Thunder will be published by Refract Publications (when they get their finances in order) in a libertarian anthology entitled: Anarchist Short Stories.



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CNT THE LAST SIX YEARS : RISE, SPLIT, COHESION

The reconstruction of the CNT after years of Francoist repression was a major achievement. In its first public meeting on the 27th March 1977, at San Sebastian de los Reyes, some 25,000 people appeared as if from nowhere. The foreign press was astonished. They had never known of the libertarian movement even in its best days, they could hardly expect to know of the libertarian movement during the dark years of repression when its name was being deliberately obscured. *The Times*, surprised, said "the long dormant CNT has sprung to life". It might have recognised its "spring for life" earlier had it not been for the fact that it accepted the obligatory rule, imposed by international press censorship, that the Anarchists in Spain had to be referred to as "Nationalists" or "Marxists" whereas Marxists or Nationalists elsewhere had to be referred to as "Anarchists" which has bedevilled journalism from straight reporting for years.

This was followed by rapid organisation of the CNT syndicates and trades halls all over the country, leading up to the Fifth Congress in Madrid in December 1979, held in the Crystal Palace in Madrid's Casa del Campo. Two years of intense activity had led to a renewal of unions, halls, meetings, cultural centres, and to the CNT flocked many who had in all probability never heard of anarcho-sindicalism before, thanks to the campaign of suppression by the Francoists, which hit the libertarian movement most of all. The CNT therefore became infiltrated through and through with people with no real sympathy for its long stated aims. These including Catalans, Basque and other nationalists, political Catholics, Trots and Maoists. The structure of the CNT proved too hard a nut for the Trots and Maoists to crack. Their usual line in unions is to enter into branches for political discussions, bore everyone rigid so that they do not attend meetings, and then take over the official positions. Their criticism of the "bureaucracy", the "leadership" - become a little hollow, however when there is neither bureaucracy nor leadership, and though they managed to become secretaries and delegates of various groups within the CNT, the posts carried nothing but the hard work of organising on the job which is the last thing they wanted to do. This meant inevitably a dropping off in the numbers that came, especially those who came from the student movement and were a bit repelled at finding themselves amongst workers - and workers too with a line of politics more advanced than the student leadership could provide.

My observation of the Fifth Congress was that it was a considerable achievement in organisation and that there was a friendly atmosphere with good humour and a sense of embattlement from the outside. Yet within weeks of it, announcement came of a split, to be held in Saragossa, of people who did not accept the December congress or its decisions. This claimed to be another CNT, and there arose a bitter clash between the factions. Yet each had the same problems; each put forward the same workshop organisation; each accused the other of being something different from what it was.

This "civil war" within the CNT is something not entirely unknown in the revolutionary movement. The tactics of the ruling class are to divide and rule. The hopes placed in the reconstruction of the CNT after Franco were intense and high: to counter this there were huge sums of money poured in from outside interests - noticeably the CIA and the communist elements for once in agreement - to build up rivals to the CNT. The instant formation and legislation of the Comisiones Obreras failed to deliver the goods. Hastily the British trade union movement poured in cash to reconstruct the UGT. The Spanish government (following its historic precedents) did its best in turn by legalising both the Comisiones Obreras and the UGT while still subjecting the CNT to persecution: only a small section, necessary to placate public opinion, was legalised, its property remained confiscated; its militants still harassed by the police and framed.

Nevertheless this seemed not to make the slightest difference. The workers on the shop floor rejected the pretensions of the C.O. and the UGT. Numerous other unions were created - to participate in the phoney fascist-type "workers councils" (which are nothing of the sort) to which factory floors are asked to elect their factional representatives. The CNT boycotted it; the elections proved to be a farce, with few votes cast and the decisions of the councils ignored.

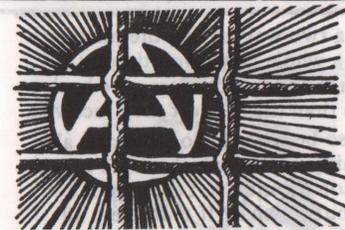
Persecution of, but also infiltration into, the CNT increased. There was infiltration by Maoist type "ringer" organisations and by the Trots, also by certain Catholic bodies. This failed because the infiltrators were not banned - they were invited to take part in the voluntary union work, to become delegates etc, and the demands to "form a party" were ignored. Why then the split?

There have been a number of divisions based on personality clashes and differences of outlook, which have been encouraged by the would-be infil-

trators from the Marxist and political Catholic left. There are some who think that the CNT should be reconstructed in its entirety as it was at the beginning of the Civil War, (hence the insistence of those who wanted to ratify the congress of Saragossa). There are those who want it reconstructed at it was at the end of the civil war (when discipline and tight organisation had been introduced, governmental responsibility and so on - not that there is any chance of the latter now). There are those who, thinking themselves anarchists in the way of the English speaking libertarian movement (which is in the main not anarchist at all but uses the word, qualified sometimes by pacifism, though not always, to denote a militant liberalism) - these want an organisation of the "emarginated" groups (the inevitable "gays, gypsies, women - a minority? - and other minorities" syndrome) and not a union type movement; and do not seem to see that women not to mention other 'minorities', are inevitably part of a union type movement; and where a separate movement is called for, this can exist as well. But his does not suit the in" and one has even suggested renaming the CNT, preserving the old initials, as a blanket for "marginal" aims, as "revolution" and struggle in 'industry' is out of date

People of this type do not want a confederation of workers in which they feel out of place; yet they want the benefits of the traditions of the CNT evoked by its initials.

We expected, indeed looked forward to, a split between the "Toulouse" organisation and the new movement in Spain, which would have immeasurably strengthened the CNT and the anarchist strengthened the anarchists and the CNT. It does not seem to have come out that way because many who were in the Resistance have chosen one side or the other, purely, according (it now seems from the outside) to personal predilection. The situation is fluid, there is extreme intolerance being shown (to the point of physical attacks) and bitter rivalry within the organisational CNT. But this has had no effect on the CNT unions within places of work to speak of.



What is more serious is that the Govt. has tried to do everything to prevent the rebuilding of the CNT - which, for all its faults, remains one labour movement that has managed to remain libertarian and revolutionary and never entirely lose its base of influence in the working class. The Franco Govt. tried murder and imprisonment, deportation and exile, wholesale shootings and confiscation, and added to it a policy of silence. A generation grew up without hearing of the working-class traditions. The post-Franco Govt. has tried provocations, armed fascist attacks, frame-ups a continued policy of silence; it has held on to what was confiscated, it has legalised the opponents of the CNT and given huge funds to other unions to get started first, plus recognition. It is too much to think that the split does not owe something to Government machination. Every time a movement reaches a point where it looks like becoming effective and going ahead, a split occurs. (A parallel, though lesser situation existed in Britain in 1944, when the movement at last reached a high peak; and immediately split over trivial personalities at a time when repression was also being used and all was lost). It is not to say one side or another are the 'provocateurs' - it may be, but not necessarily so, and was in neither of the instances quoted. But note that when repression hit American IWWs, there was equally a split. This is a universal factor that must always be taken into account.

Has "the damage been done and the death throes are irreversible" as one militant writes, prophesying that "with in a very short space of time the whole thing will be reduced as in France, Italy Britain, etc to a handful of tiny minority grouplets, clinging to empty structures with no social relevance"? That may be and only time will tell, but I do not think it will happen so long as there are decentralised syndicates on the present lines.

If the workers have a structure that is based on their independent control horizontally and not vertically - they have something that political infiltration cannot destroy. The structure of the CNT is something that has survived the worst crises including genocide itself. It will be harmful if there arises (from one side or the other) a "reformist CNT" collaborating with the Government and engaging in "normal" trade union (ie. vertical union) activity; but that won't prevent a traditionally revolutionary and decentralist one also existing, it will merely cause it embarrassment.

Ultimately, what purpose would the hypothetical "reformist" body serve anyone that isn't equally and better served by the socialist UGT?

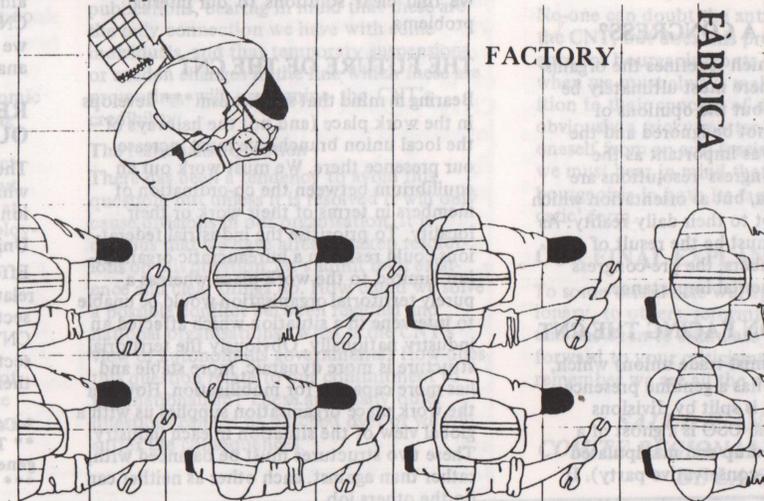
For this reason I always thought the "two CNTs" would ultimately get together and there are signs that they are doing so. It will take time - for a lot of personal differences to evaporate but there are signs they are already doing so under the external pressure of the never quite relaxed repression - after all, the monarchy is "the same dog with a different collar", the CNT is a socialist Govt. but the same Army, Civil Guard, Police and prison warders who off duty are the fascist parties.

It is of course the case that the Spanish libertarian movement has now got the bill for forty years of neglect - the sheer lack of theoretical and practical discussion and analysis, and also the lack of major support for the activists within Spain during that period. In the same way the English-speaking movement is now paying the price for years of bourgeois pacifist infiltration rendering a total caricature of anarchism and this giving rise to doubts as to what anarchism is (and terms like anarchist-communism, anarcho-sindicalism and councilism being used with confusion).

The existence of these problems has not resulted in a clean cut division but in personality differences, and these in turn are reflected in the division between the two organisations - the 'officials' who represent the greater strength of the movement, and the 'impugned' who represent a minority.

REPRESSION

At the same time as this has happened the State has thrown its full weight of repression such as can nowadays be consistent with public opinion (the Falange must accept reluctantly that the days of genocide are over). Police chief Martin Vila has stated openly that he is not concerned with "ETA and its bombs" but about the "confederal union card" as a major menace. The falsification of charges, such as in the case of La Scala. the wave of imprisonments, the tactic of giving back to all other union centres their property - but not the CNT, the refusal to legalise its unions (a mixed blessing) and the newspaper campaign against the CNT, have been directed at breaking the CNT as much as was the years of genocidal repression and deliberate news suppression.



PARTIES

Yet there is a unique factor in Spain and that is that while all parties are rapidly losing support (the Communists who were riding the crest of the wave, and in the way of property, getting back more than they lost, have had to suspend their daily *Mundo Obrero* - which managed to appear weekly under Franco!) the anarchist movement can still be reckoned a considerable force. There is strong disillusionment with the 'democratic' parties, the socialists, and the communists. (Marxist-Leninists are mostly in the student milieu and becoming something of the farce their parties are here). The only movements to retain any form of popular credence are the libertarians and the various movements for national independence (which are appealing to a past which, in the case of Catalonia, Valencia and Andalusia, was anarchist so far as its labour movement was concerned).

It is still being reiterated that "the CNT is losing members" (it has in fact suspended taking on new members while the dispute is going on) but that is meaningless. What counts are the numbers in the anarchist movement generally, or in the work-based organisations (who may or may not be signed-up members).

This the background to the Vth Congress, which took place in Barcelona in 1982 - in the Sports Palace in Montjuich (Barcelona). Here it was quite apparent that large numbers of people had held back from entering the CNT for fear the repression was not yet over. Now they were coming back, and it was a heartening thing to see so many people of both sexes and all ages, the overwhelming majority working class and the sort of people you might just as well meet on the street as at a political meeting. It was an inspiring experience, because to my knowledge not just no other anarchist movement could achieve it, no other political movement in Western Europe could do more than just about match it, and in England no political tendency whatsoever.

THE LAST SIX YEARS

This time the discussion concentrated on "clause 8" and revealed a dilemma more profound than the one of the "two CNTs" - indeed it was a dilemma that faced both. In many places the CNT had a majority in the workplace. But it could not participate in official negotiations. When the unions were recognised, the Communist Party wanted to take over the old fascist syndicates lock-stock and barrel - hence the Comisiones Obreras, heavily backed at that time by the Christian Democrats. But this was frustrated. The Government therefore dissolved the fascist unions and introduced a mixture of fascist practice and English-style trade unionism (in fact, more democratic than the latter with its one Party dominance) Any party could start a union and that union would take part in the workplace parliamentary-style election, the only snag being that the union concerned would have in advance to accept the "Pact of Moncloa" (no unofficial strikes etc). The CNT boycotted these elections and hence could only operate as a wild-cat union (something not to be despised either). But since the socialist Govt lift-

ed the insistence on acceptance of the Pact of Moncloa, what harm (asked many delegates) in CNT members going for election to their factory committees and carrying out negotiations? Participation in bourgeois unionism... or abstentionism? There are arguments for both points of view but at the July Madrid 'extra conference' the result was against election. The majority of delegates rejecting the idea of entering the factory committees have ensured that if another split occurs it will be on principle rather than personality.

The CNT needs all the support it can get now, materially and morally. Over the years through the Black Cross we have channelled aid for prisoners and activists. In many towns in Spain there are duplicators and offset lithos collected in parts of Britain and sent by us for use in the struggle. The most useful contribution we can now make - apart from aid to prisoners, which always goes on, is for material support to smaller groupings, not necessarily union groupings of the CNT, but the movements of the "barrios", the municipal "ateneos" (clubs) of the workers, and the street efforts, all of which badly need support and which we can help build and in a great many cases learn from. As with prisoners, contact

leads to a two-way traffic, the prisoners inspired a whole new revolutionary renaissance and in this sense gave back a lot more than the support they received. It can also be with the local efforts all over Spain, most of which would relish international contacts. Language is a barrier, but so what? If *that* were all the problem we had...

There are many two-way propaganda efforts, and mutual aid enterprises, that can be carried on. Had Miguel Garcia lived a few months longer, he was going to inaugurate an international camp on one of those abandoned Catalan hillside farms, which can be bought very cheaply as a centre for 'sun and anarchy'. There is no end to the projects which can be achieved given co-operation and goodwill.



FACING OUR SIXTH CONGRESS

A pamphlet written in February 1982, by the Catalonia* federation of local unions, with the following aims:

- To record the discussions of the previous congress held in Madrid in December 1979.
- To analyse the situations which face the CNT with a view to making the congress' discussions more relevant to what is actually happening.
- To set out the reasons why every militant must participate in the discussions which precede the congress itself.

This pamphlet is an attempt to promote discussion, not to give directions to be followed by those attending the congress.

WHAT IS A CONGRESS?

It is an assembly which redefines the organisation's platform. There must ultimately be majority decisions, but the opinions of the minority must not be ignored and the quality of debate is as important as the conclusions. The congress' resolutions are not evangelic dogma, but as orientation which militants must adapt to their daily reality. As these orientations must be the result of a discussion, by all members, the pre-congress debate is of fundamental importance.

THE SITUATION FACING THE CNT

The CCOO (communist trade union) which, although reformist, has a genuine presence among the workers, is split by divisions within the party. The USO is a ghost of a trade union, propped up and manipulated by the UCD (centre-conservative party). It no longer exists.**

The UGT (socialist trade union) has taken its place as the main benefactor from state support. As well as this its long history gives it a certain prestige, as a union which has previously served the workers. Today though the UGT is a bureaucratic union tied to the PSOE (socialist party) and state aid. Nevertheless, the UGT is consolidating its position as a reformist trade union.

There is only one alternative to these, which is the revolutionary unionism of the CNT. If however those workers who come to the CNT (and they are coming) do not find a practical alternative with effective ideas, they will not stay long. Circumstances are in our favour, but this will come to nothing unless we find clear solutions to our internal problems.

THE FUTURE OF THE CNT

Bearing in mind that syndicalism*** develops in the work place (and not the hallways of the local union branch) we must increase our presence there. We must work out an equilibrium between the co-ordination of members in terms of their work or their locality. To prioritise the industrial federations could result in a bureaucratic organisation, limited to the work place whereas a purely territorial organisation would be unable to intervene in a situation which affected an industry nationally. Obviously the territorial structure is more dynamic, more stable and has more capacity for mobilisation. However the work place organisation supplies us with a global view of the situation in each industry. These two structures must be balanced with, rather than against, each other as neither can do the others job.

These structures would be useless without a guiding ideology, which for the CNT is anarchism. Although the application of anarchosyndicalism to each particular situation is the very question which the congress sets out to discuss, we can at no time question the combination of these two basic aspects. Without both parts the CNT would not be the CNT.

To say this is not to claim that all members of the CNT are anarchists. As an organisation which is neither anarchist or syndicalist, but anarchosyndicalist, it is open to all workers who respect its principles. Anarchism will however always be an essential part of the CNT. For this reason, one of our basic aims is to get anarchists to work within the CNT, although this must be understood that we are an organisation of workers, not of anarchists.

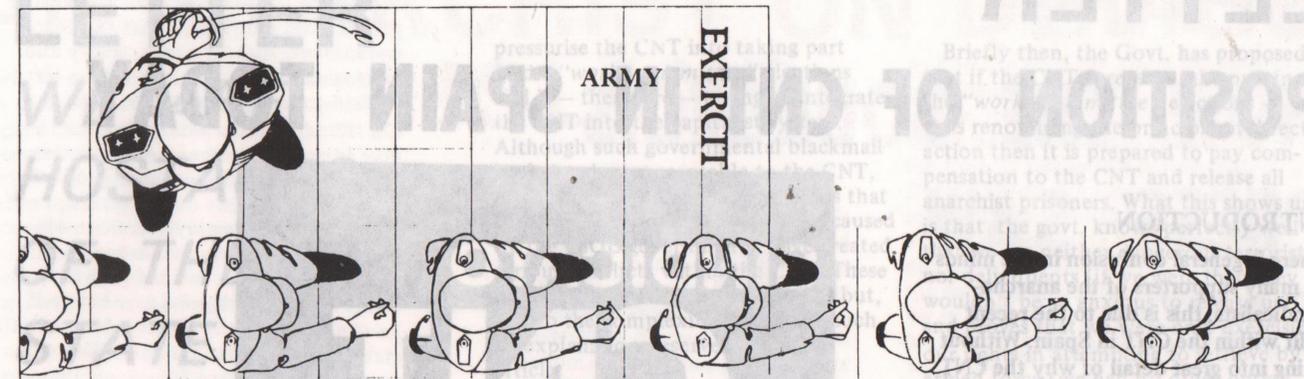
RESUME OF RESOLUTIONS FROM OUR LAST CONGRESS

The following is a resume of basic points, which we offer for the analysis and consideration of all members.

Union Activity In The Workplace

Effective action will require a permanent relationships between the unknown and its sections and an implicit recognition of the CNT by the employer. In any conflict the sections must be tightly co-ordinated within their union.

* Catalonia - The region around Barcelona.
** The UCD itself ceased to exist in the general election - Nov. 1982, pe
*** non bureaucratic trade unionism.



FACING OUR SIXTH CONGRESS

The CNT's Way Of Acting

The CNT restates its right to be present at any negotiations which affect its members, as long as such negotiations are between workers and employers without any form of intervention by the state or political organisations.

Union Elections

The CNT is opposed to these as an attempt by the government, with the aid of centralised unions, to impose the bourgeois parliamentary system on industrial relations. These elections introduce works committees (comites de empresa) a form of vertical trade unionism with permanent bureaucracies which reduce their members participation to putting a piece of paper in a box, and creates a series of elitist privileges.

The CNT calls on members of these committees and trade unions to abandon them and join us in an active boycott of the same on a national scale.

Workers Assemblies (Asembleas Obreras)

The members of the CNT must help give these assemblies power when they take decisions which affect their workplace, though the CNT cannot lose its identity and become dissolved in them. Although we will respect decisions taken by these assemblies which contradict our aims or methods, we will not take up or defend them. Members of the CNT should only represent these assemblies if they can do so as delegates with a limited mandate.

The Economic Crisis

We propose the workers accumulate economic information about their firm, co-ordinating with others in a similar situation. Firms which were in trouble could then be collectivised with assistance from public funds but without state intervention. We must look at the crisis with the aim of achieving full employment and defending jobs through workers solidarity.

Social Contracts

The CNT rejects any attempts by governments to intervene in relations between workers and employers. The most recent of these pacts, which has come into existence since the fifth congress, is the ANE (Acuerdo Nacional sobre el Empleo).

IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

The CNT is an anarchosyndicalist organisation. We oppose capitalism (including state capitalism in the USSR - China, Angola, Cuba etc) as a system in which the worker has lost the power to make decisions. The CNT is also anti-state, anti-militarist, federalist, internationalist and opposed to religion or any philosophy which removes the individual's critical ability. We rely on direct action, which is not necessarily the same as individual violence, though we do not shrink from the use of revolutionary violence. Direct action does not presuppose an individual's isolation, rather it is the direct collective confrontation of those responsible for our problems - the employer and the state.

The CNT's ultimate aim is libertarian communism which means workers autonomy and control of production on the one hand, and on the other hand, the free union of individuals who have been emancipated from all alienation, in an Iberian Confederation of Autonomous Free Collectives. This is the project for society of anarchosyndicalism and the CNT, our project.

Conclusion

We now intend to put forward various points which will help the pre-Congress debate to avoid obscure discussion and take up concrete issues which are of relevance to the organisation. These are some of the points we consider important but obviously the membership will make up its own mind on what it wishes to discuss.

The Confederations Publications

We must find concrete solutions to the problems facing us in the management of our publications, bearing in mind that these are the only connection we have with some individuals, and that temporary suspensions or sudden changes in the line which these are promoting, will undermine the CNT's credibility.

The Nationalist Question

There has been a tendency to avoid this question, but unless it is resolved it will only cause divisions in our organisation. It is obvious that we have already taken resolutions on this question, let's admit their existence and clear things up. How could we solve a possible conflict between regional and national organisations? What is the CNT's view of autonomous governments? How does this question relate to our commitment to internationalism? These and many other questions cannot be patched over or we will suffer the consequences.

Collective Negotiation

The fifth congress effectively postponed this question, which has left our members unclear when facing day to day situations. This is a particularly important question as most workers only take an interest in trade union matters when it involves collective negotiation. Should we take part in negotiating pacts with the employer under specific conditions, or should we give a clear and simple call for a boycott? Should we negotiate in terms of industries or regions or a combination? Should we base collectivisation on existing legislation or what we can force the employer to accept?

Regional and Industrial Structures

We have already mentioned the distinct functions of these two structures, and we believe the congress should clarify the various points this raises. For example, should the metal workers union of Barcelona give more weight to directives from the federation of unions for Barcelona or the federation of Spanish metal workers? If industrial structures are favoured we could become an organisation with a narrow base in reformist trade unionism. If regional structures are favoured we could virtually become a political party.

The CNT and Other Libertarian Organisations

To what extent should we be willing to discuss points which are not strictly related to work in our union meetings? Should the CNT simply assist anarchist initiatives, such as libraries, or should these groups be given a voice within the movement? Should the unemployed be connected via their corresponding union, or in groups of their own related to the CNT? What type of assistance might the CNT give to libertarian organisations?

The CNT and Fascism

No-one can doubt the anti-fascist nature of the CNT, but does this presuppose assistance for bourgeois fronts against fascism, when we must always make clear our opposition to their concept of democracy. It is obviously a tricky matter to disassociate oneself from an anti-fascist organisation, but we must bear in mind that we oppose the bourgeoisie in both its fascist and its 'democratic' form.

OUR FINAL EXPLANATION

To some this article will appear revolutionary, to others, reformist, but our only aim has been to stimulate debate. We look forward to your criticisms and comments - remember we are all the organisation.

SALUD Y ANARQUIA
COMITE REGIONAL DE CATALUNA
DE LA CNT

LETTER

POSITION OF CNT IN SPAIN TODAY

INTRODUCTION

There is general confusion in the minds of many supporters of the anarcho-syndicalists, this is due to the recent split within the CNT in Spain. Without going into great detail of why the CNT split, there is no doubt that the lack of solid information is responsible for the general misunderstanding which has surrounded the issue ever since. Even visits to Spain over the past four years by many trusted comrades failed to provide us with a proper explanation of why the CNT membership chose to take two separate roads.

TWO CNTs

For those comrades who do not already know, the two CNT organisations are: 1) The CNT-AIT which is the Spanish regional section of the International Workers Association and 2) The CNT-R (Renovada, meaning 'Renewed'), which has no connection with the AIT. We shall now try to explain our position vis-a-vis these two organisations and how we see them, in light of recent information gained from meetings between comrades of the DAM (Direct Action Movement) and other international anarcho-syndicalists.

We shall not deal here with matters relating to the size of membership, efficiency of organisation, or how large were the attendances at their congresses. We, as active anarcho-syndicalists committed to the struggle against the state and the multinational corporations, are more concerned with maintaining contact with those who believe in international solidarity and the abolition of the wage system.

RENOVADA

We believe that one cannot expect to destroy the state if one is willing to co-operate and have dialogue with those who are part of the system. By dialogue we mean meetings in 1982 between the Renovadas and the PSOE (Labour Party) at a executive level, and the participation in state organised factory election in 1982/83. As anarcho-syndicalists, we believe in democracy and are not afraid of elections provided they are conducted and organised by the workers themselves, not as in the Spanish case, elections under the patronage of the employers.

SINDICATO
CNT
AIT DE CLASE

ATTACKS ON AIT

The total lack of commitment on the part of the Renovada to the ideas of the AIT and their statements that the AIT is a dead organisation should also be viewed against the background of their connection with the SAC (Central Organisation of Swedish Workers), who are at present financing groups and newspapers which take a strong anti-AIT line. There can be no justification in our view, for those who call themselves 'anarcho-syndicalists' to attack the AIT, which only exists to co-ordinate international solidarity between anarcho-syndicalists. Likewise how can one consider an organisation which has active groups in over 14 countries and holds conferences and summer camps each year, to be dead?

LEFT-UNION

In view of the consistent undermining of the AIT by the Renovada, we wonder just who are these 'small independent unions', which of late have broken with the Marxist parties and are now working with the Renovada? We must ask in whose interest is it to have two CNTs? We must also ask in whose interest it is to see that the two CNTs fight over the past possessions of the union? Could it be that the Spanish state has no intention of giving back to the Confederation that which was stolen from them by Franco in the dark years?

PRISONERS

On these points we can only speculate, but one thing is certain, the Renovada is not helping the anarchist cause in Spain and in the growing confusion lie the forgotten CNT prisoners.

SOLIDARITY

We in the DAM see the CNT-AIT in the front line of the struggle between the State and the workers in Spain today. The CNT-AIT through their solidarity have shown their commitment to the international anarchist cause. Their support is well known to all those who have worked for social justice and human rights. It is easy to attack the Revolutionary Confederation when it finds itself in a life and death struggle to survive. But we must always remember that if it was not for the CNT-AIT the light of anarchism would have been extinguished in Spain forever. We as members of AIT feel that there is only one road open to anarchists today and that is through the organisation of the working people (whether in the home/office/factory) in free and independent unions. We shall stand by our comrades in the CNT-AIT in the forthcoming struggles as they have stood by us in the past and we warn those who work against the AIT to take heed of the old IWW slogan 'An injury to one is an injury to all'.

C. Longmore
P. Yerel
M. Burns
J. Fleming

For more information about the Direct Action Movement contact: DAM-IWA
c/o 8-10 Great Ancoats Street,
MANCHESTER.

LETTER

WE ARE HOSTAGES OF THE STATE

In an article I wrote recently (published in the last *Black Flag Quarterly*) I explained why Spain's Anarchist Prisoners must be freed by simply using the precepts of the Spanish Penal Code.

It will, however, come as no surprise to learn that we are still in prison, although it's true to say that the govt. is finding it more and more difficult to conceal the fact that we are hostages of the state rather than terrorists (as they would wish the public to believe). Prompted by this, and in an attempt to pressurise the govt. into doing something, the National Committee of the CNT issued a communique to the media on 2nd November 1983. This communique highlighted the fact that no compensation has as yet been paid to the CNT since its possessions were seized by Franco's fascists at the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), nor have any anarchist prisoners been released. But, just as the CNT tries to pressurise the Government into action, so the government is trying to

pressurise the CNT into taking part in the "works committee" elections and is - therefore - trying to integrate the CNT into the capitalist system. Although such governmental blackmail is obviously unacceptable to the CNT, it is becoming increasingly obvious that these pressures and manoeuvres, (caused by the PSOE government), have created serious conflicts within the CNT. These conflicts need further explanation but, due to the complexities involved, such an explanation deserves a separate article.



Spanish Socialist P.M. Gonzalez as Guardia Civil Cop

Briefly then, the Govt. has proposed that if the CNT agrees to take part in the "works committee" elections - thus renouncing the principle of direct action then it is prepared to pay compensation to the CNT and release all anarchist prisoners. What this shows us is that the govt. knows perfectly well that we are neither dangerous terrorists nor delinquents (if we were then they wouldn't be so anxious to release us) and proves that we were only exercising our rights in attempting to retrieve by armed force (we had no other option left) some compensation for the CNT. The conduct of Spain's politicians has been made all the more inhumane and criminal by the fact that they are trying to use us like pieces of merchandise in an exchange deal, in order to coerce the CNT.

Meanwhile - demonstrating that Spain is no different from anywhere else - the news of the death of an anarchist inmate recently hit the headlines. On 30th October 1983, Jacinto Avalos Cardona, a libertarian inmate at Carabanchel (Madrid), was found hanging in his cell. Although several newspapers have malevolently insinuated that he might have been murdered by his own comrades, there can be little doubt that he committed suicide. This is what comrades in Carabanchel have told us, as did a lawyer (and CNT militant) who later investigated the case. A judicial investigation has also come up with the same verdict: ie. suicide. Having said all this however, there can be no doubt that this suicide was obviously a consequence of the privations suffered in prison, and therefore the state must accept full responsibility for the death. This latest suicide brings the total of anarchists who have died in custody here to 3 in the last 5 years. In March 1978 Augustin Rueda Sierra died in Carabanchel as a result of torture inflicted upon him by the prison warders, then in July 1980 Jorge Rafael Benayas was found hanging in his cell in this prison, in Segovia.

As you can see, regimes change, Govts change, but repression against the Spanish libertarian movement continues and I suppose it will continue under the latest "socialist" government of Felipe Gonzalez. This long tradition of repression goes back to 1868 when Fanelli arrived in Spain to propagate anarchist ideas and promote the First International. As Diego Abad de Santillan wrote in his "Estrategia y Tactica"... "Anarchists in Spain have always been persecuted more than any of the other Spanish worker's movements by each successive regime. A most profound bond has always existed between Spanish anarchists and prisons, persecution and physical torture."

Fidel Manrique Garrido
(CNT Militant)
Segovia Prison (Spain).

CNT Prisoners'

Fund

Black Flag readers can help fight for the release of Spain's anarchist prisoners by donating to our CNT Prisoners Fund set up for this very purpose. Letters of protest have been lodged with the State officials both within Britain and in Spain itself. Please add to these!

Send donations, copies of protests via:
Box ABC, 121 Railton Road, London SE24



SPAIN

HOW THE BOURGEOIS PRESS SAW SANTILLAN



La Nacion, 20 October 1983, report by Rolando Riviere.

His was a melancholy home coming with impracticable nostalgia and the half bewildered, half fleeting contemplation of a world so very different from the one he had known in 1933 when Diego Abad de Santillan joined the FAI.

The first disappointment, or rather the first indication that return to his homeland would force other game rules upon him, came in the Ateneo in Barcelona in 1977 when Sinesio Garcia Fernandez (Santillan's real name) delivered a lecture on Anarchism, an anarchism so possible and moderate that it triggered an extraordinary outcry and a noisy repudiation from the more radical and orthodox listeners.

In fact Santillan had attempted to reopen the debate and to analyse what would later come to pass in Spain, namely the implacable internal divisions between the historical sectors of the FAI and the new heirs of the same. His endeavours in this regard were inevitably to meet with further frustration, the result of a body undermined slowly by illness. The Planeta publishing house started to issue 'New History of the Spanish Labour Movement', a sort of memoir collection (in installments) in which Diego Abad de Santillan explained the genesis of the unions and stressed the anarchist influence, especially the influence wielded by *Nervio*

group which he was to found and whose influence within the FAI was to be so vital that, 3 days into the Spanish Civil War (ie. on 18 July 1936) he was to be appointed to the central committee of antifascist militias in Catalonia as the representative of the whole federation (the FAI).

This personal testimony was never completed because Santillan's ill health prevented it from going past the first installment. Almost a relic, weary and increasingly introverted, Santillan left Madrid to meet in Barcelona with an old friend, Manuel Salas, who was to take him to his home in Alella, a farming village about 50 or so kilometres outside Barcelona.

He was able to enjoy this share of serenity for scarcely two months. At the end of July he decided that in view of his condition, it would be better if he checked into the Hogares Mundet, a state institution for the aged. There he died yesterday, aged 86.

According to the reports circulating since he dropped out of the active anarchism of the CNT, he chose to involve himself exclusively in the new, unfinished, history of the labour movement. However, his death seems to have revived interest in his life's final work and the thing now is to trace Santillan's son who supposedly has possession of the detailed records and thousands of files which would enable the history to be completed.

Abad de Santillan, whose last book has the telling title 'From Alfonso XIII to Franco' will very quickly become a focus of interest when the intense desire to gain insight into a past which overshadows and has shaped the Spain of today may lift him out of his anonymity, the anonymity into which he retreated, perhaps voluntarily, until his demise.

(Perhaps *La Nacion's* correspondent might have considered the differences between 1936 in Barcelona and today could have accounted for Santillan's "weariness" on his return).

SCALA: GAMBIN?

Joaquin Gambin Hernandez, the police informer and man "presumed" to be behind the Scala fire-bombing (in which 4 workers, including 2 CNT members died) has recently sent a statement to the Barcelona High Court (where he is now on trial) demanding provisional liberty for himself due to the fact that he had been collaborating with the police throughout the affair.

This statement, along with others that prove his relationship with the police, have been passed on to the Public Prosecutor, who has opened an inquiry into the matter.

In his statement Joaquin Gambin, who has been in custody since January 1981, claims that he met a police inspector called Jose Maria in Murcia a few months before the bombing, with the aim of discussing ways he could help the police in their fight against anarchist groups and individuals. Soon, after this meeting Joaquin Gambin met 2 more police agents who belonged to

the "Brigada de Informacion". They sent him to Barcelona, where he managed to infiltrate an anarchist group. 2 days later, the Scala buildings in Barcelona were bombed. On the same day Gambin told police he knew who had carried out the bombing and, as a result of this information, 5 libertarians who belonged to the group Gambin had infiltrated were arrested.

These comrades have still not been released despite constant pressure from the CNT who have always maintained that Gambin was an agent provocateur who had carried out the bombing himself in order to discredit the anarchist movement in general, and the CNT in particular.

SOURCE: SPANISH INFORMATION NETWORK;

5 Hollins Hill, Burnley Lancs.

The S.I.N. is translating a series of articles on the CNT in Spain today; ideas, offers of money and help with translation and production welcome.



Stop The City Sept. 29th 1983 AGAIN ON MARCH 29TH 1984.

Graphic: Stop the City, London 1983 Tracey

AN ANARCHIST ON DEVILS ISLAND

Paris, October 1886. Hidden in the shadow of an archway, Brigadier Rossignol tugged nervously at his moustache. If everything went according to plan, he was about to bring another brilliant police operation to an end; yet another success to add to his already fat personal record. He had no reason to doubt the success of the plan. He was a self-confident man, the Brigadier, one of the Calabrians of his time, famous for the courage and efficiency with which he persecuted wrongdoers. This time it was a question of arresting a dangerous subversive, suspected of burglary and arson, and the ambush had been planned with all necessary precautions; so there was nothing to worry about. There were 20 cops strategically placed; he himself was there under the archway, ready to give the signal. If he was nervous it was because of the waiting.

Perhaps it was through an excessive faith in his plan, or through his obsessive desire to cut a good figure, or for both of these reasons, that as soon as the person in question appeared, Brigadiers Rossignol jumped without hesitation from his hiding place, followed by his colleagues.

In a flash he was on top of his quarry, shouting like a madman his favourite phrase of all those available to him in the police vocabulary: "I arrest you in the name of the Law". This was the technique he used in such cases, both to frighten the suspect, and to dissuade them from any idea of resisting arrest. But it didn't work. Instead of trembling resignation, his cry was met with a menacing snarl of "And I kill you in the name of freedom!" To confirm his attentions, the man had drawn a long-blade knife. The scuffle that followed was very violent. While the other participants vainly tried to block him, the persistently aggressive individual made half a dozen lunges at Rossignol and, in a desperate attempt to get free, managed to put out one of the Brigadier's eyes. In the end, numbers told. He was handcuffed and taken to jail. Meanwhile the Brigadier went to hospital, one up in terms of success, one down in terms of eyes. The antagonist of the overconfident policeman was Clement Duval, anarchist expropriator, who that day had bloodily finished his career as militant revolutionary to start another as a convict deported to Guyana. The inescapable consequence of his violent act of rebellion was to be a joyless existence, suffering under the yoke of exploitation and tyranny. From this point of view, what happened to Duval is of great significance because it is a mirror of an epoch, in which is exhibited the reactionary face of newly-industrialised France, imperialist, exploitative and repressive. This story could have happened to anyone at that time, and in effect it happened to many. It is in its unexceptional nature that the value of the story lies.



PROLETARIAN

Duval was of working class origin and he quickly learned what this meant. He had his first brusque contact with reality in the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, when he was just twenty. As a member of the fifth infantry battalion he was sent to the front, there to find out for himself what the glory of the nation cost, and who had to pay the price. Thanks to the French army's standards of hygiene, he contracted smallpox, from which he was lucky to recover. At Villorau he was seriously wounded by a mortar bomb and had to spend six months in a miserable military hospital.

He returned to Paris in 1873, where, as his father had died, he was now the sole breadwinner of the family: he was still in one piece, but he suffered for the rest of his life with arthritis and rheumatism — a legacy of his war wounds and th stay in hospital. Ironically, he found that the family for which he had to provide no longer existed as such. His young wife (who had married him just before he left for the front), unable to cope with being left alone, had had an affair with another man, and poor Duval, after the joys of the martial life, found himself wearing horns on his return from war.

With regard to sexual customs and extra-marital relationships, the mentality of the era was not very broad-minded and Duval, although he was of progressive views was in no state of mind to view matters with the serenity his ideas required. Fourteen months of bitterness and jealousy followed, until the young couple succeeded in forgetting the matter.

It was the beginning of a period of relative tranquility. He worked as a mechanic in a Paris factory and she took care of domestic affairs; and his life, although hard, seemed almost happy compared with that of the front, even if it was not all hearts and flowers. At the factory, fourteen hours a day under iron discipline, always with the threat of the sack for any minor deficiency.

At home, a poor life, dirty and squalid, long silences because of fatigue and misery. It was normal working class life in the industrialised countries at the time. It was in this period that Duval's libertarian ideas matured, he refined them through reading and direct experience, realising the nature of exploitation and that the only chance for the emancipation of the lower classes lay in revolution. But, more than for his subversive ideas and intentions, he was known for his proud firmness of character, for his honesty, and for the passion which, in spite of everything, he put into his work.

But he was a marked man. Not by a super-natural destiny; not even so much by the ideas he professed; but by his position as one of the exploited, one of the rejects from which society demanded everything, grief, sacrifice, resignation, and gave nothing in return. After just three years of normal life, a terrible attack of rheumatism came to remind him of his battles for the fatherland. He was bedridden almost continuously until 1878. He lost his job, and if previously here had been poverty, now there was pauperdom. And, with misery came family quarrels, recriminations, the contempt of others, the anguish of an existence without prospects and without mercy. Desperation. Hatred.

EXPROPRIATOR

... And Duval stole. In order to live, to eat, without questions about morality, only conscious of the fact that he had no alternative. The first time, he took a few francs from the till in a railway ticket office while the clerk was absent, and all went well. The second time, a little later, he tried the same thing in the same place, but he was caught in the act. The immediate result was a year in Mazas prison and the final departure of his wife. But this was not the only result, nor was it the most important. That first contact with illegality made him think and convinced him not only of the substantial legality of theft (or "individual reappropriation" as it was called then) but of the possibility that it was a means of struggle. A means, let it be understood, not an end in itself. It was precisely in this conception, whether or not it is acceptable in a plan of revolutionary strategy, that Clement Duval's greatness of spirit stands out. Others, after him, would turn to theft, but only for its own sake, substituting individual revolt (however understandable) for revolution, convinced that all that was necessary was to rob the rich, without thinking about what to do next. On the other hand, Duval saw theft as a means for financing political activity, for printing subversive literature, agitating among the masses, getting hold of the arms needed to confront the bourgeois exploiters, in effect a tool for making the anarchist revolution.

continues next page

An Anarchist on Devil's Island

Although solitary because of the conditions in which he was forced to act, his was not an egoistic struggle. After his first unaware attempts, he knew how to go beyond his own personal tragedy, finding in it a point of departure for a fuller vision, the rationale of a struggle fought not for his own benefit, nor for that of a few others, but for everyone.

When Duval was released from prison, he started actively spreading libertarian propaganda in the Paris factories, and he realised he was at war. Violence was not excluded: this was a war without international conventions or any aristocratic notions of fair play.

Every wage claim was met by massive sackings, every strike was met with gunfire, many were wounded or killed, every public demonstration was an occasion for mass arrests (and then it was jail, deportation or the guillotine). Duval thought (and who is to say that he was wrong?) that the only way to answer violence was with violence. And he answered.

A piano factory, the offices of a bus-company, a furniture factory, a coach factory, the Choubersky workshops where he himself worked, the firm of Belvalette de Passy; all places where the most inhuman exploitation was practiced, where workers had their health ruined for fourteen hours a day in exchange for four miserable francs, where the most unfair advantages were taken, all these became ruins, gutted by fire or explosives. It was in this period that the figure of the anarchist bomber, sombre vindicator of the wrongs done to the proletariat, nightmare of the bourgeoisie became part of the iconography of the regime. By now Duval was one.

The episode which brought him to ruin happened on the night of 25th October 1886. Duval broke into the apartment of Mme. Lemaire, a rich lady who lived at Rue de Monceau. The residents were away on holiday in the country, and he was able to move about undisturbed: he carefully put aside all the precious objects that he could find, and smashed all that he was forced to leave behind because it was too heavy or inconvenient. While leaving, he accidentally (for he had no desire to attract attention while he was at work) set fire to the house. The damage caused by both theft and fire was worth more than ten thousand francs, a respectable sum, which gave a certain renown to the event. The police were not slow in finding out who was responsible. The expropriated jewels, put up for sale too soon, left an obvious trail, which led back to the 'fence', and thus to Duval. Taken by surprise in front of a comrade's door, both were arrested, not without trouble, as we have already mentioned.

THE TRIAL

The trial, which was held on 11 and 12 February 1887 at the Seine Court of Assizes, was also a far from tranquil affair. The accused answered the judges with firmness, refusing the role of the common delinquent which they wished to assign him, proclaiming loudly the political nature of his activity, and contesting the pretence that the men in robes were handing out justice. From being the accused he became accuser, denouncing embezzlement, the injustice of exploitation, mystification, and the wrongs suffered by himself and those like him. The crowd which packed out the Court-room was carried away by his vehemence, and echoed his words.

The final hearing ended uproariously, with Duval expelled shouting "Long live anarchy", the police overwhelmed by the crowd, the judges in flight to their chambers, and then insults and blows, fights and arrests. An hour later, when the uproar had been quelled, the Court delivered its verdict: death. A penalty dictated by fear, certainly disproportionate to the gravity of the offences under trial. On February 28th perhaps revealing this lack of proportion, the President of the Republic commuted the sentence to one of deportation for life.

Freedom was closing its doors on him, and the inferno was to take him in, for ever.

At four o'clock on the afternoon of 25th March, Duval departed the city on the Orne, from the military fortress of Toulon, bound for the vaults of Guyana. He had had a ghastly anticipation of what to expect from the very first day of his stay in the fortress. His own words, for all their tone, are so eloquent as to not need comment: ". . . I would never dare to repeat the experience of the putrid corruption which poisoned every human emotion and sentiment to the last stage of decomposition. Along the walls, lying on their beds made from scraps of material those exhausted people who had said goodbye to all hope. . . In hidden corners, where neither the flickering light of the oil-lamps nor the gaze of the curious reached, they were trembling and sobbing; lust showed itself in delirious, bestial fornication. One of Sodom's slums, built in the shade of the well-meaning bourgeoisie's Third Republic, a tribute to their modest morality and their positive penal science."

THE INFERNO

The thirty day sea trip aboard the prison ship to Guyana dispelled any remaining illusions. His companions in misfortune were thieves, assassins, soulless brutes; the sons of abjection, misery and ignorance. Lebou, sentenced to life for having shot his mother; Faure who had killed his brother for money, then chopped him up and fed him to the pigs; Menetier, who had killed two old women in order to rape the corpses

and other worthy products of the society which had begotten them. This frightening section of humanity was paraded on deck for inspection every day, and met with the mockery, vulgarity and stupid comments of the crew, the guards, and the civilian pass-engers.

Duval was not the sort to accept this treatment willingly. On the first occasion he rebelled, answering the provocations in the same vein, and thus he had a taste of what was waiting him in the penitentiary: naked as a worm, he was thrown into a water-logged cell where he stayed for two days, unable to stand upright because the ceiling was too low, and unable to lie down because the cell was too small. Repression inside repression.

Guyana was a real hell-hole, a filthy abyss of violence and depravity made even more intolerable by the hot and humid tropical climate. There the lie was given to the hypocritical idea that prison can lead to atonement and repentance. Guyana was synonymous with forced labour, fettered ankles, rotting food, punishment cells, swarms of insects, scurvy, dysentery. Redemption? In captivity, men lost their health, their dignity, they died of disease and want, their bodies and spirits scarred, humiliated, broken, brutalised, reduced against their will to the level of animals. The more assertive among them achieved some squalid privilege at the expense of their companions. The most cynical curried favour with the guards by crawling and informing on the others. The weakest went under. The penitentiary was the perverted image of all the vices, every misery, all the oppression of the society which had produced it. Because of this, those who had not submitted before, when they were free, did not accept the idea of submitting now that they were in a society that was more vicious than the other but otherwise not dissimilar. Duval (and in general all the anarchists who ended up in prison) was no exception.

The story of his stay on the terrible island is the story of his pride, of his unbeatable fighting spirit, of the constant struggle with the situation, not to lose his identity, of his refusal to fall into the abyss of misery that confronted him. And he succeeded. He opposed the guard's traps, rebelled against the injustices, helped the most wretched fellow prisoners, unmasked spies and provocateurs. The cruelest bullies, the drunken directors, the scum, the murderers, the mindless brutes that peopled the prison camp, learned to pay him a sort of respect, certainly worthy of better circles, in which admiration for his correctness was united with fear for his toughness. A respect that was merited, if one thinks of the terrible price that had to be paid for it.

continues next page

An Anarchist on Devil's Island

THE REVOLT

On the night of 21/22 October 1895 there broke out a revolt on the island, organised by the quite large group of anarchists who were there at the time. It was a hopeless enterprise, undertaken more to compensate for the continual vexations which the comrades had to put up with, rather than for any real hope of success. Duval took an active part in its preparation, which was long, much disputed, and laborious. But he was sent elsewhere as a punishment and had to cease his active contribution. All in all, this was a stroke of luck. In fact, the prison administration was informed of all the goings on through the reports of a couple of informers, and had decided to take this opportunity to do away with the whole anarchist group, which caused them continual problems because of the comrades' independent character. And so it happened. As soon as the rebels left their rooms they found themselves confronted by the guards' rifles. "Cold blood and no quarter given" had been the orders of the Commander Bonafai, chief of Internal Security, whose men had got as drunk as pigs for the occasion. In an incredible massacre, the following anarchists were overpowered and mercilessly killed, one by one: Garnier, Boesie, Simon, Le Leauthier, Lebault, Masservin, Dervaux, Chevenet, Mesueis, Kesvau, Marpeaux; the next day their bullet ridden bodies were thrown into the sea for the sharks

THE LEFT

Repeating Marx
When paying fares
Trying to convert
With your doctrinaires
Waiting for the time
Whilst building the sect
Trying to control
And having no effect

Always arguing
About the sacred text
Fight the heretics
Who is next?
Always on the look-out
For anti-Marxist plots
Looking to the future
For the opening shots

Reading all the volumes
Then knocking on doors
Explaining all the theory
Hiding all the flaws
Looking to the Bastion
Whoever that may be
Praying to the Leader
Looking for the key

to eat, while the hurriedly appointed Commission of Inquiry continued the repression, arresting and putting in irons anyone who was even slightly suspected of helping the rebels.

Duval stayed fourteen years in Guyana. In this time, he tried to escape more than twenty times, seizing every chance, every means; on rafts, on stolen or patiently built boats, hiding in ships that passed. Every time something went wrong.

He was captured, suffered from the inevitable punishment, and began again. Had he given up after the first attempts he would have died in prison like so many others killed either by fever or by the guards. Instead, unable to resign himself to his fate, he was saved. After trying again and again, the time finally came when luck turned his way.

THE ESCAPE

On 13 April 1901, Duval, with eight of his fellow-prisoners, put to sea in a fragile canoe and silently made for the open sea. It was in the dead of night, and no guards noticed the escape until the next day. Thus the convicts, rowing with all their strength, made an undisturbed getaway. In the morning they raised a sail and made for the North-east, to avoid the territories under French jurisdiction. A war-ship came close to them without showing the slightest interest, and continued on its way. A good start.

Backed by a light breeze, they sailed all day. At the helm was a cabin-boy, an excellent sailor, whose experience of the sea helped to keep the morale of the others high. But in the evening

the weather changed, turned nasty. The breeze soon became a hurricane, making huge waves that filled the boat with water, forcing the men to a nerve-wrecking bailing. Further, the cabin-boy was quite unable to see in the dark because of a lack of vitamins in the penitentiary's diet, and thus his ability was rendered far less useful. It was a hellish night, and they many times risked ending up as shark food.

The next day weather conditions were better, and Duval and his companions soon sighted land. It was the district of Paramaraibo, in Dutch Guyana. Outside the claws of the Penitentiary administration. The worst was past. However, the fugitives were still in danger. As escaped convicts, they could still be imprisoned by the Dutch police. If the French got to hear about it, they could be extradited and again interned on the terrible island.

The odyssey was not yet over. It would last another two years. Always with false names, always on the lookout against discovery, always struggling against hunger and the authorities, forced into the most worthless and poor jobs, Duval made his way to British Guyana, then to Martinique, finally reaching Puerto Rico. Here he stayed a while, somewhat recovering his broken health and recommencing a normal life. On 16 June 1903 he left for the United States, with the prospect at least of living in liberty. Deportation was by now only a memory, even if an indelible one.

Paul Albert.

1. Clement Duval
Memorie autobiografiche, 1929, p.86.

Trying to be martyrs
To the only cause
Three months in jail
A couple of curtain calls
Sitting in your bed-sits
Always thinking hard
One track minds
Fuck a Party card

Looking at the lessons
Of failures before
Finding new solutions
To the class war
Standing in elections
With which you disagree
Win a score of votes
In your efforts to be free

Some kind of fantasy
Inspired by Red lines
Paying with your lives
And expensive fines
But of course you're blind
Afraid of being a bore
So you shout and scream
About distant class war.



"You watch the pigs while I keep an eye on the Trots"

ON MUNICIPAL ANARCHY

So little has been written on the organisation of municipal anarchy in current society that people mistake the terms one uses. From some quarters, indeed, we have heard that we are advocating the election of Councillors, as in the existing system of municipal Govt.!

When are you going to contest the Borough Elections? is one taunt heard in passing.

Municipal Government officers, like Councillors, are a recent innovation. Municipal affairs were run by the municipality long before they existed, and can be run long after they have gone.

The Fire Brigade, Hospitals, Schools, do not need control by the State. Their control by the municipality is being taken away. Now it is time for them to assert their independence. It is a chance that will not lightly come again and if they are allowed to fall to the State or private enterprise or a variety of quangos it will be years before the opportunity comes again.

The great economic myth is that these need to be funded by rates. Politicians know the whole rating system is antiquated and has no relevance to modern life, it can be abolished very easily and if State control replaces municipal government it will be.

The libertarian case against the rating system is given the "catch 22" argument. If, as one points out, the whole money system is abolished, it is clear the money aspect does not enter into it. But then, it is said, the capitalist system is alive and kicking and what could be done now? In fact all the major services of the municipality generate wealth of themselves. Housing, if carried out by a private landlord, is the greatest producer of wealth. Municipal housing only carries a loss because it was expected until recently to also carry the cost of subsidising the poorer tenant. One Council has discovered that the tenants on social security can have their rents paid by the State, and thus their rents can be increased at any time at no cost to them or the Council, housing may come to make a profit!

The value of land represented by the assets of any Borough in housing and properties has increased enormously. The insurance companies could be induced to pay for (as they originally did) the Fire Brigade - they prefer to subsidise cricket and tennis committees and let the taxpayers (financially) safeguard the insurance companies' risks. Education has enormous reserves out of which it could once, and could again, keep itself. It is deliberate policy that all this has been channelled through the Borough Council.

As we have stated, councils prefer to not set the major services free but to dispense largesse and present themselves as "Lady Bountiful". This is the present Labour Party craze of pretending to be revolutionary, when the "left" declares the Borough to be a "socialist republic" and hands out grants to offbeat enterprises, usually to those "collectives" which have votes to offer or at least can be clothed in left wing rhetoric.

A WORD OF CAUTION

We can be misunderstood. A reader has taken exception to our reference in the last Quarterly to the "Death Wish of the Labour Party". His letter is well worth reproducing:

Can I take issue with you over your attitude to co-operatives? You seem to object to co-ops of an 'off-beat' nature without defining what you mean by that. As someone who has spent a long time getting a co-op off the ground I think that you are being harsh to say the least. Assuming that our co-op could be considered 'off-beat' in that it is mainly made up of disabled people who fed up with being told they are not employable have founded our co-op. Admittedly we are in receipt of a grant aid from the County Council and wage funding for a year from MSC but that is a stimulant and not a deadening influence. We have to pay back most of our funding so the impetus is to create a surplus to repay it. Where else are co-ops to seek funding?

Especially if, like ours, all those who are involved are unemployed and in no great or real position to accumulate capital. Go to the banks? What for to borrow or expropriate?

The growth of co-ops is to be encouraged not denigrated. Granted there are some strange things being funded perhaps in London, however here there seems to be a healthy growth of co-ops that offer basic services to the community. In our immediate locality in local Chesterfield there is us doing printing, a childcare co-op, a cafe and bookshop, mechanical engineers and a repair shop. All of which look distinctly practical to me.

If we cannot start now by organising our own workplaces in competition with the existing structures but must blithely either work in an "ordinary" workplace or stay on the dole waiting for the revolution then it offers little hope.

Admittedly we are in receipt of a subsidy but in the present economic set up *Black Black* must exist on subsidy and does not pay its own way so is that offbeat or deadened by the fact that it is not at the moment a commercial proposition (that's a snide comment but you know what I mean)?

I am not saying you must have a Labour Council to get co-ops going. What I am saying is that if you are founding a co-operative you go to where you can get the money. Admittedly I have little sympathy with all those who set up a co-op knowing that it will never be viable, simply because their continuation means a drain on already scarce resources.

However I cannot see why you did not make this, if it is what you meant, as clear as possible.

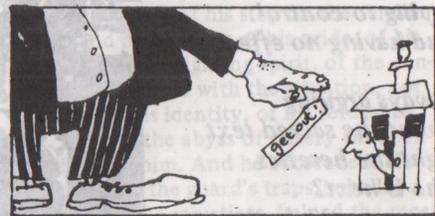
C. T. Nottinghamshire

Certainly we could have made it clearer. Obviously a work co-op of disabled people - or people without handicaps for that matter - is not 'off-beat' in the sense we meant though - alas - 'off beat' in the sense that there aren't many of them around. This is precisely the sort of co-op we are advocating to take over from the Council. The general social services of fire, education, housing can be run in the same way.

Our concern was with those Labour Councillors who are pretending to set up workers republics in nuclear-free Boroughs with workers' collectives in prints and etchings, and passing this off as social revolution. This is as much humbug as the Tory crusade against the bureaucratisation of local Government and the call for the abolition of the Greater London Council as one more tier of bureaucracy, when all they want is to create quangoes (otherwise reviled against) or more State Control (which is supposed to be their bugbear).

Do not suppose the call for municipal anarchy to be a utopian one. It can readily be achieved. All that is lacking is the will. The organisation is not lacking.

A.M.



LETTER

FROM A FRENCH PRISON

Dear Comrades,

... Since I was 16/17 years of age and now at 35 I am an anarchist and as such am also an anti-militarist. I have been turned down by the Army (Reforme) on the grounds of Conscientious objector in January 1968 (a bit before the historic month of May). I have never set foot in any barracks. I have been rejected by the army, after having obtained the "status of conscientious objector" established by some military medical practitioners in civilian clothes in the civic hospital of Brignolle in the Dept. of Var (South of France).

At that time I belonged to the Libertarian Group of Spontaneous Actions (G.L.A.S.). This group belonged to two organisations simultaneously: "La Federation Anarchiste" (F.A.) and the Movement of Young Libertarians (J.L.) With us in the G.L.A.S. were my brother and his companion. They were active & wrote in the libertarian press in France various articles. I myself wrote articles in "Jeune Libertaire" namely on Work and the Army.

With other comrades we ran the bookshop "Librairie PUBLICO" obtained from the Congresses of the F.A. At the time PUBLICO was in rue Ternaux (3) 75011 PARIS. Then in 1971 for various reasons G.L.A.S. left the F.A. to set up "Free Jargon" (Jargon Libre) keeping the capital letters of Jeune Libertaire.

In early '73 my brother died! The group started to splinter outwards.

I left "Jargon Libre" (today it is still going and is at 6, rue de la Reine Blanche 75013 PARIS. After recovering from my bereavement with a group of friends who were also ex-G.L.A.S. we reconstituted a group essentially for discussion and only becoming active when there was a national or international urgent and important event to support.

We were very affected by the murder of our Spanish comrade Puig Antich (garroted by the State). There had also been the deplorable fascist attacks in Milan, where several of our Italian comrades had been charged wrongly (the Pinelli/Valpreda case), murdered and harassed by the police. The affair of "Pierre Overnay" led us with 300,000 others to demonstrate silently our anger. There were the sympathisers N.A.P.A.P. arrested, jailed and sentenced heavily. Then the events in West Germany, the "suicides" of the members of the R.A.F. Then the Palestinian problem, Iran & Afghanistan, El Salvador, Poland and

more... there are so many revolting things permanently, here in France and everywhere else in the world, sickening! That is without mentioning the varied police misdeeds or without talking of the murder of Pierre Goldman, of the suicides in the prisons, of the slow death waiting inside a jail and its world, or in a factory, or in an office.

Or without talking about social, economic, sexual and cultural misery which is the norm in the world and in France to varying degrees. Of such misery we are all victims and suffering for it.

Without talking of Suppression! Of information, that is to say of the intoxication of brainwashing, of conditioning to all levels (rotten TV, rotten papers & disgusting radio).

With some comrades we decided to arm ourselves and to show our discontent by direct actions at the same time to the authorities, to the representatives of power whom we abhor and to the mass of the people to which I belong!

Although we never had contact with groups like "Action Directe" and "Bakounine Gdansk" we felt close to them. We have always wanted to stay a small independent group. We were hoping that others in their area would think & try to do like us and act as we were wanting to do. We had stopped believing in traditional propaganda; or we thought it was not enough. But, this did not stop us producing leaflets and sticking up posters from time to time of course!

Before my arrest I was just about to join the weekly radio program on Sundays on C.B. aiming at the prisons. As to fight against the prisons is part of the struggle that Anarchists have to do. The Army, prison, school are all institutions that have to become priority targets of the Anarchist, because they are the most important aspects of the absurdity and the inhumanity of this rotten system in which we are forced to live or really trying to survive!

The group that we had formed was called G.L.R.E. (Group Libertaire de Resistance a l'Esclavagisme, ou a l'Electoralisme, or any other word with *e*). The group was informal. In the optic of armed struggle, of resistance to State terrorism we obtained weapons. I am the only member of the group to have been arrested; I was denounced by a person who did not belong to the group and got hold of ammunitions and explosives... that is what the police had found in my home, as well as various identity papers, cheque books, rubber stamps, wigs, police cards etc. etc. They also took posters and leaflets as well.

I have been in jail since 2/2/83 accused of illegally possessing weapons, ammunitions and explosives primarily. Secondly of theft, of aiding and abetting for theft, violence, illegal meetings, possession of stolen goods, wrongly using and fraud of administrative documents & cheques. The Magistrates did not want to judge the two trials together in order to exert more repression.

Charges 1 & 2 disappeared as there was no truth in them; the result of the study by experts on arms, ammunitions and explosives were negative which was in my favour. Justice always tries to make things worse and I still have my second trial to go through.

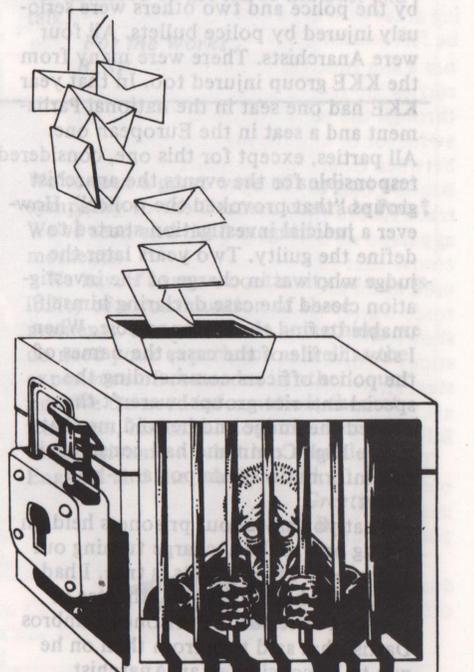
My defending Barristers are Maitre Jean-Alain MICHEL, 3, rue de Constantine, 75007 PARIS Tel: 555 9212 and Maitre Serge Riquier 74 rue d'Alesia 75014 PARIS Tel: 543 2389.

I have contact with Gary USA, Dave Disarm UK, Sara Peace Pledge UK, Katrim Malmo SWEDEN, Cyrille F.A. FRANCE, Theresa & Floreal who are producers of Radio Libertaire programmes against prisons (145 Rue Amelot 75011 PARIS. Tel: 8053408) and other radio programmes, anti-prison and conscientious objectors groups.

I receive a lot of mail because my friends show their solidarity regularly among them about a dozen people that I did not know before my arrest, having heard about me through the airwaves or through written articles in the anarchist press. Authentic friendships have been struck and this is for me fantastic! All my colleagues in the small firm where I worked write to me as well this gives me enormous pleasure. I receive wonderful letters which allows me to have and keep excellent spirit. The more propaganda about my case, the more mail I receive, the better I feel, transforming my defeat into a victory. I send you dear comrades my friendly and brotherly greetings. I am truly sorry but I cannot express myself in English.

Hoping to hear from you soon,
Michel Noury

Mr Michel Noury
No 213699 C 305
42 Rue de la Sante (42)
75674 PARIS Cedex 14
FRANCE



LETTER ANARCHY IN ATHENS

Dear Comrades,

The article in the last Black Flag Quarterly was quite a good one but for some -rather unimportant- details. The soldiers in the photograph, march on the anniversary of the massacre of the Polytechnical School of Athens in 1973. The year is 1982. In 1980, under the Govt. of "New Democracy", there was held a march on the occasion (17-11-80). The march as well as every other manifestation was organised by the National Union of Greek Students, the General Confederation of Greek Workers, and of course, the political parties of the "left" (including PASOK - the Panhellenic Socialist Movement). In the march there were participating some Trotskyist groups, some Maoists, some other - rather undefinable - leftist groups and some 200 A comrades marching under the Black Banner and shouting "Down with the whorehouse selfclaimed Parliament". There, also was many people under the colours of the Communist Party of the Interior (KKE), which has a Eurocommunist character. These people had declared that they were marching up to the Athens US Embassy while all the other organising parties had said the march was to stop at Synagga Square well before the US Embassy. When the march arrived at the Square, the people heading the march who belonged to those who wanted to march up to the Embassy were stopped by a dense police block. They tried to break the block and fights followed. It was during the streetfights that spread through downtown Athens that two people, Stomatias Koumis and Varvara Kanellou-poulou were beaten to death by the police and two others were seriously injured by police bullets. All four were Anarchists. There were many from the KKE group injured too. In that year KKE had one seat in the national Parliament and a seat in the European one. All parties, except for this one, considered responsible for the events the anarchist groups "that provoked the police". However a judicial investigation started to define the guilty. Two years later the judge who was in charge of the investigation closed the case declaring himself unable to find those responsible. When I saw the file of the case, the names of the police officers commanding the special anti-riot groups weren't there - I asked the Judge and he told me that Police High Command had considered this information unimportant - and secret.

What you say about prisoners held on a drug or a robbery charge turning out and openly as anarchists is true. I had personally handed to the Minister of Justice a letter of the prisoner Lambros Dartis, that said that from then on he was to be considered an Anarchist.

L. Dartis, a thief out of need, was sentenced to five years in prison. Two months ago he started a hungerstrike asking for liberation on terms since he had already served two thirds of his penalty. The hungerstrike lasted 42 days. During the hungerstrike he was transported from the Kerkyra prison - known as the Greek Auschwitz - to the prison hospital of Korydallos. The 43rd day of his action they transported him back to 'Auschwitz' not giving him anytime to recover.

As far as the foundation of a Greek Anarchist Federation is concerned you are also right. The attempts haven't stopped but they meet no success. Due to sectarianism, even the foundation of local federations doesn't seem possible for the present.

The problem of pseudos is very present. People addicted to drugs, gays, lesbians and so on; they all claim themselves to be Anarchists. It's really difficult to tell which one is a real libertarian. I personally think this is due to the isolation of Anarchists, to the lack of links between them and the working classes, to a certain intellectualism.

The situation in the army is a very serious problem too but I think that an even more serious problem exists in the way of fighting militarism. Many young people commit suicide or go mad because this is the first time they face State violence and oppression exerted on them. An anti-militarist movement is continuously growing. Anarchist comrades participate - either as individuals or as groups - along with leftists. Many papers appear. But they all do nothing but transmit information on suicides. There is no counter-information on the subject; I mean they don't tell the people how to react, how to avoid madness or suicide once they can't avoid service.

On the 14-10-83 there was a manifestation in front of the main University building in Athens. Some 500 people gathered. After the usual speeches etc they attempted to march to the Parliament in order to communicate the resolution of the meeting, demanding the shrinking of military service, better conditions for conscripts and more democratization of the Army. Police attacked violently and arrested 19 people, 9 of them were released late in the night and information reports that the other ten are going to be prosecuted. Anarchists and some leftists participated.

A new anarchist journal (bi-monthly) is going to come out late '83. Anarchist communist groups of Athens neighbourhoods, the Publishing House "Eleftheros Typos" (Free Press), the Anarchist Homosexual paper "KRAXIMO", the Anarchist student magazine "AGAINST" some members of the editorial staff of the Greek Anarchist journal "RIGMA" which used to come out of England, and some individuals are participating in the publishing project. . . In the first issue the Communiqué from the Polish Emmanuel Goldstein Group as well as the BFQ's article on Anarchism in Chile and information on Anarchist detainees around the world.

We haven't heard any news of Fotis Danatos yet, but as far as I know Kyriakos Miras is well, though I can't contact him directly. Zoulas & Belos are imprisoned in the Ioanima prison. Vassiliki Leva is held in the Trikala Women's prison. She used to be in Korydallos Women's prison but she was transported after a prisoners revolt some six months ago.

The Appeal Court of Piraeus had decided to interrupt Fotis's penalty and send him to the General Hospital of Piraeus, his health being in serious danger because of the hunger strike he had undertaken for 40 days. Fotis left the Hospital and an order of arrest was issued against him and the police are searching to bring him back to prison for the rest of his sentence. Kyriakos too went as the Police are out to get him. Fotis's application to the Supreme Court is still valid; we hope that when it is judged the Court will accept it and set Fotis free. Solidarity to Fotis wasn't so strong as would be expected after the good support he and Kyriakos got before. Letters of support came from England and the USA. In Greece there were some activities organised and coordinated by Kyriakos, but they were lacking the support of groups. There were two attempts at open manifestations and a march to Parliament, but they were cancelled for the people who participated did not number more than 100. There were also two concerts in open air and a special projection of the *Sacco & Vanzetti* film, but they too were small affairs.

The lack of co-ordination between the various Anarchist groups and the individuals is the main cause of this situation. There is a certain rivalry between the groups. Some months ago there was founded a new group under the name "Movement for the generation of a Greek Anarchist Federation"

continued on page 33



LETTER SAN FRANCISCO

Dear Black Flag,

There have been scattered protests in the San Francisco Bay area about Central America, but nothing I would call dramatic. The Cruise Missile thing likewise is getting poor reporting here (of course they haven't attempted to site them here either. . .). The anti-nuke movement has made attempts to get that message out, but with limited success.

The Processed World people are a great bunch. Not really anarchists, you know, but still pretty good people. They have a great sense of humor, and sell their magazine dressed up as bottles of typewriter correction fluid and as erasers etc.

The squats are short lived. A school and a few empty buildings were taken over, but as soon as it was publicised, the cops came down like Gangbusters and that was that. It's hard to do anything like that above ground here. Lots of buildings are secretly squatted (one famous place recently ended was called the Vats, an abandoned brewery which housed punk bands. Several could all practice at once with no annoyance of the surrounding neighbourhood.)

A guy was arrested recently when observed leaving a house boarded up by a back window. He had been living there eight months and had turned on the electricity, water, etc and was paying the bills and all. The front said it was "CONDEMNED". Round the back it looked like a condo - carpets, plants, nice furniture. He told news reporters he had been squatting various places for several years and intended to move his stuff to his next place, already had it picked out and new locks on the doors.

From page 32



A few days later I saw a leaflet written and circulated by the above group. It was denouncing almost every other group as pseudo-anarchist, it was even denouncing some anarchist militants as police - or "state" - informers it was denouncing the movements of partial critique of the society (movements like the Committee for the Abolition of the Army and the Prison Movement and so on). Such moves have a certain potential and that may be useful to the Anarchist movement in Greece but it is an example of the ideological confusion existing. . .

Things are looking up here. Likely to be some increased activity in the near future. Got "Investigative Researchers' Handbook" in the mail yesterday. I think it's great! That's what anarchism should be like - active, effective, organised and efficient.

I went to the Cruise/Pershing II demonstration, I tend to think the news media always underestimates the turnout of any demonstration: sports crowds are always over-estimated, perhaps because of the money from advertisers, etc. that is involved.

The anarchist contingent, together with the Industrial Workers of the World presence and various other non-authoritarian groups and individuals was a rather small proportion of the overall crowd. I could see less than 250 identifiable libertarian socialist/anarchist or syndicalists. The anarchist handouts went rapidly, the IWW sold upwards of 50 newspapers. There was a large inflatable Save-the-Whales balloon that had been converted for the demo into a Save-the-Humans balloon that was hand-carried down the street in the demo from the Embarcadero to Civic Centre and tethered on a large lawn for children to play with. The IWW helped carry it, so they hung their banner on the side and it was greeted with hundreds of "IWW? I didn't know they were even still in existence" remarks. I saw at least ten other mass-costume things, large rockets, cruise missiles, phalanxes of black-robed, skull-faced Deaths and so forth. It was nostalgia day for the 1960's. No civil disobedience, no hassle with the police, no militant demands. Just a nice, safe day in the park. The speeches were incredibly boring.

On the positive side, I never saw in my life so many anarchists in one spot before. The IWWs made contact with the Ideas and Action anarchist group and hammered out an agreement for action together in the near future.

The Bound Together Book Collective had a literature table and I picked up three separate anarchist leaflet hand-

In the case of Fotis & Kyriakos as well as in the case of Filipas and Sofia Kyritsi as well as in the case of the buildings-occupations etc there was a dispute and antagonism between the groups with each one denouncing the others for "leading tendencies", for trying to impose themselves etc.

In short, the disadvantages and the impediments to our movement are a lack of organisation (of a federation or any co-ordinating organisation); a leading tendency existing in every group and individual. YET, there is great potential in Greece. People are every day calling themselves Anarchists or autonomous or anything else out of the limits of the traditional political and social schemes. We've seen manifestations of more than 5,000 people marching in the streets of Athens under the black and red flags.

outs from various people all of which criticised the demo for failing to truly confront the nuclear issue for what it is - part and parcel of a much greater system of force and oppression. I think most people see that, but are unable to make any connection between that and the fact that it is a method by which the ruling class is able to concentrate capital and profit on tremendously expensive government projects that put those tax dollars into Defence contractors and manufacturers pockets.

If there was no profit to be made in building the end of the world do you suppose they would still be interested?

Personally, I think this issue can very well be pared down to personalities. Individuals. And I think those individuals should be held personally, physically responsible.

To talk to anti-nuke people in the US it's as though the death camps of Nazi Germany and Poland were an uncontrollable act of Nature. Bullshit! We have our Hitlers and our Eichmanns among us, and we should get them before they get us!

Gosh I seem to have given in to irrational emotionalism there for a minute. Must be the stress of living under the Shadow of the Bomb.

In any case, a demo and march of 5,000 is better than no march. There was some anarchist participation, but I think the results can better be measured in consolidating our relations with one another than the overall effect upon others. I think it is most important that the anarchist community here in SF, such as it is, should begin to act in concert on mutually beneficial projects aimed at educating and attracting more people to anarchism in general. At least that's the sentiment at Toals' Irish Bar 'round the corner from Civic Centre where elements of the IWW, Ideas and Action and various independent anarchists gathered to get rid of the dust and talk.

*For the Works,
B. SF*

We've seen a great wave of support and sympathy to the German comrade Pole*. We've seen and lived magnificent moments.

We haven't seen a continuity or a possibility of a continuation of these moments. In order to do something, we do need your experience as well as the experience of comrades in other countries. We do need information, theoretical texts, historical documents and any thing written on what has been done in England and the whole world.

*Greetings,
B.*



LETTER



TEESIDE

First I would like you to understand that Teeside has local peace & CND groups, Animal Rights activists as well as socialist and the various ecological groups. It also has an active anarchist group which apart from the fun caused during the election has been involved in setting up of an unemployed workers union and they have also been involved in strikes etc. in the area. The local Poly also has a large group as well and there is a well stocked bookshop with a printing facility. The anarchists have been involved in the protests against the proposed nuclear dumping under Billingham in the old ICI mines, by carrying out flyposting etc. Most of the populace are against having the waste dumped and none are convinced by the Nirex companies lies (a full page advertisement in the local press, TV & radio) that the waste would cause no safety hazard. Especially because of the fact that a lot of the population has worked in the mines and know how dangerous they really are. Since this affair has arrived it has been revealed that ICI have been dumping on a site, nuclear waste FOR NEARLY 20 YEARS. The site is near some food factories and carries the risk of spreading the waste through the air, a recent geiger counter reading showed that the level of radiation to be nearly twenty times more than normal (more than surrounding areas of Windscale). The waste can be felt emitting heat. The Council also has a site (nuclear dumping) which carries the risk of spreading radiation through the water systems. There's an awful lot of mud flying (especially between Councillors) about these two issues. Local Councils here have a good track record though. Recently signs appeared on a Council built BMX (bike) course that the track was not to be used again as it was contaminated by toxic waste. The local population have shown themselves ready to act in a sticky situation (as in the 13 week steel strike of 1980) and already they are talking about direct action in this Billingham affair.

The waste they plan to dump at the old ICI mines at Billingham is a lot more dangerous than the stuff they plan to dump at Elstan.

Today Cruise, tomorrow Nuclear dumping; what kind of future do we offer our children?

Yours an incapacitated Supporter.

Tories to Abolish Parliament

LONDON. Following their move to abolish the GLC, the Conservative government is proceeding with long-cherished plans to abolish parliament. It will be replaced by several executive bodies whose members are to be drawn from the Civil Service, also including various leading industrialists and several members of the present Houses of Parliament. The members of the new National Executive, as they will be known, will elect the Cabinet, and their own successors. Two members of the TUC will also be included, and there will be a special Council for Trade Union Affairs, all of whose members will be nominated by the TUC. A Conservative spokeswoman said: 'There is no way this can be called an attack on democracy in its real sense. There will be no members of the Armed Forces or the Police on the New Executive Committees. As at present they will be under the control of the Government. The choice of the new executives will be carefully debated by parliament as it now is, including opposition MP's. The advisory Council for Trade Union Affairs will ensure all sections of society will be adequately represented!'

At a press conference today Mrs Thatcher described the present parliamentary system as 'very slow, very expensive, inefficient, and too liable to take-over by political extremists'. 'And the British people elected us to get on with the job'. Britain must be made strong again, and this means paying closer heed to the voice of Industry, which after all generates the money to pay for all our welfare services. 'The new system is far better than the occasional vote to set up an expensive parliamentary bureaucracy unresponsive to the real needs of the people and the changing economic situation. Hospitals are better than votes, and it is largely a choice between the two. At present millions are wasted by MP's who are often chosen by only a small number of party members, and voted for by a minority of the electorate simply to keep the other candidates out'. These people often have no training in running anything. There will be an Executive for Civil Liberties as an additional safeguard, and a new constitution will ban members of the Armed Forces and the Police from ever becoming Executive members. Mrs. Thatcher commented that she hoped the plans would be greeted in a responsible, realistic fashion. There was no excuse for any public disorder that Red extremists and tiny anarchic elements might try to stir up. Mrs Thatcher also announced that all the employed would be guaranteed MSC places under a new job creation scheme, and unemployment pay would therefore be abolished without causing any hardship. She described the ending of employment as the present government's greatest achievement. New technology meant that even many of the disabled would be able to work from their homes, and make a contribution to society. More information will be given in our next edition.

T. Groveller
Westminster Correspondent

CND 'INTERVENTION'

Dear Black Flag,

One criticism of the article CND 'Intervention'. I don't criticise the sentiments expressed in the article itself although I think that the purpose of Anarchists turning up at Hyde Park was in itself for a laugh which nobody organised (I went too). What I'm criticising is the last part of the article. "We need to stop playing games and indulging ourselves in this self-entertainment". Fair enough on one hand, but what's wrong with a bit of self-indulgence? Anarchism isn't a disciplined party or movement - that could be construed as an authoritarian statement. Then: "we also need to see just what we can do as a movement". The problem there, is that we are *not* a movement in Britain which is why the crowd at Hyde Park were an unorganised rabble, but I didn't notice anyone there going around to different Anarchists offering ideas and such on which to build the movement in Britain. No feeling of comradeship - except to rally round the Black Flags and feel the group or tribal spirit - that's a beginning though! What concrete things does the 'A' team put forward? None which is why year after year "activism" is confined in the main to intervention, then follows criticism and negative at that.

My experience at Hyde Park was one of elation because I felt (probably it would seem wrongly) that I was among like minded people despite the mindless

heckling which I indulged in also. The CND is a middle-class movement in its structure and ideas. Its demand for a "nuclear freeze" is typical of their faith in the system - an opportunity to slag them off for that is not necessarily "self-indulgent" - should we have gone along like the Communist Party? Can we have some positive ideas from the 'A' team? What I'm interested in first is an alternative information network which Special Branch can't interfere with. I was pissed off with my mail being tampered with before and after the "Stop the City" demonstration. Special Branch knew exactly what was going on because the organisers were telling them through the Postal Service - it was a bit like suicide! Things like that should be organised undercover with plenty of contingency plans.

G.S.

'A -Team': For concrete suggestions, see the article 'Disarming the State - a strategy for resistance' by our comrade Mahatma Gandhi. And read between the lines.

REVIEW

Why Bother?

WHY WORK? Freedom Press £3.

Bertrand Russell once remarked something to the effect that fortnightly holidays abroad, seaside caravans and cars tied the worker more effectively than chains; this view is echoed in Vernon Richards compilation. One could ask whether Sabbatical year holidays abroad, fine books, mature wines and tastefully decorated villas chained down the philosopher himself? A reprinted "Guardian" cartoon in this volume patronisingly shows the worker tied to a kennel with cars and caravans attached to his neck while his owner in "Capitalism House" tells him that the wild dog of "primitive idealism" baying outside is "trying to steal his toys". And the cartoonist himself? Did he refrain from cars and holidays or frequent emotional visits over the Farringdon Road to the "Betsey"? Preposterous; these are necessities!

This attitude that the privileged in society are entitled to get away with it, and whatever benefits the underprivileged receive are anachronistic and of no use striving for, pervades the whole of the thinking not only of Vernon Richards but of a number of other persons of similar political persuasion to his whatever indeed that is.

In a sense he stands in relation to the anarchist movement as the SDP (or perhaps significantly - Orwell) to the Labour movement; he regards himself as above the battle, entitled to judge the past experiences of others but with no intention of involving himself in the struggle, not in the least for want of commitment but because of a denial that any struggle should exist. (This is why "Freedom" appeals to the pacifists). The whole "Why Work?" ethic stretches from its cultivated expression in "Freedom" to the "Fuck Work" of the punk and 'workers' groups, which all combine to denigrate the working class movement, to deny they are, or want, any part of it, and to act out the caricature-anarchist of the Marxist critique. None of them are really anarchists, but in the sporting parlance they are slow-running *ringers* for anarchism in the way that some Maoists can be said to be fast-running *ringers* for anarchism, in nationalist pseudo-armies etc; they have some success in pushing their valuation up to pass off as the real thing but the reality would ruin their whole strategy.

It is therefore sometimes difficult even for experienced anarchist "punters" to evaluate the difference. It was recently put by someone in A distribution that it was one place where differing groups *could* speak to each other but still hadn't got to the point of liking each other.a comic absurdity, suggesting merely personal differences. But the differences are made plain by Vernon Richards, when he comes down to the nitty gritty and

outlines "Freedom Press" policy against any form of class struggle - which allied to the attack on workers, disguised as an alienation from "work", in fact amounts to fascism (minus its violence and racial hatreds) and this notwithstanding the fact that Richard's anti-fascist attitude is impeccable where genuine fascism is concerned.

This also applies to a great many punks; of whom Richards has apparently never heard, though he advocates a "union" of the young unemployed and the veteran retired - its form is vague, what could it do beyond petition, appeal and try to exert political pressure? Strike against receiving grants and pensions? One side would bring its "wisdom" the other side its "beauty" - which is a fine way of saying it would do bugger-all, and those *able* to use industrial pressure would be left outside the "union" - for fear they might take action, perhaps? Why else separate them?

In a remark which sums up the distance of the "Freedom" editorial policy from anarchism, he remarks that "differentials" are the language of Greed (with a capital G). The struggle for differentials is the language of struggle. It would be fine for exploiters of labour if all workers got the same, whether high or low. But it means patently levelling everyone down to the benefit of the exploiter. To push up the standard of life under capitalism or State capitalism there is nothing else but money - though of course Richards brings in a few who can "give up the system" but who coyly refrain from disclosing how they manage it. Private means? State aid? Inheritance? A willing wife? Whatever it is they have "given up" the rat race", and are not to be among the other fools.

It is not a question of "greed", any more than in the case of "those who have opted out" it is Sloth. These are Methodist classifications. Levels of acceptable living are determined by people getting more, and militancy can only pay off when workers get what the middle-class takes for granted - while a wage society lasts.

Richards does not mean "refrain from work" seriously at least while people will finance, print, fold and distribute his books.

Gaining advances within a wage society is like an army moving forward in uneven ways, sometimes having to cover retreats, sometimes the more courageous troops leading the van. It would be a poor look in our present society (for everyone but its exploiters) if people decided, say last century, "Okay, we've got enough". Teachers and bus men did that around the second world war and got left disastrously behind. The teachers, from being middle class, became lower working-class.

Not believing in working, Richards calls to his aid a series of old pamphlets and articles, quite irrelevant to his theory - Kropotkin on the wage system, for instance; an old article by Tony Gibson arguing exactly the opposite to Richards about the "work ethic" - but relevantly to his argument, the romantic tradition "in defence of idleness" - not forgetting "What is this life if full of care, we have no time to stand and stare?" But did you ever see a prize poet at a literary dinner without a clean shirt? Was it the muse who cleaned it - or another lady - while he was seeing infinity in a wild flower?

A.M.



Where to Go? by Lo Ch'ing chen from
Cold Nights by Pa Chin

REVIEWS Our

Celestial Visitor

Our Celestial Visitor (The Flying Virgin and Space Age Astronomy) F.A. Ridley

This absorbing little pamphlet arrived at an appropriate moment, when the Papal visit has cut across denominational barriers and spilled over dramatically into the political arena. The Papal 'invasion' on Protestant Britain was perceived by the high Tory establishment and certain sectors of the Church of England as a political act. Coming as it did in the middle of the bitter South Atlantic battle over the ownership of the Falklands/Malvinas — it was interpreted as a political/spiritual rebuff by the Supreme Pontiff to the English establishment for pursuing its claims in the Falkland Islands and South Georgia by the use of force or counter-force. It is Ridley's contention that this is precisely the modus operandi of the Roman Church... theology is subordinate to political considerations, not the reverse.

F.A. Ridley says in his introduction "If it's (i.e. the Church's) views of the next world may be legitimately questioned, nobody can reasonably doubt its comprehensive knowledge this terrestrial plain on which it actually operates" (page 2) — and develops his thesis that the development of the doctrines, dogma and 'happenings' (i.e. Apparitions) associated with the Virgin Mary is more closely concerned with the political needs and aspirations of the Church at any particular time — than the theological or spiritual growth and development of Church doctrine.

He points out the contradictions as between the gospels over the question of the Virgin Birth — and explains how the Virgin Mary has slowly but inexorably moved up the celestial hierarchy or ladder over the course

of many centuries. On more than one occasion, attempts have been made to promote the Virgin Mary into the closed circle of the Trinity, which led one wit to comment that it now has four persons, in descending order of importance — 'the Virgin Mary, God the Father, God the Son — and God the Holy Ghost — 4 on 3, and 3 on 4' — paraphrasing the Athanasian Creed of 325AD. 'The Father of God, the Son of God, the Holy Ghost of God, yet there are not three Gods but one.'

Ridley forges the final promotion of the Virgin Mary as being placed side by side with the Holy Trinity as the 'co-redemptors with Christ of the human race — a move that might well find favour with the present Pope with his strong and fervent Polish attachment to Mary and the cults associated with it, Ridley also links the development of the Virgin Mary cult with the pagan deities of the Greek and Roman Empire. Was not the God Mars born of a Virgin, and Romulus, the legendary founder of Rome — not forgetting the founder of the other Greek Empire — Alexander the Great?

Ridley analyses three of the principal apparitions of the Virgin Mary: Guadalupe (1531), Lourdes (1858) — and Fatima (1917). He contends that the Guadalupe apparition provides a convenient cover for the Spanish and Portuguese conquest of 'Indian' America, and Lourdes visit a convenient setting for the proclamation of Papal infallibility in 1870 — and the Fatima apparition of 1917 for both a powerful stand against 'atheist Bolshevism', and an attempt at bringing Islam and Christianity closer together against this common 'Bolshevik menace'.

As we peer into the future, perhaps we may yet see the Prophecies of Malachi fulfilled with the Queen of Heaven hovering over the Blessed Trinity with Archbishop Lustiger as the next Pope, an ironic commentary on the history of this remarkable institution. A Jewish Mother, a Jewish Son — and a Jewish Pope completing the historical cycle in less than two thousand years!

E.H.

FREE RELIGIONS PRISONERS

THE IDEA OF GOD IMPLIES THE ABDICATION OF HUMAN REASON AND JUSTICE; IT IS THE MOST DECISIVE NEGATION OF HUMAN LIBERTY AND NECESSARILY ENDS IN THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE PEOPLE BOTH IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

THOSE WHO DESIRE TO WORSHIP GOD MUST THEN HARBOUR NO CHILDISH ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE MATTER BUT BRAVELY RENOUNCE THEIR LIBERTY AND HUMANITY.

IF GOD EXISTED IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO ABOLISH SUCH A LIE AND THE TYRANTS, POPES, AYATOLLAHS GURUS, WITCHDOCTORS, RABBIS AND ALL THOSE WHO PROFIT FROM ITS EXISTENCE WOULD BE REDUNDANT.

GOD HAS FUCKED OFF AND LEFT THE COPS TO KEEP AN EYE ON YOU.

NO GODS, NO MASTERS ANARCHY

SMASH THE STATE.



Anarchy

ANARCHY magazine has gone through several transformations. It began as the theoretical organ for the "ringers" of anarchism who represented the liberal-intellectual wing of "Freedom" editorial collective in the sixties. Under Colin Ward's editorship it presented a respectable view of libertarian politics, though hardly anarchist, and apologetic for any working class, let alone "violent", expressions that might come into its pages.

It did a complete cat-a-pan with Graham Moss to become largely hippy, before he parted company IWW-wards. Then with the old "Anarchy Collective" it went into all ways at once, including publishing the notorious renegade George Woodcock's slangings at the Spanish Anarchists for unsubstantiated and largely impossible crimes, cheek by jowl with apologetics for the IRA — republicanism is really libertarian, you know? — but still with much genuine anarchism.

With a new change in editorship the paper now has become a part of the mainstream anarchist movement, only a few vestiges of nationalism left around and none at all of revisionism. In the last issue, Stuart Christie analysed the role of the Freemasons, a byway it is true, but one which it is useful to explore considering how many of our rulers do come out of it. There was also a useful warning to those who think that Anti-Nazis must need be on the side of the angels, revealing the collaboration of "Searchlight", the anti-Nazi paper — (with useful anti-Nazi investigative material) — with Special Branch.

The current issue (Winter 83/84, No. 37 of the second series but No.3 under the new editorship, at a totally uneconomic 50p) is a superb achievement, in one view, a magnificent contribution to the Anarchist Movement without any ambiguity. "Cienfuegos Press Review" may have folded but in "Anarchy" and "Black Flag Quarterly" it seems to have foaled two fillies, comments our racing correspondent (no ringers around this stable!)

The emphasis on investigative libertarian journalism rather than history, theory or organisation is a breakthrough in anarchist journalism. As a quarterly, "Anarchy" like "Black Flag" — has decided it cannot carry topical news items, and therefore it will in future co-operate with us in sending items for the Black Flag fortnightly News Bulletin.

REVIEWS

Let Me Speak!

Domitila Barrios de Chungara with Moema Viezzer Stage One 235 pp. £2.95

The appearance of any book in English about the workers struggle in Bolivia is always a welcome sight to students of Latin American politics, more so when we realise that the author is from the working classes of that country herself.

Domitila Barrios de Chungara, despite her rather grand sounding name is none the less the wife of a tin miner; the mother of seven children and an activist in one of the countries leading socialist groups, the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario. Putting aside the fact that as anarchists we have good reason to be highly suspicious of anything written by members or supporters of political parties, this book gives us a rare chance to read about and study the day to day life of a miners family and the revolutionary union to which they belong.

I say "they" because unlike in this country where the unions are not only reactionary but completely cut off from the daily life of the workers family as well, the Bolivian workers' confederation, the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB) organises the whole family. They have to, their enemy, "the Company" (in de Chungara's case, it is a State company, but it could easily be private), forces them to live a life of harshness and poverty totally unknown to any European miner or his family. Their homes are owned by the company, if a miner should be killed while working for the company his family have ninety days in which to find a new home, then the company police will escort them to the nearest roadside ditch. In de Chungara's words: "We are like gypsies in our own land, because we don't have homes, just dwellings loaned to us by the company".

To the outsider the preoccupation with the Company may seem strange but one must realise that mining is very important to Bolivia; about 60 per cent of the income that enters the country comes from mining. I should have said "recorded or legal" income; there are not true figures for the drug trade of cocaine.

There are about seventy thousand mine workers in Bolivia, about half for the State owned Corporacion Minera de Bolivia (COMIBOL). COMIBOL, "the Company" is not like Ford or ICI as an employer, for they only own you eight hours a day; COMIBOL own the workers twenty four hours a day, every day, they own the workers homes, the shops, even the social security service.



To stand against "the Company"

Russian Revolution 1985

David Downing. New English Library ISBN 0 45006002 0 (£7.95 Hbk.)

Revolution? Well not as we would understand it. This book is a fairly convincing look into the future of the Soviet Union and is interesting for that reason alone.

Factually the book begins in the past and then progresses steadily into the future and the seams hardly show. However as anarchists, his ideas and ours are poles apart. The workers form soviet councils (soviets), they do fight the pigs they do take over the factories. But these are in the background, the setting for the men of destiny to play their roles. The author prefers to describe goings on in the Politburo rather than soviets and soldiers councils. The end result? Well the Party nips a coup in the bud, grants

DAM & the Trade Unions 25p

Direct Action Movement/International Workers Association (anarcho-syndicalist organisation)

c/o Box DAM, 121 Railton Rd. S.E.24 This fairly small pamphlet is a concise introduction to the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism in relation to the trade unions, the Labour party and the State. Its obviously written for the non-political working class and it serves its function well.

In the section on Factory Committees it makes a very important point, "Whatever we replace the present system with, one thing is essential, and that is an educated, active workforce." This is a vital point. The level of working class political culture in this country is abysmal. Whilst politicians can argue the merits of Marx, Lenin, Bakunin or Kropotkin, 99.99% of the working class wouldn't know Karl Marx from Harpo Marx. The few politicised working class anarchists can only feel alienated from the rest of their class. There is no doubt in my mind the basic political education is of the utmost priority for our ideas to gain wider currency. The problem is how to go about it. Education classes run by Maoists in order to preach were fairly common a few years ago. Perhaps anarchists could do the same. The Direct Action Movement has already put on some day-classes attended mainly by DAM members; perhaps widening the net would help.

requires more than just guts, it also requires guns and dynamite and the miners in COB know only too well how to use these against not only "the Company" but the hated State troopers as well.

LET ME SPEAK! is a testimony of one woman's struggle to bring up her family, defend her village and community, and organise local women within the union. There are times when her faith in politicians may seem to us a little naive and her belief in herself a little egocentric but none the less one can only admire her for her courage and wish every success to the COB in its future struggles.

various reforms, finally calls a conference for the workers deputies and together workers and some party bosses sit down and get on with the task of running Russia. (Eastern Europe getting independence in the process).

The book depends a great deal on the liberalism of Yuri Andropov; as far as I can tell there are thousands of people in psychiatric hospitals willing to attest to this liberalism.

An interesting book but is it possible? I doubt it. The Bolshevik coup was the greatest blow ever to hit the workers movement. Only another soviet revolution can undo the damage. David Downing's Russian Revolution would only damage the chances of world-wide revolution even more.

PP

It's a big problem but one which we must face. Pamphlets like this one are also of value, written without jargon but not in a Marx for morons way. It would be interesting to see how many copies go onto the shop-floor (or dole queue) and how many into anarchists personal libraries.

Local DAM groups should have copies or write to the DAM/IWA at 8-10 Great Ancoats Street, Manchester 4.

P.S. It doesn't mention Spain 1936 or the CNT once!



Life on Mars

MARS, Fritz Zorn. Picador £1.95.

This is an autobiographical account by a wealthy middle-class Zurichier who realised at the age of thirty, when he contracted cancer, that his life had not been a 'life' at all, but a repressed, senseless vacuum, so repressed in fact, that it had actually given him the cancer. He completed *Mars* a few months before he died, at the age of thirty-two. It is one of the strongest indictments of the western 'way of life' imaginable, and it ends with a battle-cry, one of the loudest we are ever likely to hear. And it shows an anarchist, in the deepest possible sense of the word, in the making, though Zorn died before he could do anything with his new-found anger. The last chapter, 'Knight, Death & Devil', is a kind of summary of his fury. He writes of the millions of crippled feet, referring to the old Chinese custom of binding women's feet, which, eventually, went into the anger that made the revolution possible, and follows on:

'I think that once a certain number of crippled feet or other crippled limbs or crippled souls has been reached, the revolution becomes inevitable.'

Later in the same chapter he sides with the devil, because the devil can be relied on always to rebel, and declares that God, which he identifies with the way things are now, is evil, and must be abolished and in the free part of himself has been abolished. Against the world which destroyed him, his parents' world the bourgeois world, he says:

'I have not yet triumphed over the thing I am against. But I haven't lost yet, either. More important still, I haven't capitulated. I declare myself to be in a state of total war.'

To sum up, there is an 'Afterword' at the back of the book by a Swiss acquaintance of the author, who says: *'In a society that is sick unto death, Zorn's death is not the exception but the rule. We will continue to die as he did as long as we continue to live as we do. That is the truly devastating message of this book.'*

Catalonia

Catalonia's own television - which began last month - opened to a major breakthrough for Catalan culture - "JR" in Catalan, no less.

But there is a major new film "Victoria!" - one of the first in the Catalan language, certainly the first to achieve international showing - which is much more interesting, it is the story of 1917 in Barcelona, with the repercussions of what was happening in the world elsewhere and the struggles there. It always sticks in the throats of the Catalan nationalists that in dealing with history - in which nationalists like to "glorify" their own people - they have to deal with the anarchist movement. If they ignore the anarchists, then they have to ignore the working class (which they generally do), they cannot pass off working class resistance as nationalistic, or vice versa, the way the Irish nationalists do.

This year Catalonia's National Day (Sept 13 - actually the day Catalonia was defeated, and taken over by Spain) was widely celebrated...because the Generalitat laid on street theatre, fireworks, parades and fiesta. But purely socially.

Where were the old time demonstrations of Catalonia, the spontaneous street parades and parties, the people themselves taking a hand? All that belongs to the history of the CNT, to the working class which is now out of control of its destiny as is the working class in most other countries. All the political parties, all complexions bar two, jumped on the Catalan bandwagon. The Socialists and their left allies, the rightists, the marxist-leninist ritual fringe, all had their separate political celebrations of September 13. The working class response was zero, the demonstrations consisting of the normal demofodder of the left and right. The only two out were the anarchists - rejecting the nationalism - and the Nazis - clinging to the old Franco-style Nationalism (Spanish nationalism rather than Catalan).

Let's hope we get to see "Victoria!" over here, it's the first of a trilogy. It features Helmut Berger and Norma Duval with Xavier Elorriaga playing (I quote) "a syndicalist leader of anarchist ideology" Director: Antoni Ribas.



Luis Compons, the 'JR' of the Generalitat.

the Turkish nationalist view of Cypriot history as opposed to the Greek nationalist view of Cypriot history. As expected the two views of history are similar, one nationalism blames the other nationalism; take away the names and you can't tell the difference. The reality is less clear-cut, many thousands of Cypriots have been slaughtered, tortured, maimed and disappeared. Greek Cypriots have killed Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have killed Turkish-Cypriots, and both have killed each other. A tragic story. The simple fact remains that ultimately nationalism (of any nation) kills workers; nationalism is anti-working class.

The logic and simplicity of class war is distinctly opposed to the irrationality and mysticism of race and nation. The unity of working-class Turks and Greeks could have averted the mass graves. Now with troops on the borders, the island effectively is two separate states, that unity is practically impossible. That means it is the duty of Turkish and Greek revolutionaries on either side of the border to create a situation where they can bring down the border, unite along class lines against capitalism and the State. A tall order? The alternatives are more death, more mass graves and more state power.

P.P.



It is a truly revolutionary book which can stir up the emotions like nobody's business, and one which, having lived much as Zorn did until a nervous breakdown at the age of twenty, I identify with completely (though obviously circumstances are different). He is for life as against the kind of continuous murder which is practised on us by the whole of an authoritarian society, here and elsewhere just as much as in his native Switzerland. He believes as I do that this is a sick and dead world and that we must struggle to show that we are alive, let alone to take control of our own lives. A great book; do get hold of it if you can. None of us, hopefully, will then end up writing the word 'sadness' over and over again filling pages with the word until it was time for bed, the way he had to do before he found his anger.

PEACENIKS ?

A "peace march" in Moscow held recently with 800,000 people participating, one of fifteen rallies calling for "the defence of peace"... but unlike similar rallies abroad, supporting the government. Russians are genuinely concerned with "peace" but they are brainwashed into thinking that "peace" means that nobody should attack the Soviet Union, which cannot be "aggressive" because the holy books of Marx and Lenin lay it down that capitalism means war and therefore capitalist nations wage war for profits whereas, 'socialist' nations merely ward off aggression for the highest patriotic motives.

The "peace" marches of the state communist countries must be likened to "war" rallies which imbue the whole country - which nonetheless is anxious for peace. Russia in particular is cursed not with aggressive feelings such as those induced by the Nazis but by non-aggressive, quiet instincts which lead the people to passively suffer tyranny from wherever it comes, and which similarly make them good - that is to say, obedient - soldiers in time of war, afraid to turn round on the officer class.

There is no hope of "peace" with Russia which does not mean the same thing by it. But revolution in Russia is always a possibility.

ANSWERS

From page 2



Answers to Quiz

1. Aphra Behn, incidentally the first Englishwoman to be a professional novelist, who can fairly be described as a libertarian pioneer with her advanced views on freethought, free love and women's rights.

2. Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote the world best seller *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But Mrs Stowe, unlike Aphra Behn, was a Christian and her Black characters are patronised for their meekness and humility.

3. The Black Panther movement in the United States, referring to mainly Irish police, called them 'pigs' partly because of the association of pigs with Ireland, though some say it is because of the racial connotations (big jaws, pink complexion etc.); the term was picked up by the New Left, and its origins have been forgotten.

4. The Communist Party of Catalonia merged with the Socialist Party, a mere rump, during the Civil War, calling itself the United Socialist Communist Party of Catalonia. As such it has been revived but wholly Communist, not Socialist. The initials. P.S.U.C. mean fish in Catalan.

BILLINGHAM

Billingham is sited for more nuclear waste. It already has 14 per cent of the country's hazardous industry, says a councillor. "All the transport unions have said they will refuse to bring the waste in the area and the ICI workers at Billingham say they will close the plant down if the government tries to bury nuclear waste there."

All concerned say out with it. But another councillor Janice Lennon (Liberal) warns that "if they try to mix the campaign with a general campaign against nuclear power they will lose the support of the local councils."

Anywhere but here! Have the nuclear waste by all means, but not on my doorstep! The oldest bit of humbug in the business.



5. Some Spanish Jews remained in Spain after the expulsion of 1492, by accepting baptism and conversion; those of them who remained Jews in secret, or later secretly reverted to Judaism, were called pigs - Marranos - by Catholic bigots... a name which they later adopted with pride to this day.

6. When the dictator Primo de Rivera was mismanaging the Moroccan War, and it was turning into a bloodbath of Spanish and Moroccan soldiers, with the working class movement solidly opposing it, some generals wanted to end it before it brought the Monarchy down (as ultimately it did). Those military men (including Franco) who opposed them as (to use a current English Tory word) "wets" and wanted a fight to the last soldier (but not the last officer!) displayed eggs - signifying testicles - at officers' messes and banquets, suggesting the "wets" lacked them and thus machismo.

Cyprus Triangle

The Cyprus Triangle by Rauf Denktash, George Allen and Unwin. £15.00 (or free at the library).

For those who don't know, Rauf Denktash is the president of the self-styled Turkish Cypriot Federated State and before that vice-President of Cyprus. His book puts succinctly