

SPAIN:

# THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

**AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RESISTANCE** groups inside Spain prepared for the reconstruction of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, we state that so far as we are concerned the civil war which was unleashed by General Franco against the people of Spain has not ended, whatever the foreign powers may decide.

All methods of struggle against the regime are permissible and acceptable including guerrilla action. We ask those in Britain and France who criticise this to remember how the Home Guard would have and the French Resistance did deal with a similar situation.

The rotting corpse of Franco — kept so long alive upon the throne like the rotting corpse of Philip by the mad queen Juana — was preserved in existence for so long precisely because there was no one to take his place except this play-boy king. In this sense it represents if not a defeat for the regime at least the need for the present regime to make an armistice with the working people. To do this it is necessary to do more than have recourse to the cheap and expedient amnesty of such prisoners as have survived — after so many have been killed and tortured — or to allow some democratic rights when the whole nation has been destroyed.

An armistice supposes the granting of two demands:

1. An amnesty and restitution on the lines of that granted by West Germany.
2. The abolition of the Army.

All prisoners and former prisoners must be amnestied and compensated; and victim's families given some restitution as did the West German Government (which did not benefit in the same way the Spanish Government has). All property must be restored including industries collectivised by the workers during the civil war, which were legitimised by the Republican Government and only annulled by force of arms by the occupying army.

The disgraceful, cowardly and treacherous officers of the Army, who go to war only with their own subjects, and so far from being a force of defence sought foreign aid to subjugate their country, must be dismissed, and the Army disbanded. It represents an alien force of conquest over the Spanish people which extends colonial rule into the peninsula.

All criminals of war and peace must be brought to account.

We further state: The funds of the CNT, seized by the victors and recently restored into the hands of Octavio Alberola in connection with the detention of Spanish banker Suarez, which have been re-confiscated by the French police, should be refunded. The French and British police have consistently harassed the libertarian Resistance in order to help Franco. Now it should be pointed out that it is playing the game of the Communist Party by harassing the only force that can prevent the Communist Party taking over the labour movement.

We evince the Interpol co-operation which has prevented Miguel Garcia from obtaining his passport without surrendering his right of residence; the Dutch-German police co-operation in preventing Stuart Christie from attending an anti-Franco rally in Offenbach (Germany) though travelling on a valid British passport; and the persecution of Octavio Alberola and many others which have included raids by French police on British homes with the connivance of Scotland Yard officers. The sum total of the complaints against them is their support for the Spanish libertarian movement.

The urgent need of the Franco regime is to make itself acceptable to those whom it liquidated and where it did not murder or imprison, reduced to poverty and despair. None of this is changed by the playboy king. Against it we call on the workers councils to come out openly and form constituent parts of the reconstructed CNT. We reject all collaboration with the

(We urge all comrades to circulate copies of the above press statement by the Federacion Obrera Iberica to their local press, trade-union branch and diplomatic service).

Comisiones Obreras (the UGT does not really exist) unless they shake off the domination by the Communist Party. We have not taken the full brunt of the repression of one dictatorship to accept another. The Communist Party is rejected by us as beyond the pale of acceptance by its dictatorial methods, its subservience to Russia and its record in the civil war.

While rejecting political alliances, we stand for a federalist alliance with all who struggle against the unitary state and for a confederation of free societies within the peninsula as a whole, ignoring the divisions made in the names of forgotten kings who gave away people like wedding gifts. While rejecting a Basque or Catalan government, we recognise the need for independence for these and other areas in a federal peninsula.

We call on labour movements throughout the world to prevent all seeking to intervene in the Spanish labour movement. We call for the end of Interpol harassment of the Resistance movement which has kept Franco in power so long, and was a poor return for the help given the French Resistance and British Intelligence by Spanish guerrillas in the world war. Other than that we do not call on the British labour movement for help. It has done nothing all these years for us and if at this moment, having done nothing for the Resistance, it helps the Communist Party, it is backing the wrong horse. The Communist Party will wipe out social democracy and they will then regard Spain as lost for ever to democratic aims. Maybe British workers are so satisfied with the State's socialism that they prefer it to Stateless socialism — we doubt it, but we don't want it wished on us. We are stateless socialists, that is to say anarchists.

We are aware of the hypocrisy of the Right which pretends to oppose communism because of its dictatorship but regards a non-dictatorial, anti-Bolshevik, stateless communism as criminal of itself. Journalists should bear in mind when retailing this sort of propaganda against the anarchist movement in Spain that they are now playing the communist game instead of the fascist.

## FACTS ABOUT THE C.N.T. AT THE PRESENT TIME

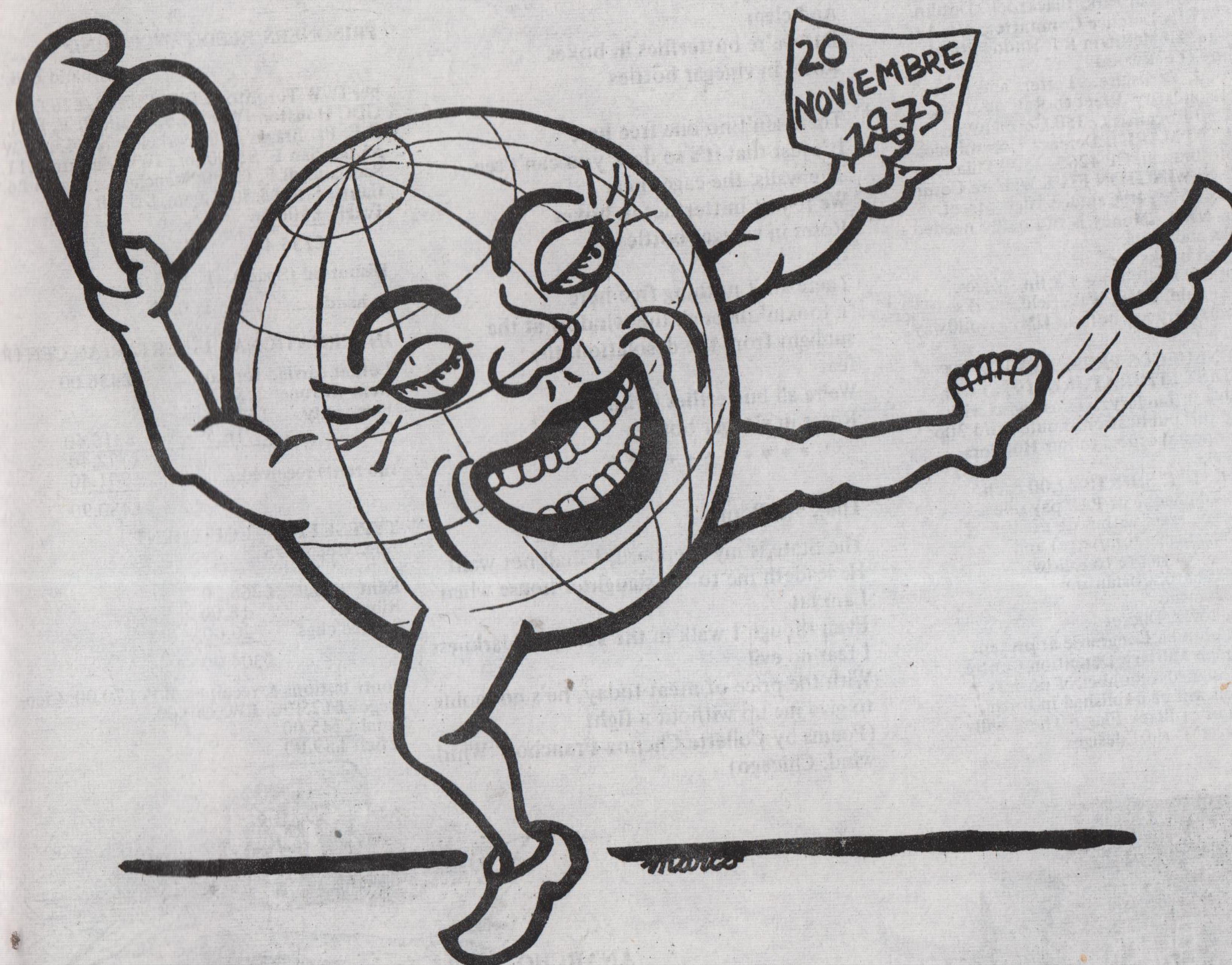
1. The CNT has always been the majority union in Spain preferred by most workers. It has taken the brunt of the Resistance since its destruction by General Franco. The FOI REAFFIRMS THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST AND INTERNATIONALIST PRINCIPLES OF THE C.N.T. It calls for the immediate reconstruction of the CNT in Spain based upon the traditional workers' locals, the nucleus of which inevitably must be the regional committees of the CNT inside Spain which have survived the dictatorship.
2. The FOI calls upon those workers whom it has contacted in the emigration, when returning to Spain, to form workers' councils in all places of work, and to carry on the struggle against the dictatorship and the class struggle which is inseparable from it.
3. It recognises the moribund nature of the exile movement centred in Toulouse, the so-called International Secretariat, which is unable to provide any clear call for the reconstruction of the CNT at this juncture, and which was evinced by its failure to aid the Resistance movement. It proposes to ignore this body in future dealings with Spain but calls on it to dissolve and support the general move for a reconstruction of the CNT within Spain.
4. Similarly the FOI calls on its locals in Spain to dissolve the moment the reconstruction of the CNT can take place and to become part of the CNT. It does not seek to be a schism but it does condemn the governmental and authoritarian tendencies which crept into its ranks during the civil war and have had little part in the Resistance.

# BLACK FLAG

organ of the

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL IV No. 5 Nov./ Dec. 1975 15p



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Send crossed cheque or P.O. payable  
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Black Flag cover, Ducret  
Comrade Columba Longmore at present  
in the Curragh Military Detention Centre,  
Eire, has designed a number of posters  
for us which will be published in forth-  
coming issues of Black Flag. These will  
also appear as 'T' shirt designs.



"Black Flag" banner at Bayonne during "The March on Spain", Nov. 1.  
(other photo p.6. Report on p.6).

**DIRECT ACTION**, Organ of the Syndical-  
ist Workers Federation, c/o Grass Roots,  
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#### Vinegar Bottles

There ain't no one free here  
Just looks that way because the bars are glass  
(Acrylic?)

And clear  
But we're butterflies in boxes  
Roses in vinegar bottles

There ain't no one free here  
It's just that it's so dark you can't see  
The walls, the cages near  
We're just butterflies in boxes  
Roses in vinegar bottles

There ain't nothing free here  
'n lookin' through the window at the  
sunlight from the desolation, the  
fear

We're all butterflies in boxes  
Roses in vinegar bottles

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#### The 23rd Bomb

The State is my shepherd, I shall not want  
He leadeth me to the slaughter house when  
I am fat  
Even though I walk in the valley of darkness  
I fear no evil

With the price of meat today, he's not going  
to give me up without a fight  
(Poems by Collette Chenoa Franchot "Whirl-  
wind, Chicago)

#### THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC CRISIS

To 10th November 1975 Def.c/fwd £575.32  
Printing costs £168.00  
Postage 146.50  
Lit. purchased 48.50  
Rent, Hudders. 21.00  
384.00  
959.32

Sales and subs. £140.57  
Donations as follows: Scotland, A.H. £5; A.McG  
£5.00; Grp. £3.75; Cardiff, G.H. £2.00; London,  
L.S. £7.20, T.M. £3.00, A.M. £5.00; Belfast, P.S.  
£1.00; NY, L.M. £2.18; Australia, £2.00; Calif. A.R.  
£34.06, Picnic at Los Angeles £37.46; Germany, A.  
£5.00.  
Total : - £112.65

Total outgoings: £959.32  
Total income £253.22  
deficit £706.10p  
result, misery

#### PRISONERS/RESISTANCE FUND

i/ hand £28.93

per IWW Toronto G.D.C. £17.48, £26.04;  
GDC Houston IWW \$4.53; Calif. R.E. \$10, per  
R.E. Ft. Bragg \$10, Berkeley £21.43, IWW N.Y.  
\$5.00, San F. \$5.00, per IWW Toronto £11.53;  
Scotland, B.F. £2.00; Manchester, Anon £6.00;  
Hants. S.B. £5.50; Guam, S.S. £8.01.  
Total £106.56

£135.49

Disbursed (Spain)...125.00

in hand..... £10.49

#### INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE

Deficit carried forward £456.00

Rent to June £181.98

Electricity £117.83

Gas 16.59 £316.40

sub rents received..... £772.40

£291.50

£480.90

#### TYPESETTING EQUIPMENT

Aug./Oct. 1975

Rent to Oct. £266.00

Ribbons 18.00

Service chgs. 20.00

£304.00

Contributions & receipts: B.F. £70.00; Cien-  
fuegos £125.00; J.W. £50.00.

Total £245.00

deficit £59.00



#### ANARCHO - QUIZ

1. Which union official sounds like a Ku Kluxer but is named after a piece of paper?
2. A boy is wheeled into hospital seriously ill after his father has crashed the car and been killed outright. The surgeon cries "Good god, that's my son!" How is this possible?
3. The National Secular Society has an emblem one would have thought more appropriate to the Gay Liberation Front. What and why?
4. What is the official Westminster representation of the Communist Party of Great Britain after fifty years of the parliamentary road to socialism?
5. The name of Thomas Hardy is best known as that of a poet and novelist. But who was the earlier Thomas Hardy (no relation) who played a significant part in the development of revolutionary and libertarian sentiment in the British working class?

#### IRISH COMRADES ARRESTED:

# THE IRISH SCAPEGOATS

The hypocrisy and underlyingsfascism beneath the mask of religious democracy that constitutes the Irish State is beyond belief. For years now it has maintained a facing-both-ways relationship with the IRA. It imprisons and proscribes it on the one hand, it cynically exploits it on the other.

It maintains excellent relations with London - despite the fact that the Special Branch of both countries have a well organised espionage system on each other and on subjects of each other's countries. But it knows the people have an ambivalent attitude towards the IRA which they confuse with the old IRA of which the modern outfit retains the same name. They have some sympathy for it so long as it stays in the North. But they don't particularly want it in the South, nor do they want economic division from England.

The IRA itself is well aware of this. That is why, as in the kidnapping of Dr Herrema, it dissociates itself from a dissident group - "dissident" in that it is out on a limb by becoming liable to alienate people only caring about persuading the Dutch industrialist to stay on and exploit them.

Now, whenever there is an IRA explosion in England, the Provisional IRA no longer rushes to claim responsibility. The effect is the same in any case. They build up a cumulative effect which suggests that the IRA is "doing something" even if the aim has now become totally obscure, since it is evident that the last thing wanted by Catholic Nationalism is a withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. But the impression of revolutionary activity is essential to their stock-in-trade. It is the only growth industry left in Ulster.

It is for this reason that the Irish lobby always suggests - in the teeth of all reasoning - that such exploits are organised by the London government itself - by the Special Branch - by the CIA or by "UDA infiltrators", a fanciful interpretation which enables the best of both worlds, causing the atmosphere of terror which shows the IRA is still "about" yet avoiding upsetting its liberal supporters.

Sometimes there is the added twist of the knife given by politically illiterate British journalists (unaware that they are covering up for the IRA) or Catholic Bishops (fully and artfully aware of the fact) to speak of *anarchists* in this connection...always "it might be anarchists..." as if any murder would do for an anarchist! - something not borne out by one single instance.

This is what lies behind the recent police terror in the Republic - and it has nothing to do with the nationalist struggle. The Dublin government has launched a vicious anti-anarchist campaign. It is taking action against the anarchists to convince the British Government it is serious when it says it will take action against the IRA.

The usual course for revolutionaries over the years in Ireland has been to emigrate. But some have stayed to make the course. Now they face the full rigours of the anti-Terrorism law - two men and a woman are facing the death penalty.

This is how they are going to make themselves "credible" to the British Government, while at the same time appeasing those in the north who want union with the Republic by not taking action against the IRA!

Already now, some time ago, as readers will be aware, three anarchists have been in the Curragh military prison for some time. Desmond Keane, Columba Longmore and Robert Cullen were sentenced to five, four and seven years respectively.

Noel Murray jumped his bail in the case and his wife Marie McPhillips got a two year suspended sentence.

They were accused of actions against the Spanish Embassy among other things. But meanwhile there has been building up a

long expected repression against libertarian supporters and sympathisers. On September 11 this year a policeman was shot dead after a bank raid in North Dublin in which £7,000 was taken. After running around in circles, the police turned to the "spectre of Anarchism" and, on the morning of September 23, raided the addresses of known anarchists throughout Dublin.

But the Gardai - who have demonstrated their cowardice in the Herrema affair as well as their inhumanity (for what could have been simpler than to promise anything - they had no need to fulfill the terms - they preferred to save their faces as well as their skins) acted true to type. The raids were not only directed against known anarchists, but also on the relations and friends of those Anarchists in prison. The vindictiveness of this action can be seen by the arrest of mother, brother and sister of one of the Curragh prisoners. They were interrogated for hours. This is in "The Republic"!

One comrade who has looked after the welfare of prisoners was taken to Raheny police station where he was viciously beaten to such an extent that he is receiving hospital treatment. Another comrade had several ribs broken. Why? They hoped that the prisoners would "confess" to knowing who was responsible.

The Evening Herald ran headlines that the policeman had been shot by anarchists. Yet at this stage the police did not know the identity of the person - only, it seems, his political convictions. It then went on to connect the imprisoned comrades with them - thus using the standard of guilt by association. A reward of £20,000 was offered for information.

Guilt by association could only mean Noel Murray and there were plenty to swear it was him at the price offered. Over the past eight months Noel and Marie became a thorn in the side of the establishment and the police have gone to great lengths to inculcate both of them as a sort of libertarian Bonnie and Clyde.

On October 9 Noel and Marie returned home from a stroll and were met by a policeman holding a machine-gun at them and who roared YOU'RE DEAD MURRAY! Then they realised the house was surrounded by forty armed police.

After they were arrested, the police went round to arrest Ronan Stenson - who had been held and released. His activity? He is a long standing activist for prisoners' rights and a member of the Prisoners' Rights Organisation, who has become a great embarrassment to the government for his persistent exposure of prison conditions. It seems to be more of a coincidence that two days before his arrest his picture appeared in a national daily (the Irish Times) handing a PRO leaflet to Prime Minister Cosgrave.

The three were taken to different police stations and viciously beaten up for thirty hours. Then they were forced to sign statements which had been dictated to them. Their solicitors demanded independent medical examinations, which were refused. Now all three face charges which carry the death sentence.

The most urgent need exists to demonstrate solidarity with Noel, Marie and Ronan, and defend them from the worst excesses of the State terrorists in Dublin. We ask for full support for representations to be made to the Irish Government. Especially from the pro-Republican lobby which has in this instance a chance to put its own house in order.

Noel Murray, Ronan Stenson are in the Curragh Military Detention Centre, Co. Kildare, Eire (Along with Des Keane, Bob Cullen and Columba Longmore). Marie Murray is in Limerick Prison, Eire. Postcards, letters, mags., books, etc., should be sent to them at the above addresses.



## TRADE UNIONS:

# 'CLOSED SHOP'

THE TUC IS DETERMINED to push the "closed shop" principle through. It has even got to the point of threatening "industrial disturbances" if the Lord manage to block that part of the trade union Bill, and when the TUC gets to that point, principles (or something) really are involved. Though one need hardly say that rarely does the TUC stick to that point: it has a facility for avoiding confrontation when it comes to the crunch.

The principle of the closed shop is one that is essential to British trade unionism, not because of its strength but because of its weakness. It can fight on the political field to get the closed shop, and does not hazard anything industrially. Then when it has a closed shop in which members are legally bound to join the union or get out of the industry, it does not have to "justify itself by works at all".

The member is bound to be in the union because the law says he has to be or, where it is a closed shop by agreement and not by law, because his employer tells him he has to be. He cannot be too critical of the leadership; he cannot wildcat or take much unofficial action because in such a case he faces expulsion from the union which also means not only the sack from his job, but the loss of his skill. Perhaps indeed it means the loss of a chance to earn his living by work altogether.

Naturally, this gives greater power to the union and sometimes that power is on behalf of the worker. But the worker is totally subjected by the TU boss.

It is a form of state socialism and an inevitable consequence of the growth of state socialism among the trade unions. The conservative criticism is not frankly selfish material interest, but the hypocritical one of individual freedom, in which they do not believe but which is a good stick with which to beat the state socialist. Faced however with a socialism that does believe in individual freedom, they cry "criminal"! — for they dearly want to curb the unofficial strikers and

wildcatters by law with no "nonsense" about individual freedom!

The closed shop is something that has grown out of the weakness of British socialism which uses its political arm to great effect but which has the ultimate effect of delivering the labour movement over into the hands of social democracy. In many countries not only is there no closed shop, but there are four or five rival trade unions battling it out. In those countries the union has to earn its membership. People join not because they have to, but because it is worth their while; and where an anarcho-syndicalist union existed in pre-Franco Spain, they belonged, despite and during the intervals of dictatorship, when the socialist trade union took advantage of its political representation to strengthen in itself. And they did so because there was greater value in the one than in the other. It took genocide to stop them.

Perhaps it is too late in the day to expect that British workers will break away from the state socialist conditioning in which the closed shop is regarded as a triumph for labour bargaining?

Yet do they so regard it? It is more regarded as a fact of life, something as inevitable as the wind or rain or the economic depression, all apparently equally regarded as acts of God. The demand comes from a very limited circle, and the fact that the majority couldn't care less is precisely one of the reasons the political minority want it; without the safeguard of the closed shop they would lose their members for few people today join a trade union willingly, for its own sake and not as a pre-condition of work.

The closed shop principle has prevented any sense of loyalty or pride in a union. It is a public thing, no longer a "union". Perhaps it is too late in the day for everyone to make a principle of not joining. It is, however, not too late in the day for people engaged in the class struggle to think of further, voluntary organisations which it is not necessary to join — but which people do join nevertheless, because they get results. Works councils: based in the beginning on groups of militants industry by industry. It is not a question of thousands of millions. A start can be made with five. Five militants, in each unit inside heavy industry, would equal if not surpass the strength of the trade union movement as at present, by agreement and occasionally by law, appointed.

## POET'S CORNER

### GIFT FOR A BELIEVER for Flavio Costantini

It is Friday, a usual day in Italy, and you wait. Below the street sleeps at noon. Once the Phoenicians came that way, the Roman slaves on foot, and later the Nazis. To you came the Anarchists chanting, "We shall inherit," and among them Santo Caserio who lost his head for knifing the President of France, the ambassador to hell. Came little Ferrer in his long gown who taught the Spanish children to question. His fine hands chained behind his back, his eyes of a boy smeared, he swings above the stone trench of Montjuich. The wind came to blow his words away, then snow that buried your childhood and all the promises, that rusted out the old streetcars and humped over your fathers' graves.



Durruti.

In your vision Durruti whispered to an old woman that he would never forget the sons and daughters who died believing they carried a new world there in their hearts, but when the doctor was summoned and could not stop his wounds he forgot. Ascaso, who fled with him to Argentina, Paraguay, Bruxelles, the first to die storming the Atarazanas Barracks, he forgot. The rail yards of Leon where his father doubled over and deafened, forgotten. That world that he said is growing here in my heart this minute forgotten. When old Nathan Pine gave two hands to a drop-forged at Chevy, my spit turned to gall and I swore I'd never forget

When the years turned to a gray mist and my sons grew away without faith, the memory slept, and I bowed my head so that I might live. On the spare hillside west of here the new lambs stumble in the fog and rise. My wife kneels to the cold earth and we have bread. I see and don't believe. Farther west the ocean breaks on cold stones, the great Pacific that blesses no one breaks into water. So this is what I send you, friend, where you wait above a street that will waken into dark shops, sellers of flour and onions, dogs, hawkers of salt, iron, lies. I send water to fill your glass and overflow, to cool your wrists in the night ahead, water that runs like a pure thread through all my dreams and empties into tears, water to wash our eyes, our mothers' last wine, two palmfuls the sky gave us, what the roots crave, rain.

Philip Levine

# The Liberal-Democratic Objection to anarchism

LIBERAL DEMOCRACY IS AFRAID to make direct criticisms of anarchism because to do so undermines the whole reasoning of liberal democracy. It therefore resorts to falsification: anarchists are equated with Marxists (and thereby the whole Marxist criticism of anarchism ignored). The most frequent target of attack is to suggest that Anarchism is some form of Marxism plus violence, or some form of extremist Marxism.

The reason liberal democracy has no defence to offer against real anarchist argument is because liberal democracy is using it as its apologia the defence of "freedom" yet circumscribing walls around it. It pretends that parliamentarism is some form of democracy, but though seldom prepared to admit (under pressure) that parliamentarism is no form of democracy at all, occasionally seeks to find ways of further democratising it. The undoubted dictatorial process that a few people, once elected, by fair means or foul, have a right to make decisions for the majority, is covered up by a defence of the Constitutional Rights or even the individual liberty, of those members of Parliament.... Burke's dictum that they are representatives, not delegates, is quoted ad nauseum (as if this reactionary politician had bound the British people for everlasting though he — as is self-admitted — did not seek to ask their opinions on the matter once).

Liberal economics are almost as dead as the Dodo. What rules is either the monopoly of the big firms or of the State. Yet laissez faire economics remain embodied aspirations of the Tory Party which they never implement. They object to the intervention of the State in business. But they never care to carry the spirit of competition too far. Enoch Powell recently commented on the fact that there was no logical reason why there should be any restriction on the movement of currency and this is good Tory policy (though never implemented! Not until the crisis is over!) Why should we not be able to deal in gold pieces or US dollars or Maria Theresa thalers or francs or Deutschmarks or even devalued Deutschmarks? The pound sterling would soon find its own level, and if it were devalued, so much the worse for it. But why stop there? If we can choose any currency we like free socialism could co-exist with capitalism and it would drive capitalism out.

## ..the virtue of fools

SOME FRIENDS IN THE USA raised the case of the continued detention of Hilary Creek and Anna Mendelson with the British Embassy. To their surprise they received a mimeographed reply from C. Owlett in the Information Department, as follows:

Information Department  
British Embassy  
Washington DC 20008

Mr & Mrs. G. A. B.  
Michigan 48104

Dear Mr & Mrs B.,

Thank you for your letter about the case pending before the British Courts of persons charged with offences under the Incitement to Disaffection Act (1934) and the Army Act (1935).

The matter is still before the courts and, as I am sure you will appreciate, it would be inappropriate to comment on the case while it remains sub judice. Your comments have nonetheless been noted.

Yours sincerely,

G Owlett (Information Dept.)

Comrades B. replied:

Your reply to our letter is appreciated, even if it is only a mass-produced form letter, which in no way

State socialism can co-exist with capitalism as long as the State gives a place to the existence of capitalism (it drives it out in Russia, allows it a small place in other Communist countries).

But once free socialism competes with capitalism — as it would if we could choose to ignore the State's symbolic money and deal in one of our own choosing which reflected real work values — who would choose to be exploited? Quite clearly no laissez faire economist who had to combine his role with that of party politician (and therefore practical man) would allow things to go that far. All Powell was doing was contrasting State intervention with non-intervention. He had no intention of letting the State go by default. Indeed, as a politician (if not exactly a party one, or if so, it is hard to say which) he is for State repression of the most direct and brutal kind.

Liberal democracy picks up one of the normal arguments against anarchism which begin on the right wing; namely it begins with the objections against socialism that it is Statist, but if there is an anti-Statist socialism that is in fact more liberal than itself, then it is "criminal". If it is not, then it seeks laws to make it so.

This argument is in fact beneath contempt; yet it is one which influences the press, police and judiciary to a surprising extent. But in fact anarchism as such (as distinct from specific anarchist organisations) could never be illegal, because no laws can make people love the State. (It is done by false ideals, such as describing the State as a "country").

The fact is that liberal democracy seldom voices any arguments against anarchism as such — other than relying upon prejudice — because its objections are purely authoritarian, and unmask the innate Statism and authoritarianism of liberalism. Nowadays conservatives and others like to appropriate the name "libertarian" to describe themselves as if they were more receptive to freedom than socialists. But their libertarianism is confined to keeping the State out of interfering in their business affairs. Once anarchism makes it plain that it is possible to have both social justice and to dispense with the State they are shown in their true colours. Their arguments against State Socialism and Communism may sound "libertarian". But their arguments against Anarchism reveal that they are essentially authoritarianism. That is why they prefer to rely upon innuendo, slanders, and false reporting.

appears to actually reply to ours. We were not aware that Hilary Creek and Anna Mendelson (or any of their co-defendants) were charged "with offences under the incitement to Disaffection Act (1934) and the Army Act (1955)." Moreover, it is not our understanding that this "matter is still before the courts," except in that, already having been convicted and sentenced, their case is subject to periodic review. Is it proper, here, to say that their case "remains sub judice"?

It was our understanding that the British Embassy was the proper office for handling letters such as ours, basically a letter of protest to the British Government. By whom, then, were our "comments .. noted" and precisely what does that mean? Where should we have sent them, if not to you? Whether or not it "would be inappropriate to comment on the case itself, we would very much appreciate your comment on your reply to our original letter."

Most sincerely,

G.A.B. (Mr & Mrs.)

But, as with Hamlet, the rest was silence...



# Granma's Anarchism

IN GRANMA, FEB. 2, '75, TONAY FERNANDEZ ASKS *Who profits from a 'Revival' of anarchism?* This leading Cuban Communist journal gives the orthodox Castroite "answer" to anarchism. But it is full of falsifications. So important do they consider it that it has been translated into English, from which the worthlessness of the analysis is transparent. Its "logic" will not escape those who read our "Objections to Anarchism" from the Marxist-Leninist point of view.

It begins with an orthodox Marxist statement of world crisis which means "there cannot be any form of co-existence with our enemies". (*You surprise me*, said Henry Kissinger). Because of this, apparently, there has been a revival of anarchism.

"This is one of the causes that have recently led a group of bourgeois ideologists and sociologists, reformists and revisionists at the service of imperialism, and the "theoreticians" of the so-called 4th International — Garcia Pradas of Spain, Herbert Reed and alex Confort (sic), A. Lefebvre of France, and Daniel and Gabriel Conh-Bendit of Germany (sic) — to go through great pain to revive and publicise the anarchist ideology of Proudhon, Bakunin and Erotkin (sic), and ideology aimed at dividing and splitting the revolutionary forces and shattering their militant unity and thus postponing as much as possible the definitive end of capitalism."

Note how the author deliberately confuses anarchism with the "so-called 4th International" (Trotskyists) and brings in a renegade such as Garcia Pradas to confound the anarchists with. He speaks as if anarchism is the invention of ideologists and sociologists, because he does not mention anyone else. Savour the joke of "Erotkin" who presumably is responsible for all that pornography.

"By reviving anarchist ideology or the so-called "Left Communism," the enemies of socialism seek to have one sector of the workers oppose the other, to pit the anti-imperialist proletarian sectors against the working class in general; young people against adults; and workers who are not members of the Communist Parties against those who are. And they even claim "you can be a revolutionary and still have anti-communist positions."

"Among the main objectives of the ideological diversionism which is spread by the present anarchist trends, there is one which serves as a common denominator of its many forms and manifestations: the effort to separate the underdeveloped countries and the world revolutionary movement from their main bastion and natural ally: the Soviet Union."

This is one in the eye for all those young Che Guevarists who are disillusioned with Stalinism and think that Cuba holds some hope for them! But what sort of objection is it against anarchism that it actually claims that you can be revolutionary and be anti-Bolshevik? Didn't Fernandez realise that? Had he never heard of the anarchist movement in Cuba with its long tradition of fight against the Batista dictatorship — yes, fight, when Moscow Communism allied itself with that dictatorship because of its wartime stand — had he never heard of Miranda and the working class movement of Cuba?

"One of the most evident manifestations of the anarchist ideology is anti-Sovietism and the negation of Marxism-Leninism, Imperialist agents infiltrated in the ranks of the working class movement are used to promote anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist trends.

"Lenin repeatedly denounced these two "important currents that deviate from Marxism: revisionism and anarchism, as different forms and shades, in all civilised countries during the long century of the history of the mass labour movement," and then he said that "anarcho syndicalism and reformism are direct products of the bourgeois conception of the world."

"Imperialist agents" infiltrated in the workers movement promote imperialist war, presumably. Does this sound like anarchists — or Stalinists? But Lenin, to try to win over the anarcho-syndicalist movements (in countries such as Cuba) distinguished between anarcho-syndicalists and reformist socialists whereas for Fernandez "they are just a continuation of the ideas of Bernstein, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kautsky, Hilferding and other declassified elements" — a beautiful mishmash of socialdemocrats and anarchists!

Fernandez attempts to define anarchist ideology "historically defeated by Marxism Leninism":

- "1) Negation of the state in the development of socialist society.
- 2) Negation of the Party of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat, at which the main attacks are aimed.
- 3) Replacing the state by trade unions.
- 4) The instruments and main means of production must be the property of "Direct producers" and "Labour councils" and they must be run by the unions.
- 5) Unlimited individual freedom: negation of all forms of authority — which, in keeping with anarchist ideas, constitutes the essence of "social emancipation" which is the main element in the "unlimited freedom of the individual."
- 6) No subordination of the individual to the collective; no discipline in the social, productive or service sectors.
- 7) Subjectivism and voluntarism, as the basis for the anarchist philosophical concept of the world.

That is not a bad attempt. One might prefer "self-discipline" to "no discipline" in No.6 but let it pass. What has Fernandez to say in reply to them? "Actually, these 'theories' of an anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist nature; which the agents of imperialism seek to revive to back up the existence of a 4th International, are anything but new. They have nothing in common with the ideas of the 4th International or Trotsky. But if they are "anything but new" does this render them false? Did Mr Castro invent "the theories of Marxism-Leninism" — or are these, too, "anything but new"?



Section of the 5,000 strong Anarchist contingent at Bayonne, Nov.1.

## UNKNOWN HEROES:

# El Català

EL CATALA has been mentioned in Antonio Tellez's biography of Sabate and in my "Looking Back after Twenty Years". His real name was Francisco Denis and though his nickname might suggest a true Catalan, in fact he was a fellow-countryman of Durruti, coming from Leon — with all the strength of character that true "leones" possess. I described him as one who gave his life for freedom. He was a full human being who gave an example of sacrifice and generosity, giving all for a cause. In his way he typifies a large number of other militants. His story is theirs.

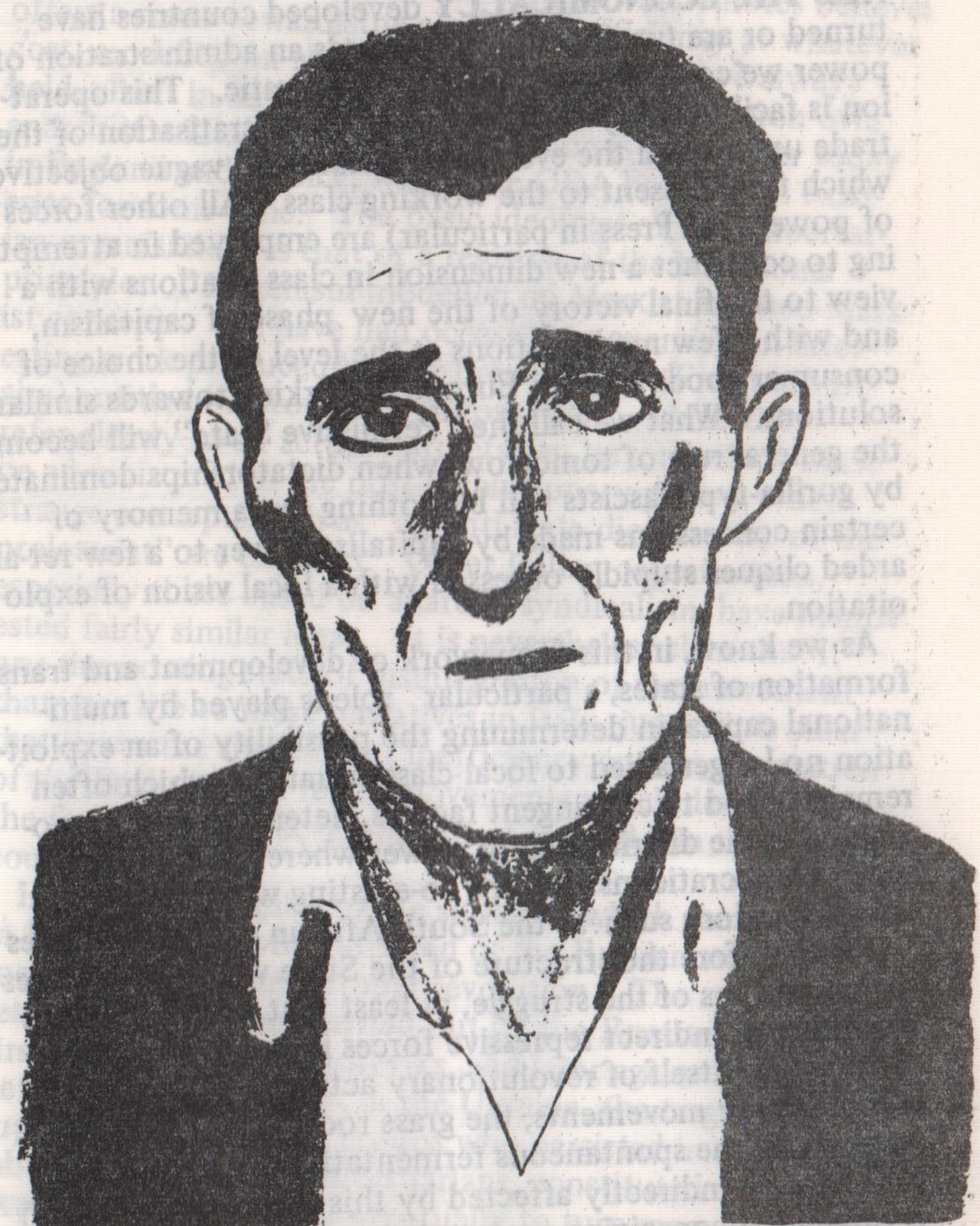
With the military uprising, he was one of the first on the streets against it. When the people were victorious and masters of the situation he believed the time had come at long last to put the revolution into practice. But, alas, comrades who were so much admired, and whose names impelled so much respect, were content with the opportunity of entering a government, against which they had so long inveighed. It was a sad disappointment for the militants like him, who were never consulted. The people who went into the Government dared not ask the consent of the organization.

In the trenches the long drawn out struggle meant that militarisation had to be accepted. The popular Front, with its obsession of weakening the libertarian movement, formed a block with the Communist Party. The Commissar in each regiment was to replace the old Republican Army chaplain. El Catala was — as a responsible militant of the libertarian movement — nominated commissar of the Battalion, which conferred a status equal to comandante.

It was a stroke of irony. El Catala, the anti-militarist, the well-known revolutionary, now on a parity with the chief of a battalion mediating between soldier and command! He had a heavy heart as he took these duties. But he knew the communists only wanted the opportunity to smash the libertarian movement. Like so many others he thought it best to forestall them. He managed to gain the respect of the soldiers and to be totally disliked by the commanders. There was no confidence he could feel however: on the one hand the political parties were carrying the Government between them, on the other hand the attitude of Britain and France was strengthening the intervention of Hitler and Mussolini. He, like others, fought on without hope — only to stave off genocide. The inevitable defeat came.

Catala did all he could to ensure an orderly retreat. They crossed the frontier, only to find at the other side that the French were putting them into prison — the most inhospitable places, in fact, cages on deserted beaches along the Mediterranean where they were kept until war broke out in 1939. Many were destroyed by dysentery and lack of nutrition. There was no protection against the humid sand, the darkening sky and the harsh wind of the mistral. Senegalese troops kept watch on them.

But Catala did not give up the struggle. He was together with his comrades in the vicissitudes of exile, and later, when the Germans broke through, he was also one of those who helped initiate the Resistance. Already in 1943 he made his first contacts with those left inside Spain. From then on, until his death in 1949, he went backwards



Francisco Denis (El Català). Civil War and Resistance fighter, guide over the mountains, killed himself rather than confess, after three days torture in the police station.

and forwards over the frontier. He made innumerable journeys into the heart of Spain to carry on the struggle. The pitcher went too often to the well. Thus, Catala, in one of his many missions in June 1949, fell into the hands of the police when keeping an appointment with some comrades in Barcelona.

The Prefecture of Police knew what Catala was worth to the libertarian movement. He was subjected to strict interrogation (torture). During three whole days he resisted but human endurance has a limit and he could not take any more torture. He did not crack. Like the majority of the guerrillas of that period, he carried a small quantity of cyanide inside the button of his jacket. In his fourth night of suffering, in the early hours of dawn, the chief of police Moran came for him in person, accompanied by his guards. Catala was lying on the floor already suffering from his torturers. He swallowed the tablet rapidly. When they got in they only found a corpse. It was June 1949. Thus ended a life completely devoted to the cause of a better humanity.

If we take the parallelism of Plutarch, we must compare Catala with another man, who like him, also struggled in a similar way: this man, a born anarchist, has been mentioned by Tellez and deserves a full biography. His name has been well known in spite of himself: he is known as Cara Quemada (burnt face) or Pasos Largos (Longsteps) or simply Ramon. We shall deal with him another time.

Miguel Garcia



# Whither Italian Anarchism?

ALL THE ECONOMICALLY developed countries have turned or are turning rapidly towards an administration of power we could define as social-democratic. This operation is facilitated by the increasing bureaucratisation of the trade unions and the ever more distant and vague objectives which they present to the working class. All other forces of power (the Press in particular) are employed in attempting to construct a new dimension in class relations with a view to the final victory of the new phase of capitalism, and with a few modifications at the level of the choice of consumer goods Eastern Europe is working towards similar solutions. What we call the "Permissive State" will become the general rule of tomorrow, when dictatorships dominated by gorilla-type fascists will be nothing but a memory of certain concessions made by capitalist power to a few retarded cliques stupidly obsessed with a local vision of exploitation.

As we know, in this framework of development and transformation of states, a particular role is played by multinational capital in determining the possibility of an exploitation no longer allied to local class situations which often remain linked to contingent factors, determining that geography of the distribution of power where we could see social democratic institutions co-existing with Nazi-type administrations such as the South African or the Portuguese.

It is therefore the structure of the State which determines the conditions of the struggle, at least that which concerns the direct or indirect repressive forces it employs, and is the language itself of revolutionary activity. The really revolutionary movements, the grass roots workers' organisations, all the spontaneous fermentations and organisations became indirectly affected by this type of State which is capable of conceiving an ever increasing conditioning with a view to reducing them to complete impotence. But if there exists a fundamental obstacle to reducing the worker to complete impotence, it is his continual exploitation, the inexorable law of every type of capitalist State; for the revolutionary called to develop some particular work within the masses and to turn them on to the right wave length concerning the type of exploitation, of developing analyses and realising actions which correspond to the actual situation of class relations, there exists the very real danger of becoming swallowed into the spirals of the permissive State to the point of becoming suffocated by it.

Such a danger obviously exists for the anarchist movement. In Italy after 1968/69 this danger became more serious, especially concerning the intrinsic weakness of the movement and its relative lack of any real contribution to the class struggle in Italy today. After 1968 and the experiences related to May in France, there have been a number of relatively profound changes in our movement here. The rapidity of these changes has in many cases determined a split between old militants (obviously not all, but many of them attached to experiences and analyses by now out of date) and the young who have fashioned themselves on experiences and analyses which are still relevant and which are still causes of disagreement and reflection today. Consequently, a series of splits have occurred and there has been a complete dis-organisation on a geographical level and in the relations between different groups and federations.

In a sense this phenomenon does not find its only explanation in the influx of young people into the movement, but

also in the persistence of a relationship of mutual tolerance between Italian anarchism and the State. In the past, the more anarchist agitation has been weak the more State tolerance has increased towards their confrontations — not the least of the State's interests being that of having a good scarecrow to hand to dangle before the masses (the Milan bombings). When, in the past, a few groups have carried out actions of any importance against bourgeois institutions or against the power of the State, then the repression has made itself felt, along with the sour and superficial criticism of the centres of so-called "anarchist authority" afraid of losing their legality.

The excuse of the need to strengthen the movement before beginning the struggle against the State, limiting activity to the diffusion of ideas and the re-printing of classics, almost always a critically, is also a characteristic of a large part of the movement today, who nevertheless find themselves in a critical position from time to time as a consequence of certain situations — the struggle against the fascists, the obtuseness of certain branches of the State, the incapacity to carry on even with propaganda, and a very limited presence within the workers movements.

Indisputably, if this path of development was understood for what it is — a massive organic plan to influence the mass over a long period — and if the State practised a retrograde type of administration (dictatorial or centralised) it would be possible to imagine a progressive re-inforcement of the movement. But the reality is very different. If left alone these stimuli towards the mass have brief fruits and sudden deaths. If the Italian anarchist movement is to develop, as it surely will, it must find other routes apart from that of long-term education and propaganda in order to avoid working in a vacuum and losing more esteem than it has today: those of direct action and armed struggle against the State.

## THE BERTOLI CASE

A clear indication of this state of confusion and disintegration in which the Italian movement finds itself today is shown in the polemic which surrounded the case of Bertoli. As we know, this man, who still insists on defining himself as an anarchist, is responsible for the massacre of Via Fatebenefratelli in Milan, outside police headquarters, during a demonstration in memory of Police Superintendent Calabresi.

A communique from the anarchist organisations was published in many of the bourgeois daily newspapers, stating that Bertoli was a total stranger to the anarchist movement, condemning a crime which caused the deaths of innocent victims, and stressing the necessity of seeing the attentat within the context of the climate of violence fostered by the fascists and the State. The same problem was taken up again on a deeper level inside the movement in such a way as to give some indication of the internal disintegration and confusion of the Italian groups. Some groups distributed a circular marked "internal and confidential" in which they refuted the hypothesis that Bertoli was an "agent provocateur" of the CIA, or a "fascist agent". They said that this was the thesis upheld by the whole of the bourgeois press, the extreme left, and also some of the anarchist groups, but that this contained no concrete proof and was without foundation. "Even if we do not have any

precise information concerning the life of Bertoli", they continue, "we consider it our duty to refuse to associate with the general choir of the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary left against the 'usual' fascist provocation, the 'usual' *pista nera*, inventing whatever obscure manoeuvre of the 'usual' Andreotti government. On the contrary, 'the little information concerning him (and especially his behaviour) seems to bolster the hypothesis that we find ourselves before an isolated individual decided to perform an individual act of protest against the State and ready to accept fully his complete individual responsibility. Until proved otherwise, Bertoli has the right to call himself an individualist anarchist. To deny him this right and define him as a paid provocateur is a reaction unworthy of anarchists."

The reaction of other groups was violent, affirming quite categorically the impossibility of defining as an anarchist someone who executes an action such as that in Milan, the certainty that Bertoli must have had 'contact' with the fascists, and drawing attention to the objective provocation of the above mentioned circular. But the criticism of these groups was not only an ideological one or one of an interpretation of facts — they wanted this to develop into a re-examination of their relation with such groups as those who had signed the circular, going as far as 'inviting' 'all the groups, federations and individuals who consider themselves militant anarchists to end all relations with the above mentioned groups and their mouthpieces', hoping, 'for themselves and for the whole of the workers' movement' that the provocation will be isolated as with all the other attentats made over the past years to discredit anarchism and to make it appear a sect of maniacs or sanguinary madmen in the eyes of the exploited, or at best, idealistic dreamers destined to become the manure of history."

The Trotskyist allusion apart, this last tirade gives us an indication of the climate inside the Italian anarchist movement, a climate certainly negative for productive work towards the elimination of exploitation and the social revolution. In addition to the contrasting positions we have just examined, there are various other intermediary positions which are also radically different from one another.

The relationship between individualist anarchists and organised anarchism in all its various historically concrete forms constitutes an important problem in our opinion, but which unhappily finds the attention of comrades around a real issue (Bertoli's bomb-throwing in Milan) which is certainly not the ideal basis for reflection free from the prejudices and reactions from the streets. And it is, in our opinion, strange, to say the least, that groups such as those who signed the circular which was the object of the argument, posed themselves the problem, and still worse, tried to analyse it in the way in which they wrote the circular, at a time of tension and extreme gravity for the whole movement following the Fatebenefratelli bombing. It is equally strange that on other occasions certain propositions not on exactly the same subject, but close to it, such as the question of armed struggle and proletarian violence, always remained ignored, although the proposals would come from comrades very clearly definable within the anarchist movement itself. And even more strange is the ambiguity of the circular itself, its wanting to say and not say certain things, its silence on the precise meaning of anarchist individualism, its silence on the real significance of the term terrorism (about which a document has been produced by a group which has recently broken away from the Italian Anarchist Federation, F.A.I.). If those who produced the document had something particular to say about the Bertoli case they should have said it clearly and at length, having recourse to the normal means of diffusion and not to a confidential circular, which is confidential in a very limited way, and which sooner or later always ends up on the table of the Special Branch. If, vice versa, theirs was a purely theoretical pre-occupation, they could not have chosen a worse time, and their action in doing so takes on an aspect of pure provocation.

## "LIBERTARIAN" LENINISM

A situation such as we have described can only be explained by the lack of clarity which is the constant feature of the Italian anarchist movement. As we have said, the ensuing disintegration finds different attitudes in reply. Apart from those traditionally "waiting", and those interesting groups seeking a new direction for the construction of an effective instrument in the struggle against oppression, the direction in which the writer of these notes believes offers a route towards the search for efficiency at whatever cost, modelled on Marxist structures which have always held, albeit in an indirect form, a certain fascination over anarchist militants. The phenomenon is quite clear today in England and France, where the ORA has been in existence for some time. The basic ideology of these libertarian organisations is that of a revision of the traditional principles of anarchism modelled on Marxist and neo-Marxist concepts. We have had occasion to examine an interesting work produced by the French ORA (Front Libertaire) entitled "Autour de l'Autogestion", where they refer clearly to an actual "proletarian terror" which must be administered in the post-revolutionary period, where strange concepts such as "an anti-state dictatorship of the proletariat" are exposed. Other Italian organisations, especially those based on anarcho-sindicalism, have manifested fairly similar ideas. It is nevertheless clear that it was the existing state of disintegration of the movement that gave life to these tentatives in Italy, just as it is clear that it was the situation of inefficiency and fragmentation of the English and French movements which determined the formation and development of the ORA in those countries.

In a way it is similar to the situation which came about in France within what survived of the Russian anarchist movement after the October revolution. The negative results of the actions carried out by the Russian anarchists, first of all with the Bolsheviks, and later against them, the defeat of the movement in the Ukraine, the tragic bankruptcy of the anarchist groups who persisted in their collaboration with the authoritarians, constituted a host of experiences which were eventually to turn many comrades away from an anarchist perspective (such as Arshinov) and drive them to formulating the Platform which carried his name, but which saw the light of day mainly due to Makhno's collaboration. In this Platform there is clearly a preoccupation with organisation which is directed towards saving the anarchist movement from perdition, with all the authoritarian implications which such a theory carries with it. This is not the time nor place to recall the original polemic which the Platform gave rise to at the time of its publication; we only wish to say that it is not by chance that this attracts the attention of so many comrades today, that it has been translated and diffused by the English and French ORA, and that it is at the centre of discussion among many groups and comrades in the Italian anarchist movement. With this instrument, an attempt is being made to cure the deficiencies of the present movement, as the Russian anarchists did in their time, and once again succumbing to the excesses of a centralised authoritarian vision which is quite clear in the theoretical elaborations of the French ORA who, parting company with the Platform, have gone a long way in this direction.

The National Congress of Anarchist Workers held in Bologna on August 15, 1973, has clearly illustrated this authoritarian tendency which is permeating the anarchist movement today, using the naive adhesion of groups who have neither clarified their ideas nor have any consistency in the struggle nor any real presence among the exploited, and who find it comfortable to "do something" in the area of this authoritarian perspective which seems at least to guarantee them the prospect of productive work.

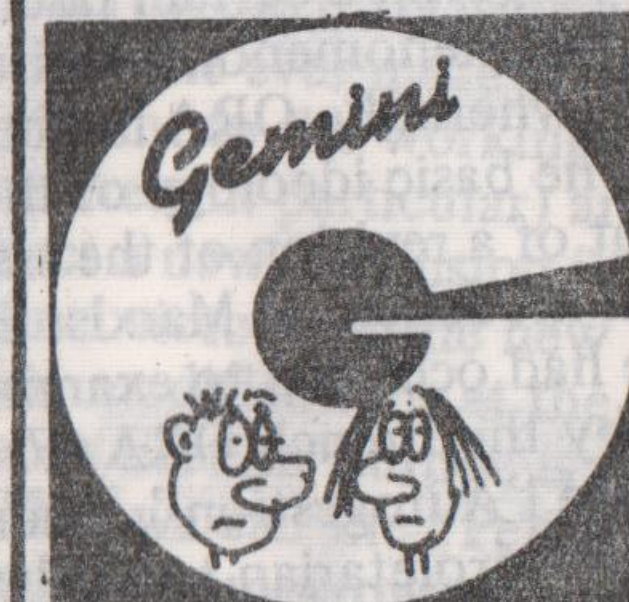


## ANARCHO-HORRORSCOPE

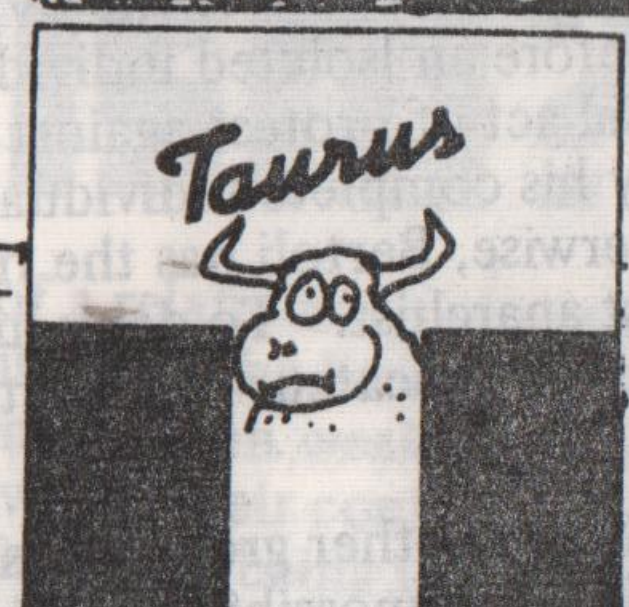
★ ★ ★ ★ ★  
★ ★ GIPSY MICK BAKUNIN FORTELLS WHAT THE STARS HAVE ★ ★ ★ ★ ★  
★ IN STORE FOR YOU! ★



**Y**OU WILL MEET A TALL DARK STRANGER — IT'S PROBABLY THE RENT-MAN, SO DON'T BE TOO QUICK TO OPEN THE DOOR.... BE PREPARED FOR THE USUAL LOUSY TIME AT WORK....



**E**XPECT AN UNINVITED VISITOR ON YOUR DOORSTEP — IT'S THE GAS-MAN COME TO CUT YOUR SUPPLY OFF... POCKETS WILL BE DISTINCTLY EMPTY BY THE END OF THE WEEK...



**A** JOURNEY AT SHORT NOTICE IS IN THE OFFING — THE COUNCIL ARE GOING TO DEMOLISH YOUR HOUSE... KEEP A LOOK-OUT FOR THE POSTMAN — HE SHOULD BE BRINGING YOU NEWS OF YOUR REDUNDANCY SOON... ETC., ETC., ETC.

From THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST

### Whither Italian Anarchism?

This is the impression one gets from reading the documents published after the meeting. The final resolution to accept the Platform was taken by a majority. Nothing was said about the groups who were against it and who produced a separate document. In this resolution they speak of infiltrating the reformist unions to "explode the contradictions between the base and the vertex", and speak of two organisations, one specific (anarchist communist) and one mass (proletarian) held in dialectical relation (sic), and other such things.

It is clear that we are in the face of a more or less naive attempt to construct an authoritarian form of libertarian struggle. Confronted with concrete reality, confronted with the real struggle of the exploited, these half-way techniques are always destined to fall bad side up, that is to say, they are destined to constantly re-inforcing their authoritarianism even if it was latent in the beginning. Starting out on the road to reformist trade unionism — because that is the real significance of the term "working inside the unions" — mean to fall totally into the contradictions of the traditional left, with the aggravation of not even having the vast base of support on which to build in order to be able to continue — not only a naive tagging on, but also a pathetic one.

### THE SOLUTION

Anarchists have always struggled against every form of division between economic struggle and political struggle, between unions and parties, considering these divisions the anteroom of a post-revolutionary state power. Only someone who reasons and acts with an authoritarian logic can put the problem of the post-revolutionary situation into precise terms and claim to resolve it in detail, departing from a pre-revolutionary situation. We are not saying that studies and research, documentation and analyses of experiences lived in the past should not be elaborated and ameliorated, we are only saying that we cannot accept a theoretical position which seeks to counterfeit, with simple wordplay, Marxism for something libertarian, speaking of an "anti-state rank and file dictatorship of the proletariat".

We have therefore seen two of the various routes along which Italian anarchism could develop. The first would be that preached by the so-called educationalist anarchism, a long term route, which if it is valid alongside other contemporaneous forms of struggle, becomes sterile and easily neutralised by the state, particularly if it works in a social-democrat-

ic situation. The second route would that of an increase in authoritarian methods, a route which as we have said is destined to constantly demanding an ever greater efficiency leading to an ever increasing expansion of its authoritarian aspects. There remains the development and support of other traditionally anarchist forms of struggle, bound to the rank and file and to direct action, to an elaboration of increasingly advanced possibilities in reply to the type of exploitation which the State decides upon, to the realisation of actions against the class enemy with precise characteristics always related to the type of exploitation in course, insurrectional deeds — the whole within the general dimension of the revolution which as a complex whole certainly will not be "realized" by the anarchists but where the anarchists must be present within, capable of directing this mass activity towards libertarian objectives which certainly will not come from the authoritarian Marxists.

We do not wish to dwell on this direction, one which we have been insisting upon for several years, for that is not our object here. We only wish to confirm our irreducible aversion to whatever type of salad prepared with the help of the English and French ideologists when this takes the form of a supposed possibility of collaboration between the authoritarian and libertarian ideologists. We have always said that we must seek a revolutionary collaboration with the Marxist base, that we must examine the possibility of work in common with Marxist structures professing to be open to the realisation of the revolution, but always within certain limits, and with a certain wariness, and always with a maximum of clarity in our libertarian theses. Woe if tomorrow we should find ourselves at the flanks of the Marxists in a revolutionary situation with some of the confused ideas easily integrated with their basic theories. We should soon be lost in the authoritarian majority, the rank and file no longer able to recognise us a true alternative to the objectives proposed by the Marxists, who would really make great play of destroying our movement.

Therefore if, as Malatesta said, we cannot realise the revolution ourselves — but it must be realised by the exploited along with the other organisations we call revolutionary — we must clarify our ideological position to the highest degree. Even if we are few we can be a point of reference for the exploited, avoiding losing ourselves in the sea of fantasy and probability, drawn there by the siren of efficiency at whatever cost.

(Translated by J.H. from "La Dimensione Anarchica" by Alfredo Bonnano, "La Fiaccola, Ragusa, 1974, 447pp., £4.00)

### "LIBERTARIAN" LENINISM:

# Efficiency..at what price?

Dear Comrades,

This is a point by point reply to the article "Four years of ORA and AWA", by William Lea, which appeared in the August Black Flag. I am a member of the Leicester group of the AWA.

Paragraph 1. I agree with WL about the purpose of the AFB, and so agree that it is "careless" to criticise it for what it was never supposed to be. It seems, moreover, that far too many people in the anarchist movement spend too much time attacking other anarchists, instead of getting on with the struggle. There has, for instance been a lot of criticism of the AWA recently, WL's being a more rational example than some. Political disagreements obviously need to be discussed, but in my opinion hysterical slanging matches can only bring discredit on the movement.

Para. 2. WL states that, judged by its publications, AWA has not been very successful in achieving its stated objectives. Possibly: I am far from satisfied with AWA's achievements, whether in the field of publications or elsewhere. I remain a member because AWA, for all its failings, is the only national organisation of anarchists with a class analysis of society. I believe this analysis to be correct, and I am convinced of the necessity for (inter)national organisation if the struggle against (inter)national capitalism is ever to be effective. WL's opinions, like mine, are subjective. Whether or not AWA has been successful is a matter of opinion, but it is a matter of fact that it is trying.

In the same paragraph WL says that Libertarian Struggle has not become an agitational paper. He defines his terms, but his assessment is again purely subjective. To what extent a monthly paper can help people in their struggles is certainly arguable, but I have no doubt that the attempt should be made, and if people then choose to join the organisation that produces the paper, that is their affair. To argue that this is straight "leninist tactic and attitude" is absurd: presumably all the papers of the CNT were also "leninist"? WL's underlying objection here, of course, is to any organisation which tries to attract new members, and possibly to any organisation which has formal membership. The latter, in my opinion, is trivial: AWA has formal membership, but it doesn't matter to me whether it has or whether it hasn't. But the question of proselytising is important. If you believe, as I do, that AWA is basically on the right lines, then you naturally want AWA to grow. The more conscious anarchists are the better, and the more they see a need for (inter)national organisation the better. This is common sense if you really want to see an anarchist society.

Para. 3. makes various further criticisms of "Libertarian Struggle". Certainly it is not a perfect paper; I have never read a perfect paper. But WL should think twice about harping on about how badly written it is, when his own style is so frequently convoluted. Does it really matter that much? What does matter is clarity and content, and in my opinion most articles in "Libertarian Struggle" are as clear as WL's piece or more so. As for content, I would welcome more variety, but obviously a small organisation has not the literary resources to draw upon that are possessed by the various Trotskyist groups, whose papers WL compares with ours. As for distorting the past, how exactly does WL think that the past was distorted, in the accounts in "Libertarian Struggle" of the defections to the WRP?

Para. 4. One issue of "Libertarian Communist Review" is certainly a "thin offering". I can only assure WL that a second issue is in the pipe-line. As for the old "Anarchy", I liked it, just as I like the new "Anarchy", and "Black Flag", and "Wildcat", and "Freedom", and even "Libertarian Struggle"! I don't like everything in any of those papers, but I like to see them all around. As for "reverence for the true creed", possibly some AWA members have such an attitude, and possibly some non-AWA anarchists have it also; it is certainly not a characteristic of the organisation as a whole. I certainly hold opinions which I believe to be based on truth: who doesn't?

Para. 5. The "conclusion" WL draws here is again to slip into the subjective. According to what criteria is it possible to assert that AWA has not become "a natural homing point for people moving towards a revolutionary position"? Would WL have us reach a million to qualify as a "natural homing point", and as a "realistic alternative to the leninist groups"? Or what?

There is some truth in what he says about AWA disregarding the rest of the movement and considering themselves the "sole repositories of truth". Some comrades in AWA, out of an understandable frustration with the inactivity and dilettantism of some other anarchists, have taken such an attitude. But, again, this is not a characteristic of the organisation as such, any more than the current hostility towards AWA is characteristic of all other anarchists. WL contrives to imply that we are a monolithic organisation, with all members having identical attitudes and characters; the truth is that we aren't and we don't.

As to how we measure our success, the truth is very different from WL's assertion. We don't emulate leninists. We seek the widest propagation of anarchist ideas as the foundation for the eventual anarchist society. An efficient and numerically large AWA would be one means towards this end.

As to whether or not we are anarchists, we can only leave that for others to decide. WL thinks we aren't, or hardly; I think we are. So what? By what canon or sacred text does WL presume to decide who is and who isn't an anarchist?

Para. 6. WL admits that an outsider like himself cannot have much detailed information about AWA, and then goes on to assert that we frequently falsify the situation of the organisation in the paper. If he doesn't know what that situation is, how can he accuse us of falsifying it? Incidentally, we don't have "principals".

Para. 7. repeats the familiar charge that some AWA members have left to join the WRP, the absurd conclusion being that AWA "is an ideal springboard for people moving towards leninism". It happens to be a fact that some WRP members have left and joined AWA: what fantasy would WL concoct from this evidence? And his point about the Leicester IMG is disingenuous to say the least, when he knows that two of the Leicester comrades were personal friends of an active IMG member for several years. "Contact and recruitment work" is a curious term for friendship.

Para. 8. Our policy on Northern Ireland is correctly stated here, but the interpretation attributed to the National Secretary is not generally accepted within the organisation. Perhaps too much importance should not be attached to a discussion over a pint in a pub. It is true that we advocated a "No" vote in the EEC referendum, and it is true that "Workers Fight", a Trotskyist group, advocated abstention. Does that prove that "Workers Fight" are



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES:

# Pinelli, Marini, Serrantini

On October 31 last the trial of Giovanni Marini for "Libel against Brigadier Stigliani" ended with the acquittal of our comrade. The case arose out of an interview Marini gave to the press in which he accused Stigliani of instigating the prison guards to cudgel the prisoners. The legal reasoning behind the acquittal was that "the fact is not a crime". In fact the magistrates were compelled to acquit Marini because it became evident in the course of the trial that Marini was telling the truth. Witnesses for the defence, Marini's fellow prisoners, wanted to strip to show the court their wounds, but permission for this was refused.

*Gruppo Anarchico di Portogruaro (Venezia),*

The State inquest into the death of comrade GIUSEPPE PINELLI, has attempted to cover up his murder by concluding that: "...NEITHER SUICIDE NOR HOMICIDE; PINELLI FELL OWING TO AN ILLNESS".

On October 28 last Judge Gerardo D'Ambrosio, one of the so-called "leftist" judges and one of the better known members of the "Democratic Bench" (an organisation of "progressive magistrates"), definitively closed all proceedings in the case of comrade Giuseppe Pinelli. According to the Judge's findings, our comrade must have fallen while leaning against the window-sill on the fourth floor of Milan Police H.Q., having been seized by sudden illness provoked by anxiety and the stress of three days interrogation and by having smoked too many cigarettes.

Last March the Public Prosecutor closed his investigations into the death of our comrade by asking for the acquittal of the accused eight policemen (including Luigi Calabresi and Guida) with the statement that Pinelli had committed suicide therefore there was no case for the police to answer. By acquitting those physically responsible for the killing of our comrade, the State is trying to cover its bloodstained hands. They have even given up the story of suicide which they defended so vigorously six years ago. This was the result of the long and sustained counter-information activities of the Anarchist movement which always pointed to Calabresi and his policemen as the murders of our comrade, and at the State as the instigator.

The findings of this magistrate into the Pinelli murder reflect the findings of another court, a month before, into the murder of another anarchist comrade Franco Serrantini (Franco was mercilessly beaten by policemen in Pisa on 5/5/72. He died in prison two days later from the wounds received during this brutal assault without receiving any medical attention!). The Serrantini case has now been put on file and it is doubtful if we shall hear any more about it. The State wants to hide the truth once more. But the truth will always be clear for revolutionaries: the State murdered Pinelli, proletarian militant, to break his activity as an untiring organiser in the working class struggle, and because he singled out the employers as instigators of the fascist slaughter of the Piazza Fontana on December 12 1969.

Only by our struggle can we avenge our comrade Pinelli and all the revolutionaries murdered by the State. Only we can make true justice triumph — proletarian justice! Against the State — For Anarchist Communism!

*Organizzazione Anarchica/Forlivese*

THE MARCH ON SPAIN organised by the libertarian FREE SPAIN COMMITTEE on November 1 last to block the Franco-Spanish frontier at Hendaye was declared illegal at the very last moment by the French Government. Poniatowsky, the right-wing Minister of the Interior announced - a few hours before the marchers were due to leave their various assembly points throughout France - that no march or assembly would be permitted within the area of the Department of the Atlantic Pyrenees (Bayonne to the Spanish frontier).

The march — consisting of militants from many activist organisations such as ETA, FRAP, the various French separatist groups, the CNT, the Autonomous Anarchist Action Groups from Spain and France, and the Black Flag Group from Britain, finally assembled on the outskirts of Bayonne to discuss what the response should be to this act of confrontation by the French Government.

It was decided unanimously to ignore the prohibition order and, despite the terrible downpour of rain, an impressive march of about 15,000 anti-Francoist militants made its way through Bayonne. However, to prevent any embarrassing incidents with the Spanish Government the French Ministry of the Interior had backed up the prohibition order with the full force of the law and had blocked all bridges across the river Adour with four lines of heavily armed para-military policemen, with many more in reserve on the far banks of the river. After close examination of the situation it was decided that nothing was to be gained from a confrontation with the CRS at that moment in time and the march disbanded on the banks of the Adour.

By far the largest contingent on the march was the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist one which was estimated as being in the region of five thousand people.



CIPRIANO MERA, HERO OF THE BATTLE OF GUADALAJARA AND DEFENDER OF MADRID was buried in Paris on 29 October. WE SALUTE HIS MEMORY! There was a massive turnout at the funeral of this almost legendary former CNT secretary. It appeared on the British television programme "Tonight", with interviews with veteran anarcho-syndicalist fighters.

Efficiency...at what price?

anarchist? I find this "guilt by association" type of argument rather disturbing. Many of the ruling class follow horse racing; if WL also did, would that make him one of the ruling class? Obviously any organisation must be judged by its policies and actions, but to select a few controversial issues, over which anarchists of all kinds are perplexed and divided, and then to "decree" that the "anarchist" line is one thing rather than another, smacks of precisely the same kind of doctrinal arrogance which AWA was accused of earlier in WL's article. Para. 9. contains a further contradiction. If the spirit of "leninism" remains in AWA, then why should we lose "members to Trotskyist groups"? They would presumably feel at home, and remain.

I would suggest to any reader who is as bored as I am with the "I'm more of an anarchist than you are" type of argument that permeates WL's article, to do two things: read the "Aims and Principles", which appears in every issue of "Libertarian Struggle"; and, if still interested, either to go to a meeting or write for more information to 13 Coltman St., Hull.

John Booth

(John Booth's reply to WL's article on the Anarchist Workers Association - ex ORA - should be read in conjunction with comrade Bonnano's comments on the development of "leninist" concepts within the anarchist movement in Italy - Eds.).

# Roon'n'about



MRS MARGARET THATCHER, speaking to the assembled Tories with more faggots around her on the platform than Joan of Arc, said that Tories should go into the trade unions and learn the rule-book "and beat the militants at their own game". It is dangerous advice. The trots have done the same thing with the Labour Party, it is said some of the radical students in America decided to cut their hair short, take their degrees, and enter business, the professions and politics, to "bore from within" in like manner. Whatever happened to them?

By the time you stop boring everyone, the "entryist" becomes indistinguishable from those around them. Certainly this has happened to the trots in the Labour Party.

Militants will welcome Mrs Thatcher's advice to Tories. They ought to take an active part in trade unionism. They will learn something. Some of the "middle classes" — in other words "white collar" unions are today the most militant of them all. If they start putting forward wage demands they may also come to understand why it is necessary to do so, and learn about the class struggle. The Tory Party will then seem very remote.

A CORRESPONDENT WRITES to us that he wants to help a prisoner (we omit identification because he is genuinely unaware of being insulting) that he was given our name and address by another comrade, and that he is "an anarchist" too, but with "non-violent tendencies, and would prefer to correspond with another non-violent person (but please send the name of a violent person rather than none at all)."

A VIOLENT PERSON? We are not in touch with psychopaths nor mad axemen, but with anarchist prisoners and resistance fighters. True, none of them are non-resistant — "Amnesty" has the "innocent" victims of dictatorship who did not resist!

How this pacifist cant maddens us! If one uses the term non-violent to describe one's particular brand of non-resistance, it doesn't follow that every one else is "violent". But it is not a question of "everyone else", apparently. The pacifist humbugs never talk of "violent socialists" and "non-violent socialists", "violent conservatives" and "non-violent conservatives". That brand of State violence, it seems, is acceptable for them. Only for anarchists they reserve the epithet "violent anarchist" — a gift for the media.

MR ROBERT SERAFIN, "one of Scotland's leading Young Conservatives, said by his counsel to be on the threshold of a successful political career" admitted eighteen charges of fraud and attempted fraud and was sent to a young offenders institution for six months at Glasgow Sheriffs' Court.

In defence, Mr George Younger, shadow Defence Secretary, and MP Edward Taylor, "commended Mr Serafin for his political work and enthusiasm".

If a libertarian socialist committed a crime, his or her views would be held, not to mitigate the offence, but to heighten it; indeed, indeed held to be the cause and show how criminal it was to hold the views that had driven the person to such deeds. Yet the conservative ideal encourages private enterprise and the pursuit of individual gain, which Mr Serafin seems to have undertaken vigorously — to the tune, it seems, of a thousand pounds or so.

THE MOSCOW POLICE have rounded up the Silivonov gang. Silivonov got 14 years, his eleven confederates got three years each. Their crime? Car stealing. This represents a new breakthrough of the underworld in Russia for there are barely 200,000 cars in the capital, all reserved for top bureaucrats and showbiz personalities. The viciousness of the sentences (comparative sentence in England would be three months and licence endorsed or even suspended) is the panic reaction by

the bureaucracy in discovering that there are dark corners in the "Communist" cupboard. For who can buy a stolen car? A rich butter-and-egg man from the provinces? There aren't any. Only one of the privileged few themselves.

It is, of course, true as Dr Mervyn Stockwood, Bishop of Southwark has said, that in a Communist State, the strip clubs and porn shops of Soho would vanish overnight. No need to question why, though the fairly obvious remarks have brought him the howling fury of the Right Wing. Commercialised sex flourishes in a system based on greed — as, for that matter, does commercialised football or commercialised religion or commercialised hippy drop outs. But in any totalitarian state sexual freedom is suppressed. All dictators have an interest in maintaining a puritan ethic. It is training in obedience.

A TELEVISION PROGRAMME ON FRANCO repeats the hackneyed story that some people were shot in the Spanish Civil War by the workers "solely for wearing a collar and tie". (This is to ring the changes on the older story about not being able to show a pair of calloused hands). Could they perhaps actually name someone or desist from the story — if only not to discourage van Heusen and Rael Brook from export sales on the Peninsula.

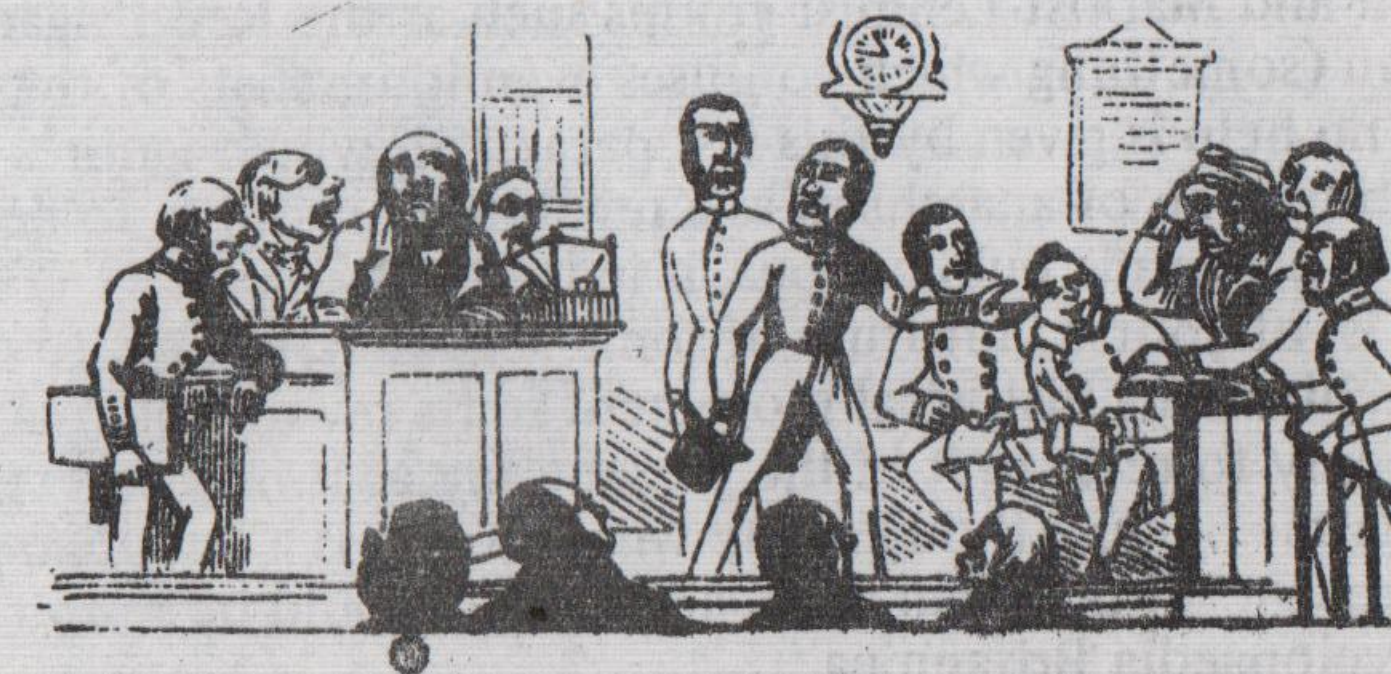
Almost all the older generation of anarchist propagandists in Spain wore collars and ties — take a look at the pictures of Francisco Ferrer and his helpers. What is a fact however is that workers were taken out and every one in ten was shot by the Right Wing. Not only in the Civil War: earlier, in the repression of the Asturias, for instance, with the coal miners. What wonder if they in turn shot their persecutors? — whose apologists could only assume it was due to their sartorial splendours!

YET ANOTHER LEAFLET in the postbox purporting to instruct me in the Irish situation... "Obviously the Catholics were there first. The Protestants were planted in Northern Ireland as colonists from Scotland."

Wrong. The Catholic Church came over in the baggage of the Anglo-Norman conquest, the Irish Church was of great antiquity and was part of British (Celtic) Christianity which was ultimately destroyed when the Roman Church was introduced into England.

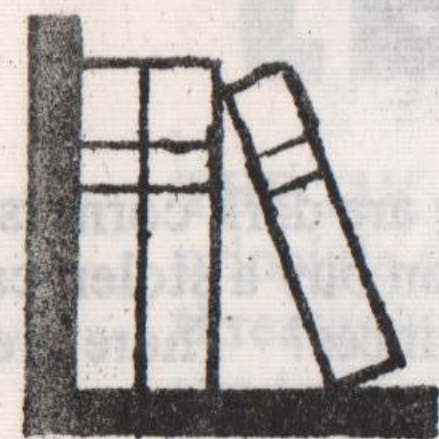
The Scots colonists may have been "planted" in Ulster. Where, however, did the Scots come from? They were "planted" in Scotland! They are one people. Different loyalties have grown up over the generations. But they are based on the need to give the conquering state cohesion and justification.

20 YEAR OLD BERNARD McKOY strangled a girl into unconsciousness and then raped her. (He got seven years). Previously he had stabbed a prostitute after intercourse. (He got 18 months for that). Stated defending counsel, Mr. Dennis Nash, "It does appear that the defendant has experienced difficulty in finding girl friends". But, we should have thought, even greater difficulty in keeping them.





# BOOK REVIEWS



**ASK WHO IS THE WRITER** who has contributed most in the English language to the spread of libertarian ideas and you will get some peculiar answers, probably one of them some obscure American professor whom nobody reads except as prescribed in the University curriculum. You might well get the same answer from Ethel Mannin, but for my money it is she who deserves the maximum credit, and seems to have received none that I know of. She was writing on sex and women's liberation fifty years ago and has introduced anarchistic ideas in numerous works of fact and fiction.

Alas, she has committed the major literary sin: her books have been successful, and the higher critics cannot possibly evaluate her.

Di into the novels of Ethel Mannin and you will find anarchism, the Spanish Revolution, Emma Goldman, women's lib., the colonial struggle, Ireland, the Arab guerrillas, all dealt with: her factual works include "Women and the Revolution" and many others.

At 75, she has announced she will write no more. The great quality in her novels was a zest for life. She owed a lot to her father, an old-time socialist who kept the faith. The drive for freedom, the resentment of injustice, and also the occasional ideological muddle, (one of her best books was Christianity or Chaos; an oddly titled book for an agnostic talking about purely secular matters) were all very typical of the British working class background; she was in her way a skilled craftsman, her trade was with words. Now she has retired, her works, of consummate craftsmanship if not great art, are there to be admired.

Thank you, Ethel Mannin.

A. Meltzer

**THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA** was unique among encyclopaedias in dealing with anarchism objectively and without the intrusion of hostile propaganda. In the 1910 edition this was written by an acknowledged expert Peter Kropotkin; subsequently it was brought up to date with accuracy and impartiality. But one wonders about the additions made to the latest edition.

In its last paragraphs, reference is made to the "Delphic Review". We have a close and intimate connection with all anarchist groups but never heard of this. The "University Libertarian" was a small ephemeral journal which lasted only a very short time, and the "Libertarian" of Sydney, Australia a minor duplicated sheet of very short duration with no connection with the general anarchist movement. Yet these are given as the main organs of the present Anarchist movement (with "Freedom").

The reader of the Encyclopaedia might well want to know the significance of anarchism in (say) the Spanish Resistance today — in such groups as the Angry Brigade in England or the difference between anarchist revolutionary groups on the continent and Marxist-Leninist groups such as the Red Brigade of Milan (something which confuses even journalists of the Times) but no help is given by this last paragraph which ignores the continuation of anarchism as a revolutionary force to deal with minor academic publications, if indeed they exist.

It is, of course, a feature of some academic writers to deal with anarchism as a historical movement in its revolutionary context, but only to refer to it in the present day as it may affect the academic. This (though they will deny it) is a sectarian approach. It is not an approach which should be found in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

**THE LATEST ISSUE OF Z REVUE** is out, and lives up to the promise of No.1. A gripping anti-Anarchist melodrama "The Anarchist of Bethnal Green" is dug up out of the archives of Edwardian music-hall and half remembered revivals by our own Albert Meltzer (pity one line in it is missed out, ruining a joke). And from out of the archives of Liberal music-hall comes a less than gripping anti-Anarchist article by George Woodcock, giving Colin Ward's "Anarchy in Action" the kiss of death... "There is a link between tone and style of writing and quality of political thought which Orwell clearly indicated ...." Thus all unable to write well or express well-tailored prose in the style of the Post Office directory can have no qualitative political thought — something Orwell, a writer by profession, might well have believed, but which sounds remarkably reactionary. Any slick con-man can disprove him. The Woodcock interpretation of Ward is that "those who say that anarchism can be advanced only by the apocalyptic act of revolution are clearly talking nonsense; reforms that widen the area of autonomous action are clearly anarchistic in their effects" — the quality of political thought here is less than clear for it is liberalism (the greatest degree of freedom possible within the State, which "cannot" be overthrown) that Woodcock is advocating, and he makes it plain that, for him, realism is advocating that which exists: he is not even a very adventurous liberal.

**"NINETY-FIVE PER CENT IS CRAP — A PLAIN MAN'S GUIDE TO BRITISH POLITICS"**, Terry Arthur, Libertarian Books, h/b £3.50, p/b £1.75.

"NINETY FIVE PER CENT of anything is crap" is apparently an American saying and Terry Arthur relies heavily on American individualism in putting across an argument that the greater part of what politicians and economists say about the economic crisis is shit (must we use the American euphemism too?) The task is not so very difficult. — he simply cuts pieces out of the "Guardian" and presents them with glee in book form, (not even troubling, it would seem, to buy another paper occasionally) but in making a criticism one is also setting up an alternative and he strives not to do that — for this reason, he misses out on foreign affairs altogether, when it becomes immediately apparent where — if anywhere — your allegiances lie.

Most economics is shit for the simple reason that the money system is basically a way of rationing out the things that there are to go round in an unequal society, and the share of the cake we get is larger according to the degree of bargaining power, brute force, legal ingenuity, political power, or commercial acumen we can deploy. Thus all political statements are to decry the workers bargaining power which is the major force, if they knew it. Terry Arthur is clearly against the use of political power and brute force, and while he is not very clear on the workers bargaining power, one has the feeling he deprecates it slightly: his main criterion is the use of commercial acumen and there, one gas the feeling, he thinks the natural law lies. On the subject of education, for instance, he takes it as axiomatic that the libertarian point of view must be that people should be able to send their kids (the latter not being consulted) to which schools they can afford, rather than one which the State chooses for them. But, he makes it plain enough, the State is deciding who is going to get the money. (and only in American myth is it the "enterprising" individualist who "makes" money) and here above all it is the conformist, the bureaucrat, the monopolist and the faceless professional who get it from the State directly or indirectly or call on it to protect them when they've got it. It's difficult to see it matters which way they guarantee themselves the best of either world.

The book's worth reading for its debunking of State propaganda and especially of the dreary economic saga with its myths of depression and recession and inflation (as if they were natural disasters like earthquakes and hurricanes). But it's well to bear in mind that 95% of what Terry Arthur thinks is crap, too.

## LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

I've liked a lot of the stuff that's been appearing in Black Flag recently — Miguel's "Unknown Heroes" series gives a marvellous insight into the men who really made Spanish anarchism, a kind of history that all-too-often gets lost — and a welcome change from all that academic drivel about "secular millennialism".

I'm in full agreement with the point of view put forward in the "Self-Criticism" piece and in Anne May's article on the Women's movement — and in the "Bridge of Asses" article in the last issue. It all needs saying. I sometimes despair at the stuff I hear from libertarians whose idea of revolution is signing on at the nearest social security office — perhaps when we're totally dependent on the State we'll all be truly free? But there's more to it than this kind of daftness. I think there is a real division on what is loosely called the libertarian left, and it is a question not just of tactics but of ultimate aims. There is a definite totalitarian trend which seems to think in terms of a super-welfare system which could only be administered by a powerful state apparatus (usually referred to euphemistically as "society"). This seems to be, if I understand you rightly, what you refer to as "non-violent fascism" (I don't think it is necessarily pacifist, though it often shelters behind pacifist clichés).

Best wishes,

C.C.

Dear Comrades,

Perhaps by the time you receive this the old buzzard will be dead. He has already hung on for too long... We are all awaiting the rapid development of events in Spain, which will make the dissemination of accurate news about Spanish events in English-speaking countries imperative. Saw in the New York Times, buried on the back pages, a notice of the death of Cipriano Mera, with no mention of any of his post-1939 activities. But, after all, "we all know that the anarchist movement in Spain died in 1939 — except that once every so often we have to execute one".

I just received the Sept.-Oct. B.F. as well as the SRAF Bulletin 48, and I am trying to understand the Graham-Cain dispute, not aided at all by the fact that the Cain letter is all but illegible. One of Woodworth's reasons for lasting so long is his habit of getting other(?) anarchists to defend him for reasons of their own. Until you have gotten the shaft from Freddie yourself it is hard to understand how crazy the little fuckhead really is. He is quite capable of filling up an entire issue with, not distortions, not exaggerations, but outright fabrications — complete fantasy. I suspect that F.W.'s brain can no longer (if it ever could) distinguish between imagination and factual reality.

With the capture of Patty Hearst by the Rockefeller Liberation Army (A.K.A. the U.S. Government) we can expect a full-scale brainwashing job to be launched on the U.S. public. Amusing how they say that Patty is "at last 'free' to speak her mind" now that she is locked up in jail with no chance of getting out for a long, long time unless she co-operates. I suspect that the truth is, Patty has never really made a free decision in her entire life. Her decision to join the SLA was perhaps her first attempt at making one, but the circumstances were such that it could not have been a decision based on a deep-seated examination of her self, her life, and the social situation, which usually precedes an individual's undertaking of a revolutionary commitment. Being again thrust into a high-pressure situation it is not hard to understand how she could waver between her defiant stance on capture and putting her signature on the "con-

fession" that her parent's lawyers drew up for her. (Halliman, the Hearst's lawyer, is a well-known C.P. hack!). Her behaviour is in contrast to Remiro and Little, or for that matter any of the dedicated revolutionists, anarchist or socialist, who have remained defiant in the dock.

The article on Mexico in the latest Black Flag was very interesting to me. When I was living in Tucson I gathered a fair amount of information on the situation in Mexico and much of what you printed served to confirm the impression I got. The following observation may be of some use to you.

As long as the border has been in existence, there has been a lot of amateurs smuggling going on, especially by residents of the small towns on both sides of the frontier (I am speaking here of Arizona and Sonora, but I suspect it also applies to Texas and Chihuahua as well) as most of the families, both Anglo and Chicano, are extensively intermarried and know the desert and mountain routes from adolescence on. However, until about 1963 or 1965 this amateur trade was mostly taking cheap Mexican liquor north and high-tariff U.S. manufactured goods south, for very slight profits, but also low risk if caught (maybe a \$200.00 fine, or a year's probation). At that time the demand for marijuana began growing, and a lot of high-school and college kids, without the usual Mafia-ghetto connections, began using it. Soon a new pattern of smuggling began. A young person from one of the small towns would be living in Tucson or Phoenix, and meet a student from one of the Midwestern schools at a bar or a party, and they would put together the fact that the Arizonan could buy grass from his uncle Pancho in Nogales for \$5 or 10 a pound, take it across the border in a pickup through the desert (even today mostly unpatrolled), and the Midwestern could sell it in Michigan, Illinois, or Wisconsin for \$5 or 10 an ounce for a 100% return (the profit margin has since decreased considerably), and neither the police nor the Mafia could stop this because neither had any connections or informers anywhere along the line, except the Federales who had some control over the inflow of marijuana from Michoacan, Guerrero, and Oaxaca to the border areas of Sonora and Baja California. Therefore it happened exactly as you stated, that the people on the borders both Anglo and Chicano, began to penetrate the growing areas in the south-central states of Mexico where there are indeed active guerrilla movements. If one reads local Mexican newspapers this becomes obvious, although the Federal government tries to keep the extent of the activity hidden. I sent some clippings from Sinaloa papers a while ago, to give some idea, and Sinaloa is not at all the most active area.

Now the thing is, there is no such thing as a "Mexican Mafia". There are many little "Maffias" (as it is written in Mexico) which are just small groups of local gangsters. In the dope growing scene there is a very intricate relationship between many local maffias, local guerrilla bands, and organisations of dope-smugglers from the U.S., and you cannot really speak of the "Mexican Mafia" arming "a guerrilla movement". The arms-for-dope trade is something that has grown up organically and spontaneously.

Another point is that for people unfamiliar with the firearms scene in North America it may be hard to imagine how easy it is for the small autonomous dope-smuggling groups to get any amount of military-quality firearms and ammunition without any involvement with the U.S. Mafia whatsoever. There is a very large group of gun-dealers, collectors, gun-show participants, etc., who are happy to sell you a rifle or pistol legally, and, after they get to know you a little, may offer automatic weapons and grenades under the table. Many of these people are (in the Midwest, especially) working-class people supplementing their incomes and not at all gangsters or mafiosi, and not businessmen, either (business-

men are untrustworthy in something like this). Often they have a deep hatred of the U.S. Government, and therefore all governments, and explicitly state that they are caching arms in expectation of the imminent imposition of a totalitarian dictatorship in the U.S. There are also a huge amount of veterans who hate the Army and government and have been able to rip off all sorts of light and medium armament (the shoulder launched infra-red anti aircraft missiles are especially prized by the Mexicans) and will sell it for a sensible price. These people overlap with the regular gun-trade people.

The final factor is that light aviation is cheap and easily available in the U.S., and a small group of marijuana smugglers can easily afford a light plane for, say, \$10,000, and can learn to fly for \$600.00 in six weeks time, so you can set up your own arms-for-dope route and control it yourself at all points, and, if a little discretion is practised, this operation will remain unknown to both police and Mafia. The real consequence of this fact is that Mexican guerrillas have a dependable supply of high-quality arms and ammunition that is not dependent on ideological politics — the groups do not have to conform to anybody's party line in order to continue the supply of weapons, nor is there any pressure for any group to come under the control of any other group because of that group's foreign connections. This, combined with the deep-rooted, distinctly Mexican revolutionary tradition (as exemplified by Zapata) means that Mexico, in comparison with many other underdeveloped countries, has a good chance of developing a non-Marxist-Party dominated revolutionary movement.

This has other interesting implications. The trade I am speaking of deals almost entirely with marijuana, a little cocaine, and a little Mexican brown heroin. The bulk of the heroin trade from Mexico is under Mafia control (because the Mafia controls the points of distribution in the Northern ghettos — remember that the whole use of the amateur dope-smuggling scene was due to the massive increase in dope smoking in areas completely removed from Mafia control. The Mafia is not omnipotent, any more than is the State). One of the sidelights of Watergate was the fact that the Waterbugger G. Gordon Liddy was placed in control of the entire Federal dope programme, controlling all agencies, and was responsible for shifting almost all federal efforts towards stopping the Mexican marijuana trade — the famed "Operation Intercept" — and away from heroin enforcement. The Nixon administration is also well-known for its Mafia connections. It was at the same time that the Alcohol-Tobacco-Firearms agents (the famous "revenuers") were heavily reinforced and a crackdown on the illegal weapons trade was attempted. I don't think this was done because the Fed believe that dope automatically turns a student into a revolutionary, as Jerry Rubin says (if so, why isn't India a hot-bed of social revolution?) but because the Feds, the Mexican State, and the Mafia are all afraid of an independent, well-armed, well-financed, network that is supplying revolutionaries not under the control of any Party or State (this could lead to Anarchy!).

Salud! E.R.

Answers to Quiz

1. The Imperial Father (works convenor) in the printing industry. The largest size paper is imperial.
2. Obviously because the surgeon is the boy's mother, but surprising how many people fail to get the correct answer.
3. The pansy. (Sorry about the sexist joke!). It is adopted by the Freethinkers as a pun on the French word "pensee" (Thought).
4. It has no elected representatives in the House of Commons but one hereditary peer in the House of Lords (Lord Milford).
5. Thomas Hardy (1757-1832) founded the London Corresponding Society in 1792. It became one of the earliest movements for democracy and social reform in the Industrial Revolution. Hardy was a friend of William Godwin. It was persecuted for its "Jacobinism" and radicalism.