

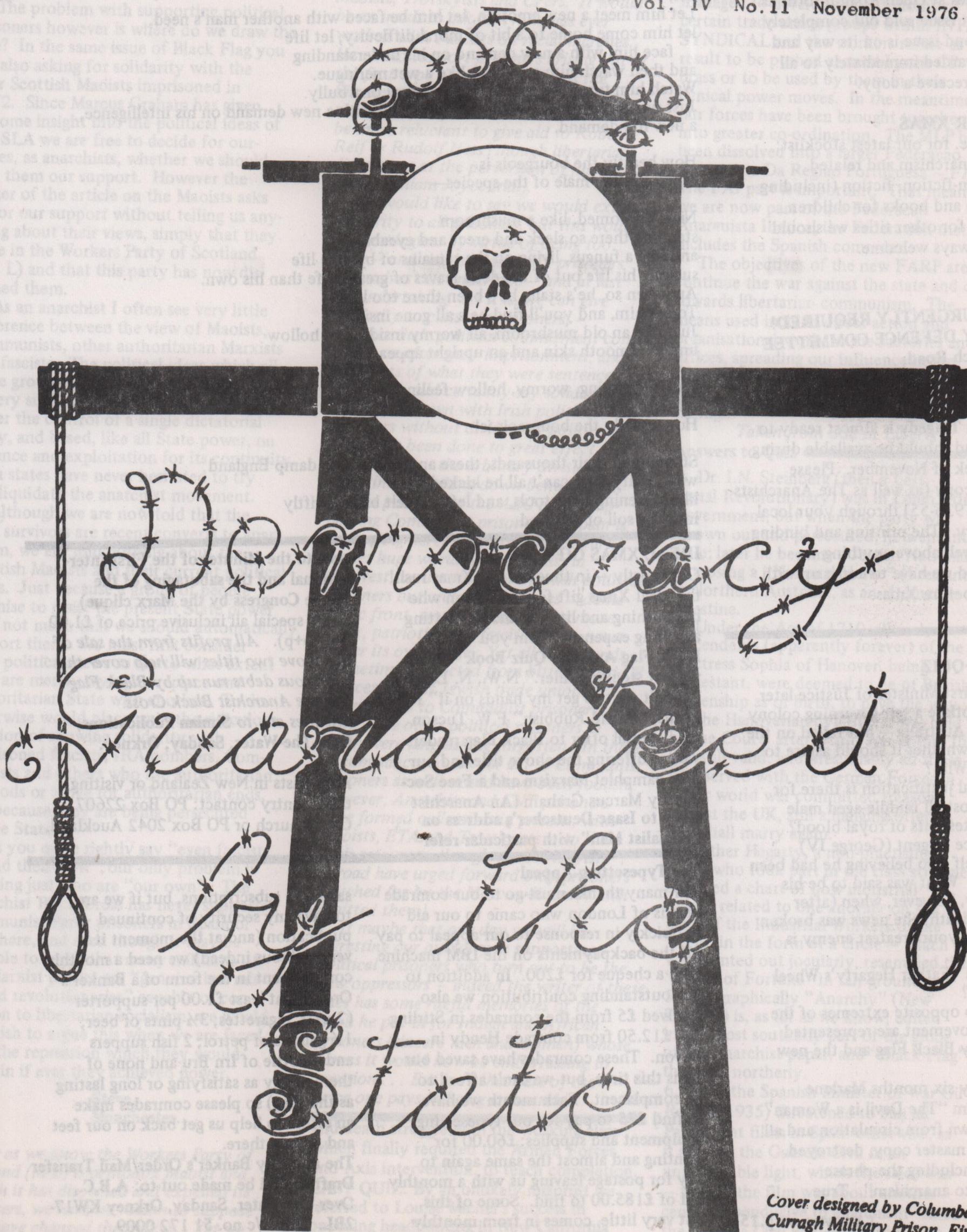
BLACK FLAG

organ of the



ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol. IV No.11 November 1976 .15p.



Cover designed by Columba Longmore
Curragh Military Prison Five

OPEN ROAD

Our apologies to all those who ordered The Open Road and did not receive it. The comrades at Open Road inform us that the first issue sold out completely but the second issue is on its way and will be forwarded immediately to all who didn't receive a copy.

BOOKS FOR XMAS

Send an s.a.e. for our latest stocklist: Books on Anarchism and related subjects, non-fiction, fiction (including horror & sf) and books for children. Suggestions for other titles we should stock are always welcome.

FUNDS URGENTLY REQUIRED!
MURRAY DEFENCE COMMITTEE
155 Church Road,
Celbridge, Co. Kildare, (Eire).

The Russian Tragedy is almost ready to be bound and should be available during the first week of November. Please order your copy (as well as The Anarchists in London 1935-55) through your local public library. The printing and binding costs were well above anything we expected and we have to come up with the money before Xmas.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Lenin's first Minister of Justice later tried to negotiate a self-governing colony in Northern Australia - but failed on the question of whether it should aspire to Statehood. Who?
2. What legal justification is there for hanging almost all middle-aged male German Protestants of royal blood?
3. The Prince Regent (George IV) talked himself into believing he had been at Waterloo. What was said to be his instant reply, however, when (after Napoleon's death) the news was broken to him "Sire, your greatest enemy is dead"?
4. What was "Father Hegarty's Wheel of Fortune"?
5. What two opposite extremes of the Anarchist movement are represented editorially by Black Flag and the new Anarchy?
6. After only six months Marlene Dietrich's film "The Devil is a Woman" was withdrawn from circulation and all prints, bar a master copy, destroyed. The excuse including the phrase "conducive to anarchism". True or false?

(Answers on p.15)

How Beastly The Bourgeois Is

D.H. Lawrence.

How beastly the bourgeois is especially the male of the species—

Presentable, eminently presentable— shall I make you a present of him? Isn't he handsome? Isn't he healthy? Isn't he a fine specimen? doesn't he look the fresh clean englishman, outside? Isn't it god's own image? tramping thirty miles a day after partridges, or a little rubber ball? wouldn't you like to be like that, well off, and quite the thing?

Oh, but wait!

Let him meet a new emotion, let him be faced with another man's need, let him come home to a bit of moral difficulty, let life face him with a new demand on his understanding and then watch him go soggy, like a wet meringue. Watch him turn into a mess, either a fool or a bully. Just watch the display of him, confronted with a new demand on his intelligence, a new life-demand.

How beastly the bourgeois is especially the male of the species—

Nicely groomed, like a mushroom standing there so sleek and erect and eyeable— and like a fungus, living on the remains of bygone life sucking his life out of the dead leaves of greater life than his own. And even so, he's stale, he's been there too long. Touch him, and you'll find he's all gone inside Just like an old mushroom, all wormy inside, and hollow under a smooth skin and an upright appearance.

Full of seething, wormy, hollow feelings rather nasty—
How beastly the bourgeois is!

Standing in their thousands, these appearances, in damp England what a pity they can't all be kicked over like sickening toadstools, and left to melt back, swiftly into the soil of England.

IDEAL XMAS GIFT

Out shortly - in time for the Xmas rush! the ideal Xmas gift for the person who has nothing and little chance of getting anything expensive from you - **The Black Flag Anarcho Quiz Book** - "The perfect stocking filler." N.W., N. London "I can't wait to get my hands on it" K.N Leeds, "Putrid Rubbish" F.W. Tucson As a special offer to Black Flag readers we are offering the above title and our new pamphlet **Marxism and a Free Society** by Marcus Graham (**An Anarchist reply to Isaac Deutscher's address on "Socialist Man" with particular refer-**

The Typesetting Appeal

Our many thanks must go to our comrade Morris of London who came to our aid so quickly in response to our appeal to pay off the backpayments on the IBM machine with a cheque for £200. In addition to this outstanding contribution we also received £5 from the comrades in Stirling and £12.50 from comrade Hendy in Devon. These comrades have saved our skins this time, but we can't afford to be complacent. Each month we have to find £75 to pay for our typesetting equipment and supplies; £60.00 for printing and almost the same again to pay for postage leaving us with a monthly bill of £185.00 to find. Some of this, but very little, comes in from monthly

MONEY URGENTLY REQUIRED!

Murray Defence Group,
Box 2, RISING FREE,
138/142 Drummond Street,
London NW1

ence to the Minutes of the First International and the sabotaging of the Hague Congress by the Marx clique) at the special all inclusive price of £1.00 (inc. p+p). All profits from the sale of the above two titles will help cover the enormous debts run up by Black Flag and the Anarchist Black Cross. Cheques etc. to **Simian Publications, Over-The-Water, Sanday, Orkney.**

Anarchists in New Zealand or visiting this country contact: PO Box 22607, Christchurch or PO Box 2042 Auckland.

sales and subscriptions, but if we are to have any security of continued publication (and at the moment it is very dubious indeed) we need a monthly commitment in the form of a Banker's Order of at least £1.00 per supporter (2 pkts. cigarettes; 3½ pints of beer; 1½ gallons of petrol; 2 fish suppers and a bottle of Irn Bru and none of them nearly as satisfying or long lasting as the **Flag**) so please comrades make an effort to help us get back on our feet and remain there.

The monthly Banker's Order/Mail Transfer Draft should be made out to: **A.B.C., Over The Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17-2BL. Giro a/c no. 51 172 0009.**

MAOISM IS DEAD

Mao Tse Tung has been the subject of eulogies all over the world. He has died almost in the odour of sanctity. It seems to be generally agreed, at least by the moulders of opinion, that he was one of the few "great men" of our time (a father picture his erstwhile neighbour, Kim Il Sung, is desperately trying to adopt for himself, with all the nationalist-messianic imagery and panache associated with so-called Leninism).

Great men are only the tickets of history; they are the people whom luck calls in at a certain moment to be swept up with a tidal wave of events, whether it is a Corsican corporal who has no hesitation in firing on the French people and is pushed forward at the right moment by the right woman; whether it is a man with a turn for inventions who comes along when booming industry needs fresh investment; or a group of push-cart pedlars who take up a fair-ground novelty that becomes the great American dream and conquers the world by animated pictures.

Given this qualification, how does one judge Mao Tse Tung? Essentially he was the ideal Marxist leader, the scholar-in-arms who becomes the philosopher-god. He was a student whose generalship transformed him into the master, and then ladled out his philosophy in small doses like a chemist. He despised the workers and the whole of the history of the Chinese Communist Party consists of military victories over the workers, imposing a hierarchy on the cities, or more easily, on the peasants — who were much more malleable in the sense that the backward provinces were more prepared to accept the armed domination of the scholar-bandit. The refusal by the workers in the cities to follow his lead meant that they were rationalised out of existence in the so-called Marxist philosophy according to Mao; the union movement created by the anarchists were "serpents' nests", the libertarian philosophy was "petty bourgeois" — the favourite insult of the academic who fancies himself a class apart by right of his learning.

The military campaigns of Mao were disasters for the Chinese people; the adventures of the Communist Party — which saw itself capturing China as a major colony for Russia, with two largely backward nations for the party to boss, — ended fatally. The on-off relationship with Chiang Kai Shek, an enemy of the people one minute, the leader of "anti-fascism" the next was only resolved by the decision of the Japanese to invade China, which alone gave the chance of a victory for Mao with the smashing of all workers' organisations and power going to the military commander who had the most foreign aid.

Mao's rule has been a great brainwashing attempt, essentially an attempt to combine totalitarianism with voluntarism, to get the people to co-operate in their own oppression. Some, playing with words, may think Stalinism was only State Capitalism, but this could never be said of Maoism, for what he introduced in China was essentially State Communism, in its purest and worst form, at a degree which showed it could be more oppressive than Capitalism, more repressive than Feudalism, and yet retain its authoritarian communistic character. Every trace of individuality was suppressed and the patronising phrase of the intellectual, "the masses," was made into reality, while the regime justified its authority in scholarly books and articles, above all the semi-folkloristic banalities of the thoughts of the Chairman himself, a mixture of the catechism, Confucius and Will Rogers.

The idiocies of the Great Cultural Revolution, in which the economic progress of the country was set back ten years as the students demonstrated their power over the people in a type of monster rag day were essential to Mao's continued power; for he cast himself in the role of leader and critic alike. He knew well the mistakes of both Stalin and Trotsky, and had probably read both and many of their interpreters. Thus he cast himself *as both*, a supreme piece of daring which only a major dictator could achieve. Secure in his unassailable position as "Stalin", he played as "Trotsky" the very bureaucracy he had created, and the students enjoyed the game of humiliating the leadership of the Party and lecturing the workers on the dangers of yielding to a bureaucracy the military had forced on them, a game encouraged by the leader of the party knowing no resentment could touch him.

The Trotskyist excuse that all the evils of Russia were due to "the bureaucracy" — never to the party, never to the system — was elevated by Mao into doctrine, and while he saw it necessary to experiment with the capitalists, at the same time he conducted a political campaign against the party servants who had to do the experimentation; while he had to conciliate the imperialists either of Russia or America, he was always able to hold up to public scorn the subordinates charged with carrying out such missions. Whether you call this the mark of a great man or not, he certainly was a cunning old devil; yet one can say of him he was not a sadist like Hitler or Stalin, he remained a sort of Fabian ideal, the scholar-general who would sacrifice a million lives if he could get his pattern of social order no other way. Perhaps this is worse, who knows.

It is this idealised Fabianism which appeals to the "new left" and has replaced not only Moscow-line "revisionism" and out-classed Trotskyism, but supplanted

Stalinism though it accepts and excuses Stalin. The New Left essentially sees itself in the role of warrior-student, sometimes in its more revolutionary moments, as scholar-bandit, in the "vanguard"; essentially scorning the working class yet borrowing its ideals and re-phrasing and altering them; its fantasies are to lead a great struggle, not exactly socialist or working class, but somehow national and for better measures, largely composed of illiterates who will accept an "educated" vanguard by virtue of its education.

Mao lived out the left fantasies, and Maoism is the embodiment of this essentially counter-revolutionary ideal. It cannot survive Mao because it is bound up with his personal charisma. No real chairman can have it, only a philosopher-god who takes the humble title of chairman and scorns that of emperor. It is impossible to imagine that this glittering prize will go to Hua Kuo-feng, nor will he attempt to fill the role.

The massive structure of Mao's empire will survive so long as the central committee of the party can keep together the political alliances that at present govern China. But nobody can seriously say that Maoism, as one encounters it outside China, has any future. It will degenerate into nationalism or even pass over to fascism long before there is a real shake-up in China itself.

Where Maoism has contributed to the revolutionary struggle has been to take the dried bones of Marxism away from the museum and to insist on the need for urban guerrilla warfare. Orthodox Maoism — that is to say, the parties accepting the Peking line — has stated that power grows from the barrel of a gun anywhere but in our own backyard; but some urban guerrilla groups, springing from the pro-Mao movement, have rejected this, and, though inevitably from the student milieu, gone forward to armed action. In doing so, their naive belief in nationalism, providing it has the necessary package deal labelling, has always led to the penetration of their ranks by military intelligence and police spies. This movement sometimes deliberately miscalled anarchist by the press, has been penetrated in particular by East German and Arab military intelligence, as by Israeli military intelligence which simply has its Arab equivalent in its pocket.

Yet it can also happen as in Germany and to an extent in Spain, that this movement contains those who can go forward to anarchism and are only held back from doing so by the caricature of anarchism presented by reformism or pacifism.

In the voluntarist-totalitarian regime of China it is difficult to carry on a revolutionary movement. Even under the worst excesses of fascism it was possible to buy a duplicator, under pretence of running a business, and distribute propaganda. It was possible to

(Cont. back page)

Roon 'n' About

When referring to Unity Mitford's death in last issue's Anarcho-Quiz — the night that farce turned to death (which was not, it might be mentioned in passing, unusual in the Nazi saga and one could devote a whole book to this curious intermingling during that epoch — clowns with pistols) we did not know that David Pryce-Jones was writing a biography that her life does not seem to justify.

Yet the whole Redesdale clan is up in arms, headed by Sir Oswald Mosley — no less — in person, from the Paris chateau where he still awaits a call from the British people to lead them (at eighty, they must hurry). They feel it "totally misrepresents" her character — though Jessica (the only liberal among the Mitford sisters) thinks it isn't too bad.

One can't judge the book since it hasn't been published. It sounds as if the Mitford set are afraid of the truth — which, bluntly, is the way we put it (not, as a matter of fact, realising that it had long been suppressed in this country; it is pretty well-known abroad). From what we have seen in the press, Pryce-Jones temporises by saying she committed suicide. The bullet got there some way.

It's Different At Home

Telling the story of "intrigue and corruption at the centre of political power" — but needless to say, in America — Dermot Purgavie, Douglas Thompson, Peter Grieg and Jeri Elrod serialise a spread in the "Daily Mail" taking the lid off Kennedy and Mafia boss Momo Giancana (both of whom are safely dead) and Mrs. Judith Campbell.

Mr. Purgavie et al moralise that the power that controls the USA "is a complex web of three great forces — money, politics and crime." But what of us? Hush, we have libel laws in the United Kingdom.

"The inter-relationships between the people who head these forces is carefully guarded . . . by a security screen of enormous secrecy . . . there is one neutral area, however, where the leaders of these groups can see each other . . . an acceptable meeting place and a pleasant one where big men can make deals, threats, exchange views or come to arrangements. This is the world of show business. Show business recognises only power, money and talent. Show business provides a glamorous cover and every facility imaginable in return for support and investment." Just as with us, of course. But with one big difference.

In the United Kingdom there is an enormous institutionalised sideshow of show business which generates genuine emotion rather than make-believe, lasting loyalties rather than passing fan club enthusiasm. It is the business of Royalty. Much of the corruption in British life centres not around the acceptance of actual cash — the people at the top have plenty of cash, and plenty of power — another commodity they have cornered. It is on social acceptance, the

making of pedigrees, the introduction into an old-established and automatically respectable circle. Royal life — the whole business of the acceptance of knighthoods and peerages — is part of the wheeling and dealing of the politicians. Some like Harold Wilson and Lloyd George — are more blatant than others, because, as newcomers to the institution themselves, they tend to depreciate the currency much more than the Conservative, anxious to preserve the closed shop of the aristocracy and only let in those made-it people who won't let the side down too much, or are so rich and powerful they can't be kept out.

Momo Salvatori Giancana, the Mafia boss mixed up with Kennedy, would in England, have been given a title, (Lord Mafeking?). Nobody would have thought of him as an Italian gangster. He would have become an English peer and been thought of as a merchant adventurer. There are plenty of precedents. Their pride and joy is for their lineage to be mistaken for one that came over and did their plundering nine hundred years ago instead of nine or ninety.

This is all part and parcel of what is meant when someone says of the Americans "We are the Greeks in their Roman Empire" and can teach them civilisation.

INDEED NOT

Meanwhile over at the Sunday Times, Deborah Higgins, a student — writing student problems of accommodation — begs, "property owners, wherever you are, to shed your prejudices." After all, "just because you hear them supporting subversive Commie causes doesn't mean we are all potential anarchists." Blissfully ignorant in her own prejudices, Miss Higgins (who is probably "reading", as they say in academic circles, labour history or political theory, without taking much in) returns to her studies. Already well qualified, it would seem, to work on the Sunday Express.

Cretin strikes again!

John Junor — who succeeds to the role of arch-humbug John Gordon in the Sunday Express — fulminated against the daughter of Tory MP Dr. Bennett — she is living with an International Marxist who has gone from university into the factory, and (he said) shares his "anarchist views."

One of our mutual readers wrote to John Junor (he did not publish the letter). If Mr. Junor clearly did not understand what Marxism was, and what Anarchism was, what right had he to criticise Miss Bennett?

In a personal reply to Walter Allen, John Junor wrote: "In my column I try not to be too pedantic and last Sunday used the wrong word anarchistic in what is, admittedly, a loose interpretation, though a commonplace one nowadays. I am sure my meaning was perfectly plain to the majority of my readers."

An excellent excuse to pass on to schoolboys for "howlers."

It was not a loose interpretation, but

a false one. Do the majority of Sunday Express readers understand the difference between Marxism and Anarchism? If so they are in advance of its journalists. Which would not be altogether surprising.

BLACK CROSS JUMBLE SALE

Sat. Nov. 20 2p.m. at the Moravian Hall, Priory Road, London N.8. For gifts of jumble beforehand phone (01) 802 9698

Centro Iberico/Int. Libertarian Centre now meeting every Sunday at 5-11pm at Community Centre, Archway Rd., London N 19 (converted church directly opposite Highgate Tube). For libertarian contact and social meeting

AWA's INTERNAL DISORDERS

We have had to frustrate five good comrades who have sent us first class articles on the absurdly titled Anarchist Workers Association (in imitation of a real one in Berlin) — but they would have filled an issue. "Libertarian Struggle" now retitled "Anarchist Worker" (in a good imitation of "Socialist Worker" with exhortations to workers, sold to students) is not however, anywhere near as bad as the comic supplement "Internal Bulletin" which, says DC, London N5 "is confined to members only."

AWA/ORS's original pet Guru, Keith Nathan — rejected by the Leninists when he tried to cross over — has an obsession about police agents (someone in his cups once called him one, and later apologised, but it still rankles) and so all members are referred to by initials only. Needless to say, when libelling (under cover) a Black Flag supporter, Nathan gives full name, place of work, and department for good measure. (Not a police agent, but be careful if you speak to him). Nathan and certain others, use the "Internal Bulletin" to kid students coming along into fantasies of AWA activity and gross lies on anarchist activists. (Black Flag is "nationalist and terrorist and individualist").

We read of a strike called at the Press Association by AWA (!) to prevent two FOCs being expelled by their union" (a near impossibility in the circumstances, which a strike against the management could hardly prevent) — and the Black Flag guy "attacked" them (physically?) They would never dare expose these absurdities to the light of day. No one who had ever done a day's work would believe them.

On the contrary, they come smiling the best of friends, butter wouldn't melt in their mouths "Why attack us? Let us speak at your meetings, use your halls . . ." — and in the Internal Bulletin write "shall we support this lunacy? OK as long as they do the work." Surely among all the thirty members there must be one or two who will say "Enough of these pretences, this cowardly humbug" Or is it too much to expect people to give up the illusion of "a national organisation" with a paper struggle against an imaginary leadership?

MURRAY DEFENCE NEWS

The Irish press has been cowed into silence on the Murrays. Since legal action has been taken against newspapers which dare to comment on the torture of political prisoners involved in this case, no paper has dared to report more than the barest court proceedings.

Noel and Marie — but especially Noel — have been kept in total isolation, not knowing the agitation and sympathy on their behalf which goes all round the world. Not even knowing if they are to be hanged from one week to another, with dates constantly put off. Noel finally said to them "Get on with it or call it off" and withdrew his appeal, (which was to be heard when the Supreme Court meets on Nov. 8). The court has circumvented this neatly. They will consider whether to allow him to withdraw his appeal when they meet on Nov. 8, and Marie's appeal goes forward, the date set too, for her appeal.

The case in Ireland has come up against blank apathy — "they'll never hang them" — incomprehension that the Irish

Government is capable of carrying out the crime. In Northern Ireland, the "peace marchers" were picketed by the Murray defence sympathisers — to be greeted with cries of "Hanging's too good for them", which demonstrates the political nature of these much-boasted peace people.

In many countries, the news has come as a total shock and disbelief — some have even picketed the British Embassy in the belief that only in the name of imperialism could such a crime be carried out.

From one of Her Majesty's prisons (Gartree) in England comes a magnificent gesture of solidarity. The prisoners, mostly English, of course, though Irish and other prisoners are there too, raised promises to collect the sum of £60 — out of their meagre weekly wages. They had previously raised money for the victims of the Tower Hill I.R.A. bombings. The Governor (faced with this precedent) allowed them to send the money out, but individually — and it has been rolling in to

the Defence Committee in £1 postal orders.

At a London meeting in defence of the Murrays, with a speaker from Ireland (who arrived late because she had been detained and questioned by the SB at customs), some £160 was raised. The defence is trying to raise money to take the case to the International Court in Strasbourg — it will cost some £3000 + but is being forced to spend all its available money on legal fees to cover the only visits, allowed to Noel and Marie.

Meanwhile the Dublin Committee is harassed in every way possible and has been forced to defend the most elementary rights of free speech including poster sticking in its campaign for the right to live. Most of the Dublin Committee, it is fair to say, have only a vague idea of what it was the Murrays were fighting for. But they are inspired by their hatred of injustice and are doing a magnificent job.

Spain

The CNT has been reconstituted in Spain and its National Committee are comrades of known integrity. This is the most important news to come from Spain for many years. The groups which now exist all over the Peninsula working for the reorganisation of the workers' movement ask our aid. It must be noted that the UGT and the Comisiones Obreras (Communist Party front) are getting aid from everywhere, and the CNT is getting nothing. From London it has been possible to send a Gestetner machine to the group in Barcelona which was in need of the same, and they have been ordering huge quantities of literature, old and new from Paris.

Centro Iberico here has been able to send 1,000 copies of pamphlets recently printed. We have printed a special new Spanish edition of "Flood-

gates of Anarchy" and Black Flag has a number of pamphlets in hand to meet this huge demand. The expense of sending by post is a major obstacle, and we hope to get comrades going to Spain to assist in taking it with them.

Among recent news of changes in Spanish prisons is the name of Lafuente who becomes Director of the prison at Burgos. The name calls to mind one of the most dreaded names of the prison administration, notorious for his cruelty, among all the prisoners of my time. If it is the same, I feel for the victims coming under his rule.

Among them is our friend Ignacio Perez Beotegui (better known under his *mon de guerre* Wilson) who worked with us in London before going back to take an active part in the resistance. He recently told his mother, on a visit, that he could no longer bear the systematic

persecution to which he is subjected, while waiting trial, and was going to take some drastic action. He had scarcely said that when he was dragged by his hair from the visitors room by the guards and beaten up.

The ill-treatment meted out to prisoners in Burgos, but particularly those accused of having taken part in the execution of Carrero Blanco, has long been known to us, but this took place under the very eyes of his mother. The following days he went with mothers of other prisoners to visit the Prime Minister, taking reporters with them. He would not see them but she succeeded in seeing the Minister of Justice and making a complaint to the Director General of Prisons, which has been published in the Spanish press.

Miguel Garcia.

Southall Youth Movement

An article in the September issue of *International Socialism* on the Southall Asian Youth Movement would gladden the heart of any anarchist, as it describes how the two main characteristic slogans of the Youth Movement were 'Smash Racism' and 'No Politics'. The article attributes the demand for 'No Politics' to a growing cynicism with professional politics, amongst Southall Youth.

"It is quite remarkable," the article reads, "the extent to which the political organisations have misunderstood the youth movement and have been unable to relate it. In fact the behaviour of many of the organisations has confirmed the 'no politics' syndrome among the youth."

The article goes on to relate the various recruitment attempts made by the different political groups, and the complete lack of success they have met with. It accurately describes the Communist Party as being politically bankrupt, and with a razor-edged clarity not normally found in I.S., describes the Southall Labour Party as "an electoral shell populated by the 57 varieties of 'trotskyist entrants, middle class careerists and rampant racialists'."

When the article continued about the youth movement: "They have thrown up an embryo institution which is trying to meet specific political and cultural needs . . . in a context where the other community institutions are scorned",

and went on about a "radicalised youth highly suspicious of political organisations" I thought I was reading one of *Solidarity's* better articles. The game was given away however, a few lines later when the author talks of the next step being to establish a marxist cadre, and listing some of the possible ways forward, including standing in elections, involvement in the Right to Work campaign, and building the revolutionary party.

It seems that the revolutionary aspirations of any people have only to make themselves apparent and there's a political organisation like I.S. waiting to lead them right back to the sheep fold. . . .

Zapatista.

Police Banditry

On the 13th August Washington Perez of Buenos Aires was woken up at four in the morning. Seven or eight armed men burst into his house, with rifles and shot guns. They told him they were Uruguayans and Argentinians; that they knew he was wanted in Uruguay for his labour and revolutionary activities but as he was living perfectly legally with his family in the Argentine, he was in no trouble himself. However, he should accompany them, with one of his sons.

They were driven by car, blindfolded and taken to a hide-out. There Perez identified the Comisario of the Uruguayan police intelligence, Campos Herida. There was another person there too addressed as chief and colonel, identified as Colonel Barrios. It became clear that this was a kidnap organised by the Uruguayan police, in conjunction with the Argentinian police, or some element of it.

Then the purpose of the kidnap became clear. Washington Perez was introduced to their victim and prisoner, Gerardo Gatti, the Uruguayan anarcho-syndicalist organiser who had been abducted by them. Gatti was in a very poor condition, with a bad infection of the left arm, emaciated, with inflamed eyes.

What was proposed by the police bandits was that his old friend Gatti should be ransomed by the Resistance movement. They wanted Perez to act as the go-between. They were asking for a huge sum of money to be obtained by the Resistance which, it was suggested, they could raise by bank robberies.

To emphasise how serious they were, they showed Washington Perez another of their victims, an old friend, Leon Duarte — another fighter in the anarcho-syndicalist union. He was barefoot, his feet completely white as if he had been standing for a long time in the cold, and showing obvious signs of torture. He had not eaten for four days except for a slice of bread and a glass of water.

When Washington Perez asked that he be given some food and shoes, the Argentinian colonel agreed — and snapped angrily at another abductor that they had at least forty pairs of shoes below. How many victims did they really have? No one knows. Many have disappeared “unknown.”

It has not been possible to raise the ransom money demanded by the secret police in their piece of private enterprise. Nor is there any guarantee that if it could be raised either our comrade Gatti or Duarte would be released.

The situation in the Argentine and Uruguay cannot be over-emphasised. Women and men are detained secretly, some in the hands of the army, some in the hands of the police, some used like Duarte and Gatti for private trafficking in the hope of making members of the secret police rich at the cost of others' crimes — to which alone the press of the world gives coverage, with no explanation of why it takes place.

Not only women and men are detained. There are children taken with the parents, some from 15 months to 3 years old, of whom nobody can say whether they are with one parent, both or neither.

Publicity must be given to the crimes of the police and military. The only chance of saving the lives of trade unionists and their families in the grip of the terror is a massive publicity campaign throughout the world.

The workers' movements everywhere should be alerted to the White Terror and bandit police of Uruguay and the Argentine.

Please raise this matter with your local T.U. branch, local phone-in programme, local newspaper or whatever AND MAKE SURE YOU CONFRONT THE NEAREST REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ARGENTINIAN/URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENTS!!!

WITCHCRAFT

If Hitler had been successful in exterminating the Jews, future generations would scoff at the idea they existed dismissing as credulous tales that the Red Sea could be crossed by the waters dividing or that a pact could be made with God . . . thus proving the Jews were only a myth. On the same lines, the Church was so successful in extermination of the witches, that people now believe they never existed and were fairy tales, confusing claims actually not made by the witches themselves, with the people making them. But the witches never made the fantastic claims now associated with the word witchcraft; these were made about them by their persecutors.

The Church so persecuted the practice of the ancient religion — wise-craft — which was basically ethical, non-superstitious and based on the accumulation of folk experience, that they not only all but wiped out, but created a caricature in the name of persecution. This caricature has been copied over and over again and forms the basis of Sunday newspaper features to this day. The people practising occult arts — having a rare old time working off their sexual urges in the name of superstition — usually copy the clerical caricature (reading the Lord's Prayer

backwards etc) which obviously post-dates the introduction of the Church, whereas genuine witchcraft pre-dates it. Some now copy the newspaper caricature.

There is a revival of interest in mythology and the occult for the reason that orthodoxy is breaking down. Religion, like every other established orthodoxy, is breaking down with the break-down of old values. But deliberate mystification preceded — and helped to cause — the rise of the centralised Church and State. This is somewhat different from that form of esotericism which sought to explain mysteries rather than to create them.

It is noticeable that witchcraft, after it had ceased to become the national religion because the State had imposed the Church, became a people's science; when State science imposed itself, it pushed out women from the practice of medicine and it took three centuries for them to get back in, and then not on equal terms.

The wiseacres will dismiss genuine witchcraft as bunkum, but treat religious beliefs with respect. Yet in fact the witches never spoke of anything that was not earthly and based on practical tradition and this is why it survived as a healing art and why the Church caricature

spoke of “ugly old women” as the prototype — a significant expression coming from what was in fact a union of single men. Orthodox religion, on the contrary made the earth's story into an inexplicable mystery which depended entirely on credulity.

One must smile at the Sabbath journalists who are assigned the task of exposing ‘devil practices’ one week because some people are re-enacting the anti-witchcraft caricature and the next week have the job of “startling disclosures” such as crucifixes shedding blood or ghosts having to be exorcised from council houses. One can also smile at the enormous growth industry of cults and mythology and back-to-nature cures. But all this is not to say that there never was a rational belief nor that the traditions of the people were to be distrusted; folklore provides more history than the academics.

There is also a pointer for us in the history of witchcraft. Is it possible that the caricature of anarchism presented by the persecutors might one day become a norm? — that people, naturally rebelling against the State might turn not to anarchism itself, but to anarchism as presented by its detractors?

Hermes Trismegistus

International Notes

KOREA – NOVEMBER 22nd SPY CASE

The South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) rounded up 21 people who it alleges were spies working for the North Koreans, on November 22nd, 1975. At least four of these people have been sentenced to death following a series of show trials held in Seoul between March and May of this year.

Seventeen of the alleged spies were students at Seoul National and Pusan universities and two theological colleges in Seoul. Eleven of them were from Japan, and five were women in their twenties.

From the outset, the arrests and the trials have been stage managed by the KCIA to ensure maximum publicity of their version of events. The Tokyo paper *Minzoku Jiho* carried an article on December 1st, 1975 explaining that the KCIA's press release went so far as to stipulate headings and sub-headings which should be used in reporting the arrests. Examples of these are: "Dragnet Bags North Korean Puppet Spy Organisation, Large Scale Infiltration of Campuses."; "Campus Unrest, Agitation, Background Manipulation, Creating Chaos and Plots for National Uprising."

On December 24th, 1975, Kwang Mal Ja, an unmarried 26 year old Korean from Saitama, Japan, held a press conference in the National Diet Correspondents Club (Japan) claiming "I was tortured and raped by the KCIA while studying in South Korea." She says that most of the accused in the November 22nd case were names given by her during her interrogation and that the Korean allegations "could not have been further from the truth."

John H. McIntosh, a Canadian missionary working in Canada, attended the trial sessions as an observer for Amnesty International. At those sessions he attended one of the accused appeared broken, and no documents or material evidence was produced by the prosecution, which relied on confessions. Specifically the Court did not allow testimony from three witnesses, (discovered by the Human Rights Defence Committees of both the Osaka Bar Association and the Kinki Bar Association), that at least one of the accused, Baek Ok Kwang, was in Japan at the time when according to the KCIA he was training for his spying career in North Korea.

Faced with a continuing militancy amongst students and growing pressure both from Koreans living in Japan, and from the native Christian movement in Korea itself, the South Korean government clearly hopes that by linking these elements together and proving that they are communist (N.Korean) inspired they can defuse the emerging opposition.

Defendants who have been sentenced to death are:

Baek Ok Kwang, Kim Oh Ja, Kim Chul Hyun, Lee Chul.

Other defendants received sentences ranging from life imprisonment to three years and six months.

In Japan a defence group has been set up, to publicise the actions of the Korean government, to campaign against the torture being carried out in Korean jails, and attempt to get the accused released. As part of their activities they have published a pamphlet *The November 22nd Spy Case* on which this report is based. The Defence Group can be contacted as follows:— November 22nd Rescue Society, c/o Tsutonda Church, 3-7-25 Tondocho, Takatsuki-shi, Osaka, Japan.

SPAIN

Radio Liberacion, the broadcasting unit of the Spanish Libertarian Movement (MLE) began broadcasting again on September 26th. The programme can be heard from 10 to 10.30 each Sunday night throughout the Spanish Peninsula (and perhaps further) on 33.8 metres and a frequency of 8860 kilocycles. The station can be located a few minutes earlier by the sound of the CNT choir singing the well-known anarchist song "Hijos del Pueblo."

Comrades David Urbano Bermudez and Floreal Rodriguez de la Pena have both been released from prison with only a few months remaining of their sentence under the terms of the latest amnesty, as have Salvador Soriano Martinez, Guillermo Garcia Pons, Ramon Garrion Sanchez, Roberto Safont Sisa, Jose Illameola Compodrer, Juan Jordi Vignoles, Germinal Pares and Tomas Lozano. However, other comrades such as Fernando Carballo Blanco, Gerardo Jacas, Eduardo Domenech, Vicente Iglesias and Floreal Rodriguez de la Paz, remain behind bars and will probably do so until we have forced their release by our solidarity.

Floreal Rodriguez has been transferred from Segovia to Jaen Prison, and there is little possibility of escaping. His sister reports that the position of wife and daughter financially, is difficult, and he is ill. Letters and money can be relayed through the Black Cross.

(source: Industrial Defence Bulletin Toronto).

USA

Seattle: A member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and an ex-member of the IWW have been subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury investigating the activities of the 'George Jackson Brigade' (see Open Road, no.1 for full account of this organisation). Both are

refusing to testify and further arrests are likely.

(source: Industrial Defence Bulletin Toronto).

Louisiana: 17 year old Gary Tyler, a black youth facing the death penalty for the shooting of a white youth during a racial incident, still remains in jail despite sworn affidavits from two key prosecution witnesses stating that they were coerced by police into giving false testimony. Gary's case was originally reported in Black Flag. His main hope now rests with an appeal to the Louisiana Supreme Court for a new trial. Supporters are mounting a nationwide campaign to publicise his case, but have suffered continual harassment from racials in the area. A 19 year old black youth, Richard Dunn, was gunned down by two white men in a car, after attending a fund-raising dance in New Orleans. Free Gary Tyler Committee, Box 15810, New Orleans, Louisiana 70121.

PORTUGAL

Vincente Martinez Garcia, a Spanish Anarchist in exile in Portugal, has been spending the last eight months in a Lisbon jail. Vincente was arrested with a Portuguese comrade while transporting arms in a stolen lorry. The weapons were intended for Spain. He has no money and no visitors. Money and letters of solidarity to:

Vincente Martinez Garcia (4532), Sector 'C', Forte de Monsanto, Lisbon Portugal.

(source: The Anarchist, USA).

POLAND

Newspapers have reported the release of the seven workers from the Ursus agricultural factory, who were jailed following the riots early this summer. The Polish government has clearly found it impossible to keep them in prison in the face of growing pressure at home and abroad for their release. Many people, notably from the town of Radom, are still imprisoned and others have been dismissed from their jobs. The pressure on the Polish authorities must be maintained. Letters to: The Polish Embassy, 19 Weymouth Street, London W.1. As mentioned in the last issue, letters threatening to boycott Polish food products (marketed in the UK under 'Krakus' and 'Polcoop' brands) unless all imprisoned workers are released could be very effective. Two of the largest exporting agencies are:

Hortex, ul. Warecka 11a, Warsaw.

Polcoop, ul Kopernika 30, Warsaw.

ZIONISM & THE LEFT

It is instructive to take a good hard look at Zionism. It excites controversy because of an excess of propaganda, both Arab and Jewish, conducted on the crudest scale — who is not with us is against us and is moreover influenced by the most discreditable motives. It affects what passes off as the revolutionary movement, in far more countries than the Middle East. Concepts are automatically formed, which are used in the propaganda war — nowadays as essential as the shooting war.

Yet not only do many people, politically conscious and presumably well informed, not know what a Zionist is, it is doubtful in many cases if they even know what a Jew is. This may sound incredible, but just ask a few at random — you will find apparently knowledgeable people assuming that Jews either must, all, believe in Judaism — or find themselves asserting, with an air of prescience that some, actually do not. Some have shifted a little way from the caricature of every one a merchant; but not very far. God knows what a Zionist is supposed to be — we received a Nazi-like cartoon from an international Marxist grouping (the New World Liberation Front) which points out sententiously that anti-Zionism should not be confused with anti-semitism.

The Trotskyist contribution to the industry of student protest that is nowadays miscalled a revolutionary movement is to provide the element of “loyal opposition” so far as Russia is concerned. For them it is always a “workers’ state”; they oppose the CP line but accept the lines it draws. They make the Russian imprimatur essential for anything of a national character to be accepted as part of the Left Wing “package deal.” The Maoists, on the other hand, are all for power rising from armed national struggle and will support any militant — or military — nationalist movement, even those bordering on fascism. They do not necessarily have China’s war strategy at heart (as does the CP Moscow’s) but politics with them follow the flag for all that, so they are too (in political jargon) “pro-Arab,” “anti-Zionist.”

This affects the other sections of the “new left” which pick up the pieces after the Maoists and Trots but seek other justification. But their criticisms are often not really of Israel as such, but of “Zionists” in the West and well and truly of it. They talk of “Zionist” financial and manufacturing interests which have no connection with the Middle East, but is a euphemism for “Jewish” as they don’t want to sound anti-semitic.

The Jewish middle class, outside Israel, is Zionist in the sense that a secular, Israel-orientated social organisation has replaced, or implemented, religious social organisation; and Zionism takes the place of a church in forming an identifying structure and ethic. Socially, this community structure preserves them as something that is identifiably Jewish. But economically, they are firmly rooted in indigenous capitalism: the affairs of Israel are purely incidental. The revolt

of youth against bourgeois values, has meant that a lot of young Jews are in the forefront of opposing something they think is Zionism and therefore give the New Left credence for its prejudices.

The Rise of Zionism from Nothing

When Zionism began in the ghettos of Eastern Europe it was one of several nationalist movements competing for the favour of the Jewish workers and the one, incidentally, in the least favour with the bourgeoisie — which felt that such a movement compromised its position. The ghetto masses defeated the middle class intellectual leadership — under Dr. Herzl — which came up with other solutions, based on State deals. It differed too from other Jewish nationalist movements in its beliefs of return to the land and the value of hard work, as opposed to the commercial or degrading positions into which Jews otherwise went. (It is this belief in the work ethic which alienates a lot of the section of the New Left, of course). Also, it came in for hostility from the religious since, though the Jewish religion taught the ‘return to Zion’, it also taught that one had to wait for the Messiah and that proverbially was a long wait.

One Liberal MP once linked Zionism with Anarchism as the type of “impossibilism from A to Z” he encountered in his East End constituency. And so it seemed in the years before 1914. Suddenly, in a few years, it became a practical possibility and a reality, which the New Left attributes to sinister forces like the old right attributed it to the Elders of Zion.

The fairy story is that Dr. Weizmann got the British Mandate as a present for his scientific inventions during the war, presumably instead of the usual O.B.E. We can dismiss national fairy stories and look at the reality.

The war had completely uprooted and dispossessed a huge proletariat in Eastern Jewry. They were not wanted in Poland and the Polish “Centre” was then saying the same things about the Jews that the Powellites say now about the Blacks — they had “more than their fair share” . . . they needed “someone else to share the burden” and so on. An enormous number of people had been displaced from Russia and up to 1914 they had gone to America, and incidentally to all over the Western World. Nobody wanted them; an outlet was necessary. The alternative would have been a body of exceptionally tough talented young revolutionaries fighting in an intolerable situation and who would have got mass support. The Anarchists, and the Bund (a social democratic national body, which believed in national rights but not emigration) bore witness to this. It was thought that colonies in Palestine would take the pressure off the situation. Intermingled was the chance of Britain obtaining one more mandate, then thought economically useful, and an element of play acting — politicians like to feel a touch of the divine destiny.

It is quite absurd to suppose, though, that this could in any way be compared

with the fascist movement. Most of the working Zionists who went to Palestine at that period were socialists and so far from wanting to smash working class organisations they wanted to create them; to transform young middle-class people into workers and to break down the money-grabbing spirit. Whatever the neo-marxists say, if they think this is fascism, they don’t know what fascism is. Except on the national issue, the socialist-zionists were not much different from the Bund. Though not libertarian, they were more so than a lot of the left.

In the twenties the settlements in Palestine did not meet with major Arab opposition. The rich sold their land at high prices individually and then agitated politically because they were losing it nationally. But the working class on the whole did not trouble too much, having battles of their own.

Some socialists then thought it was possible to create a joint Arab-Jewish labour movement. Had they done so the situation would have been entirely different from what it is today. The many attempts of Arab trade unionists to build up a movement in Egypt, Palestine and the Lebanon was then being bitterly attacked. The goon squads were out — killing those who attempted to organise, and the fact of the Jewish settlements did not really divert this civil war within the Arab world. The full force of repression came down on it — including Moslem religious sanction — because it contained the seeds of revolution. The Islamic fanaticism of the peasants was played off against it; the incitement against revolutionaries by Arab politicians far exceeded that against the Jews.

The Jewish left wing socialists who were then strong within the country had an opportunity, but they did not think they should “intervene”; a fatal mistake. Also, a new element was entering the Zionist movement which became more pronounced in the thirties.

How Zionism Became Bourgeois

Because Zionism did not, as feared, affect the privileges and citizenship of Jews nor prejudice the possibilities of the middle class to make money elsewhere, or even in the Palestine periphery, because Weizmann had satisfied the messianic scruples of the religious, and so on, above all, because his super-salesmanship built up a super-sale of Zionism to Jews, which was later extended to the world, Zionism became no longer a competitor, but an adjunct to Jewish community life which, the religious noted with satisfaction, preserved it, despite the decay now common to all religions.

Fund raising, by social functions, providing a marriage market essential to the survival of a community if it were not to be integrated into the wider community if religion was no longer observed, meant Zionism had a purpose for existing in the absence of a “Jewish church” — quite independent of what was or wasn’t happening in Palestine. A secular Zionist-orientated community arose — with no intentions, or at any rate, only

vague ideas, about going there; as well as a whole network of political parties.

This meant there was widespread middle-class support from the outside, and the actual Zionist settlers were therefore inclined to tolerate moderate policies since they did not want to antagonise it, which has affected Israel politics ever since. Notwithstanding a majority, socialist and secularist, cash poured in for settlement from the conservative General Zionists. As the socialist movement became dominated by the old party hacks, and the new suave generation of Zionist politicians appeared, there has been a working coalition which has impelled domination of certain key issues to the Right.

There was no working class influence from outside Israel, for the simple reason that in many countries the Jewish working class assimilated unless it either accepted Zionism or remained religious against the trend of the day.

As a result there was a division between the Jewish working class in Israel, and the Arabs generally, which has grown deeper and with the escalation of events, more bitter. Even as late as the thirties, immigration meant some material and social benefits all round, (a certain amount does — despite the Powellites and the Left talking about Israel), too much doesn't (despite the Left talking about England).

The only party that did seek to achieve a working relationship between Jews and Arabs was the Communist Party. But as it was sold on Russia's anti-Zionist line it set itself against Jewish immigration — an anomalous position for Jews in Israel to take — and in practice the CP has just tagged along with Arab nationalism.

During the period of the thirties an entirely different situation arose with the rise of anti-semitism in Europe. Suddenly the Arab peoples, especially in Palestine, began to realise that immigration was going to become a flood and they were catapulted into nationalist attitudes — which led to the domination of politics thereafter by the wealthy and by the students (which is a disturbing parallel, with England today). The defenders of trade union activity were swept away.

On the Jewish side too there was a hardening of attitudes. They felt they were entitled to swamp the country with immigrants — an attitude easy to criticise, but every people feels itself entitled to live somewhere, and without question they were unwelcome in every other country, particularly in the Russian dominated ones. Both sides blamed British imperialism for an impasse. Arab politics, from then on controlled by nationalism, wanted an end to immigration. Jewish politics, becoming increasingly nationalist, wanted not only immigration but finally accepted the Jewish State as the only solution (hitherto an entirely Right Wing idea).

How War Became Continuous

The Right Wing betrayed the Arab people because it was composed of a corrupt middle class and an indifferent ruling class, using politics solely as a means of curbing rebellion. They

compromised the Arab movement fatally with the Nazis and this weakened their position immeasurably.

The resistance movements that arose in Europe brought a new type of Zionist as distinct from the worldly wise professional and the socialist bureaucrat; people who were seasoned in the anti-fascist struggle. Goering prophesied disaster arising from the concentration camps in that the toughest would survive and would be a potential revolutionary force against "Germany"; but instead it became a nationalist force directed against the Arabs. Those who survived the struggle in Europe were the most determined of the "hawks" in the new state of Israel, yet the readiest to accept collaborationist politics first with the General Zionists, then as a consequence, with the Americans.

The first Arab-Israel War ended in total discredit of the old Right Wing in the Arab world. But the anti-working class repression was such that nobody could displace them but the Army, and it is Army type regimes that have continued ever since. The displacement of huge sections of refugees from Palestine has been under the control of military-minded regimes or — with a new generation arising — of military-minded students, with affinities to Trotskyism or Maoism. It is these which have been disastrous to the Arab cause; always in some form of alliance or another with military or downright feudal regimes, wavering according to the Russian line, unable to take a revolutionary line because of obsession with the national principle, above all, because being under the control of military men, they come under the infiltration of secret service agents and Military Intelligence control to an unprecedented degree. The Israelis have now a super-Intelligence network (built up out of the relics of the anti-Nazi underground) which harnessed to the military interests of the State has proved phenomenally successful, to the extent of having been able to penetrate the Arab national resistance and even at times control it.

The Leninist type leadership of the Arab partisans has led them into one disaster after another, always to the benefit of the rising professional classes and the creation of a professional 'revolutionary' class on the lines of the old professional military one, sometimes identical in personnel. In clear distinction, although the Israeli leadership has, since the formation of the State, been increasingly nationalistic and heavily dependent on American aid, it has undoubtedly been successful. Few Arabs, least of all Palestinians, are prepared to challenge the Arab leadership precisely because of the defeats; few Israelis are inclined to challenge — at least when it comes to the point — to challenge the leadership because of the successes. Thus each retreats into its own shell; the Israelis, embittered with what passes off in the world as socialism and thinking everyone against them, become more nationalistic and more inclined to the American bloc; the Arabs, encouraged in their nationalism by those who seek revolution in any country but their own and power from the barrels of a gun

anywhere but in the next street, still carry on a guerrilla war which at times embarrasses the oil rich lest it gives rifles to its enemies — the Lebanese merchants have discovered to their cost that it is dangerous for a totalitarian regime to have the people armed. It is a measure of democracy in Israel that it *can*, for its part, arm the people without fear of revolution; but democracy, of course, rarely extends to a subject people and certainly not in this case.

This is to state basic facts, and they are at variance with the crude propaganda pro-Arab or pro-Zionist.

The solution is not in diplomatic military, political or financial pressures.

It is not in military victory, which is a mathematical impossibility since no decisive, final battle can be won.

It is not in a secular state, which would mean making an Ulster of the country — not a happy solution.

It lies partly in the cantonalisation of the Arab-Jewish world, in a federal solution, looking beyond the conception of the Nation State, in which the kibbutzim would fit perfectly with occupied land of the peasants, with free cities and with self-governing villages. It is only a partial solution because such an idea can never be achieved without the will to make it work.

But neither the Arabs or Jews will be first to reject a nation State which alone appears to offer individual security against the national enemy. Any solution whatever remains in the sphere of utopianism while that is the case, for there is no national solution yet; federalism can only exist within a viable international context and there is none. But as a beginning to recognise that there are solutions outside the nation State, it is necessary for there at any rate to be some, on both sides, who are federal revolutionaries and not national ones. This would be the task of a workers international, but in practical terms, there is none. There was, but all there is now is the amorphous left, and that adds nationalism to its package-deal: it does not know federalism and does not want to know free socialism.

There were once revolutionaries in the Arab world who were the most courageous in the world. The Jewish proletariat was once the most intelligent and self-sacrificing. What blurs over the old traditions, makes impossible even a minority to develop with libertarian solutions, renders a new and forthright emancipation movement impossible and a break with the oil-rich, moneyed, imperialist or national interests? Perhaps not only the left package-deal. But it goes a hell of a long way to doing so.

Ahasuerus

*Here's freedom to him that wad read,
Here's freedom to him that wad write;
There's nane ever feared that the truth
should be heard
But them wham the truth wad indite.*

Robert Burns

Portugal

INTERVIEW WITH A PORTUGUESE MILITANT

An interview was conducted recently by *Our Generation* with M. Lucas, a Portuguese anarchist who is now living in Canada. The interview is in two parts. One part was conducted before she returned to Portugal for a three week visit between December and January 1976, and the other part after her return. The purpose of the interview is to give some background on the libertarian movement. We want to improve our knowledge of what is happening in that country, and of the anarchist movement, as well as improve communications with Portuguese militants.

Q. Can you give us a rough history of the libertarian movement in Portugal?

A. Anarchism really surfaced in Portugal as an organised expression of the working-class after 1910 when the country became a republic. It was a movement rooted mainly in the trade unions. There was a succession of governments administering the State. The country was in chaos and economic misery was widespread. Under these conditions the syndicates played a leading and aggressive role, with one strike following another. In an atmosphere of wide-spread anti-government feeling, anarcho-syndicalism was gaining ground. In 1928 unfortunately Salazar instituted his dictatorship. Nevertheless social upheavals continued as before. Salazar set out to crush the syndicates, especially the militant anarcho-syndicalist groups. His strategy unfolded over a period of time because of the strength of syndicalism in the country. At the height of State attacks, the trade unions went on a wholesale counter attack in the form of a general strike in January 1931, in which clearly the anarchists played a leading role. The militants were armed, and with explosives. Nevertheless, for many of the same reasons that the social revolution failed in Spain several years later, the general strike was crushed. The Moscow communists, in our judgement, played a leading role in sabotaging the general strike.

A heavy repression followed our defeat, with massive arrests sending many militants into exile. Many anarchists were sent into exile on the island of Tallafal, which is off the coast of Angola. Between 1931 and 1974 the anarchist movement in Portugal was underground but was active both at home and abroad. You bear in mind that survival was extremely difficult as we are never supported in any way by any State powers, as is the case with other revolutionary groups. In spite of these hardships our anarcho-syndicalist newspaper, *A Batalha*, and other periodicals continued to be published with as much regularity as possible, with news as to what was happening inside and outside Portugal, and continued the educational task so vital to anarchism and to the development of revolutionary conscious-

ness. The movement during this entire period was mostly carried on by the veterans of the twenties and thirties who were not rotting in jails or in exile.

Q. How did an interest in anarchism commence anew? There is obviously a great popularity of anarchist ideas among the young workers, students and young military today in Portugal.

A. Young people whatever their social function in our society became interested in anarchism. To them it represented first and foremost a revolt against authority, all authority. This was an extremely important reaction, and particularly understandable after such a long period of dictatorship. This revolt was enriched by a generational revolt in social relations, especially within families which undoubtedly was a spill-over from what was happening earlier in many parts of the world.

In 1973 there were no anarchist books in Portugal in our language. And the anarchist periodicals and newspapers had a limited circulation under the dictatorship. Nevertheless a select number of people had anarchist books in French, (which is a second language in our country), in Spanish and English. These books went from hand to hand within a small circle. Speaking personally, I revolted against authority but what was the alternative? This was of concern to all of us at the time. In revolting against authority however, I and others concluded simply that if people were conscious enough to respect the liberty of others, then authority, government, the State, was not necessary. This deeper understanding of freedom was the beginning of the anarchist idea in us. At that time, I and others, began to read. Some of these foreign language texts fell into our hands. On April 25, 1974, when the dictatorship fell, I heard of the Movimento Libertario Portuguese (MLP) for the first time, and immediately offered my help.

Q. What is the MLP today?

A. It is a small federation of anarchist affinity groups. There are comrades working as individuals, others in groups, others in federation of groups with a co-ordinating committee. A generational conflict emerged in the libertarian movement however, as it did in other countries, and as has happened in virtually all left-wing movements during these years, and especially in movements emerging under the conditions ours lived under for so many years. There are about ten groups working through the MLP and these consist mostly of the older militants and veterans.

At a mass meeting organised by anarchists in June 1974 in Lisbon we found that people exposed to these ideas for perhaps the first time were very receptive to them.

The younger anarchist groups work through the Associao de Grupos Autonomos Anarquista (AGAA). This association is against having any alliances with other left-wing groups.

Q. What kind of activities are anarchists involved in at the present time?

A. One successful event was the mass meeting of June 1974, that showed some degree of sentiment in favour of libertarian ideas, just a few months after the

fall of the dictatorship. The work of the militants involves (1) propaganda and educational work, e.g pamphlets, wall posters consisting of commentaries on the events of the times, making people vigilant against all forms of authoritarianism. (2) organising at the work place, (3) organising demonstrations on issues, e.g. we had an important demonstration in solidarity with the arrested Spanish comrades, (4) and maintaining contacts with active individuals and groups in the country.

My affinity group for instance, which consisted of about 20 people, (I was the only student in the group) works closely with the LUAR and PRP-BR (two revolutionary organisations). To us the question of arms is very important. Our activities consist of study and discussions, workplace organising which is very important, translation of materials from other languages, and developing close personal contact with the rank-and-file of other revolutionary organisations, like the LUAR and PRP-BR.

Our movement was naturally opposed to INTERSYNDICAL, which was one big union imposed on the Portuguese working class by the State, and whose leadership was given to the Communist Party. Our anarcho-syndicalist militants nevertheless are active in the ranks pushing libertarian ideas and structures. *A Batalha* had many articles against INTERSYNDICAL. By the way, the newspaper is to be found in many kiosks in Lisbon, and also in the provinces.

Finally an extremely important area where we are active is the Conselhos Revolucionarios de Trabalhadores. Soldades E Marinheiros (CRTSM). This is the association of many workers councils, neighbourhood councils and military barracks committees. They had their founding congress on the 20 April 1975, and their second congress August 1975. The CRTSM, in fact, groups most of the social revolutionary potential in Portugal. The major influence in it at the present time is the PRP-BR.

Q. What is your assessment of the situation in Portugal at the present time?

A. There are two dimensions to our analysis. One is an objective analysis of what is, and connected with this is the second dimension of what must be done. There are important splits within the Armed Forces Movement. This has its good and bad implications. Good because it demonstrates the fact that the State has not consolidated, bad from the point of view that international reaction exploits this situation in favour of the old order. The problem with the economy, without considering the implications of a full blockade, and judging the problems the country had been facing in the actual situation, we observe that the people are generally frightened. The various left-wing sects frighten people even more with their demagogy, because people feel, and correctly of course, that these sects in the end want power to be placed in their hands.

Anarchists not only in Portugal, but with the solidarity needed from comrades all over the world, need to develop further the revolutionary and libertarian consciousness of the people, and teach them

about the enemies of freedom. We must push further the formation of revolutionary soviets and popular assemblies. The CRTSM is a development in this direction, but the leadership being Marxist stresses and works towards the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which is completely unacceptable to us, of course. We have to teach people how the present State must be dissolved and replaced with other social forms, many of which are in existence now in Portugal or can spring into formation with further opportunity for encouragement. Nevertheless we are working very hard, under both exciting conditions, and extremely difficult circumstances.

Q. What are the needs of the Portuguese anarchist movement?

A. We need to have contact with all of you in various parts of the world. We hardly know any Canadian or American comrades or groups. We need to know of your activities. We also need your solidarity and your aid. We cannot rely on this State or that, we are just coming out of a period of being smashed and repressed not only in Portugal of course but in many countries. We need money to undertake translations and to publish books, pamphlets, periodicals. We need every resource possible in order to carry out our education/conscious raising work before the enemies of freedom and anarchism take it away. In this battle we can win, just look at events in the last weeks in Portugal. The State is still on the defensive, even though it is trying to tighten its hold on society and the economy. But as you know we cannot win without your solidarity.

November 15, 1975.

On January 20, 1976, the interview continued.

Q. What observations do you come back with after your recent visit to Portugal?

A. Since November the situation in Portugal has deteriorated. It has done so in the economic, political and social sense. Politically, the situation took a turn for the worse with the fall of the fifth provisional government from State power. This was the government of Goncalves in which the Communist Party had considerable influence. Mark you the CP for eighteen months had loyally helped the generals and the admirals in their attempt to impose their stiff austerity measures on Portuguese workers. The CP served as the AFM's policeman in the labour movement. Nevertheless, the popular movement at the base continued to grow. At a certain point, the revolutionary left groups decided on the need for greater co-ordination of their activities, especially against this government and set up a Revolutionary Front. The CP joined this Front reluctantly, and when the government fell from State power, the Front took on the fight against the sixth provisional government in which the Socialist Party of Mario Soares outstripped the CP in influence. This government set out to gradually consolidate the power of the State and naturally the power of the "progressive" bourgeoisie.

Q. What is the background to the events of 25-26 November 1975, which the State condemned as an attempted coup d'Etat by the revolutionary left?

A. It was no attempt at a coup d'etat. The background includes these factors — the right-wing of the bourgeoisie, of the military, and in the government. They never stopped their work of holding on and expanding their power and influence. They went on the look out for an opportune moment to strike back, and reduce the growing influence of the revolutionary left. They were responsible for continuously spreading rumours about a prospective coup from the left.

Meanwhile the so-called "moderates" in the government around Major Melo Antunes began a series of government moves against the revolutionary left. They removed from his posts, before the 25-26 November events, the popular commander of the Lisbon military district and head of COPCON (Continental operations command), General Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho. This led to considerable unrest among the left-wing rank-and-file military.

On 24 November, pro-government supporters set up barricades on all roads leading north out of Lisbon. The people had been hearing warnings for days about plans for a right-wing coup by word of mouth, and the left were convinced that these barricades were a prelude to such a powerplay. The paratroopers based at Tancos military base, who had been used by the right-wing military that staged the 24 September 1974 attempted coup, and then again in the attempted coup of 11 March 1975, and more recently during the demolition of Radio Renascena's transmitter of 7 November 1975 (this was a radio station taken over by the revolutionary left for anti-capitalist and anti-state propaganda, and formerly owned by the Catholic Church) did not want to be held responsible for what people in the south at least were calling the reactionary right-wing in Portugal.

On 23 November meanwhile a shipload of "Paras" arrived home from Angola and were met at the docks by representatives of their own regiment at Tancos. Tancos paras explained they were now without officers, and it was their officers who had duped them in the Radio Renascence demolition which they now regretted, and they were now declaring themselves on the side of the people.

At this point the incoming Paras were simply interested in getting together with their families, but two days later had become convinced of the need (after the barricades of the 24 November went up) to act immediately, in a preventive move.

They moved in to take over the air-bases — Monteijo, Ota and Mont Real early in the morning of 25 November. The CP seeing a confused situation which it could exploit in its power-plays with the government sought immediately to create more confusion. Through INTERSYNDICAL it issued an order for mobilisation. Once the move by the Paras got nowhere in the sense that troops loyal to the government moved in to take back the bases, the CP cancelled its mobilisation order at midnight, early on the 26 November in order to protect its flanks from criticism by the government. It also took the occasion to blame

the whole affair on the revolutionary left.

Now during the 25 November it is true that emissaries were sent out to other leftwing military units to join in: some agreed to join the Paras, but most others refused. The whole thing aborted, and one reason was because it was not a leftwing coup. The left in the Lisbon area were at the time strong enough to contain the rightwing military. The Paras failed because they were not ready with a coup strategy.

What all this means is that the State was given a perfect pretext to crack down on the people and the revolutionary left everywhere. The State keeps repeating the big lie that the events of those two days were an attempted coup d'etat by the revolutionary left, and proceeds to repress the left including the arrest of many soldiers and literally disbanding many left military units. Today they arrested Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho saying that it was he who gave the order for the attempted coup. Everyone in Lisbon knows this to be a lie, because people knew his whereabouts, and these had nothing to do with the coup. But I suppose it makes good propaganda for the government outside the country and a good pretext to justify their crack-down on the left.

Portuguese capitalism is still in crisis however after many days and weeks of these events. The government froze wages and cancelled scheduled wage increases. In Braga, in the north, workers have not been stopped for long for they occupied the Ministry of Labour when they were told that their wages were frozen. There are massive increases in the prices of various commodities however.

In the government, the power struggle also goes on. The AFM has been dissolved and replaced by a group called the Portuguese Armed Forces (FAP) in order to have greater discipline on the soldiers. The semi-fascist Social-Democratic Centre (CDS) has been banned after an abortive rightwing coup last March. It has now re-surfaced. The rightwing police — the GNR, is now powerful again and plays an active role of intimidation in the workers councils, and in the neighbourhood councils and meetings. But a demonstration of 20,000 people, supported by the left was held outside a prison in Oporto, this month. Revolutionary soldiers and officers have been kept there since 25 November.

The government has fired 127 leftwing journalists, and the Republica newspaper once taken over by a workers' council has been shut down. Radio Renascenca has been handed back to the Catholic bishops. The stock market, closed since the fall of fascism in April 1974, was re-opened this month. 1,800,000 acres of land taken over by poor farmers were forced back, the new co-operative smashed and the ownership of the land given back to the old landlords by the government.

Q. How long will this situation last?

A. The State will continue this situation for as long as it takes to put down the revolutionary left and its gains, and to stabilise the economy.

(cont. p.15)

Reviews

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IN SPAIN, 1914 - 1923, Gerald Meaker, Stanford University Press, 1974, 562pp, £9.00.

This university thesis poses a very interesting problem: "The Spanish Anarchist response to the Bolshevik Revolution and to the Leninist concept of revolutionary strategy and tactics" as well as that of the socialists. Such a plan, together with the list of people contacted by the author, Stanley Payne, Gaston Leval, well known militants of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union, the C.N.T., and Joaquin Maurin of the marxist party opposed to Moscow — not Trotskyist — the P.O.U.M. All this, should, then, presage a fundamental and well-documented book.

This impression however would be substantially wrong. The learning and documentation of this author so far as Spain and Russian Communism are concerned are profound, but almost always he confines his findings to the level of "the leadership" and writes out the mass of workers as though they were brainless simpletons.

The main social background of the period disappears completely — the cruel exploitation of Spanish capitalism; the joint socialist and anarchist attempt to oppose the boss class in 1917 by means of the General Strike; the breach between the socialists concerned with compromise and political dialogue and the anarchists with their revolutionary praxis; the adoption of the "sindicato unico" (One Big Union) by the anarcho-syndicalist, concisely defined by Romero Maura (Government and Opposition, 1970) as bringing together all the workers in a given factory under the one umbrella of a single union, imposed the militancy of the majority of unskilled workers on the labour aristocracy. The territorial basis of organisation linkage brought all the workers from one area together and fomented working-class solidarity over and before co-operative solidarity."

The efficiency of such an organisation was based on two facts. Firstly, the "La Canadiense" Strike, one of the most glorious pages in the history of the world labour movement, which began with the unjust sacking of eight office employees at the "La Canadiense" Electricity works in Barcelona, on February 5, 1919, with first of all the department workers, then the entire factory workforce, and then all the electricity workers in Catalonia coming out on strike to demand their reinstatement, the eight hour day and no Saturday working (the "English Week"); by February 21 every factory in Catalonia was obliged to close down for lack of electricity and by March 7, the Government conscripted workers, which they promptly ignored en masse, and which led to 3,000 arrests. The printworkers established a "red censorship" on all news reports which were hostile to the strikers. With negotiations under way and after a week of general strike,

from March 24 to April 7, to obtain the release of the prisoners, the employers finally agreed to the reinstatement of the sacked men, the eight hour day, Saturday rest-day and payment for the days lost on strike.

The second fact was that in 1913 the socialist union, the U.G.T., had a membership of 150,000 and the C.N.T. 30,000 (the membership since its foundation, but Meaker insists on a figure of 15,000 . . . without giving any source), but by 1919 the U.G.T. had a membership of 200,000 while that of the C.N.T. was 755,000. Faced with the rapid growth in strength of the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T., and the awareness of revolutionary upheavals in Russia, Italy and Germany during the same period the employers federation in Catalonia, the centre of both the economy and anarcho-syndicalist influence, embarked on a policy of liquidating workers' spokesmen by underworld gunmen. This was the epoch of "pistolérismo", 1920-1923, which sapped the strength of the anarcho-syndicalist union prior to Primo de Rivera's seizure of power in 1923. That desperate struggle took place amid the total indifference of the socialists and the communist parties — of which there were two, each competing against the other for official recognition from Moscow. In addition to the historical backdrop there was also the colonial war in Morocco and the necessity to emigrate to escape the misery at home.

Not only does Gerald Meaker have no respect for the workers themselves, but he often manipulates his sources against the anarchists. He quotes an hysterical Fracoist to affirm that the anarchists were shooting each other over the question as to whether or not they should participate in the world war. There is no mention at all of the position taken on the war by Malatesta and the majority of the anarchist movement in order to back up his thesis that the neutrality adopted by the anarchists not only assisted them, but quite possibly was also financed by them as well (p29). He makes no mention at all of Angel Pestana's denunciation of some elements suspected of having been corrupted by the Germans. He affirms and underlines any vulgarity he discovers or exaggerates when dealing with anarchists. For example, Boal was "a heavy drunkard" according to a well known anarchist militant, but when we examine the source we find that Meaker makes this statement on the basis of a comment made in passing: "he drank slightly more than most, but he was always an irreproachable comrade" (M. Buenacasa, *El Movimiento Obrero Espanol*, Paris, 1966, p.252). Nor does Meaker mention that Boal was assassinated by an employers' gunman.

In effect, for Meaker, "the resort of the Anarcho-Syndicalist to terrorist methods was not long in producing a counter-terror on the part of the employers. That the cause-and-effect relationship ran this way has been conceded by both Buenacasa and Pestana, who admit that the pistolérismo of the employers came only as a response to the atentados of the

action groups." (p.176). Meaker then throws two bibliographic quotes to us. The first of these proves nothing — a complaint against groups who carried out robberies and who manifested interests more personal than militant. The second is correct, but when was it said? — 1933 when Pestana was already separated from the anarchists and had just created a political party, desperate to appear "un buen chico" (a good lad) in the eyes of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, Meaker describes the well-bred and cultured "professors" of the socialist party and future communists. There ends the erudition of our author. He does not bother to give us one quote of the declarations of the type "We shall respect the decisions of the next Moscow Congress whatever they may be." However, he does point out that the inability of the communists to make alliances with anyone, but rather embarking on a policy of assassinating socialist leaders without obtaining any important advantages. Meaker also points out that the anarchists received the news of the revolution in Russia with enthusiasm but that the socialists ignored it because it undermined their reformist role.

Meaker's blind spot reappears when he gives the impression of ignoring that there were Marxists (Nin and Maurin) who joined the C.N.T., and who appointed themselves delegates to go to Moscow when there was a C.N.T. delegate, Angel Pestana, there already refusing to adhere to the Third International.

Meaker employs the most oafish arguments in bourgeois research when, because of his inability to explain or even understand why anarchism in Spain should have established such strong roots, (he could, at least, have read Romero Maura and Joaquin Maurin). He arrives at the feeble conclusion that this "ideological vacuum" is explained by Spain's industrial backwardness and the XIX'th Century mentality of the workers. Apparently that which is not Leninism is nothing.

It would have been far better for Meaker to have asked himself how Lenin was able to impose anarchist slogans and watchwords such as "All power to the Soviets" on the Central Committee of the Communist Party, giving the Party some degree of popular support and purging it — almost at the same time — by Lenin's own creation — the Cheka. This is Marxism.

Frank Mintz

Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas, Camillo Berneri, 30p, Simian, (+10p p&p)
The Wilhelmshaven Revolt: A Chapter of the Revolutionary Movement in Germany, Icarus (Ernst Schneider), 45p post free.

This reprint of Berneri's study of the development of Kropotkin's federalist ideas which along with *Mutual Aid*, constitutes his principal and lasting contribution to anarchist thought, is today more relevant than ever.

Today people are demonstrating their loss of faith in governments by abstaining

from the ballot in ever increasing numbers. In its place we find communal co-operatives providing food, housing and other necessities of life springing up throughout the world in amazing numbers.

Berneri's study is all the more interesting with the inclusion of a biographical study which explains exactly how Kropotkin came to develop his ideas (just as he does not fail to point out his grave error in supporting World War I, a decision which alienated him from the majority of the anarchist movement.

One is rather baffled however to find Berneri referring to Kropotkin as "the anarchist prince" — something which he thoroughly resented, and it is doubtful that Berneri, if he were alive today, would express the pessimistic view that Kropotkin attached great, sometimes even excessive importance to associations (p.6) in view of the numerous communal undertakings referred to previously.

Berneri repeats his pessimistic view when stating that Kropotkin's "observations on the Russian *mir* and of associations among primitive peoples makes him err into a popular naivete as in *The Conquest of Bread*." (p.8).

An even more puzzling and at the same time contradictory paragraph of Berneri's reads:

"The collective spirit, is a generic term which in the *Conquest of Bread* became "the people," "the commune", "society", etc., which administers justice, organises everything and resolves the most complex problems. It is a kind of divinity which Severino Merlino described with just irony as playing the part of the chorus in Greek tragedy, and which the most profound anarchist theoreticians are far from adoring. But if Kropotkin's federalism lacks precision and puts excessive faith in the political capacities of the people, it is nevertheless remarkable for its breadth of view. No federation can be consistent if it is not integral. And it can only be such if it is socialist and revolutionary."

The only one whom Berneri names as ridiculing Kropotkin's faith in the people is the revisionist Merlino. Evidently Berneri holds the same opinion, a strange one indeed for an anarchist who, as he says, believes in revolution.

Apart from this regrettable position belaboured by Berneri the pamphlet is even more relevant today than it was when first written.

The most interesting part of the **Wilhelmshaven Revolt** lies in the fact that Icarus (Ernst Schneider) was a member of the reformist Social Democratic Party who nevertheless had the courage to oppose the party when it came out in support of World War I. His confidence in the workers' ability to emancipate themselves was inspired by the many anti-war activities which occurred in the German Navy even prior to the outbreak of the War. Mat Kavanagh, the late lifelong anarchist propagandist, points out in his preface that "The Russian revolution is unthinkable apart from the part played by the sailors of the navy. Their heroic stand at Kronstadt in 1921 remains their eternal glory and the lasting shame of

the Bolsheviks." He also points out similar revolts and mutinies of the Brazilian and British Navies.

Inspiring as all this is, the sad fact remains that insofar as the German Navy is concerned the rebellious spirit of 1918-19 was totally lacking in the Second World War. Schneider gives a detailed description of the betrayal by the Social Democratic Party on August 4, 1914, but fails to realise that it was the authoritarian Marxian ideology which led to this betrayal.

True enough, Schneider mentions no less than seven Marxian groupings who opposed the war to a greater or lesser degree, but nonetheless it was the sailors of Wilhelmshaven who, although unknown as marxists, so heroically opposed the war. The same applies to the rank and file of the workers who formed councils, as did the soldiers and sailors in Wilhelmshaven, Bremen and Brunswick. The betrayal by Social Democratic Party was not confined just to Germany, as Schneider points out:

"It was Karl Radek — the (1919) then Russian plenipotentiary in Germany — who declared openly "a victorious workers' revolution in Germany now means a lost revolution in Russia." Stalin, discussing the situation in Germany (1923) urged "In my estimation, the German workers must be restrained not spurred on."

Schneider goes on to give many details of the workers' resistance to the war despite the treason of Germany's leading Marxians as well as the Bolshevik rulers of Russia. He also describes many new re-groupings — all under new communist names, but none realising that it was the very marxian and authoritarian ideology of compromise which led inevitably to the disastrous rise of Nazism.

At the moment Germany is divided into East and West. The fate of sincere revolutionists in East Germany can only be guessed at from our knowledge of the relentless persecutions carried out by the Bolshevik government of Russia. The fate of the revolutionist in West Germany is, however, more or less known: merciless repression, men and women arrested and held for years without trial, both brutal physical and mental maltreatment while in custody. The rebellious spirit in Germany, as in Russia is no longer fanned by sailors and soldiers as such, but by anti-authoritarian activists from a much wider spectrum. One can only hope that this will ultimately lead to much needed new revolutions in both countries in the not too far distant future.

M. Graham

BLACK MARIA art and politics (Black Maria 815 W. Wrightwood Ave, Chicago, Illinois 60614 — Sample copy \$1.25)

Perhaps distance lends enchantment but the best of the women's movement in the U.S.A. seems much more aware and alive and understanding than anything one can find here; "Black Maria" anyway is a first-class anarcho-feminist mag which stands up to anything on art and politics. Some plain commonsense on wifebeating.

"Laws aren't the solution to this problem, they only indicate some awareness that it exists." And a first class introduction by Arlene Meyers to "Lucy Parsons: American Revolution" (1853-1942). I at least had not known of this wonderful woman and her long career — as a woman, and a working woman at that, she has been written right out of history.

Anna May.

INTRODUCTION TO CHILE, a cartoon history by Chris Welch 96pp, £1.00 + 20p p&p, Bolivar Publications, 10 Roderick Road, London NW3 2NL (or from Cienfuegos Press Books).

A well produced cartoon history of Chile from the time when it was just another area of South America — before the Spaniard came — to the present day. This is an excellent introduction to the history of that country and the present tragic situation under the murderous and barbaric regime of the Junta. The book itself is produced in close co-operation with the Chile Solidarity Committee and contains a wealth of information designed to spur people's consciousness to act in solidarity with the Chilean people. The only drawback to the book is its somewhat laboured emphasis of the marxist groupings and parties to the exclusion of all other groups — anarchist and libertarian socialists were and still are active in Chile. Apart from that sectarian note the cartoons and text succeed very well in getting their message over.

CUBA FOR BEGINNERS, a cartoon history by Rius, 70pp, 85p + 15p p&p, Writers and Readers Co-operative.

A similar cartoon history to the above, but with much more satirical content. The drawings, situations and politics are well presented and very funny up until page 60 when the humour, although still clever, suddenly sours with a long partial and distorted list of the changes effected by the Castro regime. The final cartoons show a *barbudo*, whistling merrily, running up a staircase marked "To the Simple Life". Underneath we read: "Cuba — forget numbers and living standards — is creating the possibility of a new man, of a new society based not on money, but in the common and better life. Cuba is a living example of a people really moving and working. A nation surviving and growing against almost impossible odds." Again we find no mention of the part played by the anarchists and libertarians in the Cuban revolution, nor of the vicious repression of the Cuban anarchist movement by the Castro regime, including the murder of Camillo Cienfuegos, a Durruti like figure within the revolutionary movement, a man of the people — by Raoul Castro. Presumably the simple life also includes sexual repression and the imprisonment of 'degenerates' such as homosexuals and lesbians. In fact, the latter section of the book is one long paean of praise to the Cuban Communist Party, but provided the book is read critically it is a reasonable introduction to the history of Cuba — until the Cuban anarchists produce a better one!

Ephemera

Special offer: an amazing opportunity to acquire the souvenir programme of **The Abdication of Queen Elizabeth II: The Truth About My Mother, H.R.H. Prince & Charles,** Open Head Press £1.00 inc. p&p.

Provenance:

Like the letters of Junius, it is an anonymous manifestation: no one knows who wrote it, printed it or produced it. It first appeared in a crude gestetner form and was reproduced by aficionados. It was also read out as a news item on England's only surviving pirate radio station: Rebel Radio, which led to a flurry of activity by the G.P.O., detector vans, and the police, who cordoned off the street from which the transmission was being made, leading to two arrests and the seizure of a jammed-up tea-caddy which they thought contained a transmitter, but the transmitter and the news-reader escaped into republican ozone over the roof-tops.

It then appeared in a limited edition on hand-made paper, embossed with gold, and was distributed free at Windsor Free Festival, the largest squat in English history (copies of which are now changing hands at £25.00).

The Open Head Press felt that it should be made more widely available in view of the lady's compulsive addiction to signing death warrants referred to her from the Privy Council, and snuffing loyal subjects in the West Indies, in view of her grotesque extravagance in relation to her daughter: a failed air hostess, and her simpering squaddie bridegroom (cost of wedding: £4 million, cost of house £2 million), and also in view of her rumoured treasons: it is believed that she is one of the largest shareholders in Lonrho, Rhodesia.

The Cornish edition has been faithfully reproduced in paperback in an edition of 500, and is available from Cienfuegos Press.

THE ANARCHISTS IN LONDON 1935-1955

Albert Meltzer, Cienfuegos Press, £1.00 (+15p)

The false picture presented by the press (which deliberately confuses anarchism with Marxism and nationalism) together with the distorted chronicles from university professors — who never having come into contact with the anarchist movement, know only the great names amongst successive generations of political exiles from Russia, Italy and Spain, which they pass off as the only anarchist presence in Britain — have combined to create an impression that anarchism has never played a native role in the history of the British working class movement. They assume that the working class here has always been submerged in parliamentarianism and statism. To dig deeper would upset their pet theories, so the real story goes untold. Add to this a generation of anarchists too young to remember the tradition of class struggle anarchism that existed before the First World War (and to a lesser degree persisted in the inter-war years), and who rarely have come into contact with its survivors, and it is small

wonder that most anarchists today probably know more about organised anarchism in Russia or Spain than in Britain.

This is particularly ironic when Britain has been one of the few countries in the world where an anarchist movement has retained a legal existence permitting open propaganda work throughout its history. The foreign exiles who have sought refuge in England over the years undoubtedly came from countries where anarchism attained a greater social relevance. Ill-fated revolutions, wars and massive state repression forced most of them at one time or another into carrying on in the only way possible within the terms of clandestinity — armed resistance.

The Anarchists in London records a period in which anarchism exerted some influence within the British working class movement, which helped pioneer the housing struggle through rent strikes, set up a principled opposition to the war, won support for revolutionary ideas within the British Army, and continuously propagated the ideas of direct action, anti-statism and workers' control through its journals and public meetings. Yet throughout Albert Meltzer's probing and often witty account there is no instance until the end of the 1960s (when the 'Angry Brigade' actions first began) of acts of armed resistance to the State. Critics of such tactics never fail to point out that in their view such actions put in jeopardy the possibilities of legal agitation amongst the working class and call forth repression. Thus damning revolutionary activism as 'adventurist' and 'self-defeating'. Yet what of this long and uninterrupted run of anarchist propaganda stretching out nearly a century before the A.B? That armed resistance alone will bring about the revolution is obviously absurd, but to oppose its use in any circumstances on the grounds that it will restrict legal activity, which in Britain has proven by its inability to produce the desired revolutionary turn of events and resulted in an anarchist movement today that is even smaller and less socially relevant, is equally unrealistic. Armed struggle or not, the degree of repression is related to social conditions not to the degree of resistance. Perhaps it is because the anarchist movement has not posed a sufficiently real threat to the State that it has retained greater opportunities of agitation than elsewhere in Europe; it certainly has not profited from them.

Reading this memoir of activity is an informative and illuminating experience that should not be missed. For the casual reader it will certainly prove entertaining; but for anyone seriously committed to revolutionary anarchism it should also provoke a careful reflection upon the issues it raises. For if anarchism is to play a role in shaping the future in Britain we need not only to know but to learn from the past.

Taken together with Albert Meltzer's already published work, **The International**

Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: First of May Group, (actually written ten years after the volume under review) **The Anarchists in London** provides a useful corrective to the misinformed accounts previously available, rescuing half a century of anarchist activity from obscurity and providing the first inside story of its victories, defeats and unknown heroes. That its author, after more than forty years of struggle, is still cheerfully in the front line, is, like the book itself, an inspiration. **The Anarchists in London** will surely become the standard source book on the contemporary history of British anarchism, it is up to us to shape the future.

PAR

THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH DAILY NEWS, McKay & Barr,

Canongate, £3.95 h/b.

When the Scottish Daily Express closed down in 1974 it threw 2000 men out of work. Five hundred of the men made redundant decided to try to save their jobs by creating a newspaper controlled by the workers themselves. Ron McKay and Brian Barr (Ron is an occasional contributor to B.F.) were both closely involved with the new paper "The Scottish Daily News" and they give us an excellent blow by blow account from the inside as to what went wrong in the six short months of the paper's existence and the particularly nasty role played by the political and financial power brokers who wished to make the paper their own. This book is essential reading for all those interested in workers control.

Libero International, a quarterly English language magazine published by CIRA — Nippon SIC, contains extensive coverage of events in S. Korea from an anarchist viewpoint. Issue 4, just out, contains the second part of an article on the Post War Korean Anarchist movement, an article on an industrial struggle by workers at S. Korea's largest daily newspaper, the Dong-a Ilbo, a statement of conscience by poet Kim Chi Ha, smuggled from a Korean jail, an interesting report on how the increasing repression is forcing some villages to take steps to protest themselves and create a degree of village autonomy, and the last of a four-part serial on the part played by anarchism in China's social revolution. **Libero International No. 4** sea-mail subscription, £1.50 for four issues, from CIRA — Nippon SIC, Kobe C.P.O. Box 1065, 650-91 Japan. Copies may also be obtained from Cienfuegos Press who have it in stock.

New titles:

Merrie England, Nunquam, £1.20
Hungary 56, Anderson, £1.00
Housing, Ward, £1.25
Fontamara, Silone, 85p
Seaman's Voice, Foulser, 80p (h/b)
Big Red Diary 1977, Law and Order, £1.00

LETTERS

Comrades,

In the July issue of Black Flag you defend support of the SLA because they are in "no way supporting Marxist dictatorship" and you ask "have people to accept libertarian ideas before they merit solidarity?" Whatever we feel about the politics and activities of the SLA, the answer to your last question is obviously "no."

The problem with supporting political prisoners however is where do we draw the line? In the same issue of Black Flag you are also asking for solidarity with the four Scottish Maoists imprisoned in 1972. Since Marcus Graham has given us some insight into the political ideas of the SLA we are free to decide for ourselves, as anarchists, whether we should give them our support. However the writer of the article on the Maoists asks us for our support without telling us anything about their views, simply that they were in the Workers Party of Scotland (M-L) and that this party has now disowned them.

As an anarchist I often see very little difference between the view of Maoists, Communists, other authoritarian Marxists and fascists. The political ideas which all these groups espouse have led in the past to very similar, highly centralised States, under the control of a single dictatorial party, and based, like all State power, on violence and exploitation for its continuity. Such states have never hesitated to try and liquidate the anarchist movement.

Although we are now told that the SLA survivors are recent converts to anarchism, we are told nothing about the Scottish Maoists and their current political views. Just because a group of people organise to resist the present State power does not mean that we should automatically support them. We must first consider their political views to see to what extent they are merely trying to replace one authoritarian State with another. To do otherwise would place us in the ridiculous position of showing solidarity with imprisoned fascists, IRA bombers, Communists and others who use authoritarian methods or strive for authoritarian ends, just because they are being persecuted by the State.

As you quite rightly say "even fascists defend their own"; our only problem is deciding just who are "our own". The Anarchist Black Cross has never supported Communist Party prisoners in Spain or elsewhere, and even though it may be possible to argue that many militants of the Marxist parties are "genuine but misguided revolutionaries" capable of conversion to libertarian socialism, we would not wish to argue this when we are faced with the repression which they would bring in if ever they achieved power.

Steve,
Manchester.

So far as we know the Workers Party of Scotland (M-L) is orthodox Maoist and though it has disowned and expelled its prisoners, we have no reason to suppose they have changed their views. Yet we

think they should be supported as class war victims. They were not sentenced for their authoritarianism. They were sentenced for their challenge to the capitalist State. There is a radical difference between authoritarian Marxists and fascists, even though (as Steve rightly says) their political ideas will ultimately, if successful, lead to the same type of State. We are quite sure that Steve, as an anarchist, connected with industrial activity, or protest against rent problems and so on, HAS worked with Maoists, Trotskyists and CPers. It would be an insult to ask him if he has ever worked with Fascists on racial marches. He would support prisoners arising out of the first type of activity, such as the Shrewsbury Two - for all his disagreement on their future aims. He would be more reluctant to give aid to Robert Relf or Rudolf Hess (though libertarians did protest at the perversion of justice in the William Joyce trial).

We would like to say we would extend solidarity to all prisoners, but this would be meaningless by virtue of being too wide - and this is a task only prisoners themselves can undertake - and at last are undertaking. As it is, we can give solidarity to class war prisoners, - whether their political commitment comes before or after their imprisonment, and regardless of what they were sentenced for. We would certainly say solidarity should be shown with Irish political prisoners without division of politics - which has been done to great effect, incidentally - the arbitrary divisions sometimes breaking down behind bars.

The position of the ABC in not supporting Communist prisoners in Spain is misleading here. The Communist Party makes huge world-wide appeals (in the West, be it noted) for Spanish political prisoners but under false names - democratic front, women's anti-fascist movement, patriotic, anti-fascist etc., - never under its own name. Yet all these funds (sometimes collected from bitterly anti-CP sources such as Jewish trade unionists in America) go to Communist prisoners only. The other political prisoners in Spain were languishing forgotten. In these circumstances to ask for aid to Communist prisoners as well would have been foolish; however, Anarchist and CNT prisoners have formed collectives in prisons, with Maoists, EFA and Trotskyists - to share their resources, though the Trotskyists abroad have urged forward only prisoners vouched for by the Moscow-liners (which omitted them).

It maybe that one day we will be regretting our quixotry in supporting political prisoners who turn out to be the new oppressors - indeed the writer of these lines has some rueful memories of the work he put in for Indian and African prisoners (sincere men and women) whose names it would now be embarrassing to mention. . . . But isn't that part of the price one pays in being an anarchist?

and-death struggle with the working class . . . which finally required the Armed Forces, and Axis intervention, to teach completion. LAST QUIZ: By an unlikely misprint we referred to Louise Michel's success in opposing headhunting in New California - it was of course New Caledonia.

(Portugal cont.)

Q. What is the revolutionary left doing?
A. Its political militancy will continue. Many forces have gone underground, and work clandestinely, and they are well-armed. The State has to use its repression moderately because of this. These underground forces continue to protect those institutions that have been taken over by the people.

Q. What are the prospects of the anarchists?

A. Very good. We continue to grow in influence. Some of our comrades along with others on the revolutionary left have managed to develop the autonomy of certain trade union groups within INTER-SYNDICAL and the workers refuse as a result to be pushed around by the CP brass or to be used by them in their cynical power moves. In the meantime our forces have been brought together into greater co-ordination. The MLP have been dissolved into a larger Federacao Anarquista Da Regiao Portuguesa - FAI. The FAI part is important. That means we are now part of the Federacao Anarquista Iberica, the Federation that includes the Spanish comrades.

The objectives of the new FARP are to continue the war against the state and capital towards libertarian communism. The means used include direct action and organisational work, in the factories and offices, spreading our influence in the INTERSYNDICAL and through the base groups in the neighbourhoods. Our hopes are high.

Taken from Soil of Liberty.

Answers to Quiz

1. Dr. I.N. Steinberg (then a Left Social Revolutionary) was in Lenin's first Government, but when the party was thrown out and persecuted, he went into exile; later he became a Jewish Nationalist proposing a "National Home" (Freeland) in Northern Australia, as an alternative to Palestine.

2. Under the Act of 1710, all male descendents (apparently forever) of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, being Protestant, were deemed to be of British citizenship as of birth, to pave the way for the Hanoverian dynasty; it was held by the Courts after World War II that this was still valid, and presumably all those who served with the German Forces in either world war committed treason against the UK, still a hanging offence.

3. I shall marry again.

4. Father Hegarty, a non-practising priest who took part in the class struggle, designed a chart of how industrial unions related to one another on the basis of the Industrial Workers of the World, in the form of a circle - which it was pointed out jocularly, resembled the "Wheel of Fortune" in fair grounds.

5. Geographically "Anarchy" (New Zealand) is, as far as we know, edited in the most southerly part of the globe of any anarchist paper, and "Black Flag" in the most northerly.

6. True; the Spanish Minister of War Gil Robles (1935) threatened to ban all Paramount films in Spain otherwise, as it showed the Guardia Civil in an unfavourable light, which (he said) was - though the film was about another century "conducive to anarchism" since the Guardia Civil was engaged in a life-

(cont. preceeding column)

ITALY

Neo-fascists Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura, who have been in prison for nearly four years accused of complicity in the 1969 bomb outrage at the Milan Bank of Agriculture, which resulted in sixteen deaths and eighty-seven injured, are to be released without having been brought to trial.

Anarchist ex-ballet dancer Pietro Valpreda, who was among those originally imprisoned after police attempts to pin the bombs on Italian anarchists, is still facing trial early next year, although now released from custody. In a typical attempt to tarnish his reputation, the Italian authorities are putting him in the dock with Freda and Ventura, unless they leave the country first. Two key witnesses have already fled Italy, with Italian Secret Service (S.I.D.) assistance, and two senior officials of the S.I.D. have been finally accused of hindering justice.

The Italian police and prosecutor are unwilling to admit that Valpreda was to be made a scapegoat for the actions of the neo-fascists, and continue with the farce, even though the only evidence against him was that concocted by the police and a taxi driver who has since died.

Maoism is Dead (cont. from p.3)

get a little press, pretend to be printing letterheads, while printing a clandestine newspaper — provided one was not caught. In China, all supplies of ink, machinery, paper, are state owned. The mousehole of the revolutionary movement has been stopped up. To apply for permission to get means of communication would be to have to admit "treasonable" activities. That does not mean there will not be a rising. It means that when it comes it will be on the scale of a civil war. It is this fear of civil war that is throwing China into the hands of America, dreading that Russia may take the moment to intervene. Yet we venture to predict the Chinese working people will not only bury Mao and Maoism but Mao's empire.

A.M.

Christian Terrorism

ANOTHER VICTIM FOR CHRISTIANITY

Clifford Read, a 37 year old Lincolnshire joiner, and his wife Marion were a fairly normal couple . . . but one night they cut their daughter's throat because "the Devil was loose in the house." They set the table for the "last supper", the Devil got in and "got hold" of daughter Samantha . . . and they "saved her." Both a court was told, were "struck by a severe mental illness," simultaneously hence the tragedy. No doubt, but where could they pick up such beliefs at a moment's notice if they had not already been implanted in their minds by a tightly-knit group of religiously motivated people?

If one could for a moment postulate the totally impossible, what if beliefs in the desirability of libertarian socialism

STATE OF PLAY (18 October 1976)

BLACK FLAG

Deficit brought forward	£1422.27	
Print & typesetting since last a/c	125.00	
Postage (out of this world)	87.27	
		£1634.52
Sales & subs	£93.46	
Royalties	£16.59	
Donations*	£33.99	145.04

The deficit now stands at the fantastic figure of £1489.48p
 *London MC £1.00; HS £2.50; TM £4; PS £1; Surrey JD £2; Essex ME £6; Burnley Grp £5; Aberystwyth MS £1.24; Glasgow A.McG £2; Somerset RE £2; Nottingham PH £2; Montreal YB £2; Mass. NC £3.25. Total £33.99

It can be seen that sales and subs., with donations, once again equalled the cost of production — which is good — but the postage drags us down; which is why we are having to cut down on unpaid-for copies from people we don't hear from — we never cut out a sub for want of payment. We are having to subsidise the work of Black Cross out of Black Flag in regard to postage — we can't do otherwise — so how about sending us a few subs so's that we can somehow get near sight of land?

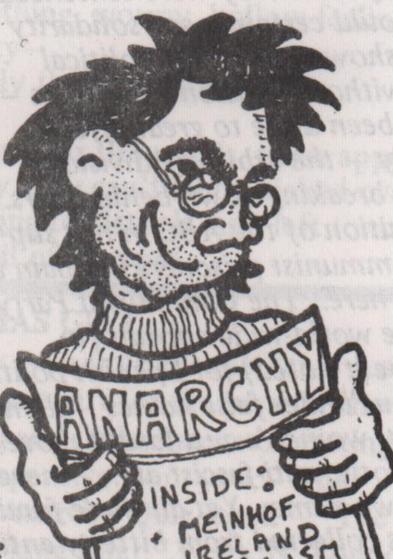
In regard to the Typesetting appeal we found a staggering response. One comrade, by no means rich — in fact a Post Office worker — payed off *all the back payments* on our IBM machine with a single contribution. If we had a few more comrades as selfless as that an anarchist daily would not be merely a pipe-dream!

PRISONERS/RESISTANCE FUND

IN HAND £40. Received: SP (Hants) £4.50; SS (Guam) £12.37. Total i/hand: £57.48

The response to our appeal for prisoners and Spanish resistance is down to our two most regular contributors partly, we suppose, because of the response being made to the Murray Defence Fund — which does urgently need funds (it is costing the Murrays £50 a time to get a visit from a solicitor, just to keep in touch with the world). Murray Defence funds should be sent not to us but to the Murray Defence Committee at 155 Church Rd., Celbridge, Co. Kildare (Eire). In addition we have managed to switch some of our regular contributors to sending direct to Spain, in changed conditions. So we're not disheartened here. But we hope to do better next time.

SECTARIAN? WHO, US?



Why not read
the OTHER anarchist paper too?
Send for a sample issue of
ANARCHY to: Anarchy Collective,
29 Grosvenor Avenue,
London N5.

Cultists

of allegedly supporting currently topical and potentially popular cause, merely in order to push one's own line or control a committee?

Much as one dislikes Stalinism, it wasn't due to the Communist Party who tended in their day to *get wide-ranging support* behind false fronts of their own. Perhaps it was the Trotskyists who started it, though for sure they aren't the only ones to practise it. It was fairly unknown for years. Now, you can be sure if a conference of sorts is advertised — whatever it's on, redundancy is a key — one but plenty of other causes too — you find a lot of cultists glaring at each other, all wanting to sell their own papers, all wanting to control, nobody wanting to work, and none of your average punters there.

drove a couple in a fit of madness to cut their daughter's throat? Would not the judge inveigh against the evil beliefs that led them to do it? But such things never happen . . . sometimes the belief in the desirability of libertarian socialism does induce people to act against the law by striking at tyranny, not against their defenceless daughter — and judges pass strictures on those who are not before them and proclaim the propagation of such beliefs should be banned. Christianity is, however, part of the Establishment and may not be questioned — even in a certain north west province where murders in its name are an everyday occurrence.

Who first passed off as "political activity" that type of dreary Party bickering mis-called "sectarianism" (it's what gave it a bad name) which consists