

BLACK FLAG

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ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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BONNOT

ULSTER WILL FIGHT!

It is hard to find anywhere in the world where people would be prepared to die for Protestantism and Roman Catholicism — indeed, to know what the difference is between them. Yet in Northern Ireland gunmen can order devotees of the rival religion to stand aside and be shot — which they do not trouble to conceal; almost as if they believed the hocus-pocus.

Yet do they really believe. The reason the creased and tattered symbols of the Pope and King Billy are trotted out is for sheer want of rhetoric; the Official Sinn Fein with its equally antiquated Marxist slogan mongering is held in contempt all round.

Probably a lot of people in Belfast and Derry echo the sentiments that "it's a terrible thing to be living at loggerheads with your neighbours" and sympathise with the victims of "their own" side; but when it comes down to hard facts they have to line up with the heavy mob because, whatever the individual thinks, once she or he is cast alone, and set upon by a gang of "the others" for what may or may not be their beliefs, the arrival of the other heavy mob is not unnaturally looked upon with relief. It is a perfect example of the identity of the protection racket with the embryonic State — for despite the inanities of the "media", Ulster has never suffered from "anarchy" . . . what it continues to suffer from is too much bloody government, too much bloody religion and too much bloody national consciousness.

Yet for all the clashes there is a sign of hope that the parrot cries of the Left would obscure, for everybody there is well aware that troops in or out makes no difference to the situation there, and few conceive even in their wildest Celtic imagination, that the substitution of a harp for the crown would make the slightest difference to their real life. How could they believe this when a day trip to Dublin would show them otherwise?

The sign of hope is the closer and more intimate community co-operation — for the wider the two major communities clash with each other, the more they cohere within themselves. And both see the struggle in the same terms: of workers control, of street community, of taking over the factories and workshops, of building up co-operatives and getting rid of the landed gentry who have dominated Protestant politics and tradesmen politics who have dominated Catholic life; and of armed workers acting in defence of their gains. If it were, as the Left fondly imagines, just a struggle by a national minority against imperial aggression, it would be a revolutionary situation; the problem is that it is two national minorities against each other. The more the struggle goes on, the more the communities yield to democratic control and to grass roots pressure.

This applies to both Catholics and Protestants; indeed the latter after all, pulled off for the first time in British experience a great social general strike which toppled the government and scared every government in Europe into realising how basically vulnerable they are still.

Both Dublin and Westminster want the situation ended; both are partners in the Common Market; both are under the same capitalist control. Either community would be "sold down the river", the problem is finding boats.

There is one difference between the type of grassroots control that surges through the Catholic ranks and that

which surges through the Protestant ones. The Protestants could call off the shootings tomorrow if they wanted to. The gunmen are under tight political control. They are answerable to the community. The Catholic gunmen are answerable only to the dead whose mystique commands the struggle. The I.R.A. may want to sell out, but it cannot, for there will still be more gunmen. It fell for a Marxist line, then to be divided between the "Stickies" on the one hand, and the Provisionals on the other who would not accept an end to the old warfare. Now the Provos want to sell out, but splinter groups and breakaways come from everywhere — from the backwoods of Ulster and from the backwoods of the Republic . . . all determined to die for an Ireland which they see almost as a real person rather than an abstract idea. The U.D.A. and the other para-military bodies won't cease the shootings until the I.R.A. do; and the I.R.A. can't do it because somebody is sure to outbid them on the Nationalist side by yelling Traitor if they do. This is why they extend the shootings and bombings to England, as if the people on the 8.15 train know, care or can do anything about the situation with or without a bomb attack.

Yet without question if the killings ceased the two communities, given their experiences of power resting in the people after years of subservience, could put through a social revolution in co-operation with each other that would be a beacon to all free peoples.

How is the impasse to be solved?

The official lectures on the merits of pacifism, always readily preached in peace-time even by Ministers of War, do not seem to help much.

We shall see an answer to the question if we look at one very curious fact about the killings.

In one sense they are "indiscriminate". But in another sense they are highly discriminate. People are killed at random — for being alone at night in a country lane, for drinking in a pub, for shopping in a certain store, for being a member of the wrong confession, for getting in the way of a bomb . . . they are taken from their houses, their places of work.

But leading members of the military organisations are as immune from these shootings as they are from military arrest. The generals have yet to die, even in bed. Mr. Paisley, for instance, walks from his suburban villa to his chapel, perfectly openly, without a care in the world . . . How does this come about? What magic talisman does he have against the Provos that Paddy Murphy or Jock McHugh doesn't have? "Well, if we shot Paisley, they would shoot Joe Cahill." So they shoot twenty workers instead; and the U.D.A. shoots twenty Catholics.

It is too much one supposes to ask the Billy Boys to give up any shootings in retaliation against the I.R.A. But let them confine themselves at least to those who give the commands. If the I.R.A. feel "the struggle must go on", let them confine themselves to those who give the orders, or at least to those who carry them out, not to the unknown passer-by. It is no more difficult than to lob a bomb in a pub, and a lot more productive. It will, we venture to think, lead to as dramatic and rapid a conversion to the principles of peaceful co-operation by the bold Fenian diehard and Orange leadership as the conversion of Paul on the road to Damascus.

ROON'N'ABOUT

ALL OUT WHENEVER!

Periodically we get appeals to support the Troops that Movement or the RWNIC which never fail to remind us that "anarchists should not overlook" the proximity of Belfast or the fact that Lenin (crying "if one may quote him in anarchist's") said that revolutionaries might have to ally themselves with bourgeois nationalists "for the war, or even that "at least we can DO something practical". . . .

They quote Lenin out of context - not that he's that much to go on in context, but after all, the bourgeois nationalists he was talking about two wars ago turned fascist long since. What they never seem to realise is that Uncle TOM cobblers and all aren't GETTING the troops out, they are only organising demos about it. Not only should Western governments try now, he pretty demo-immunised but quite clearly they will prefer if Irish nationalism there must be, TOM, RWNIC and other forms of mitigation to the IRA's activities.

What have these demos to do with Ireland save lending a topical and timely image, a catch-all for large minority - or even majority - of those British citizens with real, pretended or imagined Irish blood in their veins? The "new left" above all the ubiquitous trot, utilises topical matters - Ireland, Palestine, Chile, Shrewsbury, Vietnam, closures of factories, and whatever - in order to hold示威 which are an end in themselves. Their aim is to establish a credible presence, to gather support, to raise funds for themselves, to "do something" about the issue at stake, maybe as a side-issue. But ask the organisers in private if they seriously believe their demonstrations will actually achieve the result aimed at: if they think you know your way around, they will tell you "No, but" talk about "raising the level of consciousness of the masses". They might try to raise their own sometime.

Meantime spare a smile at all those earnest lefties going on about the machinations of British financial imperialism which will hold on to Ulster to the bitter end unless persuaded not to do so by 5,000 shouting demonstrators. No, "the British" are not hung up because of finance capitalism, all the profits in Ireland made by them (and German and Japanese capitalists too) are in the Republic, under the harp and tricolour by eager workers who popped into Mass before the early shift. Ulster must by now be as profitable as a corner in Tealist hands on the Moscow Stock Exchange. Free Ireland - or free Irish?

What constitutional shape a United Ireland should take, urges Mr. Pat Coogan, who holds that a merger of the two parts would make up quite a different entity (it could not be worse than either), should be left in a round-table discussion by "every political grouping involved in the Northern dilemma" ("The Irish: a personal view").

This seemingly-sounding democratic formula is a recipe for dictatorship and of the worst kind. The most revolutionary achievement of the workers to date has been to create representative councils based on the whole community (these were "the Soviets" in Russia (the use of the term "the Soviet" to describe the State has not been equalled since the Roman State adopted the name "Christian"). But when Lenin returned in late 1917 (thanks to Khephra Parvus who engineered the Bolshevik triumph) he proposed "as a measure of democracy" that the soviets should consist of "representatives of all parties". The others fell for it. Lenin, Trotsky and the others had no standing in the original soviets - they never did a day's work in their lives: even if one or two of them had managed to qualify as representatives of the journalists, the philosophers or the professional revolutionaries, they wouldn't have had much of a showing. As representatives of the wealthiest party (again thanks to the wily financier) they became powerful, and ultimately dominant.

All the parties involved in the Ulster dispute were self-appointed, and attract "followers" as shit attracts flies. In no way does any of them express the aspirations of the people of Northern Ireland. They represent the attempt of ambitious

men to seize the opportunity of the situation. Their round-table discussions might produce peace based on their power; or as easily produce conflict provided it is based on their power.

What is the average man or woman in Northern Ireland able to do when sorted out in the street at a vital point and challenged as to a belief into which they were entered as babies, from which, in the peasant tradition of Northern Ireland, they have apparently no choice to opt out and for which they are no more responsible than the pigmentation of their skins.

They seek protection in a gang leader offering cover for such an identity.

Certainly, Mr. Coogan is right to suppose that if the gang leaders could get together they might find a formula for co-existence. But this is too impractical for the Anarchist, who would prefer to get rid of the gang leaders and let the people decide for themselves.

Siegheil Stevenson Again

The case of Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson (the word "Justice" is used in the narrowest possible legal sense) has come under review by the Press because three of his judgments were queried by the Lord Chief Justice in one day, including an incident where he told the defendant's lawyers that he would get a very severe sentence unless he pleaded guilty.

This variation of "we means to hang you, but we means to hang you fair" - which according to legal niceties is not quite the same as blackmail - was criticised by the Appeal judges largely because it isn't the done thing to be so frank about it.

It transpires that there have been many words about Mr. Melford Stevenson's judicial abilities. The Bar Council expresses its concern at the threat to democracy if a judge could be moved, he would no longer be independent, unless It never occurs to them (how should it?) that it is somewhat of concern to citizens of the democracy who happen to find themselves before Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson.

The sycophantic press has for long praised him as being a "tough" judge. What is tough about dealing out heavy sentences or unjust ones, from the coward's castle of the bench? Where is the problem of being outspoken? What consequences are incurred? "We must not hastily rush to criticise," but meanwhile, anyone unfortunate enough to appear before Melford Stevenson might get an extra five years jail while "we" hesitate to criticise.

AUTO-DESTRUCTIVE ARTIST . . . EXTRAORDINARY! Friends of Albert Meltzer will be staggered to read David Widgery's "authoritative" new book on the British Left and find that, as well as being "an ex-boxer and printworker" (he was only amateur boxing, many years ago) he is credited with being formerly "auto-destructive artist extraordinaire" Artist? Has he been hiding his talents from us? Or is it a subtle joke at the friends who have crashed his car over the past few years?

There happens to be a Gustav Metzger - a gnome of a man very unlike our bushy friend who invented "auto-destructive art." One fears Widgery has confused Meltzer with Metzger. Anyone knowing the work of Metzger will be hit startled to think Widgery is under the impression he gave up falling into collapsible boxes and ripping up the floor of Better Books in the name of art, to write the sort of articles that appear in Black Flag. When one thinks of Albert Schweitzer and the bizarre possibilities Widgery raised (the search for the historic Black Cross at Lambeth?) one cannot forgive the Lord Chief Justice (or is that smother Widgery?)



ANARCHIST FILM

"QUEBRACHO" — Anarchist film from Argentina.

"La Forestal" was a large British company which exploited the "Quebracho" timber in two provinces of Argentina. Within Santa Fe mile upon mile of land and entire towns were created into dependence on the company to such an extent that even the railways connecting towns were built and owned by it.

Even the provincial police, were paid by the company. At the beginning of this century until the early '30s most of the company's workers belonged to the anarchist movement, and one of their most popular "leaders" was an anarchist school teacher who used his talents in spreading libertarian ideas amongst the workers (most of whom were illiterate).

A new film made in the Argentine "Quebracho" tells the history of the workers' battles against "La Forestal's" terrible exploitation. They lived in absolute poverty, the company "paying" them not with money but by "bonus". This meant the workers could only shop at the company owned stores.

The police killed many of the workers during this period and virtually literally exterminated the influential anarchist movement in the province.

Later, a political party emerged called "The Radical Party", led by a lawyer who took the side of the workers and wanted to win the struggle against the British exploitation by being elected as a Senator. But the Conservatives, supported financially by the company, organised a rigged election and the lawyer was murdered by police as he tried to denounce the fraud in a public square.

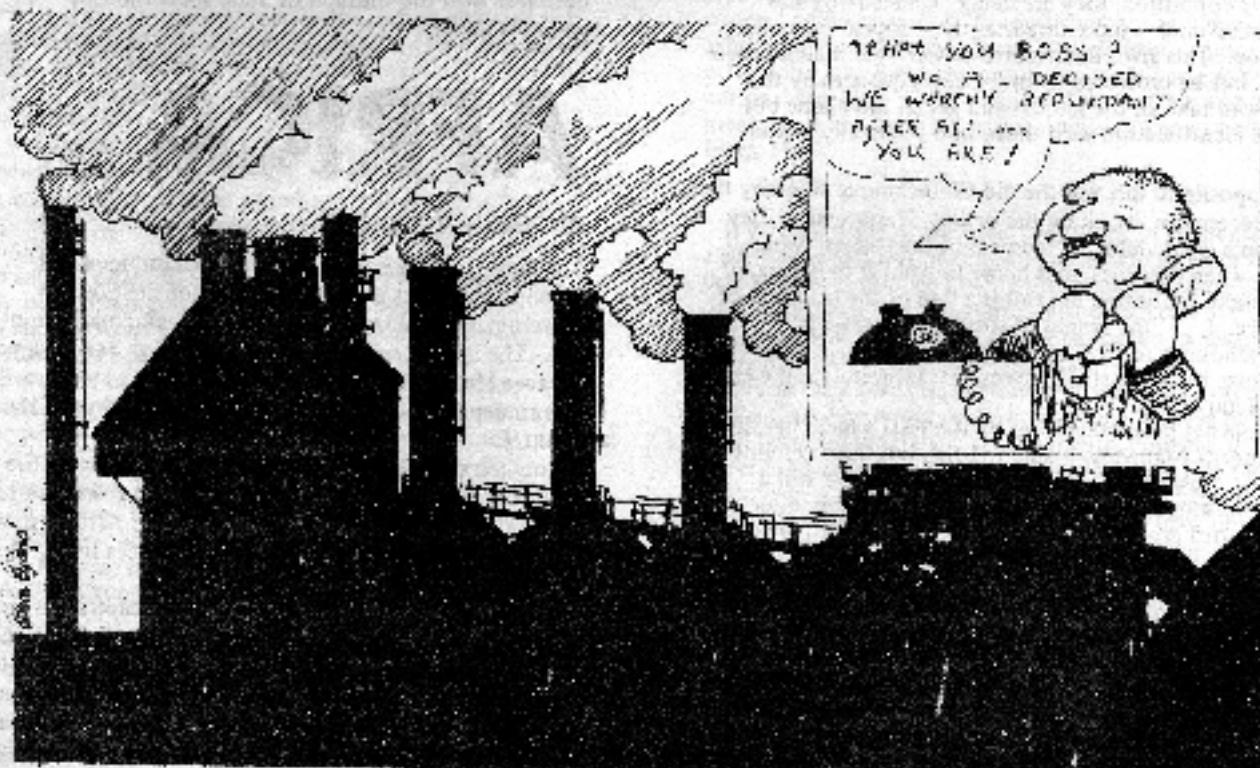
In the film many anarchist meetings appear, pictures of well known libertarian activists, and the black and red flag. The film ends in the late 1940s, when all the Quebracho wood has been liquidated. The company decided to close down its operations in Argentina and moved to virgin forests in South Africa, leaving the province of Santa Fe with thousands unemployed. The province has not recovered economically from the exploitation by La Forestal to this day.

One of the most striking things shown by the film is the coercive role of the police who do not hesitate at the murder of hundred's of workers.

The film was apparently allowed to appear because the capitalists were British, exploiting Argentinians, but later the censors saw the somewhat wider implications.

"Patagonia Rebelde" a previous film which was written by an anarchist journalist, Osvaldo Bayer, portrayed the struggle of the anarcho-syndicalist workers' movement in the cold and inaccessible south of Argentina. It is considered by many Argentinian comrades as a fantastic contribution to the work of the anarchist movement today. The film was shown for weeks in many commercial cinemas before the Peronist government changed its mind and decided to ban it. Osvaldo Bayer was persecuted by the "Triple-A" murder squads (fascist para-police) and is now believed to be living somewhere in Europe to escape being murdered.

These are two films to add to a growing list of must films which have never been shown here. Is there anyone who has connections with the film racket who can "work the miracle" — or is the National Film Theatre content to go on showing Charlie Chaplin and Rene Cluy under the heading "Anarchist Cinema"?



ANTI-FASCISM

Six years ago the security forces wanted to build up a massive challenge to the establishment but to keep it under control. They wanted to present a threat of (contained) insurgency, but to keep it within bounds. They wanted, in short, a repetition of what was happening in Paris, but within the degree in which they could control it, and test how they could keep it in bounds. Accordingly, throughout the summer of 1968 a hysterical press campaign was mounted claiming that an "armed revolution" was being planned for October, and the nation was thus subject to a sort of dress rehearsal for revolution and counter-revolution in the capital. The press campaign could hardly be bettered for sheer lies, with detailed plans coming out daily — in which the Times and the Mirror worked hand in hand, the former proving the more sensational.

The demonstration around which it centred was run by the International Marxist Group, then controlling the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. It managed to manoeuvre the other Trotskyist groups within the committee to provide the "face" for the State's "hounds". Now, once again, the IMG is obligingly letting itself be used all over the country in staging an entirely phoney confrontation with the National Front. When it calls for demonstrations against "racism" and fascism, the other left groups can scarce be outdone, so they also have to join in. IMG didn't invent racial issues, but it has exploited them as fully as has the National Front. One has only to compare the purely racial issue made of the Leicester dispute by the IMG with the way the IWW once handled similar situations in the USA.

The situation that the IMG enjoys is the reverse of the model of the fascist "Victory March" technique. This technique is to hold victory-type parades through districts known to be hostile to them, or to places which it appears as if they are "capturing", though it is all planned before hand. Sir Oswald Mosley used this trick in the thirties by staging marches through proletarian Jewish quarters, it is now done by present day fascists through places inhabited by coloured immigrants. If there is no opposition, the fascists appear to be winning — victorious everywhere. If there is opposition, they are being "coerced" by the "old parties" and — more importantly — appeal for police protection. This gives them added power — to march provocatively, but be protected from the consequences by the police (who take all the knocks and get all the blame but who feel identification with those who politically exploit them).

The opposite to this was the old CP technique whereby fascists become an attack on the police. If successful, they have won a great victory; "control of the streets" which vanishes when everyone goes home to bed. If they lose, or a few people get beaten up, this is a sign of the brutality of the police. (... "the swines of socialist democratic police... the bloodhounds of Noske... great applause... all good old Weimar Republic stuff). Need one recapitulate the events of Red Lion Square?

This role has been taken over by the IMGs which, because of its student following, is able to bring out huge amounts of demos. Just as the CP have, on certain issues, still a limited working class though ageing following, on other issues the left groups have a recognisable student fallback. There is not much to learn from them on organising demonstrations (for this anyone can do, given the people); but what they have done is to fall back on the student 'heavies' who in a previous day and age would have been wearing clippers' helmets at the Boat Race.

What is pointless about this type of confrontation is that it lacks the National Front precisely on the issue on which the latter is most likely to gain support: gives priority to them on which they thrive, and (worst of all) challenges those workers attracted by the racist theory, causing a major factional dividing the class.

The racist line must be attractive to some workers in certain circumstances, which need to be analysed and thrashed out. We do not need to emulate those half-and-half libertarians always timid of any confrontation and falling back on a pacifist line at the first opportunity: obviously the fascists must be fought, but it does not have to be on grounds of their own choosing.

The fascists are weakest on class issues. They are only strong on racialist ones. Mosley was defeated in the thirties not as a result of confrontation by "anti-fascist" demos but by the building in the first place, by Anarchists and ILP of housing strikes in the East End which totally isolated the fascists, who were unable to support the strikes, and obliged to go clear against the interests of (and to attack) the workers on whom they called for solidarity on racial grounds. It particularly hurt them that they were not allowed by fascist ILQ to support rent strikes where there were Jewish landlords; though Jewish tenants were active in the strikes irrespective of the race or religion of the landlord. The point could scarcely have been made more clear.

There is too much "in no circumstances allow the fascists to speak" nonsense today, trying to evoke memories of the 30s ("they shall not pass") in totally different circumstances.

To show the truth are the true heirs of all that is Stalinist! (They stood aside with meekness at the time!) But there is not enough of real anti-fascism. Stop their "victory marches"; but let them dissipate their energies in small meetings talking to the faithful but bored few — alas, do we not know how deadly enervating this is? Real anti-fascism does not consist in tackling those few, unconvertable fascists who have turned their creed into a way of life, who still treasure Hitler photos and cracked Nazi records and collect swastika medals alongside torn Union Jacks... let the closer fascists enjoy what gives them their kicks. The tougher, rewarding job is to put over a true libertarian case to those whom their propaganda is directed to reach — the people at the lower rungs of the social ladder, to whom it sounds logical to attribute all the problems of society to an identifiable race — whichever it happens to be at the moment — since the hopes once presented by socialism, and even libertarian socialism, have been lost with the triumph of State socialism and parliamentarism.

AFRICA

RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE

The closing of the border between Mozambique and Rhodesia was part of the programme of the Frelimo Government of Mozambique when it took power about a year ago. The implementation of this policy has been delayed because Mozambique felt that to take such a step shortly after independence could jeopardise the stability of the country.

Coupled with the victory of the MPLA in Angola the border closure is another move in Southern Africa towards a real confrontation. Inextricably the pressures of African nationalism move towards Namibia and South Africa itself. But it looks as if Rhodesia is next on the agenda.

The financial and economic interests of capitalism are at stake, which helps to explain why both Russia and Cuba are showing great interest in the region. Whether those with vested interests in Southern Africa opt for the increasing instability of white rule or the uncertain future of installing black (or multi-racial) élites in power is an open question. Rhodesia or Zimbabwe, Nkomo or Smith — who cares as long as labour is cheap and profits high.

THE U.G.T. A WARNING

We have warned repeatedly about the con trick on British trade unionists respecting the Union General de Trabajadores (UGT) the former official socialist trade union movement of Spain.

In its best days, this was a union similar to the TUC — but with a minority representation, since the majority of workers belonged to the anarcho-syndicalist CNT. During the dictatorship under the Monarchy, and later under the republic, it sought to increase its membership by paralytic strike representation and illegalisation of its opponent — at the cost of workers' unity.

During the civil war, under the overwhelming pressure of its members, it joined in the collectivisation. But afterwards it collapsed. It played no part in the Resistance because by virtue of its principles it could not do so. As a "vertical syndicate" like the TUC, controlled by the top, it had no function when the leadership were arrested, shot or imprisoned. It could not operate in illegality because by its very principle

it was constituted to operate in legality. Furthermore, the Falangist syndicate took over its role since it was organised in precisely the same way.

What is the point of reconstructing it now, since it is reconstructed in the same way not only as the TUC — but also as the "vertical syndicate" of the Falangists? The Communists now advocate "a single unitary trade union." Franco has always granted this. The Falangist union is subservient to the State, but not more so than the trade unions in Russia, only to a degree less so than the trade unions in Britain.

The Trotskyists are rushing to grab the TUC money for themselves, claiming to be the UGT — though the Trotskyist students from Spain who claim this are unknown to veterans of the UGT in exile. The "Militant" group and the "Young Socialists" are the main racketeers in this deliberate fraud taking the money contributed by British workers to the TUC under false pretences.

THE SPECIAL BRANCH

The Special Branch continue to harass Stuart Christie. Through Interpol, the retaliation by the Spanish secret police against our comrade for his abortive attempt at the assassination of Gen. Franco eleven years ago continues. He was released after serving 3½ years of a 20 year sentence, as a result of a widespread campaign on his behalf. When it was seen that not only did he not recant his views — as was expected — but went on to collaborate with the Spanish Resistance and to co-operate in the setting up of the Anarchist Black Cross, as well as with the editorship of this paper, a counter-campaign of police action began which has not finished.

There was the trial at the Old Bailey — when obvious propaganda leaflets, reproducing a dollar in silver and labelled "One life" (Una Vida) were said to be "forgery" of real dollars (it is something done as an election or advertising campaign, weekly). It ended in a suspended sentence. Then there was the notorious "Stoke Newington — Angry Brigade" trial when he was kept in custody for eighteen months before being acquitted because (as Commander Bond said) "you have publicly admitted being involved in the anarchist movement!"

One cannot count the police raids on his homes but the one by the French police, acting for the Spanish police, surely stands out as a milestone; this in London, when he and the others were selected in this way.

Now we find him banned first from Western Germany on his way to an anti-Franco meeting at Offenbach — when the border police turned him back as being on a secret international "forbidden" list. At first the police were that he had insufficient funds with him; when he returned with sufficient funds, in a friend's car, they were surrounded by armed police and ordered out at rifle point. The Dutch police — co-operating with the German police as they did before the war — also forbade him to stay in Holland. But the latest event is surely the limit.

He has been forbidden entry to Canada for a three week stay. On protest being made about the refusal to admit him the Government has decided at Cabinet level, that while he cannot be admitted (as if they owned the earth above the

49th parallel and below Alaska) they will graciously reconsider the matter after the Olympic Games!

Is it that they want to keep all the gold medals for Canadian athletes? — or are they concerned not to allow the passage of libertarian thought? Perhaps they should remember Goethe's dictum that thought must be allowed to travel free . . . something I had to remind the Special Branch at Swanscombe when they questioned my having a few copies of this paper on board the ferry for the Irish Republic.

This is not a personal matter which concerns Christie alone. It is obvious he would not have been subject to this persecution had he ever, after his imprisonment in Spain, or even after his acquittal in the Angry Brigade case — retired to private life, cease militancy, play no more part in the international struggle. These continual restrictions and harassments are because of his association with the rest of us in Black Flag.

It is remarkable under their own terms of reference that a British subject can be refused permission to enter Canada; that French police can enter British homes against the wishes of the residents, that Spanish fascist police can work in this way even though the Cabinet expressed its disapproval of Franco . . . because of his police state!

We can only take consolation in the fact that, on the basis of the man who could prove he was sane because he had been certified discharged from a mental hospital, the governments have disproved their usual allegation that anarchism is due to "lunatic agitators". — the deportations and exclusions of Christie always end him back on those shores! But in these days to be confined to one country is to be in a prison. Is this treatment considered good enough even for someone collaborating in Black Flag — whose words cause so much consternation in so many Governments? There are far worse prisons . . . but it has come to this, in 1976, that "this precious jewel set in a silver sea" is to be regarded as a prison island?

A.M.

Footnote: The latest in the "Christie Saga" is that the London publishers Michael Joseph had commissioned his book "The Christie File" on his experiences with the police under two flags, a libertarian autobiography. A great deal of work had gone into the book, an advance paid, the manuscript copy-edited, catalogues and advertising material printed, and the book itself was scheduled to appear in the Spring of this year. Now Michael Joseph write to say that their lawyers advise against publication and they hope another "more courageous" publisher can be found.

UNKNOWN HEROES

Jose Perez Pedrero was in his early twenties when he faced the firing squad, as the result of the round-up of our section of the Resistance, one of the five whose death sentence was carried out — others had it commuted to various terms, 30 years in my case. At the last moment the lieutenant in charge of the executions asked if there were any last messages. Nobody answered, but Jose took the silk handkerchief off his neck and asked the officer to give it to his mother.

The Falangist secret policeman who was present wanted to snatch it away. "None of that, don't play the martyr!" But the lieutenant, to his credit, told him to shut up. "You have to say here."

Like many others, his mother received it as one of the last gifts of her son snatched by the dictatorship. Had it

affectionate sarcasm. Jose had a terrific appetite and when on the trek over the mountains, at the regulation ten minutes halt in every hour, he could — as the Spanish say — "even eat stones". The first thing they did on the stops was to take off their loads, and usually eat. He was called El Tragapaneas because in a few moments he would "swallow" one of those long Spanish loaves which were cheap and still the basic food of the friendly farms. With his happy-go-lucky temperament, he would greet the name of "the Bread Swallower" with great bursts of laughter.

Like many others, even "el Onico" himself, he started his "career" with Massana who trained them all in the art of crossing the border and passing over the mountains. But Massana, like many others, was only in his element in the mountains: he would not go in the towns. This is where he had to part from people like Subete who were attracted to the towns where they organised groups of workers as well as fighting in their element. Jose too was irresistibly drawn to Barcelona where his ties were and the sight of the enemy was a constant provocation to action.

On one occasion coming over the Pyrenees a group with which "el Tragapaneas" was working snatched a patrol of three Guardia Civil. They hid in the bushes to let them go past. Suddenly Jose stood up, with utter daring, and told them they were covered, and to throw down their arms. They did so. The rest of the group then told them to take off their clothes. The Guardia Civil were convinced their last hour had come, were weeping and saying how many children they had dependent on them . . . But whatever the regime propagandists say, the Resistance wasn't bloodthirsty. They just hid the clothes in one spot and the arms in another — which gave them a good two hours start before they were recovered — and went off saying, "You don't report us, and we won't report you." For the Guardia Civil would not report such an incident (which would have meant court martial after suspension without pay).

Such is the Guardia Civil, so arrogant and bullying when dealing with disarmed opponents, who swagger around like conquerors. But they are as cowardly as rabbits when faced with such a situation, possibly knowing they are hated by the conquered people.

Once coming across the Pyrenees the group went into one of the numerous friendly farms where they could be assured of protection. All these people were supporters of the CNT and the Guardia Civil knew it, so they were regularly checked by patrols. On this occasion their look-out spotted three Guardia Civil approaching the farm, and the farmer hid them in the hayloft. When the patrol came in, the acting corporal asked the question, "Anyone here?" "Nobody". It was only a routine visit, but he decided, "Well, let's have a 'tink'." The group had no interest in provoking a fight and involving the farmer and his family. But the acting corporal was anxious for promotion and insisted on looking in the hayloft. As they went up the winding stairs, the group were waiting breathlessly. One of them (still living) was crouched at the ready like an athlete. The Guardia drew his automatic. But too late. The other shot first. The other two Guardia Civil streaked off like lightning, one disappearing through a tiny window overlooking a precipice, from which he picked himself up agile as a cat and rushed off. Those who were there still wonder as to how so large a man got through so small a window!

The farmer and his 18 year old son escaped with the guerrillas into France to avoid persecution for their giving hospitality to the enemies of Franco. "El Tragapaneas" was not responsible for the shooting, he just happened to be there. But this was what he was ultimately executed for — at least the pretext, for his real crime was his undying enthusiasm for the libertarian cause.

Miguel Garcia.



Jose Perez Pedrero

happened a few years earlier, she might have received a pension from France; for Jose had been one of the first to enter the Resistance during the war. He survived the war to take the Resistance in Spain — and who would give a pension for a son executed as a "criminal"?

When he took up arms in the Resistance, he was about 14 years old. His parents had escaped the triumph of the Spanish Army to take refuge in France, which isolated them in concentration camps as if they were wild animals. He gravitated naturally into the anarchist Resistance which refused to accept Franco's victory, and was in the wave of anarchist resistance that came after the World War and in many ways was equal in intensity, suffering, drama and historical importance to the events of the civil war.

All the guerrillas had the habit of calling each other by

BUILT IN OBSOLESCENCE

"WORKERS' PRESS" (daily paper of the Trotskyist "Workers Revolutionary Party") is no more! The Party still exists — though members are dropping out, forming new groups, or being expelled left, right and centre (sic) [...] the entire Nottingham branch left en masse! — but no more shall we be invited to scan its unyielding pages (sic). This incident underlines two curious things... a separation, not only from the working class (discussed in "Bridge of Asses") but also from participation in revolutionary struggle; and shows that such groups can only advance so far and no more.

To better understand this built-in obsolescence which diverts activity away into sterile commentary — spectators of the actions of others — we should go back for a moment to the man who began the syndrome: Leon Trotsky.

It is not incidental that Trotsky was at his best when engaged in polemic or historical commentary. In terms of original ideas he could only boast a part share, with the dubious Holphand Parvus, in creating the concept of "Permanent Revolution" (an attempt to justify Marx's "proletarian" revolution, that should have happened in industrial Germany, happening in peasant Russia). As critic Trotsky kept his head above water. But as the man in control (expected to provide new initiatives) he could only clutch Lenin's coal-tails (who in turn clutched those of Marx) lest he drown. He had no experience of leading the party machine (only the military one: the Red Army) and owed his prominence in the Bolshevik party to Lenin who protected his "young eagle" from nasty men like Joe Stalin. He had even been a critic of the Bolsheviks before they came to power in 1917 but the opportunity to grab a seat on the dialectical bandwagon proved too good to miss. In power it was as henchman of Lenin that Trotsky wielded his famous "Iron Broom". With the death of his protector Trotsky was easy meat for Stalin. The much boasted "Left Opposition" was too little, too late. Trotsky, then as now, was never able to inspire any real mass following.

The Fourth International (bolting after the door had shut) could only criticise the Stalinist bureaucracy. It could not aspire beyond it (or even understand its real causes). The Trotskyists started from a questioning of Soviet bureaucracy which might have led them to a critique of Leninism itself. They were never able to make that vital step... Trotsky always remained in awe before the altar of Lenin: seeing only the leadership of the machine as being at fault. He would not or could not admit that it was the machinery itself (because it was he who had helped create it) that was at fault. Throughout his life Trotsky refused to recognise the existence of a separate class within the bureaucracy — because of his unconditional surrender to the Leninist form of organisation. With the Fourth International, the Trotskyists only reproduced the same Leninist model (on a smaller scale) and thereby constructed a barrier which precluded any further development.

The Trotskyists themselves completely fossilized the "old man's" ideas (or lack of them) into an inaccessible dogma after 1940 in which the magic date 1923 marked the turning point before which everything in Russia was cosy, and after which everything was not. Since then, just as the Bolshevik Party purged itself of dissent, the Trotskyist movement has split, reformed, allied, and split again more times than Trotsky himself survives... growing more dogmatic over

smaller and smaller points of "principle" with every split. I am reminded of the old saying "a chip off the old block" ... but how many chips can come off the same block before only a few dregs of sawdust remain (incubile?) waterfoot? Poor Trots, that the only task they see after each fresh disintegration is the rebuilding of the same pre-doomed structure!

This harping back to the organisational form of Leninism reveals the complete impotence of such grouplets when it comes to furthering today's class struggle. All of them are incapable of achieving what they set out to do, (build the party); each prefers to be a big fish in a small pool but all end up by eating one another. Their entire energies are devoted to recruiting members. Activity for them consists of newspaper selling geared to building up organisations which contain within them the seeds of their own destruction. If they were ever to reach a situation of having sufficient members to warrant the label 'party' they would not know what to do with them. But none of them will ever get that far.

Activism for the Trotskyists is translated into commentary on a spectacle which they are outside and powerless to direct — influence (a curious dilemma for the "anguard of the revolution"!). Appeals to join the party, 'solidarity' campaigns (solidarity with the actions of others) which involve no real commitment, and the sticking up of a few posters here and there are passed off as the levers of social change. If anyone outside their control does anything (and no-one inside their control does anything!) that takes the fight into the enemies' camp (the Angry Brigade, 2nd June Group, etc) they are immediately disowned (or in the case of Spanish resistance, ignored) for being 'adventurist' or 'individualist'.

Even within (or, properly speaking, in the name of) the anarchist movement we can see this spectacle manifesting itself in the emergence of ORA/AWA (whose students label themselves "anarchist workers" instead of "socialist workers").

Faced with an inactive and unevenly organised anarchist movement, and challenged by the superficial influence (sic) of the Trotskyist spectre, they retreat in like fashion to the dusty 'platform' of Maklino and Arshinov in the same manner as the WRP approaches Trotsky's "transitional platform". Lenin's party model and Arshinov's platform were both aimed at specific historical situations in which the people they were to organise actually existed. They cannot be applied to every period of class struggle in every country regardless of local economic/historical/social characteristics and regardless of the existence of those they seek to organise. That is like trying to fit square pegs into round holes when you don't even have the pegs!

ORA/AWA hasn't organised the anarchist movement, it has separated itself from it. It has gone from a situation of not enough activity into one of inactivity. Like the Trots, they can only watch (and repudiate) the activity of others. We are still waiting to see what (if anything) they can do. The logical consequence of this situation is dissolution and further retreats: for the ORA/AWA, the Trotskyists act as a sort of too hectic rest-home; for the Trots, the even more comfortable repose of becoming bigger fish in smaller pools.

MARTIN SOSTRE

WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH RHETORIC
WHAT WE NEED NOW IS HARD WORK

Sostre.

24 January

Dear Comrades,

Heartfelt thanks for your support all these years which contributed to the victory which will soon — hopefully the 2nd or 3rd of next month — free me. Enclosed are some accounts of the victory and some of my thoughts. Please publish whatever you deem appropriate to further the cause of Anarchists and inform comrades all over the world of an Anarchist victory.

With love and revolutionary anarchist greetings of solidarity I remain, your comrade in struggle till victory.

MARTIN SOSTRE.

AN ANARCHIST VICTORY

Martin Sostre has been released at last — as reported in our last issue. The "Village Voice" declares he "remains as intransigent as ever despite 23 years in prison, eight in solitary." While serving a 30-41 year prison sentence imposed in 1967 allegedly for serving heroin — on testimony since proved to be framed, and as a result of his activities as a Black activist — he has resisted tyranny to the utmost. Above all he has made a stand for human dignity by refusing — despite beatings up and coercion — the humiliating

rectal examination which is in effect a covert sexual assault with intent to degrade.

Perhaps it was the voice of Andrei Sakharov pleading on Sostre's behalf that finally shamed the Government. It is lauded as a "victory for justice" by the "New York Post" — some victory for justice, when you've spent eight years for nothing in prison. Sostre himself hails it a victory for revolutionary anarchism, every one of our prisoners who goes free is cause for congratulations. And more especially when it is a man like Sostre who challenged the validity of all white parole boards, sued for damages when confined illegally, won the right to read for himself (including the "Man" anthology). Every day has been a battle struggle.

He is going to work as a legislative assistant to Marie Runyon, Democratic Assemblywoman. This is to give him the credentials needed to go back inside the prisons and work with the inmates. At 52, he needs courage to go back in the jails where his life was constantly in danger. Courage he has. "Oppressors count on terror to make people submit. They have no defence against non-submission. It uses up their machine," he said.

"If the battlefield changes, my struggle never changes," he is reported as saying in the New York Times.

He goes back into grassroots propaganda, fighting for prisoners' rights "but human rights are human rights."

THE HARRIS'S STATEMENT

(cont. from back page)

power was and is built on the blood and sweat of millions of poor and working people? How can she forget that in order to free herself they want her to sell out two of her friends and the most precious memories she has? When we are not enraged, we really feel pity for her.

The SLA never had any interest in converting Patricia Hearst. In fact, they wanted her to return to her family, knowing that if she stayed, their own survival would be greatly complicated. The group took the position that if she wanted to stay, she must show that she understood the implications, was ready to die, with all the furnishings that the life entailed, and was ready to struggle to become a revolutionary person. But she had seen a viable alternative to her previous life and she had already gained a sense of the warmth and humanity of the people she was with who were struggling to achieve that alternative. Eventually, she wanted to be a part of it. The SLA understood that she would be a liability in the sense that she was easily recognised, that she had many needs that would be a drain on the group at that stage, and that the heat would intensify rather than gradually diminish. It was clear to the SLA that if she was not released, that heat would be augmented by the relentless efforts of the Hearst family to get back their "prized possession." Yet in spite of all these very real problems, Patricia's desire was based on a serious analysis of what was happening and the SLA felt that to release her would be to turn her out to the wolves. So she stayed with them, based on her own initiative and free choice.

It is only now that her free choice has been taken away and that she has been convinced to save her own skin by negating these past choices and thereby evading the consequences. Of course, to do this, she must be willing to serve as an inoperative pawn of her family and to compromise everything that she believed in and lived for the last year and a half.

The Hearst family has given the American people quite an education in the callous power and influence that the rich can buy. But no matter what the outcome of Patricia Hearst's present court battle, we know that no one has been fooled and many are enraged along with us that the Hearsts would fabricate such lies and expect all of us to fall for them.

Emily & William Harris, February 1976.

ITALIAN PRISONERS

The solidarity of the revolutionary movement is of paramount importance in all victims of State repression. While we may not agree with the strategies and methods employed by some of the comrades, we must support in whatever way we can those who suffer the consequences of the struggle. The struggle to save the lives (and this is no exaggeration, there have been murders, such as that of Amancio Manzini, and the order to shoot on sight Giovanni Sartori, suspected founder of the Acciai Protestant Cells, A.P.C.), and the freedom of arrested comrades must continue and develop. Solidarity is not discussed, it is given.

Those who boast of being class conscious and whose journals not only do not inform, but dedicate themselves to a conscious and continuous deformation of every radical development, whether it takes place within an armed or live group or within a social movement.

Attacks on prisons, revolts of the "criminals" inside prisons, factory occupations (three wild strikes in one day at Alfa-Sud), the violent struggles of the unemployed, plundering supermarkets, all this too far apart from goals revolutionary professionals exists only in that they are concerned to criticize, slander and postpone them. Convinced by politics they lie down on the ground like dogs and wag their tails to demonstrate to the bosses they are bark; otherwise they are futility.

In such a situation we must gather our strength. We cannot let comrades, deliberately ignored by revisionist communists, be cast into the sea by the hangout of the extra-parliamentary left, and be massacred, murdered, alienated, and raped in their humanity by Christian Democrats when and when it becomes necessary. This power must not remain in the hands of their executioners. We have seen to our cost the effect of the repression of the so-called "criminal prairies" legislation on the whole revolutionary movement, and it is our slogan which permits it! If Amancio Manzini was publicly murdered, if Alfredo Paspali has been tortured in prison, if others being held without evidence against them find themselves kidnapped and tied in various Italian prisons — it is partly due to the silence, apathy and determination of Information in our area which by its very nature should be self-evident in terms of solidarity.

We cannot do much, but what we can do we shall, without hesitation.

WE MUST DEFEND COMRADES EVERYWHERE!

P. ABATANGELO was arrested in Florence during an expropriation in which LUCA MANTINI and GIUSEPPE ROMEO were killed. He escaped from the Muzio (Prison) on February 9, 1975 together with DANIELE SACCARDI, and was later re-arrested with another comrade in the house of an anarchist in Rome. GIUSEPPE BOZZOLI, who was sentenced to six months imprisonment as a result, ABATANGELO has been held in Parma, transferred to the Marte then, before being transferred to the Volterra, was subjected to a "farewell celebration" by the prison guards. Sub-official Elio Paggi and warders Olivo Lucchetto and Salvatore Usai insulted and physically attacked our comrade in his cell. Defending himself from his attack he tore a tuft from one of them and managed to wound him.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

GERMANY

On February 3rd 1976 Comrade Jürgen H. Becker will have been held on remand for five years!

Remand imprisonment in Germany invariably means solitary confinement and Jürgen has been held in solitary for 1,800 days — 23½ hours every day in a room measuring 8 square metres. There can be no doubt that this degrading treatment is mental torture of someone who, under German law, is presumed innocent!



Jürgen Becker

"Imprisonment on remand shall not, in principle, continue for longer than six months, and only extended in exceptional cases." (German Criminal Proceedings, para 121).

"Until guilt is proven it must be presumed that the defendant is innocent." (Human Rights, Art. 6,2).

"Nobody may be subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading punishment or treatment." (Human Rights, Art. 3)

In 1971 Jürgen H. Becker was sentenced to nine years imprisonment on charges of bank robbery and "membership of a criminal organisation" (smearing the R.A.P.). Jürgen decided to appeal against this sentence which was based on weak evidence and many formal mistakes in the proceedings of the trial, and until this appeal is decided Jürgen's sentence is not confirmed and he cannot be transferred to Tegel prison. It must be pointed out here that there is a fixed time in which prisoners must appeal against sentence, but no limit to when the appeal may be heard. Because of this practice all prisoners who appeal against sentence voluntarily abdicate all rights, even those of a convicted prisoner. Jürgen wrote to us from Moabit Prison (a remand prison): "My cell mate has now withdrawn his appeal against conviction because he doesn't want to spend another day in this remand prison. He has decided this after one year in Moabit. Can you imagine how much it is costing me to insist on my appeal?"

Bourgeois justice manages to keep comrades in prison in solitary confinement for years and — as in the above case — then lets them spend more than half of their sentence without legal sentence!

After five years solitary confinement no-one can continue indefinitely without the danger of total psychological collapse, suicide or loss of the will or incapacity to live. Already the effects of this solitary confinement on Jürgen are becoming apparent: disturbances of the vegetative nervous system (according to a medical certificate), heart attacks, weakness of vision, fits of dizziness, inability to concentrate, etc.

However it is not simply the pain and anguish imposed by "justice" on the individual prisoner which we are concerned about, but the political tactics behind such actions: to destroy the spirit and will of imprisoned comrades by means of everything at the disposal of the State and its repressive apparatus.

For instance, it would have been perfectly feasible for the judge responsible, Judge Kubach (remember that name!), and the prison authorities to transfer Jürgen — legally — to Tegel prison in Berlin. Instead of making life easier for him they proceeded to give him a special Christmas present of special treatment: special observation, cell to be unlocked by two wardens (meaning that he is always last to get food and mail and he has to wait for the second warden to arrive). This is a tremendous psychological burden to him, because he has no idea when to stand by the door waiting for food and mail!

So far "justice" has not managed to destroy Jürgen's spirit. After fighting with the prison authorities he was granted the "special" facility of weekly visits (in Britain remand prisoners have visits every day), and every month he writes between 10 and 20 complaints and applications of which nearly all will be rejected.

It is painfully obvious that Jürgen needs our total solidarity to protect him against the State's attempts to destroy him. We have one demand: Jürgen must be released from Moabit prison immediately! We ask all comrades to make their protests as strongly and as persistently as possible!

Letters of protest to:

An den Vorsitzenden der
2 G. Strafkammer
— Herrn Vorsitzend KUBSCH
— person ich
Turmstrasse 01
1000 Berlin - 21.

or write directly to:
Jürgen H. Becker,
Untersuchungshaftanstalt —
Moabit,
Alt Moabit 12a
1000 Berlin 21.

Rote Hilfe Westberlin.

URUGUAY

From Argentina comrades have been sending us reports concerning resistance actions undertaken in Uruguay, especially in the area Punta del Este, known widely as a centre of vice and corruption. On January 11 last, one group carried out an action entitled "Operation Aurora" in which they attacked the Zorba restaurant, La Terraza (a private club), the Hotel Casino San Rafael and a number of other establishments frequented by the Uruguayan ruling class, the bourgeoisie, and international businessmen. Our informants explain "... no longer will the exploiters of our country be able to retreat to their oasis of tranquillity, nor will they be able to enjoy it with the magnates of Brazil and Argentina nor any of the other countries who come here to enjoy the fruits of what they have plundered from the Latin American people."

ARGENTINA

The tension which is felt throughout the country at the moment not only makes everyday life uncertain for the people of the Argentine, but also extends as far as the prison system where no one can consider themselves protected from arbitrary violence and eventual murder. In this respect a number of penal establishments have been denounced for the viciousness with which prisoners are treated, in particular unit 42 of the Villa Devoto prison where the minimum guarantee of humanity is being entirely ignored.

Since last October the lives of the political prisoners occupying Plants 5 and Plant 6 (Werner's Pavilion) have been made impossible: visits have been prohibited, no recreation, no newspapers or magazines, correspondence heavily censored etc. To these restrictions must also be added the deplorable conditions of hygiene and the physical and moral ill-treatment meted out to the prisoners by a group of warders known as "la patota".

What do they hope to achieve by these methods — ask the families of the prisoners? Possibly they hope to intimi-

SNIPE and WOODCOCK

In our last issue we asked for oft-repeated 'atrocities' stories about Anarchists — or the likes of the 'shot for wearing a collar and tie' or having clean hands. The entries are staggering. Our readers have resisted the temptation to select the bomb-throwing nut-case image, beloved of the popular press and given some choice 'snipe and woodcock' to hunt.

The first comes from Anna May, who writes, "I read a recent article in an anarchist paper (!) by a so-called feminist describing the traditional movement as 'male dominated' and saying something to the effect that no woman should support anarchism because Makhno raped women — the same accusation has been made against Zapata. I could understand about Pancho Villa but he was not a libertarian. It is significant that no reference is made to the Spanish Revolution. Is it because this 'raped nuns' because such a feature of fascist propaganda?"

The raped nuns were certainly a feature of fascist propaganda but unlike the nuns raped in the Congo — the Spanish nuns were remarkably sterile.

The raped nuns stories were certainly a feature of fascist propaganda. The Spanish Church incidentally has since apologised for its role in the Civil War — which included the manufacture of these stories.

In fairness to Pancho Villa, he was an authoritarian but a revolutionary nevertheless and the accusation of being a rapist particularly distressed him. "Name me the father, the brother, the husband of a woman I have raped and let him accuse me," he said. It is not customary in bringing an accusation to rely on hearsay and the total absence of an actual victim. Who for instance is Makhno supposed to have raped? Enriqueta Gómez? Natalia Tousky? Krupakaya? The lady only says "women" — without names.

Why was Makhno never charged for such a crime? He spent only a few years of independence in the Ukrainian war. Before he was living in Tsarist Russia, afterwards in Paris — where he led, truth to tell, a conventional married life . . . as did Zapata, even during the years of revolution. This may, by some modern women's standards be regarded as a lack of libertarianism but it was certainly not so regarded then. A libertarian was expected to lead a monogamous life — unforced by Church or State.

Another comrade in the US had brought our attention to the article in question — so we asked her to check up where the

writer got her facts . . . she got some evasive replies, more or less to the effect that Makhno was a peasant and all peasants raped women, it was part of their backwardness. Touch of old Prussian Marxism, but even so, a bit exaggerated, one would think! Did he "reform" when he became a car worker?

In making this sweeping accusation, the lady had in mind she was being a great feminist in sweeping aside all males as rapists. It is to do a great disservice to women because such an attitude is implying that all males are rapists no matter how libertarian in outlook. She is doing her two cents' worth to build up women's fears by excusing male critics as no more than normal in all men, and so advocating what she deplores.

In 1955 the well known travel writer S. Mais wrote in "Spanish Holiday":

The Spaniards all are basically individualists and atheists with a fanaticism that fed them centuries ago to cling to their Christian faith in spite of their Moslem churches, and in the late Civil War, led them to destroy the very churches in which they had worshipped.

I liked enormously the story quoted by Cedric Salter, a great authority on Spain, of the Anarchist leader in the Civil War who said to his followers, "I swear to you that I will never rest until every church in Spain has been burnt to the ground and the power of the churches finally and completely broken. This I solemnly swear in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

Very funny, (much the same genre of story is now going the rounds of the pubs about the Irish). But unfortunately for Mr. Salter (whoever he is) precisely the same story was told about Pancho Villa who remarked (much more seriously) about the looting of the churches, "If the revolution is successful we shall soon find priests to give us absolution." So great an authority is Cedric Salter that he quotes an "Anarchist leader". One must marvel at the naive belief of S.P.B. Mais that it was anarchism that made the Spaniards Christians — and he thinks himself superior to these poor peasants!

More gags in our next issue . . .

Footnote * The type of sniping at Anarchist activism exemplified by George Woodcock's brand of atrocity mongering.



ON THE DEATH OF WORKERS PRESS

We still say an anarchist daily newspaper is possible — if only there were the will by professed anarchists. The delusion, perhaps, is the numerous of committed anarchist there are proportionate to the number of professed ones.

Does the collapse of the trot daily "Workers Press" invalidate this? In no way: it tried to build national distribution without a firm local base, under the illusion that it had a national party. (In any case it was surely worth the effort, from their point of view? Must a newspaper last 150 years like the *Observer*? Was it not a more valid effort than, say, a series of by-elections?)

Party members were loaded with their quota of copies to sell. Many gave them away or lost them, and paid up their dues yes. Nice work, but a terrific cost in paper at inflated paper rates . . . they could just as well have paid up without all those surplus copies. The first requisite for a daily newspaper is a firm local base. As a secondary consideration it can go to other parts of the country — indeed, the world. It does not follow that every daily newspaper must follow the example of Fleet Street and be received and read on the very day it appears; if news won't wait a day or two, it probably

isn't worth it.

Every bookshop doesn't have to be Doyle's. It doesn't follow automatically that if one can't have a department store in banks, one can't have any anarchist bookshop. Nor does it follow that because one can't follow the Daily Express in speed and distribution, one can't have an anarchist daily at all.

A word on the demise of Workers' Press, and indeed on the WRP. The other trot groups hate it like mad. Perhaps it is the kiss of death, but we can only say that within its limitations Workers' Press was a reasoned contribution to the struggle as it saw it. The trots in general hate Gerry Healey; but he is the only one with ability and honesty. Authoritarian certainly; but one has said all that when one says Trotskyist. When one considers the filthy, dishonest, financial trickery IMG and the 'Militant' Group cottoned on to when they shifted money in T.O. aid to "Spain" — which will make the name Trotskyist sink when it's discovered — one can better appreciate Gerry Healey, which is why, perhaps, he is disowned by so many splinters from the coffin of Trotskyism.