UNITY THEATRE: THE JUMP - ALFIO BERNABEI.
(April 5th - 27th)
Fri, Sat, & Sun.

It was certainly a watermark in the history of Unity Theatre that it should show a play so intimately connected with the anarchist movement as this one, concerned with the murder of police of anarchist railwayman Pinelli, secretary of the Milan Anarchist Black Cross.

Unity went out of their way to get co-operation in the staging from anarchist sources, which they acknowledge, the clown hood of Marxin comes out clearly, but that is entirely the author’s fault. Perhaps the better to build up the innocence of Pinelli, which needs no such bush, he brings in Tolstoy among the anarchist philosophers and shows Pinelli an idealist under his influence— who deplores attacks on the Establishment, and is concerned only to help political prisoners. Our readers will know this is not exactly the Black Cross line.

It is shown clearly how the plot against Pinelli was built up, and how his deliberate murder by the Fascist and police collaboration helped the plot for a Fascist-Army coup d’état. But it is shameful hypocrisy on the part of the Marxist author to put into Pinelli’s mouth the belief that the anarchists were being “used”— and the entirely Stalinist-inspired belief that because of this impending coup d’état, “We should cease anarchist activities”. The German communists—the Italians too for that matter—suspended their revolutionary actions when they found that reaction was brewing: but it is more than ever at such time “anarchist activities” (and the author is specifically referring to attacks on the State) are necessary. It is significant that such activities did not cease and the coup d’état did not come off.

Mr. Bernabei should go crawling back to Milan in penitence for putting that remark into Pinelli’s mouth. He could at least have given it to another character. It is a pity he ruined the play that way, for a presentation of the manner in which the State massacre at Milan was planned, and the Calabresi plot against the workers, in which Pinelli fell, it was a first-class piece of work. Aside from the pedantic way in which Anarchism was shown as emanating from a few philosophers, and the travesty of Pinelli’s background at home and work, the incidents that led to Pinelli’s death are set out in clear relief.

The actors, of course, knocked a West End cast for six, as is often the case at Unity. The actor who played Pinelli was especially convincing, even to an audience that included an anarchist railwayman and the secretary of the Black Cross, though not in this instance the same person.

SHAPELESS ANARCHISM

In a book review in the Sunday Times (of Alternative Realities, a study of ‘communists’ and their members) the reviewer, Jeremy Brooks, says one can see “anarchist-pacifism” as “the dominant thought of a generation”, though thrown “out of focus by individual commitments— to macrobiotics, mysticism, radical action”. What Jeremy Brooks refers to as “anarchist-pacifism” is (as we have mentioned many times) pure liberal pacifism. In fact, such pure liberalism that its political connotations were overlooked by the political liberals.

A new generation of political liberals is, in fact, picking up the pieces. This liberalism, with its inevitable structurelessness, is sometimes referred to, either by way of denunciation or enunciation, as “anarchism” but more often qualified with a negative adjective such as “pacifist anarchism” to denote it is not the real thing. Brooks grants this: “It may not have a shape that Herbert Read or other thoughtful anarchists of the past would recognise.” It does indeed not have a shape any thoughtful anarchist of the past or present would recognise— but the juxtaposition of Herbert Read in that context makes one wonder what leading place Jeremy Brooks gives to Herbert Read in the exposition of anarchism. He was a brilliant critic, an art historian and so forth: but, while he was an anarchist for a few years (by a few, one means a few) this hardly qualified him for this kind of reverential reference.

Jeremy needs to do his homework before he writes in public again. But his entry does not qualify him for the award of Idiot of the Month. For that we must go to G.L.C., leader, Mr. Iltydd Harrington, who— defying the theft of the Vermeer painting— said it was a dreadful thing if the threat to burn it was carried out. “It is such an anarchistic thing to do,” said pseudo-socialist Harrington (who knows as much about such things as he does of Vermeer).

If Brooks and Harrington ever got together there would be considerable concern as to what happened to the art treasures of the Victoria and Albert Museum when they were under the control of an anarchist curator, Herbert Read.

Prize for Idiot of the Month to Iltydd Harrington G.L.C. The abuses of Labour Party socialism at an ideology. Not originally a masterpiece.

The second part of the article on Anarchist Organisation and the Workers Clubs has been held over until next issue.

* ANARCHIST CINEMA
Saturday 27th & Sunday 28th of APRIL.
NAZARIIN by Luis Bunuel (Mexico 1958 - Spanish dialogue - English sub-titles.)
Saturday 4th & Sunday 5th of MAY.
Saturday 11th & Sunday 12th of MAY.
VIRIDIANA by Luis Bunuel (Spain/Mexico 1961 - Spanish dialogue - English sub-titles).
At CENTRO IBERICO at 7.30 PM.
***********************
38A Haverstock Hill, London NW.3. — side entrance by Steele’s Road - tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Park - Buses 31 & 68 (Chalk Farm stop).
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SABOTAGE
The book “Sabote: Guerrilla Extraordinary” by Antonio Tellez, was translated by Stuart Christie during his sixteen months imprisonment in Brixton Jail awaiting trial. It has now gone to the printers and publication date has been fixed for July 29th. It is published by Davis-Poynter Ltd., and will cost £1.50.
There will be a special limited edition published by Cienfuegos Press Bookclub (1000) available only to individuals who want to make sure you get your copy. It is now illustrated Bookclub Edition: Narrow demy 8vo/192pp/Illustrated Sabate in perspective by Octavio Alberca/ special cover illustration by Pavlo Constanti/ £2.35. + p.p.to Cienfuegos Press, 83a, Hewestock Hill, London N.W. 3. NOW.

ANARCHO-QUIZ
1. What was it Jim Connell was “inspired to write by the Paris Commune, the heroism of the Russian nihilists, the firmness and self-sacrifice of the Land Leaguers and the devotion unto death of the Chicago Anarchists’?
2. There are plenty of ex-kings and reluctant peers. Are there are ex-gods or reluctant gods alive at the present time?
3. Which Irishwoman became, for a time, Liberal Dictator (in her own right) of Bavaria and which of thedictators of the Paraguay?
4. Who are - or were recently - the Oehlerites and in what way are they represented in the present wave of interest in libertarian ideas?
5. Who are - or were recently - the Oehlerites; and in what way are they represented in the present wave of interest in libertarian ideas?

THE FREE PRESS (Joke)
ANARCHISTS (CATHOLICS) - MARXIST (PROTESTANTS) IN ULSTER!
SECRET INSTRUCTIONS in the shape of a ‘Style’ memo has been sent by the Editor of the London Evening News to journalists pointing out that in NO CIRCUMSTANCES may persons arrested for bomb offences in England relating to Ireland be referred to as “Catholics.” “It is acceptable to call them Northern Ireland coverage, Irishmen may be distinguished as Protestants and Catholics. But for security reasons we are instructed that we will not give such a description in England.”

Security reasons? It sounds like political censorship. But the memo goes on further. “The term ‘Irishmen’ may be used if appropriate. But if it is not certain that Irishmen are involved in attacks by the Provisional I.R.A., or other groups the term Anarchist will be used in preference to the word Catholic.”

Bobby Cullen, writing from Mountjoy, says the charges include armed robbery and “a few explosive charges” coming along - the dicks wanted to make it an ordinary criminal case but after the report in the “Herald” about the Garda swooping on Anarchists they couldn’t do it.”

We have just received direct word from our imprisoned comrades in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin. Bail has been set at £4,000, but so far only Marie released. Colomba has been refused bail and the sentences offered by the others have been turned down. “...Save your money for the Spanish comrades, but we would like to hear from comrades who would care to write to us. Regards to Miguel and tell him that his book is a great comfort to one starting along a similar road.”

The charges are: DES KEANE (28), a seaman and an ex-member of the Republican Movement with a long record of militant activity over the past ten years. He faces 11 charges of “armed robbery” and was described as a “leader” of the Anarchist movement. Released on bail after being p...
Who are they? Where are they going?

Information, was the cooperation, for a short time, of workers participated actively. The most outstanding feature of this period, about which we have little written dedicated to the "Tupamaros" guerillas which announced E.T.A. within the Barcelonaworkers' movement.

The original M.I.L., was from the outset strongly influenced by current theories on urban guerrilla warfare. In February 1971, for example, there appeared an issue of a pamphlet dedicated to the "Fupamoros" guerrillas which announced future publication on the Black Panthers, the Quebec Libertarian Front, and so on. At the same time, members of the M.I.L., were aligning themselves both politically and organisationally with the revolutionary syndicalist groups within the Barcelona workers' movement.

The result of this collaboration was the internationalisation of several workers' struggles which took place at the same time, particularly in the case of the long Harry Walter strike (December 1970-January 1971). Contact between representatives of the Harry Walter Unity Committee and the workers on strike in Beigolios led to a joint declaration, and through contacts in the Soles factories in France and Italy the various manoeuvres on the part of the management were thwarted, and stocks successfully immobilised.

Politically, the organisation of the revolutionary syndicalists was demonstrated in a pamphlet, produced by the M.I.L., on the trade union elections of 1971. In this pamphlet the M.I.L., maintained the position of boycott initiated by the revolutionary syndicalists of Barcelona.

A further indication of this collaboration was seen, firstly in the setting up of a means of propaganda for the strikers which was independent of any organisation, including political parties, and secondly in the clandestine publication of the full texts of books which had been censored by the Stalinites—(Savage Europe; Organisation and the Proletariat; by P. Cardan. The Struggle Against Repression; The Working Class and Parties; by A. Pannekoek; Notes Towards an Analysis of the Russian Revolution, by Barrot...)

From various documents in our possession it seems clear that, with the arrest at the Franco-Spanish border of two M.I.L., militants (Vincente Sanchez & Oriol Solde), syndicalists deteriorated. At the same time a long text concerned with political definitions appeared, entitled "Revolution to the End" (Known under the name "Maomette"). The first part of this text concentrates on the criticism of ideology as the embodiment of revolutionary theory, and on the criticism of all aspects of capitalism, whether State or monopolistic. The second part explores the alternatives open to the international movement, and the text ends with a third section devoted to an education and criticism of various experiments in workers' councils throughout the world, and politically, it concedes with an exposition of revolutionary communist aims. Previously, another text published in commemoration of the Paris Commune (1871) the Kromstadt Commune (1921), and of Poland (1970), had attracted the attention of M.I.L., militants towards theories of revolutionary communism, and at the same time taken their interest away from "guerrillero", and third world concepts. "Economic Analysis of Spain" and "On Armed Agitation" (April and October 1972) acted as catalysts in the setting up of the "May '73" publications started by the M.I.L. — G.A.C., in 1972-73.

The choice of this title for their clandestine publications was deeply significant, indicating a fundamental rupture both with Stalinism and with the anti-fascist "republican" front. For in May 1937 the Spanish republic had conclusively secured its own power, by crushing the revolutionary pro-letarian movement with the use of arms and the support of the Stalinites. Following May '37 and the last armed backlash of the revolutionary movement, the Spanish lost all revolutionary content and became no more than a general rehearsal of the second World War. May '73 marked the final breaking of the revolutionary spirit. The working classes were to continue to spill their blood generously but without any longer knowing why. Franco's victory remained but a question of time.

The activity at the centre of the M.I.L. — G.A.C., and amongst the revolutionary Marxists and anarchists who produced "May '73", showed itself in numerous publications: the first issue of "C.I.A." ("International Anarchist Conspiracy") — the mouthpiece of various autonomous combat groups, entitled, "For a Spanish Libertarian Movement..." contained a series of articles of plainly anarchist tendency (On the 30 years of the F.A.I. — "The Anarchist Resistance Movement in Catalonia—Quo Vadis Sabater" — "The Stoke Newington S") by the second issue of C.I.A., this type of article had been replaced by critical writing of a more Marxist slant ("Against the National Socialism of the I.R.A.", by J-Yves Berlon; a special article on Ireland and the reproduction of texts coming from overfly Marxist groups "Italy and the Red Brigades" or, for example, the appendix of "May '73", show it in numerous publications, the first issue of "C.I.A." entitled "Revolutionary Violence" — a translation of the phrase by Emile Maresin to the book, "The Baader Gang", from prehistory to history.

We can find the same mixture of revolutionary Marxist and anarchist writing in the books published by "May '37", which first came out in June '73. In an editors' note to Camilo Bernet's book, "Between the Revolution and the Trenches", the May '37 group defined themselves in the following manner:

"May '37 publications propose to present and explain the case, and the execution of the struggles—past, present and future—through the struggle process. We seek to destroy all the mystification of capitalism, whether it comes from the State, the Communist Party or the New Left. Both in our work and in our actions, we consider that we are a form of communism, answering the needs of each particular movement and every situation. Participating in the struggles and identifying with the movements is also a way of practising communism. In its own way, communism has already gone into the attack."

**ACTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE PRISONERS OF THE EX-M.I.L.**

In Spain:

Two demonstrations following the announcement of the death penalty for Salvador Puig Antich, in El Paseo de Gracia and La Plaza Cataluna, Barcelona.

Explosions in three police stations in the Barcelona Region. Three monuments to dead Francos completely destroyed.

Explosions in the branches of two banks (Banco Popular and Banco de Vizcaya) and at the Air France travel agency in Barcelona.

A campaign of pill-potting, bombing and distributing information (leaflets and pamphlets under the name "M.I.L. file").

Several bombings and扰乱g work including class departments to demand that the death penalty be commuted (San Andres, San del Beren, Santa Coloma de Gramanet, Cornell, etc.)

Pressure groups formed demanding both that Puig Antich be saved from the death penalty and that doptastic repression of all M.I.L., prisoners be fought.

**IN FRANCE**

Paris:— Occupation of Ibiza Airline by Youths Socialists, Occupation of the Spanish Tourist Office by the P.S.U., with the M.P. Yves le Fol, several Molotov cocktails thrown at the Banco, the Palais des Nations demonstrations.

Grenoble:— Occupation of a church.

Valencia:— Halting and bombing of Talgo train.

Toulouse:— Three explosions, police station, tourism office and Banco Espanol in Paris. Occupation of Spanish Centre and two violent demonstrations which paralyzed the Barcelona—Demonstration of 2000.

Toulouse:— Demonstration with several arrests.

Villa France:— Sending of telegrams on a huge scale leading to long queues at the Post Office.

In Germany:— Campaign for petitions and signatures in Frankfurt and distribution of a large campaign distribution information (posters, leaflets, etc.) in England, Norway, Denmark, etc.

Demonstrations were held in New York, Toronto and Boston.

Montpellier:— Occupation of town hall.

Strasbourg:— Sending of telegrams on a huge scale.

Marseille:— Sacking of the Spanish Tourist Office.

Perpignan:— Paint hurled at the Comil and his daughter, and occupation of the Spanish emigration centre.

Bayonne:— Demonstration.

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**SECOND TRIAL OF THE M.I.L. April 1974**

Following the execution of Salvador Puig Antich, two others were tried on charges of the March face trial. They are Oriol Sidra Suganayas (aged 26) and Jose Luis Pons Llobet (18). They are to be tried by court martial, and it seems that the prosecutor will ask for the death sentence for Sidra Suganayas. They were arrested on 16th September 1973 following a brief gun battle between them and the Guardia Civil at the time when they were trying to cross the Franco-Spanish border after they had taken part in an armed expedition in Belvez de Cardpnay. They were taken to prison in Gerona where they were tortured, and subsequently removed to the prison in Lerida. From there they were taken to the "Model Prison" in Barcelona where they are to the present time, in the Fifth Gallery (special treatment).

Between 16th and 24th September 1973 there were a series of raids in Barcelona by the police in the course of which they arrested Puig Antich.

On January 8th 1974 a court martial was held for Salvador Puig Antich (26), Pons Llobet and Maria Angustias Maton Fernandez (17). They were all accused of an armed bank raid in the course of which they had a gun battle with the police; Puig Antich was further accused of the death of a policeman in the course of a later street incident. After arrest hehad been beaten almost uncon-
scious, and while reeling under the blows, pulled the fatal trigger.

On that occasion 30 years, Puig Antich also received 30 years, that marked the trial. Maria received 6 years imprisonment and Pons Llobet, on that occasion 30 years. Puig Antich as also received 30 years, of the five bullets in the policeman, only two had been shot by him. Nevertheless, he was executed on 2nd March. Santiago Soler Amigo (30) is awaiting trial by the Tribunal and by another court martial; while Oriol Sole Sugranyas is also in the Model awaiting different trials as well as having been sentenced by another Army court.

The State is almost certain to ask for 30 years more for Pons Llobet and the death penalty for Sole Sugranyas. It recognizes full well that this is no ordinary criminal trial. The bank raid was for the purpose of funding the revolutionary attempts of the MIL against the fascist dictatorship. As such it has struck terror into the heart of the regime.

Because of the stupefying and terrifying effect the regime of dictatorship has had for so long on the workers of Spain it is only actions striking at its very heart that are able to break the terror. Puig had already become admittedly known as "el Quico the Second"—a jocular but affectionate reference to Sabater—among the workers of Bar-

celona. The groups of the MIL were one part of the anarchist Resistance that had carried over the struggle in Spain against the tyranny. The fight they put up is inescapable from that of the industrial re-organisation of the workers. In helping their prisoners in any way we can we are making a major contribution to overthrow Franco.

All the funds obtained from the raids on banks have gone to armed resistance inside Spain. The prisoners have had nothing back financially with which to defend themselves and others charged with them. They do not have a well-holed international or nationalistic organisation behind them, like the Nationalist movements of other countries of the Communist Party. They are very literally inside for us; we must, outside, be for them.

Maria Mateos Fernandez is at present serving five years in the Women's Prison in Barcelona; Pons Llobet is serving 20 years in the Model Prison and also awaiting trials both by the Tribunal and by another court martial; while Oriol Sole Sugranyas is also in the Model awaiting different trials as well as having been sentenced by another Army court.

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and technical level. Workers may suggest new forms of doing old jobs, better allocation of resources—but never may they run the factories on their own. As Richman of 'consultative direction' 'participative management,' a balanced system of centralization and decentralization, found in a growing number of American companies.42 And further, he was told that during his visit to China that the regime was not willing at that time to have the workers actually play dominant roles in the management of their enterprises.

Goldwasser and Dowty go on and about the marvellous workers' participation in management; but participation in such participation—it is not a substitute for the "real thing"—collective management. They cite examples of workers' participation—most of which concern worker-positions for improving production. They also cite the activities of the Workers Representative Congresses as further proof of worker control (see below), and also alludes to the famous suggestion box. Louis Krasser likewise talks about workers participation in increasing productivity and technical innovations. But when you read the fine print, one thing becomes clear: workers can talk, suggest, and "participate"—all they want (within CCP limits, of course)—but when it comes to the actual making of decisions—that is a job reserved for the Party authorities. Only if a suggestion is ratified by Party superiors can it be instituted. In the early 60's it was "qualified managers and expert workers making the final decisions."43 In the mid-60's authority was switched upwards to the State planners with the Party Committees at the factories retaining some control.44 As to the determination of wages—the results of the discussions must be approved by the Revolutionary Committees.45

If anyone thinks that this form of workers' control is "revolutionary"—just take a look at the March 26, 1973 issue of Newsweek magazine, "The Job Blues: Who Wants to Work?" wherein various experiments on the assembly line are discussed. The Chinese system is no more revolutionary than the experiments of such prominent Reds as General Motors, Ford Motor Co., Monsanto Chemical and the Travelers Insurance Company: once again the dichotomy between "workers control" and "workers management" is emphasized.

WORKERS CONTROL IN CHINA

An Open Eyed View By Shelley Shapiro.

PART TWO.

COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

We have seen that of the two committees, the Party Committee calls the shots; that workers' participation is limited to actually nothing more than an extended version of the Bosses' Old Suggestion Box, with twice as much power as the slips dropped into the box have. That the Maoist system is a dictatorship over the proletariat becomes absolutely clear when we examine the so-called "elections" to the Party Committees and the (powerless) Revolutionary Committees. Goldwasser and Dowty write that the representatives are chosen on the basis of being good workers, having close relationships with the masses of the workers in the factory, and being diligent in the study of Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Chairman Mao. The workers have discussions in their shop groups and make nominations. The names are then discussed by everyone, including the Party organization in the factory... After the discussions representatives are chosen by an election among the masses of workers.

In Tangshan, we visited a Rolling Stock Plant which manufactures locomotives and railroad coaches. They have a slightly different method of choosing representatives which is called the 'two steps, two up, two downs' process. First, workers in each section of the factory have discussions and put forward names of people for the revolutionary committee. The names are sent to the leading body, which holds its own discussions and sends its opinions back down. This process takes place twice, thus the 'two ups and downs.' (In some places it is a one-up, one-down process.) After the final discussion, they agree on a group of people for the committee, but no vote is taken—it is all handled by discussion. They then decide who is put forward by the workers but not approved by the leading body. In such cases they come to agreement through further discussions. They say they judge people according to 'how they fit into the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines' and whether they are 'continuing the revolution.' Here the PLA members are also discussed by the workers but the PLA has the final say on who their representatives are.

This is a worker's democracy where workers representatives have to be thoroughly indoctrinated in the ruler's ideology, and further must first be approved by others than the workers themselves. Goldwasser and Dowty further state that members of the Party Committee are chosen in the same way,48 and that the "Party committee is often chosen at a congress of all Party members in a factory, involving extensive discussions and elections."49

Richman writes that:... The workers, and other personnel, supposedly elect the factory directors, vice-presidents, foremen (who are like front-line supervisors of floor foremen). They may play the major role in the selection of group leaders, but it is doubtful that they have any say with the higher-level managers. The elections, not surprisingly, are under the direct leadership of the enterprise party committee, and appropriate higher-level administrative officials above the enterprise also formally approve the election of directors and vice-directors. I was told that such formal higher approval is almost always granted.

There seemed to be a general reluctance on the part of the managers and Reds interviewed to discuss the mechanics of these elections. When details, some of them seemed to get embarrassed or upset. It seems that there are several after-hours meetings and screening sessions involved in coming up with a slate of management candidates. By the time the list of candidates is processed through the formal worker and staff representative conferences of workers and staff meetings (and then is presented to the electorate, there is typically only one candidate for each position. But, I was told, "employees can still vote 'yea' or 'na' for each candidate. What if the majority vote in a specific case is 'no'? I asked. This has never happened, I was told, and if ever did a new candidate would be proposed for the job, and a new election would take place. A British diplomat who had been stationed in Red China for several years told me that employees would want to vote 'no' on a slate of candidates of this type would probably have to ask for a special pencil to mark his ballot and would become very conspicuous. It was implied that all the enterprises surveyed which had elections were elected with a 99 or 100% majority.50

And later:... As virtually all of the firms their directors and all their vice-directors—even where the enterprise had 'elections' to choose their high-level managers—had to be approved by higher bodies, in a number of cases they had to be approved by higher bodies two or three levels above the enterprise, and at a few large firms final approval came from up high. The same was true for party secretaries and vice secretaries at some of the enterprises. Their appointments has to be approved by higher bodies even though formal approval came from as high up as the Central Party Committee in Peking. And this is what passes for worker's control! The only 'control' is by the Party bosses, who control the workers. Such a system almost guarantees that any decisions made will be—like the ones who make the decisions—approved by the Party hierarchy. And if there's any question, there is a PLAM always ready to answer. Just as the class interest of a private capitalist is to raise productivity and make increased profits, so is the interest of the Chinese State Capitalists—the CCP. Read any contemporary writings on China—in China productivity is loudly lauded as a major achievement of the Regime. And then we look at the foreign trade deals—with the flegding fascist Marcos regime, we see the supporting role of the others that the Maoists used to describe as 'paper tigers' and general goon-dogs. And these elections are the basis of Chinese workers' control. But the Aramex Goldwasser and Dowty, see nothing wrong. If American unions ran elections in the same manner, these unions would be rightly accused of election-fixing, pressure tactics, and rightfully accused of election-fixing, pressure tactics, and these unions would be able to choose their representatives in the same manner, these unions would be able to choose their representatives. This is not workers' freedom, workers' democracy or workers anything else—except workers' exploitation.

THE WORKERS REPRESENTATIVE CONGRESSES

Goldwasser and Dowty talk about a new organisation that has sprung up since the "Cultural Revolution" the Party committees. But this is another example of Chinese workers controlling their factories.51 The activities of this outfit include the following:

...to organize worker-representation, to mobilize workers to fulfill the production plans of the factory, to save waste materials, and to promote technical innovation and technical progress. The workers' representative congress to listen to the needs and demands of the workers, collect opinions and transmit them to the Party committee and revolutionary committee. They also organise sports and other recreational activities and arrange for cultural performances.

Not all workers may belong, only "revolutionaries"—and we can readily guess who decides that. The workers representative congresses have no power at all. Not one thing to do with workers' control, that is in the hands of the Party committee. The revolutionaries merely carry out Party committee orders. Thus the "Committees" are merely nothing more than Maoist social clubs.

WORKERS CONTROLLED—WORKERS RESPOND

It is beyond the scope of this article to go into the disgraceful history of the CCP in regimenting and dominating the Chinese working class to its own (State Capitalist) interests. I am purposely confining myself to the present (that is, post-Cultural Revolution) situation. Suffice it to say that ever since the 1949 "Liberation" the CCP has continued to use the levers of the class structures to control the history of the CCP has been one of collaboration, not struggle, against capitalists, naturally at the expense of the workers.

Suffice it to say that ever since 1949 the CCP has continued to use the levers of the class structures to control the CCP's Congress "declared China to be a state capitalist" (in 1956, the CCP's Congress "declared China to be a state capitalist"—"..."), private...
capitalists continue to prosper, either in their oil role as private capitalists or else in the bosses' role of the cadres. All workers' participation must be approved by Party personnel, who—unless it is a trivial decision—must clear it with the Party superior. The Revolutionary Committees method of administration, the system becomes one of class collaboration, not class struggle. Reading Chairman Mao, we find that even Joseph Alois, it would appear that Chinese workers are behind the Maoist body and soul. In fact, the only criticisms that appear in Goldwasser and Dowty's 24-page pamphlet are that job security is not up to snuff, and concerning the necessity for close relations between workers and cadres. If Chinese workers are so enraged, then why is it that the editor of the American anarchist journal The Match! (2/73 issue) explained, in the 1950s. As we have received your note in which you request some literature and materials, we will be very glad to send you what we have on the subjects you mention, though we must make clear our position on the question of "anarchy." We are against it, for the reason that now, when imperialism (as headed by the USA) is going to its doom and bright socialism is winning world-wide victory, anarchy does not accord with the internal situation and the international situation of the proletariat, to whom social class struggle inevitably leads. Chairman Mao says, "... deprive the reactionaries of the opportunities to speak..."

Why is it so hard to fear to hear ideas other than his own spread? Let us give one small example. In 1957 Mao (who supported the Hungarian workers' uprising of 1956) decided that he would allow criticism of the regime. Response was immediate. Workers and intellectuals were summoned to point out that the leadership was not a true representative of the Chinese proletariat. The regime would not allow them to be critical. Indeed, it is living proof that "something is rotten in the State of Red Guard" seize control of all industrial undertakings and to see the fruits of their labours transformed into unsaleable products? Was it in the interest of the working class to take part in production, to work, to compete, to bring about all industrial shortcomings and to see the fruits of their labour transformed into unsaleable products? Was it in the interest of the working class for the trade unions to stop being their own, specific organisations and to become part of the state machinery?... Every day we hear that the workers are disheartened. That they will only have one third representation on the planned works councils, that they say that that is not enough, has anybody ever listened to their opinions? Do they control the enterprises or the management itself?... This was part of a speech given by Josef Smrkovsky to the central committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in 1968. He died seven minutes before midnight on Monday, January 14th 1974. His death has gone completely unreported in both East and West Europe. He was not an anarchist by any means, but he was a determined fighter against Stalinism, and he proved it. This has been done by several years in a Stalinist jail, during the 1930s. As soon as he was released he plunged back into the political areas and in the new situation that was appearing in Czechoslovakia he began to be effective. He was a leading exponent of the Dubcek theory of socialism with a human face, and in 1968 he became chairman of the Czech parliament. His influence was such that after the Russian invasion threatened a general strike if reprisals were taken against him. Four years ago his career was contracted.

The important thing about his death is that it could have provided a focus for the Czech people to show their true feelings about Hruska's "Realities with a Human Face." For this reason the regime, acting like frightened mice, rushed his funeral through with indecent haste. A state of emergency was declared and the Prague police were heavily reinforced by outside units. Telephones were cut and some people had mysterious calls from the Czech equivalent of Mr. Smith. The whole atmosphere of repression was stepped up. In fear of a national cemetery being created the regime would not allow Smrkovsky to be buried, and instead he had to be cremated against his express wishes. The regime would not allow the funeral to be postponed for just a week, so that his daughter might attend. (She was in hospital expecting a baby.)

The trains were stopped 3 kilometers from the crematorium, due to "road works" and the police were stopping cars on the road to the crematorium for "mechanical" checks.

This manifestation of paranoia on the part of the regime is quite remarkable. Even though Smrkovsky was a dissident he was a member of the "Loyal opposition." He always maintained that the Communist Party could lead the country to socialism. Normally, distinguished communists are laid to rest with some sort of official protocol. The regime's reaction clearly demonstrates how frightened they are of any show of opposition, no matter how loyal.

Over a thousand people finally attended the funeral, in spite of a total news blackout and only one day's circulation of the private funeral notices. The fact that so many people are prepared to put themselves in risk, knowing for sure that the police will have detailed knowledge of everyone who attended, is sufficient testimony to the "success" of the regime's attempted normalisation programme, and to Smrkovsky himself.

Petr Cermak.

"As Marx said, 'the emancipation of the working class...'

is the task of the working class itself'

Which is why I'd have had him shot.
ANARCHISM AND THE MIDEST SITUATION

Immigra and to seize a territory in the Middle East, and there exist Zionist movements since the turn of the century; a plan to return the palestinian refugees to their homes, and finally, whatever firsthand or secondhand knowledge we might have of the area.

In theory, our position is simple. As Anarchists, we call for the overthrow of the State of Israel by its inhabitants, through a spontaneous federation of free communities, allowing the free return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes, establishing free and equal access to the resources of the area, and ending the hold of religious superstition and feudal domination over the Jewish and Arab peoples alike.

However, as we all know, the situation is much more complex than that. In view of the fact that none of the groups or organizations in the Middle East have clear-cut, well-defined positions on the many problems at home.

The London Evening News, for all its respectability, is not a respected organ in the broad sense of the term. The story is about a girl named Gaddafy, who has come to this country from South Africa and Rhodesia, and who has become a writer in the socialist movement.

I thereupon forwarded the article to the monthly Zukunft (Future), edited by the poet A. Liezen, in the hope that his well-known and widely-read journal would accept it. The fact that the magazine was financed by the Trotskyites.

I penned a reply to the dastardly attacks against the Makkhi movement and sent it to the Der Tag, and received the following reply:

"Sh. Marcus, 7 E 107th St, New York, N.Y.

Regretfully we cannot use your article for the "Day". We therefore returning it back to you. With regard,

R. Etkin, editorial secretary.

I thereupon forwarded the article to the monthly Zukunft (Future), edited by the poet A. Liezen, in the hope that his well-known and widely-read journal would accept it. The fact that the magazine was financed by the Trotskyites.

Liezen's poetical conscience evidently did not bother him as the following reply shows:

"Dear Sh. Marcus,

No, the Zukunft cannot come out with a justification of Makkhi. He was not at all the conscientious anarchist as you picture him, and it would be much better if you did not identify Makkhi with the anarchist movement of the world.

Makkhi certainly allowed the slaughter of Jews under the name of "Capitalists". His followers slaughtered a mass of Jewish colonists in Eksatoritis as one of his acquaintances. But the character of the movement was Gruhan, Solove and other Bolshevik anarchists. They were blinded and refused to hear and see, and didn't want to. The editor of Zukunft is very angry with you declaring that it is indeed a shame that a Jew should never be allowed to be a pogrom-maker. I personally would like to discuss the matter with you. Come over to the office of Zukunft.

F.S. Your article is included herewith.

With respect, Krepitch.

The letter carried no date, but it was written no doubt in 1926, soon after the article was returned to me from the Der Tag, and it seems to have been written by Marcus Graham, the editor of Zukunft.
The accession against the Makhno Movement: What the Other Side Has to Say About It

In every court "justice," it is customary that the accused not only has to be self-defence, but the State even appoints a defender for the poor. Many know that in all court-bouchees are dispensed for the rich, and a different sort for the poor. For appearances sake, the poor man is thus given a chance to be heard before being mutated.

Nestor Maklno has less luck than a poor man in a court-house. This is especially true in relation to the entire Jewish press. In the Forwerts Nestor Makhno and the movement have less luck than a poor man in a court-house. This is especially true in relation to the entire Jewish anarchists as D. Tchamey, A. Baron, Fania Baron and tens or other Jewish-speaking anarchists. How can it be that not one of these should raise their voice to support the accusations against the Makhno movement? Could it be that they all have a right to self-defence, and therefore have no interest to raise the banner against the Makhno movement? Or, how does it happen, that now - four or five years after the Makhnovites were driven out of the Ukraine by the Russian Government, and Makhno with some of his co-workers were "tied" in Bolshevik controlled Poland, that the entire anarchist press of the world should feel proud about the activity of Nestor Makhno and the Makhno movement in the Ukraine? Is it because the entire anarchist world press has become anti-semitic? Rudolph Rock, in his "Those Days" how he was told about stories concerning what the Machnovites have carried out.

From D. Tcharney, in the 28th, 1926 of Der Tug speaks about a biography of Makhno, without naming it, stating that:

"Makhno himself liked the title "bokhoe" (fatherly) and has totally forgotten that he was a plain bandit supposedly an anarchist that deals with all passing goods, he placed himself on the side of the Reds in the struggle with the Whites, and then on the side of the Whites."

Further on D. Tcharney brings the following "extraordinary fact" that is intended to tighten the rope around Makhno's neck.

"In Nevadalof, as stated, something very good had taken place, because it had a splendid self-defence of some thousand of the self-defence obtained - imagine - from Makhno himself. Thus Makhno's 200 guns protected the colony against the same Makhnovites."

I have quoted at length from D. Tcharney - since he embodies the main accusations and self-contradictions that are being made against Makhno and the Makhno movement in the Jewish press.

It is only necessary to add that D. Tcharney declared himself that his "information" he has obtained from a "just published book: "The Jewish community in the Revolution."

I have not seen one friendly word for Makhno in the Jewish daily press of the United States - from any Jewish writer.

I expect that Der Tug will at least give space to one who desires to answer all these attacks against Makhno and the Makhno movement, proving thereby that in one part of the Jewish press the condemned can obtain at least as much justice that is given in a court-house.

It is not my purpose to go into a polemic with all those who have made attacks on Makhno and the movement around him. My main reason lies in the fact that all these writers have based their attacks upon information from other people's assertions. Not one of them supports the assertions by their own experiences.

Consequently, my reply can only be a general one. I do not expect that after reading it, all those who hold Makhno and the Makhnovites as propoganda persecution will change their opinion. I only hope they will meditate a bit upon what I am about to express, and then ask themselves: Can there not be a spark of truth in anything else? On the other side, although the accused has been pitted with the Bolsheviks and the Whites - colors . . . No one can believe, despite the work of the anarchist movement of anti-semitism. Consequently that question that must arise in the mind of any impartial thinking person how it happens that during the entire times of Nestor Makhno's activity there should co-operate with him such well known Jewish anarchists as D. Volin, A. Baron, Fania Baron and tens of other Jewish-speaking anarchists? How can it be that not one of these should raise their voice to support the accusations against the Makhno movement? Could it be that they all have a right to self-defence, and therefore have no interest to raise the banner against the Makhno movement? Or, how does it happen, that now - four or five years after the Makhnovites were driven out of the Ukraine by the Russian Government, and Makhno with some of his co-workers were "tied" in Bolshevik controlled Poland, that the entire anarchist press of the world should feel proud about the activity of Nestor Makhno and the Makhno movement in the Ukraine? Is it because the entire anarchist world press has become anti-semitic? Rudolph Rock, in his "Those Days" how he was told about stories concerning what the Machnovites have carried out.

The hatred with which the Bolsheviks regarded Makhno (a compliment that reaches the proper recipients) is shown in this Soviet poster showing Makhno with tartuff and right-wing generals Wrangel and Plihara (later shot in Paris by Schwarz- burt) and another Ukranian protestant Angel, in conspiracy with the Church as an enemy of the State.

For anyone who wants to learn the truth, it is only necessary to read Arshinov's "The Story of the Makhno Movement", a well known Russian poet who worked with the Makhno movement, and is at present an exile living in France, where he edits a monthly anarchist journal, in order to readily understand what has really happened there where the Makhno movement was active.

In this book the reader will find facts and documents that will attest to the fact that one learns that one of the infamous pogrom bands in the Ukraine - Grigorov - was shot to death by none other than Nestor Makhno himself . . . Further on this subject will also learn as to how Makhno and his comrades fell and acted upon entering in a Jewish populated town and found walls packed with calls to pogrom. Nestor Makhno himself introduced the Makhno movement . . . Death was the threat and sentence by the Makhnovites upon anyone who dares to invite pogroms upon his own head.

One learns also from this book that not more than once had the bolshevik "revolutionary" government placed in jeopardy the entire lives of Nestor Makhno and the Makhnovites and provisions - from the 70,000 Makhnovites that were in daily combat with the White Guardia horrified of the Doubtless, the Kolchak and the Wrangell . . . Also one will see from the documents that prove how Bels Kuhn, representing the Bolshevist government and Popov repren- tering the Makhno movement signed an agreement how to fight in union every counter-revolutionary movement, and also to tolerate one another (as anarchists and bolshevists) on becoming Jewish anarchists (in Spain forever an exemplary act of tolerance and mutual aid - upon which bles every future revolution will only be able to succeed.) And, likewise, one will learn from Arshinov's book how the Bolshevik government put upon its own agreement with the Makhnovites as soon as at the last of Wrangell's counter-revolutionary hordes were driven out of the Ukraine. And it immediately instituted the most despicable reign of persecu- tions and even murder against the active anarchists in the Ukraine.

If nestor Makhno and the Makhnovites are to be held guilty of the pogroms that real pogrom-hordes carried out - beyond doubt Nestor Makhno and the movement. But - at no time with the knowledge of the Makhno movement, then one has to hold responsible the Bolshevist government for the pogroms that were carried out among the Bolshe- vists. In either instance it would be not only ridiculous, but also slanderous to do so.

The anarchist press of the world press has not become anti-semitic not has it ever been, and never could become - as long as its ideal is anarchism. It is therefore not at all ashamed to be proud of the activity of Nestor Makhno and the Makhno movement.

In the heat of the revolution some rush to pen "history", as in the slanderous attacks against Makhno and his movement. But such "histories" will sooner or later be forgotten because of the falsehood that they embodied.

The true history, the history of the anarchists in general, and the Makhno movement in particular have played in the Russian revolution has as yet not been written by impartial observers and seekers of the true facts. When such a history is penned the present slanders that have been cast upon the Makhno movement will be transformed into flowers.

Sh. Marcus* (Sh. Marcus - In later years used the name Marcus Graham).

LETTERS
Dear Black Flag,
A gentleman with one leg who once worked for the Corporation advised me to get in touch with you. I worked it out that with $25 of my National Envelope stamp and 1p off a pint of milk, it should balance out the 20p on a bottle of whisky so all round I was safe, but now I see that my banknote tax goes up so that in the end I shall still lose out.

For god's sake why wasn't I told? Haven't you any responsibility in these matters?
Heartick, Bradford,

Dear A. A. B.,
It's amusing to watch the journalists tying themselves in knots trying to prove that every tawdry action is part of some great master-plan. After the recent spectacular act of justice in Madrid, the Guardian printed an eye- catching article devoted to a story in the newspaper ABC that the ETA had obtained the explosives from the IRA; the subsequent report that laboratory analyses had shown the explosives to have originated in Spain got a bare mention at the foot of a column. Why the Catholic and authoritarian Provisionals should want to kill such an obviously kindled spirit remains unexplained. C.C.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ _'
1. "The Red Flag" (it has nothing to do with the Russian Communist Party, as suggested by Tories - it was written in 1889 - not it is appropriately sung by a Labour meeting.)
2. The Mikado of Japan, which he regarded his divinity in 1945. Krishnamurti was another god - discovered as a boy by the reincarnationists. (It will be a Comic Christian) by the Rastafarian sect in the West Indies.
3. Lola Montez (Eliza Gilbert), the dancer, formed the anti-clerical "Lola Ministry" under King Ludwig, installed herself, and made a division between Trotsky and Lenin. They opacity.itcs which held that the "bureaucratisation" of the Com- munist Party, as suggested by Tories - it was written in 1889 - not it is appropriately sung by a Labour meeting."
4. The Oshlerites were U.S., breakaway from the Trot- skyites which held that the "bureaucratisation" of the USSR had commenced with "Trotsky, not with Stalin, and made a division between Trotsky and Lenin. They had a few supporters in this country; an ex-follower was Eric Heffer, now Labour MP for Walton (Liverpool).
5. It is not certain, but possibly none. Neither his father nor mother were Jewish either by race or religion; it has been alleged his real father was a Jewish actor-manager in whose company Mrs. Chaplin worked. He himself denies this, for obvious reasons. He has always been a liberal and for years a Communist follower; accused of being a party ideologue, he was expelled from the party sympathizing with the Nationalists.

The Emperor of Ethiopia, Hailc Selassie (formerly Ras Tafari), is worshipped against his will (he is a Greek Orthodox Christian) by the Rastafarian sect in the West Indies.

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C:"...