ARGENTINA

True to general form as regards Argentina, where the press reports attacks by Tupamaros but never action by Peronistas, there has been a persistent report of “guerilla” attacks around Cordoba on a “military factory”. But what is the “military factory” producing?

It now appears that the Government factory in Cordoba is building a series of aircraft called the Pucara which are almost totally useless in warfare. They are twin turbo prop machines with a short take on which have no place in modern war, but are highly relevant to “anti-guerrilla action” as shooting down is now named.

They have cannon and machine gun, with attachment points for air-to-ground rockets and bombs, with an acute diving speed. They could not measure up to enemy aircraft. But they are fantastically useful in vicious attacks on an unarmed or only partially armed people.

The first customer lined up is the South African Government. No psychological equipment or extra-sensory process has been found that could be fixed to the Pucara to enable it to distinguish between people with views opposed to the Government and those who agree with it, or acquiesce in its domination. If such a thing were possible, it would lessen its effectiveness.

* * *

Draco Jenkins

As we go to press Mr. Roy Jenkins is planning “draconian” measures against “the IRA and other organisations” like all repressive measures in England it is said to be temporary and is probably intended for the next century. As “nationalism and culture” the Home Secretary yet admitted that there may be. If such measures are ever taken, if they ever can be, and if they are ever deemed necessary they will need to be given the force of law.

At present anarcho has been an integral part of the British working class movement for nearly a century and a half. Anarchist views have been regularly publicised and anarchistic activities freely held constantly for over a century. The belief amongst many ignorant and politically illiterate police constables that anarchism is in some way illegal, or that the possession of a journal such as this is the mark of the commission of a crime, is totally erroneous. The seizure of this paper — in whatever future, if the IRA legal underlines the stupidity of the bombings. That scream that something must be done and this must stop...

The swiftness of right wing authoritarians to follow up the Birmingham bombings with the demand that the country now wants what the right-wing authoritarians have always wanted prompts the cynical reflection that it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good... to avoid the slanderous and uncharitable question who profits Reaction to the bombings by the IRA is exactly what was planned. The Provos want to provoke anti-Irish feeling precisely because they live on anti-English feeling, and one cannot exist without the other. The indiscriminate nature of the bombings — the personal tragedies of the people caught up in senseless pub bombings — provokes genuine reactions of horror. But the reactions are skilfully exploited. The pseudo-dailies Sun and Mirror scream that something must be done and this must stop because they imitate Hitler’s skill at centenary, was not to say what you necessarily wanted to succeed, but to say what you felt people were thinking — this gave you the support to do what you wanted.

The public could live with this sort of thing as long as it was far away in the colonies: it could especially live with State repression and State massacre however much it objected to terrorists hitting back at soldiers. It even managed to bear the fact that all but civil war had come to British cities, since they were on an offshore island. But the Provos brought the bombing war to the mainland cities. (Or — who knows — perhaps it was authoritarian forces more sinister than the Provos who did this. We are not allowed to know what Special Branch or the Intelligence Forces are up to. We know they penetrate the Provos. We are not allowed to know to what degree they direct strategy).

Used to State control, the people immediately hit or distressed by the attacks call on the State. Somebody should do something. The IRA should be banned. The

Irish should be sent home. The death penalty should be brought back. The police should have more powers. All the authoritarian crises come out because in the public in the face of senseless violence and tragedy in its midst, cries to Big Mum like a child crying in the dark. It looks to authority for reassurance and comfort. The wicked will be punished. The good have died in a great cause. Have no fears and sleep on. That which disturbs and discomforts in such moments is the voice that says that Mum is lying: that the police have enough powers and can (literally) get away with murder if they want to. That nationalism is a load of rubbish and the good have died for nothing on both sides... that vigorous penalties cannot silence that which authority has called into being and much more radical action is needed.

The fact that these murders are ILLEGAL whereas normally murders for Church State and Nationality are LEGAL underlines the stupidity of the bombings. That is why so many authoritarian propagandists are anxious at such time to blame “anarchists”. It is a far cry from anarchist attacks on specific tyrants to the indiscriminate bombing of a pub — because the IRA hasn’t got a Republic of its own to the LEGAL indiscriminate bombing of a pub, if the IRA were a legal entity like the Royal Air Force, as success to its arms and that alone would make it.

Those who blame “the Irish” and attack Irish workers in a factory should ask themselves a plain fact: Would they themselves — if they thought it was for “England” — perpetrate such acts of violence? Those who have done far worse are the greater in their condemnation of what others think they are doing “for Ireland”.

Letter from Spain:

POLITICAL PANIC AND AMERICAN INTERESTS.

France is going to crook any day, finally, and everybody knows it. Nobody gives one single peseta any more for his life.

The bourgeoisie, who supported him in his war against the people, is now in sheer panic. Only some 15 years ago, the pass-word amongst them all was to have been “life-long right-stiger” — today only a small bunch of fanatic madmen do not disguise themselves as left-wing in some way or other. The Church underlines once and again every day how repentant she is for her complicity with the old pirate. The rats have already abandoned the ship, and now they are even screeching out that they do not have anything to do with it. After the last Cabinet crisis, nobody wants to occupy the seats left by ministers, general-directors, etc. For the first time in the history of Spain since 1939.

Maybe the people are not any more as “politically castrated” as they were, and how mercilessly, in 1939. Maybe the people are not any more as “politically indifferent” as the bourgeoisie has been pretending all these last years — but only waiting in silence for their moment to come finally. And maybe everybody is realising it just in this very moment.

The rats have already gone, but the crew around the pirate are still on board — they know that there is even less salvation for them once off the sinking ship. And maybe they are going to try a last, desperate, criminal panic for their survival out of all left at their disposal around the Middle East, Kissinger lands every single time in Barajas or Torrejon airports — “technical bases”. And in every single one of these “technical bases”, he is holding interviews with all the eminent lieutenants of the old pirate, one after the other.

“American interest”.

The fantastically powerful American bases in Spain can be turned in a few hours into a perfectly sufficient base of an invincible (for the time being) theatre of forces.

After all, the glorious Spanish army enjoys already a solid tradition of selling out the whole country to the most powerful forces in order to survive itself as his, still glorious X-tro-licker.

Liberto Miguel.
**ANARCHO QUIZ**

1. What was the Know-Nothing Party?
2. What were the two chief Opposition parties — the Social Democrats and the Social-Revolutionaries?
3. In which Western European country is it still possible to compel a woman to change her religion by law when travelling north?
4. Which philosopher said (1901): "There is no God..."
5. In which Western European country is it still possible to make anarchists meet there. England has political freedom."
Security Risk

This group was first heard of at the end of October 74, when a caller phoned the Press Association saying that he was a member of this organisation and claiming responsibility for the recent bomb attacks, on two pubs in Guildford (where five people died) and at three private clubs in London.

Later they claimed two bombs found attached to magistrates' cars (which failed to go off) and a bomb which blew up in the car of the Minister for Sport (Denis Howell) in Bir-

This caller claiming responsibility for these bombs also said that there was a big demonstration in Birmingham the following weekend— none of course, pushing the ruling class out of existence! It is hard to believe that in England today there exists a hard-core group of people committed to such horrible and senseless bombings as those in the pubs. The only organisations at present who could possibly muster such cold-blooded people are the SAS, the police or even the National Front;* or such other right-wing organisations as Colonel Stirling's Great Britain 75 (note the resemblance in the names of the two groups). The State in other countries (notably at present in Italy) has been shown to be actively cooperating with the right-wing in planting bombs which will discredit the Left. Indeed the British Army is already involved in such activities in Ireland.

The bombings in the pubs which resulted in so many deaths and injuries have only resulted in working people becoming enraged and hostile to the Left. The two recent bombs in Birmingham, which were at first announced to be the work of the IRA, have resulted in Irishmen being beaten up by their fellow workers (at the British Leyland car factory in Birmingham) and in petrol bomb attacks on Irish clubs and pubs.

More sinister still is the general call now to ban the IRA and to bring in emergency acts to give the police powers, e.g. to detain people in custody indefinitely before bringing them to Court. No doubt if bombings like this continue the police will be carrying guns some-

These two statements are suspect in themselves. The phrase "militant Left-wing" is how the right-wing and the Press describe revolutionary groups, rather than being how such groups would describe themselves. Moreover any true revolutionary socialist has no concept of pushing any-

ning "who intended "pushing the country by force to working class, has succeeded only in causing fear and discredit and hatred on the Left."

The bombing of the car? Was it perhaps to ensure that the Red Army "confession" to something quite different -- a bank robbery.

In September Mario Ines Torres, Jean-Michel Martinez and Victor Manrique were also arrested -- all under the Law of Exception passed by De Gualle which sets aside safeguards. Mean time they are subject to torture, and it is believed the police obtained from Camilleri and Ines-Torres signed confessions to 17 atten-
tacts and 5 armed bank robberies -- from Belgium down to Rosellon -- to almost every unsolved political crime in Spain. Hence the two last named were accused of belongng to the French police which has been brought to the attention of Amnesty International. He had convincing proofs against the accusation but was finally tortured to signing a "confession" to something quite different -- a bank robbery.

In September Mario Ines Torres, Jean-Michel Martinez and Victor Manrique were also arrested -- all under the Law of Exception passed by De Gualle which sets aside safeguards. Meanwhile they are subject to torture, and it is believed the police obtained from Camilleri and Ines-Torres signed confessions to 17 atten-
tacts and 5 armed bank robberies -- from Belgium down to Rosellon -- to almost every unsolved political crime in Spain.

The bombs were claimed after they actually blew up or were found i.e. after they had all been announced over new broadcasts, which casts some doubt on whether in fact it was this group who planted the bombs. But if they planted the bombs then who are they? And if they didn't, who are they claiming them?

With the first phone call claiming the first bombings, it was ensured that the groups supposed origins were known -- it was stated that all the members were ex-

members of the IMG (International Marxist Group), who had trained with the IRA in Southern Ireland (this is probably the first IRA formation of it). There are sup-

posed to be forty members in London alone, plus others "all over the country". These figures indicate an incredibly complex network, with a high degree of security as shown by the fact that no-one has been arrested as a suspected member of this group.

The caller also described the group as "militant left-

wing" who intended "pushing the country by force to working class, has succeeded only in causing fear and discredit and hatred on the Left."

Why did the NF specifically blame Red Flag 74 for the bombing of the car? Was it perhaps to ensure that the name stayed in the headlines?

U Trita.

The continued pogrom against French and Spanish Anti-

Fascists in France.

On 16th January the French police arrested Pierre Roger, Michel Camilleri, Miguel Moreno and Jean-Claude Torres. The two last named were accused of belonging to the MLI and to have taken actions against Beira Airlines in an effort to prevent the execution of Salvador Puig Antich. The first two were set free in February but Roger was arrested again when the GARI attacked the Spanish Consulate in Toulouse. He was taken into custody and beaten up -- spending six days tied to a radiator, constantly assaulted. He was then put into secret custody and tortured to obtain a confession -- an action by the French police which has been brought to the attention of Amnesty International. He had convincing proofs against the accusation but was finally tortured to signing a "confession" to something quite different -- a bank robbery.

In September Mario Ines Torres, Jean-Michel Martinez and Victor Manrique were also arrested -- all under the Law of Exception passed by De Gualle which sets aside safeguards. Meanwhile they are subject to torture, and it is believed the police obtained from Camilleri and Ines-Torres signed confessions to 17 atten-
tacts and 5 armed bank robberies -- from Belgium down to Rosellon -- to almost every unsolved political crime in Spain.

The bombs were claimed after they actually blew up or were found i.e. after they had all been announced over new broadcasts, which casts some doubt on whether in fact it was this group who planted the bombs. But if they planted the bombs then who are they? And if they didn't, who are they claiming them?

With the first phone call claiming the first bombings, it was ensured that the groups supposed origins were known -- it was stated that all the members were ex-

members of the IMG (International Marxist Group), who had trained with the IRA in Southern Ireland (this is probably the first IRA formation of it). There are sup-

posed to be forty members in London alone, plus others "all over the country". These figures indicate an incredibly complex network, with a high degree of security as shown by the fact that no-one has been arrested as a suspected member of this group.

The caller also described the group as "militant left-

wing" who intended "pushing the country by force to working class, has succeeded only in causing fear and discredit and hatred on the Left."

Why did the NF specifically blame Red Flag 74 for the bombing of the car? Was it perhaps to ensure that the name stayed in the headlines?

U Trita.

The continued pogrom against French and Spanish Anti-

Fascists in France.

On 16th January the French police arrested Pierre Roger, Michel Camilleri, Miguel Moreno and Jean-Claude Torres. The two last named were accused of belonging to the MLI and to have taken actions against Beira Airlines in an effort to prevent the execution of Salvador Puig Antich. The first two were set free in February but Roger was arrested again when the GARI attacked the Spanish Consulate in Toulouse. He was taken into custody and beaten up -- spending six days tied to a radiator, constantly assaulted. He was then put into secret custody and tortured to obtain a confession -- an action by the French police which has been brought to the attention of Amnesty International. He had convincing proofs against the accusation but was finally tortured to signing a "confession" to something quite different -- a bank robbery.

In September Mario Ines Torres, Jean-Michel Martinez and Victor Manrique were also arrested -- all under the Law of Exception passed by De Gualle which sets aside safeguards. Meanwhile they are subject to torture, and it is believed the police obtained from Camilleri and Ines-Torres signed confessions to 17 atten-
tacts and 5 armed bank robberies -- from Belgium down to Rosellon -- to almost every unsolved political crime in Spain.

The bombs were claimed after they actually blew up or were found i.e. after they had all been announced over new broadcasts, which casts some doubt on whether in fact it was this group who planted the bombs. But if they planted the bombs then who are they? And if they didn't, who are they claiming them?

With the first phone call claiming the first bombings, it was ensured that the groups supposed origins were known -- it was stated that all the members were ex-

members of the IMG (International Marxist Group), who had trained with the IRA in Southern Ireland (this is probably the first IRA formation of it). There are sup-

posed to be forty members in London alone, plus others "all over the country". These figures indicate an incredibly complex network, with a high degree of security as shown by the fact that no-one has been arrested as a suspected member of this group.

The caller also described the group as "militant left-

wing" who intended "pushing the country by force to working class, has succeeded only in causing fear and discredit and hatred on the Left."

Why did the NF specifically blame Red Flag 74 for the bombing of the car? Was it perhaps to ensure that the name stayed in the headlines?

U Trita.

The continued pogrom against French and Spanish Anti-

Fascists in France.

On 16th January the French police arrested Pierre Roger, Michel Camilleri, Miguel Moreno and Jean-Claude Torres. The two last named were accused of belonging to the MLI and to have taken actions against Beira Airlines in an effort to prevent the execution of Salvador Puig Antich. The first two were set free in February but Roger was arrested again when the GARI attacked the Spanish Consulate in Toulouse. He was taken into custody and beaten up -- spending six days tied to a radiator, constantly assaulted. He was then put into secret custody and tortured to obtain a confession -- an action by the French police which has been brought to the attention of Amnesty International. He had convincing proofs against the accusation but was finally tortured to signing a "confession" to something quite different -- a bank robbery.

In September Mario Ines Torres, Jean-Michel Martinez and Victor Manrique were also arrested -- all under the Law of Exception passed by De Gualle which sets aside safeguards. Meanwhile they are subject to torture, and it is believed the police obtained from Camilleri and Ines-Torres signed confessions to 17 atten-
tacts and 5 armed bank robberies -- from Belgium down to Rosellon -- to almost every unsolved political crime in Spain.

The bombs were claimed after they actually blew up or were found i.e. after they had all been announced over new broadcasts, which casts some doubt on whether in fact it was this group who planted the bombs. But if they planted the bombs then who are they? And if they didn't, who are they claiming them?

With the first phone call claiming the first bombings, it was ensured that the groups supposed origins were known -- it was stated that all the members were ex-

members of the IMG (International Marxist Group), who had trained with the IRA in Southern Ireland (this is probably the first IRA formation of it). There are sup-

posed to be forty members in London alone, plus others "all over the country". These figures indicate an incredibly complex network, with a high degree of security as shown by the fact that no-one has been arrested as a suspected member of this group.

The caller also described the group as "militant left-

wing" who intended "pushing the country by force to working class, has succeeded only in causing fear and discredit and hatred on the Left."

Why did the NF specifically blame Red Flag 74 for the bombing of the car? Was it perhaps to ensure that the name stayed in the headlines?

U Trita.
The Spanish Labour Movement

FRANK MINTZ
(translated by W. Lea & D. Humphreys)

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera did not satisfy the Spanish bosses who blamed it for its weakness. The political parties shifted their policies in opposition to the electoral system, which excluded 27,000 members of the CNT. TheCNT had contact "with political forces, not to work toward a republic, but to combat the regime of shame which sustains it". Their opponent did not understand the anarchist position. In an article based on the analyses of Marx and Lenin, Andres Nin concluded, "It is necessary to show that it can give an explanation of its own basic inability to be a vanguard of the revolutionary working-class will, disappear into one of the dark niches which it makes it." Since 1927 there was an anarchist federation, the FAI, whose aim was to help the development of the CNT. In this period the CNT held a series of municipal elections and saw the growth of anarchism, which was the result of the same traditions of the anarchist movement. On April 14th the republic was declared, with neither King Alfonso XIII nor the bosses willing to provoke direct armed confrontation. This is a history of the Spanish republic from the standpoint of the CNT and FAI organizations of the majority of Spanish workers in the industrial and agricultural sectors, plus the attitudes of other tendencies.

A logical question is to ask why anarchism was so strong in Spain at a time when it had disappeared from other countries. Indeed to put such a question is to behave as a marxist forgetting the essential fact that real socialist ideas, authoritarian or otherwise, never penetrate with equal force to the same extent in the same way as do anarchist ideas. The anarcho-syndicalism, and its committees housed literacy classes as well as Ferrer-type children's classes. For though Ferrer was shot in 1909 the school carried on in all the provinces of Spain with financial support from various unions. Militant teachers taught after all the social gatherings. These schools were not only well known but were supported by many newspapers both local and national. If we take only the year 1932, as well as the classic works of Bakunin and Kropotkin among others, the union being at the same time open to all workers with the exception of the leaders, the top men came from the ranks of the working class themselves, from a background of anarchosyndicalism. And they are in evidence from the time of the first international in Spain: Anselmo Lorenzo from 1870. Out of the movements at the end of the century at 1890 came Taradell del Moral, Sanchez Ros. With the creation of the CNT in 1910, the move was towards syndicalism. After the uprising of 1917 Salvador Segui, Pagona, Petros. During the Primo Rivera dictatorship Buenaventura Durruti, Garcia Oliver and Francisco Ascaso etc. At the start of the republic: Petras, Varquez, Piera Mero, David Antona. From the war the Sabate brothers etc. Thus uninterrupted from 1870 until 1936 there have been consistent anarchists in Spain. These are the main points in country and international terms are the strength of the CNT. Compare this with 19th century Russia where one finds only three sorts of agitation: 1) The anarchists at the beginning of the century, 2) exiles like Herzen and Bakunin who were converted to socialism, and 3) the Narodniks and populists who were themselves the result of the failure of the revolutionary movement with 20th century Russia when, in practical terms the working class movement formed its ranks in only the fifteen years from 1905 to 1920, and yet no one could hold any important position and in the end such petty bourgeois intellectuals as Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin. Nothing like this existed in Spain; the leaders from the petty bourgeoisie were weak: Ricardo Mella before 1931 and the doctors Vallina and Puente after.

The second factor to explain the strength of the CNT is its organization, working as it does towards the three goals of direct action, united union and federalism. In direct action to the tactics worked out by the French anarcho-syndicalists and consists in refusing to negotiate with bosses, and in demanding that as many claims as possible be met. On making the most far reaching demands possible on their two sides are open to the authorities; first opposition, a show of strength which would generally provoke a chain reaction among the workers. In 1919 the famous strike at La Canadiense showed powerful solidarity in different firms and between different races. Again during the republic there was a strike of employees of the telephone company. The peasants of Ronda, a town in Andalusia, decided to support the workers and all the telegraph wires in the area were cut. That is to say that peasants who were illiterate for the most part and actively antiunionist, and who had displayed sympathy and solidarity in their actions.

The CNT organized a strength and a solidarity far greater than obtained in the UGT, organized on European lines, that is to say in France or Germany. One can easily understand why strikes were successful. At times, when the pressure of the masses was not enough individuals or small strikes led to an organization of the masses and the subsequent strikes became more significant because of the past successes, and had a far greater number of participants. Federation gave great flexibility of action to the CNT since each area or local federation could take initiatives without having to consult the central committee. A typical example was in 1932. A typewriter manufacturers in Madrid and UGT and CNT. A third completely different and remarkable aspect is that which we call internationalism. The CNT never restricted itself to syndicalism, and its committee rooms housed literacy classes as well as Ferrer type children's classes. For though Ferrer was shot in 1909 there were still many anarchists who were interested in the problem of education, and the CNT and FAI engaged in a great deal of teaching workers. There were classes in Esperanto, vegetarianism, herbal medicine, birth control propaganda, female emancipation and social gatherings. These schools were not only well known but were supported by many newspapers both local and national. If we take only the year 1932, as well as the classic works of Bakunin and Kropotkin among others, "Tierra y Libertad" (Barcelona weekly) "La Tierra" (Madrid) "La revolucion" (monthly) "La Revista Blanca" (Barcelona monthly and "Novosoi" (Valencia monthly) "Revolucion" (Alcay) "Acion" (Cadiz) etc. other publications make their appearance -- "CNT" (Madrid weekly) "Viva" (Valencia) "Solidaridad Proletaria" (Seville) "La Voz del campesino" (Jerez) etc.

The number of followers is explained by the personal magnetism of certain militants like Prieto, Vazquez etc. who worked to build their followers. Based on this to establish "the real CNT" for which there was a greater power quite similar to bureaucracy. Peirats recalls that after a planned insurrection ordered by Durruti and his friend for the FAI "someone asked for explanations on behalf of the local federation of anarchist groups of Barcelona. The answer was that, despite the plans, we had not gone as far as a real insurrection." Consequently:

- The political groupings had little influence on the CNT; at no time for example did the UGT launch strikes in solidarity. The T-F Gangian propaganda, and the former Minister of Labour, Largo Caballero, known as the Spanish Lenin (true on the level of the masses and a political agitator). In fact he agitated solely for a political deal to set up an armed force to put pressure on the right. At no time was an attempted insurrection throughout Spain, of the sort attempted by a section of the CNT, foreshadowed. Thus there was a CNT-UGT alliance in the Asturias and caches of an this regional one. In October 1934 two insurrections in the Asturias and in Catalonia. The left gained a slight majority of 1.1% of overall votes, but owing to the polling procedure it held a majority of 55 seats.

The greatest gains went to the Communist Party; 14 seats against 1 in 1933 Why? The answer is curious. Let us look at the returns. Malaga 12,900 votes in 1933, 57,270 in 1936. Cadiz 3,000 and 97,000. Oviedo 16,830 and 17,000. At this time the party, according to its own sources had only between 17,000 and 30,000 members, and its propaganda was limited because of the virus of terrorism. A typical example is that in 1933 there were over 1,800 members in Asturias, which at that time had 300,000 people. For reasons we shall see, disagreed over a tactic. Meanwhile in the Asturias two regional groups formed an alliance (which shows the influence of anarchism tactics on the UGT). But to the dismay of the local CNT organization the Federal government withdrew agreement. This series of events indicates that the right was using the labor movement to counteract the insurrection. That this militancy had an important cultural aspect was in no way fortuitous. It stood in opposition in times of crisis and the counterrevolutionary behavior of Spanish marxism opens the door to fascism. July 17, 1936.

"The CNT was without weaknesses. The first was the refusal of industrial federations, which some comrade proposed, through fear or bureaucratization. There could always have been branches like in the metallurgical industry, building, textiles etc., which would have certainly helped prepare the militants with a clearer conception of what was involved. The second factor to explain the strength of the CNT is its organisation, working as it does towards the three goals of direct action, united union and federalism. A third completely different and remarkable aspect is that which we call internationalism. The CNT never restricted itself to syndicalism, and its committee rooms housed literacy classes as well as Ferrer-type children's classes. For though Ferrer was shot in 1909 there were still many anarchists who were interested in the problem of education, and the CNT and FAI engaged in a great deal of teaching workers. There were classes in Esperanto, vegetarianism, herbal medicine, birth control propaganda, female emancipation and social gatherings. These schools were not only well known but were supported by many newspapers both local and national. If we take only the year 1932, as well as the classic works of Bakunin and Kropotkin among others, "Tierra y Libertad" (Barcelona weekly) "La Tierra" (Madrid) "La revolucion" (monthly) "La Revista Blanca" (Barcelona monthly and "Novosoi" (Valencia monthly).
THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY by Marcus Graham. (continued from last month)

The threat of a real threat to the system is being made. A wasp penned by "Ramparts", which considers itself to be the most radical, in the May 1974 issue. The attack is chosen to walk the dangerous path of the SLA. All over the United States, radicals stumbled in each other to proclaim the left. Who once proclaimed the absoluteness of establishing guerrilla units. The SLA leaders are dead, murdered, genocide style, and doesn't Ramparts and the rest of the New Responsible Left have a little blood on their hands?

The “Daily World”, the official organ of the U.S. Communist Party made no mention of the massacre of six revolutionists on May 17, 1974, and only carried a small news item in its issue of May 23, 1974, related to the fact that the “American Civil Liberties Union of Los Angeles charged the police with using excessive power in a shoot-out which killed six members of the SLA at which Angela Davis spoke! Nor did any kind of protest emanate from China or Russia from their communist parties or anywhere else in the world. Not even one such protest, as any honest editor would, he published a second tirade of distortions by the same Conrad Goeringer, saying: "The SLA's emergence is directly attributable to the collapse of the organized Left at the end of the sixties, and its continuation failure to regroup itself and revive... If there is a lesson to be learned from the SLA is that in a society as violently racist, exploitative and aggressively heartless as America, it's impossible to hold the SLA accountable in a similar fashion.

Stew Albert, a former editor of the defunct "Berkeley Tribe" wrote a letter to Ramparts which appeared in the August 1974 issue.

"Your article on the SLA (may 1974) slandered selfless revolutionaries who, as much as anyone else in North America, chose to walk the dangerous path. All over the United States radicals stumbled in each other to proclaim the left. Who once proclaimed the absoluteness of establishing guerrilla units. The SLA leaders are dead, murdered, genocide style, and doesn't Ramparts and the rest of the New Responsible Left have a little blood on their hands?"

The “Daily World”, the official organ of the U.S. Communist Party made no mention of the massacre of six revolutionists on May 17, 1974, and only carried a small news item in its issue of May 23, 1974, related to the fact that the “American Civil Liberties Union of Los Angeles charged the police with using excessive power in a shoot-out which killed six members of the SLA at which Angela Davis spoke! Nor did any kind of protest emanate from China or Russia from their communist parties or anywhere else in the world. Not even one such protest, as any honest editor would, he published a second tirade of distortions by the same Conrad Goeringer, saying: "The SLA's emergence is directly attributable to the collapse of the organized Left at the end of the sixties, and its continuation failure to regroup itself and revive... If there is a lesson to be learned from the SLA is that in a society as violently racist, exploitative and aggressively heartless as America, it's impossible to hold the SLA accountable in a similar fashion.

The treachery enacted by The Match is not going unchallenged by those who understand the anarchist ideal and its movement. An articulate critique was penned by a man who once said the New Left was as one of the co-authors of "Radical America" which reveals just how wealthy the hearst family really is... We strongly suggest that this type of direct action be labelled "terrorism", or "war on the people of the left"... This type of condemnation gives the pigs further justification to murder people as they did in Los Angeles.

This clear cut exposure of the Establishment, and the revolutionary position toward kidnapping naturally leads this group to claim that the SLA has been destroyed, and that the revolution has failed. This is a calculated lie, designed to keep people from getting organized into an actual movement, and seeing the truth. We are constantly told that if a particular official is too innocent about his corruption, specifically who benefits from his rule, he may be voted out of office, or be impeached, someone better can be elected to replace him. This is the game the ruling class uses to keep us busy, impeaching, voting, petitioning, attacking. This makes absolutely no difference in who controls wealth... and who suffers the consequences of our lives. It is a matter of principle that we must get control of our government and our economic interests... The kidnapping of the Hearst family forced the access to the media for the many communists which reveal just how wealthy the hearst family really is... We strongly suggest that this type of direct action be labelled "terrorism", or "war on the people of the left"... This type of condemnation gives the pigs further justification to murder people as they did in Los Angeles.

In striking contrast to the cowardly silence of so-called black leaders, and dishonest slanderers of the SLA, the liberal "National Observer" 29, 1974, printed an article on "Women and Violence: the SLA" by Gilroy Gets, professor of Social Psychology at Irvine University, in which the concluding paragraph truly evaluates the motivated soul of the newly arisen Symbionese Liberation Movement: "Resistance", published in Santa Cruz, California had a ringing front page editorial in its issue of May 28, 1974, stating, "But none of our supporters of the SLA", and of a forum held on August 4, 1974 in support of the SLA.

Voices of support and understanding: "Resistance", published in Santa Cruz, California had a ringing front page editorial in its issue of May 28, 1974, stating, "But none of our supporters of the SLA", and of a forum held on August 4, 1974 in support of the SLA.

In striking contrast to the cowardly silence of so-called black leaders, and dishonest slanderers of the SLA, the liberal "National Observer" 29, 1974, printed an article on "Women and Violence: the SLA" by Gilroy Gets, professor of Social Psychology at Irvine University, in which the concluding paragraph truly evaluates the motivated soul of the newly arisen Symbionese Liberation Movement: "Resistance", published in Santa Cruz, California had a ringing front page editorial in its issue of May 28, 1974, stating, "But none of our supporters of the SLA", and of a forum held on August 4, 1974 in support of the SLA.
The judge, like all the bench, made no secret of his views on the subject — views taken from the almost de- funct Christian Church and stated by a vociferous but tiny minority to be those of "the silent majority", severely enforcing what was then law by judges who privately do not believe in the Christian dogmas at all.

Stating that the films were "manifestly obscene" Mr Justice Wren handed out suspended sentences and fines to five defendants who had admitted performing in the films and in legal aid pleaded guilty. But the producer said he was not guilty, that no normal person would regard such films as likely to deprave or corrupt them and after sticking his neck out financially he was told to total £20,000) through two trials has now been found unanimously not guilty by the jury.

The code of judges is simply "no. We say them and pronounce on them as obscene and emerge pure and unscathed. But they are liable to corrupt "yes" and the self-appointed censors vary their line: such things might corrupt youth... but what do young people say... Well it's all right for a bit of a kick in the pants but some old person saw them — that would be a bit much wouldn't it?"

This jury decision follows a long line of similar deci- sions. If cases come before magistrates alleging obscenity, then the case is proved. If a judge could act on his own, again the case is proved and is "manifestly" dreadful. But judges won't convict because they know that such things, books or films, don't corrupt them any more than they corrupt the "masses" who pronounce from the cowards'stall of the Bench that other people's minds are dirty and their minds are pure.

It may be that they don't and do a lot for aesthetics they shouldn't affect the morals. And they do it all for freedom of printing. It there any reason — even if one has come to believe in this, the law is not a thing, books or films, don't corrupt them any more than the law does. They do not affect them morally. But they do affect them morally. And not those whose cultural standards are lower.

Solzhennitsy, a Russian Conversations on the future of Russia, written by himself and friends still in the USSR, "From Beneath the Boulders". It may be a surprise to some that the Russian dic- tatorship tolerated enough to let Solzhenitsy; and has relaxed pressure enough to let some writers express "opposi- tion" — though subject to harassment, yet the amazing thing is that they can do it at all.

The surprise will be lessened when one hears what Solzhen- itsky and his friends have to say in the book, if his interview is any criterion. "The age of physical revolution is over; they solved nothing," announced the exiled author in one of those grand generalisations that roll easily off the tongue and prove nothing. "We must now initiate a debate on the future of Russia... we want a dialogue with men of good will... we shall retreat for the rejection of primitive political solutions," he told reporters, avoiding the usual hating and a demand for more Christian Russian broadcasting had overwhelming support. Yet no serious candidate dare put these views to the electorate which knows that the candidates are fearful of losing supporters — even among the twos and threes that huddle in the empty churches — echo any and every Christian preference to private denominations. Con- cerned about ethics, are you Marchioness? Look into that one.

THE GOVERNERS TO THE CHILDREN OF THE EARL OF LUCAN WAS FOUND BRUTALLY AND VIOLENTLY MURDERED. AFTER THE EARL TURNED UP AT THEIR SCHOOL. HE THEN PROCEEDED TO SEVERELY BATTER HIS WIFE, BUT SHE MANAGED TO ESCAPE WITH HER LIFE.

But they did not stage immediate raids on the Earl's friends. Those who live in Belgravia are not to be treated like those who live in Bermondsey. Besides, the Earl (though his father became Chief Whip in the Lords, an unusual depu- tation in the family) is a Conservative, who was on the verge of a political career. No connection between his Conservative views and the alleged murders could be made by the police even when warrants for his arrest were finally made out.

Lord Lucan was an upper-class drop-out — he spent his time gambling in fashionable clubs this milieu is described superechinically by the Observer as a "Bertie Wooster world" but others would describe it as one of wastrels and scoundrels. Instead he the circles he mixed in would have been treated by the press had they been hippos drop-outs! Mansion would have been small fry!

But had it been a worker of the libertarian left (which is so unlikely) what a song and dance they would have made of Anarchist's Brutal Murder — Yard Swoops on Home's! But there are never any anarchists murder delinquents among the political police's allegations of a morning that are withdrawn in the afternoon. And Tony's Brutal Murder of Nanny is a headline we have yet to see.

Bishop James McGuinness of Nottingham is more of a humbug than benefits his profession. Depiling the Bir- mingham bomb attacks of the IRA he said (Nov. 22) that "these horrid acts that are made by Ir- ish paras not anarchists at all. His concernis to get out of the political police's allegations of a morning that are with- drawn in the afternoon. And Tony's Brutal Murder of Nanny is a headline we have yet to see.

The choice is not between order and liberty. It is between liberty with order and anarchy without either. Robert H. Jackson — (Daily Express 23.11.74.) — Talking Point, after the editorial).

Who the devil Robert H. Jackson is we cannot elucidate. But what an idiotic point to make! "Liberty" with order must be circumscribed.

It will be relative liberty, liberty without government — government without freedom, that is to say without limits — could not exist.

The choice is not between order and liberty. It is between liberty with order and anarchy without either.

The choice is not between order and liberty. It is between liberty with order and anarchy without either. Robert H. Jackson — (Daily Express 23.11.74.) — Talking Point, after the editorial).

Who the devil Robert H. Jackson is we cannot elucidate. But what an idiotic point to make! "Liberty" with order must be circumscribed.

It will be relative liberty, liberty without government — government without freedom, that is to say without limits — could not exist.
WOUNDED KNEE

The longest war that the United States government has ever waged has been against the American Indians. The war has never ceased. In 1890, federal troops surrounded and killed 300 unarmed Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. In 1973 the government again mustered its forces against the Indian-American Movement, members of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organisation and its supporters were surrounded. Police set up road-blocks, cordoned off the area and began arresting the longest war. The Oglala People prepared to defend themselves against government aggression – once again.

Under heavy fire from government troops and local vigilantes, the Oglala people liberated the village for 71 days – from February 27 to May 8 – establishing the Independent Oglala Nation. Two Indian men, Buddy Lamont and Frank Clearwater, were killed in the fight for their treaty rights.

Like its history of broken treaties, the government failed to honour the agreements ending the liberation of Wounded Knee signed on April 5 and May 5. The liberators asked for, and the Wounded Knee trials support, three basic demands:

1. A treaty commission (Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs) should examine the 371 treaties the United States government has made and broken – with Indian tribes. On Pine Ridge reservation, and a means of accounting for all resources earned.


3. Remove the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the U.S. Department of Interior – its oil mineral interests conflict with Indian interests – and make the BIA an independent agency. On Pine Ridge, there should be an independent investigation of the BIA's handling of Indian affairs, and an independent audit of the tribe's books and land rent records.

As a result of the liberation, approximately 130 people face heavy federal charges; and many more indictments "crimes" committed during the liberation. In Sioux Falls as a result of the liberation, approximately 130 people face heavy federal charges; and many more indictments "crimes" committed during the liberation.

The American Indian Movement has suffered for too long from mis-representation. When they portrayed American Indians as "mad-bombers" by the deliberate lies of the bourgeois press, it has been left to "respectable" academics to maintain the movement's tradition. All we ask is that our own self-determination with a whole new avant garde so sought after in the drab university talking shop.

With the exception of "Floodgates of Anarchy", no book on revolutionary anarchists themselves believe has been available in recent times. Now, with the publication of "MAN!", Under Marcus Graham's skillful and courageous editorship it became a milestone in the development of anarchist ideas and a model for political journalism throughout the world.

The selection of articles represented here in book form serve a double purpose. They offer a fascinating insight into the philosophy and practice of anarchism for those seeking answers unobtainable outside the pages of the anarchist journal, and also act as an important contribution to the discussions taking place today within the anarchist movement itself. For this reason, "MAN!" is a welcome addition to any anarchist contribution towards making this balance has been added.

The journal "MAN!" appeared in America for seven and a half years, between January 1933 and April 1940. Under Marcus Graham's skillful and courageous editorship it became a milestone in the development of anarchist ideas and a model for political journalism throughout the world.

The expression and style of presentation may differ from that of today, but in its essential aspects – the struggle to remove social, political and economic injustice and introduce a free society based on self-management, mutual-aid and co-operation – the determination of modern anarchists remains unchanged. A struggle that cannot be defeated, and one in a long tradition.

If your library has not yet ordered a copy of "MAN!" now is the time to remedy matters. To Cienfuegos Press the heartiest congratulations in making this book possible; to its readers the words of Michael Schirru:

"History teaches us that outraged liberty has found order in the oddest of places. While tyranny has turned its sights to look for inspiration! Indeed the latter essay also contains what could be a timely rebuke for those historians of the Woodcock stable who write-off the anarchism, of what its participants are supposed to think."

"The basic idea of Anarchy – freedom – is as inherent within the mind of every human being as the faculty to breathe even when society prevents the exercising of this named faculty. So the fascination of activity of an individual Anarchist or many – even whole Anarchist groups – when they cease to function does not, nor can it imply that the idea of Anarchism has died."

No less significant are the biographical sketches and accounts of the persecutions endured by anarchists under governments "democratic" governments and fascist and communist dictatorships. Basque and Catalans which is the root of all evil to the unitary Spanish state.

The selection of articles represented here in book form serve a double purpose. They offer a fascinating insight into the philosophy and practice of anarchism for those seeking answers unobtainable outside the pages of the anarchist journal, and also act as an important contribution to the discussions taking place today within the anarchist movement itself. For this reason, "MAN!" is a welcome addition to any anarchist contribution towards making this balance has been added.

The expression and style of presentation may differ from that of today, but in its essential aspects – the struggle to remove social, political and economic injustice and introduce a free society based on self-management, mutual-aid and co-operation – the determination of modern anarchists remains unchanged. A struggle that cannot be defeated, and one in a long tradition.

If your library has not yet ordered a copy of "MAN!" now is the time to remedy matters. To Cienfuegos Press the heartiest congratulations in making this book possible; to its readers the words of Michael Schirru:

"History teaches us that outraged liberty has found order in the oddest of places. While tyranny has turned its sights to look for inspiration! Indeed the latter essay also contains what could be a timely rebuke for those historians of the Woodcock stable who write-off the anarchism, of what its participants are supposed to think."

The longest war that the United States government has ever waged has been against the American Indians. The war has never ceased. In 1890, federal troops surrounded and killed 300 unarmed Indians at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. In 1973 the government again mustered its forces against the Indian-American Movement, members of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organisation and its supporters were surrounded. Police set up road-blocks, cordoned off the area and began arresting the longest war. The Oglala People prepared to defend themselves against government aggression – once again.

Under heavy fire from government troops and local vigilantes, the Oglala people liberated the village for 71 days – from February 27 to May 8 – establishing the Independent Oglala Nation. Two Indian men, Buddy Lamont and Frank Clearwater, were killed in the fight for their treaty rights.

Like its history of broken treaties, the government failed to honour the agreements ending the liberation of Wounded Knee signed on April 5 and May 5. The liberators asked for, and the Wounded Knee trials support, three basic demands:

1. A treaty commission (Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs) should examine the 371 treaties the United States government has made and broken – with Indian tribes. On Pine Ridge reservation, and a means of accounting for all resources earned.


3. Remove the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the U.S. Department of Interior – its oil mineral interests conflict with Indian interests – and make the BIA an independent agency. On Pine Ridge, there should be an independent investigation of the BIA's handling of Indian affairs, and an independent audit of the tribe's books and land rent records.

As a result of the liberation, approximately 130 people face heavy federal charges; and many more indictments are expected. Another 150 people face state and tribal charges for their stand at Wounded Knee and other Indian civil rights protests. The trials are in process. In St. Paul, Minnesota Russell Means and Dennis Banks went to trial January 8 for conspiring with fire other members of the American Indian Movement to "take over" Wounded Knee and adding and abetting in all the alleged "crimes" committed during the liberation. In Sioux Falls South Dakota 123 other people – the people who led the "leaders" – were tried on February 11.
This is a beautiful edition of Kropotkin's great work, clean as a new pin production-wise (is great commercial publisher coming up to the standard recently set by many new works on anarchism by penniless collective writers in the past few months?). Colin Ward has revised it, but not drastically; what he has done is prune the text of the original statistics, given in the original magazine form in 1888-90 and retained not only in the book (1899) but in subsequent editions. He has provided up to date statistics which make Kropotkin's work interesting. It was this work (together with Mutual Aid) which gave Peter Kropotkin his reputation as a social scientist. It appealed profoundly to the spirit of the time, both to the working class movement, and to the liberal-minded bourgeoisie, who -— and now coming over to this country filling us here, said "This weekend we shall be out among the shoppers during the weekend, the troops were still in Northern Ireland on Sunday.

The mildness of Kropotkin's social writing has decreasing appeal to a bourgeoisie and may still do; his ideas have significance only to those who are for revolutionary socialism, the clarity of his vision is in stark contrast to the economic rubbish of today, the neo-Keynian theories of inflation myths and the national 'economic survival' saga — all of which are total rubbish; it deliberately contradicts the conventional wisdom of economics as enunciated both in his day and ours, writes Ward.

The usual reproach to Kropotkin is over-optimism. But scientifically he is usually proved correct (this idea of Britain feeding itself, derided for years, was not optimistic in thinking that his vision would happen). His vision of the future would happen, was not optimistic in thinking that his idea of Britain feeding itself, derided for years, was not optimistic in thinking that it 'deliberately contravened the spirit of the time, to theLeft, seeking to concentrate their attacks on manpower instead of 'discussing the ideas which should transcend the personalities' but in each case goes on to do the same himself, not always accurately. It is a pity, too, that after so many reprints, Berkman's work could not be given in full instead of cut in half. But these are minor points. The pamphlets are a joy to handle and deserve to be widely read.

CIENTUFUGOS PRESS Planned for 1975 (At long last) The Anarchists in London 1935/55; A collection of Flora Tristan's Illustrations of the romantic part of anarchism in the class struggle; (The delayed) Anarchist Activism in Russia 1945/1973 and Simian reprints include Tolstoy's Power and Liberty; Miguel Garcia's Looking Back After Twenty Years; and many others.

SIMIAN PUBLICATIONS (new issue)
J. Peirats WHAT IS THE CNT? 10p
M. Bakunin STATE SOCIALISM 10p
A. Melzer ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA 10p

SUPPORT THE BLACK CROSS!
HAVE YOU ORDERED YOUR FULL COLOUR COSTANTI ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS LAMINATED POSTER FOR SMASH ORDER NOW WHILE STOCKS LAST ALL PROFITS WILL BE DEDICATED TO THE DEFICIT ON OUR LONDON CENTRE, AND TO OUR PRISONERS RESISTANCE FUND.

ABC POSTER NO. 1 is now ready £1 ($2.40) post free (in tube)

ABC POSTER NO. 2 is now ready £1 ($2.40) post free (in tube)

ABC POSTER NO. 3 is now ready £1 ($2.40) post free (in tube)

ANCHEVED POSTER FOR XMAS'79

ABC POSTER NO. 4 is now ready £1 ($2.40) post free (in tube)

SUPPORT THE BLACK CROSS!

1. The Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, an anti-imperialist party founded in America in the 1850s, became known as the Know-Nothing Party because its members said "I know nothing in our aims contrary to the American constitution" when charged with illiberality and lack of democracy; grew rapidly by feeding on anti-Irish and anti-German feeling in the North. And after large electoral successes in 1854, became the "American Party", but collapsed because of its pro-slavery attitude which was become an issue.

2. The activists of the West London NUWM through most of the thirties were anarchists and Hannington was a hard-line Socialist.

3. The Social-Democrats were orthodox Marxists and believed in theory at least, in the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Social-Revolutionaries were not anarchistic at all (they were civilized by many Marxists) but they believed in the government of the people as the road to Russian social revolution. Later, the SDs divided into Bohrveks (minority-ites; the followers of Lenin) and Mensheviks (minority-ites; who followed German Social-Democracy). The Social Revolutionaries divided at the time of the revolution into those who at first supported Lenin, but later went into opposition (the Left SRs); and those who opposed the revolution as precipitate (the Right SRs).

4. Thomas Masaryk said it in one of his Prague lectures. The naive assumption that the nation had limited political freedom nobody would want to fight for social freedom or to overthrow capitalism was typical of Masaryk and the naive approach to totalitarianism that characterised him as President vis-a-vis German Nazi encroachment; and his son Jan Masarik as President vis-a-vis Communist encroachment.

5. The Queen, an Anglican and Head of the Church of England, is obliged by law to become a Presbyterian when visiting to Scotland, where she is Head of the Scottish Church and the Anglican Church is a dis-established heresy.

Letter

Thursday out of UK

Dear Comrades,

On Thursday October 24th I received three communications telling me I ought to take part in some demonstration to get the troops out of Northern Ireland on Saturday.

I am in favour of getting them out not only of Northern Ireland but of all the rest of the British Empire, because I feel that the present situation is a failure on the part of the British government, and that the troops should be taken from the middle of it — we have no friends on the Left, and now coming over to this country filling us here, said "This weekend we shall be out among the shoppers during the weekend, the troops were still in Northern Ireland on Sunday."

Mr. Daniels opposes the sort of confrontation in Ulster that he wants here. He's several sorts of idiot, but what I want to know is, seeing the other leaflets, how do I recognise Brand X?

I can see how useful it would be for those of Mr. Daniels' way of thinking to have the troops back home if this is to be the winter of confrontation. Could this be the idea of the Labour MPs too or are they purely concerned with humanitarian motives?

I don't believe myself in having the same objective as the others. When you talk about Ireland in workers' terms it ups a lot of people I know. But you're on the right track.

O. MAC.

London E9.

ANSWER TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. The Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, an anti-imperialist party founded in America in the 1850s, became known as the Know-Nothing Party because its members said "I know nothing in our aims contrary to the American constitution" when charged with illiberality and lack of democracy; grew rapidly by feeding on anti-Irish and anti-German feeling in the North. And after large electoral successes in 1854, became the "American Party", but collapsed because of its pro-slavery attitude which was become an issue.

2. The activists of the West London NUWM through most of the thirties were anarchists and Hannington was a hard-line Socialist.

3. The Social-Democrats were orthodox Marxists and believed in theory at least, in the dictatorship of the proletariat; the Social-Revolutionaries were not anarchistic at all (they were civilized by many Marxists) but they believed in the government of the people as the road to Russian social revolution. Later, the SDs divided into Bohrveks (minority-ites; the followers of Lenin) and Mensheviks (minority-ites; who followed German Social-Democracy). The Social Revolutionaries divided at the time of the revolution into those who at first supported Lenin, but later went into opposition (the Left SRs); and those who opposed the revolution as precipitate (the Right SRs).

4. Thomas Masaryk said it in one of his Prague lectures. The naive assumption that the nation had limited political freedom nobody would want to fight for social freedom or to overthrow capitalism was typical of Masaryk and the naive approach to totalitarianism that characterised him as President vis-a-vis German Nazi encroachment; and his son Jan Masarik as President vis-a-vis Communist encroachment.

5. The Queen, an Anglican and Head of the Church of England, is obliged by law to become a Presbyterian when visiting to Scotland, where she is Head of the Scottish Church and the Anglican Church is a dis-established heresy.