The last century was one of enormous hopes that remained unfulfilled. This century has been one of the bitterest disappointment. A lost century. It should have been a vital one for the human race but the opportunities have each and every one been missed, and everyone knows this to be the case. We enter the last quarter of the century not with the breathtaking expectations of what the next epoch will bring, but with the dire heavy knowledge of what we may expect if — as seems more likely — the opportunities are missed again.

Capitalism performed a vital task in bringing mankind out of the sloth of feudalism and serfdom in which the world can slumber for centuries at a time. A situation where there is room for the top for only a few and that room reserved by right of birth and sanctified as a divine law, while those at the bottom were in a desperate struggle to offer themselves as citizens, persist through one civilisation to another. But the rise of capitalism smashed that system and the leaps forward were enormous in terms of technological advancement. It introduced another new degree of exploitation, however, and that was the degree of exploitation in the name of profit that would ultimately degrade people and their whole environment. But capitalism seemed a temporary matter and its replacement by socialism, to some, seemed inevitable.

What has happened during the first three quarters of this decade? Where capitalism has persisted, it has sometimes been ameliorated by liberalism, which had meant there increasing "stairways" through education to the top — though the same limited number of places at the top. Sometimes where saved by fascism, it has meant a savage attack on those at the bottom, forbidden by law and the bullet to improve their condition. Where socialism has triumphed in name, it has created a new elite capable of ruling in an identical manner to the old.

But in all cases power at the top has gone out of proportion to the masses. The State which is the cult of power is also the cult of death and with the general powers to blow to smithereens the world is left moment to suit their wills.

What is patriotism? As far as we're concerned, it means — you are prepared to fight if necessary to prevent people taking control of this country by force but with the power to improve their condition, that it will resist by force any attempt to build a free society — since that would be unconstitutional — either by force or any other means — such as a general strike — not given legal backing by the government.

As we have pointed out the significance of the private armies run by retired colonels is that these people can say openly what normally the serving officers never dare hint at. They may well be stupid Blimps; but the significance of their stupidity is that they can back their bigotry by force of arms. In this advertisement — as in the two preceding the anarchistic fact — the Army public relations officers come out right in public with what the enemies of the people are saying in the officers' mess.

**Support imprisoned anti-fascists**

Supporters of the last century Anti-Fascist Front call for the release of those imprisoned for anti-fascist activity. The Front is a loose coalition of left-wing organisations and individuals who have been arrested for their anti-fascist activities.

**The last century and...**

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**Note to Visitors**

The Centre is open (with booklet) Saturday and Sunday evenings only (after 6pm). Sorry, we have no paid officials to welcome you at other times — best not to call during the week as there's usually no one there... we will try to meet you if you show in advance.

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During the last two years, American industrialists and financiers have been making long-term investments in the USSR. In many cases they have taken the precaution of having these deals fully guaranteed by the US Treasury and in all cases they have ensured the interest of the US Government in the sovereignty of the USSR, which alone can bring the investments to fruition.

It is recognised by economists that what is called "East-West trade" has a major part to play in "economic stabilisation": to translate from one jargon into another, it means that the Russian and Western worlds have successfully married to the capitalist system. While there is, nevertheless, still a distinction between them, it is confined within national frontiers.

At one time the USA and many Western powers had an interest in the overthrow of the USSR. This is no longer so, and the contrasting interests of Russia would be greatly to the disadvantage of foreign capitalists who have banded heavily on the continuation of Soviet Russia as a "stable" state. Least of all has the "West" any interest in a return to the d闫stiny long ago. Only the "socialist" regime, heirs of the Russian revolution, can end their dependence on Russian markets and on the Russian economy.

"West-trade" has a major part to play in "economic stabilisation" of the Russian economy. Capitalism is not the only system of exploitation, and state capitalism can ask for nothing better than an apparently "liberal" system of repression. As a result, revolution in Russia is pushed further back; and the 'socialist' regime, heirs of the Russian revolution, can create a docile labour force and labour policy which he does not justify. It is Melzter's "puritanism" that makes him object to someone making an accusation like this that is untrueness. It is Woodcock's reverence for life and mankind that makes such allegations of minor consequence compared to the details he so lovingly gives of his own career!

As a result, revolution in Russia is pushed further back; and the dictatorship has one commendable point of view - it is not subjected to strikes and other forms of working-class protest. It is for this reason that "Maoist" and "Trotskyist" organisations are still regarded by some as coming from the same political source. One of the greatest pieces of humbug of the Right-Wing is that communism that has bitterly fought dictatorship and monarchy, and that communism professes, at least, an element of social redistribution. But if they are presented with a communism that has bitterly fought dictatorship and monarchist, and that communism professes, at least, an element of social redistribution, then that type of communism - libertarian communism, free socialism, in other words anarchism - is . . . far worse! It becomes a symbol for them not of political opposition but of crime!

One of the greatest pieces of humbug of the Right-Wing is that, to considerable extent, it is the Republicans who are the most strenuous and determined enemies of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union. The fact is, however, that the Republicans have been the most ardent and determined supporters of the Soviet Union.

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**Germany**

**HOLGER MEINS**

It has now been widely reported that Holger Meins died in prison after two months hunger strike. He was held on charges relating to Red Army Faction activities.

In West Germany there are 280 prisons with 64,000 prisoners. The Government is prepared to admit only one political prisoner - Rudolf Hess! Since 20th September 1974 fifty political prisoners have been on hunger strike. The authorities at first denied, but later confirmed (blaming corrupt officials) the reports of prison conditions in Frankfurt. Publications on the treatment of political prisoners revealed further evidence.

The German Black Cross has led aid for prisoners demanding free self-organisation for political prisoners; payment for work; social insurance and health service; free choice of doctors; no restriction on visitors nor supervision of visits; the opportunity for normal sex-relationships; unsupervised meetings with authorities at first denied, but later confirmed (blaming political prisoners). As a result other inmates have joined in the hunger strike. The Government is prepared to admit only one political prisoner relating to Red Army Fraction activities.

A roar went up from Meins comrades present: "We'll never forgive those enemies!"

**PRESS CAMPAIGN**

The reactionary press - especially the 'Bild Zeitung' and the notorious Springer chain conducted wild campaigns against Meins trying to confuse the public by deliberate lies against the Baader-Meinhof "gang" and the Antifascists, suggesting they were identical; confusing them in the public mind with Nationalists elsewhere; and concluding that "Meins' death was his own fault. They should all be destroyed!"

But liberal quarters came out in protest against "insider in suits" and police and prison torture. Commitments of defence were organised by Churches, Universities and the liberal press.

The shooting of Judge Gunter von Drenckmann was reported by a hostile press as a revenge killing for Meins. Emphasis was laid on the rioting in West Berlin where police had been met with a hail of stones and demonstrators smashed store windows. As a result of this campaign - the shooting of von Drenckmann had nothing to do with the killing of Holger Meins - liberal opinion faded out. The public turned to a lynching mood under pressure from the media. Leaflets were beaten up by the police with the approval of bystanders.

**PANIC STATIONS**

All eleven State Interior Ministers were called to an emergency meeting. A result of 50,000 placards was placed on the head of the gunman who killed von Drenckmann. Security measures were announced opposing panic legislation. Chancellor Schmidt said "terror and violence" would be fought. "Bild Zeitung" announced in headlines that eight "Anarchists" had been arrested. There were house searches, raids on a printing shop didl on youth centres. "Red" lawyers were to be barred from conducting defences. Prisoners unable to stand trial on account of "self-inflicted" injuries were to be sentenced in their absence (something dropped up from the Nazi past with a vengeance). Lawyers' interviews with political prisoners were to be barred. This led to the situation though it was not admitted there were political prisoners!

This triggered off a number of attempts (including one at Frankfurt where five who were fired at a Treasury official, but most went unpunished).

**LEFT WING ATTITUDES**

The Communist Party ignored the hunger strikes and the torture of prisoners. Instead it issued a statement that "Left sectarians and Anarchists are agents of the ruling class pursuing repressive actions of the working class". Various Maosist and Trotskyist organisations have offered "critical solidarity" but chiefly since lawyer Horst Mahr has joined the Red Aid movement.

In the Anarchist movement there are a few groups in full agreement with action; others with varying viewpoints but expressing solidarity with the prisoners. There is a committee against "isolation" - that is to say torture by sensory deprivation or solitary confinement. The position of Armin Meins now on the brink of legal fascism.

**Spain**

**Letter from Madrid**

It seems that reports of the bombing of the restaurant largely frequented by police chiefs was, after all, carried out by ETA. But the surprise was that they seem to have had the backing of certain Communists. It has occasioned some surprise in Madrid for it is well known that the Communist Party does not approve of any form of individual action on the part of the SLA. This movement is, in fact, not an isolated act and the police have launched a protest against the conditions under which they are living. The jail is notoriously harsh (Saragos was one of the strongholds of the workers' Confederation before Franco, and its jail was at one time bursting with the huge numbers of CNT workers sentenced to death or long terms of imprisonment.

The protest has taken the form of a hunger strike in which many are taking part. Two comrades, a young anarchist named Etorki, and a young labor lawyer, have already been taken to hospital suffering from the effects of the hunger strike.

One of the most dramatic conflicts in Spanish jails at the present time is in the jail of Saragos, where a wing has been specially adapted for political prisoners. The Democratic Left, moving against the currents which faced it with the old dilemmas - whether to segregate political prisoners, and thus present one set of problems by having a body of people united by political conviction, or to mix them with other prisoners and thus having them influence each other. It has a large batch of political prisoners in the lice-ridden jail of Saragos (one I know well having spent time in it being transferred from one jail to another) and they have launched a protest against the conditions under which they are living. The prisoners have been taken to Saragos to take part in the one-night hunger strike. Theシャル報告書 provided by the SLA and the Editors. (We have received many comments and criticisms of the SLA article some of which, we shall in the next issue of the Flag, publish together with our own comments).
THE SPANISH LABOUR MOVEMENT (2)

FRANK MINTZ

(Translated by W. Lea and D. Humphreys).

(continued from last month).

Despite appearances in many cases the working class movement, nearly wholly CNT, resisted grimly, and even won the day in Catalonia, in the Asturias, in Madrid. On July 21st two Spanics were derricked on the map, one of the left, and the other of the right, but an outcome least well for the left and especially for the CNT, was that Galicia and parts of Aragon and of Andalusia were lost. Moreover, despite appearances in many cases the working class movement, nearly wholly CNT, resisted grimly, and even won the day in Catalonia, among the workers of the UGT and CNT these problems were felt less. It was necessary to keep the machinery working to provide arms at a week earlier than the workers had been carrying on their normal life and had been spending a normal July Sunday. A great passivity among the workers. For us it is undeniably the structure of the CNT, the internationalist outlook which gave it its characteristic features and at all events, without pretending to offer solutions for everything; they convinced the militants of the possibilities which were adequate, and at all events without pretending to offer solutions for everything; they convinced the militants of the possibilities which were adequate, and at all events, without pretending to offer solutions for every of the CNT, the internationalist outlook which gave it its character.

As an example in agriculture let us take the Villas Viejas project in the Cuenca province. A landowner held a stretch of uncultivated land. Half a dozen families living in hovels on it starved from dawn to dusk to try to pay him rent. "After a year of collectivisation all the land was under cultivation and there were twice the number of sheep and goats, a new area of wheat raising land and a sty of pigs had been created, there were 58 families, a school and a library. It is pointless to comment on the improvement, and this example is not alone. However, workers were scarcely encouraged by the prevailing climate of opinion to collectivise and educate themselves. CNT-FAI leaders had not promoted self-education even at the request of the British comand, and those relying on British capital were neither managed by themselves or from Barcelona. That is to say that some anarchists seemed scared by the workers' determination and audacity.

The republicans did not use the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain to buy either arms or machinery to make them with in support of the war effort. They even withheld weapons from the front to make sure of a supply of arms. "The British were not supplied with weapons on a massive scale" (Mundo Obrero, 25 August 1936). "In this time of grave danger weapons must only be used to fight against the enemy. All hands arms to the front!"

In Catalonia the separatists proclaimed a 40 hour week and a 15% wage increase to win over the mass from the chiches of the CNT. To which the CNT replied by pointing out the necessity to increase output to win the war, to abolish the 'English week', to step up production and hours of work in the worker-held factories. But despite the CNT's public announcement of defaulting - "If we had to say clearly all that we could have done and which has not been done in the last two tragic months, the possibilities that there have been for developing attack and defence, while in Madrid, in the Bank of Spain millions in gold lie rotting... and if we could overcome fascism effectively and definitely in a week or so, but are not able to do because of the incapacity and lack of understanding of others, it would be saying too much and prefer to say nothing."

Well, the precious gold was handed over to Russia on 25th October 1936 in return for minimal aid (arms used in 1905 and modern weapons under strict Russian control). Before we take up the description of the development and problems of self-management again we must look first at the growth of the Communist Party, which until now has been in the background. "The workers can have nothing to do with this party like this one. The Communist Party is only a way out the Communist Party; a worker and peasant government. The conquest of power by the urban and rural workers. For the first time in the history of Spanish revolution the flag of the soviet has been hoisted" (Pravda 3/11/34, statement of the Spanish Communist Party).

But there was no doubting the fact that the state of the party was as follows — July 30th, 1936; "What is actually happening in our country is the bourgeois democratic revolution, which took place in other countries like France over a century ago... We communists stand for a regime of liberty and democracy" (Mundo Oehra). "No-one apart from the Communist Party, in the confusion at the beginning of the civil war dared to make a stand or bold of the small landowners and peasants" (Mundo Obrero). Throughout the 25 years of war all the war industry was situated in factories collected by the CNT and UGT. In many cases they found original methods of manufacturing arms and explosives. The only financial aid the republic had between July 1936 and July 1937 was due to the export drive from the holdings collectivised by the CNT-UGT. For the first time in the history of Spain the only suppliers of goods were sold in foreign markets wholesale and on the most favourable terms, whereas before and since the different Spanish firms had settled prices between themselves. The minister of Agriculture, the communist Ulbricht, paid this to. In 1937-8 export came under party-direction and was sabotaged because the USSR wanted to slow down the war. How many collections workers were there in Spain? Our figures are conservative ones; those of G. Leval are highest. We estimate 1865 collectives, industrial, agricultural and those of exchange or services, which involved between 30,000 and 1,600,000 workers of a working population of 5-6 million (the division of Spain and the movement makes accuracy difficult).

Who were the collectivists? Remember that there were collectivists from every organisation, even communists in Catalonia (Artiedo and Cofles) and those of POUM (especially those in Castellon and Leida). At this time the POUM, a coalition of two marxist groups at the 1936 election, had very few members. The POUM were extremely active in agriculture, collectivising a large number of small and medium-sized landlords, although it had been active since 1930. The party had no trick with Trotsky, who criticised it. In commumist propaganda past and present (for example Trotsky's book 'The Great Revolution' Moscow 1972) the POUM are presented as fascists. Like the communists they were half hearted when faced with collectivisation.

In many cases, in Estramadura and Tarragona, collectivisation was non-political, proving that it was the direction the Spanish workers wanted the war to take.

How were the collectives organised? First of all let us look at the collectives of central Spain. Measures were taken to increase production (be it by use of machines and fertilisers to adding to the previous year's crops or the introduction of new crops). Meanwhile the workers saw that the lack of that certain raw materials, such as cotton, limited the output of the textile industry. And during 1938 the bombings meant that the industrial electricity supply was unreliable.

At the same time working conditions were improved (through collective groups in agriculture and through the initiative of the workers themselves). Great progress was made in sanitation, and in Aragon medicine was free and the doctor lived in the collective. The older workers received a pension (which at present in France and Spain is far from being administered humanely).

One important factor was the new feeling of freedom. As Kropotkin explained in his writings on libertarian communism, collectivisation for ALL, including even former enemies. This point was noted. In the villages the widows, the families of the Civil Guards and of those killed at the time of the rising were all able to get supplies normally in the collective store and to make use of the facilities (as in Eupolis and Tulpo). The marxists work very differently and even today's families of political prisoners are regarded as inferior citizens,
When I was a kid, I would creep surreptitiously past the careless statures into the miners' conferences which were traditionally held in Cardiff's not-so-secret temple hall. There I would listen to the bright little alarm men as they elevated some local issue on the coalfield to the status of a glorious philosophical dialogue — and all of them were anarchists. The young anarchists of today term curiously oblivions of the anarcho-syndicalist tradition which exist within their own land and in France, when an old anarcho-syndicalist figure to fill the gap created by the symbolic destruction of their own organizations. The essential sense of locality, the comparatively small pit with all who worked (when work was available), the isolation of the valley village or township — all these were similar to the environment conditions which created the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Spain.

The history of the South Wales miners' movement, some leaders were overly anarcho-syndicalist and had international links with anarcho-syndicalists in other lands, and their attitude was implicit in the movement as a whole. Leo Abse M.P. in his new book *Private Member: Macaulay 1800-1859*, 20° increase, category 4 4°9f, auxiliary technician category 3 7°8f, technical director, 100%. It is hard to say to what extent this wage structure was followed; be that as it may it differs greatly from those of capitalist and socialist countries (even taking account of the material advantages of the latter).

There was a hint of stratification in the keeping of the libertarian structure from top to bottom. The policy was "No factory, workshop, farm or mine should be closed or suspended unless there are definite guarantees of alternative jobs for the workers."

This explanation, clear as it may appear, is completely false unless seen in conjunction with three overriding facts, as well as the daily living conditions. For in January 1938 measures were taken to establish a wage differential based on a national norm: labourer category 1, 20° increase, category 2 4°9f, auxiliary technician category 3 7°8f, technical director, 100%. It is hard to say to what extent this wage structure was followed; be that as it may it differs greatly from those of capitalist and socialist countries (even taking account of the material advantages of the latter).

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The general strike throughout the Basque country was the most successful action against the regime known since the civil war. Work came to a complete halt in a struggle whose aims were known in advance, which was led by the capitalists but challenged the regime in its most vulnerable spot; he called all his opponents Communists not merely to discredit them, but in an endeavour to hide the existence of the anarcho-syndicalist movement. All of us, myself too when I came in April, were “Cominternists”. But we were State Communists nor followers of the Moscow or Peking lines, but libertarians.

In sympathy with the strike in the Basque country, students in Oviedo (in the Asturias) boycotted classes, and took advantage of the strike to invite four representatives of the retired miners to address them in the Faculty of Science. They spoke of silliness and related problems of the retired miners, pension provision and below subsistence level. The police broke into the university, beating up all they came across, and detaining two miners (the other two escaped) and several students. They also took identity cards of several students present. This is a serious matter in Spain; if identity cards are taken, the person must go to the station to reclaim the card. There he sometimes will be interrogated, perhaps beaten up; and if there is some such call to the police the “govermental” law may apply by which the Governor can detain the person concerned for a month. When they come out of jail — no trial being necessary for this month-long detention — the police may, if they think fit, be waiting at the gates with another order from the Governor... and another month’s detention without trial (which could in theory go on for ever).

These are a few bibliographical suggestions which may help to dispel the general lack of information:-

Student Movement

4. "Sobre el pronunciamiento sindicalista", by student magazines "solidary" (Simon 1972).

There are a surprising lack of information. Spanish Anarchism after 1939 and in particular on its presence in social and political events and movements. This lack of information is not surprising in view of the total silence about the radical opposition which Franco imposed for many years, and in particular towards Anarchism, even at the height of the persecution against it.

Until the very recent history Anarchism has been the object of Franco's hatred, and the Establishment used such expressions as "bandits", "bank-robbers" or "criminals" in extreme cases when the Resistance fighters were obviously well known by the people, of "maquilas" "terrorists" or even "international Communist conspirators"... of all things!

This is not surprising, since Anarchism has been the object of Franco's passionate hatred, and the Establishment have been in a position to have the Spanish workers have been numbered. Probably too many people think that serious animals never died — they hide and wait their time.

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Art & Science in a Libertarian Society

PEDRINI BELGRADO

This article was originally published in the Italian magazine "Umanità Nova" of 14th December 1974, in conjunction with an appeal for support to free Pedrini Belgrado. Send letters and parcels to PEDRINI BELGRADO, CASA PENALE, 43100 PARMA, ITALY. Letter of protest to the Italian Ambassador and Vice-Consul in England and to Mario Zagari, Ministro di Grazia e Giustizia, Rome. Il Presidente della Camera dei Deputati, Sandro Berlincioni, Montecitorio, Rome, Italy.

...aristocracy, but the gradual and systematic destruction of its political, moral and philosophical consciousness must follow. In other...haveto pick up the crumbs from society established. What is the valid criterion on which such disparity of salaries is based? You only...very clear and precise ideas on these problems, as well as an inflexible desire to reach our goal. However, we know that not all the evil...nobody is saying that artists and scientists are not necessary to all societies but why is it that the workers, who are just as necessary, have spent many years studying, have sacrificed themselves for the advantage of everybody else, etc. Because of this, artists must be treated differently, that, in other words, their tables must of necessity groan with the weight of food, because these specialists...mastery of technique that he had in his hands: the artist conceives and executes his own artistic ideas. It is not, however, a matter of a double labour, but of two activities, mental and manual, taken together as inherent in his art. Because of this, artists must be paid both in mental and physical.

In short, those who have to make what little they can, where and whenever they can, are the manual workers who produce all the necessary goods of life. Nobody is saying that artists and scientists are not necessary to all societies but why is it that the workers, who are just as necessary, have to pick up the crumbs from society's table. What is the valid criterion on which such a disparity of salaries is based? You only...ever get paid for work, for what they have done, for what they have to be treated differently, that, in other words, their tables must of necessity groan with the weight of food, because these specialised workers have spent many years studying, have sacrificed themselves for the advantage of everybody else, etc. Economic differentiation is one consequence of the system of salaries and private initiative which can also be found in the socialist countries, in which not only equality but also the equalisation of incomes are concepts which have been relegated to a future utopia. On the other hand, we are not advocating the equal pay of wages, which is an idea held by some Marxists who misunderstand socialist theory. In fact, equality of wages is an unwiseful economic concept because it would end up as a cause of unhappiness, perhaps of revolt. The reason for this is that whenever work is paid for with money there are always too many people who think more of themselves than of others, so that it is beyond the scope of economics to take care of the social problems that will arise from this desire for more that economic working for themselves. It is the same with the efforts of those who work with their minds, but since every worker produces much more than he is paid for, this reasoning in favour of "privileged workers" fails to find any support in the logic of just rewards. The new Scotland Yard IRA investigation squad will they say be searching "Irish communists" many of which are "already under patrol" and has been...is going to be a "split from something else". It would be the original thing; the vanguard; it would probably use the word "united". To be split from something else is the way its opponents would regard it. Anyone can phone up after the event and claim responsibility. I could phone the police and say the Salvation Army did it the pub bombings as a protest against the liquor. However it would be too facile to say the IRA were not responsible, much as a threat on the letterhead is an indication that all the traditions of the IRA, of which are "already under patrol" and has been...it for Christmas!...