



ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF UMBERTO I OF SAVOY by Flavio Costantini (from THE ART OF ANARCHY to be published by Cienfuegos Press, Spring 1975)  
(Naples, Sunday November 17th, 1878)

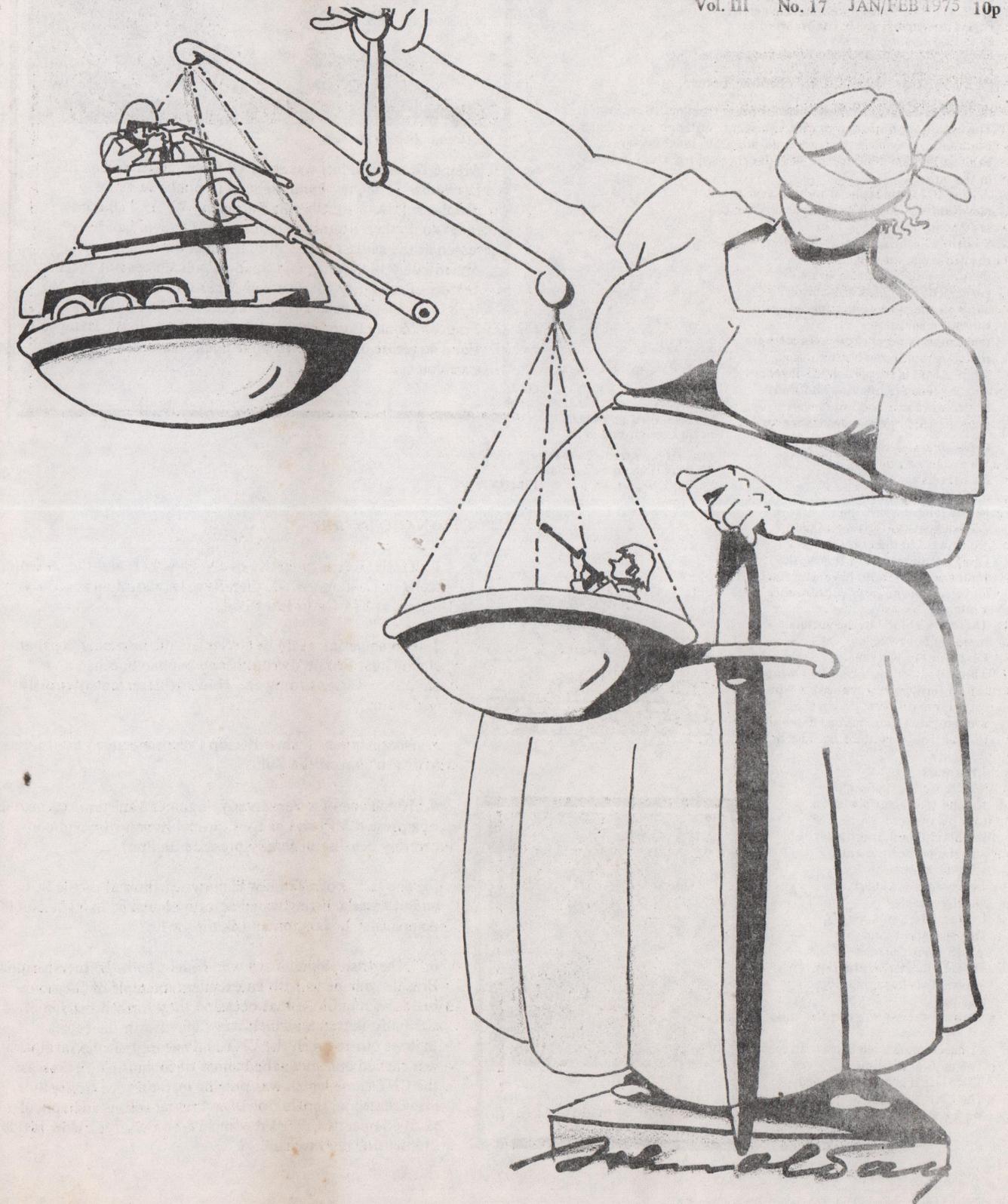
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# BLACK FLAG

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## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol. III No. 17 JAN/FEB 1975 10p



Subs £1.50 per 12 issues.

Canada, Australia, New Zealand (airmail) £3.12 per 12 issues (\$8.00)

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In 1974 everything from the balls of brass monkeys to wages froze. The blood of politicians, priests, presidents of finance companies, headmasters, scoutmasters, generals, admirals, judges, lawyers, bankers, writers of editorials, and all other scourges, did not run in the gutters.

And as 1975 grinds ahead? - well you never really know, which is as much as anyone can say history teaches.

So here's to the days of no disasters - the army did not mutiny the police did not resign en masse - parliament did not dissolve itself to allow its members to become honest shit-house cleaners - rapes murders, and royal divorces were not relegated to the bottom of page 13 in the mass circulation intelligences - and the federated Bailiffs and Debt Collectors Union did not declare a perpetual, eternal and everlasting strike.

Great times - yeah yeah.

We live in a world of dismal success quiet desperation heroic failure

All brickbats to the rebels failed All flowers to the bureaucrats Our kingdom is not of this world Hallowed be we who have seen the light and tread the paths of protest once a month.

There is no blood in the gutters - not even our own.

Oh heroes of our time!

This is a violently non-violent world full of gentlemanly gentlemen who do everything for prestige. (In these sophisticated times no one dares admit that he does something because he likes doing it).

Even wars

Which used to be fought to rape the enemy's women loot his treasure sell his children into slavery and similar positive ends are now activities

to preserve our liberty Our Democracy Our Standard of Living Our Peaceful World.

We all want violence We are ashamed of wanting it We want to tear things loose and yet

we want them to remain the same so

Come comrades celebrate with me The days of no disaster The State it is not overturned The City it has not been burned We have not shot our master.

Cuddon.



The Marini Case. Appeal will be made on 2 April.

Support imprisoned anti-fascists



Octavio Alberola Surinach.

Ariane Gransac-Sadori was released from prison on bail in December. The only comrade now in prison is, as we prophesied, Octavio Alberola Surinach. We urge all comrades to do their utmost to ensure that Octavio will be released at the earliest date and that the clumsy frame-up organised by the French and Spanish police does not succeed. Letters of solidarity to: Octavio Alberola Surinach, 637,262 - 1/281, 1, Avenue de la Division Leclerc, 94261 - Fresnes, France. Money is urgently required for the Paris 11 Defence Fund so please dig deep into your pockets and send us whatever you can.

Seen on a toilet wall in Crouch End . . . .

"To be is to do" - Sartre  
"To Do is to be" - Camus  
"Do, be, do, be, do" - Sinatra

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. TIME OUT is evocative of the New Left and the seventies scene in London. What, therefore, is interesting about its offices at 374 Grays Inn Road?
2. It is sometimes said by defenders of the monarchy that when Great Britain did not have a monarch, it had a dictator - Oliver Cromwell. How is this statement grossly misleading?
3. What happened when Bishop Colenso went to South Africa to convert the Zulus?
4. Which son of a Conservative Cabinet Minister (and brother of a present MP) was hanged, probably unjustly, and conceivably because of family pressure on him?
5. The father of a famous Hollywood filmstar of the 30s and 40s was a distinguished actor who played in "The Noble Anarchists" in London and Berlin. Who?
6. "The Irish Republicans who fought with the International Brigade provide us with an excellent example of their confusion of mind. On that occasion they formed the James Connolly Battalion, which was aligned with the forces that set out to crush the CNT and ensure that the revolution was carried out under the banner of Stalinism. Yet it was the CNT alone which was putting into practice Connolly's ideas regarding the linking of industrial unions and agricultural co-operatives". (Freedom 15-28 Dec. 74). How is this unintentionally misleading?

The lost century 'My Junta and I...'

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 everybody 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 at 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 work and suffer through centuries, can 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 has meant there were 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 conditions. 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. The State which is the cult of power is also the cult of death and with the powers to blow to smithereens the world is left with a goodwill it does not believe in, and a restraint nobody thinks that statesman will exercise, to stand between life and death. The statesmen themselves, glorified with their importance of having the chance to kill us all, profess themselves horrified at the thought that dotted about the universe there exist people who want to kill them . . . nothing is too bad now to be said about the individual "terrorist" and all the while we are sitting on a gunpowder barrel that the mass terrorists of world government are ready to light at any moment to suit their wills.

The latest Army recruiting poster of a highly political and controversial nature begins by saying in headlines ANY YOUNG MAN WHO SAYS HE WANTS TO BE AN ARMY OFFICER WANTS HIS MOTIVES EXAMINED - a parody of what most people would say, namely that he needs to have his head examined. What are the motives he should have? "These days it's not very trendy to declare that you're a patriot," admits the Army ruefully. "And considering the interpretation often put on the word, no wonder. To many people 'patriotism' is the same as 'jingoism', 'chauvinism' or 'rabid nationalism'.

It is obviously the same. A "jingo" is one who, for patriotic reasons, wants war at any price. (It derives from the song "we don't want to fight but by jingo if we do . . ."). A "chauvinist" is one who dwells constantly on patriotic and military glorification - despite its current borrowing in the sex war - from Napoleonic veteran Chauvin. "Nationalism" presumably is only "rabid" when adopted by a lesser breed.

But, asks the Army advertisement, DO YOU LOVE YOUR COUNTRY? "And what does loving your country mean anyway? Loving the political party in power? The system of government? The countryside? The people? The lot?" A shrewd remark, this, for it takes the gun from the enemy's armoury: what, indeed, does loving a country mean? Those who love the "country" often hate the people . . . the right wing patriots are loudest and bitterest about the "laziness" of the people who are reducing the "country" to ruin or who "criminally" want to take it from them.

What is patriotism? As far as we're concerned it means, are you prepared to fight if necessary to prevent people taking control of this country by force or other unconstitutional means." Nothing to do with "defence" against a foreign enemy! A frank, honest admission that the Army is there to defend the status quo enshrined in the constitution; 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 capitalist state.

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 others (the one attacking the anarchists, for instance) - the Army public relations officers come right out in public with what the enemies of the people are saying in the officers' mess.



NOTE TO VISITORS

The Centre is open (with bookstall) 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 we know in advance.



Do you subscribe to Black Flag?

"DIAL-A-DICTATOR"

A new submarine telephone cable link between Britain and Spain has now been completed. It is boasted that the cable will have a capacity of 1380 telephone circuits. Due to enter service next summer, the new cable will provide an "alternative route for communications between Britain and Italy through Spain and between Spain and countries in Northern Europe through Britain". Thus supplementing the already overworked "hot line" between the offices of the Spanish BRIGADA POLITICO SOCIAL and Scotland Yard . . . -STD Kid -

# TRADE UNDER TWO FLAGS

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 sovereign integrity 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 economic system has been 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, and on the contrary, any rebellion in Russia would be greatly to the disadvantage of foreign capitalists who have banked heavily on the continuation of Soviet Russia as a "stable" state. Least of all has the "West" any interest in the introduction of capitalism or the restoration of Tsarism. The Tsarist system could no longer maintain a "stable" state: it would mean dissension and weakness. All chances of a return of the ancien regime were swept into the dustbin of history long ago. Only the "socialist" regime, heirs of the "patriotic revolution" can guarantee stability.

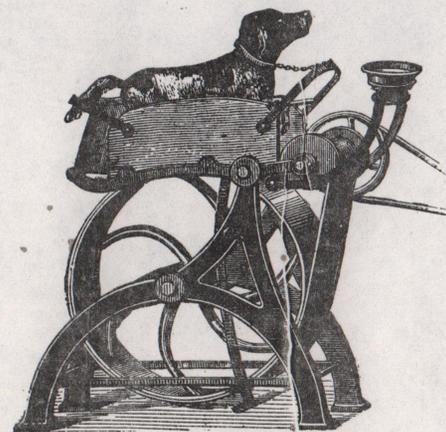
If the regime adopted capitalism as an economic system, and the vast resources of Russia, its empire and its satellites, went into direct competition with the profit economy of the West, it would be a major disaster for the capitalists, who could not possibly cope. With the restriction upon Russian workers, the incorporation of trade unionism into the State machinery and the harsh laws against striking, plus their successful conquest of such classic capitalist (invented) problems as "inflation", "depression", and so on, Russian capitalism would sweep the capitalist world. Better, by far, from the capitalist point of view, that the Russian economy is contained within the State, and is subject not to market forces but to considerations of world diplomacy.

## State Caps?

There is a purely semantic argument on the left as to whether the Russian system is "state communism" or "state capitalism". Capitalism is not the only system of exploitation, and state communism even in its purest and most acceptable form, is also exploitative leading to a privileged class. There are differences between "state communism" and "state capitalism" in that the former the ruling class obtains power through the fact of rule itself; and grants itself extra privileges; whereas the latter (insofar as it is not merely an academic excuse of the state communist to get state communism 'off the hook') implies the profit system entering into the calculations as well.

## ADVICE TO HOME WORKERS

Although animals have long been used for employment purposes, such as to draw carriages and the plough, their use has long gone out of general fashion in industrial countries. Yet animal motors can be used to profit in many enterprises, thus obviating the uneconomic use of them as pets, and turning them to utilisation in the national effort. The humanitarian objections that muscular suffering may be inflicted on an animal which is continually mounting a wheel or some such contrivance neglect the fact



Whichever it may be reckoned rules in Russia, it is quite capable of entering into an agreement with private capitalism elsewhere, and to divide the world into zones of influence by which power may be maintained by private capitalism in one part and state rule in another and — except insofar as there are national clashes — these need not clash in the slightest. On the contrary, they can reap the benefits of joint economic planning.

As a result, revolution in Russia is pushed further back; because although Soviet propaganda loves to depict the "foreign agitator" backed by the capitalist powers, in fact the capitalist powers have every reason to damp down agitation. They have never supported revolutionary movements in Russia — preferring at one time the devil they knew, in power, to the devil they did not know; and finally realising that the dictatorship had one commendable point of view to them — it suppressed the workers.

## Role of the CP

Politically there now exists a serious disequilibrium in the relationship between the Russian bloc on the one hand and world capitalism on the other in that the former maintains a world army of civilian agents traditionally bound to work for Russian interests in the name of world communism, and actively trying to divert the class struggle against capitalism into one of domination for the Russian empire. This Communist Party role represents some stumbling block to diplomatic relationships but it is a unique force that the Russian bloc is understandably reluctant to give up, even for the vast industrial expansion offered it by diplomatic and economic entente. The CIA is a poor substitute. Nor does it offer any alternative, to those inside Russia.

However, it seems that world capitalism has recognised the Communist Party, at last, for the reactionary force it is: since while it can be directed against a capitalist class, it can equally well be directed with it. In situations such as the present one in Portugal, and the coming one in Spain, world capitalism can ask for nothing better than an apparently revolutionary party which can create a docile labour movement out of nothing overnight, and is prepared to accept orders from a Power in economic and political alignment with themselves. No Fascist Party could hope to compete with the Communist Party in its chosen role in the Iberian Peninsula, for instance.

It is for this reason that "Maoist" and "Trotskyist" or more generally (unrecognised) "Blanquist" movements are taking the place of Moscow-line Communism on the authoritarian left since Moscow-line Communist Parties are now only facets of world capitalism. But the value of replacing authoritarian communists who have ceased to desire state communism with authoritarian communists who still desire it, is something we as libertarians question.

that, to considerable profit, humans are often used in precisely such mechanical contrivances. The use of animals means, too, that the employer is not subjected to strikes and other outmoded devices of impeding output out of pure greed. The sewing machine shown here, worked by a dog, is a model of ingenuity and the dog is obliged to keep on walking, thus turning the treadmill, and can produce as much effort as a qualified woman. There is only one drawback: after a few hours of it, he bites.

# WOODEN HORSE

In Anarchy No. 10 George Woodcock made a positive allegation which, he stated illustrates the "illusory nature of anarchist beliefs". This was that "many of the Spanish anarchists perpetrated the slaughter of defenceless men who happened to be in their power just because of their social backgrounds, their beliefs or even their sexual predilections (for it is established that Barcelona anarchists at one time rounded up male prostitutes and liquidated them)."

These allegations of vicious murder by professed libertarians, many dead, many living, are either true or false. If true, they do not necessarily establish the "illusory nature" of anarchism but they condemn those whose sympathies are with the Spanish Anarchists. If false, Woodcock is a vile libeller and the acceptance of him as an impartial historian is an illusory belief.

In Anarchy No. 11 Albert Meltzer showed that these allegations were totally untrue. In Anarchy 14, Woodcock does not say that they are true. He gives a pretence of an answer by using words "malicious . . . sly . . . bigot" which should more properly apply to the author of a calumny which he does not justify. It is Meltzer's "puritanism" that makes him object to someone making an accusation like this that is untrue; it is Woodcock's reverence for life and mankind that makes such allegations of minor consequence compared to the details he lovingly gives of his own career!

Of the killings he now says he will deal only with "the killings of pimps and homosexuals by Barcelona anarchists. The remaining accusations are entirely untrue". He thus makes it sound ambiguous, whose accusations? Were defenceless people in the power of Barcelona anarchists murdered for their social backgrounds or their beliefs as he said? Other than that sentence, Woodcock is now silent. In his attempt at self-justification, he no longer says that people were murdered merely for their sexual predilections — which presumes moral vigilantes, thought police and so on — he brings in "pimps". The late Prudhommeaux (who edited a paper on Spain during the civil war and was silent on the subject of the killing of "homosexuals") is supposed to have told Woodcock this in 1950, and "these statements were published", "most anarchists in England" knew about them and "Red Lion Street" (which was dear old Lilian Wolfe and arch-pacifist Jack Robinson, unless he includes Vernon Richards) found them unwelcome. It is a long way from the positive "it is established" to "someone told me!"

The idea that "most anarchists" could know something unknown to others and keep it silent shows I fear a sad lack of knowledge about the movement! Everyone knows that "pimps" may well be the subject for killing in a busy seaport, in Barcelona as in London. Nobody would in 1936 find it necessary to "cover up" the shooting of Mafia types. On the contrary they would make great play of it. But Woodcock is deliberately deceiving for he has brought the "pimps" in together with the homosexuals, pretending that he does not know really what the latter are and confusing the two — (pointing this out is just "puritan" prurience!)

That such a person is accepted as a historian is a sad reflection on academic standards. Garcia Pradas — Peter Cadogan — George Woodcock — all to one degree or another serving or whitewashing fascism — are still regarded by some as coming within the "libertarian" description!

# NOTES AND NEWS

One of the greatest pieces of humbug of the Right Wing is to attack socialism not because of its belief in social justice — which is the real reason they dislike it — but because 'socialism' means State control, — yet stateless socialism is the very thing they hate a thousand times more. They denounce communism on the grounds of excessive State power, because of Communist Party tie-ups and apologies for dictatorship and tyranny, and because of its disbelief in freedom . . . that communism professes, at least, an element of social redistribution is ignored. But if they are presented with a communism that has bitterly fought dictatorship and tyranny to the bloody end of a battle . . . that is opposed, not merely to excessive State power, and that wants no limits to freedom but the freedom to enslave or oppress others, 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!

Some enterprising journalist found that the Americans had been flogging off old Army intelligence handbooks in this country, depicting the type of terrorism used by the US Army in occupied countries — this caused horror as it might be used by nationalist terrorists, or even counter-terrorists, against the official terror here. And in the bargain it was not even illegal!

Obvious stuff for a television programme. *Nation Wide* (BBC TV Jan 3rd): A shopkeeper — selling the manuals and understandably anxious to get himself off the hook — was asked by a reporter if "any suspicious characters" had asked for them.

He didn't want to say "yes" and expose himself as helping terrorism or "no" and be regarded as an accomplice covering up . . . so he said "Only one". Where did he come from? (Would he be likely when buying a book, to say?) "He came from Black Flag." "What's that?" "It's an anarchist journal."

Cute answer: he is as entitled to sell to Black Flag as he is to the Union Jack Club. But the words "suspicious character" makes it a libellous remark. For the record: We didn't know about the books until we read of them in the press.

\* \* \*

On December 29 the Sunday Times published an editorial exhorting its readers to "Free Garfield Todd". Todd, Rhodesian Prime Minister until Ian Smith's declaration of independence, has been three years "confined" to house and garden "with subsequent permission to visit his farm."

The Sunday Times makes much of Todd's denial of liberty for three years without trial, yet this is hardly uncommon in Rhodesia (Todd's as well as Smith's). Anyone "unwilling to plead for mercy from a regime he holds to be illegal" — as the Sunday Times puts it in Todd's case — can be "confined" — without enjoying the relative privilege of being amongst his or her own family and allowed to visit a farm (if they have one): on the contrary, deprived of access to family and friends and imprisoned often in solitary confinement and subject to torture and daily beatings.

"Basic humanity" however, states the Sunday Times, demands that Garfield Todd should be released. We agree. But this applies to the thousands of political prisoners throughout the world, who are "confined" not in the same conditions as Mr. Todd because of what they believe.

# 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 Fraction 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 (see Vol. 12 Black Flag).

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 of inmates; abolition of internal punishment — including isolation and censorship of mail.

In contrast to the Marxist-dominated Red Aid, the Black Cross has demanded the liberation of all prisoners not only political. As a result, other inmates have joined in the hunger strike begun by political prisoners for internal demands.

## PROTESTS

The death of Holger Meins led to protest demonstrations with red and black flags, posters demanding "Free ALL prisoners" — police used batons, tear gas and water cannons against the protests.

Meins was arrested in 1972 and detained without formal charges. He was on hunger strike 57 days. His lawyer Herr Haag said he weighed about 6½ stone when he died and that 35 other hunger strikers had said they would continue a similar hunger strike, and add to it refraining from water until released from isolation confinement. Ten were force fed.

Haag also said he was laying murder charges against legal and prison officials, alleging prison doctors allowed Meins to starve to death by pumping only three spoonfuls of nutritive solution into his stomach daily during two weeks. Judge Prinzing had, he stated refused a request to have the force feeding supervised by a private doctor.

At the burial of Meins, the parson ended the service with the words, "May God forgive them."

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

## 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 Anarchists, suggesting

The French State does not recognise that Maiwenn, Adraboran, Gwendal, Diwesa, Sklerin, Jenn and Brann Manrot Le Goarnic exist. They are not "persons". The seven children of M. and Mme. Le Goarnic have been given Breton names which the Government will not recognise.

As a result the State has never granted social security or income tax allowances for the seven children, aged 11 to 18. The eldest boy has been refused a driving licence. But there is hope yet. The State will probably come round to recognising their existence when they are old enough to pay taxes and be conscripted. Otherwise, they will be the gainers for the State is a parasite upon society.

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 "murder in instalments" and police and prison torture. Committees of defence were organised by Churches, Universities and the liberal press.

The shooting of Judge Gunter von Drenkmann 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 Drenkmann 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. Leafleteers 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 reward of 50,000 marks was placed on the head of the gunman who killed von Drenkmann. Security measures were announced approaching 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 and 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 dragged up from the Nazi past with a vengeance). Lawyers' interviews with political prisoners were to be put under police supervision though it was not admitted there were political prisoners!

This triggered off a number of attentats (including one at Frankfurt where five shots were fired at a Treasury official, but most went unreported).

## 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 provoking repression of the working class". Various Maoist and Trotskyist organisations have offered "critical solidarity" but chiefly since lawyer Horst Mahler has joined the Red Aid movement.

In the Anarchist movement there are a few groups in full agreement with armed 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 — including Anarchists and Marxists. Such is the position of Germany now on the brink of legal fascism.

John Olday

Mokhtar Monsouri is a young Moroccan secondary school student who was arrested in 1972 in a move to stamp out growing left-wing radicalism within the educational system. Mokhtar, whose health was already damaged by his incarceration, suffered even more physical deterioration by his voluntary participation in a two-month hunger strike staged by fellow students imprisoned at Casablanca in order to reinforce their demands for better prison conditions. A year after his arrest, Mokhtar was unable to appear at his trial — after undergoing 17 consecutive days of torture, he has suffered a mental and physical breakdown characterised by epileptic fits and partial paralysis of his lower limbs. As of June 1974, Mokhtar was still in prison and requests for his release into provisional liberty have been refused.

# Spain

## Letter from Madrid

It seems to have transpired that 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 help 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 against the regime, and has been hostile to the Basque movement. Yet these Communists helped the perpetrators and gave them protection in their homes. Moreover one group of Communists did so at the time of the Carrero Blanco execution, which it is more or less established was done by the same group.

The police arrested a great many people. They at first detained three men and two women, one the wife of a playwright — and the other a TV actress. The former gave away a great deal of information and others were arrested. It seems that the detainees were given a drug to make them lose self-control and speak freely. Maria, was known to be a dedicated communist but after going through an interrogation at the Special Branch offices at the Central Police Station and spent some time in their special cells she was charged on the basis of her information and sent to prison.

Afterwards she was unable to speak or think clearly; she moved as if in a nightmare . . . Outside the Communist Party was screaming for the blood of these Party members who had "betrayed" the party by mixing with the Basques in an attack on the police . . .

Could the form of Communist leader Carrillo have appeared to her, declaring solemnly to her in her cell what was said in the party press: "You have betrayed the revolution . . . we must rouse the people . . . inject them with anger and strike against their oppressions . . . but you let us down, you betrayed us . . ."

"But you told us to be active, to fight fascism . . ."

"But not in the way these ETA people do it — they're assassins and when we are in power we'll kill the lot of them. Just now when we've managed to organise a junta with the bankers, with the Christian Democrats, the opposition, just when our Workers Commissions are coming along nicely you choose this moment to ruin everything, so look after yourself now; we won't defend you. And don't dare to say you're a communist, call yourself a falangist, anything but a communist. We'll probably say you're a police spy anyway, and don't say you've ever heard of me."

"But they're going to kill me"

"Even that won't help us, we can't claim you as a martyr. We can't even have La Pensionaria, I mean La Pasionaria making speeches over your grave in the future, it might give people ideas in a proletarian dictatorship if people start blowing up secret policemen."

That is fantasy. But it is a fact that the leader of the CP told the Christian Democrat "sympathisers" of the party among the legal fraternity not to defend these people. It is an ineffective ban because these excommunicated communists have money and could find some non-communist but anti-Franco lawyer to defend them; or spend enough to find a lawyer not committed to opposing the regime.

Why is it that communists were prepared to help anti-Franco terrorists? The answer is quite simple: they thought the verbiage of Carrillo in attacking the regime was intended seriously.

Liberto Miguel

A LOS JORNALEROS, A LOS TRABAJADORES DE LOS  
ALMACENES DE NARANJA Y A TODOS LOS CAMPESINOS  
POBRES DEL PAIS VALENCIANO  
¡HA LLEGADO LA HORA DE GANAR LA LIBERTAD!



One of the most dramatic conflicts in Spanish prisons at the present time is in the jail of Saragossa, where a wing has been specially adapted for political prisoners. The Directorate General of Prisons has been faced with the old dilemma — whether to segregate political prisoners, and thus present one set of problems by having a body of people used to pressing for demands concentrated together, or to mix them with other prisoners and thus having them influence the rest.

It has a large batch of political prisoners in the lice-ridden jail of Saragossa (one I know well having spent time in it being transferred from Alicante prison to Soria) and they have launched a protest against the conditions under which they are living. The jail is notoriously harsh (Saragossa 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 Eloy, and a Basque, have already been taken to hospital suffering from the effects of the hunger strike.

M.G.

## Correction to S.L.A. article

### Emma Goldman's View on Revolutionary Acts

In the concluding part of the article on The Symbionese Liberation Army by Marcus Graham, extracts are given from the introduction to Emma Goldman's essay, "The Psychology of Political Violence" which was reprinted by an Anarchist oriented group in defence of the SLA. We inadvertently omitted Emma Goldman's pertinent opinion from Marcus Graham's article in the last issue of BF.

*"To the earnest student it must be apparent that the accumulated forces of our social and political life, culminating in an act of violence, are similar to the terrors of the atmosphere manifested in storm of lightning . . . The ignorant mass looks upon the man who makes a violent protest against our social and economic iniquities as upon a wild beast, a cruel heartless monster . . . or at best as upon an irresponsible lunatic. Yet nothing is further from the truth. As a matter of fact, those who have studied the character and personality of these men, or who have come in contact with them, are agreed that it is their sensitiveness to the wrong and injustice surrounding them which compels them to pay the toll of our social crimes . . . The most noted writers and poets, discussing the psychology of political violence, have paid them the highest tribute. The man who flings his whole life into the attempt, at the cost of his own life, to protest against the wrongs of his fellow men, is a saint compared to the active and passive upholders of cruelty and injustice, even if his protest destroys other lives besides his own."*

(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 Spains were delineated on the map, one of the left, and the other of the right, but an outcome unfortunate for the left and especially for the CNT, was that Galicia and parts of Aragon and of Andalusia were lost. Moreover the left felt obliged to forget its disagreements and to resist the common enemy, and the left had great diversity; Civil Guards which had remained faithful to the republic, left republicans, socialists, communists and trade unionists of UGT and CNT. At the grass roots, among the workers of the UGT and CNT these problems were felt less. It was necessary to keep the machinery working to provide arms and provisions for the workers. And, that done, there was no shortage of either milk or bread. In Barcelona, where CNT and FAI advised the route to follow, a column of volunteer militia set out for Aragon in covered wagons with first aid for 3000 men. Nevertheless a week earlier the workers had been carrying on their normal life and had been spending a normal July Sunday.

Whence came this capacity when, at the same time Simone Weil noted in France in the month of June a defiance of union authority and a great passivity among the workers. For us it is undeniably the structure of the CNT, the internationalist outlook which gave it its militants which explains this speed of organisation. Even if the outlines which explained libertarian communism were simplistic they were adequate, and at all events, without pretending to offer solutions for everything; they convinced the militants of the possibilities for initiative and creativity.

Let us take some examples. There were in Barcelona several transport companies. They were amalgamated. There were also several railway companies and they were amalgamated, so it became necessary to resolve problems of timetables, of liabilities and of spare parts, which was important since they were supplied by foreign manufacturers, as well as new problems of recreational activity, cultural activity and military transport.

One of the first companies to be collectivised was "Autobus G." When half a dozen militants took it over it had 33,000 pesetas in the bank — not enough to meet business needs. The bosses, as they had done elsewhere, had taken nearly all the assets with them. There was also a political card index of the workers and a list of trusted armed men. One of their first steps was to get their bearings over materials. Instead of importing parts from France, Switzerland, Germany and Czechoslovakia they decided to make as much as possible themselves. The technicians gave the idea their whole-hearted support. Each technician was totally free to study and present plans to the committee. As well as this new buses were made, and in one section of the shop, armaments.

Fares were reduced. 'We believed we could introduce equal pay for all workers, but we realised that, for a number of reasons, this was not appropriate. Though some wage differences remained, by categorising broadly, we abolished many.' Medical services were improved, showers built, overalls were provided for the mechanics, and loss of pay for two days absence was removed. Travel was free for children and pensioners. The Autobus G collective gave financial help to the public entertainment collectives of Barcelona, Tortosa and Coll-Blanc. In 1938 Aragon refugees were taken in.

The City Authority of the Barcelona economic department, directed by the communist Comorera (later expelled from the party and denounced to the Franco police in 1947 by the communists in the press and radio!!) sabotaged as much as he could by refusing permission to buy parts abroad and by sending armed guards to prevent their being stockpiled. Everything possible was done to make the collective go bankrupt and thereby discredit the CNT.

This example allows us to make certain general points:

- the right wing's involvement in and preparedness for the putsch
- the joining together of workers with technicians and in other places with engineers (in Russia the split was deep and many were exterminated)
- the good sense of the militants who formed a collective not to be blinded by theory or sectarianism, and who made concessions on the wage problem. One can add that though men and women did not receive equal pay there was greater equality than before.
- working conditions were greatly improved.
- solidarity between collectives remained (a factor lacking in Israeli kibbutzim)
- the dealings of the communist party were typical of it.

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 slaved from dawn to dusk 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 consul, and those firms 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 powerful police force. Some headlines from *Solidaridad Obrera* are significant — "Shortage of weapons" 25 August 1936. "In this time of grave danger weapons must only be used to fight against the enemy. All hidden 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 clutches of the CNT. To which the CNT responded by pointing out the necessity to increase was 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 denouncement of defaulting — "If we had to say clearly all that we could have done and which has not been done in these 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, I 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 a republic like this one. The only way out is the Communist Party; a worker and peasant government. The conquest of power by the urban and rural workers" (*Mundo Obrero*, 2/10/34). After the Asturias "We will struggle for workers' soldiers' and peasants' power. For the first time in the history of Spanish revolution the flag of the soviets 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 Obrero*) "No-one apart from the Communist Party, in the confusion at the beginning of the civil war dared to make a stand or behalf of the small landowner" (Julio Mateu, communist leaflet, 1937).

What was the practical use of collectivisation and workers self-management? Throughout the 2½ years of war all the war industry was situated in factories collectivised 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 history Spanish 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 Uribe, put paid to this. In 1937-8 export came under party-direction and was sabotaged because the USSR wanted to slow down the war.

How many collectivists were there?

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 1,220,000 and 1,600,000 workers of a working population of 5-6 million (the division of Spain and the movement of the front makes accuracy difficult).

Who were the collectivists?

Remember that there were collectivists from every organisation, even communists in Catalonia (Aristoles and Cofites) and those of POUM (especially in Raimat and Lerida). At this time the POUM, a coalition of two-marxist groups at the 1936 election, had very few militants, although it had been active since 1930. The party had no truck with Trotsky, who criticised it. In communist propaganda past and present (for example Vetrov's book 'Volonteri svobodi' Moscow 1972) the POUM are presented as fascist agents. Like the communists they were half hearted when faced with collectivisation.

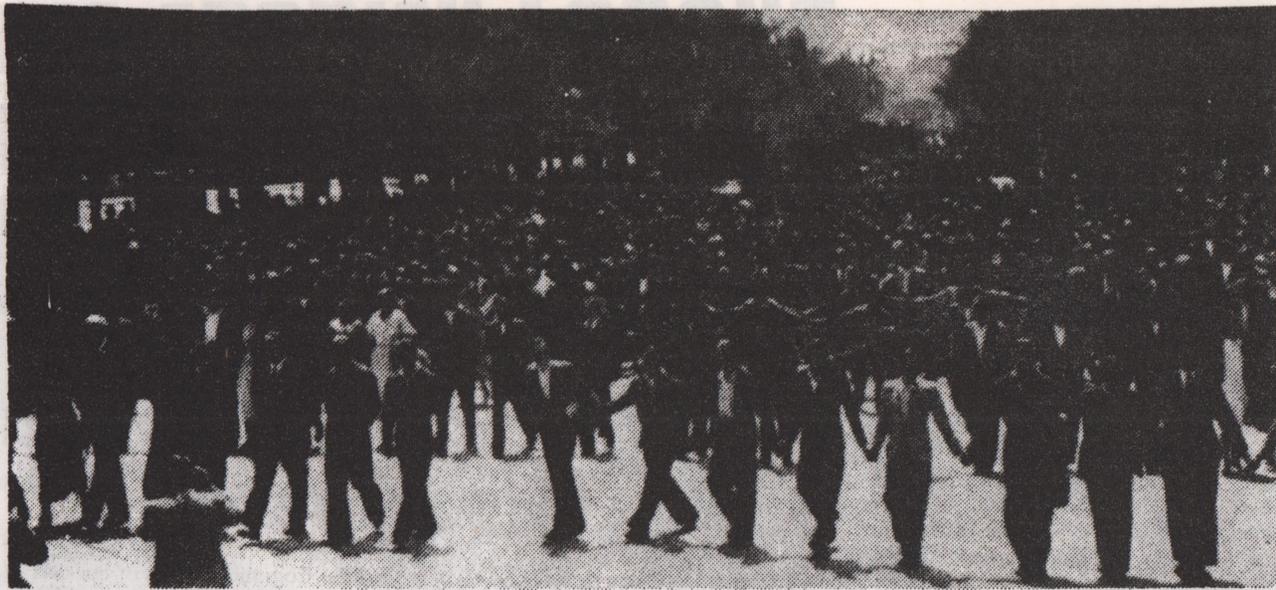
In many cases, in Estramadura and Tarragona, collectivisation was non-political, proving that this is the direction the Spanish workers wanted the war and the revolution to take.

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 fertiliser in agriculture or by the rationalisation of production). Meanwhile it must be noted that the lack of certain raw materials, such as cotton, restricted 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 re-organisation in industry). Cultural measures were taken — the setting up of schools and libraries — because there was widespread illiteracy. 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 point is the absence of ill feeling. As Kropotkin emphasised in his writings on libertarian communism, collectivisation is for ALL, including even former enemies. This point was respected. 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 Eslus and Teruel). The marxists work very differently and even today the families of political prisoners are regarded as inferior citizens,



Barcelona — May 1, 1936

People could leave and re-enter the collectives at will.

Seen from the outside the collectives organised between themselves, a federation and a common fund to keep the balance between the rich and poor collectives, and between agricultural, industrial and service collectives.

Thus the hairdressers collective in Barcelona financed the buying of machinery, and in particular a water pump for the village of Asco in Tarragona, a pump which is still in operation it seems.

Lastly we must deal with the drawbacks and the problems of the collectives. The first was that of the short-sightedness of some collectives, agricultural as well as industrial, which tended to use up their resources and produce, forgetful of the war situation and the opposition to collectivisation. This was neo-capitalism in the collectives which gave rise to a situation where, instead of one boss, some collectives had got to a stage of having many bosses. This difficulty was combatted by the collectives coming together in industrial unions when threatened by such sanctions as the withholding of necessary materials. This was a reality and was corrected.

There was a shortage of comrades capable of bookkeeping. There was no collection and communication of statistics needed for vertical and horizontal co-operation. This was due to the lack of internal organisational strength, and the time which had to be spent combatting propaganda against workers' self management. The direction collectivisation was taking is difficult to determine because of the war situation. For in January 1938 measures were taken to establish a wage differential based on a national norm: labourer category 1, 20% increase, category 2 40%, auxiliary technician category 3 70%, 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 sabotage of the collectives from November 1936, the Catalonian law of collectivisation of October 1936 subordinated the industrial collectives to the hierarchical organisations controlled by the Catalan separatists and the politicians, and the May days in Barcelona in 1937, when an attempt was made by the Communist Party to attack the anarchists by military means. The communists maintain the opposite, but it is easy to see who is wrong by noting that the incidents only took place in town where the communists were of some strength.

And, lastly the third great opposition, the communist General Lister's division, which in August 1937, at the time of a republican offensive and of the corn harvest, attacked the undefended collectives in Aragon, dissolved them and gave their machinery to the small landowners. "The result was that all the work in the fields was brought to a standstill, and by sowing time a quarter of the land for crops had not been prepared" (Report of another communist, Jose Silva). Another important fact that belies the communist line is that the collectives reformed themselves after Lister had gone, but without their former enthusiasm.

It is difficult to draw conclusions from such complex events, but we can learn the following.

History's richest and most profound experiment in collectivisation and workers' control is the Spanish experiment, which alone was anarchist, because only anarchism urges workers to organise themselves from the base upwards, and towards revolution.

To have both workers' control and remain within the law is impossible, as has already been shown in the experience of the Spartacists, and at the development of the revolution in Russia, where the workers, as well as the workers' control opposition, were and continue to be exploited.

Workers' control and collectivisation in Spain has no connection with the terms as they are used in Algeria, Yugoslavia or France.

Imperialism hampered the revolution. In Spain the role of the USSR and the Communist Party was to leave the anarchists in the front line and to discredit them so that after the war the way would be clear for increasing communist influence.



# ANARCHISM & The Welsh Miners

When I was a lad, I would creep surreptitiously past the careless stewards into the miners' conferences which were traditionally held in Cardiff's seedy temperance hall. There I would listen to the bright little alert 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 seem curiously oblivious of the anarchosyndicalist traditions which exist within their own land and they resort to foreign ancestor figures to fill the gap created by the symbolic destruction of their own fathers. But the essential sense of locality, the comparatively small pit where all worked (when work was available), the isolation of the valley village or township — all these were similar to the environment conditions which created the anarchosyndicalist movement of Spain.

In the history of the South Wales miners' movement, some leaders were overtly anarchosyndicalist and had international links with 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*: Macdonald £3.50.

Mr. Abse goes on to describe some of the other influences anarchism had on the Welsh miners. Lewis Jones he says, was the only one of the world-wide delegates to the Comintern conferences in Moscow who would ostentatiously not stand up when Stalin arrived. But more "the miners Lodge was the centre not only of industrial life but of all political and social life as well". It was from its local health schemes that Nye Bevan derived the idea of a National Health Service. The miners' institutions, clubs and libraries, the cinemas and the billiard halls, were owned by the Union. The miners governed themselves — "the State had already withered away. There was an extraordinary contempt for external authoritarian disciplines. When South Wales miners hear music they sing: they do not march."

Mr. Abse's recollections of anarcho-syndicalism in South Wales (he calls "our South Wales Labour movement . . . the most respectable and unselfconscious anarcho-syndicalist movement ever") are interesting especially as the academic historians deliberately blot it out

from public record. He does not in any way give the full picture. But his hints of it are fascinating. He himself was a social-democrat with a middle-class background, who was early "led up the garden path" by John Strachey — presumably by way of 'popfront' fellow travelling — but also he says, without following it up, Herbert Read. He makes one or two references to anarchism to make it suggest he at least had some contact with the movement in the forties apart from his boyhood remembrance of the old anarchist miners' movement. (He actually quotes Berneri Totally out of context to justify his entry into Parliament).

There is some justification for his sneer at 'young anarchists' though the 'foreign ancestor figures' as well as the native ones were always part of the working class tradition. A couple of years ago, one Peter Michael Jones — a Welsh worker whose parents had come to London during the slump, mentioned to me casually "he got his names from his grand-da who was a great communist and called after someone like Lenin".

That the anarcho-syndicalist traditions in Wales and Scotland have been forgotten is true. It is due not to the 'curious oblivion' of young anarchists but to a deliberate policy by Communist Party propagandists and by the historians. History for them is 'great names' not people. There are no 'great names' for them to collect. It is true Jim Colton married Emma Goldman to give her British nationality, and she is an extremely writeable-about figure, and that is the extent, therefore, that any of the historians and academics and anarchists will give you about Welsh anarchism. But Colton is a more remarkable figure than Emma Goldman for he, with a few others, survived the tremendous blows against Welsh anarchism which would have happened around the time of Abse's boyhood, and may have been the theme of one or two of the conferences he attended.

Sectarian socialist divisions were less marked in the period before the First World War; and many working class Anarchists saw nothing incompatible in joining a socialist club or even party; with the rise of the Syndicalist movement, this lack of distinction became even more so. Tom Mann,

for instance, was the leading Syndicalist whilst in the I.L.P. Jim Connolly, in some ways a Syndicalist, was in the Presbyterian background. Kropotkin's attitude to local socialist parties, the co-operative movement and the trade unions, was clearly sympathetic. There were a few anarchist groups scattered here and there which maintained aloofness from other socialist movements. But that was the periphery of the movement — now assumed to be all there was at the time, because it preserved its identity. It is probably not true that at the conferences Abse attended "all of them were anarchists". But usually all the activists were.

The dangers of anarchism were seen very clearly by the Fabians, who abandoned their ideas of building a State Socialist movement via the Liberal Party to create the Labour Party — a movement based upon the established trade union bureaucracy in alliance with middle class professionals. This domination of State Socialist ideas is seen in the evolution of the older Independent Labour Party. It became first part of the new Labour Party; then its right wing, then when its leading members were able to enter the Labour Party, secure as its leaders, it became a left-wing and then a really 'independent' party. (The Fabian struggle against anarchism incidentally is clearly traceable throughout the works of Bernard Shaw).

As the Labour Party was built by the Fabians throughout South Wales, it came into conflict with the anti-parliamentarian traditions of the Welsh miners. Abse indeed makes it clear to the point of embarrassing frankness how, even as late as 1958, "to our syndicalist miners, Westminster had always been unimportant" and they used the House of Commons, through the miners' lodges, "as a dumping ground for those in the union who were supernumerary, awkward, or even slightly senile". He realised that with this indifferent attitude to parliament persisting to the present, any smart, slick careerist could fight on equal terms at the selection conference and once in, with the safety of a majority such as could be commanded in the Eastern Valley of Monmouthshire, he could act exactly as he pleased.

The generation of activist Anarchist miners took heavy blows.

# Spanish Diary

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 aimed at the capitalists but challenged the regime in its most vulnerable spot; and against which troops were brought, Army and Civil Guard, from every part of Spain.

Even in Navarre — traditionally the stronghold of the Requete and the most reactionary part of Spain — there was a massive turnout, especially in Pamplona, and this pointed to a new development: the industrialisation of the Navarrese country (which has proceeded apace primarily because local states' rights meant lower taxation; but also because of the determination to reduce the industrial importance of Catalonia) and the rise of a militant workers' movement even here.

The mass stoppage had nothing to do with Basque nationalism and nationalism as such forms only a minority of the movement in the Basque countries. There should be no mistake that this is the voice of the new Spanish labour movement which the Spanish rulers have got to contend with. The over-reaction of the military regime to anything that happens in the Basque country has made it possible for the seeds of revolt to flourish. But the labour movement cannot be dismissed as "Basque nationalism" — neither can it be regarded as "Communist".

Never before was the Communist Party so discredited as it is now, with all its phoney Workers' Commissions. It opposed the strike and did its best to avert it. For it is now allied with the Christian Democrats.

The excuse given by the CP was its opposition to Basque nationalism (it does not give the same regard to Basque nationalism that it does, say, to Irish). But the CP was ignored

(Welsh miners cont.)

During the Depression many of them were the first to be laid off. But more particularly, the insidious growth of Labour Party power was strengthened by the rise of Bolshevism. I have heard about some of the South Wales delegates to the Comintern refusing to stand for Stalin in the twenties — as a gesture to feeling back home. But gradually the CP was built up especially among the younger miners (who are now the old-timers). They had behind them the glamour-value of the Russian Revolution seemingly appropriated by Lenin, and the apparently irresistible rise of Communist power as well as the myth that only Russia stood between us and world fascism.

The attacks by Churchill strengthened the hold of the CP, for everyone knew Churchill was the Welsh miners' worst enemy. This is why, to this day, you hear Churchill's action against the Tony-pandy miners confused with his action at Sidney Street in London's East End.

As the CP grew — and it grew in the heart of the Labour Party bureaucracy — the Welsh Anarchists were squeezed out. Men like Col-

ton, once popular Welsh and English speakers, were ostracised, thrown out of their jobs and had to fight grimly to keep their place in the union — because they opposed the dictatorship in Russia.

In 1937 Sam Mainwaring Junior tried to put forward the case of the Spanish Anarchist miners to the N.U.M. conference and was shouted down . . . that was the bitter nadir marking the end of the movement. Reading from CNT Bulletin received that morning from Catalonia he shouted that Catalonia had never received a penny from British sources yet Catalonia carried the backbone of the struggle. "They are Trotskyists . . . Fascists . . ." shouted the Stalinist stooges!

When I knew the Welsh Anarchist miners they were the rump of the grand movement, mostly old men who were regarded as 'cynical' by their fellow workers. But the women were usually much more actively 'cynical' in opposing the ideas of State Socialism. In 1938 for instance, I was invited to speak at a local ILP meeting on Spain, in a Welsh valley.

"Take care of those at the back," whispered the chairman. "Those

completely, proving it to be a complete fiction that it has strength in Spain other than on a purely political level. What Franco always hated was the libertarian movement. He called all his opponents Communists not merely to discredit them, but in an endeavour to hide the resistance of the anarcho-syndicalist movement. All of us, myself too when I came to trial, were labelled "Communists". But we were not State Communists nor followers of the Moscow or Peking lines, but libertarians. Asturias 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 silicosis and related problems of the retired miners whose pension is 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 she, will be interrogated, perhaps beaten up; and if there are three such calls to the police station the "governatorial" 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 . . . another month's detention without trial (which could in theory go on for ever).

Miguel Garcia

are the Wrecking Brigade." They were a group of Welsh-speaking women who took great pleasure in "giving hell" to the Labour and CP speakers — especially with "toffenosed" English accents.

But to their, and my, delight, we proved to be fellow-Anarchists. The "Last of the Mohicans" in the valley were four women, and two elderly miners, all that remained of "the most respectable and unself-conscious anarcho-syndicalist movement ever", though not quite all — as Mr. Abse discovered. For their influence was not entirely eroded when he came on the political scene.

But it was this contact with the grassroots anarchist working class movement that was ultimately thrown away when the conscious anarchist section, that had not been eroded by its lack of structure and definition, allowed itself to be allied with, associated with and finally — until our own clean break — dominated by the bourgeois pacifist and liberal elements. Perhaps this may explain our 'sectarianism' to some of our critics in the younger generation.

Albert Meltzer.

# A Guide To Good Book-keeping!

There is a surprising lack of information about 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 recently the very words Anarchism/Anarchists were prohibited in the Spanish press and when forced to refer to them, the Establishment used such expressions as "bandits", "bank-robbers" or in extreme cases when the Resistance fighters were obviously well known by the people, of "maquis" "terrorists" or even "international Communist conspirators" . . . of all things!

This is not surprising, since Anarchism has been the object of Franco's particular hatred since its adherent among Spanish workers have been numbered by millions. Probably too he knows that such dangerous animals never died — they hide and wait their time.

These are a few bibliographic suggestions which may help to dispel the general lack of information:—  
**Student Movement** There is a high disproportion between the importance of the revolutionary movement in the Spanish Universities (mostly "acrata" or libertarian) and the few and not very accessible texts dedicated to it.  
 1. "Pequena historia de la llamada Acracia" by a group of students and teachers (Madrid 1969). This is now being translated under the title of "A short history of the Acratas Movement in the Spanish University 1961-9" and should be published in 1975.  
 2. "De los modos de integracion del pronunciamiento estudiantil" by Prof. A. Garcia Calvo, Paris April 1970: English trans: "How the student movement is absorbed" Simian 1972.  
 3. "Sobre el pronunciamiento estudiantil", same author magazine Presencia No. 1 (2nd epoch) Toulouse Jan/March 1974.  
 4. *Manifestoes and pamphlets by the Estudiantes Libertarios* (Barcelona 1973) Grupo Cero (Madrid 1969) etc.  
**Church Comisiones Obreras etc.**  
 1. "Entre el grande y la esperanza" by Julio Sanz Oller (Ruedo Iberico Paris 1972). A report on the history of the Comisiones Obreras in Barcelona, the Catholic "revolutionary" groups and priests etc.

## Alberola Defence Committee

c/fwd	cr	64. 83
Raffle at Centre		1. 65
D. McD Arizona		\$10 4. 02
Toronto IWW \$100		43. 37
L. Doe		2. 25
		116. 02

leaflets etc	40. 65
per Mme G	15. 00
	55. 65

in hand £60. 37

(We have been held up sending more by French postal strike; many sums have also been sent direct — esp. by IWW Chicago, Toronto, ABC Toronto, Melbourne &c).

## International Libertarian Centre

Deficit c/fwd	360. 03
Rents paid	121. 32
Rates	46. 91
Electricity	3. 78
Telephone	16. 97
Fittings	5. 00
	554. 01

sub-rents 116. 00

deficit £438. 01.

## Black Flag

as at December 74

Deficit c/fwd	146. 22
Printing costs	154. 35
Paper (Help! Rising)	140. 23
Stationery	4. 49
Literature bought	71. 03
Postages	55. 65

571. 97

Sales & subs 180. 81

Subventions from sinister sources . 00

Refund 6. 58

Donations: Melbourne ABC 4. 80

Calif: St. Teresa picnic per LM \$50 = 21. 12

London LS 50

PD (Dublin) 2. 95

M'cr 45

Others JS 1. 00

LD 2. 75

PM 1. 00

No enclosure with note 5. 00

Total 39. 57 226. 96

deficit c/fwd . . . . . £345. 01

2. *La Santa Mafia*, by Jesus Ynfante, Ruedo Iberico 1970. English excerpts of this book: "The Holy Mafia of the Opus Dei", CIL London 1972. (A famous best-seller on the history and present importance of the Opus Dei, by an "independent Libertarian").  
 ETA (Inside this Basque revolutionary organisation, there is, among others, an Anarchist tendency, about which something can be read in the following magazines, which are more or less regularly printed at present:)  
 1. "Askatasuna", Brussels (23 rue de l'Eglise and/or 13 rue des Renards).  
 2. "Euzkadi Confederal", Basque Country (clandestine). Available from above.  
**"Movimiento Obrero"**, and revolutionary antifrancoist action (since 1939). (Francoist repression, tentatives of Anarchist trade-unions reorganisation, urban and countryside guerrillas, etc).  
 1. "La guerrilla urbana en Espana, I: Sabate". by Antonio Tellez, Ed. Belibaste, Paris 1972 — English trans. "Sabate" by Stuart Christie, Cienfuegos Press, London 1974.  
 2. "La guerrilla urbana en Espana, II: Facerias", same author, Eds. Ruedo Iberico, Paris 1974.  
 (Antonio Tellez is preparing another

three books on Spanish urban and countryside guerrillas for next publication in Paris and London).  
 3. "Franco's Prisoner" by Miguel Garcia Garcia, Rupert Hart-Davis, London 1972.  
 4. "Solidaridad revolucionaria: el Grupo Primero de Mayo", by the Grupo Primero de Mayo, Paris 1973.  
 5. "The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement", ed. by Albert Meltzer, Cienfuegos Press, to appear with new works on the topic in 1975 in London include the former.  
 6. "El Movimiento Libertario Espanol. pasado, presente, futuro" ed by Jose Martinez et al, Ruedo Iberico Paris Jan. 1974.  
 (More Anarchist information on all these topics (publications by all kinds of Anarchist groups — including the already mentioned ones — etc) can be obtained in/through the CIL, and, above all, the Spanish magazines in France "Frente Libertario" (c/o Amador Alvarez, 87 rue de Patay, Paris 75013) and "Presencia Libertaria" (34 rue des Blanchers, 3100 Toulouse).)

THE CIL  
 January 75.

# Art & Science in a Libertarian Society

**PEDRINI BELGRADO**

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



Art, science and philosophy — so Hegel and Descartes tell us — are the highest expression of the human spirit. But they define "spirit" from their own philosophy's view of it, which has nothing in common with the religious interpretation. Indeed, they differ themselves: for one the spirit is "the thinking I", "the rational mind", whereas for the other it is the "intellective activity of the selfconscious subject". Art, science and philosophy are certainly the highest product of the human intellect. But whilst philosophy spreads its light into the dark mazes of the knowable and is, by that token, a purely intellectual activity, art, on the contrary, makes its ideas known by means of a double, physical and mental, activity. Whilst, for example, the human greatness of Kant can be completely contained in his intellect, the greatness of Raphael is completed by the 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 considered both mental and physical workers.

In the bourgeois states, *and* in the socialist ones, scientists, artists, and scholars are considered special categories of workers, to whom very high salaries are due. Almost always, however, it is these very people who, working for themselves, fix the prices of their products. But even if their activities come to depend financially on the State or private employers, their salaries are still very high when compared with those of the average worker. In the socialist states, despite the so-called Marxist equalisation of incomes, the salaries of artists, scientists and intellectuals in general, as well as those of the high functionaries of the Party and the State, are large enough, when compared with those of the workers, to show, by themselves, that socialism has never been realised in these countries.

In short, those who have to make what little they can, where and whenever they can, are the manual workers who produce all the really 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 have to touch on this question for a crowd of idiots to get up and shout that artists and scientists, all the people who "know", 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.

These explanations would hold water if the working class were getting at least a third of their living from the efforts of those who work with their minds, but since every worker produces much more than he gets paid for, this reasoning in favour of "privileged workers" fails to find any support in the logic of just rewards.

Defeated on the grounds of distributive justice, the defenders of economic inequality switch their position to that of the bourgeois axiom which says that: "If we had to give the same economic sufficiency to everybody, even to roadsweepers, nobody would be interested in studying so as to climb the ladder of success and to distinguish themselves from the amorphous masses." Equal economic treatment — they add — would destroy the mainspring of social progress.

Unfortunately, these bourgeois concepts can also be found in the minds of many of the ordinary people, who thinking themselves erudite, imagine that they too can clamber up the walls of the social edifice, like honeysuckle, to its heights.

Economic differentiation is one consequence of the system of salaries and private initiative which can also be found in the socialist societies, 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 equality of wages, which is an idea held by some Marxists who misunderstand socialist theory.

In fact, equality of wages is an unwise 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, and want a larger amount of it. It is exactly from this desire for more that economic inequality arises.

But is there a remedy for this social system which generates every form of inequality, gives rise to rich and poor? Or are we in the clutch of an inescapable destiny, as some bourgeois writings have it? There is a remedy, and the problem is not that of squaring the circle. But to bring it about means convincing the mass of people that society has to be remade from the beginning, after the remains of present-day societies have been cleared away.

We anarchists are well aware of how to resolve the problems of economic and social inequality. We are not magicians, but we have 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 existing in capitalist societies will be dissolved with the abolition of the wage system and the installation of the principle which gives to everybody as much as they need to live comfortably. It will indeed be necessary to destroy the economic structures created by the bourgeoisie, but the gradual and systematic destruction of its political, moral and philosophical consciousness must follow. In other words, the whole of bourgeois culture will have to be wiped off the slate.

To be continued next month.



POSTERS: Beautiful laminated poster "PYRAMID" (The great are only great . . .) by Costantini. £1 post free — in aid of our various funds — from Bill Poster, Cienfuegos Press, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW.3.

Folio of 15 drawings in aid of GARI (Spanish prisoners arrested in France and Spain) — cartoons in French. £2 from Ali Touati, 43d, Anerley Park, London SE.20.

'Perpetual calendar' — illus., dateless — Kropotkin Lighthouse pub., 65p post free from 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3.

Cienfuegos Press  
A. Tellez — Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary £2.35 + 20p p&p  
M. Graham — MAN! An anthology of Anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries. Library edition £7.00. Paperback edition £3.25 + 32p p&p. (Airmail £1.30p — Seamail 20p)  
Don't forget to order MAN! for you local library!

## Answers to Anarcho-Quiz

1. The building was associated with almost every Left cause during the 20s, 30s, 40s and 50s. Time Out's tenure of it was purely by coincidence. It was the first rehearsal home of Unity Theatre; has housed socialist, communist, anarchist, Trotskyist, and civil rights and colonial freedom organisations; was the headquarters of the International Brigade, the first squatters' movement, the tenants' rights movements, various trade union bodies, students bodies and so on, due to the rambling number of rooms in the place. (Even our faction was there for five years!).

2. It omits to mention how many monarchs were dictators — the Tudors, for instance — and that Cromwell's dictatorship arose following the struggle for freedom against Stuart dictatorship.

3. They converted him. Owing to their disconcerting questions about the Bible, Colenso revised his primitive ideas of Christianity and found himself excommunicated by his Church.

4. John Amery was accused of treason for having served with the German Army in a comic-opera British auxiliary "Legion": but while perhaps morally guilty he had almost certainly been naturalised Spanish while fighting for Franco and so had a defence — despite having Spanish witnesses waiting, he altered his plea to Guilty after being visited by his father.

5. Paul Muni (Muni Weisenfreund) is the son of Maurice Weisenfreund, who played the role of Albert Parsons in a play about the Chicago Martyrs in the Jewish-language theatre.

6. It was for this very reason (according to its commandant Capt. J.R. White, formerly Connolly's Citizen Army organiser and afterwards CNT-FAI Committee and London Freedom Group member) that the Irish Brigade refused to continue; and all but a few hard-line Stalinists went home.

# Poor Scholar

When I was at school a textbook referred to Trotsky as a pacifist, who on returning to Russia, "treated the world to the unique spectacle of a pacifist and anti-militarist changing his convictions". (Even if true, it was hardly unique!) Placed in charge of the Red Army, he showed "surprising military attitude for one who had been a pacifist".

An absurd distortion of history?

But textbooks are written by schoolmasters whose prejudices bolster up ignorance. Dr. Rhodes Boyson, former Headmaster of Highbury Grove Comprehensive School until his bigotry and ignorance took him into politics to become Tory MP for Brent North told the conference of the National Association of Schoolmasters that "neo-Trotskyist teachers aimed at anarchy". Cells of "neo-Trotskyists" — surely he meant the good old-fashioned four-square variety of Trotskyists? Is there a new brand? — were "operating in schools in large cities in an attempt to undermine the young and destroy the British way of life . . . they are concerned to bring the schools into anarchy."

Trotskyists (even neo-Trotskyists) with anarchist aims are surely as unique as a pacifist (or perhaps a former socialist like Dr. Boyson, who of course knows better than he pretends) changing his convictions.

Maudling Prize for Idiot of the Month to Dr. Rhodes Boyson: Extract from a school report marked "Needs to brush up his history".

The new Scotland Yard IRA investigation squad will they say be searching "Irish communities" — many of which are "already under patrol" and has been — they say jocularly — "called the Mick Takers". Happy England that can conduct its pogroms with a smile (and had it run the trains that took the Jews to the gas chambers might have called them the "Ikey-Mobiles"?) and may yet enter into the era of the concentration camp with a joke upon its lips ("It's a gas . . .")

Dear Friends,

In your last issue Uriria makes some interesting points about the phone calls made after some IRA bombing attempts claiming they were done by "Red Flag 1974" but using all the wrong jargon. One further point she omitted was the reference in the calls to the group being a "split from the IMG" The National Front has a particular private feud with the IMG, which not only advocates personal attacks on Natfront members but has pushed other Left groups into a somewhat meaningless confrontation with them. No Left group I have ever heard of would announce in its opening manifesto it was a "split" from something else. It would be the original thing; the vanguard; it would probably use the word "united". To be a 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 the pub bombings as a protest against the sale of liquor.

However it would be too facile to say the IRA were not responsible, much as everyone on the left wants to blame the police. There is nothing in the Birmingham and Guildford bombings that is in any way worse than what is happening in Northern Ireland — by IRA, UDA, Freeland, police and Army. The only difference is that it has upset more people since they had got to regard Northern Ireland as being a ghetto whose affairs did not concern the rest of the kingdom. Showing cold feet, the IRA leadership tried to disclaim responsibility — but at the same time was able to say that it would stop doing it for Christmas!

J.K.