

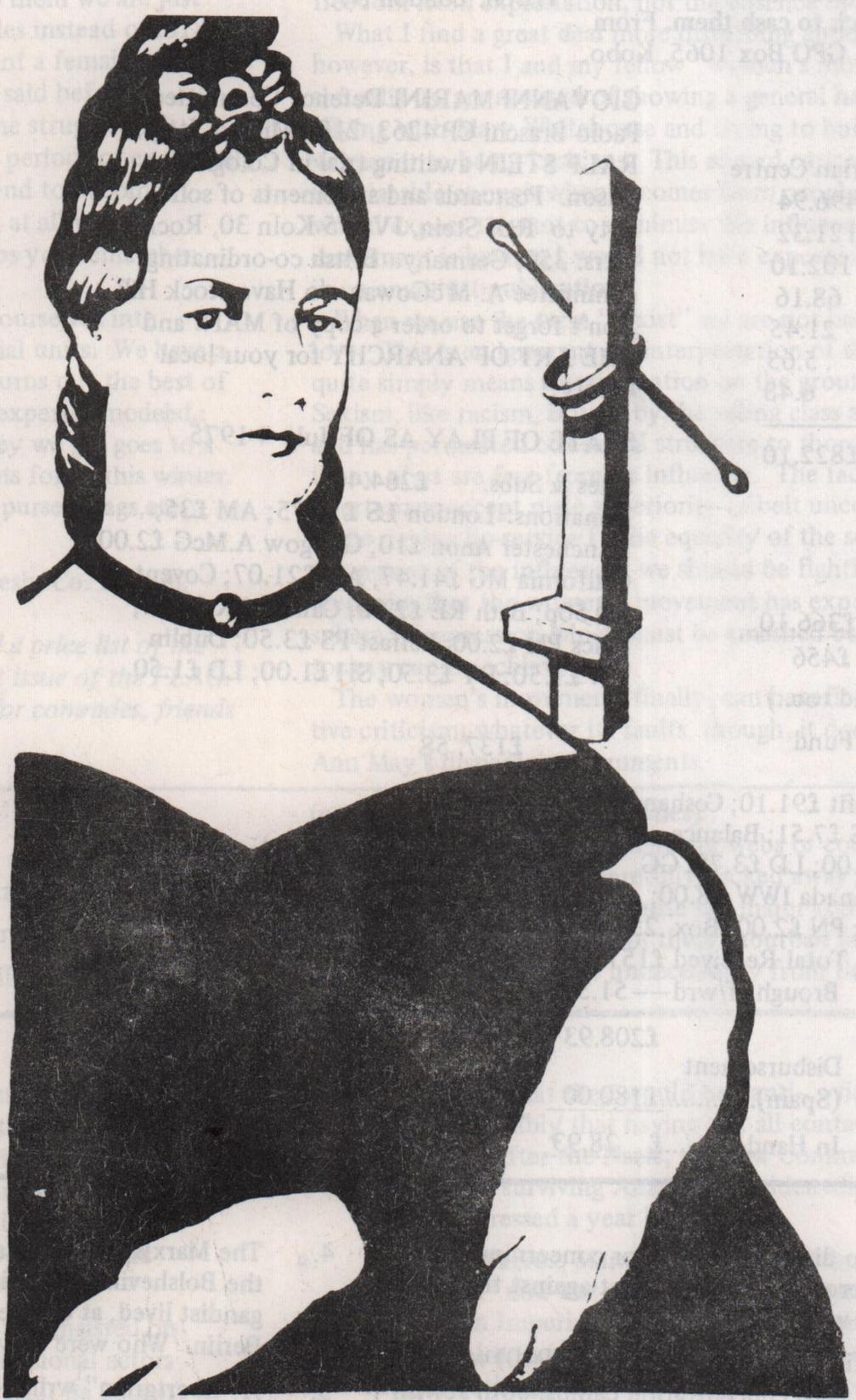
BLACK FLAG

organ of the



ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol. IV No. 3 August 1975 10p



Mariana Pineda, born in 1804. When Napoleon's troops entered Spain they made the King, Queen and their joint Prime Minister/lover Godoy captive and installed a puppet, Napoleon's brother. The Spanish workers were deeply imbued with liberalism and constitutionalism from France – and they were not prepared to accept Napoleon's despotism in place of the Spanish kings. They fought back (the Peninsular War) and King Ferdinand VII was installed. But he was bitterly reactionary and hunted down the guerrillas who had put him there. Mariana was suspected of devotion to liberalism and womens rights. Her house was raided and she was discovered to be embroidering a flag for the constitutionalists. She was garroted at the age of 27 as an 'examp le' to Granada.

It was for such reasons that liberalism in Spain turned revolutionary.

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UNKNOWN HEROINE

(see cover),

History does not record

The rebels failed;

Your name, though writ in blood,

Lives, red as a fragrant rose.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. There were two direct attacks on or concerning the Japanese Emperor in 1932 in protest against the war policy. Which were they?
2. In the British film "Pimpernel Smith" (1940) with a background of Nazi concentration camps, both Jewish and Anarchist prisoners are shown. (It was originally to have been Communist prisoners but this was altered by the scenarist due to the Nazi-Soviet alliance). What was special about the actors playing the Anarchist prisoners? And what tragic consequence may have followed?
3. Why did the post-war Polish Government allow the Anarchist movement to re-group its forces in 1945?
4. The Marxist theoretician who ensured the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution and the main Nazi propagandist lived, at different times, in the same house in Berlin. Who were they?
5. A "libertarian" writer (and poet in the Jewish language) held a dialogue in several books with A.K. Chesterton (Mosleyite founder of Empire Loyalists and pioneer of National Front), also arranging for Mosley's books to be printed by his publisher when, after the war, no trade union printer would handle them in London (psuedo-libertarian grounds on his part, financial considerations on theirs). Who? What other, painfully contrasted book, did he have published by them and contribute a preface?

(answers p 15)

Union-Bashing Economics

This is a sort of do-it-yourself Fleet Street editorial: "The powerful unions must not be allowed to defy the Government . . . the issue is simply who is to govern, the unions or the elected representatives of the people in Parliament . . ." Some such words are left unwritten by journalists when they walked out in defence of their pay claims; they resume when they come back, talking of "unreasonable blackmail . . . extortionate demands . . . inflation".

None of this is the language either of socialism or of capitalism. It has nothing to do with achieving socialist collectivisation in which unions must play an important part. It has even less to do with capitalist economics which depend upon the free market and in which the worker is entitled to sell or withdraw his labour, take it from or to the highest bidder, or combine to increase its value by competition. It is the language of a Statism which takes over from socialism and capitalism and combines the worst features of both.

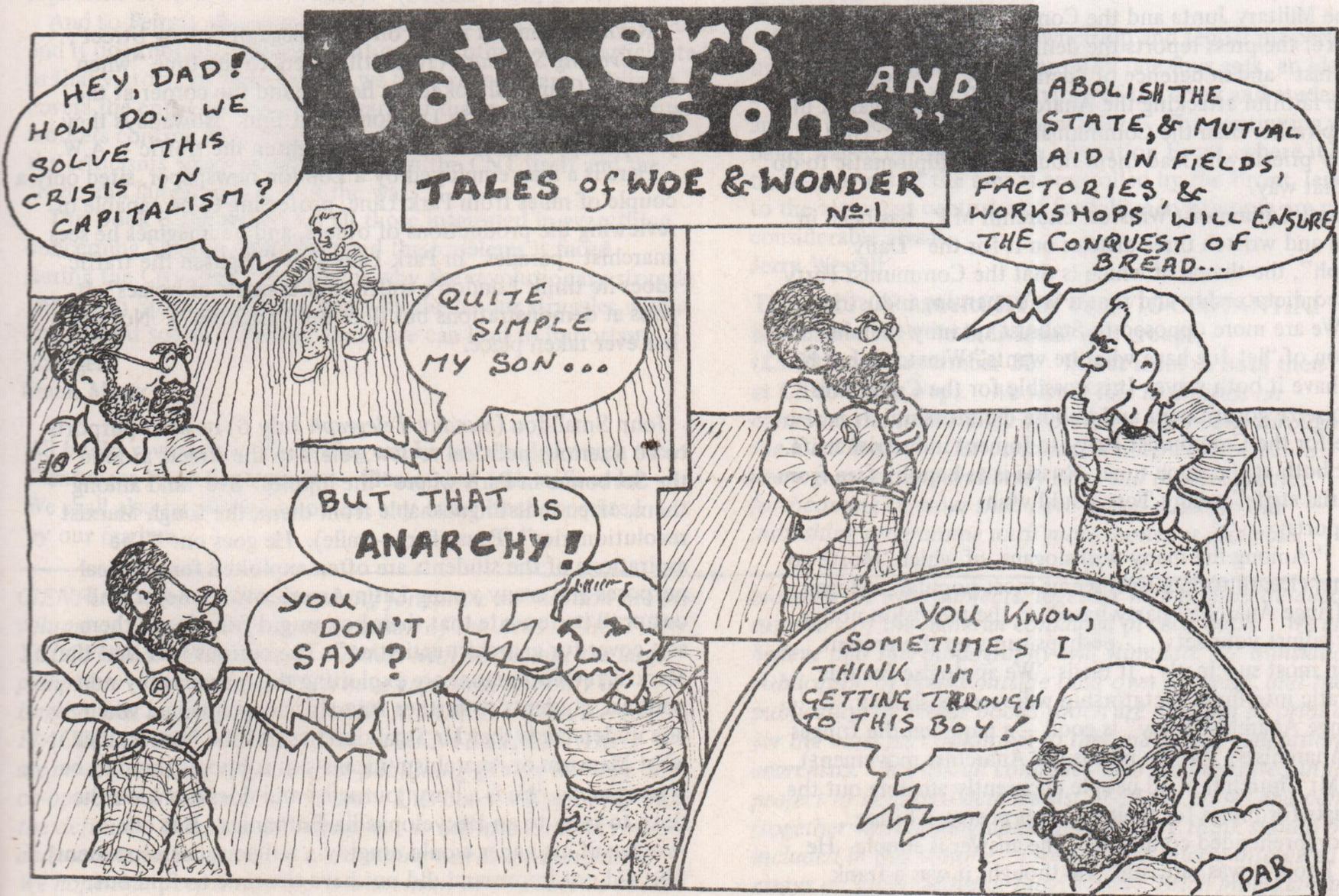
The State is seen as supreme: hence later in the saga will come the words "law and order", "a stable society" and other hints at the big stick of the State. Hints are given that this "industrial blackmail" is designed to lead to State socialism but it is likely as not directed against State industries. The employer who talks in terms of free enterprise is oddly enough the first to denounce such free enterprise as a strike, and calls for the very State intervention that he spends his time deploring otherwise. He wants the State but only in its repressive role, against others.

The saga that has grown up around State control in Britain and is the stuff of the politics of the media is a hybrid of languages of socialism and capitalism: it calls for equal sacrifices but recognises the essential point of capitalism that

the main thing in life is individual achievement. The aim in life is money, but one should not pursue it! — It is a sort of ossification of the class structure. Those with money, should keep it; those without, should stay without, "until the crisis is over". But the "crisis" goes on year after year without abating and is no crisis but the norm. The occasional flight of fancy by journalists — "the party's over" . . . "the kissing has to stop" . . . — obscures the fact that for one reason or another we have been told the crisis was on for nearly half a century . . . post-war depression, unemployment (as if it were a natural disaster like floods or pestilence), war, post-war crisis and so on. What is behind the manufacture of the saga is a sort of "deep freeze capitalism" in which all the competitiveness is to be taken out of the system, with those *in* staying in, except for bad luck, and no one else climbing on the wagon. It does not work, of course, but "freeze" is the essential word in the saga.

It is odd that even today people believe in the saga and not only seriously discuss "inflation" as if it were something like a monsoon but equally worry about "deflation" (journalists have even invented "reflation"!). It is the language of myth called in to justify power — an economic myth to replace the patriotic myth, but in this case using the same "national necessity" ploy as in war.

None of the economic "laws" are natural. They are only observations of how people will behave when they have economic power. The persistently repeated story that if wages rise prices will rise is merely a method by which some people wish to alter the rules of "free competition" once they find they aren't winning.



Roon 'n' About

Joanne Little's case was first reported in this country in this journal. It was taken up by the Sundays and now, with the opening of the trial and the extensive coverage given in the States, it has made the dailies.

Joanne (or Joan) Little was a black woman confined in a men's prison. The prison guard came in — according to Joan, to rape her; according to the prosecution, "enticed with the promise of sexual favours". She killed him in self-defence; according to the prosecution, in a premeditated attack.

The case — highlighting the vulnerable position of black women in Southern States of the Union even today — has received immense support as it has built up. Demonstrations were held all over the States as the trial opened (on July 14).

We asked for letters of sympathy and solidarity to be sent — most of them seem to have come back to this country marked "Unknown". Ha, believe that one!

On Sunday (July 13) the *Observer* colour supplement published extracts from the forthcoming book *The Art of Anarchy* (pub. Cienfuegos Press £3.00). By a coincidence the Sunday Times colour supplement on the same date had extensive extracts from a Pluto Press book on Victor Grayson — the Anarchist publishers making one of the top Sundays and the I.S. the other! It must be a plot, they said in Cheltenham and Bournemouth

On Sunday July 13 the Roman Church organised a huge demonstration in the town of Aveiro (Portugal). Thousands of the faithful, ushered by priests who had faithfully served the fascist regime, escorted the local Bishop to his palace. The slogan: ANARCHY NO . . . ORDER YES. This, alas, is exactly what the Military Junta and the Communist Party have in mind. Yet the press reports the demonstration as "anti-Communist" and in defence of "democracy". Why are the Catholic faithful attacking the Anarchists fighting against dictatorship rather than the Communist dictatorship? The cowardly priests who lead them find it more diplomatic to do things that way.

Stiff anti-Communist Winston Churchill M.P., has been in Portugal and written three articles on it for the "Daily Telegraph", the theme of which is that the Communist Party has seized dictatorship and that it is fomenting industrial strife. We are more opposed to Stalinist tyranny than he (grandson of "let Joe have what he wants" Winston), but he cannot have it both ways. It is possible for the Communist Party to seize government and impose dictatorship. It is also possible for the Communist Party to foment industrial strife. But not both at the same time. Russia is as happily free from "industrial strife" as any Tory could wish.

He reports:

"Among the many wall slogans, of which 'Morte ao Fascismo' (Death to Fascism) seems most popular, a slogan by the fringe Anarchist party based on the television notice 'Do not adjust your set . . .' perhaps sums up the present situation most succinctly. It reads: 'We apologise for this democratic interlude: dictatorship will resume shortly.'"

("Fringe Anarchist Party" is good — a party on the fringes of the Anarchists? No, he means the Anarchist movement). Why is Mr Churchill of all people apparently singling out the Anarchists for praise for their succinct poster, a biting, easily comprehended comment? The answer is simple. He did not know it was sarcastic. He thought it was a frank "admission" by someone on the "fringe" of the government!

Radio Free Europe helped, according to Mr Bernard Levin writing in *The Times* "to keep hope and faith alive among the people who take the risk of listening". He added somewhat smugly, that his own words served just such a purpose.

It would be interesting to know what there is to broadcast to the Soviet and Soviet-occupied countries that would give them either hope, or faith in the Western world.

Freedom of speech might give rise to eny. But hope?

Comparison with "the BBC broadcasts to occupied Europe during the Second World War is absurd. "Hope" then consisted of a belief that the occupying power would be defeated by military action. The BBC advocated sabotage and espionage, which is precisely what the USSR accuses Radio Free Europe of, and what it denies. If the radio is to tell the people of Soviet Europe things "which are concealed from them", these must include the fact that revolutionaries against State Communist tyranny have been persecuted in the West and driven out of existence.

The British media likes to highlight the plight of Jews and Baptists in Russia who by their terms of reference offer no resistance to the regime (they are asking for emigration, or the right to worship, and denying any desire to overthrow the State). But there is no evidence of any wish of the outside powers to refrain from active persecution of any movement likely to upset the equilibrium of Soviet Europe. What, then, is the "hope" to be held out? — That some day the listener might be chosen for a foreign ballet tour and be enabled to escape to America? Is that really worth American money?

The British Journalist

Reviewing an old movie on TV, 'Siege of Sidney Street', the *Evening Standard* (July 4th) refers to the time "when Winston Churchill poked his head round the corner at the anarchists holed up in London's East End. Nowadays they just parade down Park Lane and frighten the traffic — A.W.

Here is a man employed by a London newspaper, sited only a couple of miles from Park Lane, professing to be capable of reviewing the productions of others, and he imagines he sees anarchist "parades" in Park Lane that "frighten the traffic" (does he think London's traffic still consists of horses? It jams at demonstrations but does not "frighten"). Not one has ever taken place.

John Smalldon (*Sunday Telegraph* July 6) in what purports to be a serious political review, refers to the streets around the Sorbonne in Paris where "the hippies" live "and among them, often indistinguishable from them, the tough Marxist revolutionaries" (Pause for in-smile). He goes on: "The aspirations of the students are often exploited for political purposes and many young Latin Americans . . . never find out until its too late that their boy or girl friends use them as a cover for anarchist activities." The curious fact that the Marxist revolutionaries are exploiting the, presumably non-political, students to further Anarchism is explained when one understands that Mr Smalldon has not the faintest idea what Marxism or Anarchism means and supposes them to be synonymous. He is a busy journalist and does not have the time to refer to an Encyclopaedia Britannica. But one wonders if his paper would employ a religious correspondent who did not know, and did not have the time to find out, the difference between Catholics and Protestants.

ANARCHIST CITIES

Anarchism
the political philosophy of a non-governmental society of autonomous communities — does not at first sight seem to address itself to the problems of the city at all. But there is in fact a stream of anarchist contributions to urban thought that stretches from Kropotkin to Murray Bookchin historically, and from John Turner to the International Situationists ideologically. A lot of the people who might help us evolve an anarchist philosophy of the city would never think of trying because in spirit, though less often in practice, they have abandoned the city.

(Colin Ward-writing in a special joint double number of Undercurrents No.10 and Vol. 6 No. 1 — both alternative ecological magazines).

“Governments are invariably based in cities; whoever heard of a nation ruled from a village? Very often they actually build cities to house themselves: New Delhi, Canberra, Ottawa, Washington, Chandigar and Brasilia are examples. And isn't it significant that the visitor who wants to sample the real life of a place has to escape from the city of the bureaucrats and technocrats in order to do so? He has to go ten miles from Brasilia for example, to the Citade Libre (Free Town) where the building workers live. They built the “City for the Year 2000” but are too poor to live there, and in their own home-made city, “a spontaneous wild west shanty town life has arisen, which contrasts with the formality of the city itself, and which has become too valuable to be destroyed.”

The question of living in cities is of paramount importance to a revolution. There is a strong case for living in the country providing we don't all make the choice. There is a myth about getting back to natural surroundings: when it is done by the powerful view, it can be idyllic for them - prosperity introduces the ecological menace. It is important to tackle the problem: the new cities being built by bureaucrats and technocrats are mausoleums. They can create bricks and mortar by decree but not life.

You get the life when you go out of the towns, says Colin Ward - you have to escape from the State nightmare of Brasilia into the shanty town around to see a spontaneous life-style; and the rural poor of the “Third World” are flocking into the big cities.

Here Ward goes off on to somewhat of a curious tangent:

“And the paradox is that the rural poor of the Third World are flocking to the cities in vast numbers. If you want examples of anarchist cities in the real world today, in the sense of large scale human settlements resulting from popular direct action and not from governmental action, it is to the Third World you would have to turn.”

This is of course to put the slums forward as a solution when we know full well that the task of the slums is to get out of the slums.

“Peruvian *barriadas* indicates that such a view is grossly inaccurate: although it serves some vested political and bureaucratic interests, it bears little relation to reality...Instead of chaos and disorganisation, the evidence instead points to highly organised invasions of public land in the face of violent police opposition, internal political organisation with yearly local elections, thousands of people living together in an orderly fashion with no pol-

ice protection or public services. The original straw houses constructed during the invasions are converted as rapidly as possible into brick and cement structures with an investment totalling millions of dollars in labour and materials. Employment rates, wages, literacy, and educational levels are all higher than in central city slums (from which most *barriada* residents have escaped) and higher than the national average. Crime, juvenile delinquency prostitution and gambling are rare, except for petty thievery, the incidence of which is seemingly smaller than in other parts of the city.”

What an extraordinary tribute to the capacity for mutual aid of poor people defying authority.”

The solution therefore is what Professor Thomas Reiner calls: “a polynucleated city mirroring its anarcho-syndicalist premises” And the same message comes again in Leopold Kohr's dazzling essay ‘The City as Convivial Centre’ where he finds the good metropolis to be a “polynuclear federation of cities” just as his city is a federation of squares.

Unfortunately we know that these cities do not exist, never have existed and are nowhere on the drawing boards. The architect is above all subservient to the State as patron, however much he likes to pretend otherwise. Meanwhile can the architect build his ‘polynuclear federation of cities’? Yes, but superimposed upon the old city like the culture of Athens was imposed upon the slave structure of Greece.

The architect has an answer in that it is the lack of confrontation that causes a city to break down. Says Murray Bookchin:

“Much has been written about the retreat of dropout youth to rural communes. Far less known is the extent to which ecologically minded counter-cultural youth began to subject city planning to a devastating review, often advancing alternative proposals to dehumanising urban ‘revitalisation’ and ‘rehabilitation’ projects.”

But it all concludes with Murray Bookchin's benign remark that “far more than the flowers of the mid-sixties, the angry clenched fists of the late sixties were irrelevant in reaching an increasingly alarmed and impotent public.” Has he examined the reasons? We fear not- the clenched fists were raised in anger precisely because the dreams of the flower people were pot-induced. Dream cities “must” take the place of real cities “or we perish”. But in that case we are likely to perish because there is no MUST about it.

It is interesting to see, however, how architects are pinning themselves to the hope of the future free society. The real danger is that when it is possible for the people to smash the state they will not be able to move into their imagined homes;

Four Years of ORA and AWA

When ORA/AWA was formed back in 1971 a number of people in the anarchist movement, grouped around Keith Nathan and based at York University, had been making a series of criticisms of the Anarchist Federation of Britain. This federation had been set up in the 1960s with the stated and specific purpose that it should call an AFB conference once a year, should this be considered possible and worthwhile. AFB was never supposed to be an anarchist national conference. It was never supposed to work out anarchist policies on different subjects. It had neither the responsibility nor the resources to develop an ongoing anarchist critique of society and a generalised analysis of the world situation. It was never intended that it should serve as a recruiting base to win people to anarchism who might otherwise have embraced state socialism. So it appears a little careless of ORA/AWA to have spent a good deal of its time repeating criticisms of AFB for not having done things which it was never supposed to do.

But this does invite the question how successful AWA/ORA has been in accomplishing these tasks it was felt AFB should have been doing, and which ORA/AWA, when founded, intended to carry out. Judged by their publications their success has not been outstanding. In 17 issues *Libertarian Struggle* has never achieved anything even approaching the ambition for it to become an agitational paper; that is a paper that can be sold to people engaged in struggles against the system, help them in their struggle and thus win their support for the paper and for the organisation which produces it. In my view this is a straight leninist tactic and attitude, but I have shown this definition of agitational paper to an experienced AWA/ORA member and he agrees with it and states that this is what *Libertarian Struggle* is intended to be.

Considered as a paper it is poorly written and has a turgid semi-marxist approach to all the topics it discusses. My overall impression of it is that the editorial group are more concerned to resemble *Socialist Worker* or *Red Weekly* in the style of their material than to produce a distinctly anarchist paper, or even a paper with a distinctly anarchist line. Certainly this is what they produce, be their intentions to produce this sort of paper or not. I've seen pamphlets on vegetarianism that held the interest more. There seems to me to be absolutely no likelihood that such a paper could hope to persuade "militant workers", who the sectarians assure us are always "moving towards a revolutionary position" to join ORA/AWA rather than IS, IMG, WRP, WSL or whichever other leninist outfit might present their paper to the feckless workers in question. All these leninist groups have papers which are better produced and appear more frequently than *Libertarian Struggle*, and all except the WRP abortion are much better written. So with a few dozen ORA/AWA members in pitched battle for the minds of the "militant workers moving towards a revolutionary position" with the few hundred cadres of IMG and WRP and the few thousand IS members, I cannot foresee a very favourable outcome for AWA/ORA. Although if their habit of distorting the past, which we have already touched upon in their criticisms of AFB, are being continued, as they appear to be judging from their accounts of the defections of their members into WRP which they experienced some 18 months ago, their achievements might be thought of little concern to the anarchist movement anyway.

ORA/AWA's other publication is *Libertarian Communist Review* and at the present time only one issue of this has appeared. This was published over twelve months ago and it was a very interesting, if not inspiring journal. It was

promising, but this promise was apparently still born, because there has been no further edition. And one edition of a supposedly quarterly theoretical journal does not constitute a major critique of contemporary society, not a thorough analysis of the international situation. These useful, one may even say important, functions are ones which AWA/ORA constantly berates the "traditional anarchist movement" for not carrying out in the 1960s. This thin offering in the way of a serious theoretical publication is even more regrettable in view of criticisms I have heard many ORA/AWA members make of the old *Anarchy* magazine (118 editions in 10 years) that it was too liberal in its analysis and that it was revisionistic. I pause only to remind the reader that here again the style of this AWA/ORA criticism is close to leninism, with its dread of revisionism and its reverence for the true creed. In 118 issues and 10 years *Anarchy* was many things, but almost whenever I read it I found it stimulating, which is not a word that leaps to mind when considering *Libertarian Communist Review*. It would be unfair to say more about a solitary issue. I sincerely look forward to seeing further editions.

One conclusion that can be drawn is that ORA/AWA has not become a natural homing point for people moving towards a revolutionary position. Not does it represent a realistic alternative to the leninist groups. So one may ask what it has become. I regret as much as anybody that ORA/AWA has failed to establish itself in the way it had hoped to do. It would certainly strengthen the wider anarchist movement if AWA/ORA was able to take its place in the movement alongside other groups with similar but different views, and alongside groups with altogether dissimilar approaches. But they continue adamant in their resolve to disregard the remainder of the movement and consider themselves the sole repositories of truth, which again is a characteristic of the more sectarian trot groups, though I'd never suggest that ORA/AWA had it as bad as some trots. While they maintain this approach and see as the sounding board of their success how they compare with the leninist groups in recruitment and efficient organisation, I must say that in my book, they barely fall within a meaningful definition of the anarchist movement.

So how well do they fare on their own terms? The initial difficulty that must be put to the reader is that one cannot have much detailed information about an organisation like AWA/ORA if one is outside it. But at least one can treat what one does know about the organisation critically and objectively. There are clear indications that some principals in ORA/AWA are re-writing the history of the AFB and also seeking to falsify the potential and present situation of ORA/AWA. There are ample instances of this in recent editions of *Libertarian Struggle* under the quaint heading of the organisation's activities.

The group has been in existence for some four years and on one occasion shed a good proportion of its more experienced membership to WRP. Of course people in and around the anarchist movement who joined a group which was in favour of efficient organisation, having discerned the many difficulties involved in developing such an organisation on libertarian principles, may feel willing to ditch libertarianism if they can thus obtain the required organisational efficiency. I would not dispute the points made by ORA/AWA that people move into and out of the anarchist movement from and to all sorts of weird and wonderful philosophical positions. And some even manage to achieve such positions in the anarchist movement. But on balance I feel the point must be made.

(Cont. over)

ANGOLA

There are three African nationalist movements in Angola attempting to gain ascendancy in the area before the withdrawal of the Portuguese when the country is due for independence in November this year.

As the region of Angola is rich in mineral deposits and oil, which is exploited by Gulf in the enclave of Cabinda, the Western powers are extremely concerned as to who gains power in the country. The Soviet Union is backing the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Dr Agostino Neto, which is the movement with probably the greatest strength in Angola. This support does not thus mean that the MPLA is a tool of the Soviet Union — in the power battles of Africa when arms or finance are required the nationalist groups have to seek assistance from other 'friendly' countries. Whilst this is an obvious constraint it does not always do more than cause rhetorical lick-spitting towards the aiding countries ideology.

Another important African nationalist grouping is the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto. This movement is strong in the north of Angola, especially in the area bordering the country of Zaire to the north. It is supported by the President of Zaire General Mobutu who happens to be Roberto's brother-in-law and behind this support lies the American interests in Africa mixed up with oil and other riches. Holden Roberto is himself a businessman by trade and the CIA have said that Mobutu is their 'man of confidence' in Africa. As the MPLA would have it, the FNLA are the tools of the imperialists. It may well be that the Soviet support for the MPLA is somewhat similar to American support for the FNLA, its accepted because the power set-up demands an outside "super-power" for the nationalist movement to survive.

There is a third nationalist movement, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), headed by Jonas Savimbi. They are strongest in the South of Angola, especially in the area bordering Namibia (South West Africa). It is not strong militarily but gets some backing from Zambia. Savimbi was formerly in the FNLA and has denounced that movement as "subjected to the American interest". However UNITA seems to have been rather close to the former fascist rulers of Angola prior to the coup in Portugal and gets a lot of support from Portuguese settlers in Angola. Savimbi's role seems to have been one of jumping into the breach caused by the conflict between the larger MPLA and the FNLA, thus

exploiting the situation as being the man who keeps the whole African nationalist cause together.

However, the growing conflict between the MPLA and the FNLA have made such a role untenable and the new Portuguese rulers seem to have clearly settled for the MPLA as the future ruling party in the country. By all accounts the FNLA have suffered fairly substantial defeats recently and the scene seems to be set for a transfer of power to an MPLA dominated administration in Angola. But the bloodshed, which has already been considerable in Angola, is likely to continue with the riches at stake causing the sponsoring nations to throw in just a bit more of their gruesome hardware in order to either obtain victory for their proteges or to deny it to the proteges of their enemies.

Thus is the working of power politics. Many of those killed in the fighting have been innocent Africans and mainly in the poorest parts of the urban areas.

There will be those who complain that the Africans should settle their differences in order to present a united front to the world. They are often the same people who complain about the lack of democracy in Africa under one party rule. Again in South Africa much is made of the conflict and bloodshed in Angola as a sure sign of what happens when the white man leaves the Africans to work out their own destinies. This conveniently forgets the situation in Mozambique where the transfer of power to Frelimo from the Portuguese has gone very smoothly (particularly for South Africa) and ignored the fact that behind the fighting Africans lies the sponsorship of the Russians and the Americans. Far up in the sky the astronauts of the US and USSR co-operate, in Africa they are playing out a different game.

Of the African nationalist movements the MPLA is probably nearest to the people and certainly played the major role in resistance to the Portuguese prior to the demise of fascism. Events in Portugal are tied up with a successful transfer of power in Angola, but it looks as if whoever wins the people will inevitably lose. Seldom have the power posturings of white rulers and black rulers been so cynically portrayed, thus demonstrating a simple lesson to all the African people of Angola — that the only person who acts on your behalf is someone the people control, not someone who controls the people.

Kali.

(Cont. from p 6)

that AWA/ORA is an ideal springboard for people moving towards leninism, but that it has not yet proved an effective channel for people moving towards anarchism. At least, to the best of my limited knowledge, nobody who has yet joined AWA/ORA moving towards anarchism has yet finished the journey. And it is not for nothing that IMG in my area will have nothing to do with the anarchist group, but consider the AWA/ORA group a prime area for contact and recruitment work.

Finally I come to the question of policy and strategy. ORA/AWA have formally adopted policies of "critical support for anti-imperialist forces in Northern Ireland", forces their National Secretary has identified to me as the IRA provisionals, and a 'NO' vote in the EEC referendum. It would be inappropriate to discuss these policies here in an article already over long, so I will simply mention that these policies are the

same as those adopted and campaigned for by Trotskyist groups without number. Also AWA/ORA members always hold their place at the head of the small queue of anarchists advocating the policy of preventing the National Front from holding public meetings.

The rights and wrongs of these practices and policies can be debated elsewhere. I simply mention them to substantiate my view that ORA/AWA are simply hanging on the coat tails of the leninist groups. Keith Nathan and his cohorts have joined WRP, but the spirit of leninism remains in AWA/ORA. While this situation continues they must not be surprised to find that they lose members to Trotskyist groups, or that anarchists consider that their position is closer to these groups than it is to anarchism.

William Lea.

Armed Struggle Natural Response To Fascism

The article by Marcus Graham on the Symbionese Liberation Army aroused considerable criticism from many (white) American readers. This one, by Martin Sostre, says essentially the same thing. We suppose it will renew the controversy all over again. But it is so important that we must take that chance: Sostre, whose courageous stand for freedom and human dignity has been of tremendous inspiration to anarchists in many countries, is saying something vital not only of the SLA (which he happens to know about) but of a great many similar movements.

Sisters and Brothers:

The escalating repression by this predatory, racist and sexist capitalist system makes glaringly clear to all but the most politically backward that the dire predictions that U.S. capitalism would evolve into fascism have come to pass. Restoration of the death penalty, life sentences for drugs, recent supreme Court rulings upholding the denial of the right to live in communes, the right to privacy and human dignity (by granting police the right to arbitrarily invade peoples' persons and homes and use as evidence in court anything seized during the illegal search), police electronic eavesdropping, infiltration, frame-ups, assassinations, brutalisations, de-humanisations, behaviour modification, and genocide are some of the repressive fascist measures now being implemented.

The question now is: What are we going to do about this murderous fascism? Shall we continue spouting revolutionary rhetoric without commensurate deeds and passively stand by like sheep while our comrades are framed by the gestapo police, kidnapped off the streets and murdered one by one? Must we passively wait our turn to be led to the oppressors' cages, brutalised or murdered? Or shall we oppose the choking fascist oppression which if allowed to continue encroaching on what is left of our personal freedoms will eventually convert us into de-humanised mindless robots? The answer is obvious. Indeed, to defend ourselves by all means necessary against the destruction of our human rights and personhood not only is the natural right to self-defence but a human duty.

By what means then shall we resist the fascist oppressors? The answer to this is determined by the means employed to oppress us. Our oppression is multi-dimensional. We are oppressed economically, legally, psychologically, culturally, physically and by all other means deemed necessary by the criminal ruling class to maintain themselves in power. Since oppression is multi-dimensional does not common sense dictate that resistance to it be multi-dimensional; with each level of oppression challenged by a commensurate level of revolutionary resistance?

For example, the fascist lies propagated by the controlled media press must be challenged with revolutionary truth disseminated by the movement press, tapes, films, books, pamphlets, leaflets, posters, etc. Not too many revolutionaries and militants will disagree with this. Only when the same common-sense is applied to opposing fascist violence with revolutionary armed resistance do many of them become horrified. Witness the reaction of most of the movement people to SLA's armed revolutionary

Martin Sostre ran an Afro-Asian bookstore in Buffalo which served as a centre for community organizing. When the black rebellion broke out in 1967, the Fire Department tried to destroy the bookstore. The police arrested Martin and his assistant, Geraldine Robertson, when they claimed to have found heroin in the store. They singled out Martin, charging him with "organizing the rebellion and with arson. When these political charges could not be proved, the police produced a 'witness', Arto Williams, to testify that Martin had sold him a bag of heroin. On this evidence Sostre went to prison in 1968.

Although Williams admitted in a 1971 affidavit that he had framed Sostre to avoid conviction himself on a grand larceny charge, Sostre has been in jail ever since.

Martin's prison history has been a series of beatings, solitary confinement, prison switches - and struggle. He brought suit against Greenhaven prison for cruel and unusual punishment after 372 days in the hole, and won. Switched to Wallkill prison, he organised 200 prisoners into the Prisoners' Liberation Front, and edited from prison a newspaper called Black News.

response to fascist repression.

The current revolutionary action of the SLA is the correct and inevitable response to the countless kidnappings, frame-ups, brutalisations and murders perpetrated by the ruling class members upon resisters of oppression. At long last the individual members of this exploitative-racist-sexist system are being subjected to revolutionary justice. As Malcolm X said, "It's a case of the chickens coming home to roost." I extend my revolutionary love and solidarity to my SLA comrades and wish them every success.

Why then are so-called militants and revolutionaries so horrified when the armed fascist repression is resisted by the armed might of the people? Do they expect the people to revert to the turn-the-other-cheek stage of the 1950's and respond to fascist murder, sadistic brutalisation, frame-ups and tortures with passive acquiescence, love for our fascist enemies and cooperation in our own oppression?

Or is it that these horrified so-called militants and revolutionaries see the liberation struggle as one dimensional, to be fought solely on the level of consciousness they happen to be on? Surely they cannot be so politically retarded as to believe that in a liberation struggle the enemy should be fought on only one level - that approved by the enemy!

It is just as absurd to propose that everyone resist fascist oppression through peaceful means as to propose armed resistance for everyone. Just because I'm a revolutionary anarcho-communist who believes in armed struggle does not dogmatize me to propose that everyone arm and go underground. Nor would I denounce those who refuse to do so.

Paradoxically, though these leftists bitterly denounce all violence by US revolutionaries against the US ruling class, they highly praise as "heroic" the armed violence of the revolutionaries in Africa, Asia, Ireland, the Middle-East and Latin America. The rule seems to be that armed violence is an acceptable form of revolutionary struggle **except when employed by US revolutionaries against the fascist ruling class of the US.** In effect, its as if the role of these left groups is to protect the ruling class from violence and confine the liberation struggle to the boundaries of legal activities approved by the ruling class.

However, the irrefutable truth is that a liberation struggle is revolutionary war. Revolutionary war is a complicated process of mass struggle, armed and unarmed, peaceful and violent, legal and clandestine, economic and political, where all forms of struggle are developed harmoniously around the axle of armed struggle. Anyone who by now has not grasped these basic facts does not know what liberation struggle is - or is trying to palm off reformism for liberation struggle.

A distinction must be made between reformists and revolutionaries. Reformists seek merely to reform through legal means, and not overthrow the existing fascist system. That's why they panic when the people exercise their right to armed self-defence against the genocidal violence of the fascist ruling class. Revolutionaries seek the *complete overthrow* of the fascist system by all means necessary including armed struggle. Revolutionaries seek, more-



over, to subject to peoples' justice individual members of the ruling class for their many crimes against humanity.

The spreading to the East and West coasts of the philosophy of subjecting members and agents of the ruling class to people's justice attests to how widespread this revolutionary concept has become. It can never be erased from the consciousness of the people, the revolutionary clock.

At long last the peoples' armed force has emerged within the United States to oppose the gestapo of the ruling class. The balance of power has radically shifted. Gone forever are the days when the fascists could perpetrate every conceivable crime with impunity. The price of oppression has been raised, and shall soon become prohibitive.

The stolen billions of dollars possessed by members of the criminal ruling class shall soon become a liability. They'll be forced to convert their mansions into fortresses protected by round-the-clock armed guards and electronic protective devices. Every venture outside the besieged fortress will require escorts of armed guards. Even this will not guarantee safety. For revolutionary justice shall stalk the fascist criminals at every turn. Already the people's army has sent shivers of fear through the spine of the criminal ruling class who clearly recognise the signs as meaning: the beginning of the end.

Conversely, the people's armed self-defence force has created new hope in the hearts of the oppressed — particularly revolutionary comrades held hostage in fascist prisons serving long sentences. Soon the fascist ruling class will be forced to free these prisoners of war in exchange for captured members of their own class.

The denunciation of the SLA by the movement press is indistinguishable from that of the ruling class. Indeed, some movement papers quoted statements from the controlled press to support their claim that the people rejected the kidnapping. The criminal ruling class rubbed their hands in glee and publicised how divided the left was over the SLA. Each left organisation seemed to be competing with the others for legitimacy by denouncing the SLA. It was utterly disgusting, reactionary and opportunistic.

Nor were the denunciations made in a spirit of constructive criticism by fellow comrades. No attempt was made by the movement press to publicise the SLA's programme, analyse it and point out where it was erroneous. The criticism was deliberately hostile and designed to isolate the SLA by poisoning people's minds against them.

Conspicuously absent from the denunciations of the SLA in the movement press is any discussion of the role of armed struggle. The impression given is that armed struggle is not an essential part of the revolutionary struggle; that revolutionary violence is something repulsive which should be shunned. The left movement press would have one believe that to overthrow the criminal ruling class we have merely to organise mass movements, demonstrations, protest and repeat revolutionary slogans. Even after Chile (the latest of a series of tragedies where thousands of defenceless comrades were slaughtered because of the criminal refusal of leftist leaders to arm the people against the armed might of the ruling class) the movement in the United States still follows the same ill-fated line of Allende — as evidenced by the bitter denunciations of the armed action of the SLA.

Most movement organisations are so busy following their dogmatic party lines, repeating revolutionary clichés and downing other movement groups that they're unable to see the self-evident. Were their natural powers of perception and consciousness not stultified by party-lineism they would know that a revolutionary liberation movement must deal with the enemy concurrently on all levels, including armed violence. Otherwise when the inevitable showdown with the ruling class comes, the revolution will be left defenceless and the lives of our beloved comrades needlessly sacrificed.

The SLA is the armed resistance of the people to the exploitative, racist and sexist fascism which now is upon us. All resisters of oppression, on whatever level of conscience they may be, should rejoice at the SLA's existence, at their successful deeds and the fear they put in the hearts of the criminal ruling class. It's therefore the duty of us all to support, by all means necessary, our SLA comrades. We must close ranks with them and give them the support they need. Let's not fall for the malicious lies spread by agents of the FBI about the SLA which are designed to isolate the SLA from the people to make it easier to capture or murder them.

I have carefully studied the declaration of Revolutionary War and the Symbionese Liberation Army and find it generally sound. It incorporates much of our historical revolutionary experience. I believe the Symbionese Liberation Army has one of the most advanced revolutionary programmes for liberation in operation within the United States of America.

The SLA represents the greatest challenge to fascist power because it objectifies the nucleus of the people's army which as history shows is necessary to deliver the death-blow to the military arm of the fascist parasitic class.

Your comrade in struggle,

Martin Sostre.

Funds and support for Martin can be sent c/o Martin Sostre
Defence Committee, Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205

OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM

THE SOCIAL – DEMOCRAT CRITIQUE OF ANARCHISM

(In the last issue we dealt with The Marxist-Leninist Critique of Anarchism).

The early socialists did not understand that there would necessarily be a difference between anarchism and socialism. Both were socialists, but whereas the latter hoped to achieve socialism by parliamentary methods, the latter felt that revolutionary means were necessary. As a result many early anarchist and socialist groups (especially in this country) were interchangeable in working class membership. Something might come from political action; something by industrial methods; the revolution had to be fought as soon as possible; the one therefore was complementary to the other though it was recognised that they might have to follow separate paths.

This however changed because the face of socialism changed. It dropped its libertarian ideas for Statism. "Socialism" gradually came to mean State control of everything and therefore, so far from being another face of anarchism, was its direct opposite. From saying originally that "the anarchists were too impatient", therefore, the parliamentary socialists turned to a criticism of the anarchists levelled at them by people who had no desire to change society at all, whether sooner or later. They picked up what is essentially the conservative criticism of anarchism: which is essentially that the State is the arbiter of all legality and the present economic order is the only established legal order. A stateless society – or even its advocacy – is criminal of itself! (To this day, a police constable in court – or a journalist – will, for this reason, refer to anarchism as if it were therefore, self-evidently criminal).

Most upholders of any parliamentary system deliberately confuse it with democracy – as an ideal system of equal representation – as if it already existed. Thus ultra-parliamentarism is "undemocratic" and even the elementary exercise of industrial bargaining can be held to be an "undemocratic" way of deciding – as if a few hundred men and a few dozen women selected at random alone had the right of exercising control over the rest of the country.

Since the Russianisation of "Communism", turning it away from both parliamentarism and democracy, it has suited the social-democrat to speak of criticism from the revolutionary side as being necessarily from those wanting dictatorship. The anarchists who can hardly be accused of dictatorship (except by politically illiterate journalists who do not understand the difference between parties) must therefore be "criminal" and whole labour movements have been so stigma-



tised by the Second International.

No more than the Marxist-Leninists, the Social-Democrats are unable to state that their real objection to Anarchism is the fact that it is against power and privilege and so undermines their whole case. They bring up, if challenged, the objection that it is "impossible". If "impossible", what have they to fear from it? Why – in countries like Spain and Portugal, where the only chance of resisting Communist tyranny is the Anarchist Movement – do Social-Democrats prefer to help the Communist Party? In Spain up to the present the British Labour Party helps communist-led factions but will do nothing for the anarchists.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is "possible" – only too much so. When it comes it will sweep the socialists away. But if the anarchists resist, the socialists will at least survive to put forward their alternative. They fear only the consequences of that alternative being decisively rejected – for who would pick State Socialism out of the ashcan for nothing if they could have Stateless Socialism instead?

In the capitalist world, the social-democrat objects to the revolutionary methods, the "impatience" and alleged "criminality" of the anarchists. But in the communist world, social-democracy is by the same conservative token equally "criminal", indeed more so, since it presumably postulates connection with the enemy powers. The charge of "impatience" can hardly be levelled since there is no way of effecting a change legally; and the whole idea of change by parliamentary methods is a farce. Social-democracy, in the face of Marxist-Leninism, gives up the fight without hope. It has nothing to offer. There can be no change from Fascism to Social-Democracy because no constitutional methods offer themselves – but at least in that case, they could in the past rely on foreign support changing the system. Their interpretation of socialism apparently forbids them to take this view in regard to the Soviet Union and its satellites. They have no ideas on how to change. They hope that nationalists and religious dissidents will put through a bit of liberalism that will ease the pressure. Yet anarchism offers a revolutionary attack upon the communist countries that is not only rejected by the social-democrats; in power, they unite with other capitalist powers to harass and suppress that attack.

Unknown heroes



SANTIAGO GARCIA GASCO is yet another completely unknown Spanish Anarchist, yet fully of the character of Durruti, a Sabate or a Facerias. He was the son of a libertarian, a CNT railwayman who spent many prison sentences for his union and libertarian activity. Santiago was born at Santander, where his mother used to unload coal in order to keep the family alive while the father was in jail. He was early imbued with the anarchist ideal.

When he was 17 he chose the Navy for his period of national service, feeling a vocation for the sea. But by the time he was 18 and was due to begin his service he changed his mind and did not report. He went on the run and in the end fell in the hands of the Guardia Civil who sent him to the Navy prison of el Ferrol. He escaped in October 34 to join the heroic battle of the Asturian Miners. CNT and UGT alike, they put up an enormous battle against overwhelming odds.

This was Santiago's first brush with General Franco — command of the Republican forces, bringing in the Moorish Legion to shoot down the strikers, the survivors landed in jail. Then in 36 the Republican Popular Front amnestied all the victims of the conservative regime. But for Santiago it meant a change from the prison back to el Ferrol.

He was on the ship when the fascist generals rose in 1936. As the ship was under the command of the rebels, they put all the sailors in a concentration camp who were disaffected to the regime. From there he escaped to Bilbao.

His father had become station master on Bilbao, with the railway taken over by the workers. A few days before the nationals entered Bilbao, the Fifth Column shot him. Santiago's mother, brother and sisters escaped by ship to Barcelona. He entered France and joined them in Barcelona too. Here he immediately joined a Confederal Brigade.

In August 37 the Brigade was sent to Belchite on the Aragon front. A machine gun emplacement stood between Santiago's detachment and the front. He dashed forward like a madman, moving this way and that, and with a grenade in his hands which he flung in the midst of the nest. Immediately all went silent. He turned the machine gun round and began firing against the fascists. His comrades advanced: he was silent a bullet in the head from the enemy.

What of his brother, his sisters? That's another story which I hope to tell . . .

There isn't any monument to the fallen in Spain, only to the victors. But those who lack the stone live on in memory. Santiago's short life will be more to the point in future than Franco's long one.

Miguel Garcia Garcia

INSATIABLE

Two more Basque militants, Garmendia and Otaegui face the death penalty. There is no news about the trial, and as usual the death penalty will be confirmed by Court-Martial 24 hours before it is carried out so as to avoid international protests. Otaegui was in jail with Miguel Garcia. He is a long time struggler for Basque rights.

Pedro Marcilla Blasco, 21, of the Autonomous Anarchist Groups (GAA) has been arrested in Barcelona and is held on a 1-7 year charge with the possibility of a 60,000 peseta fine. His comrades in France are endeavouring to raise bail (set at 200,000 ptas — they have got 100,000).

Latest Arrests

Pedro Ignacio Perez Ibehotegui, named by the Spanish police as one of the material authors of the assassination of Carrero Blanco, and Juan Paredes Monotas, accused of assassinating a secret policeman, Dias Linares, have been arrested in Barcelona and are being held in the Carcel Modelo de Barcelona.

MY MP

Living in the constituency of Newham (North-East) I find that the member of parliament round here, through no fault of mine, is one Reginald Prentice. I've never thought very highly of this politician although he's been quite good on the race issue and supports the anti-apartheid movement — at least his name is on their note paper as a sponsor.

Our child goes to a local school and there are 39 kids in his class so when our MP was Minister of Education we thought he might do something for us in Newham about teh schools. But no, he did bugger all and this area of London remains with the worst educational record in the Greater London Council area.

Now there are mves afoot to get rid of our MP as the local Labour Party have voted to make him stand down as the Labour Party candidate at the next election. They think they could get someone better to play the party game. For myself, I don't much care who the MP is and it seems an exorbitant waste of time to go through all the bally-hoo of kicking him out. This is not to condone his support for the reactionary policies of the Governm ent. Indeed his description of the Shrewsbury pickets as "thugs" should have been enough to give him the boot all on its own. But it seems to me that the Trotskyists from the "Workers Press" have made an error in suggesting that efforts should be made to change MP's into "socialists", thereby implying that Parliament and the Labour Party can be vehicles towards a revolutionary socialist society. No objection can be made to altering representatives into delegates of the local people but note must be taken of the nature of the institution to which the "delegate" is being sent. Parliament is simply a ruling class tool thus it is true to say that socialism only comes in when Parliament goes out.

To get rid of Parliament, not just to be rid of Prentice, should be the objective of working people and this involves taking over the factories and the land, administering society under workers' control. As in revolutionary Spain. The "Workers Press" show their lack of confidence in working people not only by forever claiming that they must lead the working class to socialism but also by campaigning to assist those who want to have M.P.s in the bourgeois talking shop of Parliament. These trots only insist that such M.P.s should fool us by calling themselves socialists.

(cont. over)

SLA TRIAL

Russ Little and Joe Remiro's spirits are very high in the face of the life sentences they'll receive, visitors report.

On June 10 the first trial of Russ Little and Joe Remiro members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, arrested in January 1974, two weeks before Patricia Hearst/Tania was kidnapped, ended with the predictable guilty verdict. They were charged with the assassination of Marcus Foster, superintendent of the Oakland, Calif., school system and the attempted assassination of Robert Blackburn, his assistant. Even though initial eye-witnesses identification of the assassins was as blacks and chicanos, the prosecution's case rested mainly on tying Russ and Joe to the S.L.A., and since the S.L.A., had claimed the assassination they must be guilty.

The jury, predominantly over 60-retired-white people from Sacramento, the state capital and basically rural conservative area, found that connection enough. Joe's defence lasted one day, his court-appointed attorney, Merrill, being unwilling to conduct a defence since being present during an escape attempt by Little and Remiro last February.

They have two more court proceedings; One for the shoot-out during their capture in which Russ and a cop were wounded, and the other for the escape attempt from the Oakland County Jail in which a guard was stabbed and which nearly succeeded in arming themselves.

"First a greeting to all my sisters. Courage especially to all my sisters underground in America. Stay free, stay strong. I intend to fight on in every way as a lesbian, a feminist and an amazon.

"The love I share with my sisters is a far more formidable weapon that the police state can bring against us . . . keep growing keep strong. I am a free woman and I can keep strong pass the word I am unafraid." said Susan Saxe, after her capture March 30.

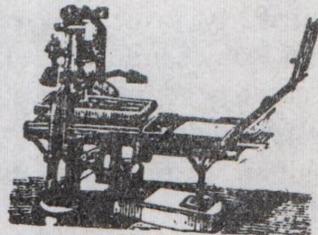
On the same day as the verdict was pronounced for Little and Remiro, Susan Saxe pleaded guilty in another court. From news reports it appeared her plea was part of a deal in which she can't be forced to testify about her actions since going underground in 1970. She was in a group around Brandeis University near Boston. During a bank robbery by the group a cop was killed, shortly afterwards three men were taken, two turned State's evidence and the third, Stanley Bond, died in prison in Massachusetts in 1971 when a bomb he was constructing exploded (Though in 1972 in an attempt to force testimony in a stolen travellers cheque and bank fraud case, federal agents visited a prisoner in Oregon with colour photo's of Bond's body after the explosion, intimating that the same thing would happen to him if he didn't talk).

Saxe and Katherine Power, who is still underground, remained on the FBI's 10 most wanted list and evaded capture for five years though two women in New Haven, Connecticut, and five women and a man from Lexington, Kentucky, had been jailed for refusing to testify before federal grand juries about their whereabouts.

There will be a full report by M. Graham on the Little and Remiro trial in the next issue of Black Flag.

AVAILABLE : Songs of the Spanish Civil War (in Spanish) LP
Centro Iberico, 83A, Haverstock Hill, London NW.3. (£2.50).

Z Review - No. 1 out now
15p from 180 Melbourn Road,
Leicester.



(cont. from p 11) My MP

The campaign on behalf of Prentice by such as the Daily Mail, the Sun, the Sunday Times, the Express, Harold Wilson, Dennis Healy, Shirley Williams and all is beneath contempt. It

has gone to the depths of hounding the estranged wife of a member of the local Labour Party who opposes Prentice, Tony Kelly. They even got hold of information supposedly from the police that Tony Kelly had once smoked pot and had embezzled a small sum of money. This was the type of enlightenment coming from the Prentice camp in this supposedly political argument.

Thus, the spectre of local democracy has now been shown to haunt the upper echelons of the Labour Party and those who, despite the record, still believe the Labour Party can be a vehicle for a revolutionary or fundamentally socialist change have been given a bone to fight over. Never have delusions and demagoguery mixed so well in a brew of political chicanery truly worthy of Britain's parliamentary system.

BOOKS

Books Received - To be reviewed at a later date:

ETHICS: ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT (the second part of MUTUAL AID AS A FACTOR OF EVOLUTION) Peter Kropotkin, Prism Press, facsimile reprint of First Edition, p/b 349pp., £1.95. Kropotkin's final unfinished work.

COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION - Gaston Leval (Freedom Press-trans. by V. Richards, p/b £2.00, h/b £4.00, 368pp). Undoubtedly the most important work as yet published in English on the Spanish collectives, and second only to Frank Mintz's definitive study Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution.

ST PETERSBURG RAINBOW - Keith Colquhoun (Chatto & Windus - Hardback £3.25).

A quiet compelling novel of a girl inquiry clerk at the railway station who sees the Revolution of 1917 approaching, simul-

taneous with her own quest for something new. St. Petersburg Rainbow gives a nice little personal touch to the making of history. It was, after all, as much the girl in the railway information bureau who was bored with the long dreary saga of Tsardom which caused the revolution as any of the 'great names' recorded in the bourgeois and State history books, many of which turned up after the event.

The book would have been better if Mr Colquhoun had done his historical homework though; he is lost with political movements but he neatly sidesteps this by referring to the multiplicity of revolutionary committees - where he is on safe ground. But he very clearly confuses the Anarchists with the Social Revolutionaries (a common failing among novelists for whom the latter are too localised) accrediting the former with the killing of Tsar Alexander, with the feats of Vera Zasulovich, and so on; and therefore goes on to confuse the Social Revolutionaries as a whole with the right wing which broke away from the party during the war.

BOOKS

LA CNT EN LA REVOLUCION ESPANOLA — Jose Peirats
(Ruedo Iberico - p/b III Vols. - £11.00).

This work analyses the actions of the anarcho-syndicalist trade-union during the Spanish Civil War of '36/39 and gives a complete picture of the situation from an anarchist point of view. From an anarchist point of view? The reader will think that this is yet another book of propaganda and that between the Francoist version, the Communist Part version and a third anarchist version, not even God would know where to begin.

In fact an anarchist point of view means an analysis of the situation, a serious and critical analysis, accentuating the deviations of the anarchists themselves when necessary (and it was necessary during the Spanish Revolution), without leaving out of consideration interventions of other parties and organisations.

One example: the military uprising in Madrid and Barcelona:

"The labour carried out by the Party over a period of many years among the military contributed greatly towards the realisation of the cited actions in defence of the Republic in those crucial moments." "As in Madrid, the working class and the popular forces of Barcelona rose heroically against the military and the fascists (...) the four workers parties formed the Partido Socialista Unificado de Catalunya a few days later." (Historia del Partido Comunista de Espana, Paris 1960, p 125/126)

"Those of the CNT in the lead, despising death, together with some guardias de asalto and young socialists, advanced like a jet demolishing all before them." "The anarchist groups together with assault guards and some members of the Guardia Civil, completely encircled the rebellious centres in the Plaza de Catalunya." "The confederal proletariat from Barceloneta (a working class area of Barcelona), united with the contingents of public order, completely spoiled all hopes of reinforcement by regiments of cavalry and artillery." (Peirats Vol.I, p144)

And so Peirats, the anarchist historian, goes straight to the point and it does not hurt him to point out the others who participated in that victory, by the example we have chosen here. Peirats covers the entire period of the war and the most famous events: workers control, May 1937 in Barcelona, the military evolution, the criticisms which developed within the CNT itself and the tragic and lamentable end of the war.

This book is the source for all those interested in everything concerning Spanish anarchism and the problems it faced during the Civil War. It explains why the revolutionary struggle persists in Spain to this day and why the labour struggles within the present social economic structure can lead to important changes.

Frank Mintz

All books reviewed in Black Flag can be obtained through the Cienfuegos Press Book service. Please send cash with order. We shall also be pleased to obtain any other books required by our readers.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS is preparing for future publication the first volume of the English language edition of the ANARCHIST ENCYCLOPEDIA. This volume will deal with books and the larger pamphlets on anarchism which have appeared, not only in English, but all languages. KARIN KRAMER VERLAG, LA FIACCOLA, BELIBASTE, CIRA, FRENTE LIBERTARIO are among some of the anarchist publishing groups we hope will co-operate with us in this venture. This book will not only be the definitive anarchist bibliography - it will also contain reviews and summaries of the more outstanding works on anarchism. We hope that people coming to anarchism will be able to obtain from this volume a detailed picture of what literature there is

THE DYING LION — FEDERALISM AND MODERNIZATION
IN ETHIOPIA — Patrick Gilkes (Julian Friedman) £5.00

That other military rebellion of 1974, in Ethiopia, has received scant attention. Unfortunately this very thorough study by Patrick Gilkes does not give us much enlightenment on the episode in question, rather it gives a precise historical picture of Ethiopian history, ending just when it gets really interesting - in mid 1974.

However, the picture of the events of 1974 would be far from complete without this book and one hopes that the author might contemplate a shorter publication on the basis of the introductory preface to THE DYING LION. Perhaps he will make up his mind about Haile Selassie in the meantime: the Emperor who allegedly "had sent huge sums abroad to be deposited in Swiss banks and invested in property in France and other countries" and who, it is claimed, "was fully aware of the famine disaster long before it became public and refused to do anything about it," the famine, which according to Gilkes, killed 100,000 people in 1973. Yet the Emperor Haile Selassie was "within the traditional Ethiopian milieu undoubtedly a great ruler." Just how much, one asks, can Emperors be allowed to get away with?

Interestingly, the Armed Forces who deposed Selassie set out in their aims during September 1974 a passage explaining that "All tenants will have a guarantee that they will be able to live on and benefit from the land on which they are settled and which they cultivate." Yet, within a fortnight the Provisional Military Government were explaining:- "We have discovered that some tenants, not having studied and understood the provisional decision and having been instigated by some mischief-makers, had interpreted the words "have a guarantee to live and benefit" as meaning that they owned the land and had the right to benefit from it forever, and accordingly have been trying to deny some landlords the right to their land." The Provisional Revolutionary Government commented that: "the tenant must not consider the land on which he has settled as his own.. and must not evict the owner of the land or take possession of the land."

In a country where land ownership and feudal property rights maintained a hierarchic oppression one thus gets an idea of the forces unleashed by the activities of the army and students in 1974 and of the reaction by the new rulers. The continuing war in Eritrea being waged by the Eritrean Liberation Front, where it is claimed three-quarters of the area is controlled by the Front, lends weight to the view that centuries of feudalism in Ethiopia are now under considerable strain.

Jerry Westall

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available on what subjects, together with a fairly detailed summary of the material contained in each book. We also believe that this bibliography will stimulate the translation and publication of books outside their own language, and the republication of earlier books which are now out of print and for the most part unknown to this and future generations of anarchists. We ask all comrades who are interested in this project to send us a detailed list of all the books and pamphlets (together with bibliographic details) they think should be included in this volume. (We are particularly interested in essays on Luigi Galleani, Luigi Fabbri, Erich Muesham and Sebastian Faure).

Letters

Dear Black Flag,

The term "non-violent fascism" gives rise not to great offence, as you claim, but to great amusement, and not because "fascism" is a bogey word, as you claim, but because "non-violent fascism" is a self-contradiction. Fascism involves a system of belief and behaviour which cannot be reconciled with non-violence. Has there been a fascist manifestation which does not include or imply racialism, nationalism, colonialism, oppression, dictatorship, hatred, punishment, obedience, torture, assassination, war – violence? And can you genuinely imagine a non-violent manifestation which could fit such a pattern? Surely a fascist tries to enforce fascism, whereas a non-violentist cannot possibly enforce non-violence. The people you have described as "non-violent fascists" may be pacifists whom you find unpleasant in various ways, but they are not really fascist in any way. Accusing pacifists anarchists of being "non-violent fascists" is like accusing Trotskyists, pacifists and anarchists of being "objectively pro-fascist" (which Stalinists used to do) or accusing non-pacifist anarchists of being "violent fascists" (which makes just as much sense – or nonsense). Playing with words in this manner may be fun, but it only lowers a worthwhile debate to the level of meaningless abuse.

Nicolas Walter

Amused is he? Amusement should be made of lighter stuff. . . Most pacifists including some so-called pacifist anarchists, hold up Gandhi's achievement as their ideal of non-violence. It includes, as a logical sequence from Gandhi's gentle totalitarianism, all the crimes listed in the third sentence above.

If one takes the Labour Party pacifists (whom some Committee of 100 activists wanted to join) – many of them, clinging to "non-violence" as an ideal have had no qualms some, most or even all but one of these crimes. The Quakers are a glaring example of non-violent colonialist oppressors.

But it is such cliches as "I see no way of fighting fascism but by becoming a fascist, this is the dilemma" – or "by using violence you become the same as those you are using violence against" – that illuminate the phrase "non-violent fascist" since the issue of "violence" is the one thing the person concerned is objecting to in fascism. Many pacifist radicals accepted fascism precisely because it brought "internal tranquility" since their one criterion in the usual sense, not the all-embracing one given here) was violence.

One Spanish meeting took place in London at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall on July 20th, at which (for the first time) all the Spanish organisations and parties opposed to the regime (and to the 'democratic junta') spoke. Right through from the Catalan nationalists to the CNT, all gave testimony to the diverse nature of the Spanish opposition to Franco.

On July 26th, the Communist Party gave its point of view, at the Westminster Hall. The big man, Santiago Carrillo, was to speak – general secretary of the CP in Spain. He was welcomed by a crowd of British and Spanish CP supporters. But his speech was heard with incredulity as he gave the CP line: yes, we will support the capitalists, but the democratic ones; no we will not have Juan Carlos as king, because he was chosen by Franco – but we will have his father, as legitimate successor, and Juan Carlos can wait his turn

There was background whistling and catcalling, and the goon squad had to be called in to keep it down. Centro Iberico had prepared 250 copies of an article by Fernando Gomez Pelasz (Santiago Carrillo el la historia falsificada). All were sold

Dear Black Flag,

'Sectarian Notes' refers to the Keith Nathan episode – but was not Black Flag originally in the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists?

C.W.

No. We had a sub-line "Organ of Revolutionary Anarchism" which we dropped when Nathan began ORA thinking there was no point in making a fuss since he was presumably copying the French ORA. He then wanted the ORA to call its paper not "Libertarian Struggle" but "Black Flag"! It is hard to say what was in his mind – but this is an old trotskyist tactic though he was still supposed to be in the phase where his theoretical pamphlets had to be written by a Christian Pacifist.

Dear comrades,

I should like to appeal, through your columns, to other comrades in this area interested in coming together to form a group. So far, I have succeeded in contacting about five like-minded people among various left-groups in Bradford. There is a tremendous need in this area for some alternative to the usual crop of trendy-lefties.

Yours in anticipation,

Dave Dinsmore.

N.B. Comrades wishing to get in contact with Dave should send letters c/o Black Flag, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3.

Dear Comrades,

In your review of the book *The Valpreda Papers* you draw attention to the "so-called libertarians" who discovered Valpreda and suggested that he was not really an anarchist at all.

It may have been a question of wrong information, but Black Flag April 1972, states in an unsigned comment:–

"The Milan case has taken an ironic twist with Valpreda, 'playing to the gallery', putting his name forward as a candidate for election. Can he be an anarchist? We never thought he was. He belonged to a hip fringe. All we ever knew of Valpreda was that he was innocent of the crime committed by the Fascists to try to damn the Anarchists . . . and to help kill Pinelli."

Just for the record!

Roy Emery.

Perhaps the first note could have been more clearly written but the two items are not really contradictory, although they appear to be. Valpreda was – in the strictest "orthodox" sense – not exactly an anarchist. He belonged to a situationist-type group. Had he been in the anarchist movement proper he would not have been so vulnerable to being framed as it was the "new left" groups that stood the better chance of penetration by police and fascist agents posing as students etc. It was nevertheless totally unethical for a certain section of the Italian anarchist movement to disown Valpreda when in trouble as "not being an anarchist at all". Attacked by the State as an anarchist he came closer to anarchism and behaved as an anarchist though retaining some of the "new left"-collaboration ideas (not unnaturally in his position). One does not have to agree with "revisions" of anarchism but it is totally un-libertarian to use this disagreement to say of a comrade attacked by the State "he has nothing whatever to do with us", something done by the type of "disclaiming" organisation to which we refer even with someone they know very well.

Keep up the ol' class struggle, but don't forget that women are the majority of the working class and most of them have jobs to do, one waged, the other not. Once you've grasped that we might be able to get somewhere.

RA London SW19

Letters

Dear Comrades,

My name is Ronan Bennett. When I was 18 I was lifted and charged with armed robbery and shooting a policeman. The judge gave me 10 years for the robbery and life for the murder. I am a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party.

My main purpose in writing is to ask you to help me establish contact with anyone sharing your politics who would be willing to swop a few letters with me here in the most naked manifestation of Britain's fascism. Just one requirement — it has to be a woman. I'm afraid that Irish women are still too much under the thumb of the Church, the State, their parents, their husbands and each other. To them we are just daft lads who ought to have picked up spades instead of M18s. Perhaps I'd better explain further why I want a female anarchist to write. Well it's partly because, as I said before, women here just don't seem interested in the struggle. It's also partly perhaps obviously, because long periods of exclusively male society can have a bad effect — you tend to become aggressive and too insensitive. Any contact at all with a woman is relieving to say the least, and helps you remember you're still human.

Another thing. In jail we have organised ourselves into communes which act as productive and social units. We have a Prisoners Revolutionary Commune which turns out the best of gear in the way of leather goods which are expertly modelled. Our problem is finding markets. The money we get goes to a welfare fund to buy anoraks, jeans and boots for us this winter. If you know of anyone who wants wallets, purses, bags, etc, let me know and we'll supply.

Thanks, Ronan Bennett, Cage 14, Long Kesh, Co. Antrim, N. Ireland.

We hope to have sketches, photographs and a price list of the above mentioned leather goods for the next issue of the FLAG. Sounds like a marvellous idea for presents for comrades, friends and the family!!

AN ANSWER TO THE PARSON

"Why of the sheep do you not learn peace?"

"Because I don't want you to shear my fleece."

— William Blake.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. On the 8th January, Korean Anarchist Lee Pang-chang hurled a bomb at the Mikado's car returning from a military review, in front of the Imperial Palace; on 29th April, Korean Anarchist Yun Pang-gli threw a bomb into the Mikado's official birthday celebrations in Shanghai: General Shirakawa and several civil and military officials were killed and others hurt.
2. Leslie Howard, who starred and directed, insisted on having real Anarchists, instead of professional actors whom he found unconvincing. As a result he became interested in a real-life plot against Hitler. It may have been this which led to his death, the plane in which he was travelling from Lisbon being shot down. (The official British statement that he was mistaken for Winston Churchill is patently absurd to anyone who saw this actor in his films.)
3. Officially the statement was that it was thought they would concentrate on anti-religious propaganda and

Dear Black Flag,

If I had come across such an ill-informed and confused article as "On the Women's Movement" in the Sun, I would have been neither surprised nor moved to put pen to paper to write a reply, but why you should think it worthy of publication is beyond me. I was even more astonished that you should lend it editorial support by your reference to it on the Letters Page as an answer to Phil McShane's reasonable comment.

In answer to the first of Ann May's frivolous points — a publicity stunt like bra-burning, far from advancing the liberation of women is about as relevant to the movement as Thatcher's election to the leadership of the Tory Party. Furthermore it gives the gutter press yet another chance to trivialise any discussion of women's rights. We are fighting for equality and freedom from exploitation, not the absence of underwear.

What I find a great deal more disturbing about A.M.'s article, however, is that I and my fellow "women's movementers", as she calls us, are accused of showing a general hatred of sex, allying with Mary Whitehouse and trying to bully unsuspecting women into being Lesbians. This absurd caricaturing is unpalatable enough when it comes from people who you would expect to want to minimise the influence the women's movement is having; I would not have expected to read it in an anarchist publication.

When we use the term "sexist" we are not being anti-sex, anti-love. This is an ignorant misinterpretation of the term, which quite simply means discrimination on the grounds of one's sex. Sexism, like racism, is used by the ruling class as a divisive tactic, and has permeated our social structure so thoroughly that few if any of us are free from its influence. The fact that many libertarians accept male superiority (albeit unconsciously, while paying lip-service to the equality of the sexes), shows the power of the influences we should be fighting. We should recognise that the women's movement has exposed one more sphere of repression which must be smashed before a free society can be achieved.

The women's movement, finally, can benefit from constructive criticism; whatever its faults, though, it does not deserve Ann May's disparaging comments.

L.R

(cont. from p 5) Anarchist Cities)

that all about the country there are webs of cocooned homes and dainty masterpieces carefully tucked away, and that these "fringe people" could constitute the major conservative force. We have to shake up some of these suburban idylls. Yet we do not want to move people unnecessarily from their homes.

- not realised that they would be "anti-soviet". But it is more probably that having lost all contact with "security" after the Nazis, the new Communist police wanted the surviving Anarchists re-identified before being suppressed a year later.
4. Helphand-Parvus, Marxist inventor of "the permanent revolution" and war profiteer, whose foot in the camps of German Imperial Government and Social-Democracy enabled him to provide the railway ticket and financial subsidy to Lenin in 1917, retired after the war to a palatial home in Berlin on a lake island which after his death was sold to Josef Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Information.
5. Joseph Leftwich. The publishers Robert Anscombe & Co, also published the part of Rudolf Rocker's autobiography, "The London Years", to appear in English. It is the story of Rocker's work among the Jewish proletariat in the East End, later, to be so violently assailed by Oswald Moseley's followers.

Background to the REPUBLICA affair

Let us take an example, first, from home. At the Scottish Daily Express the workers took over the paper. Basically, the reason was economic. They felt their jobs were going. They made a lot of noise like "whit about Scotland" but the plain fact was that they were not trying to save a "Scottish voice" — for the Express was never more than a mouthpiece of a mad little old man in London — but to preserve their livelihood. A co-operative has taken the paper over (including the journalists) to try to run it as a newspaper with no marked political views.

Imagine if they had tried to transform it, after getting so much support from the labour movement generally, into a propaganda organ for the National Front! They would have needed the Army, Navy and Air Force to protect them.

This is in a manner of speaking what happened at *Republica*, in Portugal. The majority of the papers were nationalised at one fell swoop. They were nearly all run by the banks, or directly by the government; when the government took over the banks, it owned almost all the newspapers. Fascism? Yes, but progressive "popular democracy" too, cheered by the Marxist parties! There were only one or two organs of independent opinion not covered, the majority owned by the Church; one, the Socialist daily "Republica".

There was pressure applied to "Republica" to get it to toe the line with the other papers all supporting the Army and the Communists. But the Socialists won the elections. They had independent finance to carry on. There were however threats of redundancy and closure and the proprietors used them too freely (as is done here), to prevent wage demands.

The printworkers became worried. They discussed the matter and decided what was the point to have yet one more paper a party organ, one that would, too, lose money persistently. Better to take it over and run it as an independent paper. They asked their union for advice. But the unions are not independent. They too have been taken over by the new Portuguese State (along with the banks and the newspapers). There must be one only and that under the control of Moscow!

The "union" officials saw a golden chance to oust the Socialists in the name of real socialism *which they dare not apply to one single other paper in the country*. Go ahead, they said, seize it!

The printworkers did so. They ousted the journalists. But the journalists appealed to the people. 50,000 workers marched on the premises. The "workers council" called on the Army for protection. "It was the only organisation in Portugal that could save us from a mob that size," explained a printworker delegate from "Republica" who came to London (St Bride's Hall July 8th) naively.

This is a bitter blow in that the enemy within, the Communist Party, has stolen the workers' most potent weapon from their armoury and used it to knock out an opponent which, vacillating as it was, weak and divided as it was, stood between them and totality. The "Republica" workers had not idea that Communist control via the union was to come to "Republica" as a variation on Communist control via the banks in every other case. All they wanted was financial security. Now they are the target of scorn by the workers of Lisbon. They have been tricked by the CP.

Freedom of the press is not involved. It did not exist before it still does not. Freedom of the press today is like freedom of the church in an earlier period. Then, the churches wanted freedom of worship, for themselves, but for nobody else. They did not want religious liberty anymore than the newspapers today want *liberty of printing*. What they want is to be the propaganda medium the way the Army is the military medium either as a servant of the State or as its master.



(THINKS?)
WHAT HAPPENS
TO ME WHEN THIS
OLD BUZZARD DIES?
THE WORKERS
MIGHT TAKE THINGS
(GULP!) INTO
THEIR OWN
HANDS!

MAYBE YOU OUGHT
TO JOIN THE "COMMIES"
SONNY BOY... THEN
YOU COULD STILL BE
PART OF A
DICTATORSHIP...