Many correspondents have asked about the real split in the CNT, have asked for more about what we have reported. Unlikely reports about the now-famous 5th Congress in Madrid have circulated and now nobody can believe how smoothly it went off considering everything. There was, at the last day, a division. The stories of fights and worse are exaggerated.

Those who broke away and held a rival congress in Saragossa called themselves the "impugnados" (no clearer in Spanish than English - "the impugned"; but it seems that, if anything, they did the "impugning").

There is no clear split between one tendency and another that can be clearly explained (and which would be healthy). Certainly, the whole ideological position of the CNT is a mishmash of libertarian ideas: the lack of clarification about anarcho-syndicalism, the confusion between council communism and fascist corporativism, the new libertarianism coming in from the Anglo-Saxon countries (as exotic there as here), the entrenched "exile" faction and the various strands of anti-fascism. This mishmash has had a section ("los impugnados") cut off it; neither represents something different from the other.

Impugned! - Whatever that means.

The "impugnado" commission collegues that the FAI has been reconstituted secretly and was securing control of the CNT National Committee. The FAI is illegal and banned by the Government as dangerous; yet on the other hand, if the FAI had been reconstituted in the way they say it may have consisted of the reformist bureaucracy that was centred on Toulouse.

What the "impugnados" declare is that "they have not levelled any attack on the CNT" but the CNT has expelled them because of the belief (of the FAI, presumably) that they are "entrists" or "reformists" who want to collaborate with the State in forming a new union organisation that will not be so recalcitrant as the CNT.

They state that all "subscribe to the principles of anarcho-syndicalism" (but confuse it with militant or libertarian trade unions). They "admit" that there are those who would place more stress on the trade union side of things, which tendency has a long history of presence within the CNT.

The CNT states that there are room for differences within the organisation; that the majority of syndicates do not want a split and that, while the Madrid Congress didn't solve much or go far (beyond a demonstration of the existence of the syndicates - which is an important thing in itself) those who broke away afterwards flouting the Congress can scarcely talk of democracy. (Though I don't see why not).

Takeover Bid

There is certainly a reformist and collaborationist current that has tried to get inside the CNT. There has also been persistent attempts by political groupings to infiltrate, especially by the Trotskyist splinter groups but also by Catalanist and Christian elements, all of whom want a "normal union." These groupings are not on one side or other of the split but are caught up in it, and one suspects, helped to cause the atmosphere in which it can take place. They have a strong distaste for the method of organising - based on the places of work and the local trade halls. Notwithstanding the ideological mishmash of the CNT it has never got away from this decentralist form of organisation which puts paid to any bureaucracy or political leadership from the word go.

One report says that "to polarize" - in view of the above - is evading the real debate which is not being faced up to - "that is, the place of anarchism in today's world, and the failure of trade unionism." But one must add that anarcho-syndicalism - a term now vaguely used in the libertarian movement when it should be precise - can be anarchist leadership of trade unions (in itself not necessarily a bad thing, as in the Workers Federation of Bolivia, but signifying a lack of dynamic in the workers who clearly still feel the need of leadership), but ought not to be so; and the classical CNT was not thus.

Within the libertarian movement in its wider sense, and (because of the ideological mishmash) within the CNT also, there exists what is grandly known as "a questioning of the work ethic" together with a demand for jobs, for the hanging on to safe jobs or for a struggle for higher wages. All this can go together (but we see that even in small groups in this country, where there has been no ban, reinforced by genocide, upon discussion, confusion exists about this; how much more so in Spain?) Have those who oppose workers' organisation, for whatever reason, a place in that organisation? Maybe so; but this helps to make confusion. Provocation

What is more serious is that the Government has tried everything to prevent the rebuilding of the CNT - which, for all its faults, remains one labour movement that has managed to remain libertarian and revolutionary and never entirely lose its base of influence in the working class. The Franco Government tried murder and imprisonment, deportation and exile, wholesale shootings and confiscation, and added to it a policy of silence. A generation grew up without hearing of the working-class traditions. The post-Franco

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE page 7
SNATCHING DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY

Shortly after the general strike got into full swing, the strike committee put forward a list of twenty-one demands. The strike was triggered by a round of price increases and more generally by food shortages for workers and the accompanying endless queues and a hatred for the privileged "red bourgeoisie" - the Communist Party. Notwithstanding this economic impetus, the twenty-one demands focused primarily on non-economic issues: the right of workers to associate and form independent trade unions, the right to an income, increased access of the Church to mass media, amnesty for political prisoners, and protection of dissenters. It was the first of these two demands (unions and the right to strike) which the regime resisted most strenuously because they were completely inconsistent with the Communist Party's pretense of a genuine participation of the working class. This viability of Communist orthodoxy is doubly dangerous and (undoubtedly coincidentally) raised the greatest concern) because of the instability it creates in Poland by establishing a new centre in the new unions beyond Communist Party control and because of the short-term threats for the rest of the Eastern Bloc. But even more dangerous is the rulers of Poland, the collapse of Russian support, the disorder and resistance that spread across the East on national strike. The continuing expansion of the strike must be seen as the last reasonable reason why the Polish leadership capitulated demands which would have been unthinkable six months before.

In the demands themselves we can see the very seeds of the workers' undoing. Nothing could have been arranged in advance which we did not have "won" their demands. The government's written agreement did not matter. The only ratifying achievement already accomplished in fact by the workers' daily demonstrations already organized themselves; they had already struck; for a moment they had taken control of their own lives. By their very demands, the workers were going backward, not forward, seeking legitimization from the government which had historically oppressed them, they acknowledged the right of these rulers to continue to oppress them. The vision exemplified by a totally reformed state could not hope to take over the business as usual with none of the effects after the dust had settled.

The roots of this failure had at least two prime origins: one was Mielczarski and the cause for it was not so much that there was no winner, but the wrong one. For years the West has condemned the East with propaganda concerning the "free world." This source of information attained a degree of credibility only after it had fewer lies than the other official sources of information in the East. This together with the fact that the experience of this decade that there is no using any written set of demands. It is in the very experience of the West and the experience in mind and that hope for the future that this can be said. It is closely from Poland.

Continued from Page 6.

The debate with the minister took a long time to come to fruition. In circles of the Poles and Hungarians, "at first they were very suspicious about me. When I had refused to be released in exchange for anything, they thought that I was hiding something. They were perhaps a bit skeptical, trying to find me disloyal. No in order to get back to the underground. They believed that I was not a true Communist. They were always that I was indulging in a loud mouth, contradictory, in order to make sure that I was leading to the underground. They believed that I was not a real Communist. They were always suspicious. I told them I was that I had to do to the possibility of social revolution.

Spiegel proposed it to me. I had been an advocate of changing something wouldn't happen. But they were adamant, they wanted to symbolically open the 80s with such a discussion.

It was risky. But I had had a long time to think about the idea. I said to myself that I would have to do something to condemn the West and the "free world." When confronted with the concept of the council circle must be broken. It must be gone across the state is also contradictory that the only moment a mediator and the next instrument of repression." A curious reversal. After having announced the social term of evil, Mieder is not far from declaring his loyalty to the state. He doesn't do it for the sake of shabby opportunism, of which he is accused by many of his detractors, but once again, by pure intellectual process.

Workers' councils were organized to co-ordinate activity throughout the country and send to Gdansk from various striking factories. They were also nucleated to permit new people to participate... The actual negotiations were conducted between trade union leaders and to the striking shipyard workers.

The Polish working class had at least two prime origins: the cause for it was not so much that there was no winner, but the wrong one. For years the West has condemned the East with propaganda concerning the "free world." This source of information attained a degree of credibility only after it had fewer lies than the other official sources of information in the East. This together with the fact that there is no using any written set of demands. It is in the very experience of the West and the experience in mind and that hope for the future that this can be said. It is closely from Poland.

and nothing in this State can be changed: "They do not understand anymore how to extricate themselves from their immediate perspectives, they come, despite all the reservations, to see in terrorism the expression of their own suffering. The famous catchphrase "the circus circle must be broken. It must be gone across the state is also contradictory that the only moment a mediator and the next instrument of repression." A curious reversal. After having announced the social term of evil, Mieder is not far from declaring his loyalty to the state. He doesn't do it for the sake of shabby opportunism, of which he is accused by many of his detractors, but once again, by pure intellectual process.
On 30th August about 1,500 people attended a "Beyond the Fragments" conference. The conference was held at Leeds University and was organized for those sympathetic to the ideas expressed in the book by Lynn Segal, Sheila Rowbotham, and Hillary Maitrine, "Beyond the Fragments". The book examines the possibilities for the "fragments" of the "liberarian" left to unite outside the major left groups, the Labour Party, the SWP, the Communist Party and so on. It is geared to cooperation with the State. The conference was held at the Fragments conference. It is a fair representation of the experience felt on the old one. A new Labour movement is potentially a lot more popular than a new Labour Party led by Mrs. Jenkins.

Against The Cuts? That may be so; it need not be, but in any case it will not stop the ever-growing numbers of those who are getting up to protest against lack of cash in the most practical way possible, not only by protest alone, but by challenge, by cooperative and collective effort, by setting up for themselves rather than a big boss, especially if everybody comes forward willing to offer his services to exploit them. Nothing could be more farcical than the pleas for capitalists to come and exploit the workers. Certainly the pitfalls of workers cooperatives are many, but the possibility of turning into capitalist enterprises if successful are great. But nothing like as bad as falling into the apathy and helplessness of the hungry twenties. What is needed is for the union movement to enter and take over this new field; or alternatively for a new movement to arise in this field and make its influence felt on the old one.

"That'd be a lot more popular than a new Labour Party led by Mrs. Jenkins."

Grab Work The anarchist attitude to capitalist or state employment is caricatured by someone saying that they don't want to admit too many women at one go? - yet if male, newspapers do. The future of newspaper production lies there, where no vast oil companies are needed to pump in capital, and everything can be done on a shoestring. There are those who think that we shall never have another form of trade unionism, as what we have is too ingrained both in its members' acceptance and in the way that things are altered; and that at least in this country we are foredoomed forever, short of revolution, to a single-party orthodox, democratic trade unionism of which only the principle of the closed shop will ever vary, according to government pressure.

A New Labour Movement That may be so; but it need not be, but in any case it will not stop the ever-growing numbers of those who are getting up to protest against lack of cash in the most practical way possible, not only by protest alone, but by challenge, by cooperative and collective effort, by setting up for themselves rather than a big boss, especially if everybody comes forward willing to offer his services to exploit them. Nothing could be more farcical than the pleas for capitalists to come and exploit the workers. Certainly the pitfalls of workers cooperatives are many, but the possibility of turning into capitalist enterprises if successful are great. But nothing like as bad as falling into the apathy and helplessness of the hungry twenties. What is needed is for the union movement to enter and take over this new field; or alternatively for a new movement to arise in this field and make its influence felt on the old one.

"That'd be a lot more popular than a new Labour Party led by Mrs. Jenkins."
In criticising the letter from "Blackwings" in the last issue one has to bear in mind that it was written by a long-term prisoner; not necessarily labelled "political", its deficiencies are understandable, even in making the general point of much of it, one hopes to make our position clearer for many — not necessarily to the writer, who presently will be unable to receive the reply.

He makes many criticisms which are based on ignorance, unduly attractive in a prisoner but equally prevalent in libertarian circles generally. It can scarcely be called a "political fallacy" that prisoners *represent the vanguard of the revolution!* (Others talk of "free men" in the working class.) It is like saying one's crack troops are the P.O.W.'s. In reality, most prisoners that most crime is an extension of business by other means, that some crime is anti-social, and that therefore prisoners are bound to contain as many capitalist and anti-social elements as otherwise, the libertarian and revolutionary is just as much in a minority as elsewhere. In some countries, of course, even among political prisoners the reactionary or fascist element may dominate.

The importance of struggle in prisons is that prison is the last refuge of the State system, that without a struggle it cannot maintain its hold and force over the people, and that stripping away the fear of prison/exposure the brutalities practiced is a means of self-defence for those outside as much as for those within. In the same way one does not "glory" the workers. But it is by changing the economic base that one makes a revolution: without that all social change must fail, and it only the people who are working the economy who can take it over.

"Blackwings" castigates anarchist papers for preaching the abolition of prisons without dropping everything and liberating prisoners. It is far fetched to assume that generally prisoners in bulk can be liberated while the State exists. One or two, certainly, and that's been done — though hardly written about in advance. That is one thing and many who have escaped prison do not believe in the abolition of prisons, which is their own deliverance. (Winston Churchill once was glad to escape from prison). Abolition of prisons must be stated over and over again, for all reforms lead to the continuance of the system and a successful revolution that does not abolish prisons leads to a new tyranny.

That the theme of revolution is "mercilessly exploited by opportunistic prisoners for material gain" sounds strange in England, though it does happen elsewhere, particularly in the totalitarian countries; but perhaps too by "Maoists" in the USA, but when "Blackwings" denounces our "fine anarchist papers" for "virtually never mentioning extra-territorial release from captivity" he is talking the language of desperation, of a provocateur or of lunacy. (It is desperation.)

It must seem to a prisoner isolated from the world that every paper he receives has thousands or perhaps millions of supporters — "why don't they act" — and alas, life isn't like that. Even in this case, one would hardly write about it. Our fine papers have to confine themselves to prisoner support (or else) but do not necessarily have illusions. That is a caricature of genuine support work. On practice, because of lack of sufficient support, one can only be the libertarian prisoner, regardless of their "crimes" were political or whether only subsequent to that captivity did they, come to libertarianism.

In totalitarian countries, mass escapes are not really possible. The U.S. is true, is moving to totalitarianism, certainly as regards its treatment of Black prisoners.

But practical consideration alone will always dictate that this can only be of people who know each other over a long period from working together outside (as in Spain during Franco, as in Uruguay).

This may sound depressing to a long term prisoner... especially one who is suffering like long-terms in the U.S.A. and who have no knowledge of the strength of movements outside. Yet it would be a pity if people were put off helping prisoners or advocating the abolition of prisons solely because of adopting "Blackwings" view that it would be bankrupt revolutionary if one isn't at the same time smuggling files in cakes to people they don't know.

Noonan Cross was a victim (contrary to "Blackwings") a two-way matter between those inside and those outside. It has achieved the renaissance of Anarchist revolutionary struggle whenever it has been well supported, as well as providing solidarity with prisoners.

**Ronnie Bunting**

In September two well-known Belfast Republicans were murdered in West Belfast. Gunmen burst into the home of Ronnie Bunting and shot him and a friend who was staying overnight, Noel Little to death. Ronnie's wife was also shot in the face and is critically ill in hospital.

Ronnie Bunting was a republican of long standing. From a protestant background (his father was at one time a close colleague of Ian Paisley's) he became involved in the Civil Rights campaign in the late '60's. It was this involvement which brought him to the attention of the police and he was subsequently interned without trial in Long Kesh in 1971.

Upon his release, Ronnie became involved with the Official Republican movement. A committed socialist he was attracted to the Official's Marxist program and was disillusioned with their increasingly obvious reformation. Ronnie split in the Official's ranks came in 1974 with the breakaway group forming the Irish Republican Socialist Party. The IRSP was formed from former members of both the Official and Provisional wings of the Republican movement.

A feud between the newly formed IRSP and the Official IRA ensued which claimed several lives on both sides. During this feud Ronnie Bunting was shot by the Official IRA and was badly injured, sustaining a severe wound in the neck.

Upon his recovery, he became reinvolved with the IRSP and became prominent member of its Belfast organization. He was a victim of the kind of police harassment normal in the Six Counties. No-one has been charged with Ronnie's murder, but some light has been thrown on the circumstances surrounding it was a routine incident in the Sinn Fein estate in West Belfast.

Two houses were broken into by men dressed as police, wearing balaclava helmets and carrying Armalite rifles (not army weapons, but a weapon used by the IRA). They smashed the lock on the doors and tied up the occupants of one house, a woman and her young child.

It was later admitted by the Army that the men were in fact members of the SAS. No explanation was offered as to why they were carrying armalite rifles, and why they tied up the women.

The police claimed that it was part of an anti-terrorist operation but refused to give any specifics.

People in Belfast are claiming that the similarities between this incident and the deaths of Ronnie Bunting and Noel Little is evidence of an army and police responsibility for their murders.
Dear Friends,

Re: The Anarchist Centre.

The comments I would like to make include the hope that if accommodation is forthcoming, a Library/Reading room could be established. I know that a large amount of Anarchist and Alternative literature is in store, could be coverted and otherwise be made more accessible to students and researchers.

I know that some literature is rare and may well be of considerable value also to researchers. But I would still like to see at least some of it displayed as perhaps photocopies, (some page seven above the report in that connection in a limited way).

Certainly a 'social area' would be welcome, where the usual conviviality might be found for people visiting and it was suggested was wait-spirits. Local groups, individuals and sympathisers might be permitted access to amounts of resources, (furniture and fittings) if and when a room is earmarked as suitable.

Perhaps a formal union or local support could form a meeting/conference area. This is a fairly obvious comment I know, but I envisage a large area where Anarchist groups and societies could hold talks, exhibitions and other meetings. I have in mind the kind of thing the Scientific Societies Lecture Theatre enables, in another connection. In this hall at the Centre, we might well build up Film Projecting facilities later.

Those pressurised cans that spray deodorant or 'air freshener' have themselves a slight but distinctive odour which the liberal offering from brand to brand. Overuse of these pressure-cans sprays in a vehicle that is otherwise dirty and untidy can be very suspicious. Are the occupants trying to mask the smell of something rather more chemical odour? Bear this in mind on those motorway stops.

Criminals using vehicles who, although not dishonest in the ordinary sense, may, owing to their dirty habits, intend to harm the community you have sworn to protect. While there are subtle differences between these types of extortionists and thieves, it is difficult to put one's finger on material distinction. The Hole seems to have a motivation or dedication, whatever their appearance - (usually scurvy and occasionally personally dirty), markedly dissimilar to the cynicism of the greedy and dishonest. These thieves are reasonably conservative in their style of dress. Their unusual appearance would be the 'flashiness rather than a 'don't care' casual look. You see, political immoderates, intended by their unusual appearance, would use it, and one or two had no idea it could be used in war at all.

1. Most of them were Pacifists, except for the League of Nations (or, like Einstein, both) all considered war inhuman. The great war had been known in 1914-18 should be abolished, and thought the bomb made it impossible. Many therefor believed that the army would use it, and one or two had no idea it could be used in war at all.

2. The Peasants Revolt of 1381.

3. They changed the names of the streets.

4. The Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

5. Matthew Hopkins, the Witch-finder General (who died in 1647) had his Bill disallowed by the Lords. The Witchcraft Act was repealed.

6. They changed the names of the streets.

We are pleased to hear of the death of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, 34, the exiled former dictator of NI. It was announced by the government in September.

Somoza was killed as he was being driven in his white Mercedes-Benz 600, a luxurious home in the suburbs of the capital. According to the Sandinista government, Somoza was killed as he was being driven in his car and opened fire with automatic weapons. A bazooka rocket was 9 inches long, came from a launch such as he might use to destroy an enemy position.
Every town has its unsung heroes, its rebels against the oppression of their times, its martyrs in the cause of freedom. The name of Holberry has been rescued from oblivion in recent years by the formation of a society named after him in Sheffield, the scene of his political activity.

William Holberry was born in 1814, the youngest of nine children of a farm labourer, in the village of Gamston, near Retford, Notts. In 1832 he joined the army, but became disgusted with the life and bought himself out three years later. He then settled in Sheffield, and later joined the Sheffield Chartist movement, becoming one of its leaders. The Chartist movement is considered to be the first national working class movement in this country. Their aims were: universal franchise, the object of an electoral and parliamentary system which we take for granted today. Yet they were put down with all the savagery and brutality of a ruling class parliamentary system which by this oppressive reaction has tended to bury the fundamental tenets of Chartism. Being almost forgotten, they are reformist, their heritage is non-sectarian and belongs to all of us. An activist.

Holberry was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for his part in the consumption riots, but in the atrocious conditions in Northallerton House of Correction he became ill with consumption and died in York Castle on House of Correction he became ill with consumption and died in York Castle, 21st June 1842, just as his conditional release had been granted as a consequence of widespread public agitation and support.

Holberry was hailed as a martyr and became something of a legend, before being almost forgotten. There in 1976 the Holberry Society was formed, dedicated to preserving his name, and belongs to all of us.

Continued from Page 7.

It is alleged that they were "underworld hit-men", spying on one side or another are ratifiers, their representation immediately split over trivial matters in a and all was lost. It is not something that has survived the cent pro-"official" stand thinl of the syndicates. But beyond that, the CNT is revolutionary and not vertically - same). And the structure of the CNT is a Federation of all the unions to get started first, plus recognition. It is too much to think that the split does not own anything to Government or at least political machination. Every time a movement reaches a point where it looks like going ahead and becoming effective, a split occurs. (A parallel, though lesser situation existed in this country in 1944, when the movement at last reached a high peak; and immediately split over trivial personalities at a time when repression was also being used and the jail list ever lengthened. It is not to say one side or another are the provocateurs - it may be, but not necessarily so, and was not mentioned in the references quoted. But note that when repression hit the IWW in America, there was equally a split, and that was a personal factor that must always be taken into account.

The damage has been done and the death throes are irreversible," as one militant writes, prophesying that "withdrawal in a very short space of time the whole thing will be reduced, in France, Italy, Britain, etc to a handful of tiny minority grouplets, clinging to empty structures with no social relevance? That may be and only time will tell, but I do not think this will happen so long as there are decentralised syndicates on the present lines.

If the workers have a structure that is based on their independent control horizontally and not vertically, they have something that political infiltration cannot destroy. The structure of the CNT is something that has survived the worst crises including genocide itself. It will be harmful if there are "reformist CNT" collaborating with the Government and engaging in "normal" trade (non-union) activity; but that won't prevent a traditionally revolutionary and democratic one also existing, it is merely cause it embarrassment. Ultimately, what purpose could the hypothetical "reformist" body serve anyone that isn't equally and better served by the socialist UGT?

Albert Heltzer