Democracy Guaranteed by the State
How Beastly The Bourgeois Is
D.H. Lawrence.

How beastly the bourgeois is especially the male of the species—

Presentable, eminently presentable—shall I make you a present of him?
Isn’t he handsome? Isn’t he healthy? Isn’t he a fine specimen?
doesn’t he look the fresh clean Englishman, outside?
Isn’t it god’s own image? tramping thirty miles a day after partridges, or a little rubber ball?
wouldn’t you like to be like that, well off, and quite the thing?

Oh, but wait!
Let him meet a new emotion, let him be faced with another man’s need,
let him come home to a bit of moral difficulty, let life
face him with a new demand on his understanding
and then watch him go soggy, like a wet merinque.
Watch him turn into a mess, either a fool or a bully.
Just watch the display of him, confronted with a new demand on his intelligence,
a new life-demand.

How beastly the bourgeois is especially the male of the species—

Nicely groomed, like a mushroom
standing there so sleek and erect and eyable—
and like a fungus, living on the remains of bygone life
sucking his life out of the dead leaves of greater life than his own.
And even so, he’s stale, he’s been there too long.
Touch him, and you’ll find he’s all gone inside
just like an old mushroom, all wormy inside, and hollow
under a smooth skin and an upright appearance.

Full of seething, wormy, hollow feelings
rather nasty—
How beastly the bourgeois is!

Standing in their thousands, these appearances, in damp England
what a pity they can’t all be kicked over
like sickening toadstools, and left to melt back, swiftly
into the soil of England.

IDEAL XMAS GIFT
Out shortly — in time for the Xmas rush!
the ideal Xmas gift for the person who
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“I can’t wait to get my hands on it” K.N
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As a special offer to Black Flag readers
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by Marcus Graham (An Anarchist
reply to Isaac Deutscher’s address on
“Socialist Man” with particular refer-
ence to the Minutes of the First Inter-
national and the sabotaging of the
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enormous debts run up by Black Flag
and the Anarchist Black Cross.
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Christchurch or PO Box 2042 Auckland.

MONEY URGENTLY REQUIRED!
Murray Defence Group,
Box 2, RISING FREE,
138/142 Drummond Street,
London NW1

Funds Urgently required!
MURRAY DEFENCE COMMITTEE
155 Church Road,
Celbridge, Co. Kildare, (Eire).
The Russian Tragedy is almost ready to
be bound and should be available during
the first week of November. Please
order your copy (as well as The Anarchists
in London 1935-55) through your
local public library. The printing and binding
costs were well above anything we
expected and we have to come up with
the money before Xmas.

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ANARCHO-QUIZ
1. Lenin’s first Minister of Justice later
tried to negotiate a self-governing colony
in Northern Australia — but failed on the
question of whether it should aspire to
Statehood. Who?
2. What legal justification is there for
hanging almost all middle-aged male
German Protestants of royal blood?
3. The Prince Regent (George IV)
talked himself into believing he had been
at Waterloo. What was said to be his
instant reply, however, when (after
Napoleon’s death) the news was broken
to him “Sire, your greatest enemy is
dead”?
4. What was “Father Hegarty’s Wheel
of Fortune”?
5. What two opposite extremes of the
Anarchist movement are represented
editorially by Black Flag and the new
Anarchy?
6. After only six months Marlene
Dietrich’s film “The Devil is a Woman”
was withdrawn from circulation and all
prints, bar a master copy, destroyed.
the-excuse including the phrase
“conducive to anarchism”. True
or false?
(Answers on p.15)
Mao Tse Tung has been the subject of eulogies all over the world. He has died almost in the odour of sanctity. It seems to be generally agreed, at least by the moulders of opinion, that he was one of the few "great men" of our time (a father picture his erstwhile neighbour, Kim Il Sung, is desperately trying to adopt for himself, with all the nationalist-messianic imagery and panache associated with so-called Leninism).

Great men are only the tickets of history; they are the people whom luck calls in at a certain moment to be swept up with a tidal wave of events, whether it is a Coriscan corporal who has no hesitation in firing on the French people and is pushed forward at the right moment by the right woman; whether it is a man with a turn for inventions who comes along when booming industry needs fresh investment; or a group of push-cart pedlars who take up a fair-ground novelty that becomes the great American dream and conquers the world by animated pictures.

Given this qualification, how does one judge Mao Tse Tung? Essentially he was the ideal Marxist leader, the scholar-army, who becomes the philosopher-god. He was a student whose generalship transformed him into the master, and then ladled out his philosophy in small doses like a chemist. He despised the workers and the whole of the history of the Chinese Communist Party consists of military victories over the workers, imposing a hierarchy on the cities, or more easily, on the peasants — who were much more malleable in the sense that the backward provinces were more prepared to accept the armed domination of the scholar-bandit. The refusal by the workers in the cities to follow his lead meant that they were rationalised out of existence in the so-called Marxist philosophy according to Mao; the union movement created by the anarchists were "serpents' nests", the libertarian philosophy was "petty bourgeois" — the favourite insult of the academic who fancies himself a class apart by right of his learning.

The military campaigns of Mao were disasters for the Chinese people; the adventures of the Communist Party — which saw itself capturing China as a major colony for Russia, with two largely backward nations for the party to boss, — ended fatally. The on-off relationship with Chiang Kai Shek, an enemy of the people one minute, the leader of "anti-fascism" the next was only resolved by the decision of the Japanese to invade China, which alone gave the chance of a victory for Mao with the smashing of all workers' organisations and power going to the military commander who had the most foreign aid.

Mao's rule has been a great brainwashing attempt, essentially an attempt to combine totalitarianism with voluntarism, to get the people to co-operate in their own oppression. Some, playing with words, may think Stalinism was only State Capitalism, but this could never be said of Maoism, for what he introduced in China was essentially State Communism, in its purest and worst form, at a degree which showed it could be more oppressive than Capitalism, more repressive than Feudalism, and yet retain its authoritarian communist character.

Every trace of individuality was suppressed and the patronising phrase of the intellectual, "the masses," was turned into reality, while the regime justified its authority in scholarly books and articles, above all the semi-folkloric banality of the thoughts of the Chairman himself, a mixture of the catechism, Confucius and Will Rogers.

The idiocies of the Great Cultural Revolution, in which the economic progress of the country was set back ten years as the students demonstrated their power over the people in a type of monster rag day were essential to Mao's continued power; for he cast himself in the role of leader and critic alike. He knew well the mistakes of both Stalin and Trotsky, and had probably read both and many of their interpreters. Thus he cast himself as both, a supreme piece of daring which only a major dictator could achieve. Secure in his unassailable position as "Stalin", he flayed as "Trotsky" the very bureaucracy he had created, and the students enjoyed the game of humiliating the leadership of the Party and lecturing the workers on the dangers of yielding to a bureaucracy the military had forced on them, a game encouraged by the leader of the party knowing no resentment could touch him.

The Trotskyist excuse that all the evils of Russia were due to "the bureaucracy" — never to the party, never to the system — was elevated by Mao into doctrine, and while he saw it necessary to experiment with the capitalists, at the same time he conducted a political campaign against the party servants who had to do the experimentation; while he had to conciliate the imperialists either of Russia or America, he was always able to hold up to public scorn the subordinates charged with carrying out such missions. Whether you call this the mark of a great man or not, he certainly was a cunning old devil; yet one can say of him he was not a sadist like Hitler or Stalin, he remained a sort of Fabian ideal, the scholar-general who would sacrifice a million lives if he could get his pattern of social order no other way. Perhaps this is worse, who knows.

It is this idealised Fabianism which appeals to the "new left" and has replaced not only Moscow-line "revisionism" and out-classed Trotskyism, but supplanted Stalinism though it accepts and excuses Stalin. The New Left essentially sees itself in the role of warrior-student, sometimes in its more revolutionary moments, as scholar-bandit, in the "vanguard"; essentially scorning the working class yet borrowing its ideals and re-phrasing and altering them; its fantasies are to lead a great struggle, not exactly socialist or working class, but somehow national and for better measures, largely composed of illiterates who will accept an "educated" vanguard by virtue of its education.

Mao lived out the left fantasies, and Maoism is the embodiment of this essentially counter-revolutionary ideal. It cannot survive Mao because it is bound up with his personal charisma. No real chairman can have it, only a philosopher-god who takes the humble title of chairman and scorns that of emperor. It is impossible to imagine that this glittering prize will go to Hua Kuo-feng, nor will he attempt to fill the role.

The massive structure of Mao's empire will survive so long as the central committee of the party can keep together the political alliances that at present govern China. But nobody can seriously say that Maoism, as one encounters it outside China, has any future. It will degenerate into nationalism or even pass over to fascism long before there is a real shake-up in China itself.

Where Maoism has contributed to the revolutionary struggle has been to take the dried bones of Marxism away from the museum and to insist on the need for urban guerrilla warfare. Orthodox Maoism — that is to say, the parties accepting the Peking line — has stated that power grows from the barrel of a gun anywhere but in our own backyard; but some urban guerrilla groups, springing from the pro-Mao movement, have rejected this, and, though inevitably from the student milieu, gone forward to armed action. In doing so, their naive belief in nationalism, providing it has the necessary package deal labelling, has always led to the penetration of their ranks by military intelligence and police spies. This movement sometimes deliberately misplaced anarchism by the press, has been penetrated in particular by East German and Arab military intelligence, as by Israeli military intelligence which simply has its Arab equivalent in its pocket.

Yet it can also happen as in Germany and to an extent in Spain, that this movement contains those who can go forward to anarchism and are only held back from doing so by the caricature of anarchism presented by reformism or pacifism.

In the voluntarist-totalitarian regime of China it is difficult to carry on a revolutionary movement. Even under the worst excesses of fascism it was possible to buy a duplicator, under pretence of running a business, and distribute propaganda. It was possible to...
When referring to Unity Mitford's death in last issue's Anarcho-Quiz — the night that farce turned to death (which was not, it might be mentioned in passing, unusual in the Nazi saga and one could devote a whole book to this curious intermingling during that epoch — clowns with pistols) we did not know that David Pryce-Jones was writing a biography that her life does not seem to justify.

Yet the whole Redesdale clan is up in arms, headed by Sir Oswald Mosley — no less — in person, from the Paris chateau where he still awaits a call from the British people to lead them (at eighty, they must hurry). They feel it "totally disrepresents" her character — though Jessica (the only liberal among the Mitford sisters) thinks it isn't too bad.

One can't judge the book since it hasn't been published. It sounds as if the Mitford style were to be found in the truth — which, bluntly, is the way we put it (not, as a matter of fact, realising that it had long been suppressed in this country; it is pretty well-known abroad). From what we have seen in the press, Pryce-Jones temporises by saying she committed suicide. The bullet got there some way.

It's Different At Home
Telling the story of "inigue and corruption at the centre of political power" — but needless to say, in America — Dermot Purugave, Douglas Thompson, Peter Grieg and Jeri Elrod serialise a spread in the "Daily Mail" taking the lid off Kennedy and Mafia boss Momo Giancana (both of whom are safely dead) and Mrs. Judith Campbell.

Mr. Purugave et aI moralise that the power that controls the USA "is a complex web of three great forces — money, politics and crime." But what of us? Hush, we have libel laws in the United Kingdom.

"The inter-relations between the people who head these forces is carefully guarded... by a security screen of enorimous secrecy... there is one neutral area, however, where the leaders of these groups can see each other... an acceptable meeting place and a pleasant one where big men can make deals, threats, exchange views or come to arrangements. This is the world of show business. Show business recognises only power, money and talent. Show business provides a glamorous cover and every facility imaginable in return for support and investment," just as with us, of course. But with one big difference.

In the United Kingdom there is an enormous institutionalised sideshow of show business which generates genuine emotion rather than remaining inspiring, lasting loyalties rather than passing fan club enthusiasm. It is the business of Royalty. Much of the corruption in British life centres not around the acceptance of actual cash — the people at the top have plenty of cash, and plenty of power — another commodity they have cornered. It is on social acceptance, the making of pedigrees, the introduction into an old-established and automatically respectable circle. Royal life — the whole business of the acceptance of knighthoods and peerages — is part of the wheeling and dealing of the politicians. Some like Harold Wilson and Lloyd George — are more blatant than others, because, as newcomers to the institutions themselves, they tend to deprecate the currency much more than the Conservative, anxious to preserve the closed shop of the aristocracy and only let in those made-it people who won't let the side down too much, or are so rich and powerful they can't be kept out.

Momo Salvatori Giancana, the Mafia boss mixed up with Kennedy, would in England, have been given a title, (Lord Mafeeking?). Nobody would have thought of him as an Italian gangster. He would have become an English peer and been thought of as a merchant adventurer. There are plenty of precedents. Their pride and joy is for their lineage to be mistaken for one that came over and did their plundering nine hundred years ago instead of nine or ninety.

This is all part and parcel of what is meant when someone says of the Americans "They are the Greeks in their Roman Empire" and can teach them civilisation.

INDEED NOT
Meanwhile over at the Sunday Times, Deborah Higgins, a student — writing student problems of accommodation — begs, "property owners, wherever you are, to shed your prejudices." After all, "just because you hear them supporting subversive Commie causes doesn't mean we are all potential anarchists." Blissfully ignorant of her own prejudices, Miss Higgins (who is probably "reading" as they say in academic circles, labour history or political theory, without taking much in) returns to her studies. Already well qualified, it would seem, to work on the Sunday Express.

Cretan strikes again!
John Junior — who succeeds to the role of arch-humbug John Gordon in the Sunday Express — fulminated against the daughter of Tory MP Dr. Bennett — she is living with an International Marxist who has gone from university into the factory, and (he said) shares his "anarchist views."

One of our mutual readers wrote to John Junior (he did not publish the letter). If Mr. Junior clearly did not understand what Marxism was, and what Anarchism was, what right had he to criticise Miss Bennett?

In a personal reply to Walter Allen, John Junior wrote: "In my column I try not to be too pedantic and last Sunday used the wrong word anarchism in what is, admittedly, a loose interpretation, though a commonplace one nowadays. I am sure my meaning was perfectly plain to the majority of my readers."

An excellent excuse to pass on to schoolboys for "howlers."

It was not a loose interpretation, but a false one. Do the majority of Sunday Express readers understand the difference between Marxism and Anarchism? If so they are in advance of its journalists. Which would not be altogether surprising.

BLACK CROSS JUMBLE SALE
Sat. Nov. 20 2 p.m. at the Moravian Hall, Priory Road, London N.8. For gifts of jumble beforehand phone (01) 802 9698

Centro Iberico/Int. Libertarian Centre now meeting every Sunday at 5-11 pm at Community Centre, Archway Rd., London N 19 (converted church directly opposite Highgate Tube). For libertarian contact and social meeting

AWA'S INTERNAL DISORDERS
We have had to frustrate five good comrades who have sent us first class articles on the absurdly titled Anarchist Workers Association (in imitation of a real one in Berlin) — but they would have been given an issue. "Libertarian Struggle" or retitled "Anarchist Worker" (in a good imitation of "Socialist Worker" with exhortations to workers, sold to students) is not however, anywhere near as bad as the comic supplement "Internal Bulletin" which, says DC, London NS "is confined to members only."

AWA/ORS's original pet guru, Keith Nathan — rejected by the Leninists when he tried to cross over — has an obsession about police agents (someone in his cups once called him one, and later apologised, but it still rankles) and so all members are referred to by initials only. Needless to say, when libelling (under cover) Black Flag supporter, Nathan gives full name, place of work, and department for good measure. (Not a police agent, but be careful if you speak to him). Nathan and certain others, use the "internal Bulletin" to kid students coming along into fantasies of AWA activity and gross lies on anarchist activists. (Black Flag is "nationalist and terrorist and individualist").

We read of a strike called at the Press Association by AWA (!) to prevent two FOcs being expelled by their union" (a near impossibility in the circumstances, which a strike against the management could hardly prevent) — and the Black Flag guy "attracted" (physically?) They would never dare express these absurdties to the light of day. No one who had ever done a day's work would believe them.

On the contrary, they come smiling the best of friends, butter wouldn't melt in their mouths... "Why attack us? Let us speak at your meetings, use your halls..." — and in the Internal Bulletin write "shall we support this lunacy? OK as long as they do the work." Surely among all the thirty members there must be one or two who will say "Enough of these pretences, this cowardly humbug" Or is it too much to expect people to give up the illusion of "a national organisation" with a paper struggle against an imaginary leadership?
The Irish press has been cowed into silence on the Murrays. Since legal action has been taken against newspapers which dare to comment on the torture of political prisoners involved in this case, no paper has dared to report more than the barest court proceedings.

Noel and Marie— but especially Noel— have been kept in total isolation, not knowing the agitation and sympathy on their behalf which goes all round the world. Not even knowing if they are to be hanged from one week to another, with dates constantly put off. Noel finally said to them "Get on with it or call it off" and withdrew his appeal, (which was to be heard when the Supreme Court meets on Nov. 8). The court has circumvented this neatly. They will consider whether to allow him to withdraw his appeal when they meet on Nov. 8, and Marie's appeal goes forward, the date set too, for her appeal.

The case in Ireland has come up against blank apathy— "they'll never hang them"— incomprehension that the Irish Government is capable of carrying out the crime. In Northern Ireland, the "peace marchers" were picketed by the Murray defence sympathisers— to be greeted with cries of "Hanging's too good for them", which demonstrates the political nature of these much-boosted peace people.

In many countries, the news has come as a total shock and disbelief— some have even picketed the British Embassy in the belief that only in the name of imperialism such a crime be carried out.

From one of Her Majesty's prisons (Gartree) in England comes a magnificent gesture of solidarity. The prisoners, mostly English, of course, though Irish and other prisoners are there too, raised promises to collect the sum of £60— out of their meagre weekly wages. They had previously raised money for the victims of the Tower Hill I.R.A. bombings.

The Governor (faced with this precedent) allowed them to send the money out, but individually— and it has been rolling in to the Defence Committee in £1 postal orders.

At a London meeting in defence of the Murrays, with a speaker from Ireland (who arrived late because she had been detained and questioned by the SB at customs), some £160 was raised. The defence is trying to raise money to take the case to the International Court in Strasbourg— it will cost some £2000 but is being forced to spend all its available money on legal fees to cover the only visits, allowed to Noel and Marie.

Meanwhile the Dublin Committee is harassed in every way possible and has been forced to defend the most elementary rights of free speech including poster sticking in its campaign for the right to live. Most of the Dublin Committee, it is fair to say, have only a vague idea of what it was the Murrays were fighting for. But they are inspired by their hatred of injustice and are doing a magnificent job.

Spain

The CNT has been reconstituted in Spain and its National Committee are comrades of known integrity. This is the most important news to come from Spain for many years. The groups which now exist all over the Peninsula working for the reorganisation of the workers' movement ask our aid. It must be noted that the UGT and the Comisiones Obreras (Communist Party front) are getting aid from everywhere, and the CNT is getting nothing. From London it has been possible to send a Gestetner machine to the group in Barcelona which was in need of the same, and they have been ordering huge quantities of literature, old and new from Paris.

Centro Iberico here has been able to send 1,000 copies of pamphlets recently printed. We have printed a special new Spanish edition of "Floodgates of Anarchy" and Black Flag has a number of pamphlets in hand to meet this huge demand. The expense of sending by post is a major obstacle, and we hope to get comrades going to Spain to assist in taking it with them.

Among recent news of changes in Spanish prisons is the name of Lafuente who becomes Director of the prison at Burgos. The name calls to mind one of the most dreadful names of the prison administration, notorious for his cruelty, among all the prisoners of my time. If it is the same, I feel for the victims coming under his rule.

Among them is our friend Ignacio Perez Beotegui (better known under his mon de guerre Wilson) who worked with us in London before going back to take an active part in the resistance. He recently told his mother, on a visit, that he could no longer bear the systematic persecution to which he is subjected, while waiting trial, and was going to take some drastic action. He had scarcely said that when he was dragged by his hair from the visitors room by the guards and beaten up.

The ill-treatment meted out to prisoners in Burgos, but particularly those accused of having taken part in the execution of Carrero Blanco, has long been known to us, but this took place under the very eyes of his mother. The following day she went with mothers of other prisoners to visit the Prime Minister, taking reporters with them. He would not see them but she succeeded in seeing the Minister of Justice and making a complaint to the Director General of Prisons, which has been published in the Spanish press.

Miguel Garcia.

Southall Youth Movement

An article in the September issue of International Socialism on the Southall Asian Youth Movement would gladden the heart of any anarchist, as it describes how the two main characteristic slogans of the Youth Movement were 'Smash Racism' and 'No Politics'. The article attributes the demand for 'No Politics' to a growing cynicism with professional politicians, amongst Southall Youth.

'It is quite remarkable,' the article reads, 'the extent to which the political organisations have misunderstood the youth movement and have been unable to relate it. In fact the behaviour of many of the organisations has confirmed the 'no politics' syndrome among the youth.

The article goes on to relate the various recruitment attempts made by the different political outfits, and the complete lack of success they have met with. It accurately describes the Communist Party as being politically bankrupt, and with a razor-edged clarity not normally found in I.S., describes the Southall Labour Party as "an electoral shell populated by the 57 varieties of 'trotakids, entrists, middle class careerists and rampant racists'."

When the article continued about the youth movement: "They have thrown up an embryo institution which is trying to meet specific political and cultural needs... in a context where the other community institutions are scorned", and went on about a "radicalised youth highly suspicious of political organisations" I thought I was reading one of Solidarity's better articles. The game was given away however, a few lines later when the author talks of the next step being to establish a marxist cadre, and listing some of the possible ways forward, including standing in elections, involvement in the Right to Work campaign, and building the revolutionary party.

It seems that the revolutionary aspirations of any people have only to make themselves apparent and there's a political organisation like I.S. waiting to lead them right back to the sheep fold...
In Witchcraft

If Hitler had been successful in exterminating the Jews, future generations would scoff at the idea they existed dismissing as credulous tales that the Red Sea could be crossed by the waters dividing or that a pact could be made with God... thus proving the Jews were only a myth. On the same lines, the Church was so successful in extermination of the witches, that people now believe they never existed and were fairy tales, confusing claims actually not made by the witches themselves, with the people making them. But the witches never made the fantastic claims now associated with the word witchcraft; these were made about them by their persecutors.

The Church so persecuted the practice of the ancient religion - wise-craft - which was basically ethical, non-superstitious and based on the accumulation of folk experience, that they not only all but wiped out, but created a caricature in the name of persecution. This caricature has been copied over and over again and forms the basis of Sunday newspaper features to this day. The people practising occult arts - having a rare old time working off their sexual urges in the name of superstition - usually copy the clerical caricature (reading the Lord's Prayer backwards etc) which obviously post-dates the introduction of the Church, whereas genuine witchcraft pre-dates it. Some now copy the newspaper caricature.

There is a revival of interest in mythology and the occult for the reason that orthodoxy is breaking down. Religion, like every other established orthodoxy, is breaking down with the break-down of old values. But deliberate mystification preceded - and helped to cause - the rise of the centralised Church and State. This is somewhat different from that form of esotericism which sought to explain mysteries rather than to create them.

It is noticeable that witchcraft, after it had ceased to become the national religion because the State had imposed the Church, became a people’s science; when State science imposed itself, it pushed out women from the practice of medicine and it took three centuries for them to get back in, and then not on equal terms.

The wiseacres will dismiss genuine witchcraft as bunkum, but treat religious beliefs with respect. Yet in fact the witches never spoke of anything that was not earthly and based on practical tradition and this is why it survived as a healing art and why the Church caricature spoke of “ugly old women” as the prototype - a significant expression coming from what was in fact a union of single men. Orthodox religion, on the contrary made the earth’s story into an inexplicable mystery which depended entirely on credulity.

One must smile at the Sabbath journalists who are assigned the task of exposing ‘devil practices’ one week because some people are re-enacting the anti-witchcraft caricature and the next week have the job of “startling disclosures” such as crucifixes shedding blood or ghosts having to be exorcised from council houses. One can also smile at the enormous growth industry of cults and mythology and back-to-nature cures. But all this is not to say that there never was a rational belief nor that the traditions of the people were to be distrusted; folklore provides more history than the academics.

There is also a pointer for us in the history of witchcraft. Is it possible that the caricature of anarchism presented by the persecutors might one day become a norm? - that people, naturally rebelling against the State might turn not to anarchism itself, but to anarchism as presented by its detractors?
KOREA – NOVEMBER 22nd SPY CASE

The South Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) rounded up 21 people who it alleges were spies working for the North Koreans, on November 22nd, 1975. At least four of these people have been sentenced to death following a series of show trials held in Seoul between March and May of this year.

Seventeen of the alleged spies were students at Seoul National and Pusan universities and two theological colleges in Seoul. Eleven of them were from Japan, and five were women in their twenties.

From the outset, the arrests and the trials have been stage managed by the KCIA to ensure maximum publicity of their version of events. The Tokyo paper Minzoku Jiho carried an article on December 1st, 1975 explaining that the KCIA’s press release went so far as to stipulate headings and sub-headings which should be used in reporting the arrests. Examples of these are: “Dragnet Bags North Korean Puppet Spy Organization. Large Scale Infiltration of Campuses.”; “Campus Unrest. Agitation, Background Manipulation. Creating Chaos and Plots for National Uprising.”

On December 24th, 1975, Kwang Mal Ja, an unmarried 26 year old Korean from Saitama, Japan, held a press conference in the National Diet Correspondents Club (Japan) claiming “I was tortured and raped by the KCIA while studying in South Korea.” She says that most of the accused in the November 22nd case were names given by her during her interrogation and that the Korean allegations “could not have been further from the truth.”

John H. McIntosh, a Canadian missionary working in Canada, attended the trial sessions as an observer for Amnesty International. At those sessions he attended one of the accused appeared broken. and no documents or material evidence was produced by the prosecution, which relied on confessions. Specifically the Court did not allow testimony from three witnesses, (discovered by the Human Rights Defence Committees of both the Osaka Bar Association and the Kinki Bar Association), that at least one of the accused, Baek Ok Kwang, was in Japan at the time when according to the KCIA he was training for his spying career in North Korea.

Faced with a continuing militancy amongst students and growing pressure both from Koreans living in Japan, and from the native Christian movement in Korea itself, the South Korean government clearly hopes that by linking these elements together and proving that they are communist (N.Korean) inspired they can defuse the emerging opposition.

Defendants who have been sentenced to death are:

Bae Ok Kwang, Kim Oh Ja, Kim Chul
Hyun, Lee Chul.

These defendants received sentences ranging from life imprisonment to three years and six months.

In Japan a defence group has been set up, to publicise the actions of the Korean government, to campaign against the torture being carried out in Korean jails, and attempt to get the accused released. As part of their activities they have published a pamphlet. The November 22nd Spy Case on which this report is based. The Defence Group can be contacted as follows: November 22nd Rescue Society, c/o Tatsuno Church, 3-7-25 Tondoko, Takatsuki-shi, Osaka, Japan.

SPAIN

Radio Liberacion, the broadcasting unit of the Spanish Libertarian Movement (MLE) began broadcasting again on September 26th. The programme can be heard from 10 to 10.30 each Sunday night throughout the Spanish peninsula (and perhaps further) on 33.8 metres and a frequency of 8860 kilocycles. The station can be located a few minutes earlier by the sound of the CNT choir singing the well-known anarchist song “Hijos del Pueblo.”

Comrades David Urbano Bermudez and Floreal Rodriguez de la Pena have both been released from prison with only a few months remaining of their sentence under the terms of the latest amnesty, as have Salvador Soriano Martinez, Guillermo Garcia Pons, Ramon Garrion Sanchez, Roberto Safont Sisa, Jose Illameola Compadre, Juan Jordi Vignoles, Germinal Pares and Tomas Llozano. However, other comrades such as Fernando Carballo Blanco, Gerardo Jacas, Eduardo Domenech, Vicente Iglesias and Floreal Rodriguez de la Paz, remain behind bars and will probably do so until we have forced their release by our solidarity.

Floreal Rodriguez has been transferred from Segovia to Jaen Prison, and there is little possibility of escaping. His sister reports that the position of wife and daughter financially, is difficult, and he is ill. Letters and money can be relayed through the Black Cross.

(source: Industrial Defence Bulletin Toronto).

USA

Seattle: A member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and an ex-member of the IWW have been subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury investigating the activities of the "George Jackson Brigade" (see Open Road, no.1 for full account of this organisation). Both are refusing to testify and further arrests are likely.

(source: Industrial Defence Bulletin Toronto).

Louisiana: 17 year old Gary Tyler, a black youth facing the death penalty for the shooting of a white youth during a racial incident, still remains in jail despite sworn affidavits from two key prosecution witnesses stating that they were coerced by police into giving false testimony. Gary's case was originally reported in Black Flag. His main hope now rests with an appeal to the Louisiana Supreme Court for a new trial. Supporters are mounting a nationwide campaign to publicise his case, but have suffered continual harassment from racist thugs in the area. A 19 year old black youth, Richard Dunn, was gunned down by two white men in a car, after attending a fund-raising dance in New Orleans.

Free Gary Tyler Committee. Box 15810, New Orleans. Louisiana 70121.

PORTUGAL

Vincente Martinez Garcia, a Spanish Anarchist in exile in Portugal, has been spending the last eight months in a Lisbon jail. Vincente was arrested with a Portuguese comrade while transporting arms in a stolen lorry. The weapons were intended for Spain. He has no money and no visitors. Money and letters of solidarity to:

Vincente Martinez Garcia (4532), Sector 'C', Forte de Montsanto, Lisbon, Portugal.

(source: The Anarchist, USA).

POLAND

Newspapers have reported the release of the seven workers from the Ursus agricultural factory, who were jailed following the riots early this summer. The Polish government has clearly found it impossible to keep them in prison in the face of growing pressure at home and abroad for their release. Many people, notably from the town of Radom, are still imprisoned and others have been dismissed from their jobs. The pressure on the Polish authorities must be maintained.


As mentioned in the last issue, letters threatening to boycott Polish food products (marketed in the UK under "Kruski" and "Polcoop" brands) unless all imprisoned workers are released could be very effective. Two of the largest exporting agencies are: Hortex, ul. Warecka 11a, Warsaw. Polcoop, ul Kopernika 30, Warsaw.
It is instructive to take a good hard look at Zionism. It excites controversy because of an excess of propaganda, both Arab and Jewish, conducted on the crudest scale—who is not with us is against us and is moreover influenced by the most discreditable motives. It affects what passes off as the revolutionary movement, in the more countries than the Middle East. Concepts are automatically formed, which are used in the propaganda war—nowadays as essential as the shooting war. "de'ty 1" this least favour Mt" the Yet not do man so mliticall bourgeoisie—which felt that such a move-...
vague ideas, about going there; as well as a whole network of political parties. This meant there was widespread middle-class support from the outside, and the actual Zionist settlers were therefore inclined to tolerate moderate policies since they did not want to antagonise it, which has affected Israel politics ever since. Notwithstanding a majority, socialist and otherwise, cash poured in from the conservative General Zionists. As the socialist movement became dominated by the old party hacks, and the new suave generation of Zionist politicians appeared, there has been a working coalition which has impelled domination of certain key issues to the Right.

There was no working class influence from outside Israel, for the simple reason that in many countries the Jewish working class assimilated unless it either accepted Zionism or remained religious against the trend of the day.

As a result there was a division between the Jewish working class in Israel, and the Arabs generally, which has grown deeper and with the escalation of events, more bitter. Even as late as the thirties, immigration meant some material and social benefits all round, (a certain amount does - despite the Powellite and the Left talking about Israel), too much doesn't (despite the Left talking about England).

The only party that did seek to achieve a working relationship between Jews and Arabs was the Communist Party. But as it was sold on Russia's anti-Zionist line it set itself against Jewish immigration — an anomalous position for Jews in Israel to take — and in practice the CP has just tagged along with Arab nationalism.

During the period of the thirties an entirely different situation arose with the rise of anti-semitism in Europe. Suddenly the Arab peoples, especially in Palestine, began to realise that immigration was likely to become a flood and they were catapulted into nationalist attitudes — which led to the domination of politics thereafter by the wealthy and by the students (which is a disturbing parallel, with England today). The defenders of trade union activity were swat away.

On the Jewish side too there was a hardening of attitudes. They felt they were entitled to swamp the country with immigrants — an attitude easy to criticise, but every people feels itself entitled to live somewhere, and without question they were unwelcome in every other country, particularly in the Russian dominated ones. Both sides blamed British imperialism for an impasse. Arab politics, from then on controlled by nationalism, wanted an end to immigration. Jewish politics, becoming increasingly nationalist, wanted not only immigration but finally accepted the Jewish State as the only solution (hitherto an entirely Right Wing idea).

How War Became Continuous

The Right Wing betrayed the Arab people because it was composed of a corrupt middle class and an indifferent ruling class, using politics solely as a means of curbing rebellion. They compromised the Arab movement fatally with the Nazis and this weakened their position immeasurably.

The resistance movements that arose in Europe brought a new type of Zionist as distinct from the worldly wise professional and the socialist bureaucrat; people who were seasoned in the anti-fascist struggle. Goering prophesied disaster arising from the concentration camps in that the toughest would survive and there would be a potential revolutionary force against "Germany"; but instead it became a nationalist force directed against the Arabs. Those who survived the struggle in Europe were the most determined of the "hawks" in the new state of Israel, yet the readiest to accept collaborationist politics first with the General Zionists, then as a consequence, with the Americans.

The first Arab-Israel War ended in total discredit of the old Right Wing in the Arab world. But the anti-working class repression was such that nobody could displace them but the Army, and it is Army type regimes that have continued since. The displacement of huge sections of refugees from Palestine has been under the control of military-minded regimes or — with a new generation arising — of military-minded students, with affinities to Trotskyism or Maoism. It is these which have been disastrous to the Arab cause; all of an alliance or another with military or downright feudal regimes, wavering according to the Russian line, unable to take a revolutionary line because of obsession with the national principle, above all, because being under the control of military men, the infiltration of secret service agents and Military Intelligence control to an unprecedented degree. The Israelis have now a super-Intelligence network (built up out of the relics of the anti-Nazi underground) which harnessed to the military interests of the State, and this weakened their resistance and even at times control it.

The Leninist type leadership of the Arab partisans has led them into one disaster after another, always to the benefit of the rising professional classes and the occupational 'revolutionary' class on the lines of the old professional military one, sometimes identical in personnel. In clear distinction, although the Israeli leadership has, since the formation of the State, been increasingly nationalistic and heavily dependent on American aid, it has undoubtedly been successful, to the extent of having been able to penetrate the Arab national resistance and even at times control it.

Under the will to make it work.

There were once revolutionaries in the Arab world who were the most courageous in the world. The Jewish proletariat was once the most intelligent and self-sacrificing. What blurs over the old traditions, makes impossible even a minority to develop with libertarian solutions, renders a new and forthright emancipation movement impossible and a break with the oil-rich, moneyed, imperialist or national interests? Perhaps not only the left package-deal: it does not know federalism and does not want to know free socialism.

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Here's freedom to him that wad read, Here's freedom to him that wad write; There's none ever feared that the truth should be heard
But them wham the truth wad indite.

Robert Burns
Q. Can you give us a rough history of the libertarian movement in Portugal?
A. Anarchism really surfaced in Portugal as an organised expression of the working-class after 1910 when the country became a republic. It was a movement rooted mainly in the trade unions. There was a succession of governments administering the State. The country was in chaos and economic misery was widespread. Under these conditions the syndicates played a leading and aggressive role, with one strike following another. In an atmosphere of widespread anti-government feeling, anarcho-syndicalism was gathering ground. In 1928 unfortunately Salazar instituted his dictatorship. Nevertheless social upheavals continued as before. Salazar set out to crush the syndicates, especially the militant anarcho-syndicalist groups. His strategy unfolded over a period of time because of the strength of syndicalism in the country. At the height of State attacks, the trade unions went on a wholesale counter attack in the form of a general strike in January 1931, in which clearly the anarchists played a leading role. The militants were armed, and with explosives. Nevertheless, for many of the same reasons that the social revolution failed in Spain several years later, the general strike was crushed. The Moscow communists, in our judgement, played a leading role in sabotaging the general strike.

A heavy repression followed our defeat, with massive arrests sending many militants into exile. Many anarchists were sent into exile on the island of Tavira, which is off the coast of Angola. Between 1931 and 1974 the anarchist movement in Portugal was underground but was active both at home and abroad. You bear in mind that survival was extremely difficult as we are never supported in any way by any State powers, as is the case with other revolutionary groups. In spite of these hardships our anarcho-syndicalist newspaper, A Batalha, and other periodicals continued to be published with as much regularity as possible, with news as to what was happening inside and outside Portugal, and continued the educational task so vital to anarchism and to the development of revolutionary conscious-
about the enemies of freedom. We must push further the formation of revolutionary Soviets and popular assemblies. The CRITSM is a development in this direction, but its leadership being Marxist stresses and works towards the "dictatorship of the proletariat" which is completely unacceptable to us, of course. We have to teach people how the present State must be dissolved and replaced with other social forms, many of which are in existence now in Portugal or can spring into formation with further opportunity for encouragement. Nevertheless we are working very hard, under both exciting conditions, and extremely difficult circumstances.

Q. What are the needs of the Portuguese anarchist movement?
A. We need to have contact with all of you in various parts of the world. We hardly know any Canadian or American comrades or groups. We need to know of your activities. We also need your solidarity and your aid. We cannot rely on this State or that, we are just coming out of a period of being smashed and repressed, but Portugal of course but in many countries. We need money to undertake translations and to publish books, pamphlets, periodicals. We need every resource possible in order to carry out our education/conscious raising work before the enemies of freedom and anarchism take it away. In this battle we can win, just look at events in the last weeks in Portugal. The State is still on the defensive, even though it is trying to tighten its hold on society and the economy. But as you know we cannot win without your solidarity.

November 15, 1975.
On January 20, 1976, the interview continued.

Q. What observations do you come back with after your recent visit to Portugal?
A. Since November the situation in Portugal has deteriorated. It has done so in the economic, political and social sense. Politically, the situation took a turn for the worse with the fall of the fifth provisional government from State power. This was the government of General Antunes, in which the Communist Party had considerable influence. Mark you the CP for eighteen months had monthly helped the generals and the admirals in their attempt to impose their stiff austerity measures on Portuguese workers. The CP served as the AFM’s policeman in the labour movement. Nevertheless, the popular movement at the base continued to grow. At a certain moment the revolutionary left groups decided on the need for greater co-ordination of their activities, especially against this government and set up a Revolutionary Front. The CP joined this Front reluctantly, and when the government fell from State power, the Front took action to fight against the sixth provisional government in which the Socialist Party of Mario Soares outstripped the CP in influence. This government set out to gradually consolidate the power of the State and naturally the power of the "prosperous" bourgeoisie.

A. It was no attempt at a coup d’état.
B. The background includes these factors — the right-wing of the bourgeoisie, of the military, and in the government. They never stopped their work of holding on and expanding their power and influence. They went on the look out for an opportune moment to strike back, and reduce the growing influence of the revolutionary left. They were responsible for continuously spreading rumours about a prospective coup from the left.

Meanwhile the so-called "moderates" in the government around Major Melo Antunes began a series of government moves against the revolutionary left. They removed from his posts, before the 25-26 November events, the popular commander of the Lisbon military district and head of COPCON (Continental operations command), General Otelo Saraiva de Carbalho. This led to considerable unrest among the left-wing rank-and-file military.

On 24 November, pro-government supporters set up barricades on all roads leading north out of Lisbon. The people had been hearing warnings for days about plans for a right-wing coup by word of mouth, and the left were convinced that these barricades were a prelude to such a powerplay. The barricades were based at Tancos military base, who had been used by the right-wing military that staged the 24 September 1974 attempted coup, and then again in the attempted coup of 11 March 1975, and more recently during the demolition of Radio Renascença's transmitter of 7 November 1975 (this was a radio station taken over by the revolutionary left for anti-capitalist and anti-state propaganda, and formerly owned by the Catholic Church) did not want to be held responsible for what people in the south at least were calling the reactionary right-wing in Portugal.

On 23 November meanwhile a shipload of "Paras" arrived home from Angola and were met at the docks by representatives of their own regiment at Tancos. Tancos paras explained they were now without officers, and it was their officers who had demanded that Radio Renascença demolition which they now regretted, and they were now declaring themselves on the side of the people.

At this point the incoming Paras were simply interested in getting together with their families, but two days later had become convinced of the need (after the barricades were in place) to act immediately, in a preventive move. They moved in to take over the airbases — Montejo, Ota and Mont Real early in the morning of 25 November. The CP seeing a confused situation which it could exploit in its power-jays with the government immediately to create more confusion. Through INTERSYNDICAL it issued an order for mobilisation. Once the move by the Paras got nowhere in the sense that troops loyal to the government moved in to take back the bases, the CP cancelled its mobilisation order at midnight, early on the 26 November in order to protect its flanks from criticism by the government. It also took the occasion to blame the whole affair on the revolutionary left.

Now during the 25 November it is true that emissaries were sent out to other leftist military units to join in: some agreed to join the Paras, but most others refused. The whole thing aborted, and one reason was because it was not a left wing coup. The left in the Lisbon area were at the time strong enough to contain the right wing military. The Paras failed because they were not ready with a coup strategy.

What all this means is that the State was given a perfect pretext to crack down on the people and the revolutionary left everywhere. The State keeps repeating the big lie that these events of those two days were an attempted coup d'état by the revolutionary left, and proceeds to repress the left including the arrest of many soldiers and literally disbanding many left military units. Today they arrested Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho saying that it was he who gave the order for the attempted coup. Everyone in Lisbon knows this to be a lie, because people knew whereabouts, and these had nothing to do with the coup. But I suppose it makes good propaganda for the government outside the country and a good pretext to justify their crackdown on the left.

Portuguese capitalism is still in crisis however after many days and weeks of these events. The government froze wages and cancelled scheduled wage increases. In Braga, in the north, workers have not been stopped for long for they occupied the Ministry of Labour when they were told that their wages were frozen. There are massive increases in the prices of various commodities however.

In the government's power struggle also goes on. The AFM has been dissolved and replaced by a group called the Portuguese Army Forces (FAP) in order to have greater discipline on the soldiers. The semi-fascist Social-Democratic Centre (CDS) has been banned after an abortive right-wing coup last March. It has now re-surfaced. The right-wing police — the GNR, is now powerful again and plays an active role of intimidation in the workers councils, and in the neighbourhood councils and meetings. But a demonstration of 20,000 people, supported by the left was held outside a prison in Oporto, this month. Revolutionary soldiers and officers have been kept there since 25 November. The government restored 127 leftwing journalists, and the Republicans newspaper once taken over by a workers' council has been shut down. Radio Renascença has been handed back to the Catholic bishops. The stock market, closed since the fall of fascism in April 1974, was re-opened this month. 1,800,000 acres of land taken over by poor farmers were forced back, the new co-operative smashed and the ownership of the land given back to the old landlords by the government.

Q. How long will this situation last?
A. The State will continue this situation for as long as it takes to put down the revolutionary left and its gains, and to stabilise the economy.

(cont. p.15)
from March 24 to April 7, to obtain the release of the prisoners, the employers finally agreed to the reinstatement of the sacked men, the eight hour day, Saturday rest-day and payment for the days lost on strike.

The second fact was that in 1913 the socialist union, the U.G.T., had a membership of 150,000 and the C.N.T. 30,000 (the membership since its foundation, but Meaker insists on a figure of 15,000 . . . without giving any source!), but the U.G.T. had a membership of 200,000 while that of the C.N.T. was 755,000. Faced with the rapid growth in strength of the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T., and the awareness of revolutionary upheavals in Russia, Italy and Germany during the same period the employers federation in Catalonia, the centre of both the economy and anarcho-syndicalist influence, embarked on a policy of liquidating workers' spokesmen by underworld gunmen. This was the epoch of "pistolerosimo", 1920-1923, which sapped the strength of the anarcho-syndicalist union prior to Primo de Rivera's seizure of power in 1923. That desperate struggle amidst the total indifference of the socialists and the communist parties — of which there were two, each competing against the other for official recognition from Moscow. In addition to the historical backdrop there was also the colonial war in Morocco and the necessity to emigrate to escape the economic difficulties.

Not only does Gerald Meaker have no respect for the workers themselves, but he often manipulates his sources against them. In an interview with a well-known anarchist militant, Meaker quotes this statement as evidence for his argument: "The cause of the workers was not long in producing the Anarcho-Syndicalist to terrorist" (p.176). Meaker then throws two bibliographic quotes to us. The first of these proves nothing — a complaint against groups who carried out robberies and who manifested interests more personal than militant. The second is correct, but when was it said? — 1933 when Pestana was already separated from the anarchists and had just created a political party, desperate to appear "un buen chico" (a good lad) in the eyes of the people.

On the other hand, Meaker describes the well-bred and cultured "professors" of the socialist party and future communists. There ends the erudition of our author. He does not bother to give us one quote of the declarations of the type "We shall respect the decisions of the next Moscow Congress whatever they may be." However, he does point out that the inability of the communists to make alliances with anyone, but rather embarking on a policy of assassinating socialist leaders without obtaining any important advantages. Meaker also points out that anarchists received the news of the revolution in Russia with enthusiasm but that the socialists ignored it because it undermined their reformist role.

Meaker's blind spot reappears when he gives the impression of ignoring that there were Marxists (Nin and Maurin) who joined the C.N.T., and who appointed themselves delegates to go to Moscow when there was a C.N.T. delegate, Angel Pestana, there already refusing to adhere to the Third International.

Meaker employs the most offish arguments in bourgeois research when, for example, he says that the anarchists ignored the revolution in Russia without giving any reasons. The anarchists carried out robberies and assassinations of socialists, but Meaker seems to ignore that the anarchists also participated in the world war. There is nothing — a complaint against groups who carried out robberies and who manifested interests more personal than militant. These second is correct, but when was it said? — 1933 when Pestana was already separated from the anarchists and had just created a political party, desperate to appear "un buen chico" (a good lad) in the eyes of the people.

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from the ballot in ever increasing numbers. 'In its place we find communal co-operatives providing food, housing and other necessities of life springing up throughout the world in amazing numbers.

Bemeri's study is all the more interesting with the inclusion of a biographical study which explains exactly how Kropotkin came to develop his ideas (just as he does not fail to point out his grave error in supporting World War I, a decision which alienated him from the majority of the anarchist movement.

One is rather baffled however to find Bemeri referring to Kropotkin as "the anarchist prince" — something which he thoroughly resented, and it is doubtful that Bemeri, if he were alive today, would express the pessimistic view that Kropotkin attached great, sometimes even excessive importance to associations (p.6) in view of the numerous communal undertakings referred to previously.

Bemeri repeats this pessimistic view when stating that Kropotkin's "observations on the Russian mir and of associations among primitive peoples makes him err into a popular naivete as in The Conquest of Bread." (p.8).

An even more puzzling and at the same time contradictory paragraph of Bemeri's reads: "The collective spirit, is a generic term which in the Conquest of Bread became "the people," "the commune," "society," etc., which administers justice, organizes everything and resolves the most complex problems. It is a kind of divinity which Severino Merlino described with just irony as playing the part of the chorus in Greek tragedy, and which the most profound anarchist theoreticians are far from adoring. But if Kropotkin's federalism lacks precision and puts excessive faith in the political capabilities of the people, it is nevertheless remarkable for its breadth of view, for no federation can be consistent if it is not integral. And it can only be such if it is socialist and revolutionary."

The only one whom Bemeri names as ridiculing Kropotkin's faith in the people is the revisionist Merlino. Evidently Bemeri holds the same opinion, a strange one indeed for an anarchist who, as he says, believes in revolution.

Apart from this regrettable position belaboured by Bemeri the pamphlet is even more relevant today than it was when first written.

The most interesting part of the Wilhelmshaven Revolt lies in the fact that Icarus (Ernst Schneider) was a member of the reformist Social Democratic Party who nevertheless had the courage to oppose the party when it came out in support of World War I. His confidence in the workers' ability to emancipate themselves was inspired by the many anti-war activities which occurred in the German Navy even prior to the outbreak of the War. Mat Kavanagh, the late lifelong anarchist propagandist, points out in his preface that "The Russian revolution is unthinkably apart from the part played by the sailors of the navy. Their heroic stand at Kronstadt in 1921 remains their eternal glory and the lasting shame of the Bolcheviks." He also points out similar revolts and mutinies of the Brazilian and British navies.

Inspiring as all this is, the sad fact remains that insofar as the German Navy is concerned the rebellious spirit of 1918-19 was totally lacking in the Second World War. Schneider gives a detailed description of the betrayal by the Social Democratic Party on August 4, 1914, but fails to realise that it was the authoritarian Marxian ideology which led to this betrayal. True enough, Schneider mentions no less than seven Marxian groupings who opposed the war to a greater or lesser degree, but nonetheless it was the sailors of Wilhelmshaven who, although unknown as Marxists, so heroically opposed the war. The same applies to the rank and file of the workers who formed councils, as did the soldiers and sailors in Wilhelmshaven, Bremen and Brunswick.

The betrayal by Social Democratic Party was not confined just to Germany, as Schneider points out: "It was Karl Radek — the (1919) then Russian plenipotentiary in Germany — who declared openly "a victorious workers' revolution in Germany now means a lost revolution in Russia." Stalin, discussing the situation in Germany (1923) urged "In my estimation, the German workers must be restrained not spurred on." Schneider goes on to give many details of the workers' resistance to the war despite the treachery of Germany's leading Marxians as well as the Bolshevik rulers of Russia. He also describes many of the new re-groupings — all named after new communist names, but none realising that it was the very marxian and authoritarian ideology of compromise which led inevitably to the disastrous rise of Nazism.

At the moment Germany is divided into Eastern and Western sectors. The fate of sincere revolutionists in East Germany can only be guessed at from our knowledge of the relentless persecutions carried out by the Bolchevik government of Russia. The fate of the revolutionist in West Germany is, however, more or less known: merciless repression, men and women arrested and held for years without trial, both brutal physical and mental maltreatment while in custody. The rebellious spirit in Germany, as in Russia is no longer fanned by sailors and soldiers as such, but by anti-authoritarian activists from a much wider spectrum. One can only hope that this will ultimately lead to much needed new revolution in these countries in the not too distant future.

M. Graham

INTRODUCTION TO CHILE, a cartoon history by Chris Welch 96pp, £1.00 + 20p p&p, Bolivar Publications, 10 Roderick Road, London NW3 2NL (or from Cienciugus Press Books).

A well produced cartoon history of Chile from the time when it was just another area of South America — before the Spanish came — to the present day. This is an excellent introduction to the history of that country and the present tragic situation under the murderous and barbaric regime of the Junta. The book itself is produced in close co-operation with the Chile Solidarity Committee and contains a wealth of information designed to spur people's consciousness to act in solidarity with the Chilean people. The only drawback to the book is its somewhat laboured emphasis of the marxist groupings and parties to the exclusion of all others. Anarchists and libertarians were and still are active in Chile. Apart from that sectarian note the cartoons and text succeed very well in getting their message over.

CUBA FOR BEGINNERS, a cartoon history by Russ, 70pp, 85p + 15p p&p, Writers and Readers Co-operative. A similar cartoon history to the above, but with much more satirical content. The drawings, situations and politics are well presented and very funny up until page 60 when the humour, although still clever, suddenly sours with a long partial and distorted list of the changes effected by the Castro regime. The final cartoons show a "barbudo" whistling merrily, running up a staircase marked "To the Simple Life." Underneath we read: "Cuba — forget numbers and living standards — is creating the possibility of a new man, of a new society based not on money, but in the common and better life. Cuba is a living example of a people really moving and working. A nation surviving and growing against almost impossible odds." Again we find no mention of the part played by the anarchists and libertarians in the Cuban revolution, nor of the vicious repression of the Cuban anarchist movement by the Castro regime, including the murder of Camilo Cienfuegos, a Durruti-like figure within the revolutionary movement, a man of the people — by Raoul Castro. Presumably the simple life also includes sexual repression and the imprisonment of 'degenerates' such as homosexuals and lesbians. In fact, the latter section of the book is one long paean of praise to the Cuban Communist Party, but provided the book is read critically it is a reasonable introduction to the history of Cuba — until the Cuban anarchists produce a better one!

BLACK MARIA art and politics (Black Maria 815 W. Wrightwood Ave, Chicago, Illinois 60614 - Sample copy $1.25)

Perhaps distance lends enchantment but the best of the women's movement in the U.S.A. seems much more aware and alive and understanding than anything one can find here; "Black Maria" anyway is a first-class anarchofeminist mag which stands up anything on art and politics. Some plain common sense on wifebeating.

"Laws aren't the solution to this problem, they only indicate some awareness that it exists." And a first class introduction by Arlene Meylers to Lia! Parsons: American Revolution (1853-1942). I at least had not known of this wonderful woman and her long career — as a woman, and a working woman at that, she has been written right out of history. Anna May.
won' that most anarchists today probably know more about organised anarchism in Russia or Spain than in Britain.

This is particularly ironic when Britain has been one of the few countries in the world where an anarchist movement has retained a legal existence permitting open propaganda work through out its history. The foreign adven tures which have sought refuge in England over the years undoubtedly came from countries where anarchism attained a greater social relevance. Ill-fated revolutions, wars and massive state repression forced most of them at one time or another into carrying on in the only way possible within the terms of clandestinity - armed resistance.

The Anarchists in London records a period in which anarchism exerted some influence within the British working class movement, which helped pioneer the housing struggle through rent strikes, set up a principled opposition to the war, won support for revolutionary ideas within the British Army, and continuously propagated the ideas of direct action, anti-statism and workers' control through its journals and public meetings. Yet throughout Albert Meltzer's probing and often witty account there is no instance until the end of the 1960s (when the 'Angry Brigade' actions first began) of acts of armed resistance to the State. Critics of such tactics never fail to point out that in their view such actions put at jeopardy the possibilities of legal agitation amongst the working class and call forth repression. Thus damning revolutionary activism as 'adventurist' and 'self-defeating'. Yet what of this long and uninterrupted run of anarchist propaganda stretching out nearly a century before the A.B.? That armed resistance alone will bring about the revolution is obviously absurd, but to oppose its use in any circumstances on the grounds that it will restrict legal activity, which in Britain has proven by its in ability to produce the desired revolutionary turn of events and resulted in an anarchist movement today that is even smaller and less socially relevant, is equally unrealistic. Armed struggle or not, the degree of repression is related to social conditions not to the degree of resistance. Perhaps it is because the anarchist movement has not posed a sufficiently real threat to the State that it has retained greater opportunities of agitation than elsewhere in Europe; it certainly has not profited from them.

Reading this memoir of activity is an informative and illuminating experience that should not be missed. For the casual reader it will certainly prove entertaining; but for anyone seriously committed to revolutionary anarchism it should also provoke a careful reflection upon the issues it raises. For if anarchism is to play a role in shaping the future in Britain we need not only to know but to learn from the past.

Taken together with Albert Meltzer's already published work, The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: First of May Group, (actually written ten years after the volume under review) The Anarchists in London provides a useful corrective to the misinformed accounts previously available, rescuing half a century of anarchist activity from obscurity and providing the first inside story of its victories, defeats and unknown heroes. That its author, after more than forty years of struggle, is still cheerfully in the front line, is, like the book itself, an inspiration. The Anarchists in London will surely become the standard source book on the contemporary history of British anarchism, it is up to us to shape the future.

PAR

THE STORY OF THE SCOTTISH DAILY NEWS, McKay & Barr, Canongate, £3.95 h/b.

When the Scottish Daily Express closed down in 1974 it threw 2000 men out of work. Five hundred of the men made redundant decided to try to save their jobs by creating a newspaper controlled by the workers themselves. Ron McKay and Brian Barr (Ron is an occasional contributor to B.F.) were both closely involved with the new paper "The Scottish Daily News" and they give us an excellent blow by blow account from the inside as to what went wrong in the six short months of the paper's existence and the particularly nasty role played by the political and financial power brokers who wished to make the paper their own. This book is essential reading for all those interested in workers control.

Libero International, a quarterly English language magazine published by CIRA - Nippon SIC, contains extensive coverage of events in S. Korea from an anarchist viewpoint. Issue 4, just out, contains the second part of an article on the Post War Korean Anarchist movement, an article on an industrial struggle by workers at S. Korea's largest daily newspaper, the Dong-a Ilbo, a statement of conscience by poet Kim Chi Ha, smuggled from a Korean jail, an interesting report on how the increasing repression is forcing some villages to take steps to protect themselves and create a degree of village autonomy, and the last of a four-part serial on the part played by anarchism in China's social revolution.

Libero International No. 4 sea-mail subscription, £1.50 for four issues from CIRA - Nippon SIC, Kobe C.P.O. Box 1065, 650-91 Japan. Copies may also be obtained from Cienfuegos Press who have it in stock.

New titles:

Merrie England, Nunquam, £1.20
Hungary 56, Anderson, £1.00
Housing, Ward, £1.25
Fontamara, Silone, 85p
Seaman's Voice, Feulner, 80p (h/b)
Big Red Diary 1977, Law and Order, £1.00
Comrades,
In the July issue of Black Flag you defend support of the SLA because they are in "no way supporting Marxist dictatorship" and you ask "have people to accept libertarian ideas before they merit solidarity?" Whatever we feel about the politics and activities of the SLA, the answer to your last question is obviously "no."

The problem with supporting political prisoners however is where do we draw the line? In the same issue of Black Flag you are also asking for solidarity with the four Scottish Maoists imprisoned in 1972. Since Marcus Graham has given us some insight into the political ideas of the SLA we are free to decide for ourselves, as anarchists, whether we should give them our support. However the writer of the article on the Maoists asks us for our support without telling us anything about their views, simply that they were in the Workers Party of Scotland (M-L) and that this party has now disowned them.

As an anarchist I often see very little difference between the views of Maoists, Communists, other authoritarian Marxists and fascists. The political ideas which all these groups espouse have led in the past to very similar, highly centralised States, under the control of a single dictatorial party, and based, like all State power, on violence and exploitation for its continuity. Such states have never hesitated to try and liquidate the anarchist movement. Although we are now told that the SLA survivors are recent converts to anarchism, we are told nothing about the Scottish Maoists and their current political views. Just because a group of people organise to resist the present State power does not mean that we should automatically support them. We must first consider their political views to see to what extent they are merely trying to replace one authoritarian State with another. To do otherwise would place us in the ridiculous position of showing solidarity with imprisoned fascists, IRA bombers, Communists and others who use authoritarian methods or strive for authoritarian ends, just because they are being persecuted by the State.

As you quite rightly say "even fascists defend their own"; our only problem is deciding just who are "our own." The Anarchist Black Cross has never supported Communist Party prisoners in Spain or elsewhere, and even though it may be possible to argue that many militants of the Marxist parties are "genuine but misguided revolutionaries" capable of converting to libertarian socialism, we would not wish to argue this when we are faced with the repression which they would bring in if ever they achieved power.

Steve, Manchester.

So far as we know the Workers Party of Scotland (M-L) is orthodox Maoist and though it has disowned and expelled its prisoners, we have no reason to suppose they have changed their views. Yet we think they should be supported as class war victims. They were not sentenced for their authoritarianism. They were sentenced for their challenge to the capitalist State. There is a radical difference between authoritarian Marxists and fascists, even though (as Steve rightly says) their political ideas will ultimately, if successful, lead to the same type of State. We are quite sure that Steve, as an anarchist, connected with industrial activity, is aware of some problems and so on, HAS worked with Maoists, Trotskyists and CPers. It would be an insult to ask him if he has ever worked with Fascists on racial marches. He would support prisoners arising out of the first type of activity, such as the Shrewsbury Two — for all his disagreement on their future aims — would be more reluctant to give aid to Robert Relf or Rudolf Hess (though libertarians did protest at the perversion of justice in the William Joyce trial).

We would like to say we would extend solidarity to all prisoners, but this would be meaningless byvirtue being too wide — and this is a task only prisoners themselves can undertake — and at last are undertaking. As it is, we can give solidarity to class war prisoners, — whether their political commitment comes before or after their imprisonment, and regardless of the views they were sentenced for. We would certainly say solidarity should be shown with Irish political prisoners without division of politics — which has been done to great effect, incidentally — the arbitrary divisions sometimes breaking down behind bars.

The position of the ABC in not supporting Communist prisoners in Spain is misleading here. The Communist Party makes huge world-wide appeals (in the West, it be noted) for Spanish political prisoners but under false names — democratic front, women's anti-fascist movement, patriotic, anti-fascist etc., — never under its own name. Yet all these funds (sometimes collected for anti-CP sources such as Jewish trade unionists in America) go to Communist prisoners only. The other political prisoners in Spain were languishing forgotten. In these circumstances to ask for aid to Communist prisoners as well would have been foolish; however, ANM (since converted by bitter anti-CP sources such as Jewish trade unionists in America) go to Communist prisoners only. The other political prisoners in Spain were languishing forgotten. In these circumstances to ask for aid to Communist prisoners as well would have been foolish; however, ANM have formed collectives in prisons, with Maoists, EFA and Trotskyists — to share their resources, though the Trotskyists abroad have urged forward only prisoners vouched for by the Moscow-liners (which one sided them).

It may be that one day we will be regretting our quixotry in supporting political prisoners who turn out to be the new oppressors — indeed the writer of these lines has some rueful memories of the work he put in for Indian and African prisoners (sincere men and women) whose names it would now be embarrassing to mention. But isn't that part of the price one pays in being an anarchist?

Anarchist Black Cross.

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And-death struggle with the working class... which finally required the Armed Forces, and Axis intervention, to teach completion.

LAST QUIZ. By an unlikely misprint we referred to Louise Michel's success in opposing headshaving in New California — it was of course New Caledonia.

(See next page)
ITAY
Neo-fascists Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura, who have been in prison for nearly four years accused of complicity in the 1969 bomb outrage at the Milan Bank of Agriculture, which resulted in sixteen deaths and eighty-seven injured, are to be released without having been brought to trial.
Anarchist ex-ballet dancer Pietro Valpreda, who was among those originally imprisoned after police attempts to pin the bombs on Italian anarchists, is still facing trial early next year, although now released from custody. In a typical attempt to tarnish his reputation, the Italian authorities are putting him in the dock with Freda and Ventura, unless they leave the country first. Two key witnesses have already fled Italy, with Italian Secret Service (S.I.D.) assistance, and two senior officials of the S.I.D. have been finally accused of hindering justice.
The Italian police and prosecutor are unwilling to admit that Valpreda was to be made a scapegoat for the actions of the neo-fascists, and continue with the farce, even though the only evidence against him was that concocted by the police and a taxi driver who has since died.

Moaism is Dead (cont. from p.3)
get a little press, pretend to be printing letterheads, while printing a clandestine newspaper—provided one was not caught. In China, all supplies of ink, machinery, paper, are state owned. The mousehole of the revolutionary movement has been stopped up. To apply for permission to get means of communication would be to have to admit "treasonable" activities. That does not mean there will not be a rising. It means that when it comes it will be on the scale of a civil war. It is this fear of civil war that is throwing China into the hands of America, dreading that Russia people will not only bury Mao and Maoism may take the moment to intervene. Yet we venture to predict the Chinese working people will not only bury Mao and Maoism but Mao's empire.

STATE OF PLAY (18 October 1976)
BLACK FLAG
Deficit brought forward £1422.27
Print & typesetting since last a/c 125.00
Postage (out of this world) 87.27
£1634.52
Sales & subs £93.46
Royalties £16.59
Donations* £33.99
£145.04

The deficit now stands at the fantastic figure of £1489.48p

*London MC £1.00; HS £2.50; TM £4; PS £1;
Surrey JD £2; Essex ME £6; Burnley Grp £5;
Aberystryth MS £1.24; Glasgow A.McG £2;
Somerset RE £2; Nottingham PH £2; Montreal YB £2; Mass. NC £3.25. Total £33.99

It can be seen that sales and subs., with donations, once again equalled the cost of production— which is good — but the postage drags us down; which is why we are having to cut down on unpaid-for copies from people we don't hear from—we never cut out a sub for want of payment. We are having to subsidise the work of Black Cross out of Black Flag in regard to postage—we can't do otherwise—so how about sending us a few subs so's that we can somehow get near sight of land?

In regard to the Typesetting appeal we found a staggering response. One comrade, by no means rich— in fact a Post Office worker—paid off all the back payments on our IBM machine with a single contribution. If we had a few more comrades as selfless as that an anarchist daily would not be merely a pipe-dream!

PRISONERS/RESISTANCE FUND
IN HAND £40. Received: SP (Hants) £4.50; SS (Guam) £12.37. Total i/hand: £57.48

The response to our appeal for prisoners and Spanish resistance is down to our two most regular contributors partly, we suppose, because of the response being made to the Murray Defence Fund—which does urgently need funds (it is costing the Murrays £50 a time to get a visit from a solicitor, just to keep in touch with the world). Murray Defence funds should be sent not to us but to the Murray Defence Committee at 155 Church Rd., Cebri, Co. Kildare (Eire). In addition we have managed to switch some of our regular contributors to sending direct to Spain, in changed conditions. So we're not disheartened here. But we hope to do better next time.

Christian Terrorism

ANOTHER VICTIM FOR CHRISTIANITY
Clifford Read, a 37 year old Lincolnshire joiner, and his wife Marion were a fairly normal couple...but one night they cut their daughter's throat because "the Devil was loose in the house." They set the table for the "last supper", the Devil got in and "got hold of" daughter Samantha...and they "saved her."
Both a court was told, were "struck by a severe mental illness," simultaneously hence the tragedy. No doubt, but where could they pick up such beliefs at a moment's notice if they had not already been implanted in their minds by a tightly-knit group of religiously motivated people?
If one could for a moment postulate the totally impossible, what if beliefs in the desirability of libertarian socialism drove a couple in a fit of madness to cut their daughter's throat? Would not the judge inveigh against the evil beliefs that led them to do it? But such things never happen...sometimes the belief in the desirability of libertarian socialism does induce people to act against the law by striking at tyranny, not against their defenceless daughter — and judges pass strictures on those who are not before them and proclaim the propagation of such beliefs should be banned.
Christianity, is, however, part of the Establishment and may not be questioned — even in a certain north west province where murders in its name are an everyday occurrence.
Who first passed off as "political activity" that type of dreary Party bickering mis-called "sectarianism" (it's what gave it a bad name) which consists of allegedly supporting currently topical and potentially popular cause, merely in order to push one's own line or control a committee?

Cultists

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Much as one dislikes Stalinism, it wasn't due to the Communist Party who tended in their day to get wide-ranging support behind false fronts of their own. Perhaps it was the Trotskyists who started it, though for sure they aren't the only ones to practise it. It was fairly unknown for years. Now, you can be sure if a conference of sorts is advertised — whatever it's on, redundancy is a key — one but plenty of other causes too — you find a lot of cultists glaring at each other, all wanting to sell their own papers, all wanting to control, nobody wanting to work, and none of your average punters there.