SOIL OF LIBERTY

20¢

PUT OUT BY NORTH COUNTRY ANARCHISTS AND ANARCHA-FEMINISTS

VOL. 2 NO. 4

The International Libertarian Labor Fund has been set up to raise money this year for the CNT. The goal is $25,000 to fund an office in Barcelona for a year. To initiate the campaign, Augustin Souchy is being brought to this country for a six city speaking tour. Souchy was director of international relations for the CNT in the '30s and is being sent over as an envoy from the underground CNT.

The so-called “Spanish Civil War” period of July 19, 1936 to March 1939 should also be known as the Spanish Social Revolution. The agrarian collectivization and the industrial socialization were the fullest expression of the anarchist idea of a workers’ self-managed society that has yet happened. The tour will both commemorate the achievements of 40 years ago as well as deal with the resurgence of the CNT today in Spain.

INSIDE

CNT History ............ p. 2
CNT Today ............. p. 7
I.W.W. .................. p. 9
Tax Resistance .......... p. 13
Continental Walk ....... p. 15
Letters ................ p. 21
Souchy Biography ...... Back Page

240th ANNIVERSARY of the
SPANISH REVOLUTION

AUGUSTIN SOUCHY

to SPEAK on

The CNT-
(National Confederation
of Labor) and on What is Happening in Spain Today

MONDAY - JULY 20 at 7:30
WALKER COMMUNITY CHURCH
31st STREET & 16th AVENUE - MPLS. - 722-6612
the CNT
A History of Struggle
by Jess Garton

This libertarian union movement was born out of a combination of a tradition of independent communes, dating back to the Middle Ages, and a history of workers' oppression. In 1910 these two factors led independent Spanish unions to combine their efforts and federate themselves into one big union, the CNT.

The one union concept emerged from the aspects of workers' oppression as many Spanish laborers found themselves victimized by the very nature of their work places. Many of these places took on the form of small shops or industries employing anywhere from five to one hundred people. In these shops [as well as in the larger factories] small shop bosses and/or bosses of work groups exercised control over workers' conditions and production. Most typically, workers found that this situation left them either divided among themselves or their groups, or else too small in general to challenge their oppressors. In addition, the feeling prevailed that emancipation of all workers could not take place without control of the means of production and consumption. The emphasis to join together in one big union would enable workers to overcome these problems.

In the first place it gave them a strength in size that allowed them to meet these goals and to challenge bossism. This in turn gave workers a feeling of unity among themselves, including the radical position of demanding equal status for women, all of which helped to bring an end to squabbles among the individual members and unions that previously existed.

And finally, this solidarity provided a platform on which to discuss problems at work places, among individuals, and allowed collec-
tivist ideas to spread. The emphasis on collectivization is another basic principle of the CNT.

When factories and industries were collectivized, many positive changes came about. First, socialization strove to do away with administrators, thereby freeing huge chunks of capital, which when combined with equalization of wages considerably helped to raise the standard of living of many families. In some utilities and services, collectivized after the Revolution, in July, 1936, rates and fares were actually lowered [not to mention the increase in the quality of service].

Another factor was the increased maintenance and repair work done by the socialized shops in related works. For example, prior to 1936, the percent of maintenance and repairs of transportation services done by transportation workers in Barcelona [a center of CNT activity] was about 2% of the total work done. Within one year of the Revolution, this figure jumped to 8%. In addition, this union was able to provide free medical services [clinics and home nursing care] to workers and their families. Needless to say such workers' benefits scarcely existed before. In conjunction with collectivization is a third CNT principle, that of federation.

The idea of federation is simply a system of cooperation between local, district, regional and national associations which share similar concerns. By federating unions [whether by mixed trades or Additionally, as was done both separately and jointly at different times on the CNT's history] at the previously stated levels, the unions the vehicle they needed to coordinate their efforts for collectivization, communicate their ideas for policy and decision making, and to unite when actions needed to be taken on a broad basis.

Communications and decision making was designed to travel upwards within the CNT structure. While the district, regional and national conferences were empowered to discuss fundamental themes on all aspects, they had to submit proposed agreements to a referendum vote of the individual locals. Even here, to ensure the maximum fairness, the principles of proportional representation was embraced by the CNT. In order that small urban and rural collectives would not be overwhelmed at conferences large collectives did not get quite as many representatives as their number of members would warrant.

In addition to these three main principles, early CNT documents stress the necessity to remain politically unattached to the mainstream of governmental affairs. Political maneuverings were initially seen as being either not essential to CNT principles or [coming from their Anarchist heritage] was viewed with caution. Once in power one tends to stay in power and often becomes the object of the ensuing struggle. Instead, CNT members decided to act outside of political and parliamentary procedures. The 1919 Regional Conferences of Catalonian Unions stated this position when they said that trade unions, "...shall always struggle in the purely economic field, that is, by direct action, untrammelled by any political or religious prejudices."

The origins of the CNT can be traced back to 1868 and the International Workingmen's Association [the First International]. While this historic event found among its members a Spanish section, the roots of Spanish Anarchism were to be planted soon afterwards. When the Queen of Spain was driven into exile in 1868, Mikhail Bakunin took the opportunity to send several emissaries into Spain. Yet credit for Spanish Anarchist tradition is traced back to Bakunin's disciple, Giuseppe Fanelli. Traveling to Barcelona and Madrid, Fanelli, who spoke only Italian and French, not with Spanish workers, primarily familiar with the translated works of Proudhon. Through an extraordinary feat of cross-lingual communications [as none of the Spaniards spoke either Italian or French] Fanelli converted many over to Bakunin's doctrines. As George Woodcock wrote, the times were ripe in Spain and Bakunin's message, "...was the very creed for which they had been waiting." Almost immediately Internationalist newspapers began to appear, sections of Internationals appeared in northern Spain and
by 1870 their membership had reached 15,000. Three years later it had grown to 50,000.

As the newly formed Spanish federations began to grow, the government began to take a more serious position towards it; at times outlawing the unions, arresting union and anarchist leaders en masse, barring meetings, etc. All of this was responded to by retaliatory strikes and farm burnings which, as one might assume, was answered by more repression.

During the 1870's and 80's Spanish Anarchists traveled throughout Spain, especially in the northern and southern rural areas, spreading Anarchist ideas as they went to a receptive audience. The 1870's saw a continuation of this type of general activity with waves of terrorism and repressions rising and subsiding.

over the years complete with a Spanish version of our own Haymarket affair, happening only two years after its American counterpart.

By the turn of the century a trade union revival was underway in France, exemplified and amplified by French anarcho-syndicalists. The French idea to revitalize the concept of the general strike into a revolutionary strategy had immediate mass appeal across the Pyrenees to the south. In 1902 the recently founded Federation of Workers of the Spanish Region supported a strike called by metal workers in Barcelona which turned into a city-wide strike. Unfortunately the strike failed and the movement collapsed. It was then transformed to the rural areas of Cadiz and Seville in southern Spain. There too the movement was short-lived as farmers living on the edge of starvation even when working could not sustain a drawn out conflict. In France the success of the CGT, [the French Confederation of General Workers] led by Anarchists influential in its hierarchy, again moved the Spanish workers to come together. In 1907 they formed the syndicalist Federation known as Solidaridad Obrera (Workers' Unity). In one year the federation had spread from Barcelona throughout Catalonia and held its first congress.

Like its predecessors, the success of Solidaridad Obrera can be measured by the blood evoked from the state. In 1909 Spain had suffered military losses in their perennial scuffles with Morocco. This time the government decided to restock its soldiers from the reserves in Catalonia only. Workers responded by calling a general strike from which it took soldiers five days to regain control. Known as "Tropic Week" nearly two hundred workers were killed and fifty churches and convents were burned. Once again repressive measures were the order of the day. This time, however, workers were prepared to strengthen their cause. Meeting in Seville in 1910, representatives of trade unions, except those already aligned with the Socialist CGT, the General Workers' Union, gathered to impress the need for a stronger organization and formed the CNT.

Even with its strong ties to its French counterpart, the CGT, the CNT differed in many ways. First, the CNT was immediately, and remained, under the control of anarchist leaders. Organizational wise, the CNT started out by basing itself on Sindicatos Unicos, (local unions

"Every person is born with the capacity for dignified work and human existence."
which meant that each locality was to federate all workers of all crafts under its banner, whether that be in a single factory or an entire town. Thereby acting in a basic Anarchistic principle of the complete social unit, the Sindicatos Unicos were loosely federated together at the regional and eventually at the national level.

The CNIT so distained bureaucracy that at first it maintained only one paid official. The remainder of its work was done by volunteers delegated by their comrades. This was possible because the CNIT maintained none of the socially beneficial functions that trade unions generally adopt, feeling that the basis of workers' solidarity was strong enough to provide sufficient protection on all fronts.

The traditional black and red flag of the CNIT newspaper.

Combined with the resurgence in the CNIT, anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist ideas were again growing and gaining strength within Spain: through successful strikes [at times combined with the UGT], by remaining intact and functioning while being forced underground between 1912 and 1914, by the apparent success of the beginnings of the Russian Revolution, and by reorganizing into industry-wide unions in 1918. In 1919 the CNIT could boast of a membership of between 600,000 and one million members. [Accurate accounting of union membership has been the subject of great historical debate over the years].

The initially favorable impact of the Russian Revolution spread quickly throughout Spain. Here was, after all, the opportunity for an entire country to socialize itself under workers' self-management. And the rhetoric coming out of Russia in the early days of the Revolution was full of praise for the strength and unity of the workers and even seemed headed in that direction. Spanish support was not surprising and in fact the CNIT was approached by the 3rd International to join with them. A group of delegates (headed by Andres Nin and Joaquin Maurin, later to become leaders of the workers' Party of Marxist Unity, the POUM) traveled to Moscow and there, on their own, declared the confederation's support to the Communist organization. In 1921, another syndicalist leader, Angel Pastor, returned from Russia with horrific stories about the suppression of Anarchists and the fate of the Kronstadt revolt. Though visibly angered the CNIT had to wait until 1922, when it resurfaced after a repressive regime in Spain fell, to make its complete break with the 3rd International official. At the same time the CNIT decided to throw its weight behind the new syndicalist organization, the International Workingmen's Association which was being formed in that same year in Berlin.

The 1920's were historically repressive times in Spain and not surprisingly the CNIT was fully embroiled in the struggle. Without giving accounts of various acts of repression and violence, it is important to note that through these times acts by the CNIT were for the most part retaliatory measures. That is, repression against workers and work places were answered by strikes. Overt acts against were likewise responded to by violence towards individuals. In these days armed bodyguards [pistoleros] served not only to protect officials of the state and certain members of the bourgeoisie, but were used by them to carry out personal reprisals against individuals within the labor and political movements. Gun battles in the streets of Spanish cities and villages were commonplace occurrences. In May, 1924, the CNIT was again dissolved and its Sindicatos Unicos were broken up. So effective was the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera that except for an underground skeleton organization, the CNIT did not regroup until Rivera was overthrown in 1930.

During Rivera's regime, a large [primarily anarchist] contingent fled to France. There in 1927 they regrouped and formed the Iberian Anarchist Federation. The FAI was established primarily as a response to the growing Communist influence in Spain, and to meet the fear that the Communists might gain a foothold in the CNIT. The FAI, whose members were required to be
members of the CNT, sought to keep the revolutionary goals of the CNT pure, and to ensure these ends, they rose to the highest positions in the CNT. As a result, the FAI once again emerged in 1930, the FAI was firmly interwoven in its ranks and its hierarchy and became its guiding light and principle force.

In April 1931, the King of Spain abdicated his throne in the wake of overwhelming anti-monarchical victories at municipal elections. This set the scene for a Republican government. Even though Anarchists had broken their long standing tradition of not voting, they felt that a republic was better than a monarchy and their support was evident in the outcome. But their support was short-lived as the CNT immediately set out to demonstrate that it was not in favor of either a Monarchical or a Republican government.

On this issue the CNT ran into internal disputes. Many of the Syndicalist members wanted to work for union reform through government cooperation and saw the advent of a Republican government as a step in furthering that goal. To many members of the CNT, and particularly the FAI, who favored a more militant approach, such an agreement was unthinkable. When the CNT paper Solidaridad Obrera [edited and run by long standing Syndicalist CNT members] refused to support revolutionary actions by small groups, the FAI was in fact doing, some of its staff was purged out of the CNT. Later to be known as the Trincheristas [for the thirty support- ers who signed a petition against this action], other members withdrew from the CNT and eventually took with them over 60,000 fellow workers.

To show their opposition to the Republic, the CNT staged local strikes throughout Spain between 1931 and 1933. At times these strikes became so intense that the government dissolved the CNT within a year. However, their momentum and support was so strong that at no time did they stop their activities or even deviate from their daily routines. Acting in coordination with a strike in Barcelona, a group of peasants from Casas Viejas, in Andalusia, marched to the local barracks and proclaimed a revolution of land reform known as Communismo Libertario. Even though the government was about to begin its own land reform program, soldiers and farmers exchanged shots and when the government sent in additional troops the farmers returned to their village. Troops then surrounded their homes and demanded their surrender of arms. When refused the soldiers set fire to twenty-five dwellings killing thirty people. This incident, and others, [like the deporting of convicted strikers to Africa] so infuriated workers that the government saw no alternative but to set up new elections and resign. This they did and elections were held in April 1933. In these elections the CNT returned to their old ways and waged a vigorous anti-electoral campaign. This resulted in a return to power of right-wing forces. Stepping up their tempo, CNT strikes became larger and more numerous. In 1936, the CNT joined with the UGT and staged an uprising in the northern province of Asturias. The strike was finally broken after hundreds of workers had been killed and over nine thousand arrested.

By 1936, the CNT had come to an agreement with leftist Socialists and the Socialist party leaders that their electoral support would bring about an amnesty for political prisoners. Under these conditions CNT members went to the polls in February of that year and brought victory to the side they had kept from gaining power three years earlier. Now with their ranks swelling...
THE C.N.T. TODAY

The following selections give some idea of what is happening with the CNT today. The first is from the May '78 Industrial Worker, the monthly paper of the IWW--The Industrial Workers of the World. The selection itself is distilled from a number of anarchist press sources.

According to sources in Spain, the CNT is currently rebuilding the organizational structure that broke down during the '50s and '60's. In Valencia, the local CNT in the town of Alacante issued a newspaper, Amanecer, which led to the reforming of the CNT Regional Confederation of Valencia, made up of a number of CNT local unions and federations. Amanecer remains the journal of the Regional Confederation. In the Central Castile Region, the Regional Confederation held a Congress in January attended by 300 delegates. The central and largest local federation in the region is Madrid, where the regional journal, as well as the journal of the local federation and Construccion, the magazine of the Madrid Construction Workers Union (CNT) are published. The Madrid Federation is made up of 11 local unions. The Catalan federation, the oldest and largest of the regionals, held a Congress attended by 700 delegates in Barcelona on February 29th. The largest of the Catalan CNT unions is its textile workers union. We only have confirmed information about two strikes organized specifically by the CNT in the last year: a strike of 500 truck drivers in Madrid, and a local general strike in the textile center of Sabadell in Catalonia, near Barcelona. However, most major strikes in Spain are either spontaneous or called by coalitions of unions. CNT members did take part in the huge construction workers' strike in Madrid.

This is far from the whole story of the CNT today. It is difficult to get information out of Spain, and some of what does get out must be withheld to protect the CNT's clandestine organization. One of the CNT's problems is that unlike the moderate Workers' Commissions, which get money from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, or the Communist and Socialist Parties, which get money from sister parties in other countries, the CNT has no major source of outside funds. All those who support free unionism in Spain— all those who support free unionism in Spain—send as much as you can spare and a little more to the Spanish Fighting Fund and the IWGB General Defense Committee.

Local 2, PO Box 306, Station E, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada.

The next selection was reprinted in the July '76 Industrial Worker from the French syndicalist monthly Solidarite Ouvriere, which had a correspondent present at the convention.

On February 29th in Barcelona, the Confederation of Catalonia convened with 400 delegates elected by their unions, representatives of the Regional Confederations of Madrid (Central Castile) and the Levante, and observers from the Union General des Travailleurs (General Union of Workers: UGT, smaller than the CNT and under Socialist Party control). The delegates represented CNT unions in the following industries: health care, banking, teaching, textiles, metal working, and construction.
Discussion was on three main points: revising the organizational structure of the CNT; the position of the CNT on the problem of labor unity and diversity; and a course of action for the CNT in the current situation.

The decisions on the first point were:

1) Organization of the CNT shall be by job section (union section for each job).
2) Local federations of unions will be established to which will be affiliated neighborhood committees which will be open to students and other non-wage workers.
3) Job sections will be federated by industry.
4) A co-ordination commission will be created.

On the second point, general opinion was for union unity on the job, as with the CNT-UIT alliance in Valencia.

Discussion on the third point was not finished for lack of time.

Speakers to the assembly told of numerous workers and groups of workers who recently were hostile to the union form of organization and now find themselves affiliated with the CNT. The CNT was praised as a union free from the dictates of the Civil War exiles. As one delegate present said: We think that the CNT can appeal to all independent militants who accept direct action on the job and anti-parliamentarism (opposition to taking part in electoral politics), and who refuse alliances with the ruling class to join it.

"Anarchism in Spain no longer enjoys the position it held before the Civil War. Socialists, Communists, Mensists and Trotskyists all wield more organizational weight. Yet anarchism is still important, mainly as an influence on, and within, the other leftist organizations, but also as a movement in its own right.

Why are the anarchists so comparatively weak in Spain today? Some would point to the incredible repression visited on anarchists by Franco (20 successive National Councils of the CNT were arrested between 1948 and 1960), and others can claim, with reason, that much blame must be laid with the Stalinists and the repression they exercised during the Civil War. But a number of younger anarchists, sympathetic to the CNT, feel it was its failure to adapt its line to changing conditions that led to its decline.

This continuing difficulty can be seen in the present split between the old line anarchists and the so-called anarchist-freaks who are very sympathetic to the New Left and the viewpoint of such figures as Daniel and Gabriel Chren-Bendit. There are a significant number of anarchist-freaks, and almost all young militants from every party have been influenced, at least superficially, by their positions.

Along with the reorganization of the CNT, a number of collectives have been formed to spread anarchist ideology (like the old Federacion Anarquista Iberica). For now they are only local, such as the Federacion Anarquista de Barcelona, or the Federacion Anarquista de Valencia, but it is expected that in the future the FAI will be reformed as well.

For some time past there have been active anarchist collectives involved in armed struggle. Generally they are concerned with bank expropriation to help support strikes.

I have also heard about a pacifist-anarchist group, Solidaridad Obrera (Workers' Solidarity), and a network similar to FAB, called 'Coordinadora Collective', but I know no particulars."

(cont. p.23)
JWW and Workers' Self-Managed Society

by Nat Hong

Anarchists and other radicals seeking a labor organization with which to affiliate in the US will be initially discouraged as they view the organized labor scene. The predominant labor unions in this country are more interested in managing and manipulating workers for the capitalist owners of industry than engaging in class struggle with a revolutionary solution in mind (for example, workers self-management). The labor union "leaders" have succumbed to the temptation of personal power and wealth. These labor leaders are a "respectable" bunch. AFL-CIO and Teamster bureaucrats receive incomes and benefits that equal those of 'captains of industry'. They mingle well with members of the ruling class, from presidents to media chiefs to CIA higher-ups.

This privileged labor bureaucracy has led organized labor in a retreat from the fundamental question of who will own and control the means of production—the capitalists, the absolutist party, the state capitalists, or the workers and producers themselves? For some time, the labor "leaders" have been content to try to get a little more out of the present arrangement, with gradual wage gains, [nullified by inflation] rather than challenge existing social relations.

There is one union, however, that has remained militant and has not abandoned its vision of a socialized, self-managed society of workers. It is the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World.

The Columbia Encyclopedia's entry on "syndicalism" reads in part, it "includes both a plan for reorganizing society and a strategy of revolutionary action for the overthrow of the existing one. Like anarchists, syndicalists believe that any form of the state is an instrument of oppression and that the state should be abolished. They stress the function of productive labor and regard the trade union as the essential unit of production and

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the exploiting class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the means of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitied against another set of workers in the same industry; thereby helping to keep one another in wages war. Moreover, the trade unions add the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the strengthening of the working class can only be in an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It takes historic precision of the working class to discover with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially, we are forming the nucleus of the new society within the shell of the old.
of government. In motive, the work of the
unions would be socialistic for use, not for
profit... In the United States the chief
syndicalist organization was/is the Industrial
Workers of the World, which flourished early
in the 20th century, but was virtually extin-
guished after the First World War by govern-
ment suppression....

The I.W.W. was formed in Chicago in 1905 as
a radical alternative to the conservative
American Federation of Labor. The founder of
the organization (which included anarchist
Lucy Parsons and labor organizers Mother Jones
and Eugene Debs) saw the need for a combative
union of workers organized by industry, not
by craft. All workers in each industry would
be united in one union in order to provide
solidarity in the face of the increasing con-
centration of wealth and power in the hands
of big capitalists.

The I.W.W. from the start was a class con-
scious organization, stating in its preamble,
"The working class and the employing class
have nothing in common. There can be no peace
so long as hunger and want are found among
millions of working people and the few, who
make up the employing class, have all the good
things of life." The union engaged in activity
with long range views of expropriating
this employing class, socializing production
and consumption by workers who would control
and coordinate economic life. The union's
industrial structure was the means for the
workers' management of the future society and
as the union grew it was "building the new
society in the shell of the old." In choosing
to create the organizational forms of the new

society in the process of destroying the priv-
ileges and oppressions of the old one, it re-
jected both the political Poad (which sought
to capture state power) and the timid, com-
promising role (a S.A.F. of L.) which bargained
merely for higher wages.

The I.W.W. was the first labor organization
that included both skilled and unskilled
workers, men and women. And workers of all
races and ethnic backgrounds. It was an open
working class organization that refused to
indulge in divisive sexual, racial, or rela-
tive privilege prejudices that the owners used
to divide the work force.

The union was largely responsible for the
increase occurrence and intensity of worker-
owner clashes in the early 20th century. Its
refusal to depend on politicians and legisla-
tion resulted in the development of creative,
self-reliant tactics. Direct action, boycotts,
agitation and propaganda, the withdrawal of
efficiency (seizure), the sit-down strike,
and civil disobedience were among the union's
innovative methods of struggle, along with the
traditional strike.

An example of I.W.W. Tactics is the Free
Speech fights it conducted between 1907 and
1916. Local officials and owners conspired
in many cities to stop the organizing efforts
of the union by outlawing soap-boxing, which
I.W.W. organizers used extensively in spread-
ing the One Big Union. The union was ship
responded by descending on the city, breaking
the law in droves, and filling the jails be-
yond capacity. City budgets became so strain-
ed from the expense of keeping hundreds of
I.W.W. militants incarcerated, that the city governments were forced to withdraw the offending ordinance. Another example of the union’s tactics of action in the Northwest where lumberjacks unsuccessfully struck to force the lumber barons to accept the eight-hour work day. Returning to the job, the lumberjacks won the eight-hour day through direct action. Every day after 8 hours of work they all stopped working—an action the bosses were powerless to stop.

Naturally, the I.W.W. was not well liked by the owners and the state. By 1912 its membership had grown to 100,000 and its activities spanned the length and breadth of the country and extended into other countries as well. In the U.S., laws were enacted specifically aimed at destroying the union. Many states passed criminal syndicalism laws (which are still on the books and have lately been used against the American Indian Movement). But it wasn’t until World War I, when the union took an anti-militarist position, encouraged resistance to conscription, and refused to “patriotically” suspend the class war at home, that wholesale suppression of the organization took place. Across the country I.W.W. offices were raided. Their contents were confiscated by the government and hundreds of members were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms. In Chicago alone, 33 I.W.W.ers were convicted in one trial, sentenced to 10 to 20 years each and fined $2,570,000.

The war suppression of the union, and the general suppression of the left following the war created hardships and a decline in I.W.W. membership. In 1926-27 the I.W.W. led a strike of 10,000 miners in Colorado and it organized the Hormel plant in Austin, Minnesota in the 30’s.

During the Spanish Civil War and Social Revolution, the I.W.W. supported the anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT, and maintained friendly relations with the Iberian Federation of Anarchists. The union had a special assessment of its members to contribute funds to the CNT during the conflict and many members fought with the CNT forces in Spain.

After World War II the I.W.W. was placed on the Attorney General’s Subversive List and in 1947 the union refused on principle to sign the anti-Communist Taft-Hartley Act. The I.W.W. barely survived the cold war and the rise of reaction and openly during the McCarthy years. The sixties witnessed a modest revival for the union. Today it has a membership of approximately 1000 (both regular and irregular dues paying members) and publishes a monthly newspaper, the Industrial Worker, with a circulation of over 2000. Its strength at present lies in a dozen worker self-managed print shops and other cooperative enterprises (butcher shops, political-music-book stores, a New Haven building cooperative called the Wobbly Ladder Construction Company, etc.) Many members are active militants in the rank and file movements in the more conservative unions.

The I.W.W. remains international in membership and activity. It has members in Sweden, Great Britain, Guam, Canada, and Australia. Recently, one union member disappeared and is thought killed while accompanying guerrilla fighters opposing the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines. Another member was murdered in Chile following the fascist military coup. Again, as in the 30’s, the union is aiding the Spanish CNT as it begins reconstructing itself after decades of Franco’s bitter repression.

For more information on the I.W.W., read Rebel Voices, edited by Joyce Kornbluh (L. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor 1984). To contact the union directly (they have literature available) or to subscribe to the Industrial Worker ($2.50 a year) write I.W.W., 762 West Webster Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614.
On Anarchist Communism

We are communists, but our communism is not that of the authoritarian school: it is anarchist communism, communism without government, free communism. It is a synthesis of the two chief aims pursued by humanity since the dawn of its history—economic freedom and political freedom...

The means of production and of satisfaction of all needs of society have been created by the common efforts of all. Must be at the disposal of all. The private appropriation of requisites for production is neither just nor beneficial. All must be placed on the same footing as producers and consumers of wealth.... Common possession of the necessities of production implies the common enjoyment of the fruits of the common production; and we consider that an equitable organization of society can only arise when every wage-system is abandoned, and when everybody, contributing for the common well-being to the full extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest possible extent of his needs....

Each economic phase of life implies its own political phase; and it is impossible to touch the very basis of the present economic life—private property—without a corresponding change in the very basis of the political organization. Life already shows in which direction the change will be made. Not by increasing the powers of the State, but by resorting to free organization and free federation in all those branches which are now considered as attributes of the State.

------ KROPOTKIN, from "Anarchist Communism" in Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets (New York, 1927)

On Anarcho-Syndicalism

Modern Anarcho-Syndicalism is a direct continuation of those social aspirations which took shape in the bosom of the First International and which were best understood and most strongly held by the libertarian wing of the great workers' alliance.... Only in the realm of the economy are the workers able to display the full social strength, for it is their activity as producers which forms today the whole social structure, and guarantees the existence of society at all.... For the Anarcho-Syndicalist the trade union is... the seed of the Socialist economy of the future, the elementary school of Socialism in general.... The trade union, the syndicate, is the unified organization of labor and has for its purpose the defence of the interests of the producers within existing society and the preparing for and the practical carrying out of the reconstruction of social life after the pattern of Socialism.... The organization of Anarcho-Syndicalism is based on the principles of Federalism, on free combination from below upward, putting the right of self-determination of every member above everything else and recognizing only the organic growth of all on the basis of like interests and common convictions.... Anarcho-Syndicalists are convinced that a Socialist economic order cannot be created by the decrees and statutes of government, but only by the solidaric collaboration of the workers with hand or brain in each special branch of production: that is, through the taking over of the management of all plants by the producers themselves under such form that the separate groups... carry on production and the distribution of the products in the interest of the community on the basis of free mutual agreement.

------ RUDELF ROCKY, from Anarcho-Syndicalism (London, 1918)

Both of these selections are from The Anarchist Collectives edited by Sam Dolgoff
death... and taxes
part II

The last issue of Call of Liberty dealt with resisting the phone tax. This issue deals with Minnesota War Tax Resistance (WTR) and The Alternative Fund. Dave Wool and Carol Nelson, two of the people involved in these two groups, were helpful and enthusiastic about furnishing the information needed for this article.

The Phone Tax is by far the most common form of Tax Resistance. Last year the phone tax netted the U.S. government $2.2 billion ($25 million of that was paid by Minnesotans). A fact which helps encourage people who may sometimes feel that their refusal to pay such a "tiny tax" is a futile gesture.

In response to local phone tax resistance the IRS has sometimes called people and sometimes people have been collected from. Mainly people have gotten a lot of notices in the mail and some have gotten final notices before seizure. Present IRS policy on phone tax collection is given in a letter from Washington (DC) War Tax Resistance which was published in the February issue of The Resister:

IRS will probably not try to collect your refused phone taxes unless you have an income tax refund due. Formerly they took collection action if the amount exceeded $2. Now the limit is the same as for income tax. This information was provided by the IRS to congress. IRS has not revealed the amount, but it is apparently high enough to exclude most individuals from collection. However, you will still get IRS notices and they will collect any amount from income tax refunds.

War Tax Resistance has been going on in Minnesota for about seven or eight years. There are no formally organised outreach or educational programs although some WTR people attended the non-violence conference held in Mpls. this past April and participated in the workshop about War Tax Resistance which Betty Nelson conducted. WTR also has articles published in various publications. They have two or three demonstrations a year to alert people that there are WTR people that they can contact. The last demonstration was on Veterans Day. Some leafletting was done on April 15th to protest the I-I bomber.

There is a steady number of people on the phone calling for information and the number of people in the Alternative Fund has had a slow but steady increase. When a person makes their first contribution to the Alternative Fund they then belong to it. WTR people do not automatically belong to the Alternative Fund. Members of the Alternative Fund get irregular grant proposals. When there is a reasonable amount of money accumulated, the Grant Proposal Committee
On Anarchist Communism

We are communists. But our communism is not that of the authoritarian school: it is anarcho-communism, communism without government, free communism. It is a synthesis of the two chief aims pursued by humanity since the dawn of its history—economic freedom and political freedom...

The means of production and of satisfaction of all needs of society have been created by the common efforts of all, must be at the disposal of all. The private appropriation of requisites for production is neither just nor beneficial. It must be placed on the same footing as producers and consumers of wealth.... Common possession of the necessities of production implies the common enjoyment of the fruits of the common production: and we consider that an equitable organization of society can only arise when every wage-system is abandoned, and when everybody, contributing for the common well-being to the full extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society the fullest possible extent of his needs....

Each economic phase of life implies its own political phase: and it is impossible to touch the very basis of the present economic life—private property—without a corresponding change in the very basis of the political organization. Life already shows in which direction the change will be made. Not in increasing the powers of the State, but in resorting to free organization and free federation in all those branches which are now considered as attributes of the State.

--- KROPOTKIN, from "Anarchist Communism" in Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets (New York, 1927)

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Only in the realm of the economy are the workers able to display their full social strength, for it is their activity as producers which holds together the whole social structure, and guarantees the existence of society at all.... For the Anarcho-Syndicalist, the trade union is... the seed of the Socialist economy of the future, the elementary school of Socialism: in general.... The trade union, the syndicate, is the unified organization of labor and has for its purpose the defence of the interests of the producers within existing society and the preparing for and the practical carrying out of the reconstruction of social life after the pattern of Socialism....

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--- RICODIE ROCKER, from Anarchosyndicalism (London, 1920)

Both of these selections are from The Anarchist Collectives edited by Sam Dolgoff

12
MINNESOTA WAR TAX RESISTANCE

need and write up possible proposals concerning what group to give money to and how much. Any member of the Alternative Fund can be on the Grant Proposal Committee; it presently has five members.) The proposal is then sent out to Alternative Fund members for approval. At present, the policy is that if no objections are made in two weeks the grant will be given out. Now that the fund is bigger, members should consider changing this procedure as it may be an over-stringent requirement. At present, it takes only one person's objection to stop a proposal or have it reconsidered. It is difficult to resolve this particular situation.

The Alternative Fund's purpose is to put money into social change and good social services. For example, they pay for a center which is a very difficult time with money. Last year they had to close for a couple of months in the winter because they could not pay heating bills. A grant going for something like that makes the point that if you didn't have money going for wars, you would not have things like that happening.

Money from the last grant went for one $60 bus ticket to Philadelphia for the July 4th Coalition, $25 to the Continental Walk, and $100 to the Harriet Tubman Shelter for women.

People involved in War Tax Resistance range from 25 to 60 years of age with the average age being about 45. They have diverse political views yet have War Tax Resistance as a common issue.

Most people refusing to pay taxes have not been confronted with serious problems. Six years ago two Minnesotans were charged with 4-4 falsification; one paid the tax and the other person, who refused to pay, had the tax paid by an anonymous donor. Four years ago Carole Nelson did ten days in jail for refusing to give information about her assets. Since then she has received phone calls every spring from the IRS trying to get her to cooperate and refuse. Last year former State Rep. Bill O'Neil was put on probation and fined $10,000 for not filing state of federal tax returns as a protest against the Vietnam War.

This happened in spite of the fact that he did file and pay his taxes.

Recently, Otis Doty was charged with "Assaulting a Federal Officer" when IRS agents attempted to seize his car as partial payment of resisted war taxes.

It should be emphasized that the vast majority of income tax resisters are never seriously confronted with such serious legal difficulties.

If people are interested in or have questions about War Tax Resistance and/or The Alternative Fund call 873-1217 or 873-8093 or write Minnesota War Tax Resistance & Alternative Fund, 122 W. Franklin, Mpls., MN 55404. Counseling is provided and referrals to attorneys are made when necessary. All work is done by volunteers and people who wish to help initiate projects or offer ideas are welcome. Money is needed for supplies and to cover mailing costs. They are helpful, friendly people and any contribution would be appreciated.

FILM SERIES

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD TWIN CITIES CHAPTER FUND-RAISING CHARLIE CHAPLIN FILM SERIES

The Gold Rush (1925) & The Idle Class (1921) Friday, July 23
The Great Dictator (1940) Friday, July 30

Films shown at 7:30 and 9:30 pm at the University of Minnesota West Bank Auditorium. Admission $2.00.
continental walk:
NONVIOLENCE AND DISARMAMENT

by Tom Smit

The purposes of the walk are as follows:
1) to raise the issue of unilateral disarmament as a first step toward pushing disarmament to the top of the public agenda;
2) to educate about nonviolent resistance as a means superior to armaments in defense of all people;
3) to demonstrate how our global and domestic economic problems are interconnected with militarism and the causes of war, and how solutions to these problems must include dealing with sexism and racism;
4) to reassert the significance of the bicentennial in the light of the arms race and related problems;
5) to encourage cooperation among people working for peace, social change and sexual, racial and economic justice;
6) to listen to the voices of people across the country who suffer because we have not disarmed; to seek ways to help their voices be heard at the local, state and national levels; we will collect grievances from people for presentation to government officials;
7) to encourage a renewal of demonstrations and intensified action around the world and eventually around the world on the issue of disarmament.

Since 1948 the nations of the world have spent $4.5 trillion for "military security." According to an article in the Minneapolis Tribune on 3/1/75, world military spending approached $300 billion in 1975. The US accounts for over 1/3 of all military expenditure on the planet. Obviously, had World War II terminated warfare as a problem-solving method, great amounts of money could have been devoted to problems of feeding the hungry, housing the homeless, clothing those in need, providing adequate medical care for the sick and injured, and educating people to alternatives to violence. It is clear, however, that a pugnacious and competitive consciousness prevented such creative alternatives from being realized.
comparison of arms expenditure with other budget priorities reveals the nature of current government commitments. The UN World Food Program, for instance, has an annual budget which the US Dept. of Defense outsends every 14 hours. In 1972, world expenditures for public education averaged $165 per school age child; world military expenditures were $10,405 per soldier. That same year, worldwide military research and development consumed $25 billion, while medical research received only $1 billion; total worldwide government expenditures on health care are only half as large as military expenditures. Employment studies in the US consistently indicate that military spending yields far fewer jobs per dollar than almost any other form of government spending. This makes it clear that what the people of the world face is a "guns or butter" choice. When we choose arms, we are demanding that some people must starve, some go homeless, some go unclothed, some go without medical care, and others remain illiterate. Obviously, the choice to arm is the choice of an oppressor rather than a liberator, for when used, weaponry results in death and destruction, but life and creative constructive employment.

If we are sincerely interested in improving the lot of the masses of people, then we must follow a course which will result in greater life and liberty, not in death by nuclear fire and radiation. We can achieve our purposes by organizing ourselves as a people to bring pressure on the nuclear armed terrorists of this world by taking to the streets with public education campaigns designed to raise the consciousness of the oppressors as well as the oppressed. Healing the alienation and division in our society by creating a public debate about policy with regard to nuclear weaponry is possible through increased communication. By breaking the silence with discussion of the real issues we as a people are confronted with, we can begin to foster an atmosphere where community love and trust become the predominant dynamic, where the silence and suspicion and conspiratorial politicking are left behind.

According to the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), as of May 12, 1976, the US had tested ten nuclear devices underground this year. China and the Soviet Union have each conducted nuclear tests this year. The point we must grasp is that nationalistic allegiance is not in our best interests. It is not the Chinese or Soviet people we have to fear, rather it is the nuclear power clique in each of our countries. It is foolhardy to align ourselves with those who possess such weapons and who tax us by promoting worldwide tensions as a means of justifying the financial burdens they place upon us with jingoistic patriotic calls and by attempting to whip up fear of people of other racial and national backgrounds. If we succumb to such plays and tricks, we will forever remain subservient and divided, with no sense of community with all the other people on the planet.

The nuclear armed powers are spreading their technology to other countries, supposedly for the purpose of increasing the electrical power available to developing countries. Actually, as India proved with its test of a nuclear weapon in 1974, spreading such technology is one sure way of proliferating nuclear weapons. Plutonium is a waste product of nuclear power energy and is a basic component of nuclear weaponry. And the conversion of one to the other is not all that difficult. It is estimated that some 22 countries will have the technology necessary to create nuclear warheads within the next five years.

Here is Minnesota we must realize the nuclear power plants at Monticello and Prairie Island create Plutonium waste in the process of providing us with electric energy and that the radioactive half-life of Plutonium is
24,000 years. We must demand specific explanations of precisely how radiation wastes are going to be stored and safely disposed of. Since they cannot do so, it is another reason we must demand an end to nuclear power as well as nuclear weapons.

Currently, the whole nation is slated to use nuclear power plant electrical production for as much as 50% of our energy needs by the year 2000. The Energy Research and Development Administration has allocated some 20% of its budget to further research in the field of nuclear fission, with yet another large section of its finances to be used toward the development of nuclear fusion. Therefore, we must also demand that research be used to develop alternative sources of energy.

It is for reasons such as these that I am participating in the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice. I hope that some of you will give these matters further consideration and will walk with us for some portion of the journey, and then return to your communities with a sense of urgency to organize your friends and neighbors so that the voice of the people can be heard.

For more information about joining the walk, contact Earl Schramke 205 Vincent Ave; Mpls. 612-336-2134; or Steve Munch 612-376-0518.

People who work in jobs involving the handling of nuclear materials almost double their chances of getting cancer. These are the findings of a study based on autopsies done on workers who had been employed at plants manufacturing plutonium, a nuclear material. The study, conducted by the Public Citizens Health Research Group, a Ralph Nader organization based in Washington, D.C., showed that among workers who died within the last five years, one-third had succumbed to cancer. This is a rate 1.6 times the national average. Many died of leukemia, a cancer of the blood marrow.

Government agencies that own plutonium factories, and private companies in the nuclear industry have all denied there is evidence of an increased chance of developing cancer among nuclear workers.

feminist theatre

At the Foot of the Mountain will open RAPED: A Woman's Look At Brecht's THE EXCISION AND THE RILE on July 9, culminating their summer residency at the Pillsbury-Waite Cultural Arts Center. The play will be performed in a new translation from the German by Miriam Nussbaun with additional material compiled by Martha Boceli and music by Paul Boceli.

Brecht's incisive morality tale about a merchant and his crooked carrier is an outraged indictment against a system in which there are the powerful and the powerless and "humanity is an exception."

Using Susan Brownmiller's Against Our Will as a thesis, the six women At the Foot of the Mountain explores the play as a study of women's oppression focusing on the intimidation of women through rape, man's primary weapon against her through his recorded time.

The play will be performed at 8:00 p.m. on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, July 9 through August 1 at the Pillsbury-Waite Cultural Arts Center, 724 E. 26th Street, Minneapolis. Tickets are $3.00. MAT vouchers are accepted.
history cont.

with recently released numbers and a reunification with the 60,000 Treintistas supporters who had left five years before, theCNT remained aloof from political cities, with the Socialists in power and the country agitated by a series of strikes.

Down on the Ramblas she paused me on her way, weapon cradled in her arm—it was but yesterday. Not just for wages now, not alone for bread—we're fighting for a whole new world, a whole new world, she said.

Hugo Devar

In July, 1936 when the military under Franco revolted, it was small groups of CNT members and Anarchists aided by other leftists [primarily in Catalonia, Levant, and Andalusia] acting on their own which organized in the early days. They immediately set out to form militias, to replace defections or dismissed police forces, armed themselves, and played a decisive role in keeping fascist forces from gaining control in the northern, western and southern regions of Spain. They organized local shops keeping the lines of food supplies and other daily necessities flowing, and in other ways operated in cities and villages to insure the continuation of those day to day processes which enabled a revolution to sustain itself. In all fairness it must be stated here that a few groups did not act in the most productive or thoughtful manner, blantly destroying property and indiscriminately executing suspected fascists.

Primarily in the industrial region of Catalonia uncollectivized factories and shops soon came under socialization, and those that still retained their owners and bosses, as some did, felt the overall shift towards workers' self management. The example previously cited of the collectivized transportation industry in Barcelona is typical of the extent this form of management reached during the first year of the Revolution. In addition great strides were made in the telephone services, restoring full communications to the Catalonia area three days after the July fighting had stopped; in the railroads which turned their repair yards into manufacturing centers producing ambulances and armored vehicles one week after socialization; on the docks of Barcelona where longshoremen rid themselves of racketeers and middlemen and dealt directly with ships and ship companies; in the utilities where equalization of wages allowed some of them to pass on savings to their customers, by reducing rates; in the textile industry, organizing a quarter of a million workers scattered throughout Spain; in the optical industry which began to manufacture lenses for use in all fields and opened a modernized optical school; in the health services, offering to many complete and up-to-date health care in the urban and rural areas; in the metal and munitions industries, producing not only war materials, but constructing metal factories [four hundred in Barcelona alone] which turned out needed machinery [striving to supplement the boycott imposed by the western democracies]. Many more examples in numerous other industries could be cited.}

The structure of the new economy was simple: Each factory organized a new administration manned by its own technical and administrative workers. Factories in the same industry in each locality organized themselves into the Local Federation of their particular industry. The total of all the local federations organized themselves into the Local Economic Council in which all the centers of production and services were represented: coordination, exchange, sanitation and health, culture, transportation, etc. Both the local federations of each industry and the Local Economic Councils were organized regionally and nationally into parallel National Federations of Industry and National Economic Federations...

Diego Abar de Santillana.
In the rural areas the story was similar. Peasants grouped together and redistributed land acquired from fleeing land owners. In many instances these communes did away with money as a rate of exchange substituting labor exchange, ration cards, and some even issued their own local currency. Despite these impressive reports, it was becoming evident that by the end of the summer of 1936 that the Revolution was proceeding piecemeal at best. Furthermore it must be remembered that concentrated anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist strength lay primarily in the northern and western sections and some parts of southern Spain. It must also be remembered that even in sections of anarchist influence, the CNT forces were a minority of the total population. While most Republicans were anti-Franco this did not make them pro-CNT. In fact at best their attitude could be best stated as thankful [through mutual anti-fascist feelings] rather than supportive of CNT policies. It is in this very way that the CNT found itself becoming a part of the Republican governments in Catalonia and Madrid.

In Barcelona, CNT militants had led local forces to victory over the Fascist assault on the city. The elected Socialist leader of Barcelona, Luis Companys, realized that the CNT forces were a power that had to be reckoned with and through a plan of deceit and trickery convinced them of the necessity to join the government. Let us imagine that Galilea was the sole reason for which the Anarchists found themselves in, of all places, the government, we cannot too often be reminded of their fierce determination to unite with all Republicans in an effort to keep Fascist forces from coming to power in Spain. To many, this meant foregoing their drive for the revolution and instead turning their attentions towards the war effort. Buenaventura Durrutti's famous phrase, "We renounce all except victory" became the summation of CNT sentiment. But as Gaston Leval so aptly put it, "The victory he [Durrutti] sought was the victory over fascism. But unfortunately the all was the Revolution itself." [accentuation SCL]

The CNT had found itself a part of a government, which from its outset, was convining do away with them and their influence at their earliest opportunity. Once Companys felt he had solidified CNT support behind the government [while not all CNT or FAI members supported the move to collaborate they nonetheless maintained great solidarity and unity within their ranks] he began to gather support from the Communists. This support came mainly in the form of military aid and in general supplies. The support, however, was on condition, and on a condition that Companys was willing to accept. First, that the Communist Party must benefit as much as possible from the supplies with the Anarchists benefiting as little as possible, and secondly, to insure that the social revolution in Spain must fall. Both because the revolution would have been libertarian communist as well as the fact that at the time Stalin was seeking an alliance with Britain against Hitler and British investments were under threat of expropriation. Also International Communist party strategy was for Communists to take part in Popular Front governments in alliance with the bourgeoisie.
With the Socialists and Communists temporarily united, Companys started chipping away atCNT strength. [First, he replaced worker militias with governmental ones] By attempting to disarm the workers he could begin to get to his real goal, that of neutralizing their power in industries and factories and to turn worker-controlled institutions into state-dominated ones. CNT leaders in the government row found themselves on a difficult fence to straddle. At the same time [and all in the name of unity] they were able to put up, and even encourage, oppressive measures while watching hard-fought revolutionary gains fall by the wayside. By the spring of 1937, Companys Socialist/Communist coalition no longer needed the support of the CNT or the Anarchists and began their systematic counter-revolution. This began in May when government and communist troops started breaking up CNT-held industries in Barcelona. They led off with an armed assault on the Telephone company [CNT controlled since the first day of the war] which lasted for four days and only ended when two CNT government officials convinced workers to lay down their arms. By June the assault had spread to the agricultural collectives. Starting in Aragon, crops were confiscated, destroyed or left rotting in the fields and young farm workers were rounded up for front line military duty.

By mid-summer the CNT-FAI had begun to lose their strength as revolutionary organizations. While their membership remained high, two million and one hundred and fifty thousand respectively, their organizations were continually sapped by the counter-revolutionary forces. The Russians, who had entered the war and gained favor with the Socialists, led massive propagandaist attacks on anything leaning towards Anarchist philosophy or organization. In spite of these odds the libertarian movement in Spain was still strong. Again returning to Gaston Leval, he writes, "An orator could stampede a plainly in accepting collaboration with the state, but after thinking it over the rank and file CNT and FAI members would reaffirm their deeply felt convictions and continue to work for the Revolution. These militants were able to administer a collective, work on the land, use a hammer, or guide a local assembly or syndicate with their sensible ideas on how to solve practical problems."

Since the day that Franco's forces brought the war to an end in 1939, the CNT has remained an illegal, underground organization. Over the years its members and leaders have been rounded up and imprisoned, often times facing harsh penalties and conditions or executed. The "thorn in the side" still exists today and is struggling to make its comeback a more visible one.

"They too were storming heaven—do you think they fought in vain, that because they lost a battle they would never rise again; that the man with the leaflets, the woman with a gun, did not have a daughter, did not have a son?"

Hugo Dewar

1. Peirats, Jose, What Is the CNT? p.1
2. Dolgoff, Sam, Anarchist Collectives p.88.
3. Peirats, op. cit. p.2
5. Ibid., pp.380-82.
6. Dolgoff, op. cit. p.35.
7. Peirats, p.6
12. Ibid., p.56.

Sources
Bolloten, Burnett, The Grand Camouflage.
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Dolgoff, Sam, ed., The Anarchist Collectives
Guerin, Daniel, Anarchism.
Orwell, George, Homage to Catalonia.
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Woodcock, George, Anarchism.
Dear Comrades,

We are very happy to tell you that each issue of your publication, *Silk of Liberty*, is better than the last. We have been showing it off around our neck of the woods with pride. I have even gotten out of my general lethargy about answering letters.

From our way of thinking, the letter of Kathy E. Ferguson misses the point about anarchist ideas concerning human nature. Bakunin thought that we all had a little bit of "the devil in us" and therefore he wanted power to be divided up in so many parts as would be commensurate with the greatest possible amount of freedom for the individual and for communal living. One is impossible without the other. Bakunin thought that power should be shared—divided up by many groups which would then voluntarily get together—federate—for common needs. In such an organization of society, man would at least be able to cope with the evils in society even though he would not be able to eliminate them entirely.

The Russian mir, (village), idealized by many radicals, was analyzed by Bakunin with cold and realistic eyes, as miniature autocratic states, made up of male-dominated families. The drunken mulik, (peasant), the dictatorial father and head of the family, could be bought off with a bottle of vodka. How could it be otherwise in a despotic czarist male set-up? The Russian-left idealized the mulik as the savior of his society. But Bakunin saw him as a victim and a product of the despotic, exploitive society. Unless the mulik is radicalized and moved by a sense of injustice, the social revolution is far off. Even though there may be desperate uprisings, often ending in terrible feelings of despondency and hopelessness.

Kropotkin pointed out that although the law of tooth and claw—"survival of the fittest"—exists in society, mutual aid (cooperation) is also a great factor for survival. It exists throughout all of nature. Darwin also observed this factor of mutual aid even though he could not transcend his middle-class, English psychology and found an apology for the crimes of the English industrialists to the law of tooth and claw. Sigmund Freud found that even among one-celled animals there was a clustering together of individuals from which the colony and the individual was strengthened.

Anarchists accept their animal origins and try to understand what is our basic nature; what is necessary for survival. Mutual aid comes with life itself. Throughout the history of life on this planet, life has been an adjustment of the physical body for survival to the surroundings of the individual and of his species. The evolution of his societies were for greater efficiency toward that end. Kropotkin's observations have been corroborated by a great number of anthropologists and animal behaviorists quite independently of him. As in the natural physical world there is also a natural evolution of society. Our ethics and our culture has not come from a preordained prescription from on high. It has, through trial and error, come from the necessity for survival.

Fortunately for the human being, his behavior in his society, is not let us say, like the behavior of the insects in their mechanistic society, so interestingly described by the French naturalist, Jean Henri Fabre. The insect, if he is disturbed in his rigid course of action, in the cycle of his behavior in his society by external factors, has no control of events. He cannot go beyond negative or positive preordained reactions.

But given the brain of the human being, his use of the thumb, his voice box, his upright posture, his ability to say yes or no, the human being has the capacity to change events within
his human game. The anarchist, reinforced in
his ideas by scientists, in the fields of ecology,
conservation, atomic science and management,
says that for the survival of the human race and
for life in general, there must be decentraliza-
tion, federation and their concomitant ethic--
"From each according to his ability; to each
according to his need." Without this principle
we wipe ourselves off the face of the earth.

The role of the anarchist is to reinforce these
factors in society which bring more freedom to
allow for mutual aid to become the dominant fac-
tor in society. Our ethics is based on mutual
aid. We unite the social movement that does not
base itself on justice and mutual aid.

Yours for a better world,

New York
Escher J. Dolgoff

Anarchist Comrades,

I did not read Ms. Golod's article, referred
red to by Kathy Ferguson (Letters, Vol. 2,
No. 3), but reading the latter's comments
on it and other things was very interesting
to me.

What we have in anarchist theory, it seems,
is a dichotomy between Necessity (i.e. natural
law, historical process, need for
food, shit, etc.) and Creativity (development
of one's personality, of a locality's
personality, art, literature, etc.). I hate
to label anybody, especially anarchist
friends, but for the sake of convenience,
we could be classed into the categories of
Necessitarian and Creativist, with full
realization that nobody is entirely one
or the other.

Temperamentally, I suppose, I am a Creativ-
ist, a strong believer in the absolute oneness
of the individual. Also the uniqueness, as
I said, of the locality. In that sense, I am
also a localist, knowing, as an experienced
traveller, the immense difference of attitudes
between, say, Chicagoans and Montanans.

Uniqueness defies concrete explanation; it is
just a subtle intuitive sense that two things,
persons, or regions are not the same. It is
quite possible that Max Stirner's fulminations
against communism turned people off,
including anarchists, and led them to put undue stress on
necessity.

But necessity cannot be ignored either. We are
all human beings; we all have to eat, sleep,
and breathe, regardless of age, sex, height, nation-
ality, religion, or anything else. This is
obvious to all but the very most ignorant.

My point is, we cannot deny natural laws or
"hard-headedness", but must include both in our
fight for an anarchist future, and also when
and if the anarchist millennium comes into
being. It is a paradoxical belief of mine
that natural laws of history
that the State is doomed to die by the inevit-
able natural laws of history, but that if we
do not act very soon, the overthrow of the
State will become impossible.

Perhaps it is a necessity to have more hard-
headedness, even more individuality, within
the movement. If so, I gladly contribute
whatever I can, to emphasize my own unique-
ness, and that of others.

Wayne Shaw

Chicago
letters, cont.

Dear Editors,
Kathy Fergan’s letter interested me, particularly her reference to existentialism and Max Stirner.

Existentialism, minus its angst, and liberated from the craving of some of its exponents for “commitment,” is certainly a useful basis for a “hard-headed” anarchism, furthermore, as R.W.K. Paterson has pointed out, Stirner’s philosophy of consciousness egoism expresses just such existentialism.

However, I would like to know what it is that Ms. Ferguson finds so “disconcerting” in Stirner’s “property-oriented language” and occasional praise for “free-market competition.” If we are going to be more hard headed about anarchism, then the egalitarian and collectiveistic shibboleths hitherto associated with it are due for a severe and probably fatal analysis—and Stirner provided some cogent guidelines for this.

Yours sincerely,
S.E. Parker
Editor Minus One

Dear friends,

A very good friend of mine has loaned me copies of your newsletter. I have read just two articles in Vol. 1, no. 1 and frankly I am excited. The thinking expressed in the article about anarcha-feminism and the criticism and responses following it was clear to me and helping bring some of my theoretical thinking together. I have for a time suspected (which means I have felt) that feminist principles can enhance anarchism and this article showed this real well.

I sense a strong commonality, at least in words, among us (that is you and we—Movement for a New Society). Feminism and fighting against patriarchyalism and capitalism are basic tenets in our struggles within in Movement for a New Society. We have a lot to learn on all front for sure, but we have already learned and developed a lot of skills, particularly in group process (consensus decision making, personal sharing, women’s and men’s groups, etc.) and direct action.

If you can I would like to be sent your newsletter in exchange for our newsletter.

Dandelion and also send me the newsletter at the same address.

In struggle with love and peaches,
Scott Burgwin
WRS Outreach Collective

Phil.

To the folks at Soil of Liberty
We were pleased to get your V.2 #2. We especially liked the article, “Rules of the Working Class,” wonderful writing! We would like to reprint it in Black Circles if you don’t object. Also, if you find out the author’s name, that would be nice. Many co-ops in the Boston area are attentively aware of the C.O. saga; a similar process tends to occur here, disguising itself as natural development—gigantism and bureaucratization in the name of efficiency and the class struggle...

Mike Murphy
for RC

No objection to reprinting that article. At the present time, however, the author(s) still remain unknown and unknown to all concerned.

C.N.T. Today, cont.

The CNT in Spain is now propagandizing against all areas of oppression: the subjugation of woman in a “macho” society, the subordination of young people to ruling value structures, the repression of ethnic minorities and the refusal of a federalist solution, and the destruction of the Spanish ecology to rapid industrialization.” [Freedom 2/27/76]

Addendum: Non-violent activists have also been active in Spain, struggling against Spanish militarism by trying to get conscientious objector status recognized by the Spanish government. There has been no success so far and many are in prison for refusing military service. (Win 3/11/76). For more information, contact: Spanish Non-Violent Support Committee, 5021 Guadalope Trail NW, Albuquerque, NM 87107

We look forward to Augustina Socquy’s arrival so that we can get more up-to-date reports on what is happening in Spain.
SOUCHY BIOGRAPHY

Augustin Souchy is a German anarcho-syndicalist. He was a delegate of the German syndicalist union to the Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions in Moscow, 1921. He was one of the founders and Secretary of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workingmen's Association organized in Berlin in 1922, to which the CNT was affiliated. From 1912 to the end of the Civil War, Souchy was in constant touch with the Spanish revolutionary movement. During the whole duration of the Civil War he remained in Spain, in charge of international propaganda. He wrote hundreds of articles in the Spanish anarchist press. Souchy observed and lived in many of the collectives and is an outstanding authority on all phases of the Spanish anarchist movement. He left Spain only a few hours before Barcelona was occupied by the Franco troops. With the coming of World War II, he lived as a refugee in France, and later traveled extensively throughout Latin America, Israel, etc., to study at first hand collectivization and cooperative movements in semi-developed countries.

SOUCHY'S TOUR

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<tr>
<td>July 19</td>
<td>New York City</td>
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Diego de Santillan, a leading member of the CNT in the thirties was also to have come to this country to speak, but he could not get a visa since he refuses to sign a statement saying he would not advocate the overthrow of the Spanish government.

Soul Of Liberty
P.O. Box 3840
Loring Station
Mpls, Mn. 55403

There were some 35-40 people at the picnic Soul of Liberty sponsored on June 5th. We talked about the Midwest Anarchist Conference and about SRAF. The potluck was good as were frisbee and volleyball. We raised $28 at the picnic and have taken in about $85 since the last issue. Keep those cards and letters comin', friends and neighbors. Subscriptions are $3 - $4 a year. Haymarket Press is again donating the printing labor for this issue.