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BLACK FLAG

**BULLETIN
OF THE
ANARCHIST
BLACK CROSS**

 IS THERE AN ANARCHIST PERIL ?

YES! the newspapers scream. YES! insists the Government. But the once famous slogan now raises a smile among some who profess (but do no more than profess) anarchist ideals.

The quietist who might adopt, in default of anything else, the name "anarchist" as a fashionably-radical label but for whom it means no more than not voting every four or five years - will come out with the ready words "Walter Mitty" at the suggestion.

But the Prime Minister - who cannot always be wrong - goes along to the United Nations and before the whole world declares that the future struggle is not between governments, but between those ("communist" too, he suggests) who want quiet ordered government and those who seek the abolition of authority. He makes it plain that he believes there will be civil war - in the U.K. too - and has carefully prepared his legislation and even his Budget according to that possibility. Can he be so wrong?

Enoch Powell, Angus Maude, all shriek that there is an anarchist peril. What our enemies dread, we must welcome. "But what rubbish to suggest we are a threat to them!" sigh the pessimists in our ranks, or the quietists who want to take over. "If they only knew...!"

Is our movement really in the bad shape we are often told by contemporary anarchist journals? The top level police force, organised in layers of secret political police, does not think so. The upkeep of Special Branch runs into millions, and those officers, and the cost of their operations, who deal exclusively with "the anarchists" run into tens of thousands of pounds in cost.

Is it possible that a few students looking cursorily at what seems to be the movement, are right to dismiss it contemptuously; and that these trained police officers are wrong? It may indeed be so; there are large salaries at stake and by now many would be reluctant to write off the anarchist peril!

BUT OF COURSE, "it all depends on what you mean" by the anarchist movement. We have always deplored the way the term is defined by many of our comrades as meaning "anyone who calls himself an anarchist". If the "anarchist movement" is as wide as that, or even wider as some would have it and range from every kid who won't go to Sunday school to capitalists who won't join employers' associations, it is indeed a load of useless junk. BUT

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Cartoon: Birth of a Nation State
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EDITORIAL (Continued)

if the term is used in its natural meaning of those who believe in the abolition of government and who actively participate in the struggle against authority, then one can see why the Right Wing has firmly gripped the nettle. They are not deluded by our lack of organisation - though the myth of the 'paid agitator' and the 'secret funds' (as if Russia or China had real interest in social unrest) may continue.

It is true too that Interpol still squanders huge sums trying to find the "leadership" or the headquarters or "No.1." and Customs officials look up eagerly and begin questioning when anyone on their list is entering or leaving the country,

for the oldest police legend of them all is that the organisation of the revolutionaries is abroad.

But the strength of anarchist resistance in every country - in Czarist Russia, in turn-of-the-century France, in Spain, Germany and elsewhere, has been its ability to fight without organisation, without leadership, and solely upon the determination of groups and individuals. Not that anarchism opposes organisation for a purpose - in building industrial unionism, for instance. But the strength of resistance against the hydra-headed monster of the state is in individual attacks in defence of liberty. The Government, any government, dreads nothing so much as people organ-

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THE RULE BOOK OF THE C.N.T.

The Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union (National Confederation of Labour) was the majority union in Spain with 1,800,000 members. Its constitution was printed in the membership card, set out in full here.

(This was issued in the last Bulletin, No.9 and is reprinted by request, as we are commenting upon it in our discussion on Syndicalism).

The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves.

Anarcho-syndicalism and anarchism recognise the validity of majority decisions.

The militant has a right to his own point of view and to defend it, but is obliged to comply with majority decisions, even when they are against his own feeling.

A membership card, without the correspondent confederal seal, is invalid. The confederal seal is the only means of income that the Regional National Committees have. Not to keep it paid is to sabotage the work that has been recommended to those committees, for they are unable to carry out decisions without the economic means to do so.

We recognise the sovereignty of the individual, but we accept and agree to carry out the collective mandate taken by majority decision. Without this there is no organisation.

We must never lack the mental clarity to see danger and to act with rapidity. To lose time in talking in meetings by holding philosophic discussions, is anti-revolutionary. The adversary does not discuss, he acts.

The most fundamental principle of federalism is the right of the members to examine the role of the militants and to have control of their delegates, no matter what the circumstances or what position they have given them.

We must allow a margin of confidence to our delegates. But we must also retain the right to replace them if necessary.

To criticise in public those comrades given places of confidence in our organisation is to devalue the organisation. No conscientious comrade criticises the committees in public, because this only favours the adversary.

The choice of delegates is discussed internally and it is essential

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THE SECOND HALF OF THE
SPANISH CIVIL WAR

There should be no mistaking the signs of what is happening in Spain. For better or worse, the second half of the Civil War has begun. The long sordid entr'acte of peace-by-murder is over.

From the end of the Civil War in 1939, until 1955, the Establishment in Spain - Church-Army-Civil Service-upper middle class and aristocracy - consolidated its position. To do so it allowed of no compromise and no quarter. It murdered a quarter of a million of the enemy - the people of Spain. That does not take into account those who crammed the prisons and ultimately died of their treatment. It was a revenge unequalled by any other victorious Power.

From then on it has abated the persecution but there were still many deaths by court martial, tribunal or by the police in the streets. In 1957 the anarchist militant Faceras was killed by the police in Barcelona. In 1960 Quice Sabater - last of the famous brothers of the Resistance - died when his anarchist group was raided at Sant Celoni.

In 1962, Jorge Conill, of the Libertarian Youth, was re-prieved after an international campaign but in the same year Julian Grimau, the Communist Party leader, was shot after court-martial. In 1969 our comrades Granados and Delgado were victims of the civil court's garotte. In 1968 Echevarrieta, ETA militant, was killed by the Civil Guard. In 1969 the police shot, in the streets, two workers in Erandio; in 1970 fifteen African workers were killed under the direction of the Opus Dei regime in Aaiun; in Granada three building workers were killed whilst on strike by the police, and in recent days one student has been killed in Madrid and another in Barcelona.

This is the background to the feeling rising in Spain against a possible return to the conditions before 1955. Nobody will ever tolerate that. In moving against the Basques, and putting fifteen ETA militants on trial - and demanding the death penalty, the Government went too far. Restraints built up over patient, sordid years were swept aside. There were militant protests in and out of Spain.

(Cont. on page 26).

Anarchism IN NORTH CHINA

IN THE VILLAGE where I was born there is a monument in a square erected by the trades unions where fifteen Anarchists were executed as common criminals engaged in a conspiracy against the Empress in her last terror-stricken days. They were buried in a common grave, which became a place of honour to the common people, who preserved it carefully. Our May Day marches

used to culminate in this spot, where we sang "Those who fought against injustice, our victory will honour".

I was banished from the village by the police and later I had to change my identity and could not return. I came back after an absence of thirty-five years on a visit. As it was May the First, the first place I visited was "our square" - both for sentimental reasons and because I knew if any of our old friends were alive, that is where they would be. Some old people still put flowers on the monument. But of all our friends I met only one old lady, who had been the beautiful girl who ran the "Anarchist Newspaper of the North" from 1910 to 1930. Despite all her many cares and the fact of marriage to a man who did not share her ideals or her courage, she was still with us, but, she told me, "all the comrades are dead". These are words one often hears in Northern China, from the lips of old people. There, in that town, where once a thousand youngsters marched behind our banner, only two or three elderly people remained to testify of our past. They met occasionally in company and backed each other up in talk like old gossips; if they met privately in tea sessions to talk of the old days. Red China had passed them by.

Is this really all the remains of that great movement of Anarchism in North China which still gives the bureaucrats of Peking devil-induced jerkings awake from their slumbers? So I asked myself. But the poor bureaucrats are not entirely fools. For there is the disturbing fact that after a propaganda drive by the State unequalled in history, when private thoughts are high treason, they have not managed to obliterate from memory the martyrs up in the square. The municipality no longer cleans it, but somebody does, voluntarily. None of my friends knew whom. "Some of the workers do it," they said vaguely. Now and again a Red student, full of his importance as a cadet officer, will stop an old peasant and angrily reproach him for putting a bunch of flowers there. It is "transferred

ancestor worship" he tells him sternly. He is greeted with the usual maddening shrug of the shoulders and assumed stupidity of the countryman. "They were very bad days," says the old man (using the very phrase in vogue with the Red students when admonishing "unprogressive working men"). And sometimes, when there has been quite a lot of marching and speechmaking and great patriotic demagogy, and the workers and peasants have been thoroughly denounced for not working as hard as The Chairman, somebody will whistle, "Victory will honour" - it is our "ca ira" there in the countryside - or perhaps somebody will murmur what is now a cant, and most impertinent, phrase "What would they make of it up at the square?"

If victory has not honoured, defeat has not forgotten. Remember that. For in the countryside around, there are dozens of townships

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ANARCHIST COMMENTARY

The Times Literary Supplement recently reviewed a book in German on Organised Anarchism in the German Reich. It was culled from the comprehensive police records, which were thoroughly compiled, and is therefore an invaluable record of working-class anarchist organisation. One thing must at once be noticed. The bourgeois historians normally (if they know that anarchism existed at all in Germany) can get no further than Most, Landauer, Muhsam, Stirner, Mackay and run out of names. For bourgeois historians there can be only bourgeois thinkers and so "leaders". As they pick up each other's names, as laundrymen are said to take in each other's washing, no working class history exists.

But of course this historian did not take his references from the sparse academic accounts. He

took them from the police. How different would be the popular accounts of anarchism now current in the Anglo-Saxon world if they did the same!

Bless you, professors! If Scotland Yard would open its archives how soon you could disprove the thesis that we have no history of anarchist thought and action in England or that we rely on bourgeois leaders!

Some students, of course, feel that the Woodcocks and Jolls may be a little inadequate. They demand of veterans some knowledge of their lives that these may furnish matter for a prize essay or a doctoral thesis. I have had them too. "A French student is writing as his thesis English anarchism between the wars - would you

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where once free communes were set up, where a handful of Anarchist militants, leading fugitive lives, had come to the town square and called for an insurrection, and where the whole population had rallied round and refused to pay taxes or rents, and had lived independent and free while the national armies fought each other and were unable to impose the tribute of the State. The Peking bureaucrats do not forget. Neither do the people.

Long
Live
Anarchy!

When I came to the capital of our province, as it now is, that was large in 1934 and is now swollen beyond belief, I contacted the local group whom we knew as our active contacts. They apologised to me for their scarcity of numbers. "In this town, where once we had a hundred groups, we have now ten individuals," said my contact sadly. But he knew

nothing of those in the villages. Another comrade was, however, more optimistic. "Don't mistake what we are with what we could be. If you had now, come from the city to tell us - as they used to in the old days - that the army was in retreat and the government powerless - I would need only to run up a pair of black knickers on a pole and shout 'Long Live Anarchy' and ten, twenty, thirty thousand men and women would rally and many would bring their rifles with them."

Well, which was true? Let me tell you one more story. As I left to go to the railway station I looked around and saw the same glorification of the Leader, the same uniformity of slogans, the same picture of the Nation State marching in goosestep that one sees all over China. But, emboldened by my friend's assertions, when the railway clerk asked me my destination, I was foolish enough to hum the old words indelibly associated with our movement:

"Freedom is my destination, don't ask me for a place-name". The clerk shouted angrily, "Don't be flippant! We have a serious job to do!" I felt a little humiliated in front of the crowd. I meekly told him my home town. Then another railwayman came forward to take my ticket and my luggage. He put me on the train without a word. To my surprise the clerk came out too to see me on board and when I said I had not paid they both smiled. "Go on, good luck," they said. Later, a little girl brought me a basket of fruit with the anonymous message, "Your journey may be very long and this may be useful." How should I interpret this?

(Cont. on page 10).

One more incident. An elderly lady

EDITORIAL: Anarchist Peril?
(From page 3).

ised at their places of work, but well able to take care of themselves individually without the protection racket that makes up "authority".

What happens by some to be called the anarchist movement may or may not correspond to the reality. This does not really matter. What does matter is that if the Right Wing is preparing for civil war - and the so-called Left Wing is as likely to be an ally as a victim - they will not be able to register the victory which they think possession of the big battalions secures them. For they are right to fear the danger of an anarchist movement which, once it is in being, will sweep away every vestige of tyranny.

IN FUTURE ISSUES:

we shall continue an examination of the anarcho syndicalist movements of the world and try to draw some conclusions; go on to examine Trotskyism in practice; and conclude the survey of anarchism in China.

We shall bring in more cartoons and we trust bring back the lost tribes of the Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review team as a literary supplement. We will extend our industrial and international coverage.

RULE BOOK OF THE C.N.T.
(From page 5)

that this takes place. But one should remain silent in public. Think as you wish, but as a worker you need the Syndicate, because it is there to protect your interests.

Comrade: This membership card is the safeguard of your working life. It has no price but you will prize it above everything. And you will be ready to defend the card of the CNT wherever you see it attacked. UNITY IS STRENGTH.

Worker: The syndicate is your means of solidarity. Only in it are you able to form a united proletarian movement that will go forward to emancipation.

NOTE TO COLLECTORS.

Almost every issue of Vol.I. of the Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross is now out of print. There are only one or two copies of Cuddon's, odd issues, about - and anyone wanting complete files has had it.

Some of the Coptic pamphlets are out of print but we are reprinting many in an improved format and also will bring out those promised in the Coptic days which did not appear.

SUBSCRIPTIONS:

All subs have now run out so let's be having some! A mere 15/- p.a. which is sure to t rise later.

ANARCHISTS IN NORTH CHINA
(From page 8)

sitting opposite me observed the incident of the little girl. There were in the carriage many important looking Party functionaries and people in evident good standing. She said nothing to them but later remarked to me, apparently in regard to nothing, "I am for everybody and everything but my two sons work on the railway and I am against blowing up civilian trains in time of peace". (The expression "trainwreckers" is often used, maliciously, to describe rebels - it has become a synonym in officialese, like 'anarchy' and 'chaos'). I replied with a literary quotation, "The trainwreckers do not wreck trains and the officers of the law do not bring justice". She smiled knowing exactly what I meant. When I added, "It is a great crime in war-time, too" she threw a frightened and imploring look.

When she got off the train she slipped some money in my hat. All over North China the people believe that all the Anarchists need is money. They do not understand our situation south, where comrades are in good jobs and think we must still be fugitives. It is an insult to refuse money, yet like our foreign comrades they do not see that money cannot buy us printing presses or guns to defend them. (In fascist countries a group with money may buy a duplicator under cover of a legitimate business. Here, all is state controlled.)

STUDENTS

These stories may illustrate why the bureaucrats are still frightened of us. There are too many who remember when the working class movement fought for freedom and was not a tool of the Nation State. With the young people I seldom mixed. Our working-class youth is (rightly) suspicious of its elders; our students, unlike those abroad, are dogmatic supporters of the existing power. Only to those in our groups did

I have the chance to speak. Is it true that a young generation is rising that is given "the chance to speak" and that takes "great provocations"? Yes, it is true. In many big cities, in May Day, our young friends decided to carry out an order of the Young Communists to "denounce anarchism". Many skilful young artists, who had read of the "overcheer" anarchists in the U.S.A., prepared some beautifully-executed signs:-

Those lying devils the anarchists said state socialism would bring about a new tyranny. Either they are mad or we are!

Anarchism in North China.

(From Page 10)

What a wicked scoundrel was the Anarchist Shih Fu who said the workers could manage their own affairs without a party banner!

When Peter Kropotkin said the peasants could be free to till the land without State intervention, all Marxists recognised in him the paid agent of the Russian Czar!

Even more daring was: The bourgeois Anarchists maintained that libertarian socialism would come since all men were born free and were naturally good. Mao Tse Tung has proved them wrong!

Many did not know how these slogans should be taken, since they are neither more nor less than current Party slogans, but nobody dared protest in case they were not sarcastic but officially inspired. These banners were carried in the open air, before thousands of people, including police and army officers, Party officials, foreign observers, and the ironic cheering of many ordinary people showed that some understood the message.

How then am I expected to report the state of the movement in North China? Our friends abroad ask me to tell them "have we a movement in China? If so, what does it consist of?" I cannot tell them any more than I can write here. Do I write that in North China all the comrades are dead, or that everywhere the peasants sympathise with us; that we have ten members in such-and-such a town or thirty thousand; that the railway workers are with us or that some people were kind to me; that our banners wave at the head of the May Day processions? Which is true, which is a lie? Are we many, are we few? Should the bureaucrats worry about us no longer, should they bring back beheading for our views? Sleep easy, gentle people, the revolution is not yet upon you. But in the moments when you are awake, be careful not to demand too many sacrifices of your people or engage your army in too many directions!

(This article was written for the Chinese Anarchist paper "Mutual Aid" and the accompanying letter to us, dealing with the Anarchist movement in general, in China, will appear in the next issue).

Read: THE ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA.

H E A V Y

B R E A T H I N G

Richard Wolff reports in the Sketch (Jan. 1) that premiers Heath and Trudeau will not get married this year. We had no idea they were even good friends.

Heartbreaking story reported in press of poor Mrs Macleod whose husband sacrificed the possibility of great wealth for power - described as serving his country - and only left £15,000 for the poor little woman to struggle on. For that sort of sum we fools spend our time and money on the pools.

Father Curtin, of course, is laughing. He won £100,000 and says gambling can't be wrong if you can win such large prizes...Naturally, it is the losers who complain.

The beatles have busted up with high court writs all round. All those lonely rich people suing each other over a mere £45 million (more to come). No wonder Mrs Macleod is jealous. These are the good folk who despise the bourgeois values she upholds. How many assured us the class struggle was square and old hat as the Beatles waved the banner of personal liberation all the way to the bank? Where are they now, those

former critics of ours. Where are the shmo's of yesterday?

Forward comrade P. who told me we anarchists who talked about class struggle were 'sordid calculators'. He was interested in social welfare for junkies and now has a £500,000 grant from Lord Nuffield of Morris Motors to help him on his way....forward M.C. who said the anarchist conference was "no different from a Labour Party one" (grim smiles) and is now poncing on a wealthy widow who publishes his poetry.... back to the limelight S.R. who aimed at being a Leader of the enlightened personal liberationists and has conned some rich Americans into buying him an island.

The scene is not changed so much from the '30s and '40s when militants were bought but kids you got it made! Think of how poor old Bessie had to flog herself to death in left causes before finishing as a rightwing Labour M.P. and ending in the nuthouse! Think how many years Manny Shinwell spent as a two-fisted rebel before he ended as the extreme right wing Labour peer. You can do it all now in a year or so. Can you wonder they're so jealous of you?



ARTHUR MOYSE

THE MAUDLING PRIZE

The Maudling Prize for IDIOT OF THE MONTH will, we fancy, have many eager claimants. We were hard put to it to decide on the first prizewinner - judgment was divided between Lord Robens and the Science Correspondent of the "Guardian" (Anthony Tucker).

Lord Robens was commended for his suggestion that left-wing agitators went down the mines and forced miners out on strike by the scruff of their necks, and his impassioned plea for them to wake up and realise they were being "used". He was, however, over-ruled on the ground that he was palpably acting. Only sincere contestants will get this coveted award.

Mr. Tucker on the other hand wrote a straightforward account of the theory of "Jensenism" - "the latest heresy seeking to prove racial differences in IQ inheritance", as he put it - and its founder, Arthur R. Jensen, professor of educational psychology is said to be putting forward this "notion of ethnic IQ differences" in the "Harvard Educational Review" and putting the science world "in a sensation" not known since the "political disasters of Aryanism".

But, says Mr. Tucker in his prizewinning line in the Guardian (18.7.70) "There was nothing outwardly of the anarchist about Professor Jensen as he quietly reviewed the statistical basis of his arguments". Good God!! Small spoon from ice cream carton to illiterate journalist Anthony Tucker.

BOOK REVIEWS

Government & Opposition - magazine 15/- a journal of comparative politics Vol. 5 No. 4. (Autumn 1970) has a special issue on ANARCHISM TODAY. Total number of mistakes: 43. We need hardly go into false assessments. We, or someone, described by Nicolas Walter as "the most interesting of the anarchist foci (other than Freedom Press)" and as a "protean group". (I thought at first it was Promethean and beamed until I looked it up in the dictionary).

"Ultra-Leftists in Britain" by Betty Reid attacks this paper. Sorry if the review is out-dated, but the book appeared about a year or so before the paper did.

The Anarchists, Horowitz. Anthology - not too bad but a bit academic and a lot included that's quite irrelevant. Paperback edition is now remaindered at the reasonable price of 3/6 or 5/-. L.J

The Rise & Fall of the Press

ONE OF THE GREAT FAILS OF THE prostitute press, reflected faithfully by "public opinion", is the leniency shown to "offenders". Yet in practice the law changes slowly, and often backwards. It is covered in England by hypocrisy which seeks to hide the plain fact of vengeance. One understands, for instance, that the State for its own preservation requires juvenile prisons for those who offend against its laws. But the years of do-gooding and democracy impel some window dressing. There are no juvenile prisons; there are centres where young offenders are "reformed" or "trained".

How does one go about "reforming" or "training" a political prisoner? On the one hand in Borstal you have a young man who is obeying Law No. 1. of Capitalism - "look after No. 1." He has robbed or cheated but lacked the education that would enable him to do this within the law. On the other hand, you have someone who has given up his time and energy and potentiality for advancement to fight to instal homeless families in an otherwise derelict building. (This is an actual case, not a hypothetical one). How is he to be "trained"?

25 YEARS BACK

A new problem? During the Second World War this problem was raised in Parliament, when it was found that Christian conscientious objectors were going to Borstal - and often being beaten up by their fellow-prisoners not for their anti-war views so much as their Christianity. State Christian chaplains felt that something was wrong and State Christianity can stand much. But the problem solved itself when conscription was abolished and political offenders were rarely any longer State Christians.

50 YEARS BACK

It had of course been suggested that there were better ways of treating political offenders since in the First World War conscientious objection had produced a prison influx of citizens who later became prominent and entered local and national government as well as the civil service and boards of influence. There are two points of view on this: one is stated by the Anarchist who says he recognises no distinction between himself and the other prisoners. "We are all victims of the State". This is because by definition he wishes to abolish prison. But the other point of view is not less worthy of consideration, and has chiefly been expressed in this country by the Irish political offender, who regards himself as a prisoner-of-war, and demands that he receives separate treatment. (Continued overleaf)

BRITISH POLITICAL OFFENDERS (Continued).

In 1897 the Commons debated the question of the release of certain Irish political prisoners. In the course of debate came up this question as to whether political offenders should be treated differently from private offenders. After all, as Mr. Justin McCarthy (a very moderate Irish member) put it, "Some of the greatest and noblest of Englishmen were put to death as political offenders" and it could not be denied that "men otherwise of the most stainless character have passed years of suffering because they strove for some political purpose they sincerely believed to be genuine, honest and beneficent."

75 YEARS AGO

Among those who spoke was Mr. Michael Davitt, who told the House that while at Portland Prison he had been harnessed daily to a cart, as if he were a mule, and had to drag stones this way and that hour after hour. He had slept in a cell with barely enough room to lie down.

The House did not consider that no man should be treated like this, but it was embarrassed that a man who had become one of its most respected members should have been subjected to that experience, for no other reason than his political activity. "Is Lord William Russell, is Wolfe Tone, exactly on a level with Bill Sykes or Jack the Ripper?" asked Mr. McCarthy. "Was Mr. Davitt really to be confounded with the ordinary class of miscreants who murder their wives, and who use brutal violence to old men in order to rob them of their money?"

It was agreed that the English prison system was up for an overdue review. It was quite clear that some distinction should be made between ordinary offenders and those who (though usually subject to greater restrictions in prison) would, when they came out, be "comfortable, happy and even honoured" - like Mr. Davitt or Mr. O'Brien who had in his youth actually been sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered and now sat on the government benches. Had somebody got up and said that young political offenders would be spending Christmas 1970 in Borstal with other private offenders, he would have been dismissed as an Anarchist, and a pessimistic one at that.

AUSTRALIAN COMRADES PLEASE NOTE: Kahn & Averill (Stanmore Press) who publish FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY are having it distributed through Robinson Distributing Co. Ltd, 84 River St. South Yarra, 3141 Victoria.

The Rise & Fall of Trotskyism

1. The rise of Trotskyism.
2. Trotskyism in Opposition.
3. Trotskyism Failed.

It is interesting to note the rise of Trotskyism - a name invented by Max Eastman who sought a critique of Leninist-Bolshevism within its own terms of reference and found it by the idealisation of Trotsky. Thus Trotskyism became an international cult. Trotsky was not the only one of the Bolshevik Party who had fallen out with Stalin. They all did. He went into exile and so survived the longest. He accepted the logic of the Eastman position and became a leader of a minority faction within the Communist Party, evolving a doctrine that has had considerable effect upon our own times.

Those who would know Trotsky at his brilliant, erratic, irascible best domineering in opposition and leaving his nearest and most disliked comrades without a shred of clothing to cover their nakedness, should read him on the German situation. (It was reprinted by Internationalism Socialism Sept/Oct 1969 under the title of Fascism, Stalinism and the United Front 1930/34, out of mere hero worship, since it mercilessly exposes the I.S. own position within modern Trotskyism). Two pictures tell the story. One is of Thaelmann, the great leader of the Communist Party "on the streets" leading his "unbeatable" Red Army of thousands of Red Front workers. The other, barely a year later, is of a few lonely Communists in an empty warehouse, their hands up before Nazi guns. Thaelmann was amongst them, expendable by Moscow.

What happened? Trotsky, from a safe distance as always, was merciless at the "cowardice" of the C.P. and Social-Democrats. But nobody could have been more cowardly than the Russian Trotskyists before Stalin; nor more heroic than the Austrian Social-Democrats. That cannot be the explanation. To talk in personal qualities like heroism is waffle; and it is not even Trotsky's proper waffle - it is our waffle, which is worse.

He is better informed when he begins to analyse Nazism, on which he is unbeaten. What is National Socialism? On such a subject one can churn out reams of waffle, usually on the liberal theme that Nazism is brutality, persecution of minorities and lack of freedom. That is true, but it is only the wrapping on the

package which (unfortunately) makes it attractive to its potential supporters. Would liberals accept Nazism without the brutality and the persecution and the restrictions on free speech? Kingsley Martin honestly admitted they would. Ask any liberals what they have against Nazism apart from those crimes and they are silent; one Labour M.P. said recently that Franco was not a fascist because he was not a racial persecutor - and fascism, presumably, only persecuted minorities, not majorities.

The Nazi movement found its support in those who had no power behind them, who were left in the cold by big business, to which they did not belong, and organised labour, which they despised. To exercise power they recruited those whom unemployment deprived of economic power and began to persecute minorities whom the community would not defend. Thus they picked on one after the other and built up the fear of themselves. If poor aged Jews could be beaten up, without police intervention and without community support, the Nazis could grow to be feared by the next section on which they picked. Ultimately they managed to tackle the most powerful groups, which fled without raising a finger.

They created Leftwing panic, and "the wrong evaluation of forces produces a hesitating policy", said Trotsky wisely. By over-estimating the power of Fascism, and pretending it larger than it was to stress their own necessity, the C.P. built up Fascism (in one may say, exactly the same way the Trotskyist groups do today). But Trotsky, like Charles II, never did a wise thing although he never said a foolish one, and had not his ministers to blame. He put all his hopes for Germany on that same Communist Party he so bitterly denounced. His criticisms were right, but too clever by half for one who was aiming to be a party leader rather than a detached cynic. From his attitude to the C.P. grew the neo-Marxist idea of "critical support". It was an attitude fine for the great intellectual in exile, hopeless for the man on the spot. It is an attitude typified by Bernard Shaw in the First World War - favouring it in public to save his respectability, but deriding it in private. To the man on the spot - say in Vietnam - all it can mean is "fight and grumble" (but don't let the secret police hear you). In "critical support" for the German C.P. arose modern Trotskyism, that fed on the Communist Party like a parasite, but sucked its blood. It was the worst enemy of the C.P. but its best advice was to tear the party apart yet it told everyone to join it as the only hope of the working class.

It was afraid to give open dissemination of its literature

ANARCHIST COMMENTARY
(From page 7)

help him?" O.K. I see him.
 "I have heard of Herbert Read, I know all about him. Were there others?" (A right one we've got here, I think in my academic way) Well, I mention Frank Leech and Sam Mainwaring and Matt Kavanagh and Albert Grace... "But these are not people of consequence.... do you know anything of the sculptor Eric Gill? Read says he has many libertarian ideas."
 FUCK OFF!! I scream, chasing him out papers and all, bewildered at the sudden transformation of this large and genial gentleman into a raving maniac screaming CUNT! CUNT! "What have I said to upset?" he asks bewildered as he runs down the road..... You may not believe this but in a certain French literary review it is later stated that angry feelings are raised among English Anarchists because of the controversial opinions of Eric Gill....

Others will pick this up and in those little quotations from other authors in small print at the bottom of the page you will be reading for the university courses in 1990 that Gill was too controversial for the Anarchists of the '30's. This, poor old humanity, is illustrative too of how they came to compile the New Testament.

OLD LAG

THE RISE AND FALL OF TROTSKYISM
(From page 18)

for fear this would favour the Nazis, and when a Party gets like this it is in a bad way. But it was not a party as yet, it claimed; it was still a cuckoo in the Stalinist nest. And never since has Stalinism forgiven, nor has Trotskyism found the cold blasts of independence other than hazardous. It has looked for a home, within Stalinism, Social-Democracy or Nationalism. Its criticisms of the Stalinism of the Old Left have paved the way for both the Nationalism and the Maoism of the New Left. But first it passed through the years of Opposition (with which we shall deal in our next issue).

A. Meltzer.

IN ENGLAND'S GREEN AND PLEASANT LAND
 DANGER KEEP OFF said the notices at the heathland beside Lulworth Army Camp, Dorset. Barbed wire kept away the picnickers. DANGER UNEXPLODED BOMBS....

But across that same heathland could be seen Army officers and their civilian friends on a pheasant shoot. How could there be unexploded devices, asked the locals. The officers who were out shooting employed civilians to beat the bushes. Would they risk their lives so they could kill a few birds? They all tramped through the undergrowth and did not take mine detectors on a pheasant shoot.

Was the land in use as a firing range - or merely for the pleasure of officers? (Does it matter?)

Squatting

SQUATTING IS HARDLY A NEW feature of East London life. Those on the Bench who regard it as "new" and "alarming" are humbugs. Even from their lawbooks they know it has been with us for years. The new feature introduced by "political" squatting is that landlords are more aware of the greater "political" menace - namely, that this might be ultimately destructive of the rent

system and certainly be destructive of the system by which profit may come from allowing houses to go to ruin. At one time, too, nobody minded if a family moved into an empty derelict house that was not being used. Now, landlords are greedier; the Press is more avid; and municipal welfare is involved and invoked.

The Edwardian family would shift at the drop of a hat. Often payment of a few shillings in overdue rent was enough to induce the family to flit. Merrie Islington was busy on a Friday night with the family doing a moonlight flit by barrow or cart (for the landlord came on Saturday, when people got paid). This is the background to Marie Lloyd being told to "follow the van" and not to dilly dally on the way... The rents were low because wages were, and high rents would have meant empty houses. It was a buyer's market for slum rooms.

When the tenant could not afford to pay rent, the family looked around for a squat. Some day the telly will re-discover "A Sister to Assist 'Er" - on the theme of the Cockney lady who is always moving in on empty rooms and taking in lodgers too - and everyone will comment on the topicality.

Much has been made of the 14th century act which has given the impression that occupying empty and abandoned property was a long-forgotten law. But without it a city like London would have perished. Landlords are restricted in their rights to burn their houses, though this has been a profitable pastime in its day, and so in a way have they been restricted from using them in too anti-social a fashion. For the Tory Utopia where every speculator can raise rents is impossible. Where would the other capitalists find workers? The Tory Utopia was achieved in Scotland which was depopulated to make way for playgrounds of the rich. The land became profitable not out of useful toil but out of shooting birds. The people were thrown out except for a few

literally to hew wood and draw water. If at some time swinging London is wanted solely for the pleasure of the gilded youth of the new discocracy, no doubt we shall find all London boroughs going the way of Chelsea and Fulham where the workers are being dispossessed. But who will empty the dustbins?

"Politically inspired" squatting is not a new thing - in fact, Louise Michel organised a mass takeover of empty houses in Bethnal Green some 70 years ago. The landlord had thrown out his tenants to raise the rents. But they went back and refused to pay any rent - this time organised. The landlord begged them to return to the old basis.

During the war the Government introduced legal squatting because of the air raids. But nowadays it is more common for council after council to mark down an area as a twilight zone ready for re-development. It may take years. But planners can "take a long term view". They are housed. The policy of taking over such houses, introduced by Ron Bailey and others, is reasonable and unanswerable. It is a compromise, but an intelligent one. Too intelligent for the councils who employ strong arm squads to make sure their own buildings are destroyed rather than house anyone out of turn.

So reasonable is the policy that Lewisham Council has seen it

21.

if others have not, and on condition the squatters move out when the property is wanted, they will let them in. Why should rats get priority over human beings? Empty and boarded up buildings favour only the rodent population. To admit humans - who are actually prepared to pay for the privilege - is not a bad idea.

Oh yes it is! protest the official do-gooders like Shelter. "You are building up heartbreak for a few years time." Who in this imperfect world would not choose to do just that? And, of course, by putting it off it may not happen. Most empty property stays that way for more than four years. It means that a 13 year old, say, being dragged around as a less desirable encumbrance than a pet dog (so far as landlords are concerned) may be 17 and on his own.

The real objection of the do-gooders is that they want actively to be doing the good to the passive poor; and nothing is more distressing than seeing the latter up and at it for themselves. The quietists, of course, attack all form of action that may upset the authorities.

The success of the campaign by Bailey, Jim Radford and others is seen by the Evening News caption that SHEPPARD LEADS THE FIGHT FOR SQUATTERS. Pause for wry laugh. Now the Southwark squatters have

won the sympathy of the public but lost their case in the High Court, local clergymen including cricketing Bishop of Southwark, David Sheppard have signed a letter "expressing profound misgivings" over the council's action against the squatters at Consort Road, Peckham. That's leading?

Well, let's not carp. Give the Bishop a cricket ball or a prayer or something. But down at Burrell House, for instance, they need a lot of active support.

BUSINESS NOTES.

THIS ISSUE is the first of the long awaited transformation of the Bulletin into an international organ of revolutionary anarchism. It is still in its "transitional stage". We hope later to call into play not only a photo copier but long-neglected litho machinery (remember Cuddon's?), Varityper etc.

If we sell all copies and also our literature we can pay our way. But we're spending a helluva lot of our own available cash on lease-lend (?) aid to activities abroad. Thanks to "Ben" therefore for kicking off the new series with an unsolicited £10 that has made us more ambitious than we might otherwise have been with the first issue.

Black Flag is out.

Spread the news.

SPANISH PRISONERS 22.

AID BY BLACK CROSS

Several comrades have notified us that food parcels are being stopped and returned. Reluctantly we must ask for these to cease.

(Miguel tells me that once in prison, the prisoners grew some flowers in the yard. The guards discovered them and tore them out).

ALL SPANISH PRISONERS need parcels for otherwise they cannot live. It is accepted that various Christian organisations send relief to criminal prisoners and the C.P. has a massive (tolerated) aid system to its supporters. This ban on food parcels has been directed against the Black Cross. In one way it is a victory, we are told.

However since relatives can send in parcels (for the rations are inadequate) it is possible to send money. If anyone cares to contact us we will send the name of a prisoners relative inside Spain who will pass on the money, or buy necessities.

The worst cases are those of the "acratas" (Anarchist students) who come from middle-class families which have disowned them. The other anarchist prisoners have working class families which have stood by them. Also, they belong to a 'commune' and share with ETA, and left prisoners excluding CP. But the youth go to special prisons where they are often alone among others who have spending money. To show solidarity we need to send as many individual money orders as we can. a.m.

DURING THE ELECTRICIANS' STRIKE the press carried on what could only be described as an incitement to pogrom against the power workers. With glee and a whiff of fascism it reported some houses being stoned, doctors refusing medical attention and storekeepers refusing to sell (some of the latter have seen a great light since the power was turned on and the boycotted customers have gone elsewhere).

This reached a peak with the notorious "Jak" cartoon, caricaturing the moronic, callous power worker, in the "Evening Standard". But apparently the electricians were necessary, for when they switched off the power at the Standard, everyone wept that the freedom of the press was in jeopardy. (If only we had their duplicators!) Finally, the "Standard" went to press with the cartoon and with a letter from the electricians.

The Editor must in the nature of things censor thousands of words daily often out of considerations of good taste, sometimes because of political bias, but this never jeopardises the freedom of the press, we are told. For that depends on a few dozen men having supreme power, the whores' union (the NUJ) assures us. How far would they take this argument? If Mr. Wintour, editor of the Standard, called for a pogrom against the Jews and engaged the cartoonist of "Der Stuermer", would he expect Jewish newwagents to sell the paper? If he gave away free contraceptives, would he expect Catholics to distribute it? No...they are "minorities" and may have a conscience. The electricians are "workers" who belong in no such category.

"Whores union"? There were several stoppages at the "Mail" and the "Sketch". Their interests threatened, the journalists walked out just as if they were printworkers. But at a Sketch meeting, insufficient attended. Too many were still on duty. So they adjourned it for ALL to come out... leaving half finished copy on their desks attacking (other) strikers, which they finished when they resumed work.

COMPANIES THAT OBTAIN TELEVISION HOLDINGS AS A RESULT OF THEIR NEWSPAPER INTERESTS SHOULD LOSE THEIR T.V. HOLDINGS WHEN THEY CLOSE THEIR NEWSPAPERS.

--- Demand by rank-and-file printworkers in regard to the News-Mail-Sketch situation.

Anarchist Bookshops.

Freedom Bookshop, 84b,
Whitechapel High St. London,
E.1.

Black Flag Bookshop, 1
Wilne Street, Leicester.
Stall at St Nicholas Market,
Bristol.

Discussion on ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM in practice.

i. THE CONFEDERACION
NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO (C.N.T.)
of Spain.

THE RULES OF THE C.N.T. (translated in our last issue from the membership card, and reproduced in this issue) has caused some considerable discussion among our readers. It brings home how little discussion there has been on the theme of anarcho-syndicalism. For most of our readers try to draw a parallel that cannot possibly exist, between the CNT and the "British Anarchist movement".

The CNT was not "the Spanish Anarchist movement" (and even the FAI could only be said to be the militant section of it). It was a labour union. It was organised very largely on anarchistic principles. But it was there for a specific purpose. It entered into wage agreements. It was part of collective bargaining. For 25 years of its existence it had to be part of capitalism, but it kept its libertarian spirit to become part of free socialism. It needed delegates not for organisation for its own sake but to enter into discussions and present demands.

Its basic feature which preserved it against dictatorship was DECENTRALISATION. Some have welcomed the 'rules' or denounced them as 'democratic centralism'. This is false: that phrase means that there is a responsible leadership properly elected, whose decisions on policy should be carried out. The CNT had no leadership. It did not lay down policy. Its delegates had specific functions, like shop stewards, for which they could be recalled. They were not like trade union leaders. There was one official, the Secretary. He did not constitute a 'bureaucracy' nor represent a triumph for the Leader principle. The calling together of dozens of committees all over the peninsula was a full time job.

"DF" tries to draw a parallel between the CNT's request not to criticise delegates in public, and 'bickering' in the British movement. One cannot treat anyone who comes along and claims to be a 'comrade' while disagreeing with everything one says, with the same consideration as an elected delegate. But even so, the delegate had only to carry out the requests of the factory meeting by placing their demands before the boss. He could come back with a gain of ten pesetas less than they wanted and anyone could insist it should have been ten pesetas more. But they were not expected to denounce him in public, only to have a go themselves. What conceivable comparison is there with - say - arguments between quietists and others?

(Cont. on page 25).

Another comrade, "RM", wants us to say that these principles should be those of the British anarchist movement as it stands. As such, they would be absurd. Would an anarchist "membership card" protect our livelihood, for instance? The CNT laid down a specific set of principles for its specific existence. I would entirely agree with "EK" who says it is hardly anarchistic to say that the majority should always prevail. Not only that, but no organisation can ever work on that basis unless it is to be subject to eternal takeover or dissension. It picks its members first, and then perhaps it lets the majority view prevail. Would not all of us object to a majority decision by any organisation we belonged to that outraged our principles? At a certain point we would break not obey. "The law of majority" is not anarchism nor anarcho-syndicalism - as stated too bluntly by the CNT rule-book - it is merely a convenient method by which an organisation may be run (provided there is not too great dissension within it).

Our correspondence has been extensive but irrelevant. For it is impossible to run an anarchist movement - which must have one set of aims and purposes - in the same way as a syndicalist one. To attempt to build a syndicalist movement on the lines of an anarchist propaganda group is also to come to disaster (as the SWF has found). There are two propositions we need to consider: how can an anarchist, and a syndicalist, movement be built. And how were movements like the CNT and others built up?

(To be continued in next issue).

.....

THE FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY

Stuart Christie &
Albert Meltzer

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NOTE: Sales are now running into the second thousand. The publishers are also negotiating for overseas editions.

It seemed as if the Franco regime had embarked on a policy of genocide of the Basques, and this picture was built up by the known facts of torture by the police chief Manzanos, who had been killed presumably by ETA. There was an alliance of Euzkadi labour (including the anarcho-syndicalist CNT, the socialist UGT and Basque Solidarity) which called a general strike. It received a response all over Spain.

Then certain militants kidnapped the German Consul, Herr Beihl. Humiliated, the Army insisted on a deal. He was released, first, to save face. Then no death sentences were imposed. (Moscow had been waiting to know what would happen, and in the circumstances commuted the sentence of the Leningrad Jews to 15 years. They owe their lives to the Basques! But one fears that the Soviet might last out their sentences, whereas the Franco regime will not last a tenth of the sentences it imposed in Burgos).

WHAT NOW? The Army is embarrassed at doing the dirty work for the regime, while the religious Opus Dei snatches the cash and in the Matesi affair shown itself an adept in enriching itself. The officers could be (they feel) disporting themselves in Brussels, with high NATO ranks and working out incredible plans of military strategy... instead they are in barracks in Spain, garrisoned as if it were Morocco, likely as not to end in a mysterious plane accident or shoved in the face with a rifle butt by a mutineer.

They have no gratitude for the old fox Franco who has kept Authoritarianism alive for them for so long. They toy with the ideas of the Opposition. The Christian Democrats would like to see some constitutional reforms (that plus trade with the "communist" countries and no NATO involvements would suit their C.F. allies). Not so the Resistance. It will not surrender.

From inside Spain the Anarchist Resistance has issued the leaflet which says:

ELECTIONS UNDER FRANCO? WHAT FOR?

They will always be a fraud.

We have had enough of these farces!

All together for action that will overthrow Francoism.

FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS! FREEDOM FOR THE SPANISH PEOPLE!

No more war tribunals - no more public order tribunals - no more trials and sentences - no more "organic laws"! Away with the whole totalitarian structure!

Whichever way they put the 'syndical' law it will be a law against syndicates.

We want freedom of association, freedom to meet, freedom to talk, freedom of thought. Down with the CNS! (Franco union). Down

(From page 26)

with fascist "vertical unionism"! Fight against Francoism in all its forms - until its final destruction.

This is a call of noncompromise and in the face of it the Franco regime will have to fight it out. This time round, however, it has lost the support of the sons and daughters of its old supporters. As the students occupied their faculties to demand an Amnesty for the political prisoners, and the abolition of the death penalty, the police charged and shot. These are the death pangs of the monster.

MEANWHILE IN MILAN....

The struggle is intensified. It has arisen out of the demonstrations against Franco, to release political prisoners. Last year the Milan police murdered our comrade Giuseppe Pinelli, of the Anarchist Black Cross. This December (Dec. 12 70) there was a demonstration of 5000 to protest against the Milan Police.

Suddenly the police opened fire. The pretext was that there was a danger of a clash between fascists and anarchists. Other than the Mussolini-trained police, the nearest fascists were a small counter-demonstration three miles away.

Two comrades were killed. One was our comrade Valtorta (62). The other was Saverio Santarelli (22). Such is the situation in Italy that the police released only the latter name. For he was a student. The press campaign means they can get away with killing "another of those students". They did not dare to admit they had also killed a respected working-class militant active in his union. They did not hesitate to shoot at him, of course - they merely did not care to publicise they had done so. What a comment on Italy a quarter-of-a-century "after" fascism when the police know they can get away with killing students and are not in the least ashamed of it.

A few copies are still available of
THE ORIGINS OF WORKERS COUNCILS IN GERMANY

2/6d each.

We organised a tour of Italy and Germany for Miguel Garcia Garcia. (This was fully reported in "Freedom"). Large meetings in Italy have caused immense repercussions in the campaign for the Basque prisoners on trial at Burgos. The meetings in Germany also showed two interesting facts: a growing, vigorous German anarchist youth movement - and a Spanish trade union movement in the 'crust' of the German unions. (Spanish delegates in each factory represent immigrant workers and form their own shop stewards' organisation). Television has expressed interest in the Anarchist resistance movement in Spain. Following interviews with com. Garcia in Bonn, several companies want to 'shoot' the training camps for guerrilla action. So far insufficient guarantees have precluded this. Our Milan comrades have made a film on the murder of Pinelli by the police. This is being shown in Italy. (Cost of adaptation for English showing: £150. Anyone able? It may be possible to sell it to TV). At same time as parcels ban to prisoners in Spain (reported elsewhere) which persuades us we are becoming a thorn in the flesh to Spanish police, Scotland Yard have busied themselves in our activities. Further questioning session revealed Det. Insp. Palmer Hall has a copy of 'Floodgates of Anarchy' in his desk. (As Victor Hugo said, 'le livre tuera l'edifice'?) Trade union solidarity has nothing compared with the brotherhood between police forces in different countries which take no account of 'ideology'.

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