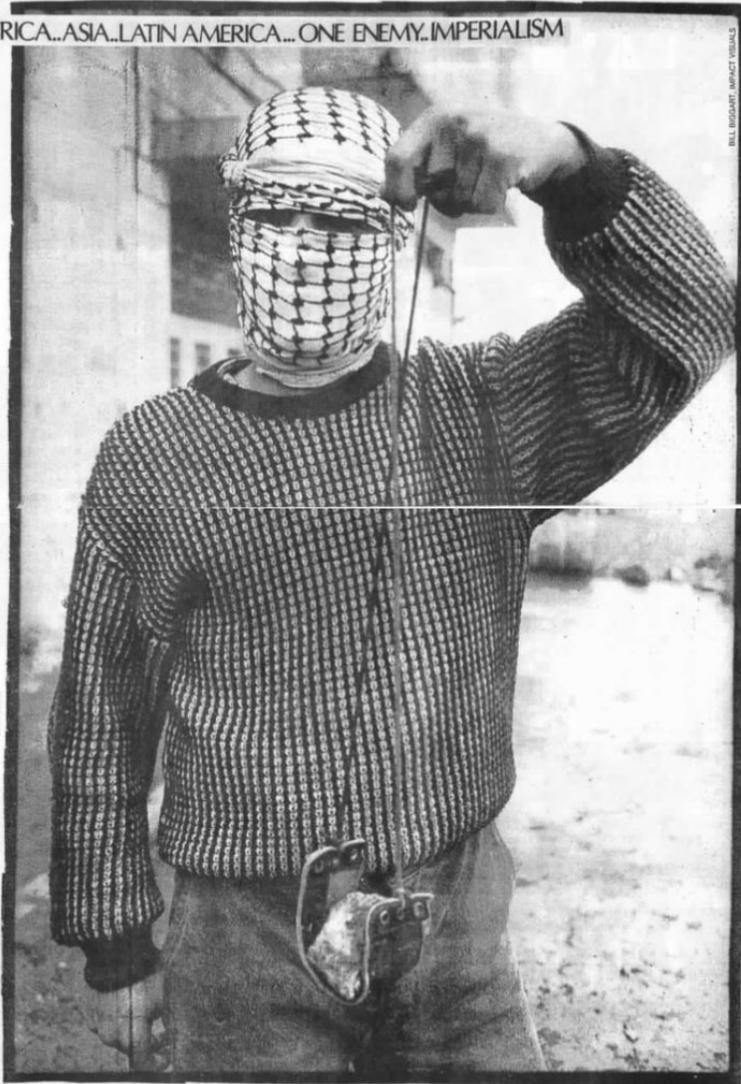


INTIFADAH!

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ANARCHISTS ON SOUTH WEST ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA



Errico Malatesta, Camillo Berneri, Nguyen Nam, Solidaridad Obrera, Ahmed Ben Thami, War Commentary, Nathan Chofshi, Mohamed Saïl, Freedom, Federation Communiste Libertaire, Anne-Marie Fearon, Insurrection, Aaron Bushnell

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Quotes

“Every nation, even a very small one, has its own character, its own particular way of life and manner of speaking, feeling, thinking, and behaving. These distinctive features are the essence of nationality, the product of a nation’s entire history and conditions of existence. Every nation, like every individual, is of necessity what it is, and has an unquestionable right to be itself.”

Mikhail Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy* (1873)

“Who does Morocco belong to? The French? The Germans? The Spanish? All of them? My opinion might appear bizarre, but I believe that Morocco belongs to the Moroccans.”

Erich Mühsam, *The Moroccan War* (1911)

“Why is it impossible [for Italy to stop occupying Libya], when the voyage from Libya back to Italy takes only a few hours?”

Errico Malatesta, *Via dall’Africa!* (1914)

“The struggle must be against Imperialism first, against Zionism secondly, and lastly against the bourgeois nationalist government when created.”

Albert Meltzer, *Anarchist Tactic for Palestine* (1939)

* * *

War and Anarchists, by Errico Malatesta

Translated by Paul Sharkey from ‘La Guerra Tripolina’, April 1912, London, UK

There is no nefarious deed, no criminal passion that interested parties do not try to excuse, justify, and even glorify by means of noble reasons. This is, in essence, a source of comfort, for it shows that certain loftier ideals devised by humanity over the course of its evolution have by now seeped into the universal consciousness and linger and prevail even in times of the greatest aberration. But this does not make it any less necessary that the deception be exposed, and the sordid interests and atavistic brutality lurking under the cloak of noble sentiments be denounced.

Thus, lying assurances that the undertaking would be simple, and about the great benefits the Italian proletariat would reap from it were not enough to justify and persuade the people to embrace the loot-and-pillage war that the Italian government meant to wage on the people of Libya. It would be really too outrageous if a man, other than a complete brute, were to be incited to carry out a murder on the assurance that the intended victim is defenseless and has lots of money and that there is no risk of being discovered and punished. So other, loftier motives had to be marshalled, and the naïve persuaded that this was a rare opportunity when one might become rich while performing a selfless act of magnanimity. And they came up with the need to exercise “the nation’s energies” and show the world what “our folk” are worth, their right and duty to spread civilization and, first and foremost, love of country and the glory of Italy.

We shall not bother here with the supposed material benefits, first of all



**My name is Aaron Bushnell.
I am an active member
of the United States Air Force,
and I will no longer be complicit in genocide.**

**I’m about to engage in an extreme act of protest—but
compared to what people have been experiencing in Palestine
at the hands of their colonizers, it’s not extreme at all.**

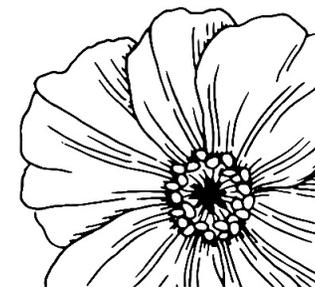
This is what our ruling class has decided will be normal.

FREE PALESTINE

FREE PALESTINE

FREE PALESTINE

FREE PALESTINE



Graphic by Veterans Against the War (2024)

Communism. Israel was the answer; since a large part of Israel's population — and certainly the great majority of her wealthier citizens — would be European in origin, she could be relied upon to be staunchly pro-Western, particularly as she would be dependent on Western support for her very existence. Thus, Israel came into being already fully equipped with American money and arms. In the first year of her existence Israel's army was already larger than the combined forces of all the neighbouring Arab states.

Well may America and Britain loudly proclaim their neutrality; for whenever fighting breaks out, Israel, backed to the hilt by Western arms, training and overwhelming moral support, cannot fail to defeat her Arab enemies; and when an armistice is signed, each time a little more Arab land comes within Israel's frontiers. And each defeat leaves the Arab nations a little more demoralised, a little poorer and a little less united. This method has all the advantages of open imperialism and none of the disadvantages, for all we appear to be doing in the eyes of the world is helping a new and tiny nation to defend herself against large and hostile neighbours.

If the Zionist extremists get their way, this process will go on until the entire Middle East — Suez Canal, oilfields and all — will be under Israeli (that is to say, American) control. The prospect must have capitalists all over the world rubbing their hands in glee.

Anne-Marie Fearon

* * *

The Palestinian Struggle Continues, by Insurrection (1988)

From 'Insurrection: Anarchist Magazine', Autumn 1988, London, UK, edited by Jean Weir

The Palestinians in struggle continue to die, but they are no longer news. A few lines lost in a sea of more recent events, some concerning even greater massacres in other parts of the world. It is clear that war and death are still man's favorite sport.

It is impossible however to go into everything that is happening in the world. We must instead focus our interest on situations that we understand best and try to do something about them, at least at the level of counter-information if nothing else.

As far as the Palestinian struggle is concerned, we must underline the importance of an insurrectional struggle that has been going on for over nine months, and which is putting one of the strongest armies in the world in great difficulty. In spite of the brutal beatings, imprisonment, torture and killing of the young Palestinians and the systematic burning of the homes of the Palestinian people, the struggle continues unabated.

Israel would not be able to continue its war on the Palestinian people were it not for the interests and financial and political support that they get from the USA and the European countries that have a vested interest in maintaining the Zionist State.

There have been a number of actions of solidarity in Italy and France, such as pickets of banks and airlines, boycotts and sabotage of Israeli products and demonstrations.

Like the struggle of the South African blacks against apartheid, the Palestinians in struggle need internationalist revolutionary solidarity.

* * *

because, in our view, these could never justify aggression, and then because these days few people have any belief left in such benefits, unless we are talking about the profiteering by a tiny band of monopolists and military suppliers. But it is worth our while to take a closer look at the moral arguments that have been deployed to justify the war.

Italy, they say, is not given her due place in this world. Italians are oblivious of their latent energies; they need to be shaken out of their lethargy. Life is energy, strength and action and struggle, and we want to live.

All well and good. But since we are men and not brute beasts and since the life we are out to live is a human life, there are going to have to be certain qualifications about the energy that is to be expended. Is it, perhaps, the vigor of the predatory beast to which we aspire? Or that of the blackguard, the brigand, the goon, the executioner? Or—and this may well be the example that best fits in this instance—that of the cowardly thug who, having got a sound thrashing in town, heads for home and demonstrates his courage ... by beating his wife?

The vigor of civilized people, the force that genuinely brings an intensity to life is not the sort expended on inter-human strife, bullying the weak or oppressing the defeated. But it is the sort deployed in the contest against the adverse powers of nature, in the performance of useful toil, in the demanding researches of science, in helping to spur forward those who have been left behind, in lending a helping hand to those who stumble, in securing ever greater powers and well-being for every human being.

Yes, it is true, Italians are lacking in vigor. Mean and lazy, our bourgeoisie do not even have it in them to exploit the available workforce and forces it to move away to be exploited abroad; and our workers let themselves be driven from their homeland in search of a crust of bread and now they are being dispatched to Libya to be slaughtered for the profits of a few grasping speculators, to win fresh territory for those who stop them enjoying the land of Italy. But war is not the source of their vigor and determination to improve, any more than turning to a life of thievery and prostitution invigorates those who cannot and will not work.

Work and enjoyment of the entire fruits of their labour—that is what the Italians need, like every other people.

The warmongers say: we are bringing civilisation to the barbarians.

Let us take a little look at that.

Civilization means wealth, science, freedom, brotherhood, and justice; it means material, moral, and intellectual advancement; it means the abandonment and condemnation of brutish strife and the advancement of solidarity and conscious, willing cooperation.

Above all, civilising involves inspiring the sentiments of freedom and human dignity, raising the value of life, encouraging activity and enterprise, respecting individuals and whatever natural or voluntary associations into which men may enter.

Is that what the soldiers of Italy, in the hire of the Bank of Rome, are off to Africa to do?

In spite of Verbicaro and the Camorra, in spite of illiteracy, in spite of lands left untilled and malaria-infested and the thousands of waterless, streetless, sewerless townships, Italy is still more civilized than Libya. She has strong, skilled workers; she has her doctors, engineers, agronomists, and artists; she has great traditions and a clever and gentle people that have always proved themselves capable of the most exacting, noblest tasks, when not oppressed by poverty and tyranny. She could climb quickly to the highest rungs of human civilisation and become a mighty factor for progress and fairness in the world.

Instead, deceived and intoxicated by those who oppress and exploit her

and prevent her from developing her finer qualities and her wealth, she ships soldiers and priests to Africa, bringing carnage and looting, and in the vile endeavour to reduce a foreign population to slavery, she makes a brute and a slave of herself.

Let the time for reformation be fast approaching!

We come now to the ultimate argument: patriotism.

The patriotic sentiment undoubtedly holds great sway in every country and serves the people's exploiters wonderfully well by blinding its eyes to class frictions and, in the name of an idealized solidarity based on stock and nation, draws the oppressed into reluctant service of the interests of their oppressors. And this is all the more successful in a country like Italy which was for so long oppressed by the foreigner and was released from that only yesterday after cruel, glorious struggle.

But what, precisely, does patriotism consist of?

Love of birthplace, or rather, greater love for wherever we were reared, wherever we received our mothers' caresses, where we as children played with other children, and as striplings won our first kiss from a beloved girlfriend, a preference for the language we understand best and, therefore, our most intimate dealings with those who speak it: these are natural phenomena and blessings. Blessings because, while they quicken the beating heart and create firmer ties of solidarity within a range of human groups and nurture the originality of a range of types, they do no harm to anyone and are a help rather than a hindrance to progress over all. And as long as those preferences do not blind us to the merits of others and to our own shortcomings, as long as they do not make us contemptuous of a broader culture and wider relations, as long as they do not lead to a laughable vanity and conceitedness that makes us believe that we are better than the next fellow just because we were born in the shadow of a certain bell-tower or within certain borders, then they can turn out to be an essential element in the future development of mankind. Since, once distances have been nearly abolished by advances in machinery, political obstacles cleared away by freedom, and economic obstacles banished by general comfort, those preferences remain as the best guarantee against the rapid influx of huge masses of immigrants into those areas best favored by nature or best prepared by the labours of bygone generations; something that would pose grave threat to the peaceful progress of civilisation.

But these are not the only feelings upon which so-called patriotism feeds.

In antiquity, man's oppression of his fellow man was effected chiefly by means of warfare and conquest. It was the victorious outsider who seized the land, forcing the natives to work it on his behalf, and he was, if not the only master, then certainly the harshest and most despised. And whereas that state of affairs has all but disappeared from the nations of Europe, where the master is now, in most cases, a fellow countryman of his victims, it still remains the chief characteristic of Europeans' dealings with peoples of different areas. Consequently the fight against the oppressor has had, and retains, the character of a fight against the outsider.

Unfortunately, but understandably, hatred of the outsider as the oppressor turned into hatred of the outsider as outsider, and turned gentle love of homeland into that feeling of antipathy and rivalry, vis à vis other peoples, which usually goes by the name of patriotism, and which the native-born oppressors in various countries exploit to their own advantage. Civilisation's mission is to scatter this poisonous error and bring every people together as brothers in the fight for the common good.

We are internationalists, meaning that, just as the tiny homeland that revolved around a tent or a bell-tower and was at war with neighboring tribes or towns has been superseded by the larger region- and nation-sized

helping those unfortunate refugees, we justify our terrible acts and even attempt to glorify them."

* * *

A US Victory in the Middle East?, by Anne-Marie Fearon (1967)

From 'Freedom: Anarchist Weekly', June 24, 1967, London, UK

A Palestinian Arab once showed me a series of maps which he claimed were part of a Zionist publication. The first showed the small area of Palestine that was allotted to the Jews by the United Nations partition agreement of 1947. The second showed a considerably larger Israel which now included the land won from the Arabs in the war of 1948-49. The third showed the situation after Israel's attacks on Egypt at the time of Suez — a slightly larger Israel again; and the last showed the Zionists' final ambition: an Israel, or Israeli empire, covering everything from the Nile to the Euphrates. At the time I took all this was a large pinch of salt. Now I believe it.

These maps, if they are authentic, show that Zionism in its extreme form is an imperialist doctrine. I would go further and say that it is a fascist doctrine. The Zionist A.J. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary whose Balfour Declaration of 1917 was the first major step in Western endorsement of Zionism, wrote:

'Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.'

So, the equally age-long traditions, the present needs, the future hopes of the Arabs are, it seems, of no account. How can that be? Presumably because the Jews are 'the chosen people'. I would not say that this phrase is identical in meaning with Hitler's 'Herrenvolk', but I would say that, if Mr. Balfour's words are anything to go by, there is a resemblance. Substitute 'National Socialism' and '700,000 Arabs' in the above quotation, for 'Zionism' and '6,000,000 Jews' and perhaps you will see what I mean.

Of course, not all Jews are Zionists, and not all Zionists are fanatics. The eminent Israeli, Martin Buber, advocated a more liberal policy of real co-operation and friendship with the Arabs. I believe that the reason why Balfour's brand of Zionism has got the upper hand is that it suits the Western Governments right down to the ground.

The Middle East is vitally important to capitalism: the Suez Canal is vital to world trade, and oil is vital to practically everything. Therefore, the West wants to control the Middle East. A time-honoured method has been to prop up corrupt and tottering old regimes such as the Ottoman Empire, which could be relied on to keep the Arabs under control and stave off Russian advances. After the First World War. Britain and France between them carved the Middle East up into nation states (previously unknown in that part of the world; there is no Arabic word for 'nation'), which they administered often through equally corrupt and tottering monarchies. Thus they successfully divided the Arabs against themselves and kept them politically immature: the effectiveness of this policy can be seen throughout Arab affairs to this day.

However, by the 1940s, imperialism was out of fashion. We could no longer keep pro-Western regimes in power by open force of arms. But something must be done, for as long as the recurrent desire for Arab unity struggled with the political and economic handicaps the West had left them with, anything might happen to the precious oil supplies — even the dreaded

Nevertheless the struggle still goes on, for countries like Iran are so placed strategically that they can never know peace while the great powers continue — as they must — to plan, for advantage.

* * *

Long Live Free Algeria!, by the Federation Communiste Libertaire (1954)

Translated by HIWH from a Federation Communiste Libertaire poster put up in France in 1954

A savage repression descends on Algeria.

Many Algerian workers are under surveillance or arrested.

The MTLD [Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties] and its newspaper “L’Algerie libre” are banned.

The Mendès-Mitterrand government and the rubbish press wrap up Algerian Resistance fighters in slander and insults.

To this campaign of hatred designed to conceal colonialist schemes, we respond:

Terrorism is not an isolated fact, nor is it provoked by Radio Cairo broadcasts.

The revolt is the consequence of 124 years of expropriations, super-exploitation, repression and massacres.

It is the only hope of the fellahs and agricultural workers earning 250 francs a day, of the hundreds of thousands of unemployed, of the emigrants flowing back to the shantytowns, engaged in a fight to the death for independence, that is to say, against exploiter colonialism.

All united, despite the lies of some and the silence of others (the major so-called workers’ parties), we will demonstrate our solidarity with Algerian workers and demand:

– the withdrawal of the contingent and all troops from North Africa. We don’t want a new Indochina queue, we don’t want our sons and brothers in uniform to be turned into “fellaghas hunters”.

– the lifting of the ban on the MTLD and its newspaper “L’Algérie libre”.

– the release of Messali Hadj and all MTLD militants.

Forward against colonialism with the Libertarian Communist International

La Federation Communiste Libertaire [The Libertarian Communist Federation]

* * *

Excerpts from Nathan Chofshi’s letter to the ‘Jewish Newsletter’ of New York (1959)

“If you really wanted to know what happened, we old Jewish settlers in Palestine who witnessed the fight could tell you how and in what manner we Jews forced the Arabs to leave cities and villages. . . Some of them were driven out by force of arms; others were made to leave by deceit, lying and false promises. It is enough to cite the cities of Jaffa, Lydda, Ramleh, Beer Sheba, and Acre from among numberless others...

Here we have people who lived on its own land for 1,300 years. We came and turned the native Arabs into tragic refugees. And still we dare to slander and malign them, to besmirch their name. Instead of being deeply ashamed of what we did and of trying to undo some of the evil we committed, by

homeland, so we extend our homeland to the whole world, feel ourselves to be brothers of every other human being, and seek well-being, freedom, and autonomy for every individual and group. Just as, back in the days when Christianity was believed and heartfelt, Christians regarded the whole Christendom as their homeland and the outsider that needed converting or destroying was the pagan, so we regard all of the oppressed and all who struggle for human emancipation as our brothers. And all oppressors, all whose own prosperity is built upon the woes of others, as our enemies—no matter where they were born nor the language they speak.

We abhor war, which is always fratricidal and damaging, and we want a liberating social revolution; we deplore strife between peoples and champion the fight against the ruling classes. But if, by some misfortune, a clash were to erupt between one people and another, we stand with the people that are defending their independence.

When Austrian soldiery were trawling the plains of Lombardy and Franz Josef’s gallows were going up in the town squares of Italy, the Italians’ revolt against the Austrian tyrant was noble and holy. Now that today’s Italy invades another country and Victor Emmanuel’s infamous gallows are being erected and put to work in the marketplace in Tripoli, it is the Arabs’ revolt against the Italian tyrant that is noble and holy.

For the sake of Italy’s honor, we hope that the Italian people, having come to its senses, will force a withdrawal from Africa upon its government: if not, we hope that the Arabs may succeed in driving it out.

With such thoughts, it is we, the “anti-patriots,” who will have salvaged whatever part of Italy’s honor can be salvaged in the face of history, in the face of humanity. We shall be the ones to show that there is still a gleam of the sentiments that moved Mazzini and Garibaldi and that whole glorious crew of Italians, whose bones are strewn across every battlefield in Europe and the Americas where a holy battle was fought, and who endeared the name of Italy to all men, everywhere, whose hearts thrilled to the cause of freedom, independence, and justice.

* * *

Bloodied Palestine, by Camillo Berneri (1929)

Translated by History is What’s Happening (HIWH) from the Italian-language article in ‘Vogliamo’, November 1929, Biasca-Annemasse-Lugano, Italy

Let’s leave alone the “wailing wall”. It’s only the background of the picture. Symbolically it can be considered the center of the tragedy, historically it is not. To the wall of Solomon, which legally belongs to the Arabs, every Friday for ten years went the Jews freely to mourn the despair and misfortunes of their race. Against the orthodox Jewish element, Arab fury has never been enraged. The Arabs are tolerant, in religion they are good Mohammedans. Their “fanaticism” is explained with demographic data more than with historical reminiscence and psychological amateurism. The Arab revolt was contingently anti-Jewish; by nature, simply xenophobic.

I have two interviews in front of me: one by Doctor Weizmann, president of the universal Zionist organization, and another by Amein Hussein, religious leader of the Arabs of Palestine. The first declares as necessary: that the Arabs understand that England does not want to change its own policy of protection for Zionism; that it is necessary to facilitate Jewish immigration with the greatest possible measures. The second reconfirms that the present government of Palestine is contrary, in its constitution and policy, to the Arabs; calls for the adoption of a democratic form of government, in which all

the inhabitants of Palestine are represented, proportionally, and for the abandonment of the English policy that favours the development of a "Jewish national centre", especially with regard to immigration.

Two clearly opposed positions. A contrast that is difficult to resolve. Which side is right? The Arabs' side. Sentimentality is out of place. The world's press may have recorded the Jewish victims and depicted the horrendous scenes of the massacre of unarmed Zionist settlers; there may be a just tradition of pity towards the Jewish victims of absurd and unjust laws, and of pogrom massacres; the efforts of the Zionists may be admirable, but all this is counterbalanced by the weight of the Arab victims, by the fact that Zionism serves as a cover for English imperialist policy, by the regime of inequality dominant in Palestine.

The Jews have declared themselves certain that in the future they will be hegemonic in Palestine. The Arabs have seen hundreds of Jews disembark from each steamship in Jaffa and Haifa, they have seen their most favourable lands occupied by the Jews, they have seen lands which had been made fertile by the labour of Arab farmers taken possession of by the Jews, they have seen the major part of public spending going to the benefit of the Zionist community, they have witnessed the big business of reselling land bought for little cash, have been denied the convening of the Palestinian parliament.

Before the European war, the Zionist agricultural colonies had grown in number to 43, with about 13,000 individuals. With the British occupation of Palestine (December 1917) Lord Balfour became protector of Zionism. Such protection led to large-scale Jewish immigration. In 1919, the Jews in Palestine numbered 57,000; from that year to 1927 they increased by 90,200 individuals. The immigrants from 1922 to 1927 were in total 77,792. The peak of immigration was in 1925 with 35,801 individuals. After 1925, immigration dropped rapidly, so that in 1927 the quota was 2,788 individuals.

At the same time there was an exodus which after 1925 reached more than 7,000 or 5,000 individuals. What do these figures mean? They mean this: after the initial momentum toward the promised land comes the crisis, due to the lack of capacity of the area to absorb immigration. If we take into account the prevailing nature of the soil and the population density (38 inhabitants per km), the ratio of the Arab population (80%) compared to the Jewish (19%), the aforementioned economic contrast is very evident.

But the demographic factor is not central. What worries those in the area is the nature of Jewish immigration, economically selected and technically endowed with capital. The Immigration Ordinance of 1925 prescribes that a Jewish immigrant must have an annual income of at least 60 pounds sterling or a minimum of 250 pounds sterling in capital. Jewish immigration therefore almost entirely consists of wealthy people. It should be added that many of the Jewish settlers are endowed with technical culture (engineers, agricultural experts, professors of sciences, etc.). The Arabs cannot therefore sustain competition: because of the administrative inequality in favour of the Jews, because of the Jewish grabbing of the best land, because of the union of capital and technical ability that characterizes Zionist colonization.

The solution cannot be the one advocated by the head of Zionism, but the one advocated by the head of the Muslims of Palestine. Yet, England has in Palestine a base for expansion into Asia Minor and will not give up its policy of protection for Zionism. On the other hand, millions of Muslims are in territories under English rule in Asia and Africa, and this must be taken into account soon; in Iraq, in Transjordan, and in Syria, Muslim discontent is far from being placated.

The problem of Zionism must also be solved in Europe as a problem of

international sphere, but that does not mean that British Imperialism has fallen back into insignificance. Freedom ventured to doubt the completeness of Mossadeq's apparent success with the oil fields. British oil interests could afford to wait.

How different was the weighing of economic interests has been shown in the event. In two years Persian economy has been brought to virtual bankruptcy. One of the contributory causes of Mossadeq's fall was the fact that government salaries had in many instances not been paid. Virtually no oil had been sold and the government's income of £16,000,000 annually from Abadan had ceased. How different the situation of Anglo-Iranian! In 1952 it paid a dividend of 30 per cent, and despite the loss of a three hundred million pound capital asset it paid a cash bonus of one shilling per one pound share! The nationalists may have won in prestige, but relative economic strength was very different.

The Shah has said that Persia needs economic help from abroad in the shape of an outright gift. But such things are unknown except as propaganda. Such a "gift" may materialize and the giver fix no interest payable, yet conditions will in fact be attached. Similarly with the oil nationalization, the decree may not be reversed for political reasons, but it will be surprising indeed if British technicians do not return to Abadan and some measure of control be retained by British oil interests.

So far there have been no reliable reports of affairs behind the scenes in the governmental reshuffle in Persia. If the Manchester Guardian and the New York Times are so poorly informed it is hardly likely that Freedom could have such information. Our analysis as always is made on what we know of the general principles of power and politics, and must remain general.

One can be quite certain that the British government (and also the other great powers) has been seeking to secure an outcome favourable to British oil interests in Persia, but no direct evidence is yet available as to how the recent coup was engineered. Indirect negative evidence is to be inferred however from the line taken by the Times, that powerful paper with an insignificant circulation which has nevertheless possessed almost a diplomatic corps of its own.

While other papers were making fools of themselves over Persia, the Times never committed itself in an editorial comment at all last week. One suspects that the Times knew much about the interior moves in the game and preferred to await the outcome, rather than join in the uninformed comments of mere ignorant spectators.

A curious commentary is provided by Michael Foot's article in Tribune. So concerned is he to denounce British Imperialism — though his article is the only one generally in the press to indicate an awareness of the strength and persistence of Imperialism — that he finds it necessary to praise Mossadeq as an "honest, skillful, if stubborn champion of Persian Nationalism".

Socialists of the left are still hypnotized by nationalist aspirations. They give the impression that any opponent of Imperialism must therefore be seen as an ally. (Some anarchists even took this view over Indian nationalism ten years ago). Michael Foot seems to forget Mossadeq's imprisonment of opponents, suppression of free speech and press (such as they ever existed in Persia), and manipulating of elections on the Soviet-Nazi pattern.

Nor should one forget General Zahedi's flirtation with Nazism. The truth is of course that they are all to some extent puppets of one great power or another. Mossadeq attempted to "use" the Persian Communist (Tudeh) Party for his own ends, but once again such embraces turn out to be the kiss of death for there seems little doubt that fear of Russia made many Persian interests see Britain as the lesser evil and so unite to play into the hands of British policy.

douar [village], without deputies or ministers who fatten themselves at their expense, because the Algerian people, freed from the yoke, will never want to give themselves another, and their federalist and libertarian temperament is the sure guarantee of this. It is in the mass of manual workers that one finds robust intelligence and nobility of spirit, whereas the horde of "intellectuals" is, in its immense majority, devoid of any generous feeling.

As for the Stalinists, they do not represent any force, their members are recruited only from among the cretins or refuse of the people. For the native has little enthusiasm for putting a label on himself, whether it be false or superfascist.

For the collaborators, policemen, magistrates, caïds and other slavers living the highlife on Algerian cheese, their fate is settled in advance: the rope, which they are hardly worth.

For all these reasons, should my compatriots be considered genuine revolutionaries bordering on anarchy? No, because although they have an indisputably federalist and libertarian temperament, they lack education and culture, and our propaganda, which is nevertheless indispensable to these rebellious minds, is lacking.

This is what our anarchist companions of the North African Federation are working for.

* * *

New Phase in Oil Struggles, by Freedom (1953)

From 'Freedom: Anarchist Weekly', August 29, 1953, London, UK

Events in Persia [Iran] have moved with a rapidity which has startled political commentators. Most of them have shown little grasp of affairs and only a superficial analysis of the political struggle which recent weeks have brought to a head. It was not perhaps to be expected that the mass circulation papers would do otherwise than make sensational accounts of the Shah's creased suit and his Queen's torn dress, only to turn attention again to the "weeping, wailing Mossadeq" a few days later.

But it is more surprising to find such papers as the New York Times or the Manchester Guardian so completely in the dark. The former, in an editorial written after the apparent failure of General Zahedi's attempted coup of August 16, described Mossadeq as having made himself "absolute dictator of Iran". The Manchester Guardian on August 18 declared that he held "in an iron grasp the reins of all the effective forces in the country — the army, the police, the town mobs, the electoral machine . . ." Yet the next day, Mossadeq was under arrest.

Events in Persia were discussed in Freedom at the time of the nationalization of oil and the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's £300,000,000 plant at Abadan. Control of Persian oil was clearly not simply the interest of the Persians and the Anglo-Iranian. British government was obviously involved, but the United States and Russia were also keenly interested parties. Hence a variety of very powerful factors were operated behind domestic politics in Persia.

The apparent ease with which Mossadeq and the Persian Nationalists took over the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was widely regarded at the time as evidence of the degeneration of British Imperialism (under the Labour Party) into a spent force. Others saw the British Government as in the pocket of the United States, having to go cap in hand asking for help. Freedom did not subscribe to these views. British Imperialism has the longest history and the most experience of any international force except perhaps the Roman Catholic Church. American and Russian power may have increased in the

tolerance toward Jews. The fact that in 1925, 50.5% of the Jewish immigrants in Palestine came from Poland is enough to show that the idea of reconstituting the Jewish nation grew and developed on the terrain of suffering, of fears, of inferiority in which the Jews have been made and are still made an outcast race in some countries.

The wall of Solomon was the altar of a dispersed and oppressed people. The Zionists want to make a throne out of it. But above that tattered wall stands the mosque of Amar in its beautiful grandeur. Behind Rome, destructive and persecuting, has advanced the Arab Muslim.

Have the Jews found in England an ally that will be able to disperse the people of Muhammad? The problem of Palestine is this: Arabs or Jews. The land is too cramped to be inhabited by both, in peaceful and free coexistence. The Zionists who demand the opening up of Palestine to an unlimited current of Jewish emigrants can only want the Arab diaspora. But the people of Judah were a complex of tribes of believers. It was religion that constituted the nation. The Arab people of Palestine are a fraction of the Islamic world. And Islam does not disperse, because it has many vital centers and a sphere of life that embraces a large part of the world.

If the Zionists do not come to see the problem with clear eyes, they will be driven out of Palestine. The exodus of settlers from the bloodied Jewish oasis should be a warning. Unfortunately, exemplary lessons are being demanded in London; and new blood will bathe the sod and sands of Palestine. With this sowing of hatred, the fruits of Zionist colonization can only be bitter.

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Attention! Fascism Installed in Tunisia, by Nguyen Nam (1933)

Translated by HIWH from the French-language article in 'Le Combat Syndicaliste: Organe Officiel de la Confédération Générale du Travail Syndicaliste Révolutionnaire – Association Internationale des Travailleurs', June 23, 1933, France

[French Prime Minister] Daladier's "last trench of Freedom" has just accomplished a funny feat. A feat that the liberal-nationalist press, in need of patriotism, has failed to report on, even though it raises its hypocritical voice every day to criticize Hitler's dictatorship.

France has just installed dictatorship in Tunisia, suppressing freedom of the press and of assembly, and establishing arbitrary imprisonment... Indeed, we learn that Manceron, Resident Superior in Tunisia, has just signed two decrees, one targeting individual freedom and the other freedom of the press.

As of now, according to the first decree, signed on May 6, the Protectorate government can submit all Tunisian subjects to forced residence "in a tribe, douar [tent village or camp] or locality designated by the Resident General", if this forced residency is necessary to put an end to acts of hostility against the government's policy and "acts of political or religious propaganda, all conduct of the kind that would put general security in jeopardy".

We can see the desired elasticity of the decree. In sum, it means that the Protectorate government and its servant, the government of Ahmed Pacha Bey, can submit anyone to forced residence. This is the regime of letters with the royal seal of the Prince. It's dictatorship, entirely.

And on May 27, a second decree targeted freedom of the press, banning all "newspapers or writings of a political character published in the Protectorate in any language other than Arabic or Hebrew and directed or written by our

subjects, either directly or through intermediaries". In this way, the government gags all those who want to defend their interests that are compromised by a rapacious policy. It's an elegant way of eliminating nuisances. And it says "in any language other than Arabic or Hebrew" because freedom of the press has long since been suppressed for these two languages.

All these decrees characterize the repression that Tunisia has known since April. They are brought in to fortify the tanks, Senegalese soldiers and African fighters currently roaming the streets of Tunis.

The Tunisian people had disapproved of French colonial policy, which wanted to divide them in order to better exploit them. In this way, they strongly protested against the burial in Muslim cemeteries of naturalized French Tunisians who, according to their religion, no longer had the right to be buried there.

The imperialist government exploits this protest by imposing its dictatorship and silence on all those who raise their voices against its policy of famine and exploitation.

This new attack on the Tunisian people's most basic freedoms is, in reality, part of a policy of repression driven by the "left-wing" government against the colonies and protectorates. It was the extermination of Moroccans, it was the death sentence on Indochinese peasants, and now it's dictatorship in Tunisia.

This should attract the attention of revolutionary workers in metropolitan France. Because fascism in Tunisia is a prelude to the fascist movement that our bourgeoisie will unleash against all workers, metropolitans included.

So we must, from now on, mercilessly denounce all attempts at dictatorship wherever they manifest. We need to show the proletariat of the Metropole the significance of this event, to warn them against the fascist quartermaster that we currently have with the left-wing government. And we need to explain the hidden role of the Socialist Party, which supports this dictatorial government.

Nguyen Nam

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Blood in Palestine, by Solidaridad Obrera (1936)

Translated by HIWH from 'Solidaridad Obrera: Organo de la Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña, Portavoz de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo de España', April 25, 1936, Barcelona, Spain

The telegraphs denounce the bloody struggle that is developing on Palestinian soil.

The Arab nationalists have declared a general strike. In Jaffa and the city of Tel-Aviv, the situation is serious. Clashes between Jews and Muslims have caused a large number of victims.

As a result of the riots, 17 Jews were killed and 63 injured: 4 [?] Arabs were killed and 47 wounded, and 5 British police were wounded.

The problem laid out in Palestine is identical to that in India. The Holy Land is under the mandate of the English metropole.

Muslim nationalism tends to emancipate itself from the English yoke. They have ample reasons. Muslims constitute the largest part of the population. The Jews are an imported race. They are used by the colonizers to weaken the aspirations of the Muslim nationalists.

Jewish immigration has been intensified for some time. Because of the

I challenge all the scoundrels pretending to the crown to bring any valid and honest reason to their unhealthy aspirations, because I oppose their palpable and controllable precisions, without denying however that their politics has some success when it is about action against the colonialist tyrant.

One must see the Algerian native, the Kabyle especially, in his environment, in his native village and not judge him on his behavior in a meeting, demonstrating against his mortal enemy: colonialism.

For the Algerian native, discipline is a degrading submission if it is not freely consented. However, the Berber is very sensitive to organization, mutual aid and comradeship, but as a federalist, he will only accept orders if they are the expression of the desires of the common people, of the base. When a village delegate is appointed by the administration, Algeria considers him an enemy.

Religion, which once bent us to the goodwill of the marabout [scholar], is in decadence, to the point that it is common to see the representative of Allah join the infidel in the same abjection. Everyone still talks about God, out of habit, but in reality no one believes in him anymore. Allah is in rout, thanks to the permanent contact of the Algerian worker with his brother of misery in the metropolis, and some Algerian comrades are also much for this fight against obscurantism.

As for the nationalism that I often hear Algerians reproached for, we must not forget that it is the sad fruit of the French occupation. A rapprochement of peoples will make it disappear, as it will make religions disappear. And, more than any other, the Algerian people is accessible to internationalism, because they have the taste for it or because their wandering life inevitably opens their eyes. Kabyles can be found in the four corners of the world; they like it everywhere, they fraternize with everyone, and their dream is always knowledge, well-being and freedom. Also, I refuse to believe that nationalist clowns could one day become ministers or sultans with the aim of subjecting this people, rebellious by temperament.

Until the arrival of the French, the Kabyle never agreed to pay taxes to any government, including that of the Arabs and Turks whose religion they had embraced only by force of arms. I am particularly insistent on the Kabyle, not because I myself am Kabyle, but because he really is the dominant element in every respect and because he is capable of leading the rest of the Algerian people in revolt against any form of authoritarian centralism.

The most amusing part of the story is that the band of 40 thieves or political charlatans represents to us overseas nationalism in the form of an Arab union with the Muslim emblem and with political, military and spiritual leaders in the image of the countries of the Levant. I must admit that the Arab god of our Algeria has done things well, since the Jewish-Arab war revealed to us that the leaders of integral Islamism are nothing but vulgar sellouts to the Americans, the British, and the Jews themselves, their so-called enemies. A treacherous blow for our Algerian dervishes [devotee], but salutary for the people who begin to see clearly.

Just think, a good little Algerian government of which they would be the chiefs, a government much more arrogant than the one of the roumis [non-Muslims], for the simple reason that an upstart is always harder and more ruthless than an "arrival"! Nothing to do, Algerians do not want the plague, nor the cholera, nor a government of roumis, nor that of a caïd [chief]. Besides, the great mass of the Kabyle workers knows that a Muslim government, at the same time religious and political, can only have a feudal character, therefore primitive. All the Muslim governments have so far proved it.

The Algerians will govern themselves in the manner of the village, of the

created Jewish State, and in this respect they are functioning properly.

The praise heaped upon the Jewish state, the jubilation provoked by the Miracle of Israel amongst Jewish anarchists, disregard completely the stark fact that this state, as naturally with all states, was built on blood and ammunition. Are Jewish anarchists acquainted with the efforts of 'Ihud' ('Union', a group working for a bi-national state based on Arab-Jewish equality), of the late Dr. Judah Magnes, and of our own pacifist group to avoid war?

Do they know that there had existed great possibilities for Jewish-Arab understanding as well as for a large Jewish immigration, and that it was only the state-mania which destroyed these possibilities and led to war with all its attendant fears and dangers?

Instead of a large and peaceful immigration based on Jewish-Arab understanding, as we had proposed with the agreement of some prominent Arab leaders, we now have a mass-immigration exploiting the war-horror, occupying the villages and towns of the hundreds of thousands of Arabs who fled from their homes under fire, filled with fear of the victorious Jewish forces, a fear based on the horrible experiences under the victors. And the state is pleased: homes, business, properties, fields and gardens cultivated by generations of Arabs, all came as a mighty and blessed inheritance to the Jews.

The Jewish refugee of yesterday became the heir of the Arab refugee of today who in masses is suffering from homelessness, hunger, cold. Is the Jewish anarchist indifferent because we are dealing here "only" with Arab refugees and not with Jewish refugees?

Let me close here altho there is still much to say, but let me at least suggest to our anarchists that they consider more carefully the very basic question of future development of the forms of free life in the face of increasing centralization and concentration by our Israel government. Daily the government penetrates ever more deeply into the lives of people and groups, in a manner which is as distant from libertarian socialism as is east from west. We would bless every expression of help for the freely creative life in Israel, but we cannot overemphasize the abyss which exists between nation and state, between free and creative men and governmental coercion.

Must mature Jewish anarchists, at this late date, start memorizing their ABC's?

Nathan Chofshi

Nahalal
January, 1950

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The Kabyle Mentality, by Mohamed Saïl (1951)

Translated from the French-language article in 'Le Libertaire', February 16, 1951, France

On many occasions, I have spoken in these columns about the libertarian and individualistic temperament of my Berber compatriots of Algeria. But today, while the Ali Baba cave overseas is cracking and sinking, I believe it is useful to assert, against all the professional pessimists or dreamers breaking into lucrative positions, that Algeria freed from the colonialist yoke would be ungovernable in the religious, political and bourgeois sense of the word. And

persecution of the Jews in various European states, they have turned their gaze to Jerusalem. They are assisted in this by the Jewish Banks and supported by the [British] Government of the "Foreign Office". Upon arrival in Palestine, plots of land are given to them.

The Muslims call on the British government to stop the importing of Jews, and to end the settlement of Jews in the Palestinian territory.

England follows the same tactics as in India. In that country the rivalries of religious sects are encouraged, with the aim of delaying the independence of that great Asian nation. The same tactic is employed in Palestine.

This is the nature of the bloody events developing in Palestine. English politics gives no consideration to the trails of blood that are spilled by Jews and Muslims for the dingy interests of imperialism.

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The Right of Peoples to Determine Themselves: For the Independence of the Riff, by Solidaridad Obrera (1936)

Translated by HIWH and Joan Brunet from 'Solidaridad Obrera', AIT [International Workers' Association], Voice of the National Confederation of Labour [CNT], August 28, 1936, Barcelona, Spain

The latest news from the African continent reveals that a formidable unrest is brewing. An honest rebellion against the fascist forces is noted. Acts of protest are being expressed everywhere and are occurring with a rare spontaneity.

The soul of the Muslims is at a full boil. The African soil again relives great days. It will not take much for the ground scorched by a burning sun to transform into a gigantic bonfire of freedom.

Since the expulsion of Ab-Del-Krim, the Moroccan territory has been a haven of peace and tranquility. The leader of the colossal uprising that kept in check two European powers was confined on the island of Réunion with his family and a large harem.

The phenomenon we are witnessing in the Moroccan zone is the logical corollary of the great unease that is manifesting among the faithful of Islam. In Palestine they are maintaining a fight to the death with the Jews and their protectors. The kingdoms of Arabia, of Iraq and Hedjaz uphold the banner of irredentist claims.

The occasion was favorable for the indigenous of the Riff. The power that subjugated an important area, graciously granted by an agreement between France and Spain, is writhing in a civil war of intense magnitude. Faced with the natives of the country, there exists no army to defend international legality. The text of the agreement has vanished entirely.

General Franco represents the breaking of the treaties established by the powers to share the terrestrial globe. The Rifians have absolutely nothing to do with the ignominious Spain embodied by the military insurgents.

Our internationalist thinking, one hundred percent, induces us to pose the problem of the colonies. We must consider the workers of the Riff as sufficiently capable of dealing with their own lives and wealth.

The struggle against fascism, which at this time has a clear international character, must advise us to try with all our means to foment a healthy atmosphere of rebellion in the communities of the Riff. It is in our interest to prevent the Spanish zone from serving as a sea and air base for our bitterest enemies.

This campaign must be carried out without losing time. We must pay attention to the measures taken by Germany in the last few days. Military

service of two years has been decreed, which will be mandatory for all Germans.

It wouldn't be unusual if German and Italian Fascism could rely on some of the positions held by Spanish Fascism. We can't depend on the counterbalance of certain contradictions, because the war glimpses sharper details.

It is necessary that an irredentist spirit be fomented in the sector occupied by Franco. This decision is not at odds with our principles. It's a matter of freedom.

We must be generous and idealist. The Spanish revolution must be a mirror in which the world proletariat contemplates. Our revolution must serve as a template. And we would be counter-revolutionaries if in obtaining freedom for the workers of the [Iberian] Peninsula we were to maintain under siege the Moroccan zone, entrusted years ago to monarchical Spain.

The revolutionary right that will emerge after the completion of the Spanish revolution will grant absolute freedom to the colonies as an essential chapter of the new popular conquests.

We must erase the bloody and muddy past that the Spanish military has charted in the towns and villages of the Riff. We must rectify the barbarism and lechery of the officials who took Morocco for a place of recreation and profit.

Peoples have to determine themselves. The Spanish zone of the Riff must be granted complete independence.

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For the Freedom of Morocco, You Must Revolt Against the Criminal Franco, by Ahmed Ben Thami (1936)

Translated by HIWH from the article in 'Solidaridad Obrera: Portavoz de la Confederación Nacional del Trabajo de España', September 8, 1936, Barcelona, Spain

I, Ahmed Ben Thami, born in Rabat (Morocco), a gunner for four years in the great war, now fight alongside the anti-fascists at the Aragón front, in the ranks of the Ascaso column. I left the work I had in France to fight for the freedom of the people of Spain.

I address the comrades of Spanish Morocco: the Spanish who currently dominate in Morocco are all fascists. If Abd-el-Krim arrives, all the natives will have to take the opportunity to revolt against General Franco, who wants to establish in Spain and Morocco a fascism of the Italian type. Comrades should not forget the crimes the Italian fascists committed in Abyssinia [Ethiopia], bombing ambulances and open cities with suffocating gases. Now the Moor comrades must fight not only for the freedom of the Spanish workers, who are our brothers, but also in order for this freedom to extend to all the Spanish colonies, including Morocco.

The fascist Franco has swindled the natives. He takes them to Spanish territory and tells them that he works for their benefit and for that of the Spanish Republic. All of this is false.

Native comrades, my brothers, the day and hour have arrived to fight for Freedom and against fascism with our Spanish comrades. We will win this struggle if you, comrades, turn your arms against the generals and against the native bosses who command you, since they are with Franco and receive money from him to betray you. Don't listen to them! Turn your arms against them!

I came from France to Spain with several Moors and Algerians who are still

something different?

2) After 40 years of life and work in Palestine I considered myself well acquainted with conditions of life in this country. But reading the opinions and news accounts submitted by Comrade Isguir and others, I wondered if they, in America and in England, can perceive the truth more accurately than I can, living here.

It is really very important to clear up these matters. Let me dwell on these two points:

(1) I am strongly convinced that the libertarian ideal which opposes all rulers and states, makes no exceptions, grants no privileges to a Jewish or Israeli state.

Jewish history provides endless examples of the hardships caused by oppressors and governments on the Jewish people, hardships greater than those caused on all other nations by their own rulers.

It is therefore strange to note the ecstatic response of Jewish anarchists to the emergence of a Jewish state, a state which in daily life means governmental bureaucracy, wars, military conscription, endless armaments consuming the national income, police, prisons, censorship, etc. Under these circumstances we should perhaps offer our loyalty to the concept of Jewish State-Anarchism? This would perhaps be in keeping with the universal poverty of human life and shabbiness of human thought.

(2) The majority of men have always found it difficult to differentiate between nation and state. Rulers of all times and kinds, statist of both right and left, have directed all their energies toward the implanting and strengthening of this horrible untruth.

Freedom-loving men, however, have always taught that such identification was false, and now this lie is particularly obvious in regard to the state of Israel. When a new arrival in Israel is shown the communes, the rural cooperatives, the workers' organizations, the various cultural organizations and movements as well as the technical advances, both rural and urban, when these are all identified with the State, it is only natural to express great admiration in the face of such unique advances on the part of the government in the short time of its existence. It is indeed miraculous, and sharply contradictory to the negative anarchist attitude to governments in general.

But it is the exact contrary which is actually true. All these wonders were achieved voluntarily, freely, without coercion, and these proclaim precisely, and over many years, what the free will of man can create. We have always been saddened by the fact that our peaceful pioneering and creation were not only misunderstood, but also condemned by anarchists and socialists, and that it was therefore natural that our comrades throughout the world gained nothing from our rich experience. We were considered fanatic Zionists who deserted the struggle elsewhere to settle in far-off Palestine, in Asia! Terrible reactionaries!

But then, suddenly, we became like other people: Jews created a government, complete with soldiers, wars, victories; with the glare of shells and the bursts of cannon. It was perhaps the glare of these shells which permitted the discovery of Palestine, and the impression, seemingly, also registered on the retinas of Jewish anarchists. And so now they also speak of the wonders created by the State of Israel, and all in so short a time! . . . Shall we laugh or weep?

The naked truth is that the State of Israel arrived on the scene to discover a fully developed community which the state is now exploiting for its very existence! And the only creation for which the state is solely responsible — a creation which is inseparably tied to its own creation — is the war with the Arabs. The war can be ascribed equally to the Arab States and to the newly-

another Lawrence trick to the Arabs by pretending to support their desire for independence in order to gain their assistance in establishing its hegemony. The Arab bourgeois leaders will no doubt be willing to co-operate with the British, as they have done in the past. Whether the Arab workers will decide to trust the British any more than the French is another matter.

We do not discuss this matter in order to vindicate the claims of Lebanese Nationalist politicians, who merely wish to gain domination for themselves, and who, in the event of their gaining independence, will be no less exacting and corrupt than French overlords. We bring it forward as a further instance of the insincerity of the French politicians and generals in Algiers who claim to be fighting for freedom.

The salvation of the people of Lebanon does not lie in the hands of British, French or native political leaders. These will always betray them, as the French have already done. The only way by which the Lebanese workers can free themselves is by ejecting their foreign masters, while declining to accept rulers of their own race. If they act in this way they will not find themselves alone in the Near East. Already there are reported to have been demonstrations of sympathy in Damascus and other Syrian towns. The Arab workers of Palestine have not yet accepted British rule, nor are the Druse tribesmen of the Syrian mountains reconciled to alien domination. A revolutionary movement among the people of the Lebanon might well be the beginning of a widespread rising of the oppressed Arabs which could put an end to the games of power politics that have ravaged the Levant for many centuries.

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State Versus Commune in Israel, by Nathan Chofshi (1950)

From 'Resistance', April 1951, New York City

We believe that the following 'open letter', published in FREIE ARBEITER STIMME, despite its concern with a particular discussion in the Jewish press, will be of interest to our readers for its picture of the Israeli State.

-Resistance.

After a long interval I have again begun to receive the 'Freie Arbeiter Stimme' and was pained to discover a number of very strange reactions and news items regarding the State of Israel. A few examples will suffice.

In an article dealing with our Parliament (Knesseth), the author, (perhaps Nisenson; the issue is not at hand) writes that our State of Israel is being governed in the spirit of the Prophets. In the issue of 11 November, there is a report on a discussion held by a group of Los Angeles anarchists regarding the spirit of the Israeli-State. The veteran anarchist, Comrade Isguir, maintained that "inasmuch as a great part of the anarchist ideal has been realized in the life of Israel, he therefore sees no contradiction between his ideal which is still that of 'libertarian socialism' on the one hand, and the work of the Histadruth (labor federation) and of the state of Israel on the other."

The same issue reports discussions amongst Jewish anarchists in England which conclude that "Israel will fulfill the ideal of free socialism." There have also been enthusiastic references to the "Miracle of Israel."

These ideas and expressions of opinion have created doubts in my mind in two separate areas:

.1) Is anarchism really the ideal I have believed it to be for many years, namely: life without rulers, force, or governments, founded on the voluntary co-operation of free men — or was I mistaken and is anarchism really

with me as we give a hand to the spanish comrades and build the triumph of the common cause. We want to save Morocco from colonial exploitation; you have to help us in obtaining that independence. As for the natives who come here from Morocco with the spanish legionnaires, enemies of our people and of the workers of Spain, when they arrive on the line of fire they can abandon the fascists who swindled them and go over to the workers' militias, because we, within a few weeks, will have forever extirpated the fascism that reigns in Spain.

Once fascism is defeated, generals like Franco have a plane prepared so they can flee, and they will leave behind the poor natives that have been swindled by such vile and criminal ex-generals.

Do not wait until the final day, because if you wait for the hour of our forces' definitive triumph, it will be too late and we will not forgive those who have helped the cause of the fascists and the traitors, and capital punishment will be applied.

The best way to preserve life and freedom is to help the anti-fascists and to not betray them for ill-acquired money. This money, after the triumph of the forces of the people, will be of no use in saving the lives of traitors.

Our spanish comrades and revolutionaries from other countries, as well as the natives who are here, all fight for the freedom of the peoples and, in particular, for the liberation of spanish Morocco. If you turn your arms against the fascists and against the Caliph of Tétouan, who is the reprehensible friend of the fascist Franco, you will have the support of all the revolutionary comrades, liberal and democratic. At the precise moment you rise up in Morocco, our trustworthy republican troops here will come to help you. Our revolutionary comrades are waiting for your revolt in order to come to your aid with our aviation, artillery, warships and all the material necessary for liberation.

Remember, brothers of Morocco and of Islam, the aid that the republican people of Spain gave us during the uprising of Abd-el-Krim against the military and monarchist oppressors to whom Franco had lent his support. I remember the aid that our brothers, the spanish workers gave us. That is why I am fighting here today in Spain against the common enemy, alongside my brothers, the spanish workers.

Brothers, moroccan workers! Revolt against Franco, tyrant of the moroccan people and the spanish people! Don't be fooled! The regime that Franco wants to impose on Spain is the most horrible military domination ever known. Don't be fooled, because if he wins, it will be the end of Morocco!

For the independence of Morocco, let us all fight against the fascist and criminal, Franco!

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What Can We Do?, by Camillo Berneri (1936)

Translated from the Italian-language article in 'Guerra di Classe', October 23, 1936, Barcelona, Spain

1. To believe that, thanks to a policy of non-intervention, one can eliminate the possibility of an international armed conflict is to procrastinate while the problems worsen. It would permit Italy, Germany and Portugal to prepare themselves better for the war and allow the Spanish Fascist forces to lay in supplies of arms and munitions.

If Fascism were victor, France would be threatened in the south and the balance of forces in the Mediterranean would be permanently upset in favour of Italy and Germany who would emerge from this adventure stronger

and more aggressive. Italy is seriously committed in Ethiopia, and Germany is in a very bad financial situation; do they want a war 'immediately?' No. They could go to war but they do not deliberately want a war straight away. If they wanted it, they would already have set it in motion in Spain. We therefore have to adopt a forceful foreign policy, having as its basis Portugal which has eluded the control of Great Britain. Geneva is powerless. The only thing to do is therefore to break with Portugal by means of the following measures: the immediate expulsion of all Portuguese diplomatic representatives; immediate and complete closure of the border with Portugal; confiscation of all goods belonging to Portuguese capitalists resident in Spain.

As for Germany and Italy: the immediate expulsion of all their diplomatic representatives, suspension of the right of German airlines to fly over Spanish territory, the prohibition of all ships flying German or Italian colours from entering Spanish ports, the suspension of all immunity for bourgeois Germans and Italians residing in Spain.

Such a foreign policy would have as its immediate effect that of forcing Britain and France to adopt a definite position. If it were to give rise to the armed intervention of Italy and Germany, that intervention would at least be provoked now and not at the time chosen by these powers.

2. The operational base of the fascist army is Morocco. We must intensify our propaganda in favour of Moroccan autonomy throughout the pan-Islamic area of influence. We must dictate to Madrid unambiguous declarations announcing the abandonment of Morocco and the protection of Moroccan autonomy. France would anxiously envisage the possibility of insurrectionary repercussions in North Africa and in Syria; Great Britain would see the movements for self-rule in Egypt and among Arabs in Palestine growing stronger. We must exploit such anxieties by means of a policy which threatens to unleash revolt throughout the Arab world.

For such a policy we need money and we need urgently to send agitators and organisers as emissaries to all the centres of Arab migration, into all the frontier zones of French Morocco. On the fronts in Aragon, the Centre, the Asturias and Andalusia a few Moroccans would be enough to fulfil the role of propagandists (through the radio, tracts, etc.).

3. Given our lack of arms and munitions, we must expand production on the spot by making use of foreign technicians, whose utilisation has been very badly organised; we must also rapidly create all the war industries possible and put an end to the wastage of munitions by giving far-reaching instructions and decisive orders.

4. We must achieve 'unity' just as much in the general and specific plan of the military operations which must be carried out on all fronts as in liaison among the commands of the areas by means of a General Staff controlled by a 'National Defence Committee.'

5. We must completely and without pity eliminate the Fascist remains which oblige us to maintain a front line within our ranks and have recourse to systematic searches, mass arrests of people who are not in unions who are of the right age and physical condition for military service, strict control of new recruits to the trade unions etc.....

6. We must force Madrid to reconstitute immediately all the Spanish diplomatic corps which will have to be reformed with members chosen by the 'National Defence Committee.'

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The Lebanon Crisis, by War Commentary (1943)

From 'War Commentary: For Anarchism', December 1943, London, UK

The involved political manoeuvres of the French generals and the politicians who follow in their train have long made it obvious, as we have pointed out time and again in War Commentary, that these gentry have no intention of setting up anything other than an authoritarian regime of class rule as soon as France is "freed" from their German rivals. Their actions in North Africa and the petty struggles for power between the rival factions of generals, supported respectively by England and America, have already demonstrated the hollowness of their pretence to be fighting for "democracy". If any further confirmation of this were required, it would be found in their recent action in the Lebanon.

To recapitulate the series of events, on the 8th November the Parliament of Lebanon passed an act modifying the constitution in order to give them greater independence from the suzerainty of the French authorities. In doing this they were merely putting into action what had already been promised them by General Catroux in 1941. The French National Committee opposed the amendment of the Constitution ostensibly on the grounds that it must await the formal terminations of the League mandate and the formation of a French Government. Naturally, the Lebanese did not wish to wait for the League to rise from the grave in order to end the mandate, and they refused to withdraw the amendment. The French authorities then invented a fantasy of a "plot against France" (meaning French imperialism), and proceeded to assert the argument of brute force by arresting the President, Prime Minister, Cabinet and 48 out of 80 members of the Lebanese Parliament. They also proclaimed martial law and imposed a curfew throughout the country, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and put one of their puppets in the place of the imprisoned Prime Minister.

The people of Lebanon did not accept this ruthless display of power without active protests. There were demonstrations in the principal towns and in many of the villages. Even the native police, who are usually ready to co-operate with the winning side, refused to help the French authorities, who had to use Senegalese troops in order to quell the demonstrators.

The situation has excited anger in a number of quarters where vested interests in Near East politics are concerned. The British Government has protested against such an action being taken without consulting the British representatives. It is obvious that the British Government is not concerned with the freedom of the Lebanese. Its own imperial record is enough to prove that. But it is concerned for its imperialist domination of the Levant, and regards with distrust an imperialist manifestation in the same quarter by a puppet government which it has itself given the shadow of power. A petty and nominally independent state in the Lebanon is better than a French dependency which at a later time might be used to undermine British influence. So General de Gaulle must be put in his place.

The Arab ruling class throughout the Near East are also alarmed at the course of events, which appear to threaten their own hopes of domination and exploitation. King Farouk and Nahas Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt, have protested and threaten to withdraw recognition of the French National Committee. The bourgeois Nationalist leaders of the Arabs of Palestine have urged a day's stoppage of work in protest. The Mohamedan and Christian religious leaders of the Lebanon have taken the side of the Lebanese Nationalists. It seems likely that there will be further manifestations of alarm among the Islamite ruling class of the Near East. In this connection it can be seen how the British Government is trying to sell