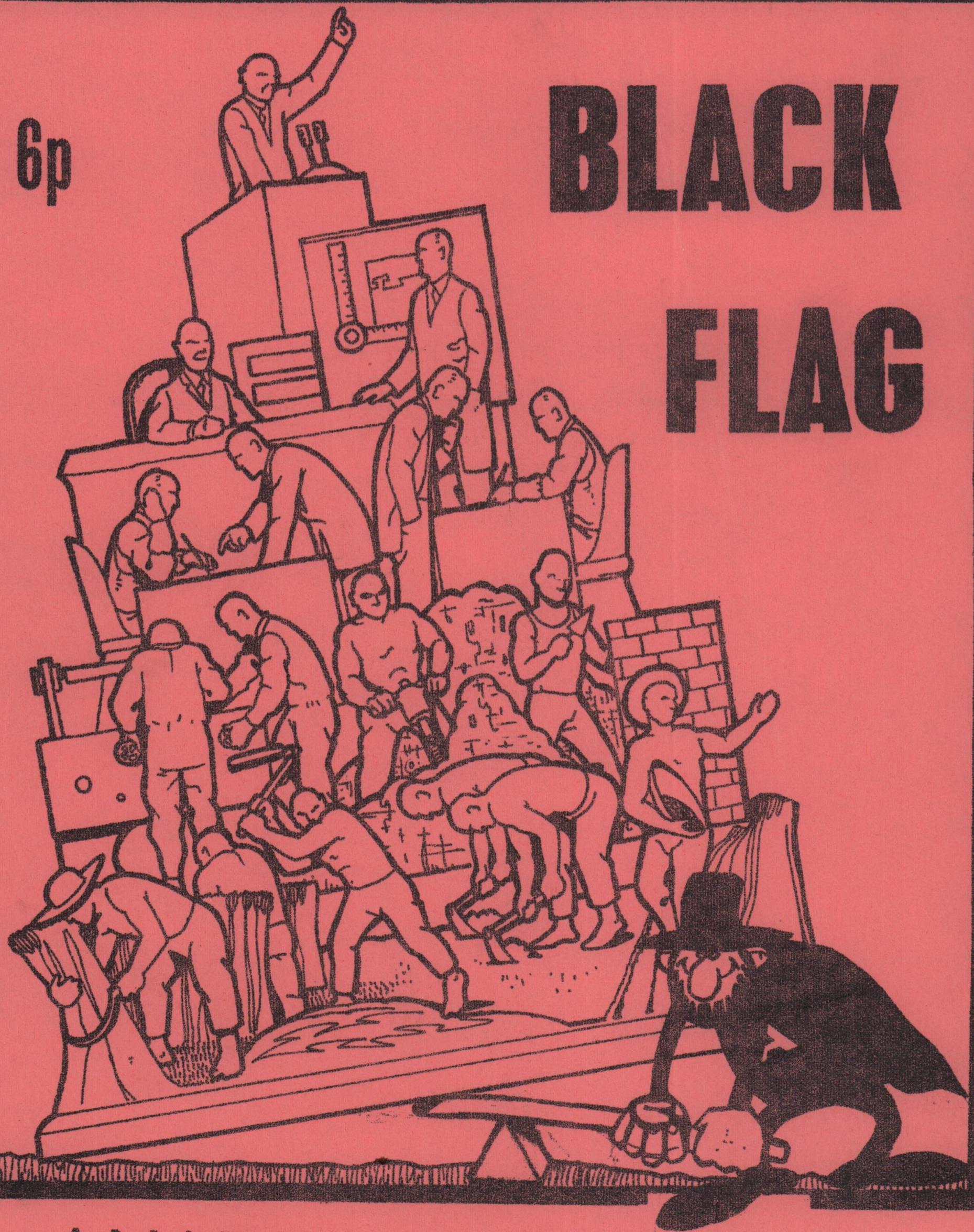


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6p

BLACK FLAG



ANARCHIST MONTHLY

SUBSCRIPTION: 75p (15/-) per annum (12 issues).

Issued by voluntary labour & published by A. Meltzer
at 10 Gilbert Place, London, W. C. 1.

THE ANARCHIST BLACK FLAG incorporates the Bulletin of the
Anarchist Black Cross.

Monthly. MAY 1971. 6p. (1/3d.) No. 5.

THE REVOLUTION IN CEYLON

SPORT IN POLITICS, POLITICS IN SPORT

THE PLAYBOYS OF REVOLUTION AND THE
SHEIKH

ATTACHMENT OF WAGES

etc etc

Violence is not the yardstick by Stuart Christie.

Bismarck was said to be worried when he heard that the Socialist Party had been treated to a long diatribe against violence. Did it mean they would no longer acquiesce in plans for conscription, military aggression, a stricter police force? He was assured they had no such thing in mind. It was what later became a ritual of German Socialism: a denunciation of anarchist violence, which consisted then of attacks on military and police establishments and which they felt in their pedantic way was trying to destroy the State building by building.... Naturally, they accepted State violence.

Nationalist violence is State violence without State power. Fascist violence is singling out one minority so as to terrorise another, and gaining power by leapfrog. Anarchist violence is the destruction of authority: since it sometimes holds the individual responsible for his actions it has the worst press, since the bourgeoisie can calmly look on the death of millions but the idea of holding someone in authority responsible causes them the utmost horror. They take his views at face value.

Given sufficient mental conditioning one can have authoritarianism without violence (Gandhi, for instance). Normally, authority requires force of some kind, usually violent but it prefers hypnotism and persuasion when these are possible (though even so they do not preclude violence: note the Indian Army reconstructed in Gandhi's new order).

When the intelligent middle class takes a long hard look at current society, it realises that capitalism and the State

have landed us in such a position that to support them means supporting death. But after their long hard look at revolution, they find it is too hard and too long and it cannot be visited over the week-end and get back in time for the office on Monday. That is why radicalism is trendy and that is why the trendiness stops short of action. This applies quite as much to those who apply the yardstick of 'violence' as those who apply that of 'non-violence', for the real yardstick is freedom and class struggle and how these can be advanced.

Once you get a negative yardstick, you get the romantic apostles of revolution as well as those of pacifism but to keep it romantic you have to keep it out of your own backyard. That is why so many rave about nationalism - someone else's.

National liberation is a great thing providing it is at least divided from us by a stretch of water (though Ireland is a bit uncomfortably near).... Venezuela is an ideal place, now. Or guerrillas in Czechoslovakia! That would be something! We could all claim them for our own without any fear of anyone calling our bluff! But let spontaneous action happen here and it calls everyone's bluff. They cannot say they are the leaders for then they would face trial. They could at least admit the courage of the many, growing, and obviously numerous unknown people who feel so strongly about some things that they will revolt here and now, without space or time to

justify them. But they do not do so for fear the police need further fall guys. Hence the pseudo left attacks on the Angry Brigade and its imitators.

ONCE AGAIN the old despicable excuse. The Van der Lubbe excuse.

One month the Red Front marches, fists clenched, through Berlin, shouting slogans..next month the Nazis take over and no one breaks so much as a window, but one man, Van der Lubbe, burns the Reichstag, and the Left screams "Police spy!" an echo that is with us to this day.

The imagination that sees police spies everywhere is the reverse of the coin from that which sees us offering flowers to the State as it withers away...The yardstick that counts is not the preconceived, authoritarian idea of how much one conforms to an idealised theory. It is whether or not one is learning to be free. The State has bred enough conformists for authority is based upon the obedient and the meek. If people will say TO HELL WITH THE STATE then at least wish them well.

THE CENSUS

Too late to ask for non co-operation. It's come and gone. In itself it is harmless. But what does it mean? It is part of the process of enumerating and categorising the population from the cradle to the grave. Soon one number alone - and that may well be tattooed upon our skin Buchenwald-style - will register all our details.

It has been said that the data bank process makes it easy to deport those of coloured skin when the State makes it legal to do so. Not only is this true, it makes it possible for any variety of State to do anything it pleases. That is the way State society is going.

We are in any case approaching not a fascist State but a Police State, and dossiers become of the highest importance. That is how political police methods have worked from the time of Fouche in the First Empire. That is how political power is built by police work. It does not rely on propaganda like fascism nor on the falsification of class and history like State communism nor on the illusion of freedom like democracy. The Police State rests upon the dossiers it can build. The more complete the better. The more laws the better,

and the 'anti-permissives' are the propagandists for the Police State.

When some kids at the Henry Harbin Secondary Modern School in Poole, Dorset, looked inside teacher's desk they found a secret dossier on pupils and parents. Attitudes and backgrounds of 15 year olds are already being compiled. "What of it?" asked the education authorities. "MOST SCHOOLS KEEP RECORD CARDS OF ONE SORT OR ANOTHER" said the Education Officer. Indeed, the Universities, "guardians" of academic freedom, do. The students unearthed them the other year.

"IT IS UP TO THE AUTHORITIES" was the classic statement of Poole Education Committee. Said the "Daily Telegraph" (27th April):

"Headmasters at their discretion sometimes disclose information in them if they feel it justifiable."

Remember the classrooms of Nazi Germany? Then, too, pupils reported on parents, and headmasters passed on what was "desirable".

WITH ALL THIS GOING ON, CAN ONE WONDER AT THE PURPOSE OF THE CENSUS? Full information cannot come from the kids. One needs the insurance companies, the Health and Unemployment departments, the employers the voluntary filling of forms. One needs a data bank. That way lies supreme power.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER.

CEYLON

STAND BY THE WORKERS OF CEYLON!

Their position is symbolical. They are facing the combined threat of all world governments. Edward Heath's message to the United Nations has proved fully justified: he said in no uncertain terms to the world's governments that there was no further point in "East" versus "West", in "capitalist" versus "communist" countries. The world's governments had a common interest in fighting against revolution. Everywhere, he said - even in the United Kingdom - the unifying factor was those who believed in the State against those who did not.

THIS IS THE POSITION IN CEYLON.

The young workers found common cause with a section of the student movement. They began to organise and agitate. The Government, used to Left Wing oratory and indeed organisation, ignored it. Their Special Branch discovered that "it was going too far" so they took several hundreds into custody "to find the leaders" and roughed them up. There WERE no leaders, and then the situation exploded. Workers on the land began seizing it; workers in the town began occupying their factories; the revolutionary force seized arms from the police; a guerrilla movement sprang up overnight. It is now in full force.

Against it the world's governments have combined. For the Government of Mrs. Bandaranaike is no ordinary government. It is an "advanced" Left Wing Government, whose Coalition includes all the Marxist Parties. The Trotskyites, the Peking-liners, and the Moscow-liners are all in it. The Trotskyists are particularly strong, and have for years been part of the Government. Their party is rich and powerful and sustains all the major Trotskyist parties of the world. Their leadership is rich personally, and many of them have gone to other countries to take control of the subsidiary Trotskyist parties. All this comes out of the exploitation of the Ceylonese workers, though. Their aims may be idealistic like the old-time Quaker cocoa planters in Africa who sustained liberal and pacifist causes for a century. But it is all

built on exploitation and human suffering, however they may appease their consciences afterwards.

The workers on the tea and coconut plantations have been taken in time and again by Marxist slogans. There is no anarchist tradition in Ceylon but they have sickened of platitudes about State control and known it to be a change of masters pure and simple. In some cases not even that, for the party bosses who would take over in the case of a workers' State are the same people as the present owners.

All the Marxist parties promised to carry out agricultural reform. All failed to do so. They went into the Bandaranaike cabinet on the promise to look after the wages of the workers but when it came to it, they looked after themselves. They too relied upon the Special Branch, an offshoot of Britain's and controlled by it, to prevent subversion. Meanwhile the guerrillas came to rely on themselves alone. The Ceylon Government (see Daily Telegraph, 20th April) blames "ANARCHIST TENDENCIES AMONG THE YOUNG". This is true in the real sense of the word 'anarchist' though (for what it is worth) the Ceylonese guerrillas do not call themselves such or adhere to any formal anarchist movement. In practice however they have (so far) been revolutionary and libertarian, and therefore anarchist. With an audacity unequalled since our Luddite and Rebecca-ite times, they have swooped down on isolated mansions of the wealthy, isolated police stations, isolated government buildings, and isolated Army units.... **THEY HAVE MADE THEM ISOLATED.** For it is not just 'the young' - it is almost ALL the young and naturally they have carried older workers with them too. The Press - for want of a leader of the guerrillas with whom to identify their position - calls them 'Che Guevarist' whatever that means. **THEY ARE GUERRILLAS CERTAINLY: BUT THEY ARE AGAINST ANY STATE CONTROL, THEY ARE AGAINST A NEW ARMY OR POLICE BEING FORMED, THEY ARE FOR INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS' CONTROL.**

Could any programme be more certain to bring down the wrath of the world? The government of Mrs. Bandaranaike has called in - to help its Coalition Marxist-Trotskyite-Moscowline controlled Army - RUSSIAN, AMERICAN, BRITISH, INDIAN AND PAKISTANI aircraft equipment, YUGOSLAV heavy artillery and has persuaded CHINA to keep out (only because of fears they may have already made the country another Vietnam once they get all that mob in and can't get them out again). They have spread the story that El Fatah is helping the rising so as to prejudice any help

from Israel, and that the Vietcong is behind it, so as to scare off help from anywhere (Vietnam has the curse of death upon it). Yet the plain fact is that there is NO SUPPORT INTERNATIONALLY FOR THE GUERRILLAS OF CEYLON. It does not get a whisper of support from the perfidious Left elsewhere, since the channels of communication are Maoist or Trotskyite.

Yet it has united Sinhalese and Tamils - a feat equivalent to uniting 'Catholics' and 'Protestants' in Northern Ireland, or Jews and Arabs in Palestine and Israel. Why? Because it IS international in concept and is, so far (for there are skilled, clever, unscrupulous politicians in Ceylon who, if they cannot crush it may try to capture it, as they have done in six other countries) a movement of the REVOLUTIONARY LIBERTARIAN WORKERS THEMSELVES.

Internationalist.

From the DAILY MAIL April 13th

Once thousands tramped from Aldermaston to London in the ^{cau} cause of banning the Bomb. But for yesterday's 14th Easter Monday march..only 1,100 turned up. And they weren't all nuclear disarmers.

The Sinn Fein were there. And the Anarchists selling BLACK FLAG Monthly....The chief anarchist explained that the word anarchy came from the Greek.

John Roberts.

NO WONDER the poor old MAIL is falling fast ... there were about 50,000 on the Sunday demo and impossible to count how many on the scene at Hyde Park and Trafalgar Sq. Why he had to go to the "chief anarchist" (makes a change from "anarchist leader" but we have all chiefs and no Indians) to find out that

"anarchy" comes from the Greek, is baffling. "Ooh, that's a big word", says baby reporter. "It comes from the Greek! Not like our good old English de-no-crat-ic mon-archy!"

According to Dr. Reginald Bennett (MP for Gosport), chairman of the House of Commons catering committee, they are now losing "up to 75% of the silverware a year". Security will be tightened. It was said of the American Presidential candidates that no one in his senses would buy a used car from either of them. It is equally true that no one would trust any of our bunch with the teaspoons. "You know it makes sense".

S A V A G E D O G S

During the last month (March 26th to April 28th) four children have been seriously savaged by dogs. It should hardly be necessary to say that it is hardly the fault of the dogs, kept in the confining spaces of towns which are driving the human population berserk and are totally unfit for canines.

The latest one is horrifying because two Alsatians have so viciously savaged a child of four he is not expected to live. A police Panda car was nearby and managed to get the boy from the dogs, and to shoot them. But the boy was inside the perimeter of a disused warehouse. He had wandered through a gap. The dogs were trained guard dogs. They - had they possessed our remarkable human intelligence - would have pleaded "THEY WERE ONLY DOING THEIR DUTY" which has covered a lot worse crimes.

Why are dogs trained to savage human beings? In defence of property. Even derelict property is more sacred than human life. And who are the worst offenders in training guard dogs? The very police whose fortuitous appearance adds to their lustre in the Press.

SAVAGE DOGS CAN NOT ENTER YOUR HOME. It is not altogether clear whether this is legal, but it is a fact all right. They are trained to sniff out (so we are told) drugs, gelignite

and even (or perhaps they do not stretch our credibility so far yet) stolen property.

What are they really for? TO INTIMIDATE. This is why dogs are used normally. They have always had two purposes in police use - to sniff out anyone running or on the run - and to terrorise. Few people will argue with, or even resist, a dog. It was a surprise to me when a friend, pursued by police after a demo, raced away, chased by a dog which clamped his leg. The dog was trained to think (correctly, as a rule) no one would then resist. He jabbed it on the nose with a ballpen, it yelped dismayed and released him. Oddly enough, when he related the story, most people were shocked at the savage human, who had to have his wound bandaged but went free.

Under the Police State approach, dogs have been introduced into political matters, and not only is heckling a (new, unlegislated) offence but dozens or even hundreds of savage dogs and savage dog handlers are in attendance at "protests". They are trained? To do what? Fetch a ball back to master? Or to rough up the opposition?

How about the private police like Securicor and guard dog firms, so useful now that the police concentrate on politics? WHAT ARE THEIR DOGS FOR BUT TO ROUGH UP? This they did.

H E A V Y B R E A T H I N G

A YCL-er informed me in the course of an argument it was an 'outrageous lie' to say Stalin had signed a pact with Hitler in 1939 and that Molotov visited Hitler and Ribbentrop went to the Kremlin. He vaguely felt that there was some attempt at a pact with Hitler - "but that was why we expelled Trotsky who wanted it!" Even we (denounced as "Stalinist" for those articles on Trotskyism!) felt this to be slightly wrong... "And it's a particular slander on Molotov who was a great figure in the Resistance." Molotov? That old bureaucrat? "He invented the Molotov cocktail for the partisans".

The partisans who used the name first were the Finns. Fighting for "democracy" against Moscow with the implicit support of the West, they went on fighting Russia when it switched sides after being attacked by Hitler. Germany became their ally. When they threw bottles with petrol at the Russian tanks they said they were "cocktails for Molotov" (who at that time was having them with Hitler).

The name "Stalinist" was hurled at us from quite a different quarter. Keith Nathan, bless him, in his

perennial plan to organise the libertarian movement in all its tendencies, from the Reynolds Gang to the libertarian Trotskyists, used it, and wrote: "We hold libertarian tendencies of very different characters to be equally important in this development (unlike certain comrades who produce a monthly sheet whose main purpose is to smear and misrepresent other tendencies in the libertarian movement while being careful not to do any actual work which might show up its pretensions - pace Pope Albert)." Us? What smears, we asked Keith (such a nice chap really) at the Conference. "The Stalinist amalgam technique," he retorted. (Where does he pick up those words?) We said his theoretical leader was one L. Otter a "Christian Pacifist". Well, is he not? He is a Pacifist, agreed Keith, "but only as a tactic, so you're misleading people". H'm. And he calls himself a Christian anarchist? "Amalgam technique, like saying Trotskyite Fascist," said Keith. But it's all there in Otter's little paper "Logos". Lies, lies, says Keith. But we've seen it in Logos.... is Logos Bogus? Have we smeared the Otter from a Bogus Logos?

He triumphantly produced three statements by "pope" Albert to prove that he supported "organisation", thinking that this must mean one should support all organisations including his. "Thus passed our storm in the tea u. at Conference.

P O L I T I C S

S P O R T

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P O L I T I C S

KEEP POLITICS OUT OF SPORT! So the man says. He goes on to unleash police dogs at political rallies and use police pigs as party stewards at meetings, so as to KEEP SPORT OUT OF POLITICS. We don't assent to either proposition. The rulers have most of the say through Press and TV. When they do meet the people, let it be as hot as possible for them. Bring back the custard pie.

To hear them talk, one would think the Liberals had invented the idea of bringing politics into sport. The South African Tour ban outraged the Tories. But it was they who brought politics in sport. For years sport has been treated as an exercise in Establishment relations. The King at the Cup Final... "Abide with Me" in hushed tones. The Duke in athletics. The nationalist propaganda in international games. The display of Big Business at its grossest around the boxing ring. The use of the golf club and the Royal Enclosure at Ascot to bind together the innermost mafia of the 'In' people.

All this is Tory politics. Lib-Lab (though Labour has always sat on the fence on these issues) politics came in only timorously - with the idea of insisting on getting rid of racial discrimination in South African teams. Now some Libs talk of boycotting Greece. Much of

Lib-in-sport smacks a bit of the glass of sherry (progressive parsons and highminded dons). One doubts if the Greeks will field many colonels in any team. Let us get down to a bit of working class politics.

We know there is class division already in sport (it depends on where you live as to what football you play...Rugby is a class divider but broken up by local prejudice.) But it goes deeper than that. Why are soccer managements getting rid of the standing accommodation as soon as they can afford it and put in seats? This strikes at the old concept of Soccer as a workingman's game. It has been, it still is, a sport for workers; at cheap prices; and a live game in that young workers identify. Maybe they run wild, but that's due to frustration elsewhere. They let off steam; where else can they do it but standing up and yelling on their side? Tame them, curb them; make it a TV sport, an old man's viewing; let them sit watching sedately. THAT is a live issue of the day. And are young workers to sit back and watch them do it? Are they to conform to Police State in practice, now on view at every major match?

A N A R C H I S T
C O M M E N T A R Y

A pathetic story of a rich lady, Miss Marjorie Jeffon, who died at 81 and left £20,000 to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reduce the National Debt. The family got only £16,000. Ah, well... "She thought the country needed the money more than her family," said her companion. "She was devoutly religious... a true Britisher.. a patriot."

Miss Jeffon died at 81 and still believed in Santa Claus. The lesson of her will is that the fairy tales about money are going as strong as they ever did. It is a comment on our capitalist system that someone so stupid could be rich all her life (because her forebears were). Had she taken the £20,000 and thrown it on the fire, it would have been more useful to the State (which she confused with 'the country'), for in order to reduce the National Debt the Chancellor would have to withdraw it from circulation (which she could have done in her own grate). But by giving it to him she was presuming on the man hours of the civil service to do much the same thing.

Had she given the money to her family in Premium Bonds, she would have achieved the same ends as she intended; and both the Chancellor (by withdrawing the money from circulation) and the no doubt already well-heeled

family would have benefited. But she was a subscriber to the pseudo-Christian Money Ethic. This was "GOOD MONEY" not to be squandered by riotous living, not to be given away lightly. No gain without sacrifice. Should she give it to charity? To a good cause? Ah -- she was a patriot -- to THE COUNTRY. So she gave them to the Chancellor who could pulp them and print more if he wished or not, as he proposed.

Money Ethic? It is so ingrained she could not realise the Government printed the stuff itself! But she was far from being one lonely eccentric. Just recently a magistrate sentenced a man who had embezzled £20,000 and fled abroad. Where would THE COUNTRY be if everybody did this sort of thing, demanded the magistrate. Granted the utter impossibility that everybody could do the same thing, the "Country" would be fantastically better off. It would be abroad living on its ill-gotten gains in the Riviera sunshine, the same as he was. But "the country" did not mean "the people" but that abstraction called "the State". However, there are no back answers from the dock, at least there were not in this case, and as for Miss Jeffon, she will never learn economics now.

Yet her soul goes marching on... A lady in the local paper urges us "to forget politics and fight inflation" which she quite obviously believes to be a natural disaster like floods and earth-

quakes and nothing whatever to do with man-made politics.

And at the other extreme the quality Sundays solemnly review the latest bound editions of Keynes, the Holy of Holies of Enlightened Capitalism, whose spirit was foreseen by all "progressive" politicians and incorporated in the policies of Macmillan, Mosley, Attlee, the lot. It states a plain fact: that slumps are not inevitable, and that in times of depression when the economy is stagnant, the Government must intervene with public works. For instance, private enterprise has gone bust in a town, leaving most of its workers stranded. Their spending power is nil, so all the service and other industries go bust. All you need is a State plan to get some project going. This pumps money back into the economy and it all wakes up again.

So road works for the unemployed! Build this, build that, even if you have to plough it up afterwards! And why? All that Keynes had proved was you needed MORE MONEY pumped back into the capitalist system. HE HAD NOT PROVED YOU NEEDED MORE WORK PUMPED BACK IN. But the Money Ethic meant that you could not let people work less, or not at all, and get their money. So any work - however expensive or ruinous to the economy (e.g. arms boom)

was better than just "giving 'em the money". Paternalistic economics. Or, y where it was impossible "to provide work" would they give out the money and this attitude persists today.

Extraordinarily, even workers believe this fairy story, and however much they have contributed to the economy, feel if they do not work they are "receiving charity". That is the fairy story before last. The State handouts are there to make the system tick. Overthrow the system and they will not be necessary.

MEETINGS DURING MAY.

On May 5th (Wednesday evening), Stuart Christie, Gerry Bree and Albert Meltzer will speak at the Freedom Press Hall at 84b Whitechapel High St. on the work of the Black X and Black Flag.

Albert Meltzer will speak on May 1st at Brighton; May 2nd at Leicester; May 3rd at Loughborough University. (Details from Leicester Bookshop).

Albert Meltzer will also speak at Leeds & Bradford on May 19th.

Miguel Garcia Garcia will speak at Bradford & Leeds on May 19th.

(Details: Leeds Bookshop. The meetings will be mid-day & evening).

Miguel Garcia Garcia will speak at Sheffield on May 20th (with film).

Two important guests from the

Spanish movement will also be giving lectures in May. On 9th May (Sun. 5.30) at Iberian Centre, Prof. A. Garcia Calvo, Professor at Madrid expelled for supporting the student revolt, will speak on "The University - New Forms of Power and New Forms of Revolt". The following Sunday 16th May (Sun. 5.30 same place) the meeting will be addressed by Jose Peirats, on the situation in Spain. Peirats is the most important historian of the C.N.T. BOTH THESE LECTURES HOWEVER WILL BE IN SPANISH. Questions in English can be answered (in Spanish) for those who understand the language but cannot speak it well.

The Centro Iberico (Iberian Centre) is holding meetings each Sunday at 5.30 at the Parish Hall of Holy Trinity, Kingsway (directly opposite HOLBORN TUBE station). Those who do not speak Spanish are invited to come along about 8. or 8.30 and mix socially as this is the nucleus of an international centre. At present it is trying to integrate exiles and immigrant workers from Spain but we have hopes it will develop into a libertarian international centre. Refreshments available.

THE PLAYBOYS OF REVOLUTION AND THE SHEIKH

There was a certain difficulty when the world's richest man, the mediaeval priest-king living on U.S. oil royalties and championing the Arab national cause, the SHEIKH OF KUWAIT, decided to hold a conference of all those sincerely dedicated to his cause.

He sent out invitations, which were avidly accepted, to many honoured guests, which included from this country

THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP (Tariq Ali's fan club); the COMMUNIST PARTY (Marxist-Leninist (Reg Birchites); the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS (Cliff hangers), SINN FEIN and other Irish organisations and any amount of Trotskyist Maoist and Liberal organisations. Lord Caradon was in this distinguished gathering as well as most of the National Liberation Movements (the Ceylonese being markedly absent or they might have had a word or two to say).

The hospitality, as you might expect from that magnificent millionaire, the Sheikh of Kuwait, was lavish. All this is fair enough, for let us face it, that is what most of these organisations exist for, the paid-up beans abroad from the wealthy

overseas sympathisers. What then was the difficulty? The sheikh gets quite enough money from world capitalism to be able to play host to the playboys of socialism. Well, the problem was that most of them are hooked on Black Power. In the circumstances the Sheikh had to import paid Arab labour from Aden to wait upon the guests. He could hardly expect the distinguished "revolutionary leaders" (as they are sometimes laughingly called) to be waited upon by his African slaves.

It took place on February 17th. Incorporate the date into the cliches of the movement. We may say that when a revolutionary group dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism, and telling the workers what to do from a postbox provided by the Vice-Chancellor, leaves too much mess for the staff to clear up afterwards, it is displaying a "February 17th" mentality. One fears there is much need of such a cliché in the Universities.

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THE STRUGGLE IN Q U E B E C

For generations Quebec Nationalism, or Separatism (use of either term being highly partisan) has been totally reactionary and tied to French Right Wing clericalism. The politicians who went to the top in Quebec suppressed the Left, smashed the trade unions except as they conformed to the State, and kept up a rigid censorship.

All this was justified to the people for the need to keep French Canada 'pure' from the Anglo-Saxon contamination and domination. But the French-Canadian workers saw through the game some time ago. All this kept the Quebec politicians in nice positions, like the Dublin government. They harped on old themes but made sure the music was that of the cash register. When the F.L.Q. started up, it was in hostility to good old fashioned Separatist politics just as much as to domination by Ottawa or dollar control from the U.S.A. It has developed along French-Canadian lines because it is a French-Canadian movement. But in no real sense is it a nationalist movement. It is a revolutionary movement constricted by nationalism. It was a very real, spontaneous response to the long domination from outside and enforced poverty from inside, in which all parties, including that of national separatism, had joined. It moved into clear

class-consciousness. It embraced illegality and violence in its struggle against the State. Since 1963 it has been growing, it has been increasing the pressure, and it has become recognised as the force of the people. To such an extent that now the Press looks on it as the "nationalist" movement when it is opposite the national-separatist local rulers, and in mortal conflict with them. Why? For it is increasingly "national", in the sense of all embracing, rather than nationalist.

The violent struggle has led to police raids and the police raids have led to a step-up of the demands for independence. Not just for "the province". For workers independence at work. It is this which the Government finds unacceptable and impossible. Provincial freedom would represent no difficulties "but would they be satisfied with that?"

Is the movement libertarian as well as revolutionary? That is hard to answer. The Quebecois militants have a variety of groupings but not one theoretical magazine. They have developed no theoretical concepts beyond fighting the State and buildings workers' control. These in themselves are the beginnings of libertarianism. But they are not enough.

Yet where are such theoretical conceptions to come from? From authoritarian Marxists, trying to intervene on the scene? From quietist anarchists who think it essential to register one's name on the scene as authenticated but condemn essential direct action?

It can only come from bitter experience, and the sad fact is that all the accumulated lessons of past revolutions are thrown away as garbage for students as Ph.D. theses ("Causes of Failure of the --- Revolution"), while the working class has to learn each lesson from scratch. The various groups in Quebec take note of the lessons of the struggle. The workers are moving towards revolutionary seizure of the factories. A clash with the State is going on. Whether a political leadership will take over and sell out or establish its own mastery is however problematical. The next step will have to be spontaneous.

THIS ISSUE seems to have been almost entirely having a go at various divisions of the Left. Perhaps the news from Ceylon has unbalanced us. Nevertheless we could hardly withhold the fascinating story from Kuwait or the insight into I.S. intervention in industry. THE ENEMY is the ruling class. It is not political phoney out of power, but they are often more newsworthy. THE MESSAGE is trust no-one, not even us.

PLACID LIBERATION

by Gerry of Liverpool

HEY MAN - get wise to the fact that the capitalists are using you. They're in business to buy and sell, that's what it's all about. It means you too. Yes, there has been a revolution in the way of life but not in the economic way of life. Once they found they could not sell Little Lord Fauntleroy any more to the paying customers so they turned to Theda Bara and now that's way out they have turned to other things in which to deal. Some of them were pretty revolutionary to the way of life in their time, too.

Now the people who want to earn bread to buy jags and penthouses have to buy and sell in revolutionary ideas because that's what we're interested in. The pop people make fortunes out of commercialising our aspirations. Just as Sir Victor Gollancz made a fortune in the thirties selling leftwing lit. Underground? Don't make us laugh. You can see it a mile off.

POT? You like it? Well, smoke the stuff but don't kid me you're doing it for personal liberation or because it's part of the revolution. You just like it. None of this Placid Revolution stuff is with revolution so don't be fooled. Acid, placid, is it subversive of established values? Well, yes it is,

socially, but it is one big enormous moneyspinner. Huge fortunes are now made by "crooks" - that is to say, capitalists who are anticipating a change in the law. Change the law and you will make them respectable millionaires. Well all right then but don't call it revolution!

THINK ABOUT THE AMERICAN TWENTIES. Everyone said they would learn from Prohibition. They never did. We've got it again, only with drugs not booze. The same scene: the gangsters making fortunes and backing entertainers to make the illicit game an interesting one. Highminded folk campaigning against it, thinking of the fortunes they could make if the gangs were out, and how the fuzz would once more be respected. FDR and others said "making it legal" went with a Fair Deal. Did it?

Revolution is to do with reality not with trips in the mystic. You can have them too but they don't mean a thing in changing the system. Anarchism is not to do with dropping out of the State, it is to do with dropping the State! There IS an imaginary anarchism to do with dressing like Jesus and offering flowers to the pigs. But we, friends, are for the

real thing. That means getting rid of the state and capitalism, hip as it may come. And we are against conformity. For if you think conformity isn't what is wanted by the financial top level of the Underground, you haven't read your Oz and It. You have been brainwashed and that is what some drugs are about!

Some BLACK FLAG contacts

Bob Lees
6 Coniston Avenue,
Weineth, OLDHAM, Lancs.

Brian J. Barrat,
553 Liverpool Road,
Platt Bridge, nr. WIGAN,
Lancs.

Fred Warburton, 32 Swinburne St. Derby, DE12HJ.

Pete Morgan & Pete Raymond,
13 Plantagent St.
Riverside, CARDIFF.

Universities:

Bob Dent (LSE)
Carr Saunders Hall,
Fitzroy St. London, W.1

John Hill,
Churchill College, CAMBRIDGE.

Brian Butterworth (U.C.L)
tele: 01-387-1504

Dave Jenkins, Derek Bailey
Construction Dept. Faculty
of Art & Design, BRISTOL

Steve Bindin (City Univ)
25 Wormsley Rd. LONDON, N.8.

Agitprop is doing a lot of useful work around town these days. It is a bit sad that after so much worked poured into the mainstream anarchist movement for so many years, that real anarchist activity finds so many nominally anarchist frameworks unrealistic. They're right, of course.

Agitprop seems the most active London centre for revolutionaries especially of the new generation and they're going in a libertarian direction.

Watch out for new paper "Strike" (No.0 going the rounds on a trial run).

Bust is a most useful guide to points of law. Hope to review it next issue.

CLAIMANTS UNIONS springing up everywhere. Once radical movement formed youth groups to agitate their ideas; now it's necessary for youth to take the lead. The aged have more problems than any. A new Appral to the Old is wanted... Meanwhile the services of students, in particular, who can master the procedures, are of invaluable assistance to the old and needy. Their support can be more useful than one knows: but in any case the Claimants Unions aren't for that reason nor are they for sympathy.... they're for solidarity. That's part of the industrial struggle too.

UNAMUNO'S LAST LECTURE
.....new pamphlet

A LIBERAL WITH A BOMB ?

"So long as the majority of the workers don't support the revolutionary party, the revolutionary party has no alternative but patience to go on trying to get the confidence of the mass of the workers. You can't make revolution behind the back of the working-class. We don't believe in the minority acting for the class, we are not terrorists - in other words liberals that despise the working class and suggest that a minority should use a bomb - the liberal with a bomb, that's what a terrorist is, and that's basically what the anarchists are, because they don't really believe in the working-class or in action." Tony Cliff, in an interview.

This is a sort of "creeping pacifism". The writer is not a pacifist and has no objection to the use of arms (he glorifies their use, in other contexts, as in the first Red Army etc) - provided the workers do the fighting and the party provides the lead. Never, never will he agree the party does the fighting and the workers take the lead!

The party is a minority by its very nature and "to get the confidence" of the workers to do the fighting for it, it must accept that the party minority "acts" for the class. Yes, but acts in leadership. It must not presume on such acts as doing the actual fighting. It is against terrorism - that is to say, individual terrorism, for any Marxist party supports the Terrorism of the State against the individual. What they oppose is the terrorism of the individual against the State. They do not even like it under capitalism, for the habit may live on under "socialism". What,

however, happens if one gets a situation like Germany? The working-class as such can no longer act. The opposition parties are illegal. Does the Marxist leader go on patiently trying to get the confidence of the workers? Or does he then, in sheer frustration and desperation, "use a bomb"? No, he runs away. One should not blame him for running away. He may as well run away as go to jail. But he should not make a philosophy of his weakness.

An anarchist is a "liberal with a bomb".... but what is a revolutionary without arms? During the Spanish Civil War, the Trotskyists argued that arms for Spain were not necessary. All that was necessary was "a clear Marxist analysis". We have had plenty of that since.

Liberalism with "bombs" still does not mean anarchism (see Ireland). But anarchism means

being able to dispense with parties that seek the confidence of the working class and being able too look after oneself. That begins with the individual. For if the individual cannot look after his own freedom and fight those who infringe upon it, the whole class will never be free.

Anarchist Conference.

Held this year in Leeds, the Conference again defies any attempt at analysis. Usual get together not of delegates from groups but of assorted individuals representing a section of the current militancy but in no way really representative. In the circumstances the best work (contacting people from other parts) gets done when the meeting's over.

York Univ. Group proposed a reorganisation to take in a wide range of defunct, semi-defunct and ought-to-be defunct groups, under the blessed word "Dialogue" (reference to this elsewhere in current issue). The purpose for doing so, other than to achieve paper unity of nothing, was unclear and most speakers opposed it. There was however nothing else of major importance discussed and the conference wisely hived off into discussions of various aspects of activity.

Feature of conference seemed to be recognition of the fact that the anarchist movement,

whether activist or quietist, is hiving off into separate bodies. Various papers all springing up together. This to our mind is a good thing. Let each section gang its ain gait. Has any section "the truth"? Yes it does, as it sees it. You cannot harness together opposing ideas and call it an organisation. It is possible, for instance, for an active organisation (even an army) to contain pacifists, non combatant fighters. It is absurd to think of one with non-pacifists as a minority. ("Those who believe in violence are a small minority" sounds clever but picture how it would work in a revolutionary situation.... some snipers among the ambulance men, or what? And what if the enemy shot back?) We are far from such a situation? To think in those terms is to resign oneself to frustration and defeat for ever.

"There are people who think that everything in this world is an accident. But really there is no such thing as an accident. A great many folks admit that many of the people in jail ought to be there, and many who are outside ought to be in. I think none of them ought to be here. There ought to be no jails; and if it were not for the fact that the people on the outside are so grasping and heartless in their dealings with the

people on the inside, there would be no such institution as jails... They do not accomplish what they pretend to accomplish. They terrorise nobody. They are a blot upon any civilisation, and a jail is an evidence of the lack of charity of the people on the outside who make the jails and fill them with the victims of their greed."

Clarence Darrow.

I.S. INTERVENTION IN INDUSTRY.

At last week's WATSOPA London Clerical Branch a motion was down by the chapel (union members) of "SW LITHO PRINTERS LTD", calling for a one day strike against the Industrial Relations Bill and other heavy action. Fair enough, but it put many delegates there on the spot. For they themselves supported such action and advocated it, but knew full well their members whom they were representing did not. Should they ride over the wishes of those they represented; or should they go back on their own ideas?

A difficult decision. But those who present such a motion should have clean hands. And they did not. For SW LITHO PRINTERS LTD is International Socialism's printing press. It is a political press whose

"workers" are full time political organisers. This sets a bad precedent. FOR A DELEGATION PURPORTING TO BE FROM THE WORKERS WAS IN FACT PUTTING THE MANAGEMENT'S POINT OF VIEW. If this spread, it would make the union a company union. The resolution was impeccable. Its supporters were not.

They knew full well that they had no problems such as the workers' delegates present did. They did not have to face a meeting with mixed political views; nor will their wages - and those of people hostile to the idea be stopped in the case of a stoppage. Their paper will in any case have no stoppage: in the event of a dispute, it will sell more copies. They are right to ask the workers not to worry about upsetting the management; but wrong to intervene in the workers' affairs at all, especially under a false front, pretending to be rank-and-file workers themselves while repeating the views of management.

This time they got away with it. The resolution was carried, partly because most people present knew it was so militant it would be quietly squashed by the Branch committee in any case. But this must be the last occasion I.S. intervenes in the printworkers' affairs without being challenged as to whether it is management or staff. If it is neither and has just 'dropped out' and is a little commune on its own, fair enough; but don't let it pretend it shares our problems, which are vastly different.

PRINTWORKER.

1

IT'S ALRIGHT, WE'LL BRING IN AN INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BILL! GET THEM DOING WHAT WE WANT!

THESE UNOFFICIAL STRIKES ARE MORE AND MORE DANGEROUS. THE WORKERS AREN'T LISTENING TO THE UNION LEADERS - SO WE CAN'T DEAL WITH THEM BY NEGOTIATING!



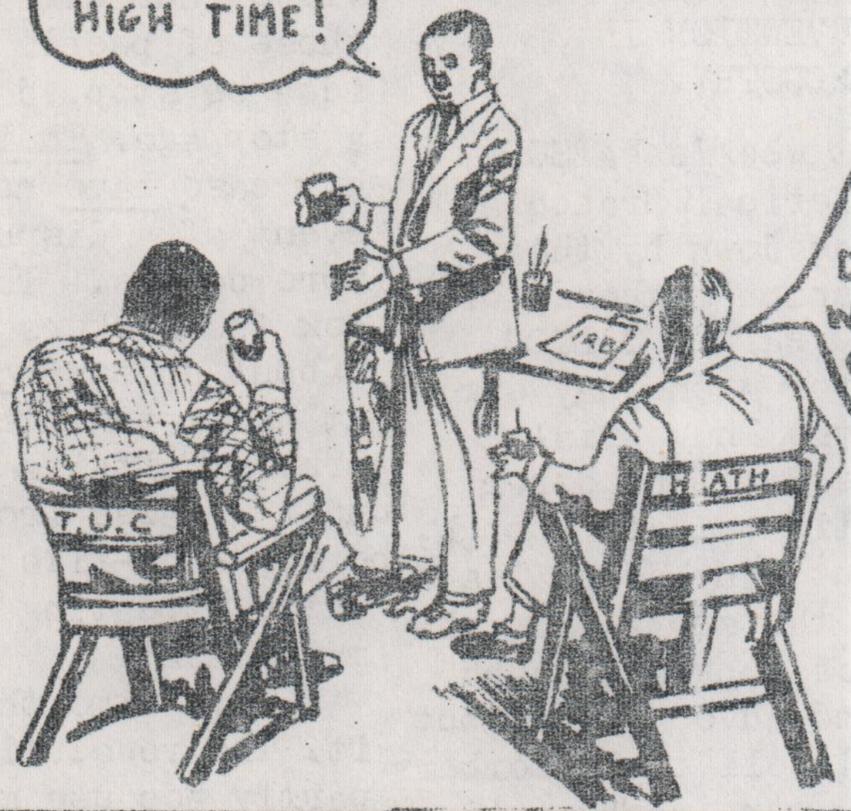
3

HIGH TIME!

AT LAST!

O.K. BROTHER! WE MUST PUT AN END TO THIS ANARCHY!

HAVING A BIT OF TROUBLE WITH YOUR RANK AND FILE? DON'T WORRY THE L.R.B. WILL HELP YOU GET CONTROL AGAIN! YES, WE'VE GOT TO GET THE ECONOMY MOVING - AS A TEAM!

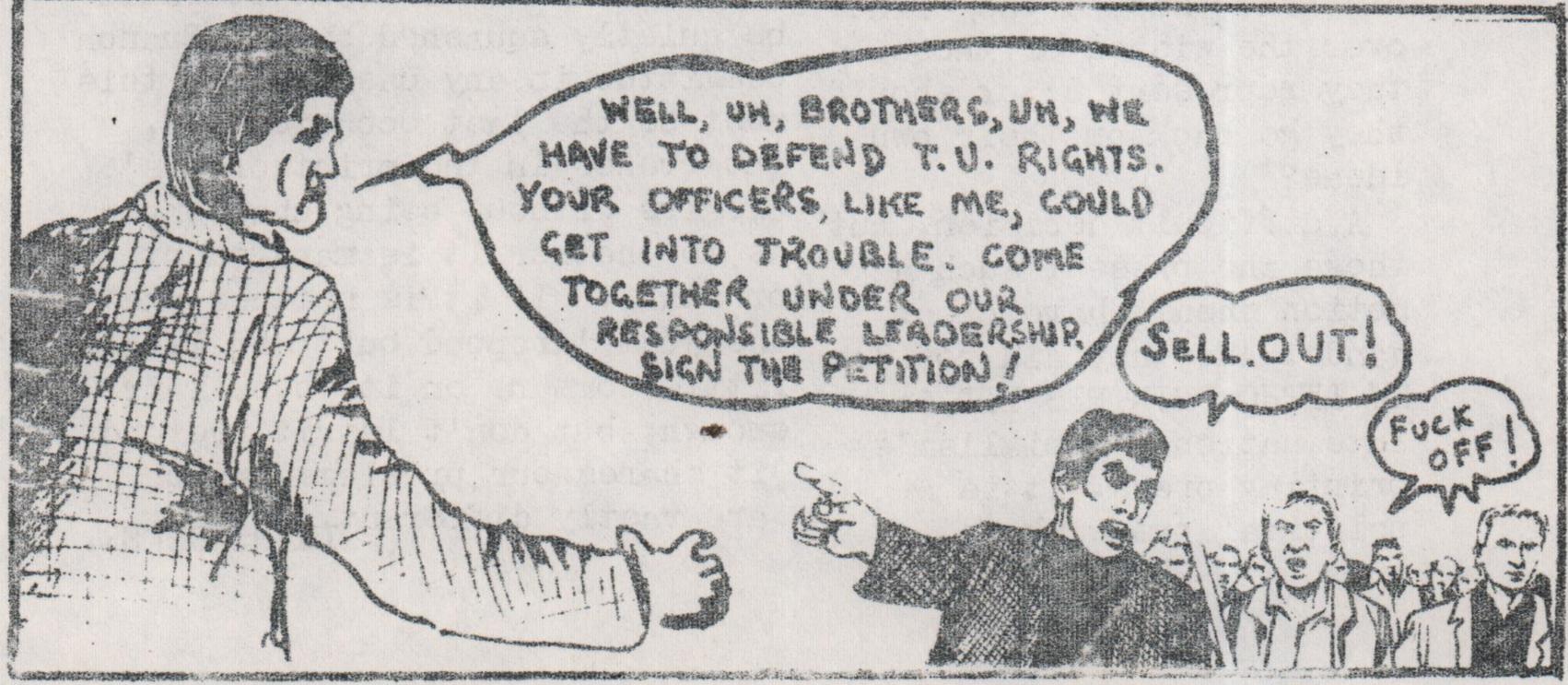


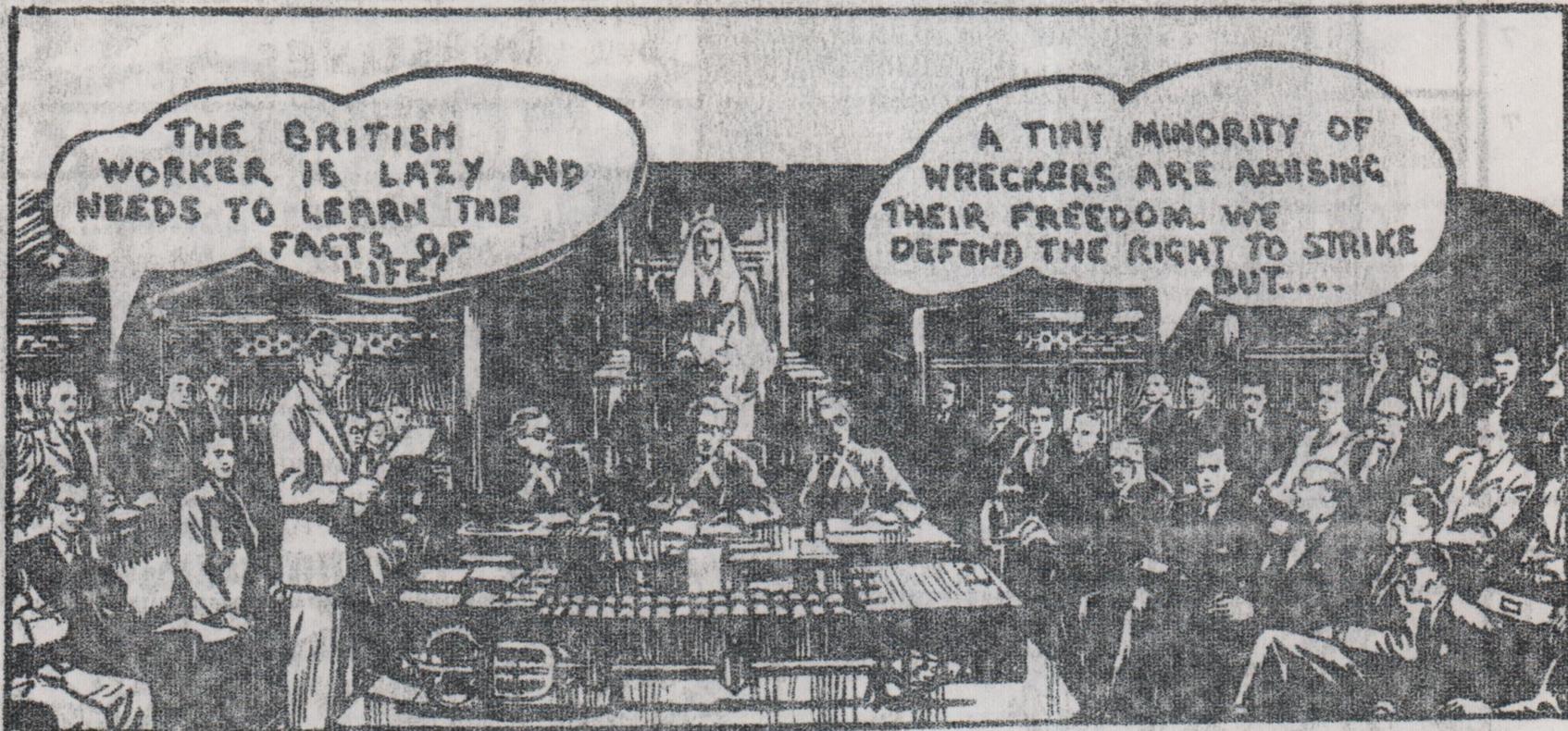
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WELL, UH, BROTHERS, UH, WE HAVE TO DEFEND T.U. RIGHTS. YOUR OFFICERS, LIKE ME, COULD GET INTO TROUBLE. COME TOGETHER UNDER OUR RESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP. SIGN THE PETITION!

SELL OUT!

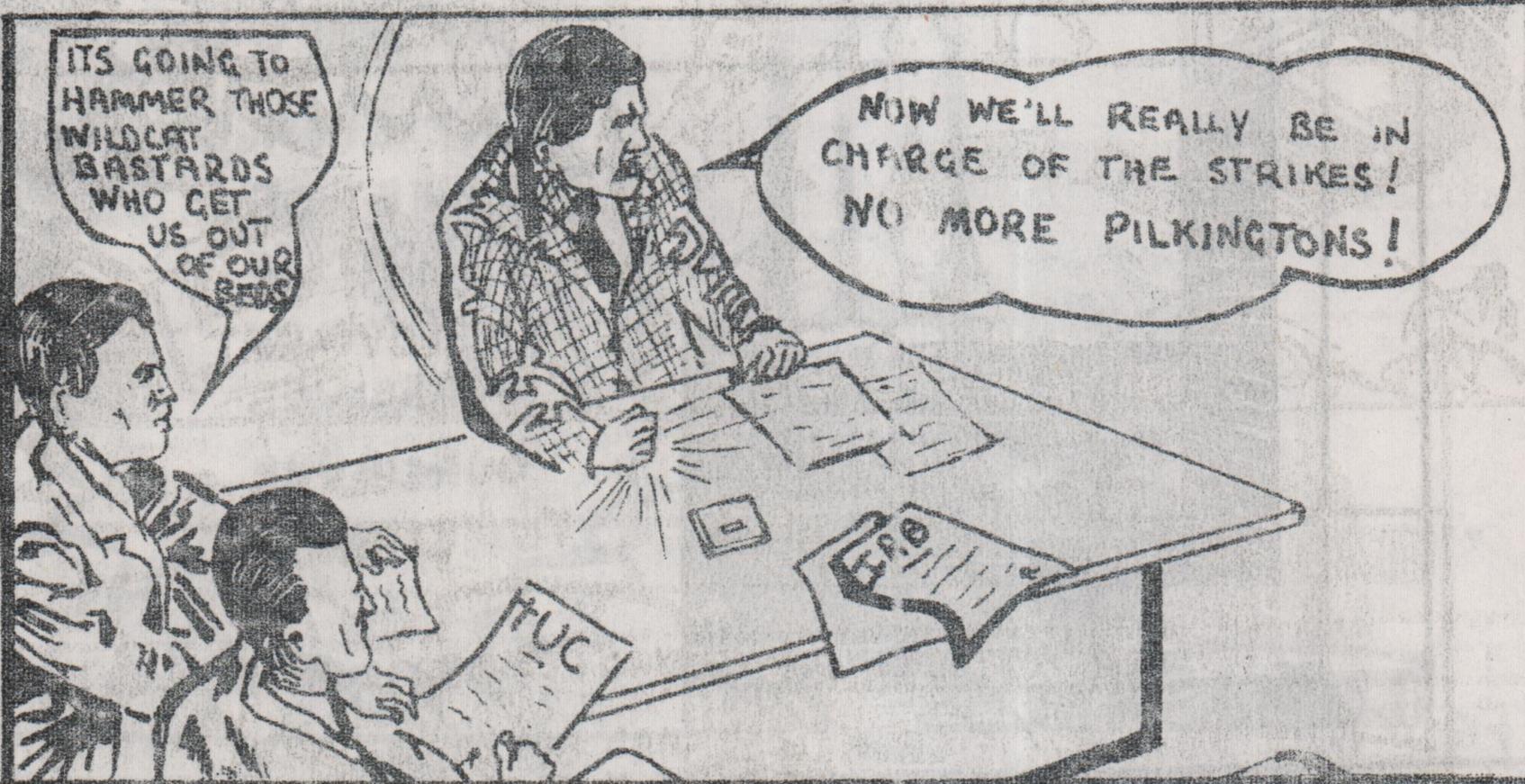
FUCK OFF!





THE BRITISH WORKER IS LAZY AND NEEDS TO LEARN THE FACTS OF LIFE!

A TINY MINORITY OF WRECKERS ARE ABUSING THEIR FREEDOM. WE DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE BUT....



ITS GOING TO HAMMER THOSE WILDCAT BASTARDS WHO GET US OUT OF OUR BEDS

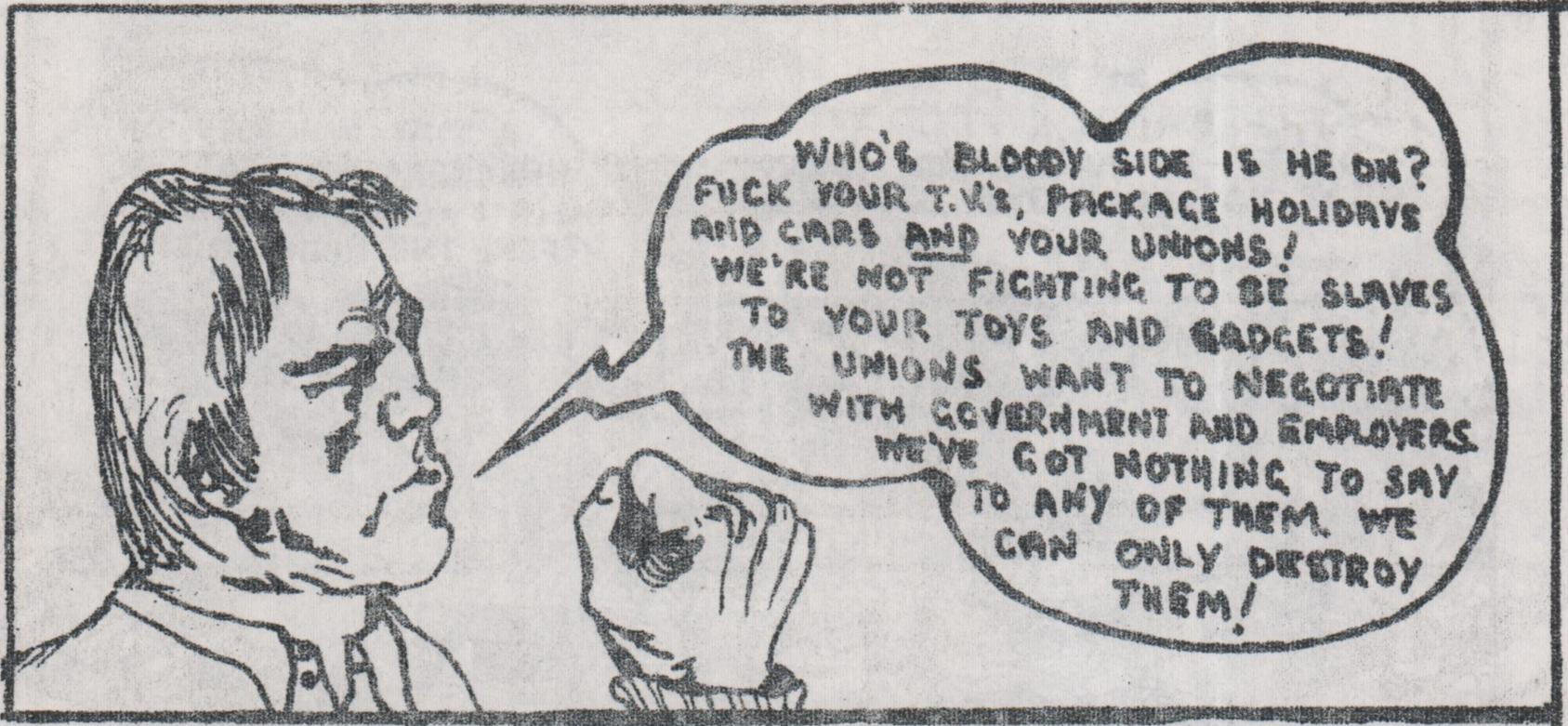
NOW WE'LL REALLY BE IN CHARGE OF THE STRIKES! NO MORE PILKINGTONS!



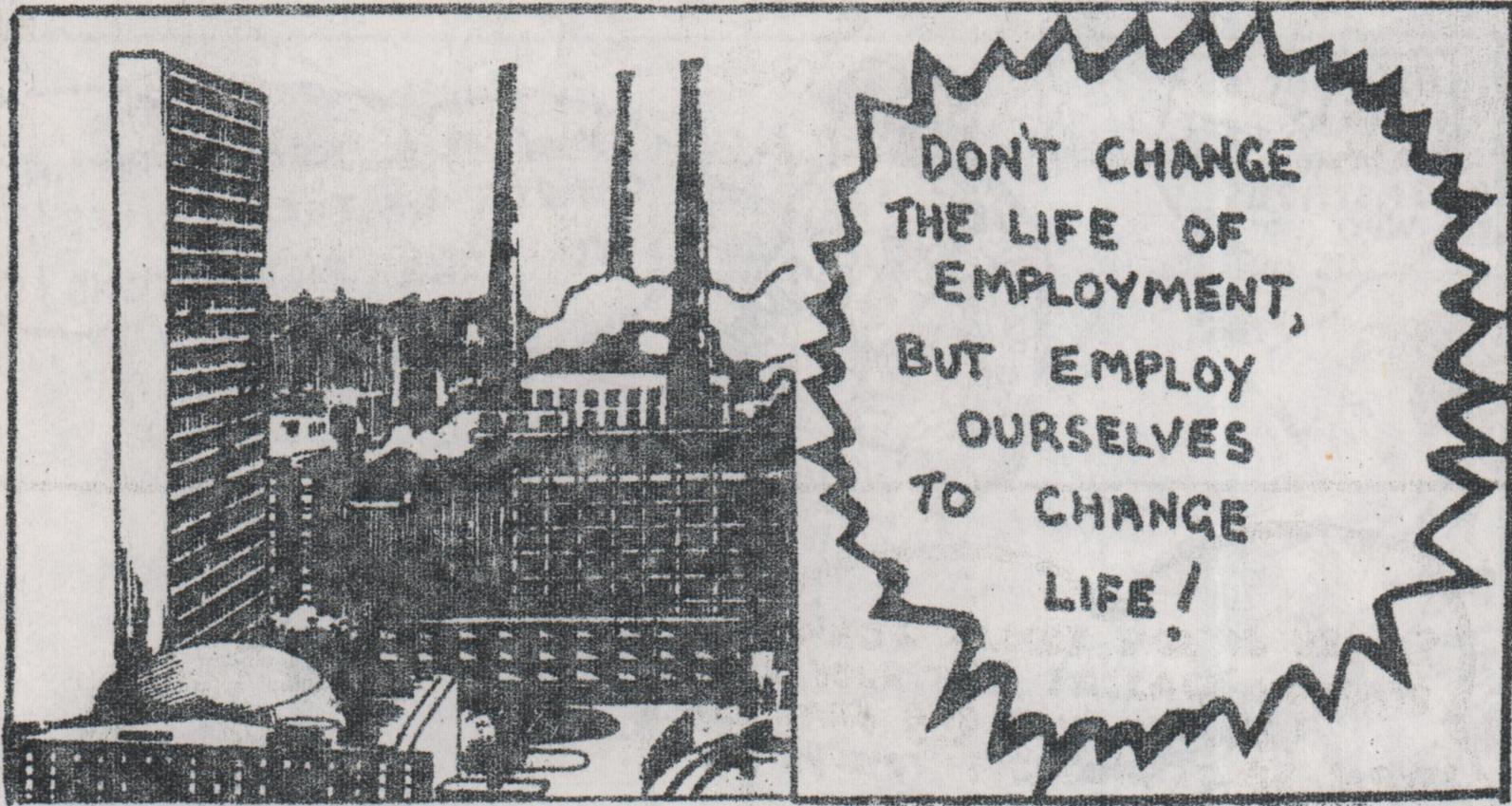
BLOODY REFORMIST!

OUR WAGE DEMANDS ARE RUINING THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY, LADS! LOOK AT THE GOOD LIFE WE'VE GOT! ALL THE THINGS WE CAN BUY! A CAR, A T.V., A FORTNIGHT IN MAJORCA! - LET'S NOT ROCK THE BOAT! DON'T BE LED INTO UNOFFICIAL ACTION BY IRRESPONSIBLE WRECKERS!

SCAB!



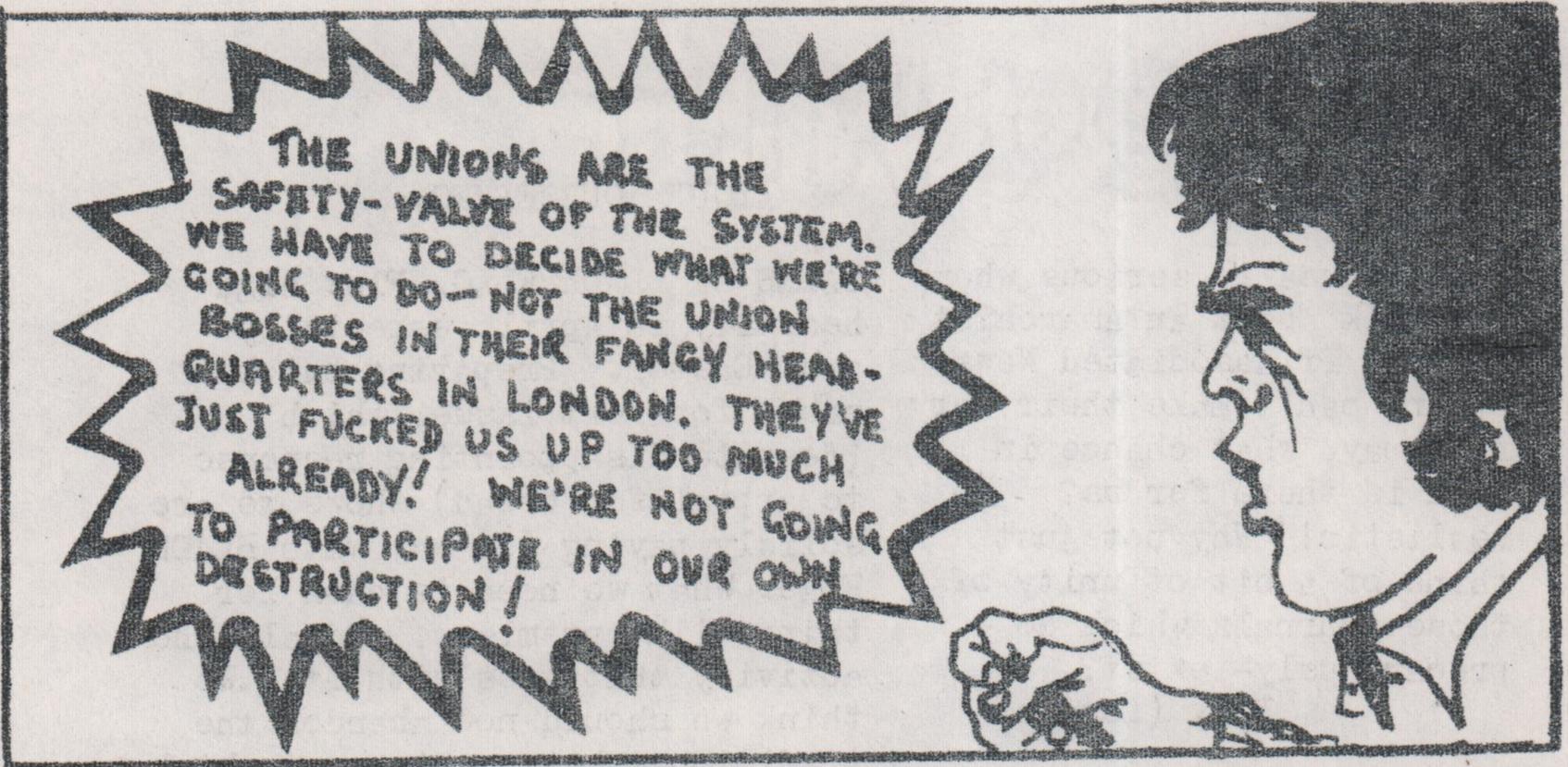
WHO'S BLOODY SIDE IS HE ON?
 FUCK YOUR T.V.'s, PACKAGE HOLIDAYS
 AND CARS AND YOUR UNIONS!
 WE'RE NOT FIGHTING TO BE SLAVES
 TO YOUR TOYS AND GADGETS!
 THE UNIONS WANT TO NEGOTIATE
 WITH GOVERNMENT AND EMPLOYERS
 WE'VE GOT NOTHING TO SAY
 TO ANY OF THEM. WE
 CAN ONLY DESTROY
 THEM!



DON'T CHANGE
 THE LIFE OF
 EMPLOYMENT,
 BUT EMPLOY
 OURSELVES
 TO CHANGE
 LIFE!

FROM THE FORCE OF CRITICISM WE MOVE TO CRITICISM BY FORCE!





THE UNIONS ARE THE SAFETY-VALVE OF THE SYSTEM. WE HAVE TO DECIDE WHAT WE'RE GOING TO DO - NOT THE UNION BOSSES IN THEIR FANCY HEAD-QUARTERS IN LONDON. THEY'VE JUST FUCKED US UP TOO MUCH ALREADY! WE'RE NOT GOING TO PARTICIPATE IN OUR OWN DESTRUCTION!



HOW'S THAT FOR A SUNDAY SCHOOL PICNIC! A VOTE OF THANKS TO THE POLICE AND THE T.U.C. THEN WE ALL GO HOME FOR TEA!



MAN WILL NOT BE HAPPY UNTIL THE LAST CAPITALIST IS HUNG BY THE GUTS OF THE LAST POLITICIAN!

CATALYST

Correspondence.

ABOUT OURSELVES.

Are you really serious when you talk about an Anarchist daily? If Associated Newspapers can't make their Tory rags pay, what chance in hell is there for us? Be realistic! Why not just think of a bit of unity of those journals which do - precariously- exist?

D.W. (London)

(If one is serious about an Anarchist revolution, a daily now is not such a frightening prospect. Such a paper may not 'pay' - i.e. provide enormous salaries for directors and upper bracket journalists, but should it? Trouble is no one thinks an 'anarchist bookshop impracticable' (they don't immediately think of Foyle's when they say bookshop); but when they say 'daily' they think of circulations of two million. As to the last question, now that is difficult..... Ed)

Many thanks for sending the first three numbers of Black Flag. Enclosed is subscription. It is a major contribution to the Anarchist movement. Congratulations to you for the way you have produced it.

H.V.B.C. (Leics.)

All our stuff available at COMPENDIUM BOOKSHOP in Camden High St (by the canal bridge), London, N.W.1.

SALES OF BLACK FLAG. Flew high heartily in April, especially over Easter. Preparing balance sheet for next issue, which (despite disappointing response to appeal for bread) shows we are solidly paying our way with BLACK FLAG. What we need is cash for things like premises, and all the activity that goes with it. We think we should now abandon the traditional hat-passing and think up a real money raiser which will benefit the whole movement....the details will be going off to individual comrades and those who ask for it. We need cash for so many things (like film clubs and working groups and duplicators as well as what even dedicated people need to live on) that what we want is not passing the hat but something that financially helps all causes and all who participate. The Black Cross is therefore organising its FUND RAISING THING which is staggering in its simplicity.

Many offers to translate: still trying to co-ordinate them. Bear with us. Lack of office space. The negotiations for premises have fallen through (guess why) but we are trying for others elsewhere.

Our formula (that anarchists need meet only socially: but our organisation should be industrial - the 'Form Fives' campaign) is slowly taking shape as regards the social part. Meet socially; propagate individually; and organise industrially. It is a new formula and does away with the "traditional" group idea. But

it seems to make sense.

Editorial: We started off with a one-man editorial. We have increased it by a participatory editorial system. It works in spasms. But one thing: we are determined to have none of the over-writing that ruins most left journals. There is no reason why it can't be brief. Some of them do rabbit on.

CIRCULATION: Gerry Bree
39 Regina Road, London, N. 4.
(tele. 01-272-2098)

MORE SELLERS WANTED.

We are doing a bit of branching out up North, too. Some good reception in N.W.England.. so more sellers there too, please.

WHAT WAS MAY DAY ABOUT?

It was selected by the early socialist movement as a day of international solidarity because in many countries of the West it was ALREADY the day of hope and joy, part of the old pre-Christian, pre-Roman cult and looked back on the Golden Age (real or legendary) before domination, before the State, before exploitation.

It has nothing to do with dreary speeches, still less to do with the march past of tanks in Red Square If that is all one's conception of May Day is, better not have it at all, better - more appropriately - support your local witch.

THOUGHTS ON THE COMMUNE

It is 100 years ago since the workers of Paris stormed the heavens and seized the town. It was a rising of artisans. The "proletariat" was still small in Paris. Factories were few; most workers were self-employed. That is why Proudhonist ideas were prevalent. When Marx, previously, attacked them and Proudhonism as "petty bourgeois" (in contrast to the proletarianised German workers in heavy industry), he did not mean they were civil servants, or supermarket managers, as the term would mean today.

He meant (in Napoleon's phrase about England, so totally misunderstood) they were "a nation of shopkeepers" meaning they were cobblers, wheelmakers, one-man printers, blacksmiths, bookbinders, tailors, carpenters and so on.

Napoleon III's war plans had ruined them. They were being forced into factories but retained their independent views. In England, capitalism had forced the workers into factories at an earlier date: those who remained in one-man trades became slightly prosperous but still independent ("the village cobbler" was the local radical, or atheist, as any 19th century literature shows... the favourite one is the blacksmith struck by lightning for his heretical views...)

The Commune was therefore pre-eminently the determination of the working class NOT to be forced into the capitalist machine. "A rising of shopkeepers" said the Press sneeringly; but it

was not one of exploiters. Bookbinders, winesellers, weavers, booksellers, carried the message of the Commune throughout France - into Spain, where the introduction of Federalism, and Anarchism, was the work of printers and bookbinders, the most literate one-man workers. It was this class being crushed that made an explosion that brought about the modern anarchist movement. It brought into industry the people who hated regimentation. Marxists felt that the growth of regimented industry led to Socialism. They wanted the workers in industry to utilise this machine. The Anarchists in industry wanted an end to the machine. Hence the military defeat of the commune was more than enough to mark the division within the International.

Anarchism therefore does not go along with the Marxian idea that the factory system is historically inevitable. It views it more as the result of oppression from above. It has more to do with the independent artisan than it has with the factory belt, and however necessary the factory belt may be to capitalism, it does not fit in with a free society. No man really free would stand for hours tightening a screw at Ford's. The lesson of the Paris Commune was that the worker did not

have to be tied to the machine if he could resist military repression. It was this attitude that Marx called "bourgeois" but it had nothing to do with the idea of the bourgeois as an exploitative shopkeeper or an employer or State official. The meaning of the word has changed.

The Communards felt - and we must agree they were right - that if they were crushed, capitalism would build up a system over their bones that would force every man and woman into the rat race. Only the individual warfare of the nineties revived the independent spirit of the French workers. Only then did they reorganise within the factories to demand control by themselves.

A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN

I hear many condemn these men because they were so few. When were the good and the brave ever in a majority? Would you have had him wait till that time came? till you and I came over to him? His company was small indeed, because few could be found worthy to pass muster... these alone were ready to step between the oppressor and the oppressed. Surely they were the very best men you could select to be hung. That was the greatest compliment this country could pay them. She has tried a long time, she has hung a good many, but never found the right one before.

DAVID THOREAU..on Brown's

"Angry Brigade" 100 years ago

ATTACHMENT OF WAGES

IT IS EXTRAORDINARY that the new proposals for attachment of wages for debt have gone through parliament and not a dog has barked in protest. They become law soon and they are in some ways almost as grave a danger as the Industrial Relations Bill.

It is contrary to any idea of trade unionism to use prison labour in competition with free. The man with an attachment order is in effect a prisoner (and, indeed, it is already suggested that large fines to be paid on attachment orders, could well substitute prison sentences).

The employer does not directly benefit except that he has a worker more or less unable to strike or to leave his job, and hungry for every minute of overtime. For his wage packet has shrunk to nothing before going to him.

It is rubbish to say that this helps alleviate imprisonment for debt. This has virtually disappeared except for certain types of debt which will remain exceptions anyway. One now goes to prison for refusal to pay when one has the means to do so and does not have the wit to deny it. As the enforcement of debts are difficult the "reform" is to help finance companies, not debtors, for the whole capitalist system rests on credit. As for those "washing machines and holidays in Majorca" they rest on three things: debt, overtime and wives working.

Yet the proposals can be fought at this late stage, for ultimately they depend on the wages clerks being prepared to handle court orders. They took PAYE in their stride, indeed it created a whole new industry. But COURT ENFORCEMENTS CAN BE BLACKED.

Footnote: Once again the old old British humbug... we have taken over a Scottish law into English law. Usually it is the other way. How does the principle work? When a Scottish law, as in this instance, is more repressive, it is a sign of "the extraordinary vigour of Scots law". When the Scots law (as in common law marriage) is more tolerant and progressive, it is "archaic".

THE MAUDLING PRIZE FOR IDIOT OF THE MONTH.

PAT CORMACK (Tory MP for Cannock) talking to the building trade employers lambasted both shop stewards and managers who gave in to them. The government was threatened by those "who claimed to be its loyal supporters" and "we are not going to let our industrial relations policy be abandoned because of the pantomime action of shop stewards and mindless militants.. we will not allow our determination to control inflation to be sabotaged by those who cannot see beyond tomorrow's jag and today's gin."

The gin was so plentiful that reporters were puzzled as

to whether it was the employers or the militants who could not see beyond the gin and the Jaguar. Mr. Cormack went on to a further mixed oration: "The captains of industry have not the guts to follow the action set by the government and slavishly give in to the bully-tactics of the more irresponsible union leaders, and recklessly connive at suicidal wages settlements." These, he said, were "pantomime antics".

Heaven knows what sort of pantomimes Mr. Cormack's mum took him to, but the antics couldn't have been suicidal or bullying, surely?

Capping it all, he said it was the only way to save free enterprise, and left his dazzled, ginsoaked hearers with the impression that if they did not take selfish heed of their enterprise and the shop floor militants stopped their enterprise, the government would be doing all right managing. A local Powellite hissed "Socialist!" and they thought he was drunk....

MAUDLING PRIZE as month's idiot to Mr. Cannock - this time a tattered I'M BACKING BRITAIN poster left over from the campaign two years ago. (A reader asks if we really send these valuable prizes. We do indeed. There is no cheating. Prizewinners might have the decency to acknowledge them, though).

CARTOONS.

The series in this issue done by CATALYST is reprinted from a broadsheet of the Glasgow Anarchists.

The cover for No. 4. Black Flag was from the German Black Cross..... the present cover is from the Italian.

FILM NEWS

In addition to those mentioned in our last issue, there is a projected film on Sabater, now attracting interesting as the most romantic character of the Spanish Resistance. It is to be made in Yugoslavia (not to be confused with an Italian film called 'Sabata' - about a bank robber too, we think, but no connection!)

There is also a German film director threatening to do a film on Marx and Bakunin. You had better be careful what diaries you leave around. If your ancestors get hold of them they may make a film of you too. Maybe in 50 years time we will all be glamorous?

FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY

Christie & Meltzer

21/-

Kahn & Averill
