

IS A CRIMINAL AN ELECTED OFFICIAL WHO GRANTS FAVORS, AT THE PEOPLE'S EXPENSE, IN RETURN FOR A SIZABLE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION? NO HE IS NOT A CRIMINAL, HE IS A PUBLIC SERVANT



IS A CRIMINAL A SOLDIER WHO TORTURES AND BUTCHERS CIVILIANS IN WAR, NO, HE IS NOT A CRIMINAL, HE IS A WAR HERO



IS A CRIMINAL AN INDUSTRIALIST WHO POURS TONS OF DISEASE BREEDING FILTH INTO THE ATMOSPHERE POLLUTING THE LUNGS OF EVERYONE FOR THE SHORT SIGHTED SAKE OF HIS MISERLY PROFIT? NO HE IS NOT A CRIMINAL, HE'S A PILAR OF SOCIETY



NO IF YOU ARE ANY OF THESE THINGS YOU ARE NOT A CRIMINAL, IF, HOWEVER, YOU CHOOSE TO "POLLUTE" YOUR OWN LUNGS WITH A HARMLESS WEED, THEN YOU ARE A CRIMINAL.

Shame! Shame! (Eds.)

BLACK FLAC

ORGAN OF THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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from "El Perfecto"

Subs: £1.50 for 12 issues. (The new postal rates are a bit of a blow but we can just about ride it if subs get paid up). America, Australia, New Zealand and other exotic parts: we can airmail subs for double the amount (£3 for 12).

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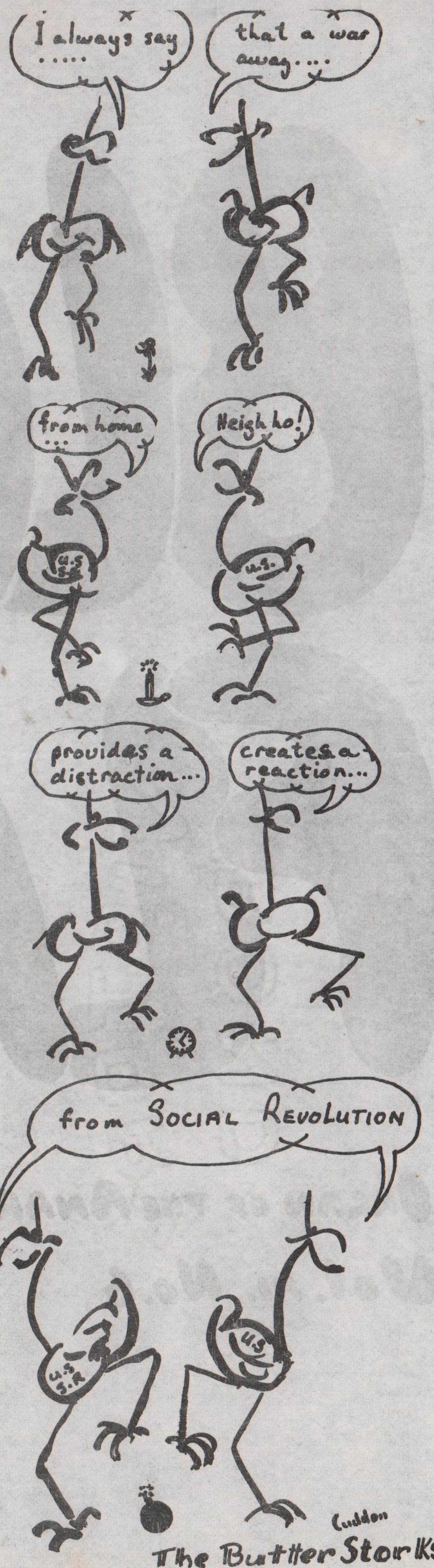
(Our old address - 10 Gilbert Place, WC1 - is no longer operative.)



ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. A reader writes: 'In a previous quiz you said James Connolly, though a member of the SLP and at any rate a supporter of syndicalism, tried to start a branch of the ILP in Belfast in the hope of overcoming 'religious differences'. How would this have helped?'
2. What would be the 'two parties in a socialist state' according to pioneer English socialist Robert Blatchford?
3. Who, in anarchist history, was 'Sugar Baby'?
4. In which part of the British Isles did the shop stewards movement begin in the First World War - and which industry had a comparable form of organisation even pre-dating the birth of official trade unionism?
5. One of the few brilliant historians the Trotskyist movement turned up was also a first-class cricketer - who?
6. The Empress Josephine must have wondered, during Napoleon's threatened invasion of England, if one of her children would come to the British throne. But for which revolution would a descendant of hers become King?

answers on page 15



Pacifism and Anarchism

Pacifism is a revolutionary creed when it comes into conflict with the State especially in regard to the refusal of military service and opposition to conscription. That is why, in time of war, it is ranked as an arch-heresy alongside bolshevism and anarchy, and pacifists are asked, contemptuously, by judges what they would do if someone tried to rape their sister.

In time of peace, however, the same judges profess pacifism and denounce violence. What of course bourgeois society objects to in time of peace is not 'violence' but illegal violence; it supports war because this is legal violence.

Pacifism, as a creed, is the idealisation of non-violence as a cult in itself. It takes no class position and most pacifists would try to deny the existence of the class struggle. Thus, if logical, they should denounce both the legal violence of the State and the 'illegal violence' of resistance to the State. But in practice, most bourgeois pacifists go over to support of the State in wartime (if only from a non-combatant point of view, as do the Quakers) and are susceptible to patriotic notions, or alternatively, have qualms at being accused of merely evading service, and therefore choose forms of civilian service which put them in a position not more favoured than those who engage in the imperialist war. This is accepted as 'conscience'.

Because of its idealisation of a negative, pacifism can never become a serious movement in its own right: to justify itself, it turns to liberalism. The peace movement of the post-war period is essentially a movement of militant liberals and combines package-deal 'good causes' in an essentially liberal parcel. Liberalism is the method of achieving the most freedom possible within a state and therefore has some affinity with anarchism, which has proved to be a major embarrassment and confusion to the latter, as many pacifists have come to think they are anarchists. But their 'anarchism' has remained militant liberalism. It is a combination of this pseudo-anarchism with its opposite, fascism, that forms the basis of the hippy-beatnik-opout-alternative society philosophy, its nature in some ways genuinely libertarian and in others as highly conformist as the society to which it does not conform, is an interesting melange, but has nothing in common with anarchism. Gradually as the alternative society gets older, its leaders seek ways of integrating into capitalist society (the attempt to get seats on councils is symptomatic). Already it offers an alternative, but none the less capitalist and authoritarian, for the well-to-do hippy.

The infiltration of pacifism into revolutionary movements represents less of a danger to Marxism, insulated by its party structure, than to Anarchism, which has not yet learned to guard against the imposition of ideas upon it by self-appointed 'spokesmen' relying on reputations gained in other fields and having no contact with the movement proper. While it is obviously possible for an anarchist to be a pacifist, nevertheless in any revolutionary movement pacifism could only be a minority. There could be a 'non-combatant corps' in a revolutionary militia no less than in the British Army, but obviously there could not possibly be a non-pacifist minority in a pacifist movement - in Gandhi's satyagrahi, for instance, the idea of a few who resisted lathi charges would be unthinkable. Pacifism being authoritarian, all, or no one, must conform to 'non-violence'.

Because of this profession of 'non-violence' as a cult in itself, a danger lies for the anarchist movement even beyond

the dangers of pacifist control being imposed. This lies in the invention of 'non-violent anarchism' - such as 'Peace News' now claims to represent and 'Freedom' has succumbed. 'Non-violent anarchism' is not a variant of anarchism: it is an attack upon it. If one described oneself as a 'non-fascist pacifist' one would not be a variant of pacifism though one might well be sincerely both non-fascist and pacifist - one would be implicitly, and sooner or later directly, attacking the pacifist movement by the suggestion that it must be fascist.

There is no such thing as a 'violent' anarchist movement. Anarchism does not make a profession of violence. For militant liberalism to masquerade as 'non-violent' form of anarchism is not merely to blur over the defects of liberalism but to impute false ends to anarchism. For liberals to pretend to be anarchists at all is to help confuse matters. Ultimately it makes no difference to either: but this is the sort of reason why partisan labels proliferate in socialism and - sadly - may have to grow in anarchism too.

It causes repression!

One theory going the round of the Left is the hoary old myth that you shouldn't do anything to upset the police or it will cause repression. That this theory appeals to the quietists and bourgeois pacifists who masquerade as anarchists we understand - their speciality is to know nothing of anarchism. What surprises us is that this social-democratic legend should also find currency in Marxist circles, where at any rate they do their homework.

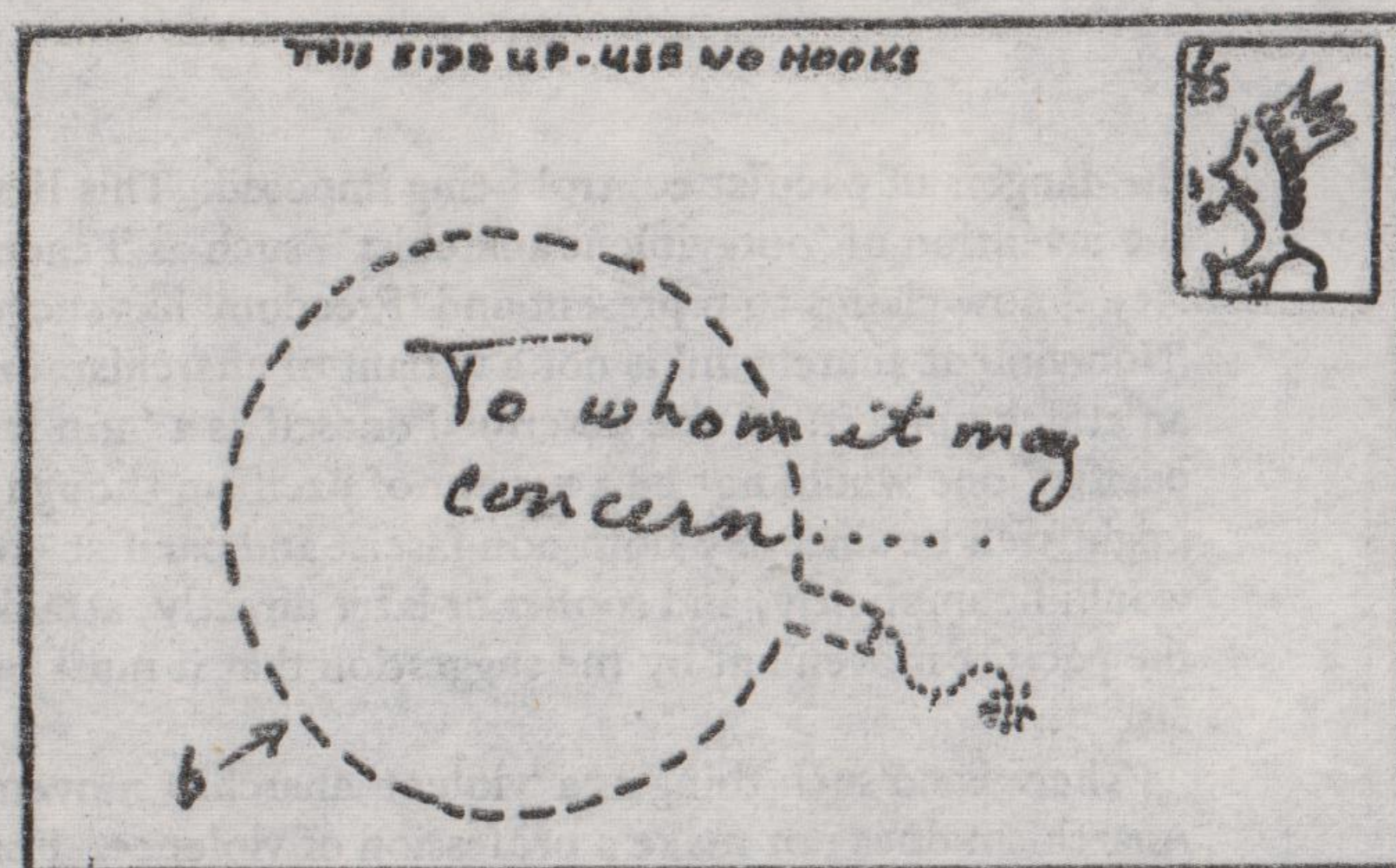
The police are a necessary arm of government. Repression is inbuilt into statist society. A capitalist society must have police and repression in order to preserve property relationships and exploitation. If you use extreme methods of opposing capitalism and the State they will use repression. But if you do not use those methods they will also use it.

The State and capitalism will not go away by people pretending they are not there.

There was going around the pubs some time ago a sick joke about two Jews going to the gas chamber - one hit the guard and called him a pig, and the other said anxiously, 'Hymie, what's the matter - don't cause trouble.' It was neither specifically Jewish nor really funny. It was perfectly illustrative of two different attitudes to repression. You can pick up the Left papers this weekend and see them spelled out. But chiefly the second one.

'.....Paternal power, in every law-abiding country, brings about a kind of children's slavery, more stringent, because it is domestic, and more oppressive than any law, and which - however much it may be tempered by law or custom or the quality of individuals - can never fail to produce a most damaging effect: a sentimental bond, which a man, so long as his father is alive, carries about with him perpetually I mean a feeling of subjection and dependence, and of not being his own master, indeed of not being, so to speak, even a whole person, but only a part and member of someone else, with even a name that belongs to another man rather than to himself. This feeling, which affects most deeply those who would naturally be the most talented, since they are the quickest, the most sensitive, and the most alive to the truth about their own condition, can hardly be combined, I will not say with great deeds, but even with any plans of greatness.'

- Giacomo Leopardi -



a- Letter. b- Bomb

THE LETTER BOMBS

The political ambitions of Commander (beg his pardon, Commissioner) Bond are not far to see behind the masquerade of being 'just an ordinary copper'. Invariably when he comes on radio or TV he says exactly what he knows the local Conservative Association want him to say. When the letter bombs had been going on for some weeks, he announced that anarchists had been raided, that anarchists had been questioned, and the press followed this up with other reports of 'questioning' people who 'had been in court when the Angry Brigade were tried.'

To the best of our knowledge, all this was a complete lie. We contacted every anarchist group and individual we could. Not one single one, then or weeks later, had been questioned or raided in regard to the letter bombing and subsequent (presumably Irish nationalist) bombing campaign.

Following the boasted 'information' given by Gerry Lawless and his interview in the 'Daily Mail', we understand that members of his own group, International Marxists, were raided. But Lawless gave press information before, of which we have more personal knowledge, that proved false.

The reports in the press, however, which dealt with the anarchists were truly amazing. It was suggested at one time that they were not responsible but had 'possibly' shown the IRA where to place their bombs! (Scene: Ur-Irishman, with straws in hair and smoking briar pipe, coat buttoned on backwards: 'Where am oi going to put me bombs, then?'. Anarchist: 'How about in front of a shop in Hampstead?' Irishman: 'Bejasus, oi never thought of that.')

How were Special Branch going to question anarchists anyway? ('As you believe in stateless and godless socialism I presume you must be in sympathy with nationalistic Roman Catholicism. Did you send these letter bombs? Actually, no.')

It is noticeable that TV and radio personality Ernest Bond who runs the Bomb Squad in his spare time - says, after weeks of associating 'anarchists' with the IRA - that he has an 'open mind' on the subject of the letter-bombers. And an empty one. He never attacks authoritarian movements, only libertarian ones. The ploy of knowing people's political views but not their identity is an old one. But a starting guess at people involved, apparently, in IRA activities might be that they were Catholics. Bond would never dream of using such a word (nor socialist, nor communists, let alone Protestants or Conservative Unionists). We understand they are not Catholic Anarchists! But he cannot forego his 'anarchist link' - because that is what his audience wants to hear.

Northcliffe, great liar, thou shouldst be living at this hour. Fleet Street hath need of thee.

We need French, Italian, Spanish and German translators desperately. Would anyone interested please contact us as soon as possible.

A Fraudulent Collection....

The 'Militant' - paper of the Labour Party Young Socialists and organ of the somewhat ageing Trotskyist youth inside the Labour Party - is carrying out a deliberate fraud upon the British workers.

In its issue of 31st August we find an article headed 'Spanish UGT Conference'. It is well understood that the Trots wish to revive the reformist Spanish trade union, the UGT (which entered the government of the dictatorship under Primo de Rivera in order to get the majority trade union, the CNT, made illegal - but did not exactly endear itself to the workers any more than would a union which did the same thing here today in regard to the Industrial Relations Court).

Their policy is to ENTER the reformist labour movement - and if one does not exist, then it must be built; whereas a revolutionary trade union must be destroyed, as a danger to a 'workers' dictatorship.

This accords with acceptable Marxist-Leninist principles. What is a gross fraud is to pretend that the UGT still exists in Spain, and to collect money from British trade unionists for it. The 'LPYS Spanish Campaign' is raising money for 'strike funds for the Spanish working class' on behalf of a non-existent union.

Time the Labour Party/TU woke up? But the CP-backed Comisiones Obreras (a real organisation, in alliance with the semi-legal Christian Democrats, which is trying to permeate the fascist syndicates) is also getting backing from British Labour which will back anything bar the organisations which have long since been proved and trusted by the Spanish workers.

'Money and promises of future action' were (says the Militant) promised to the (entirely phoney) conference at Toulouse. It 'Paid particular attention to the emergence of the asambleas during the recent strikes'. What are 'asambleas' and why could not the word be translated? The word means meetings. Every fool knows that meetings cannot be held in Franco's Spain. But the holding of 'asambleas' sounds convincing! These asambleas served as a platform for the workers' organisations (and were even attended in many cases by housewives, students and small businessmen) and enabled the workers to achieve unity at the factory level - a united front of the Spanish working class against their bosses.' Sheer fantasy, of course. Where were they held? In the factory? With 'small businessmen and students' turning up? In rented halls? Or in some trot student's imagination?

Later it is said the 'asambleas' as well as 'comites de fabrica' are 'not only instruments of daily struggle in the factories but also a means of achieving genuine unity of all workers.' Only someone who has never worked in a factory can envisage the workers holding some meetings at which local housewives, students and businessmen turn up, and others ('factory committees') at which, presumably, only the workers on the job are present - both negotiating! And this is supposed to happen in a police state like Spain where meetings are illegal. If the young Trots in the Labour Party want to believe it, that is their affair. If they intend collecting funds on these deliberate lies, an explanation at branch level must be demanded.

— London Committee of the FOI (Workers Federation of Iberia)

TRADE UNIONS?

The great syndicalist demand that swept British industry before the first World War and proved a battling point until the great reversal of the General Strike was to industrialise the unions. Unless the narrow craft unions could rid themselves of the privileges and prejudices that kept them out of the mainstream of the struggle not only could then never be used by the working class to gain control of industry, they would not be able to keep their own up in modern society.

During the twenties and the thirties this realisation hit the trade union movement with major force. The CIO in America, using the slogans of the old IWW, began the drive for industrial unionism, and in Great Britain, equally reactionary unions began to streamline themselves to keep their own up in modern society. The possibility that the union structure could be used by the workers to gain control of society was as far off as ever, because the old bureaucracy was still in control, or - where it was infiltrated by old militants becoming new bureaucrats - its principles remained intact. Craft unionism had only been for them a means to an end - the control of reformist unions. The prospect of bigger and better industrial unions - provided they were not done out of their jobs in the process - equally attracted them.

The fact that a majority of militants in these countries embraced the Marxist philosophy in one form or another helped reaction, because Marxism had never assigned trade unionism a place in the transformation of society. It always subordinated the workers to the party and could not see how a movement, aimed at improving the lot of the workers under capitalism, though incorporating almost all those at the actual places of work, could be a means of taking over the places of work in question. That, for Marxists, was a political question and something for the party, however much it might use the trade union movement as its main recruiting ground, for 'cadres' and for followers, and even as its battleground.

Today the majority of the trade union movement is geared to meet the challenge of present-day society, for the simple 'Darwinian' reason that those who failed to do so in the forties and fifties fell to the ground. But the trade union movement is farther away than ever from the position where it could be the instrument of change in society, as was envisaged by the French trade unions when they were formed, as was the hope and aim of the early Syndicalists here.

Not only has there been an imposed and seemingly immovable bureaucracy which cannot be divorced from the trade union organisation, but that organisation accepts as part and parcel of its role the idea - put forward only in slightly different tones by Fabianism and by classical Fascism - that it should try to be part of a State mosaic in which both labour and capital are intertwined. The most optimistic who talk of workers control in terms of trade unionism today only think of it as in what degree trade union control impinges upon management; for them the class struggle has degenerated into the amount of encroachment upon the privileges of one favoured caste by another.

This is not our idea of class struggle. It is not our idea of what union organisation should be about. Nor do we see any reason why revolutionaries should pretend an interest in the trade union movement which they do not genuinely feel. It is a point at which Anarchists must clash with Marxists for the former assign a role to organisation at the place of work in taking over the places of work. If these are not taken over and the basis of economic life altered, there is no change in property relationship and the system of exploitation continues. The centralised, vertically-controlled unions cannot be of any

use in such a revolution, and in fact they are its first line of opposition. In many trades they stand already as the first line of exploitation where some of the pseudo-control systems, such as that of sub-contractorship, mean that the workers' first contact with his exploiter comes through the hiring agency of the union.

The Marxist is always eager to discount any possibility of a revolutionary union. If a revolutionary union has only a temporary setback, he sees a case for its total abolition. Either it is a minority and therefore an undesirable 'sectarian' split - or if the reformist union is a minority and a split, then the Marxist seizes on any obvious faults in the more revolutionary union to say it should be abolished completely since it does not display the cohesiveness of the political party.

We see no role for the political party in a revolution except the subordination of the workers to itself. There must be organisation at the places of work, but the structure of the reformist trade unions, however purged they may become of their present leadership, will never now be able to play a role in taking over society. Their role in combating capitalism becomes daily less convincing. It is time to assert a new, revolutionary unionism.

In many trades, such as building and catering, the trade union depends upon the militants to keep it going, not they on it. Without them it does not exist, and there is no reason why it should be built up as one more burden.

In others, it exists as part of management or as part of a management-trade union game played according to known rules. Any form of militant organisation is as much against the trade union as it is against the management, if not one time, then another.

The growing awareness of working class ability to occupy the factories and run them when capital wants to walk out needs something more permanent than the ad hoc works committee and less permanent than the trade union bureaucracy. It no longer needs vast numbers to create a viable union organisation. It was once said that 'where five of a trade meet for any reason, even purely social, it ends as a conspiracy against the public' five of a trade may become a 'conspiracy' not against the public but against the exploiter. In every strike the workers look round for a works committee the militants look around for each other ... If they met even socially to know each other, they would have a viable works committee in every dispute. A group of only five militants would have a tremendous influence in every place of work. The trade union representation would soon have none at all. As it is, its influence is more often than not *against*; and only for political reasons is it ever *for*.

The difference between guiding a dispute and making a revolution would soon be plain: it would be a difference of numbers - the difference between *five* on a committee and *all*. Between going out - and staying in and producing.

It is to this form of industrial organisation we look when we talk of revolutionary unionism. So far as this country is concerned, the Labour Party has succeeded in making the official trade union movement an enemy of social change. It must be swept into the dustbin of history.

We see a relevance in keeping union cards to work in the basic industries. To struggle in them for better conditions - or even continued work - ever more, to expropriate them socially - does not need the trade unions. It needs PEOPLE.

Some funny things happen in Russia, whose geriatric dictatorship and highly modern method of consigning political dissidents to psychiatric wards is the envy of the West. Somebody hurtled some dynamite at the mummified relics of the philosopher-god Lenin. All accounts will have it that the man who threw the explosive was mad (how about the man who planned the monument?) But there was one remark that put us on our guard one lady public relations officer for the Soviets was explaining to the journalists later, 'It was not a political act. The poor man was mad. It would seem from what he was shouting that he was against all governments.'

ABC? IBC? BLACK HELP? RED HELP? HELP!?

Confusion seems to exist in some quarters between the Anarchist Black Cross, the Black Help, the Red Help and the International Black Cross. A letter in 'Freedom' suggests the latter is merely a misprint for the first-named.

The ABC was formed with the idea of giving aid to anarchist prisoners all over the world. It was a revival of an older organisation (originally the Anarchist Red Cross, re-titled during the Russian Revolution to avoid confusion with the Red Cross, which was operating there). Its professed object is to act as a springboard to revolutionary action. There are independent affiliates of the Anarchist Black Cross in many countries, including Italy, Germany, USA, Australia, Canada (the latest).

In Germany, the Red Help has similar aims to the ABC: that is, to help all political prisoners, and all other prisoners too as possible. It is an organisation of the 'libertarian Marxist', 'anarcho-Marxist' etc. as well as Anarchists. In some towns where Marxists predominate it is called the Red Help, in others libertarians have called it the Black Help. The Anarchist Black Cross exists in friendly relations with such groups.

The Red Help in France has nothing whatever to do with us. It is a normal Communist Party organisation. The International Black Cross exists to co-ordinate efforts between various similar organisations, including the ABC, and unlike the ABC, has no other motivation.

...BEGGARMAN, THIEF!

Consider the following character: He goes round trying to pick up information about people who help fugitives from dictatorship and political prisoners, and wants to know what about him.

He's claimed at various times to be on the run from Greece, Ireland, Germany, France ... to be Swedish, Dutch, Irish or whatever. He managed to con the Danish comrades who gave freely out of what little they had ... he conned the Dutch comrades. He quotes from anarchists who have sent him, but always people whom they're not likely to know, but about whom plenty of information is available in the public prints. He had a bit of success in Germany, less in France and none whatever, to our knowledge, in London - he was a bit hung up there because his story came unstuck at the beginning.

What is he? He wants his fare to some other country; he wants information. The German comrades suspected him of being a police spy, the Dutch came to the conclusion he was only after cash, others thought he just liked going round the anarchists. He dyes his hair (to suit his nationality) but is too paranoid to be an agent. Probably he is a student writing a thesis, or a free-lance journalist writing an epic on 'How I Fooled the Anarchists'. But for this

INTERNAL BULLETIN

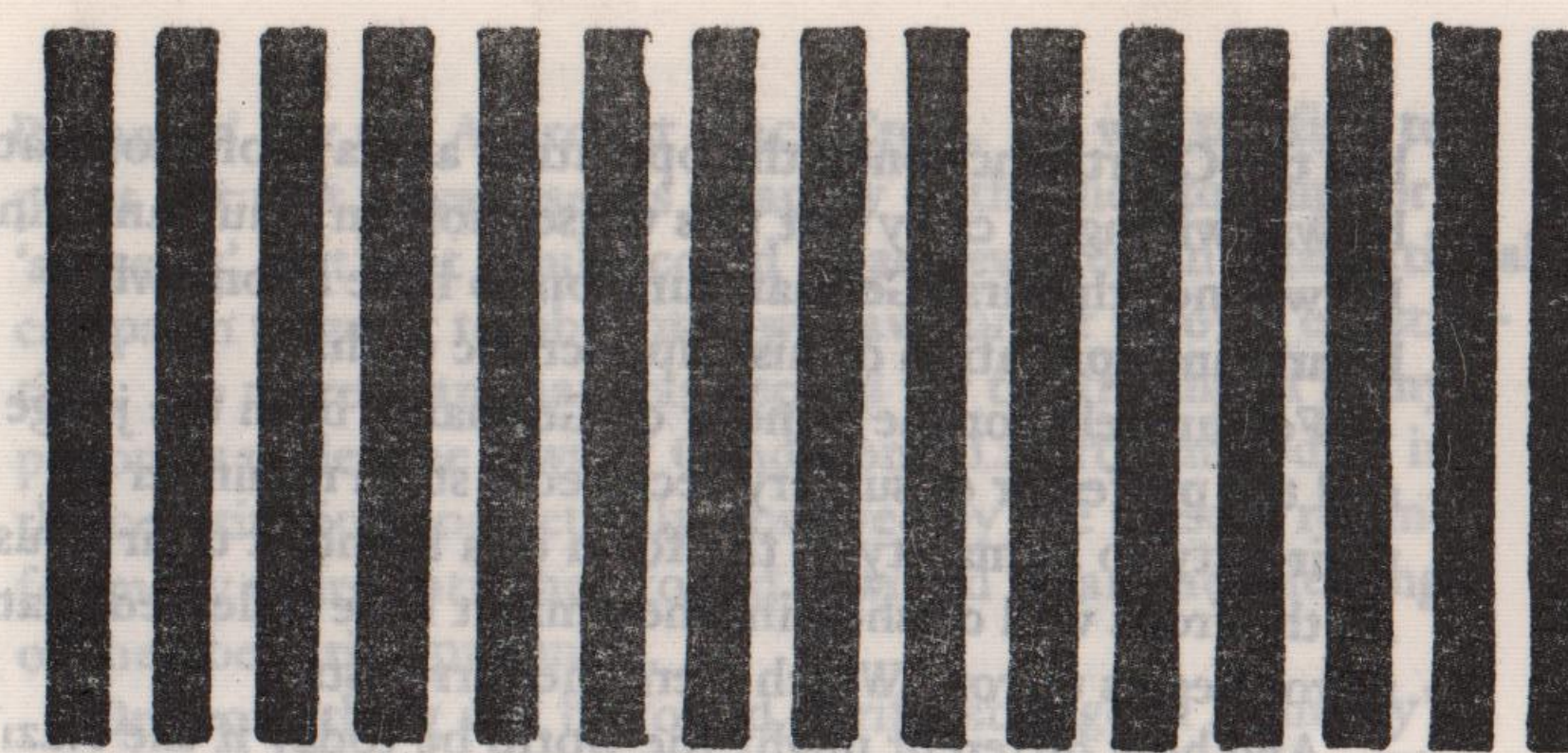
We raised the print order for the last issue to 1,200. It seems to have gone fairly well, though we still await replies. Sorry it was a bit late and we telescoped two issues into one (better than 'fill' though).

Comrades of the Black Flag Bookshop in Leicester (1 Wilne Street) write suggesting an AFB Conference in Leicester at the end of November. 'Much vituperative talent', they write, has been expounded in 'Freedom' suggesting that the AFB is dead. But it existed as an annual conference in order to unite groups (or disunite them when appropriate).

Sorry about a misprint in our last 'Bulletin': we meant to say of 'Freedom' that 'if it has a role to play as the internal bulletin, it now seems that it should aspire to possess a less sectarian and more involved editorship'. The words 'that it should aspire' got omitted in the manuscript, thus altering the meaning.

We also said it had 'disavowed' Nicolas Walter. In 'Time Out' he said the troubles of Freedom were due to the appalling quality of their articles - his own having lost them a large proportion of their sales - a few remaining supporters of Freedom rallied round in two letters, summed up by the plea 'With friends like this who needs enemies?' He writes to ask where we got the idea they disavowed him. He has a point in that, despite this, he has resumed as their principal contributor with his old editorial privilege (though he denies being an editor) of answering critical letters in footnotes. But the main point - has the breach between anarchists and the Freedom press group gone too far - seems confirmed. In a lengthy editorial which at the time might have been excused by their complete ignorance of the international anarchist movement, it suggested that Pinelli and Valpreda were guilty, that Pinelli 'might have' fallen from a window, that Valpreda's release was 'on technical grounds' and that the Milan massacre was in no way conducive to the cause of anarchy - which clearly suggests anarchist were guilty, since it is no way surprising if perpetrated by fascists or secret police. They now feel constrained to deny they attacked British anarchists and revolutionaries when on trial but this clearly does not extend to Italians.

The purpose now of Freedom seems obscure. ORA put out 'Libertarian Struggle' and ASA put out 'Black and Red Outlook'. One might have points of difference; we do indeed have some, especially with the former, but these are useful papers which can be sold without embarrassment or apology or denial that one thinks the people are anarchists. The purpose of 'Freedom' is not to advance anarchism which it seldom mentions, it is not to build up an organisation which it discourages but a publishing house; its main aims seem to be to attack anarchists, and to glorify the cult of non-violence (better done by 'Peace News' which calls itself 'non violent anarchist'). We do not regard it as a rival. We do not regard it any longer as anarchist. There is a precedent in the USA: the Jewish-language 'Freie Arbeiter Stimme', built up as an anarchist paper, became a 'libertarian' paper without point or purpose, publishing 'libertarian' books and pamphlets occasionally but becoming increasingly Trade Union/Reformist if anything; 'Freedom' is not even becoming that. Its two-part constitution of 1939 has been grossly flouted, and, if it is to continue, should be invoked.



U.S.A.

Martin Sostre: son of Black and Puerto Rican parents, was sentenced in 1952 to six to 12 years jail for narcotics possession. In jail, he joined the Muslims and began a long legal battle against the State. On his release he became a steel-worker, financing the Afro-Asian Bookstore from his earnings. It specialised in Marxist, Socialist and Black Power writings, and became a centre for neighbourhood youth. Raided time and again by the FBI, during the 1967 riots Martin gave shelter to the black rebel youth. As a result, he was raided and drugs were planted. Charges of arson and rioting were dropped in favour of this easy-to-allege accusation. He was sentenced to 30-41 years in jail. Since his imprisonment in 1968 Sostre has resisted authority in every way imaginable, fighting against degrading and dehumanizing practices.

Asked by the Chicago Black Cross for some comments on anarchism, he sent them the following.

Although I've been an anarchist by nature all my life, the full impact of this fact and how beautifully fulfilling anarchism is didn't hit my consciousness till the long hot summer of 1967. Long before I objectivized in Buffalo the latent revolutionary anarchism within me, I had empathised with the anarchist comrades who had taken care of much revolutionary business in the various cities throughout the United States. Every night comrades in Buffalo who felt as I did gathered at my bookstore to enthusiastically discuss what we saw on TV and the news we read and heard about the revolutionary acts spreading from city to city. It was only a matter of time before what was in our consciousness would burst forth into objective reality.

Spontaneously we became a tight-knit group sharing common views, aims, objectives, and yearning to effectuate what our more advanced comrades had already accomplished in the various cities. Automatically our discussions evolved to preparation and getting the wherewithall together. The final step of objectivized deed followed inevitably: we took care of very heavy revolutionary business. Buffalo joined the ranks of the scores of hot cities in that long hot summer of 1967.

Did our group have a leader and a party line? Hell no! Had we been in that strait-jacket bag we would never have done anything. Our acts, like those which occurred throughout the country in 1967-68, were the result of spontaneous anarchism and not party lineism. Indeed, it's a well established fact that all party line groups (who were caught unaware and were frightened by the sudden upsurge of anarchism) opposed the anarchist actions of 1967-68. Even the Black Panthers in various cities were patrolling the ghettos trying to get our comrades to 'cool it'. Many other party line black nationalist and Marxist groups were employed by the ruling class to repress the anarchist street sisters and brothers. Other party line groups denounced us in their papers. Some black and white party line groups stood on the sidelines and seized upon our acts to bolster their worn out and discredited party line. These parasites, who themselves initiate nothing and must therefore tail opportunistically each spontaneous anarchistic act of the people, are the lowest of all party liners. They'll shout

revolutionary slogans and parade with huge banners invoking the name and image of a fallen revolutionary, as if he or she was one of their own, to co-opt the prisoner's deeds and the people's support evoked by such deeds. The funds contributed to the cause of the prisoner are ripped off and employed to further the reformist party line - the opposite purpose for which the funds were contributed.

Those whose political consciousness is raised by the anarchist's deeds and are thus inspired to join the opportunistic party line organisation - deceived by the revolutionary slogans, the prisoner's image on the banners and the rhetoric in the party newspaper and leaflets - are quickly de-anarchized, strait-jacketed with the party line and perverted into mindless robots programmed to obey unquestioning every directive issued by the super-ideologue party leader. But even robots eventually become nauseous by the unchanging daily fare of the same Marxist-Leninist clichés fed them. Before long they wake up to the fact that they're being used in a political con game. This explains why there are now more ex-party members than the entire membership of all party line groups.

Many rank and file members of party line organisations would voluntarily perform spontaneous revolutionary deeds when the situation warrants it, were their natural internal impulse to act individually and collectively not curbed by the passive and opportunistic party line of their all-knowing party leaders. This frustrating of the people's natural tendency to rebel against the injustices of oppression affects the immense dissatisfaction which is manifest everywhere today. Only when the people's revolutionary spirit is liberated from the strictures of the party line strait jacket and restored to its natural free state will the real revolution occur.

In sum, revolutionary anarchism - as opposed to the strait jacketism of cliché-orientated party line groups - is the explicit and dynamic personal code of conscience which I follow even in prison. It is a code based on deed, and not rhetoric; on freedom of initiating spontaneous individual and collective action against oppression without having to wait for orders from above to tell you the opposite of what you know should be done right now. This personal code of conduct is now spreading among our brothers and sisters and is more feared by this oppressive capitalist system than all other ideologies combined because no defense exists against it. This lack of defense against the people's natural internal impulse to resist oppression makes inevitable the overthrow of this oppressive capitalist system and its replacement by a society based on complete spiritual and individual freedom.

9th of July

Cell 37

Solitary Confinement Unit 14

Clinton Prison

Dannemora, New York

Karl Armstrong is accused of bombing Army Math Research Centre (the Army think tank) about three years ago. There was no premeditation to kill but in fact someone was killed in the blast. Karl left for Canada, from which for political acts the law did not allow for extradition, but he was sent back to the USA nevertheless. He has also been charged with arson in connection with other military headquarters which have been firebombed, and mentioned in regard to the aerial bombing of the Baraboo Munitions Plant some years ago.

AMRC was bombed early in the morning, after a phone warning, and the death it caused was purely accidental, states a letter from Madison (Wis.) to the Chicago Black Cross, in contrast to the sophisticated systems of death coming out of the Centre. Karl has now been in prison for eighteen months, mostly in solitary, awaiting trial on a charge of murder and four arson charges each carrying 15 years.

Defence Committee: 1127 University Avenue, Madison, Wis. 53706, USA.

Pat Murfin, Chicago Anarchist and a former General Secretary of the IWW, has been doing six months in Sandstone jail, Minnesota, for refusing the call-up. The Black Cross held a drinking party to celebrate his return to life, at a beer garden near the bookshop. Two anarchist ladies who perform at a local coffee house brought a guitar and the mob sang wobbly and anarchist songs. 'As we were leaving an old gentleman came up and congratulated us on our songs, which mention Emma Goldman, Malatesta, Durruti, Bart Vanzetti, etc. and said, 'you people are all too young to remember those names, you all must read a lot.'

Robert (Ed) Stover - in San Quentin Prison in California, has had an appeal turned down. The parole board also turned him down for another year, leaving him set at life. Comments Ed: 'I suppose San Quentin needs its resident anarchist or two to keep its awesome reputation up'.

Ed has not been receiving any literature from outside but reports having heard from round the world thanks to our publicity.

Drop him a line or postcard of solidarity. Robert Stover, B-38341; San Quentin Prison, Tamal, Ca 94964 USA.

Germany

COLOGNE: The charge against the 'Schwarzkreuz' (Black Cross) has been withdrawn against most of the comrades concerned because of delay in bringing the action. Part of the allegation concerned a cartoon showing a pig dressed in the German national colours, and with a swastika. Had the charge alleged desecration of the national colours, all the liberals would have rallied, so that State thought to bring the absurd charge of 'displaying the swastika', which is illegal. But when it was found that amongst the comrades charged was Willi Huppertz, an old veteran of the Ruhr workers' councils, an anarcho syndicalist who had spent time in the concentration camps, while the prosecuting lawyers were tinged with a Nazi past, it was felt that the charge might not stand (especially combined with the other one of 'inciting hatred against a minority').

So the charge was allowed to lapse until it could not be brought. It carried the possibility of eight years imprisonment. One of those charged, however, was a minor at the time (then 17). His parents had to be notified, which meant that legal action had been taken within the time limit. He alone, therefore, because of this 'safeguard for minors', faces trial still.

WHO ARE THE TERRORISTS?

Ulrike Meinhof, captured in Hanover eighteen months ago and held without any prospect of trial coming near, is looking, like others in her group, like someone out of Belsen. The Bonn government is still not satisfied. Seeking an excuse not to bring her to trial, they allege that a brain tumour has probably made her insane. There are, of course, ways of determining insanity other than brain surgery. But a judge ordered brain surgery - on a woman who has been convicted of nothing - and to carry this out compulsorily would mean forcible blacking-out of the patient. An operation carried out might mean that she was made insane, since the natural forces of resistance would be dormant.

This inhuman and bestial treatment received the approval of the highest court, the Federal Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe. Portests were made by comrades all over Germany,

but the Court sanctioned the operation and a professor stated he was willing to carry out this vivisection on a human being. He was not the first German surgeon to have a somewhat bizarre interpretation of his Hippocratic oath.

Fortunately for the honour of Germany, both the judge and the professor of surgery received a stern reminder of their duty to humanity in the form of a bomb at their house. As the front wall crashed in, they might have reflected that terror begets terror. Which were the terrorists?

And how different might the world be today if the Nazi terror had been abated by personal responsibility for their actions. That, incidentally, was said at the Nuremberg Tribunal ... and the German people were condemned for doing nothing. Now Establishment based opinion of the world will condemn those who did something.

Spain

The well-known Spanish doctor Dr Sopena Ibanez has been arrested in Madrid recently, and prosecuted under an accusation of 'illegal propaganda'. In what did his offence consist?

Dr Sopena was, until the moment of his arrest, deputy director of the medical side of the Madrid Penitentiary Hospital in Carabanchel, which has a high percentage of political prisoners.

After the incidents of the first of May, there were hundreds of arrests. It will be remembered that an inspector infiltrated the demonstrators, dressed as a hippy, and was beaten up by students who noticed that he was signalling to the police. During the attack on the inspector, he brought out a gun, and he was knifed in the struggle and died. As a result, there was tremendous repression by the police. Hundreds were arrested, 200 of whom were detained and horribly tortured.

The torture was taken to such extremes that many people had to be sent to the penitentiary hospital, where one subsequently died. Dr Sopena dissociated himself from this inhuman massacre. He wrote a leaflet which he duplicated in the hospital, to distribute to his colleagues in the Colegio de Medicos (equivalent of the BMA). The police were informed and he was arrested and detained.

Dr Sopena is one of the most well known gynaecologists in Madrid with a private practice of top people, including the wives of Ministers. His arrest has caused a sensation, though it has not appeared in any newspaper either in Spain or abroad (until now). He has been released on bail, awaiting trial - though it may be that it will be convenient for the authorities to forget the matter.

Dr Sopena is regarded as a fairly middle-of-the-road man politically. The fact that he went so far as to state publicly his disapproval of the tortures is a strong reflection on the criminal behaviour of the Spanish police.

The prison hospital is in the same block as the prison. It was formerly in a very old building surrounded by plastic factories which gave a dreadful smell. It was known to prisoners as 'La Jaula de los Experimentos' - the cage of experiments - because the prisoners were treated as guinea-pigs. The old medical director was Dr Pineiro, a mediocre surgeon. It would be surprising if he ever made a gesture of protest similar to that made by Dr Sopena. His incapacity was such that many prisoners believed they were being used as guinea pigs.

The report by Amnesty International on Political Prisoners in Spain is well documented. Most of the material will be familiar to our readers as it was collected by Miguel Garcia and published in Facts of Spanish Resistance No 1, and 'Spanish Political

Prisoners' for the Anarchist Black Cross. He was the first to point out that it was useless to apply to the dictatorship for 'amnesty', but that results could be achieved by an international campaign to get it to obey its own laws under its own constitution. No more than that was needed for the freeing of many prisoners under the laws of Conditional Liberty embodied in the constitution and actually observed by the present regime for many years until they found it would mean the releasing of the libertarian prisoners.

Only one thing will be found a trifle strange in Amnesty's report; the names of the prisoners. All are Communists. The text admits that there are prisoners of all shades including 'libertarians', but of the actual names mentioned, it is curious that not one is outside the Party register. The names of the libertarians could have been obtained from the same source that the material of the text was obtained.

The material of the Black Cross was supplemented by a report on Spanish prisons, smuggled out of prison by Miguel Garcia, and signed by all the political prisoners, including the Communists. When Miguel made his tour of Europe, in every country (Britain, Belgium, Italy), Communists outside Spain denounced the idea of demanding 'conditional liberty' which merely meant that the regime should obey the law of the country's constitution. The demand for amnesty was, they said, 'more relevant'. Yet as he said, the Spanish dictatorship would never agree to an amnesty (which would mean the rehabilitation of the prison to his former status, and the payment of compensation and restitution of whatever was confiscated from him). They might give some pardons as an act of propaganda, but what was important was to utilise public opinion to persuade the dictatorship to *obey its own laws*. The propaganda gesture of pardons would be lost if the dictatorship could be shown to be acting illegally in not applying conditional liberty.

These laws have been applied for many years even by Franco, until it was found they would greatly benefit the political prisoners. (One comrade, now serving 72 years, would be released if the law was applied.)

This attitude has now been accepted by Amnesty International. It has evidently been accepted too by the Communists within the Spanish section, for one can hardly suppose that it was anyone else who 'omitted' to mention the names of the non-CP prisoners.

The Anarchist Black Cross has just been paid the finest compliment yet ... by the Spanish General Directorate of Prisons. Because of the solidarity we have managed to get through to the Libertarian prisoners (Anarchists, CNT and others) all have been switched round. The whole libertarian prison population has played a giant musical-chairs in order that aid cannot be received by them and letters returned 'gone away'.

It is apparently not possible for the directorate to prevent aid being sent into prisons by relatives, because for years the jails were so full of people and so scarce of supplies, that parcels became a tradition and without them there would have been mass deaths by starvation. Now such aid has been blocked except by bona fide relatives knowing the new address.

Though this temporarily blocks aid, it is welcomed by prisoners. Those who read Garcia's 'Franco's Prisoner' will know that they welcome a change round and even go so far as to 'buy crimes' to which they 'confess' to be moved. Moreover, they are still fighting the regime and welcome any embarrassment caused to it, and appreciate the fact that they are regarded as Public Enemies No 1 of the fascist State.

We will still, however, be able to send aid to prisoners by contacting their families to send it in. Anyone wishing to help should contact us for fresh addresses. It needs only one relative to bring in aid from outside to one anarchist prisoner, for it to be shared among the whole prison 'commune'.

U.K.

DEATH BY STARVATION

Following a letter in *Time Out* our comrade Jeremy Westall reports having had a number of letters regarding Hilary Creek's condition. Following her sentence of ten years at the Old Bailey for her association with the Stoke Newington group, she has been suffering from Anorexia Nervosa. One letter stated, 'I really know what it's like. I realise how essential it is for Hilary to be kept right away from Holloway. She has to feel there is something worth living for if she is going to make any progress towards a cure. The psychological environment of prison is bound to destroy her.' Another correspondent who had a friend sent to Holloway 'wants to get involved in any action to help Hilary and others like her'. A third feels strongly about 'victims of our destructive society' and adds 'according to what I've read about Anorexia it cannot be fully cured until the main cause of the disease is removed, presumably the main cause is Hilary's prison sentence. So if she is to be cured properly she must not return to Holloway.'

Someone who knew both Hilary and Anna Mendelson at Essex University wrote to Jerry: 'I can identify very much with what they believed in and were trying to do to change society and get people to realise how they were being got at'. Anyone in prison, writes Jerry, angers an anarchist but someone who is made ill by prison conditions has a particular call on our time and energy - so can we try and make sure Hilary Creek is not sent back to Holloway prison.

There is a strong precedent for this. In 1897 there had been a series of Fenian bomb attacks in London. But the incoming Conservative Home Secretary, Sir Matthew White Ridley, decided to release three men from prison, who were serving sentences on the charge of having taken part in a dynamite conspiracy. Strong medical evidence showed that the condition of their health, as a result of their imprisonment, was such as to render further imprisonment a sentence of death or of hopeless insanity.

It was an embarrassing position for the Conservative Government, since its backbenchers 75 years ago were fully as lacking in compassion and understanding as today. Many took the view that the Home Secretary had no right to 'turn loose dynamiters' on society. But logic prevailed against them. If a man is sentenced to death, pointed out Justin McCarthy, he ought to be put to death at once. If he is not sentenced to death he ought not to be allowed to remain in prison with the knowledge that imprisonment will kill him. Nor was there any law known to the country which could compel a man to be driven to insanity and no man ought to be allowed to remain in prison if it is threatening to drive him out of his reason.

Sir Matthew saw the logic and the humanity of the case for release. But present Home Secretary Robert Carr is apparently unable to do so. It so happened the writer of this article met a Conservative MP, by sheer accident, the other week, who once sat opposite him in wage negotiations. He happened to have on him the text of the above article and asked for comments. The MP (asking not to be named) said, significantly, 'You must remember it was not Sir Matthew White Ridley's house that was blown up'.

We have just heard that David Urbano Bermudez was arrested in Barcelona on the 22nd September and charged with illegal propaganda. Davis was only released from prison after serving a six year sentence on the same charge in 1971.

Further news in the next issue as to where he is being held.

Italy

Goliardo Fiaschi's appeal for clemency will be heard this month in Rome. This will probably be too late for comrades to do anything about as we are late in going to press but we would ask those interested in the fate of our comrade to write to On. le Sandro Pertini and On. le Riccardo Lombardi, Via della Croce, 71-Rome, asking them to intervene on Goliardo's behalf. Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer visited the Italian Embassy in London on 14th September and discussed the case with a senior member of the Embassy staff who promised to inform the Italian Foreign Ministry that many people all over the world were concerned with the situation of Goliardi Fiaschi and were watching carefully as the appeal progressed. More news - good, hopefully, in the next issue.

Goliardo sends his thanks to all those who have written and assures us that all letters will be answered as soon as possible.

There are 37,000,000,000 people in the world - 17,000,000 of them are in prison!

Chile

With the destruction of the Government of Dr Allende, Chile moved into a period of guerrilla war. The social-democratic Marxist conquest of power by peaceful means has provoked the might of the national Army. Whatever the Allende Government did not do, the workers have been heavily defeated. They are placed under humiliating military surveillance. Militants, and people singled out just for their union activities, are rounded up into hastily constructed concentration camps, treated as criminals or shot.

The Movimiento Izquierdo Revolucionario (the Revolutionary Left) did its best, modelled on the example of Cuba, to seize the revolutionary opportunity when it came, and to fight the military dictatorship. It was opposed at every turn by the Communist Party, which regarded as 'adventurism' and 'elitism' the occupation of farms and factories by the workers.

The guerilla war so far has been entirely to the advantage of the military which has been rounding up all who opposed it. But resistance to the terror has begun; in particular from the Mano Negro (Black Hand) which is largely Anarchist in membership. The Mano Negro have carried out sabotage of the regime on an unprecedented scale. They were already advocating the seizure of the places of work before the military putsch. Now they have found themselves in the front line of the guerilla fighters who are sabotaging the Military State of Chile. But for such actions, the workers of Chile would be entirely submerged.

Arizona Black Cross are starting a fund raising drive for Chilean Anarchists either still in Chile or in exile.

Our comrade Jim Bennett (of Tucson) has recently been in touch with comrades in Europe and informs us they would welcome help in co-ordinating a European drive. A letter from Phoenix tells us, 'We are aware of your tremendous contributions and efforts to helping fellow workers throughout the world, and therefore understand if you're unable to allocate any time for this project. But any support that can be obtained will be greatly appreciated.'

Contact: Dario McDarby, 1422 E Virginia, Phoenix, Arizona, 85006, USA.

JACK THE SPLITTER

Speaking in Toulouse to a group of emigre Spaniards who choose to pretend to represent the moribund Union General de Trabajadores (UGT) labour leader Jack Jones promised support from British labour for this one-time reformist union, which got going as a dual union by virtue of the Socialist Party entering the old dictatorship and obtaining concessions from it against the majority trade union movement (CNT).

He stated that the UGT was active in Spain, and if he chooses to believe this lie he is welcome to do so. He is not entitled to give the support of the British trade union movement to the reconstitution of a dual union which was never wanted by the Spanish workers. The British labour movement has done nothing for Spain; worse, it has hindered the struggle and - apart from some magnificent phrases, and evocations of the International Brigade - been a gift to General Franco's regime. What we must do is to prevent it from sabotaging the struggle in future.

Already many international trade union leaders are divided, between people like Jack Jones who want to help build up the old minority dual trade union, and people like Tricky Dick Briginshaw, of the printworkers, who wants to help build the Communist Party dominated Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO). The CC.OO has an inbuilt advantage over the UGT in that it does exist in Spain, but it is an organisation designed to help the Communist Party get representation in the Falangist Cortes; and to aid a political alliance between the Christian Democrats and the Communists. It has nothing to do with workers' rights.

How to fight the intervention of British trade unions in the affairs of the Spanish workers is very simple. Put up a dummy resolution in your trade union branch, if you think they intend to seek support for the CC.OO or the UGT, advocating a dual union for Britain, or a Communist-Party-dominated alliance that will seek to represent the workers before the Tory-dominated Industrial Relations Court. That is your parallel with Spain. If they (not unreasonably) object to it for England, ask why they want the Spanish workers to have what they reject here.

It would be great if the labour movement here did something to help the Spanish workers. One can try, through trade union branches, to get support for the Resistance, for the genuine labour movement, or for prisoners. But if they have not the vision nor the guts nor the generosity to do that, better they carry on doing nothing than that they help to foster on Spain what they think would be a disaster at home.

They will complain that the majority labour movement of Spain is anarchist. British trade unionists are so sure that authoritarian state socialism is good for them that they will try to force their Spanish brothers and sisters to follow suit? We doubt it. The leadership of the unions may have different ideas.

The greatest of anti-militarist satires, *The Good Soldier Schweik*, was originally written in Czech by anarchist Jaroslav Hasek. It went to several volumes, though unfinished because of his death. English versions have been greatly reduced, because of insufficient faith by the publishers in giving it in its entirety, and also (according to latest reports) 'in order not to offend concepts of good taste', which cut out between a third and a half of the book.

A new translation has been made, in conjunction with Penguin Books (the original offenders) and Heinemann. The translator is Sir Cecil Parrott, Professor of Central and South-Eastern European Studies and former British Ambassador in Prague. Unfortunately there is only one satirist who could have commented on this piece of news with sufficient bite, and that was Hasek.

WHEN IDEALS ARE FORGOTTEN

(Shmth in 'Problems' No. 65 - anarchist journal, Tel Aviv).

The Israel Government, according to Golda Meir, is a socialist one, and since the inception of the country, the workers' parties have been in power. They consider themselves socialists and their ideal once was to create a society of fairness and justice, where there was no possibility of the rich living in luxury alongside those who struggled for a poor and hard existence. They aimed at a society that would consist of producers and users and thought that the national idea, together with socialism, would achieve wonders and bring new blood to the spirit of the nation. First of all, they said, discard the parasitic life, go and work on the land, and live on your own toil.

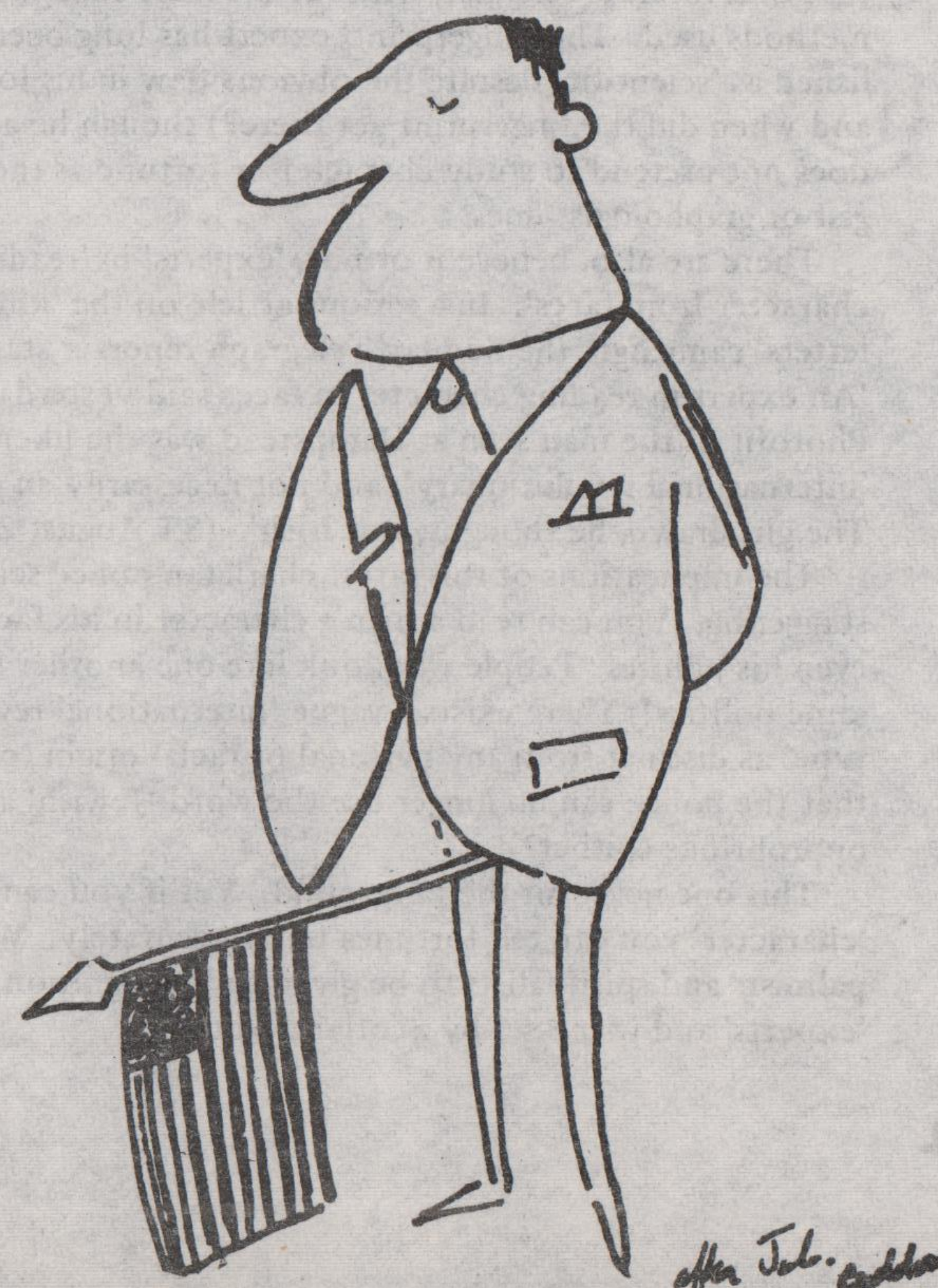
They also suggested that those who would be 'workers' representatives' should go and live as workers, and pick up their interests and ideals: in this way they would transfer the economic system from one based on the capitalists to one based on the workers. This is what they had in mind when they entered the government.

But having become miniscers, torn from the working-class, can one consider them as socialists at all? Have they any intention of changing the fundamental social life of the country? Above all, whose interests do they serve? Are they on the side of the capitalists, of those who enrich themselves at the expense of the people and hold their capital outside the country; or are they on the side of the workers against whom there are laws against strikes; money is devalued; earnings lowered.

The 'socialist' ministers are calling on the workers not to seek luxuries, and the Prime Minister asks those who want to change their furniture to wait until after the war. But she does not call on the ministers with their splendid dwellings and automobiles to give up the luxuries for which they have not waited until after the war. She does not ask them to give up building a palace for the president. The ministers need to excell, and surpass, they need the prestige and power of rank. It is this will to rule over others, the urge to honour and power, that is the basic source of evil in society.

The labour leaders being also State leaders and having lost their ideals, we have a situation where on one side are the great men and women: leaders, rulers, teachers, heroes, prophets: on the other side just a mass of human material to exploit.

(Trans. MG)



THE GURU PUDGE

We are all inclined to sit back and smile when the latest incarnation of God hits town. We too plead guilty to looking on with a grin at the antics of the Guru Maharaj Ji, the Jesus-teenager. But it must be remembered always that behind every religion there are sinister forces waiting to stretch out and grab. The Guru puja is big business. The tee-shirted kids screaming for a bit of divine light all bring in good solid cash that means business in any incarnation. The profit motives bring thuggery. The divine light must be protected while it brings in that sort of loot and it won't be with flowers and cries of 'peace' - that's strictly for the mugs - but with goon squads bashing you over the head if you explode the myth of the divinity.

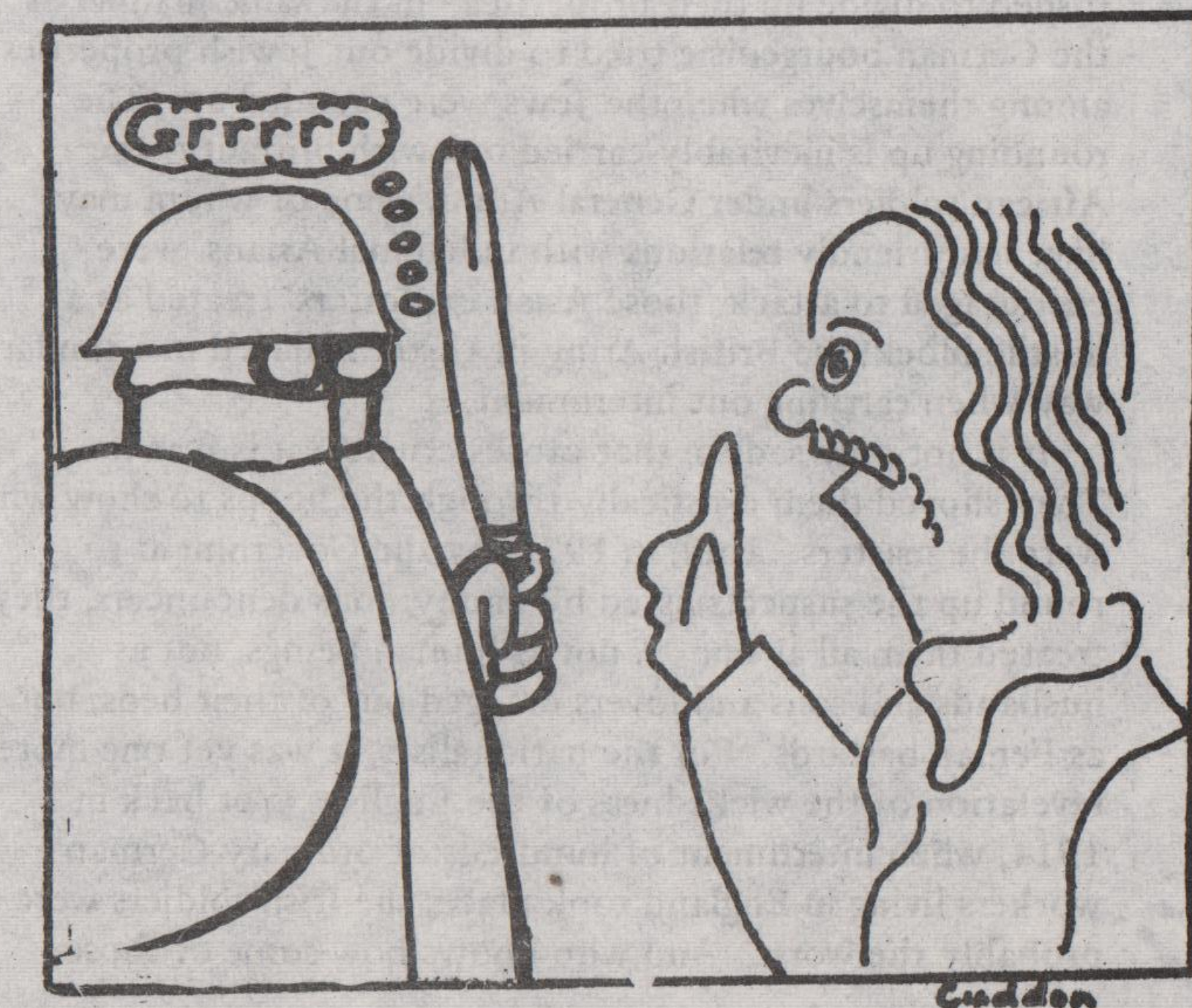
This was done most effectively when the pudgy guru visited Detroit recently. He gave a press conference and a writer for the Fifth Estate, Pat Halley (described as a libertarian socialist) got up and smacked the guru clean in the kisser with a cream pie. It was a perfect 'take'm' in the silent screen manner which still gets a laugh, and the unfortunate divine highness scraped it away no doubt with the rueful reflection that it was better in the days when sceptics merely asked each other 'Is this not the son of Joseph the carpenter?'

But the sequel was not so funny. The goon squad that protects the big business squad of the guru moved in. Pat Halley was nearly murdered afterwards back in his own apartment, while the pudge was bowing to fans with the divine hair oil shining. So badly was Pat beaten up that two cranial operations were required.

There are those who will still say Peace, peace and Love, love and murmur something nice about religious freedom. But we say run the little bugger out of town, goon squad and all. Even if it means going among the moneychangers in the temple with whips.

'Hardly can (a child) lisp and make the Sign of the Cross upon his forehead and breast to show that he is born within the true faith, than tales of imps and apparitions have already found a place in his fearful and wondering mind ... He becomes agast and afraid; he looks upon the coming of night as a torment, and on dark places as terrifying caves; he shakes with anguish in his bed, breaking into a cold sweat, and draws the sheets over him; he tries to speak and, finding himself alone, can only sudder from head to foot. The nurse has fulfilled her intention ... She has taken from the child the chief gift that can render human life as little unhappy as possible: courage.'

- Giacomo Leopardi -



Book Review

Internment! John McGuffin Anvil Books 75p

The Early Morning Knock

It is sometimes said that when you hear a knock on the door at four o'clock in the morning, and it's only the milkman, you know you're in a democratic country. But 'many a time, in many a land, they came by the night, they came by the day, they came with their guns to take us away' goes the song, and McGuffin was awakened in the early hours by armed gunmen and taken away in one of the major cities of the United Kingdom - Belfast. He was not a member of the IRA. He had taken part in the libertarian socialist People's Democracy. Among those arrested in the round up with him was a blind man, Peter Farran; there were sons mistaken for their fathers and vice versa.

I disclose an interest. In World War 1, my great-aunt Louise, an ordinary housewife, was arrested in Belfast. Her husband ran frantically to the Orange Lodge: they looked on him coldly. What was a good Protestant doing with a wife interned as a Sinn Feiner? After a week she was released: she had been mistaken for a man, half her age, with the same surname and the Christian name of Louis. Meantime her house had been stoned and her garden torn up for the crime of having almost the same name as an unrelated Papist of the opposite sex. When her husband made too much of a nuisance of himself protesting, she was re-interned, this time because of her German birth, for another two months.

The State erects a huge codified form a law with which to deal with the people. But when it finds exceptional circumstances in which legalised imprisonment cannot be imposed - since the section of the people of whom it wants to make an example have infringed no laws - it resorts to the blanket form of imprisonment sometimes called internment and also as 'concentration camps' until the Nazis made the sound of the name infamous. They were not originally death camps as such. They were places where the Nazis interned people whom the law as it stood could not touch, until the law was altered. Then the obvious temptation came, with the opponents of the State, real or imagined, huddled together in humiliating conditions, to deal with them 'decisively' - the very language now used in Ulster.

Internment, like genocide, takes in all and sundry. It has no concern with individual cases. People are arrested according to category - on the pretext of military necessity, the Americans arrested the Nisen, Americans of Japanese descent, irrespective of where their loyalties lay. A strong element of commercial rivalry entered into the matter, as their business opponents rushed to divide up their properties - in the same manner as the German bourgeoisie tried to divide out Jewish properties among themselves when the Jews were rounded up. The rounding up is inevitably carried out with brutality: the African soldiers under General Amin, some of whom may have had friendly relations with individual Asians, were encouraged to attack 'those Asian exploiters' treated as a hostile block; the British Army in Ulster behaved in a similar way when carrying out internment.

It is not only sadism that causes cruelty: it is fear too. They shoved them drastically through the hoops to show who were the masters. Told, in 1971, by the Government to round up the suspects listed by anonymous denouncers, they treated them all as one not as human beings, not as husbands and sons and lovers dragged out of their beds, but as Fenian bastards. For the nationalists, it was yet one more revelation of the wickedness of the English. Yet back in 1914, when internment of hundreds of ordinary German workers living in England took place, the Irish soldiers were probably the worst. And who knows how some of those

German workers, back in the fatherland, might have behaved when rounding up internees twenty years later? And in turn, perhaps some of the Jews (or their children) rounded up then, are this day standing, bren gun in hand, guarding a barbed wire encampment somewhere in the desert, where suspects are kept?

No nation has the monopoly in State tyranny, and internment is one of its many forms of unjust oppression. McGuffin does not treat it from a national point of view. He gives the history of internment in Ireland, as step by step the State has moved forward to total repression as the only means of solving the problems artificially created by nationalism. He details that repression, in the form of an attack upon ordinary working people, men and women, some nationalists, and some not, who had no form of defence to fall back upon. They have surrendered their rights of individual self-defence to the State. They had no arms, they could be beaten, spat and urinated upon and bullied and tortured by those who did have arms. One can see why the 'Catholic' worker turned to the IRA because it was they who had arms and could live on the atmosphere created by internment. And as the IRA is basically nationalist and not an enemy of the State, but of the opposing national culture, it in turn set the 'Protestant' worker on an every more aggressive path against his neighbour.

In his book McGuffin draws no conclusions: he speaks only of the vicious nature of internment and elaborates on what happened in Northern Ireland. Yet there is one encouraging side to it. The councils of resistance against internment 'gave many people, for the first time in their lives, the chance to see that they could seize the time; that they could exercise a very real measure of control over their jobs, their streets, their areas. Resistance councils proliferated. Some were better organised than others. Some were experiments which failed'. But when, he says, we look at the New Lodge Road, with its local and street committees, running their own clubs, newspapers and barricades (where necessary), we find the 'contagious virus' of freedom: 'internment has brought these people together and made them see the need for organising from the grass roots up, instead of relying on traditional 'leaders'. Certainly, many of the people will never be the same again after their involvement in the anti-internment campaign 'A terrible beauty is born'.

At the time of the Ripper Lombroso's crazy police theories abounded. Criminals - and anarchists - could be delineated 'scientifically'. How many experts are poncing around these days? The handwriting expert has raised his status from the fairground graphologist and Oxford Street fortune-teller to that of a forensic scientist, without the least change in the methods used. The 'fingerprint' expert has long been established as 'scientific' despite the obvious flaw in his logic (how and when did the fingerprint get there?) though he at least does not pretend to study character or fortune as the phrenologist or graphologist does.

There are also, believe it or not, 'experts' in 'reading character from faces'. In a serious article on the 'killer letters' campaign, the Sunday Telegraph reporter states that 'An expert in reading character in faces said yesterday that the Photofit of the man seen at Hampstead was the likeness of an 'international revolutionary', and not necessarily an Irishman. The girl drawn, he thought, was Irish'. (ST August 26).

The implications of this latest charlatan-police-science are staggering. You can read a man's character in his face; and even his politics. People who look like one another have the same politics! There exists a vague 'international revolutionary type' as distinct from any national or racial origin (or is it merely that the police can no longer use the word 'Jewish' as an opprobrious epithet?)

This one never hit the fairground. Yet if you can read 'character' you can tell fortunes fairly accurately. When are palmists and spiritualists to be given full recognition as 'experts' and witnesses by Scotland Yard?

THE RIPPER'S PROGENY - OUR RIGHTFUL KING

One can imagine the lasting effects if it could ever have been - we will not say proved, merely suggested - that Jack the Ripper was an anarchist. Such a scandal would have been used over and over again to denigrate the idea of stateless socialism. But it was always known he was a Tory, though it was presumed, as is generally the case when members of Establishment parties are involved in crime, that his behaviour had nothing to do with his creed. *It is now known that the series of ghastly murders carried out 85 years ago were political assassinations carried out, with Government knowledge and police connivance, on behalf of the Royal Family.*

Such a statement will seem incredible. That it does so is in itself a tribute to the hypocrisy and skill of the ruling classes, which since Victoria has done its best to make the monarchy respectable.

Suspicion has for a long time rested on the Duke of Clarence, eldest son of the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII). Because the long cover-up job had at last been penetrated with the publication of some documents, the suspicion had grown in many quarters that it was *he* who was personally the homicidal maniac who carved up women in the East End. This, it appears was not so. The women were murdered because they knew too much about him. For years the police not only hid the fact that the women all must have known each other (and that it could not have been haphazard killings), they invented alibis - eg. accusing the women of being whores, or drunks, and thus building up the picture of the religious homicidal maniac. In fact, the reason the organs were ripped out was simply to confirm the impression of lunacy.

The ripping was done by the Queen's physician, Sir William Gulls. One of the women was an Irish Catholic servant-girl whom the Duke had married. This would have caused a scandal at the time that the Government feared. It was therefore necessary to suppress this 'scandal' in the same way that they had suppressed Clarence's homosexual brothel escapades.

Mary Kelly, the girl who should have been Duchess of Clarence, ended by being murdered in a Whitechapel back street with her guts cut out to give the impression of frantic murder. Her friends were removed in the same way. The painter Sickert (with whom Clarence had been placed to try to get him involved in heterosexual activity in the freer atmosphere of artistic bohemia) was a witness: his grandson was brought before the cameras to testify.

This is not just one more theory to add to the many theories as to who was 'Jack the Ripper'. It ties up all the serious theories. The odd attempts to blame the murders on to foreigners and especially foreign Jews, and for preference foreign Jewish radicals, have for years been regarded with contempt. The Yard therefore supplied 'suspects' such as the solicitor Mr Druitt (simply because he was dead). But while the case was on it supplied no information that could lead to the murderer: on the contrary, important leads were suppressed. And above all, it is now known that the identity of the Ripper was known to the Public Prosecutor's Office. It is still known. It is still covering up. It is still hiding papers. The Government, at the very least, has all along been an accessory to the murders.

These threads were painstakingly knitted together in an admirable if dramatised TV series, totally ignored by the press, which amounts to a devastating attack on the monarchy, the government, and the police force. But the TV series was dishonest in one respect. Instead of presenting the facts about Jack the Ripper as a straightforward documentary, it gave it a 'fictionalisation' twist. Instead of a commentator looking at the plain facts of the case, it showed the fictional TV series detectives 'Barlow' and 'Watt' examining the real, factual evidence. The scenes were dramatised by flashbacks of the

actual evidence, which gave it a stagey look: but the whole theory was put together by serious researchers who unearthed what seems to be the truth. But the effects of the explosion were thus completely defused. The disclosures in this programme would have cleared up the Ripper mystery for all time, but they will now be seen as the conclusions of 'Barlow' and 'Watt'. How subtle and refined to keep your 85 year old secret intact by the simple process of showing the truth in a fictionalised documentary!

How Mr Nixon, perplexed with the scandals of Watergate, must envy Happy Old England, by whose standards the truth about how Mrs Lincoln stole the furniture from the White House would only now be coming out, and even so, presented as a theory by Efreim Zimbalist jun. playing a detective.

Letters...

Congratulations on the new style Black Flag. It was always an excellent mag and is improving all the time.

PM (Leicester)

Between the authoritarian Maoist shit on the one hand and the bourgeois pacifist 'anarchism' on the other I was wondering if there were any good old fashioned revolutionaries left at all, when I came across 'Black Flag'. It's anarchism as I want to know it, that's all.

RC (Edinburgh)

Keep up the good work

AW (St Albans)

I am pleased with the improved Black Flag, keep it up, you are all doing great up there in the 'Smoke' also with the PPs abroad. Everyone you get out means another 'active' to work for the working class. I always tell my mates 'a working class deed a day helps the social revolution on its certain way.'

GP (Devon)

Hope everything's going well for you and that the recent fire-works haven't caused any hassles for you.* They're bound to panic like hell and round up anyone who moves but hope you don't get bothered - as Black Flag hasn't arrived yet.

- from prison.

* In fact, no.

What a marvellous team you all make bringing out Black Flag and working on the aid to prisoners as well as fighting the class struggle generally. I am proud to be with you.

- from Barcelona

May I congratulate you on the consistently good quality of your articles and also your equally good source of international information

GB (Manchester)

Black Flag is like a ray of hope after reading so much Marxist crap for so long. Keep the good work up.

CL (Dublin)

ECHOES OF SBARDELLOTTO

'Stories like that of Fomiko (last issue) tell us a lot more than pages of theory', writes a friend. Thus encouraged, I mention the story of a young comrade who became an anarchist to the dismay of his American parents, but even more to the horror of his Italian grandmother, who made plaintive references to her father, never mentioned before by the family. Later, the guy went to a meeting of old Italian American anarchists some of them told great stories of the past, he and his friends were telling some great stories of the present ... when one old man began crying from a chance remark he had recognised his great-grandson.

Back in 1932 three anarchists went back from the States to kill the charlatan Mussolini who had seized power in Italy. The one who organised it was Angelo Sbardello. One was to observe and report on the scene. They had booked in a hotel overlooking a main plaza. One was to observe the movements of Mussolini when he entered the town. The other two, Sbardello and Domenico Bovone, were to corner the Duce. It was Sbardello's fourth attempt on the life of the dictator who had murdered so many innocent people. Once again luck was against him. In subsequent raids around the city, another group of Anarchists was arrested. They included Domenico's companion, Margherita Blaha.

One who appeared in court, Luigi Delfini, said he had suffered '18 days of martyrdom'. He denied knowing about the plot, and said a confession had been taken from his under torture. Pins had been driven into his finger-nails and his heart had been permanently weakened. Another who could not come to court because of the beating-up he had received was the man who had been the look-out.

Sbardello and Bovone were sentenced to death by being shot, in the back; Margherita received 30 years jail. The others who appeared in court received varying sentences, but the 'look-out', brought to court at a later date without the same formidable escort as the others, managed to escape from the van as he awaited transfer. He was stopped at the border by fascists and had to shoot his way out. He left one dead. He lay in hiding in Paris for two or three years and then went back to the States, an illegal immigrant and liable for deportation. His wife did not want to know him; she went her way with their daughter, who married away from their ethnic group and whose son knew nothing and cared less about his grandfather's libertarian views. Now the advance of revolutionary thought in America has brought the wheel full circle.

Then first sitting down to write this I thought there would be no harm in mentioning the name of the man concerned, who is 85 and whose anti-fascism, however it offended against 'legal niceties', might well have been excused not merely by the passing of time but by the fact that his enemies became, for a time, theirs. But then I saw Commander - beg his pardon, Commissioner - Bond's face on the TV screen once more ... and I reflected that American cops are reckoned to be worse so I decided to keep it dark for another five years or so.

Your friendly neighbourhood storyteller.



ANARCHISM AS SEEN BY TROTSKYISTS

In the Trotskyist daily Workers Press (July 28) Anne Blakeman wrote a review of the documentary of the Angry Brigade. Though one particular TV programme has become so hogged by the Fourth

Internationalists it is known as the 'Trot Slot', all varieties of trots are indignant that anarchists should have spoken on the bourgeois cathode rays. Some, kindlier, have intervened in the discussion to explain that anarchists might have known no better. Trotsky himself wrote for the Hearst Press, saying - if need be - he would write his message on lavatory walls.

A discussion on Anarchism ensued in Workers Press, in which Stuart Christie was allowed to reply - with replies to him from Cliff Salughter, Anne Blakeman and IS Alex Porter. None of the trots made any reference to anarchism in the context of class struggle. For them it consisted solely of 'individual acts of terror' by people who 'however heroic' could not change society that way. Miss Blakeman went further to say anarchists 'fought alongside the White armies' in Russia forgetting that those who circulated these stories equally stated that Trotsky organised Fascist sabotage of Soviet Russia. The 'proofs' for one equal the 'proofs' for the other. But on the whole they used an interesting method of analysis, common to Trotskyists: the double standard. Anarchists must be responsible for everyone and anyone who ever used the name anarchist even if repudiated by revolutionary anarchists (they must not 'wriggle out of' responsibility for Montseny and Co), or who had the name anarchist applied to them (Dora Kaplan, for instance, who actually was a member of a party allied to the Bolsheviks when she shot Lenin). Trotskyists however are not responsible for other Marxists nor even for the trots in the Ceylon Government, or Algerian pay. As trots prefer a reformist trade union to a revolutionary one, they oppose the CNT in Spain, though the trots may remain in their own reformist trade unions. The anarchists must take responsibility for all its lapses without accepting responsibility for them, even when they have help to build them up.

If we apply the Slaughter-Blakeman technique to criticise Marxism, on a basis taken from personalities and incidents out of context, we would say that Marxism plays into the hands of reaction (as they say Anarchism does) because leading Marxists have been brilliant scholars, who have left the countries at the time of stress, and thus presented the capitalists with the opportunity for xenophobic attacks, and in any case foreign scholars are unable to integrate themselves into a labour movement.... how could the workers distinguish between an Isaac Deutscher and a bourgeois professor, anyway?

This laughable criticism of Marxism is an exact parody of their criticism of Anarchism, on the basis of some Anarchists ('heroic' instead of 'brilliant') whose individual action has 'isolated' them. But in fact, if these acts are shown in context, they are highly relevant to the class struggle. What the Trotskyists try to do is the old trick of exaggerating the intention of an action taken out of context. If a boss attacks the worker, this is class repression; if the worker attacks the boss, he should learn that capitalism cannot be ended that way. This, of course, is perfectly true but it is not to say one should sit back defenceless.

When it comes, however, to an actual criticism of Anarchism, as such, they are completely silent. The criticisms made by Marx cannot be repeated for his attacks on Anarchists are, if not merely personal ones (in which he excelled), attacks on the notion of workers' control - to which, since Lenin, revolutionary Marxists have paid lip-service. The criticisms made by Lenin are purely personal - 'anarchism is wrong because Kropotkin supported world war one'. All he has to say of anarchism proper is that it is not opportune in the exceptional circumstances of the moment. When it comes to Trotsky, he has nothing but personalities in well-rounded phrases, the brilliant quips of the aggressive scholar, but on the subject of anarchism itself he, too, is silent. To answer it he must say why the State is necessary and why the political party must remain in power, and this he was unable to do. His followers, incapable of original thought, therefore follow the safest line justified by all three - they find refuge in personality attacks, on the one hand, and the double standard on the other - if they have nothing else to attack you for, you must be responsible for everyone who ever called himself an anarchist ... but they are not responsible for anyone unless he holds a current party card in the organisation.

It was curious, the other day, in private discussion with an ex-SLL member now on the libertarian left, to find this attitude clearly and unalterable carried over into the 'Solidarity' group when all the other Trotskyist junk had been jettisoned.

The following document was received from 'a group of political (and social) prisoners' in Spain.

An important feature of the organised repression in the Fascist State is the repression inside the prisons. Fascism has to restrain the anti-fascists in jail in an attempt to stifle their political consciences and their determination to express this in words and deeds. And as far as possible they wish to extend this repression to the prisoners' families.

The form this repression takes has changed. Even the responsible authority, the General Direction of Prisons, has been given a new name, the General Direction of Reformatory Institutions, which is regarded as being more technocratic and paternalistic, in a word, more 'European'. This change of name is simply a placard showing the nature of the rest of the bogus reforms, their aim being to embellish the popular image of the prisons and put an end to their justifiably evil reputation abroad, particularly from the time of the war onwards.

No one starves to death in prison nowadays, but it is quite possible to die for lack of medical attention, alone in a cell, like our friend Capote (Segovia 1969). Prisoners are no longer shot in the yards, but they may be brutally beaten in the basements or in isolated cells (Puerto de Santa Maria, Barcelona, Cartagena, etc.), sometimes with fatal results (Madrid 1972). Gone is the systematic terrorism which destroyed the personality, but prisoners still face incarceration in tiny punishment cells for as much as a year at a time (Puerto de Santa Maria, Alicante, Cartagena, Barcelona,) which has the same effect.

The core of all these alterations in methods of political repression is the so-called 'grading system', first applied in 1968, which claims to be more successful than those it replaces in purging the will to resist of the militant anti-fascists, without publicity or extreme violence.

In order to provide statistical support for the efficacy of the grading system and to justify it in its international publicity campaigns, the General Direction of Prisons is obliged to be able to say that a few of the political prisoners are sufficiently 'rehabilitated' to qualify for the third grade. So a small number of them are in the Palencia prison both to provide the necessary statistical evidence abroad or as a bribe to the prisoners concerned, showing that the third grade does actually exist, with a view to continuing the practice of political blackmail. Arbitrarily chosen from the political prisoners who have almost served their sentence, these men are then presumed to demonstrate that the system is viable and effective.

Theoretically this prison has two advantages over the rest - 1. permission to work in enterprises outside the jail and 2. the chance to qualify for conditional liberty. But even this prison, designed by the regime to show the efficiency and humaneness of its methods, plainly demonstrates the repressive nature of the grading system:

- The prison is extremely small, with room for only twenty odd inmates, proof that it exists simply as a justification for the system, since it can never accommodate more than a handful of political prisoners. Food, heating and hygiene are on the same deplorable level as in the rest of the prisons and the smallness of the yards and buildings gives rise to claustrophobia
- The choice of Palencia as the site of a third grade prison for politicals shows the brilliance of the system. The town is small, far removed from any big cities, and without industries, so that there is no work for the prisoners. The only way the individuals can better themselves is by emigration.
- There is the same vigilance as in the other prisons. Correspondence is censored in the prison and read by the police. Reading matter is censored as in other jails. The few who go out to work are not allowed to be with their relatives outside the prison and are continually watched by the police who also demand information from their employers.
- Of the four conditions on which conditional liberty depends, namely having completed three quarters of the sentence, good behaviour, having a job and a home outside, or 'giving guarantee of an honourable life', it is the fourth that is made use of by the system to turn down most of the applicants, since it is the only one that can be used despotically and arbitrarily. This is aggravated by all the

preparatory paper-work, which is delayed as much as possible by all the departments involved and above all by the prison staff. These obstacles, coupled with the fascist character and composition of the Patronato de la Merced, the body that makes the final decision, ensure that conditional liberty is so rarely granted that it serves no purpose except to justify the grading system and act as a pawn in the game of blackmail.

We political prisoners realise that our contribution to the peoples' struggle against this repressive system is necessary. On this account we add our denunciation to those of the anti-fascist organisations, condemning this system and proclaiming our active and militant solidarity with the working class in the fight against exploitation and against fascist repression and oppression in all its manifestations.

Eight comrades accused by the police of belonging to the Iberian Liberation Movement, Autonomous Combat Groups were arrested last week following a raid on a house. It seems that a gunfight took place and one policeman was killed before the comrades were taken.

Further news in the next issue.

NORWAY

Oslo: District Federation of Libertarian Socialists - meets every Tuesday at 8.00 (Plenary) Thursday at 11 - at Helmsgt. 3. The bookshop is open every day between 3 and 8 (Saturday 1 - 5), not Sunday. There is a cheap restaurant (open 3 - 8, Saturday 1 - 6). It is aimed to make the bookshop, by the New Year, the world's biggest libertarian bookshop.

News From Nowhere - New Canadian Anarchist Journal published by the comrades in Edmonton, Alberta, contains details of the founding of the Canadian Black Cross. It is well designed, edited and printed and is worth subscribing to: PO Box 2827, stn. A, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada (\$ 3.00 for 12 issues).

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

- Connolly realised that the support of the Ulster 'Protestant' workers was necessary to an Irish social revolution; and he thought that the Scottish Presbyterian background of Keir Hardie's Independent Labour Party would appeal to Belfast. In its Glasgow stronghold it in no way inhibited Roman Catholics from joining.
- 'One would be State Socialist and stand by rules and regulations. The other would be Anarchist, the true individualists of whom I am one'. (Nevertheless, he was always a State socialist, reformist and nationalist).
- 'Sugar Baby' (Noi de Sucre) was the nickname affectionately given to Salvador Segui, general secretary of the CNT in the embattled twenties - whose 'baby face' contrasted with his absolute toughness and determination. He was murdered by the gunmen of the employers' organisation, which was trying to set up a Catholic-controlled union.
- Not, as generally supposed, on the Clyde (though it soon spread there) but in Woolwich Arsenal, London. The printing industry already had a comparable form of organisation - so old that it continued to use the terminology of the 'chapel', 'father of the chapel' etc.
- CLR James, author of the 'Black Jacobins', who played for the West Indies.
- But for the British Revolution - yet to come, Charles would be in a direct line from Eugene de Beauharnais, Josephine's son by her first marriage.