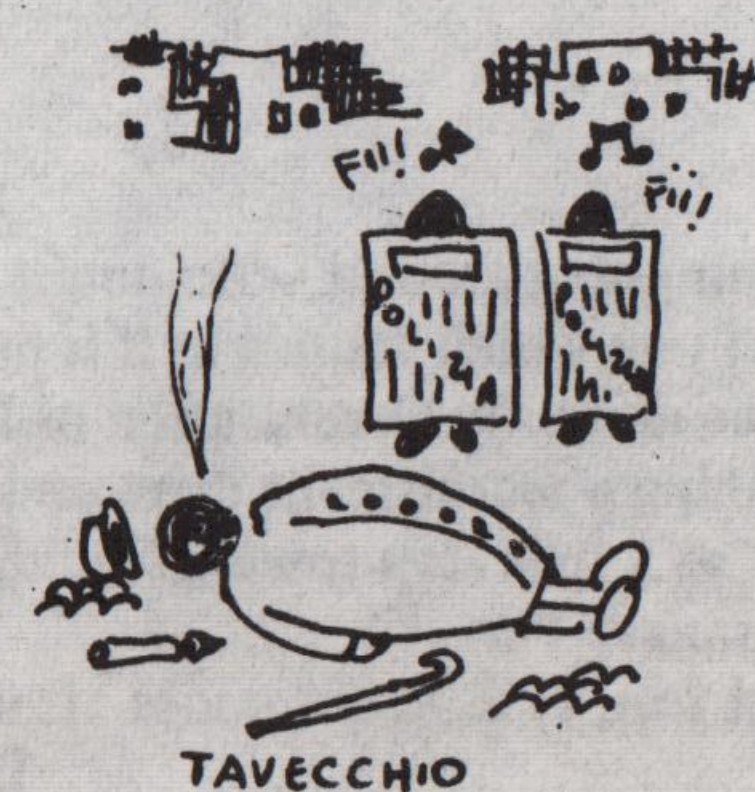
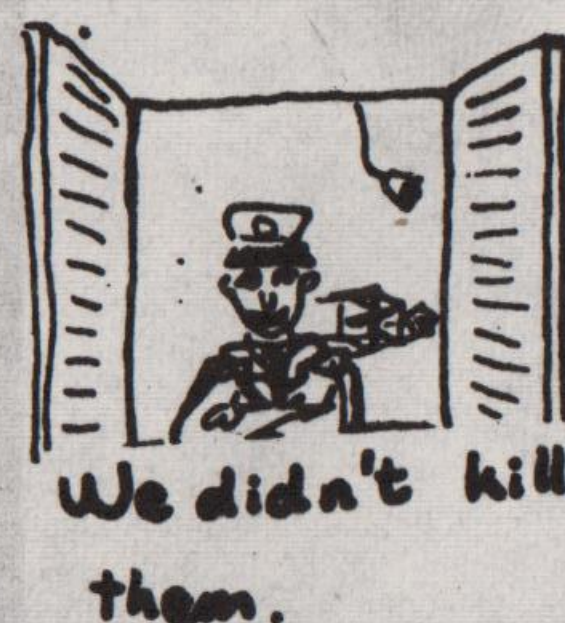
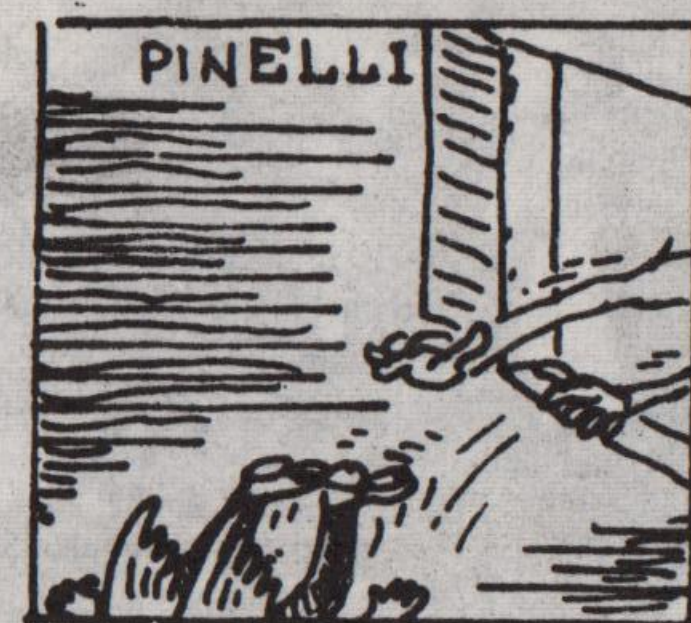


No! We didn't kill them ...



BLACK FLAG

organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

LONDON - VOL.III - NO.8 -

1974 - 10p



'DEATH OF PINELLI' F. CONSTANTINI

Subs. £1.50 for 12 issues. (If we go bi-monthly then this will be £3.00 for 24 issues)
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In support of political prisoners ANARCHIST CABARET
February 2th and 16th; Cabaret of the Minorities "Gai Chansons" February 9th and 23rd. All performances at 83a, Haverstock Hill, Start 8 p.m. SHARP. Doors open 7.30. p.m. International Libertarian Centre - Centre Iberico will meet in future only on Sundays, 7 p.m. All welcome.

A LOAD OF RUBBISH

Our favourite totter stopped and blinked at the message in the last BLACK FLAG saying we needed £1,000 to go ahead and fulfil the programme we have in mind.

"Where's your little lot going to get all that from?" he asked. "I thought anarchists were all down and outs living on social security."

"No," we said. "There are plenty of comrades in good jobs at good wages to whom £1 or £2 or even £5 is nothing much to spare... not more than the price of a round of drinks after a union meeting... If people take their politics seriously..."

He interrupted. "If they are down and outs they're probably squatting somewhere," he said. "If they can't give cash they can always give you what they can pick up from abandoned sites..."

"... they can afford to cough up," we completed, exercising the editorial right to have the last word, but exercising the right of the loudest voice, he continued, "A thousand quid sounds a lot but in current prices it is only

25 cwt. Copper wire; 50 cwt. Brass; £150 ton zinc or 25 oz gold if anyone gets their teeth knocked out picking it up.

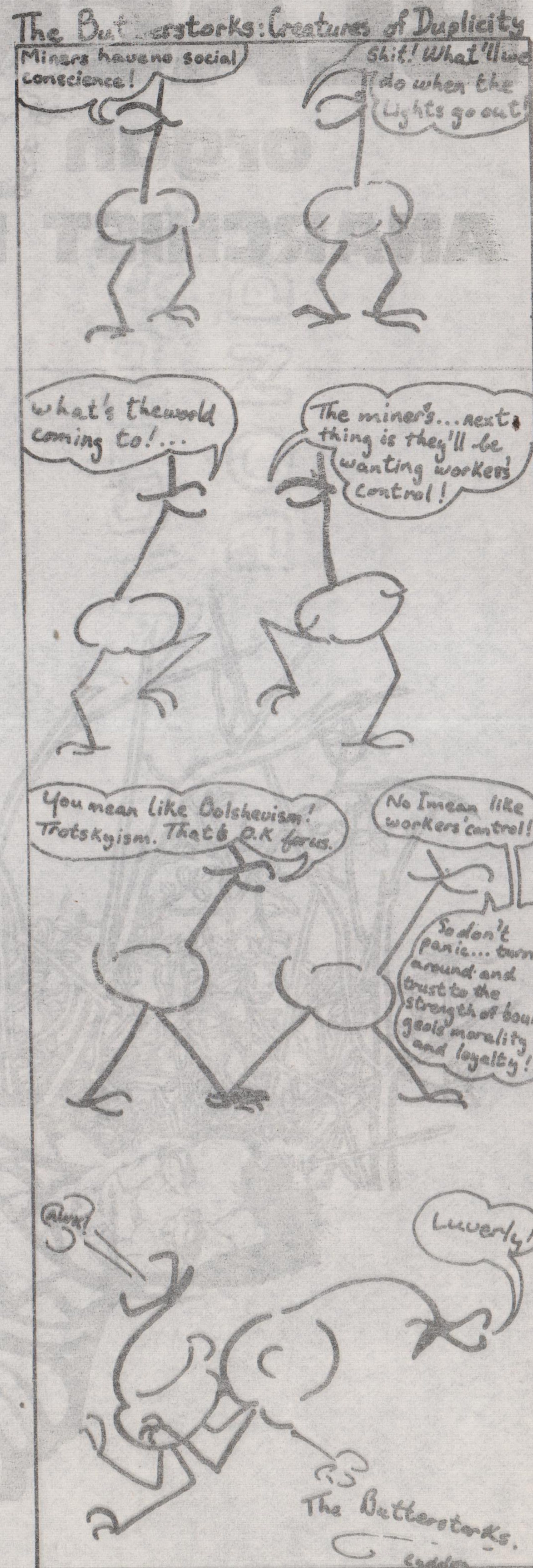
"Take off my expense for collecting it in the London area, and with only a few hundred people rallying round with their waste, you'd have your defence fund in no time. Not forgetting rags and woollens in quantity going up to £2 or £3 a cwt. Even old newspapers are worth £7 a ton if anyone has space to save that amount but smaller quantities wouldn't be worth picking up... But I suppose the rags and bones trade is beneath the pride of your mob..."

"Call it recycling, conservation," we said.....

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Who proved to be the leader of the anarchists in G.K. Chesterton's "Man who was Thursday"?
2. Which traditional enemy of the English people burned and ransacked Norwich and massacred its citizens?
3. Which pioneer Socialist and Fabian, and early supporter of the Labour Party, was most feared and hated by the Royal Family?
4. Which leading EEC Minister considered himself an anarchist in his youth?
5. What (according to novelist Anatole France) would be the role of the Pope in the free society? (We think it unlikely).
6. By what neat trick did banker Rothschild prevent the Paris Commune of 1871 from confiscating his firm's wealth?

answers on page 15 2



THE PRELUDE TO CONCENTRATION CAMPS - AND CIVIL WAR?

It is reported (Mail Nov. 14, '73) that Deputy Assistant Commissioner Ernest Bond - top-ranking political crime officer - and Dep. Asst. Robert Halliday of C.11 (Criminal Intelligence) now meet regularly once a month on the fifth floor of Scotland Yard.

Bond (representing the political arm) and Halliday (criminal) select from huge dossiers the names of people who (states the report) "may not have criminal convictions" from the secret files. For the next 28 days the people selected from the lists will be "watched and recorded".

"The detectives record whole life routine" of those whom they are watching, states the Mail, bugging, tapping the phone, watching the amount of milk delivered and the petrol consumed, the people whom they meet and their (not necessarily criminal) activities.

Their associations are noted to swell the enormous secret files as Scotland Yard keeps tabs on the whole population. The files are secret police information, which means that lies and malicious and politically-biased accusations made by detectives cannot be checked.

(The nature of such accusations have come out in many political cases, down to the fact that in the view of some detectives, those whose political convictions are such as to make them unwelcome to the police could not possibly be in line for work promotion, must perforce have no carpets, dirty or no curtains etc)

States the Mail, "It is a major step towards 1984 and Big Brother". "1984" was Orwell's vision of the way the world was going, and Big Brother, a jocular reference to concentration-camp enforced conformity. Churchill (seeing it too, but thinking it could only happen under socialism) foresaw that a socialist Britain would have "a Gestapo", insisting in 1945 that it would not be able to work the new demands of the State without one, but failing to see his own Tory Party need it too and could not return to 1900. "Information", based on the mere political bias of the detectives already detailed to harass opponents of the Establishment, means that this is a major political weapon.

In its way it is even more insidious than that of the Gestapo or the OGPU, since in their countries a clearly defined political line was stated by the Government for its citizens to adhere to, and those who defied the line took their chance. Here there is no such clear line to follow. Not only opponents of the twin ruling parties, but everybody, according to police whim, may be suspect. So the scape-goat-hopping' terror of fascism - attacking this unpopular minority and then that, so that it seems to the majority the fascists are invincible - it is to be inbuilt into the political police.

It is this more than anything, that ties up with the sudden, dramatic occupation of Heathrow and the surrounding suburbs with tanks, light infantry, troops, police, for all the world like Occupied Belfast. The Government is showing how, with one blow of the fist, it could smash opposition even though nothing warrants such a display of force. Frightened men have escalated the situation beyond belief. For the farce of fascism arises from the cowardice and fright of a ruling class.

What they are preparing for - and preparing public opinion for - is mass internment, on the same lines but a bigger scale, than in Northern Ireland. They have shown that they can collect information. They are regularly collecting it. They have shown they can amass the troops and police to suppress the slightest rising of the British people. They would not do this if they did not have something up their sleeve. What they propose to do is fairly obvious: it is internment more on the lines of Germany than of Long Kesh. Perhaps the concentration camps here will not degenerate, as they did in Germany, into death camps. But

that the frightened men of the Government intend to round up large sections of the population seems beyond dispute. Only this can reassure the cowards of Whitehall or satisfy the paranoia of the military and police complex.

Already they have imposed measures on the country seemingly beyond belief. They have sent it to bed early with the curtailment of television; they have smacked every sacred cow across the rump - cars, TV, credit cards, employment. The massive lock out of the economy - the deliberate running-down of the economy to a three and two day week - is part and parcel of the same Government drive towards at least a "cold" civil war.

If it does not come to more than that it will be for only one reason. The nation has surrendered in advance, has yielded at every point, and even if directed to the gas chambers has demonstrated it would queue up quietly and at the correct time. It dares not challenge any sacrifice the Government demands of it, because any challenge immediately calls into question the sanctity of the State itself.

It would be exaggerating to say this is "the" crisis of capitalism. But the total failure of the old "free enterprise" system to survive despite the mass dosage of state socialism it has received makes it clear that British capitalism, at least, will not be the same again.

We were told, right up to the present crisis, how wonderful everything was - of the great strides of the "free system", of the fact that scarcities and shortages were things of the past, that while there were cobwebs lurking in corners (and no shortage of industrious reformist brooms whenever they could be found) the old class struggle was over.

Suddenly we find that all the great achievements of capitalism apparently rested upon the whim of a few desert sheikhs. The Arab-Israel war sped up the time of the crisis but it would have come anyway. During the age of imperialism the oilfields could be occupied; now with the age of rising nationalism the land on which the oilwells stood was "theirs" and the lucky rulers of those desert lands could charge whatever they wanted either by way of cash or political concessions, for there was no substitute for oil.

Most of them have not entered the capitalist era. The oil gushes out without the need for an industrial proletariat. The economy of many rests on sheer old-fashioned slavery. Theft is punished by the cutting off of hands; adultery by death; beggars mutilate themselves to encourage the charitable; the most idiotic parts of the Koran are passed off as (literally) Holy Writ. These are the regimes upon which our enlightened capitalist democracies rely for their stable economies; which are considered part of the "Third World" (one of the most stupid of post-war political expressions) and upon whose institutions our progress depended.

We also depended, it would seem, on miners working their days off, and once they stopped doing that the "country" was threatened.

The capitalist press as usual compared the miners with the nurses who are supposed never to strike; but note the appositeness of the comparison. The actual and potential nurses have - by and large - entered into what is a complete, lasting and national strike: because of the arduous nature of the job and the small recompense, they simply do not enter the profession or leave it if they are already in. The Government have solved that problem - as they did that existing in transport, in catering, in the public services, in building and in many manufacturing industries - by immigration. They could not solve the problem by immigration in mining (though they tried at one time with Italian and Polish miners). Hence the miners leave the industry and when the decreasing number who stay cut their overtime, we are in for a crisis. For so few people in the country are really engaged in useful work - as opposed to the spinning-out of jobs to keep the economy going - that a strike by the useful workers hits all the others.

The national lock-out shows fairly clearly that for the vast majority of the working population, a two or three day week is all that is necessary; for an extremely large minority, the work they do it totally redundant to the economy and can be dispensed with at will. A few are carrying the whole weight of the capitalist economy: as they still, for that reason, represent the most powerful section of the working class in that they are the ones who could bring the system down, the government is determined to crush them and will not stop at anything.

No political solution to the crisis is wanted because this is an exercise in civil war. The government, which has stood up to the idea of national war, has panicked at the thought of the class struggle taking a personal edge and their being held accountable for their actions.

For this reason they have accelerated a struggle against the most powerful workers' organisations. It is part of a planned defeat of workers' organisations, mass internment for dissidents, the military-police alliance in power - what is hoped will be, because of the nation's timidity, a bloodless civil war. From it will emerge the police state, English version. It may, or it may not, be the Northern Irish version, or the Spanish version, or the Czech version. Lack of action by the people has forfeited their right to decide which type of oppression they would find least bearable.

Up, up & away!

When we heard of the blowing up of Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco, Prime Minister of Spain, we raised our glasses in salute, knowing that at the same time we were being joined in the gesture by 'absent friends' incarcerated in all the jails of Spain.

For those who think this is an exaltation of violence in any way, let them reflect that had Hitler lost the war, so far as Spain was concerned, "Eyebrows" would probably have been summarily executed for war crimes and his successor, Arias Navarro, certainly, and this was *before* their long career of repression. Navarro is responsible for the murder of hundreds of P.O.W.'s in Malaga.

"Eyebrows" had the soul of a lackey. Faithful to his master Franco, he could himself be identified neither with



A certain Spanish admiral could not wait for his Anglo-American Christmas present

the Falange nor the Opus Dei nor the Monarchists nor the Requete. He kept his thoughts to himself, in public servile to his master, in private concerned with only one thing, repression. He had none of the genius undoubtedly possessed by Franco; he acted only as a tool. But his hobby was repression, repression and repression again. He opposed every concession to the prisoners, any use of the legally guaranteed benefits of conditional liberty; his solution to all social problems was to shoot the workers. He was fanatically devoted to the unitary Spanish State and for this reason he hated the libertarian movement like poison. The possession of a confederal trade union card by a worker, in defiance of the State, was sufficient grounds for extermination.

Because for him the State was all, he developed over the years an obsessive hatred of the Basques, to whom he transferred some of his hatred of the CNT. "This thing of ETA" had to be crushed. For him, as for many of Franco's circle, the workers were scum; but the Basques were renegades. In public he tried to hide this hatred of the Basques, but many adduced it from his actions. The Basque priests especially aroused his fury. It was he who formed a 'goon squad' to go round the prisons beating up resisting prisoners, superseding the guards and Guardia Civil; he too who brought in the navy to intimidate strikers.

The Assassination. It was purely coincidental that at the time Admiral Carrero Blanco was blown over the roof, the Communist-Christian

Democrat run Comisiones Obreras leaders were on trial. Not entirely coincidental for there is never a time in Madrid when *someone* is not on a major political trial but this (because of the international backing for them by Common Market powers) had aroused world interest; and undoubtedly they got severe sentences of 12 to 20 years, when they expected 3 or 4, because of the attempt which over-shadowed their trial in Spain into the bargain. But there is no connection between those who organised the attempt and the CC.OO. Camacho, hard-line Moscow C.P.-er, would like to kill those who did it - one can be sure of that!

Those concerned in the blowing up of Blanco were not Basque Nationalists. They were members of the Fifth Assembly (after the conference at which they split from the Catholic Nationalists), and include Maoists and Libertarians. We do not, of course, know which section was responsible. But all sections of the Fifth Assembly have in common the idea of class struggle, are against nationalism, and have no connection with Moscow.

After "Eyebrows" - Who? Franco has brought in another old friend of his, Arias Navarro, another war criminal. He is neither more or less repressive than the departed. Like him, he began his career by breaking his oath and making war upon the people. It should be remembered that they were blowing up Madrid long before Madrid blew up Carrero Blanco. They rose to power by a series of crimes including murder and high treason. Their careers have been one continued stretch of courts-martial against civilians, sentenced to death and left to die by the roadside.

Is it true, as the media tries to say, that but for the killing of "Eyebrows" the dictatorship would have been liberalised?

There is no such thing as a liberal dictatorship. A dictator who grants reforms is signing his own death warrant. The myth of a liberal dictatorship, like the "socialist" proletarian dictatorships which are supposed to exist in Eastern Europe is a contradiction in terms. A dictatorship can only be overthrown or abdicate. But in Spain peaceful abdication is not possible. The Israelis searched to the ends of the earth to find Eichmann. It would have been a nice Christian gesture to have found him a villa in the suburbs of Tel Aviv to live quietly in retirement. But neither they, or any Christian nation would be capable of such a gesture. The Spaniards were expected, however, to have someone in precisely the

same relationship as Prime Minister. How can the latter expect to live quietly, in his villa, in retirement, after abdication?

An army dictatorship has ensured the continuance of the regime but there is no further terror it can impose. They cannot go back to the "good old days" of mass shootings, and deaths by the roadside, bodies littering the streets with the workers' children left in the houses alone screaming in terror. Those ways, to which Carrero Blanco and Navarro look with nostalgia as the way to deal with the workers, helped to subdue an entire generation. But a new generation has grown-up since then and the world has changed.

If Spaniards are sheep enough to endure such terror again, they will escape and stream out of the country, leaving it desolate and unpopulated, unless a "Berlin Wall" over the Pyrenees is built. No longer need they suffer both poverty and tyranny as the price of staying in their own land; a railway ticket is the price of escape. If the new Prime Minister, Arias Navarro, goes even further than Carrero Blanco in repression, either the people will emigrate; or they will stay where they are and make the tyrants emigrate - thanking their rosaries and crosses for the opportunity to be able to do so. It is the second solution which is offered by the courageous men and women who made a thorough job of this attempt.

They do not believe, as their critics will say, that this will end the regime; nor are they nationalists only out to kill an opposing nationality irrespective of class or crimes. But they do believe they have executed a criminal and awakened the hearts of a generation.

PAUL GETTY'S EAR

The vicious nature of the kidnapping of Paul Getty III in southern Italy and his being held to ransom for 1¼ million pounds holds many lessons for the world. Lessons which it should not have needed the holding of this boy to ransom and torture to be taught.

First, be it noted how the possession of riches dulls the sensibilities; Paul's lonely, egocentric, multi-millionaire grandfather, the richest and the poorest man in the world, stood obdurate for weeks and weeks on end. Why should he part with his money? A fireman dashes into a blazing building every day - for a pittance - risking his life to save others. But a fireman's life is only valued at under £30 a week. How could Mr. Getty, the richest and poorest man in the world, be expected to risk over a million pounds to save his grandson's life? He might have lost his money and not got the boy back. A soldier drags himself over the front line to offer a cigarette to a dying comrade. The light of the match gives his position to the "enemy" and the second soldier too gives his life, for the sake of a cigarette to a man who is dying. But a soldier's life is only worth £30 a week, and during the war only £1 a week. Mr. Getty sat back, firm and obstinate, until the kidnappers cut his grandson's ear off to show they meant business.

What of the kidnappers themselves? They were apparently a ruthless, savage, illiterate bunch of thugs such as Mother Church has constantly bred in her bosom. But they are not necessarily so any longer. There is a big difference. They must be described not as ruthless, savage and illiterate, but as *determined, rugged and self-made* - for are they not, collectively millionaires? If they can but abstain from greed and going on to try to repeat their good fortune at amassing wealth beyond the average man's dreams, for the mere work of holding a boy in a cold dark cave and cutting off his ear, avoid detection for this crime and commit no more, may they not - with their ruthlessness, their savagery, become captains of industry, prosperous and righteous capitalists such as are the pillars of society?

Most of our millionaire families began their careers with deeds no less shameful; by poisoning the lungs or starving the children of the poor; by the turning of people out of their

homes and lands and burning their cottages behind them; by forcing whole populations onto the treadmill of the workhouse. Such deeds can be forgiven with the passing of years; indeed the cultured, leisurely and charming descendants of these brigands who despise money (because they have so much) will no doubt take perverted pride in the self deprecating, self-glorifying remark that "grandpapa was a complete rogue.... they say I take after him...."

What of the State itself, which is there ostensibly, among other things, to protect boys like Paul Getty from the family curse - from which he tried to "drop-out" and failed dismally? "Taking the State wherever round, striking into its history at any point, one sees no way to differentiate the activities of its founders, administrators and beneficiaries from those of a professional criminal class," wrote Albert J. Nock in *Our Enemy the State*.

How true it is! Our gracious lady the Queen will perhaps send a message of sympathy to a boy like Paul Getty III and feel genuinely horrified to think what sort of villains could perform such a deed. What sort? Precisely the sort of villains who brought her family over from Germany to act as sovereigns - if anyone objected, they cut off his ears and stood him in the pillory.

What counts in the jungle world we have today is wealth and power. Money and power may gild crime and vice, if not in this generation, then at any rate in the next, or the one after. Those whose have ears to hear and eyes to see should note it well. Only with the abolition of all privilege - with the end of the magical properties of money and power, that is to say, with the abolition of capitalism and the State will we be able to claim we live in a civilised society.

New Contributors

Flavio Constantini was born in Rome in 1926; at the age of 20 he became a sailor. After his period of military service, in the navy, he became a deck officer on an oil tanker during which period he looked around the world a bit and began to discover his political leanings. He came back to try advertising, graphic design, painting. In the course of his life he has seen the world and says, "In the squalid vertical squares of New York or in the equally squalid horizontal squares of Moscow, reaching beyond the languid reminiscences of old Europe, there was perhaps an alternative." Since 1963 he has tried, he says modestly, "within the scope of my own possibilities, to publicise this uncompromising alternative." (Fragments of an Autobiography, written for the showing of his exhibition of silk screen prints in 1971).

His work since then consists of beautifully rendered illustrations of anarchist history. The prints on sale in England have included the attempted assassination of Umberto I; episodes from the lives of Emile Henry, Ravachol and other figures of the French working class resistance; Ferrer, Angiolillo and others in the Spanish movement; Makhno and others. His latest work - the murder of Pinelli by the Milan Police - appears on our cover. Our talented comrade Flavio Constantini will be regularly contributing to the Black Flag.

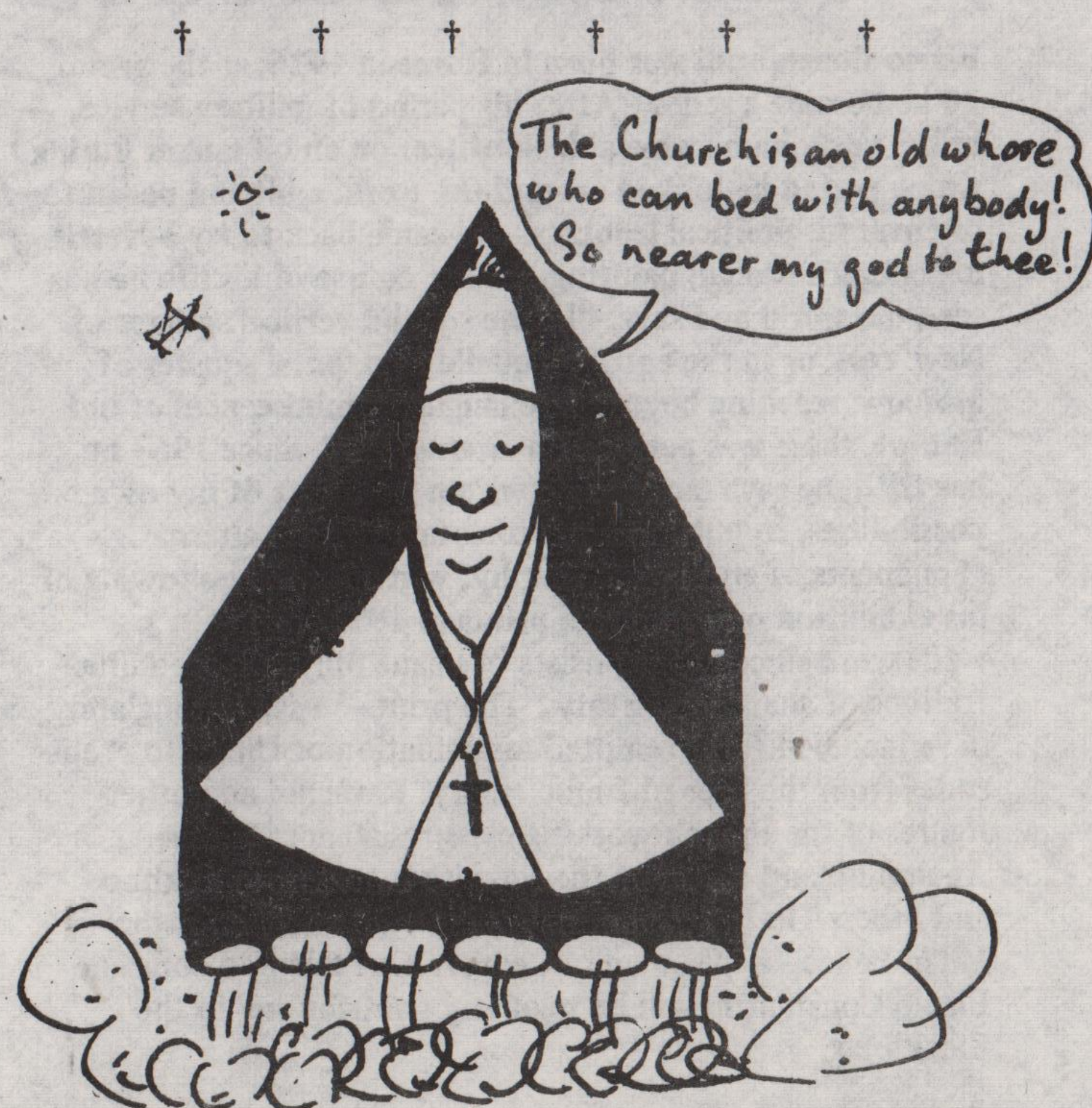
LIBEL

After many years absence we are glad to welcome our old comrade John Olday back to London. He is one of the 'old brigade' of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Germany, having participated in the triumphant workers' councils movement. Deported to Britain by Hitler, he enabled Hilda Montes to leave with him (by giving her British nationality on marriage) and she later returned in an abortive attempt on Hitler's life. (The story of anarchist attempts on Hitler's life has never been told, unlike the attempts on Mussolini which received widespread publicity at the time). During the war, Olday participated with us in the British movement for soldiers' councils (another story which deserves to be told while those who participated are still living). He switched his activity to the German Army as soon as it was possible to make contact, via P.O.W.'s and helped in the remembrance of the German Anarchist movement.

Some books on this subject have recently been published in Germany and elsewhere (most of them concluding that Olday 'disappeared' - he read in 'Der Spiegel' an interesting account of his 'disappearance', based on the academic's assumption that anyone who deserves sociological notice should be occupying a professorial chair somewhere, and if they are working for a living they have 'vanished').

For some 15 years Olday has been in Australia producing political cabaret; for the last three years he has been in Germany. Now he has turned to England. His cartoons, published during the war, were extremely brilliant, but represented only one side of our comrade, whose serious contributions to revolutionary theory (often written anonymously) have been of importance to the development of our movement.

Back in England, he has outlined his plan to us. He is co-operating with Black Flag in the building of an Anarchist Theatre (details in this issue) and political cabaret. He has come with a vast amount of material for translation and publication, including the story of the anarchist fight against Hitler deliberately overlooked by the press since it does not wish anyone to understand why, and against whom, the anarchists got identified with bomb plots. Other material concerns both the First International and the movement for workers councils in Germany. In the summer we shall be holding an exhibition of his drawings at the International Libertarian Centre. His cartoons are already appearing in 'Freedom' and in 'Black Flag'.



We have had occasion before to write about journalists who write political diatribes in the guise of news. (see Vol. 2 No.15) The end of the trial of the Stoke Newington Eight was a case in point. Two particularly despicable characters were Arnold Latchman and Richard Wright of the Daily Express another character, obsessed with hatred for the accused, was Richard Herd of the Daily Mail (who called them "obsessed with hatred" - a frequent psychological quirk), the somewhat stupid Maurice Weaver of the Daily Telegraph, and the utterly slimy Iain Walker. Bill Jenkins, Barrie Mattei and Leslie Hinton of the Sun, whose contribution to political pornography marked them as worthy heirs to *Der Stuermer*.

All these were guilty of libel even from a legal point of view the last five mentioned should have been - dragging in those not convicted as well as those convicted (Weaver even managing to damn someone who was not involved, charged or even suspected).

But the libel laws of this country are grossly antiquated and highly class prejudiced. An upper-class Tory like Randolph Churchill could bring libel action after libel action, even on trivial matters (like being called a "hack journalist") and gain more than most people could earn in a lifetime. Whereas the working man could be insulted and sworn at with impunity, the upper class man had a cash value applied to his honour. When one thinks how the average soldier was daily insulted and slandered by his superiors, one turns with bewilderment to see how a Field Marshall could collect thousands and thousands of pounds for a criticism of his judgment.

There is nothing that can (as the law stands) be done about libels upon the man in the street (the woman has a slight advantage if the libels are upon her chastity), for no solicitor will even undertake the case unless he can be assured that his client can risk thousands of pounds.

Granted the possession of cash, however, it is conceded that there is honour that can be defended.

What can be done? Two different answers were given by two great women of the 19th century. Sarah Bernhardt, the actress, said that there was no such thing as bad publicity - "let them write what they like, so long as they write" (according to some versions, "so long as they spell the name right"). The other was given by "divine Lola" Montez, who strode into editors' offices with a riding whip ("I made Mr. Sekamp decamp and turned Mr. Butler into a scuttler"). But there has not been much other discussion of the subject except reforming the laws - but so long as lawyers have lasted the tinkling of guineas has been their music.

The libel laws are a rich man's expensive gamble on prejudice. Until that is, Private Eye came along and introduced some highly commendable tactics into the game. But be it noted, all on the side of the journalist doing the libel. Not on the side of the victim. True, not all victims are innocent in this category. Many - perhaps in the case of Private Eye, most richly deserve to be libelled. But it is important to note what Private Eye is doing: namely, battling for the right of one professional man (the journalist) to be all-powerful while at the same time mocking the other professional man (the lawyer). The Establishment can survive such attacks, even though they may be highly embarrassing to individual members of the Establishment. But for the sake of efficiency which is to say its continuance as a dominant class - they can spare the occasional Profumo, Lambton or Reggie Maudling.

One reactionary proposal in this field has come from the journal Inside Story with pretensions to hate Private Eye and even to be more libertarian. It enjoys the occasional savour of the malicious gibe, as who does not, but rarely, though sometimes, hits any real abuse.

Inside Story has suggested to other papers that if it is sued for libel, others should immediately reprint the story for which they are being sued. No attention should be paid by the

other journals if the story was true or false: they should sign an agreement that the moment Inside Story gets a writ, they should repeat the libel, if libel it be - thus demonstrating (it is claimed) their opposition to the libel laws.

I was always opposed to the death penalty. But the way to oppose it was not, when anyone was charged with murder, to go out and commit another. Even if the first murder has some extenuating features.

It is extraordinary that several "alternative" papers have fallen for the idea. How, for instance, would it help someone crucified in the Sun as an alleged drug-taking orgiast, because he or she happened to be supporting an unofficial strike, to know that if they threatened to sue, the Daily Mirror and the New of the World would promptly follow suit and print the story?

At the present time the threat to sue would anyway be empty. No lawyer would undertake their case, except at the most to write a threatening letter. But Inside Story would like to deprive them even of that, it seems!

What however if some major abuse is really unmasked and a genuine crusading paper is threatened with a writ? Fear not. No working class paper would suffer, for any solicitor would tell his client that it was "beneath contempt and not worth powder and shot" - which is legal jargon to signify that the poor sods don't have any money to pay for the salving of honour and wouldn't even be able - which God forbid - to pay the solicitors' costs.

A paper like Inside Story, however is in a different category. Eager to make its name by libel, it is not exactly poor even if unprofitable - it is run by comparatively well-off people who could never be "beneath contempt". Yet unlike Private Eye it cannot utilise or perhaps afford the publicity of paying large sums in libel damages and getting them back in profits on circulation. So it seeks to bring in other not necessarily profitable well-to-do people run by journals like Peace News, to share its costs - or to get a chain reaction from small penniless "underground" papers in the hope that solicitors will take one look at the opposition and bracket them all with the live-saving comment - "beneath contempt".

Well nice work chaps, if you can go to war and not have to pay the costs, wound without rewarding for the blow and all that balls, but why do you want to sound so idealistic about it?

So far as this paper is concerned we shall speak our mind without fear. If anyone cares as the result of a libel action to put us all in the Bankruptcy Court they will only be confirming legally what has long been a fact economically. But not spiritually.

(As we go to press, we understand that Inside Story has folded with the January issue).

STOP PRESS:

We have held up this issue of the Flag in order to bring you the latest news on Comrade Salvador Puig under sentence of death in Barcelona. To date there have been no developments in his appeal. The Spanish Government, at least, is no doubt aware that if sentence is carried out they are fully responsible for what may follow. Spanish institutions all over Europe have been the object of attacks and threats of attack since the sentence was passed on Salvador on January 9th. The latest protest action took place on January 22nd when 50 masked members of the Iberian Liberation Movement held up the Trans-Continental Express from Geneva to Barcelona outside Montpellier station in France for an hour distributing leaflets and painting anarchist slogans on all the coaches.

Another unfortunate development has been the arrest of another four comrades on January 16th, of the M.I.L., in Ivry: Angel Moreno Patino (27), Jean Claude Torres (22), Michel Camilleri (21), and Pierre Roger (21). They have been charged with possession of machine guns, pistols and ammunition as well as false documents. The police believe these comrades were part of a commando group preparing an attack on an aeroplane of the Spanish State Airlines - IBERIA. They have been interrogated in Paris by M. Guy Floch, first judge d'instruction of the Paris court. Their arrest does not seem to have affected the action described above six days later.

INTERNAL BULLETIN

A comrade sent us an interesting article on Russia, which we set in type, when we discovered he had also sent it to Freedom where it had been published that week. Try not to do this, people. There is no point in publishing the same article in two papers. Some duplication might be inevitable but the effect would be to make one or the other redundant.

State of Play

"I liked very much the December number of the Flag," writes a comrade. "I noticed in it there is still a deficit and so I am forwarding my contribution to help cover it". As a result, it has gone! Silence from many other friends over the holiday period - remember we have to push on to the Anarchist fortnightly!

Sales and subs to Jan 6th	£32 40	
Donations*	93 32	
	125 72	125 72
Deficit carried forward	48 40	
Printing inc. last issue	56 00	
Stationery	3 00	
Postage (to Jan 6th)	17 15	
	124 55	124 55

in hand — £1 17p

DONATIONS: Dublin, PD £5; Leicester, PM £1; California: MG \$ 100; AR \$ 50 L'iniziativa di un perugino \$ 50 (TOTAL £87. 32)

The small credit balance is in itself a triumph (as it means our seven offset numbers have wiped out the £150 deficit on our duplicated numbers) but - at the risk of encouraging complacency - we should add that while No. 7 is paid for, cash from sales arising from it has yet to be credited.

On to Black Flag Fortnightlyno longer a "pipedream"!

This issue Vol. III No. 8 is the last of our monthly publications. When the new issue appears in FEBRUARY it will be appearing fortnightly..... We are adopting the practice (inaugurated successfully by our friends of Black and Red Outlook) of rotating editorship as from this issue. With the fortnightly publication we need to pull out all the stops in support. We especially ask our friends to take some extra copies to sell around.

BACKGROUND OF THE CHILEAN

BACKGROUND OF THE CHILEAN-MARXIAN TRAGEDY.

What prompted Allende to make the manifold compromises that eventually led to the downfall of his political triumph that he and his fellow-marxians were so proud of, including his own suicide (or murder by the junta) and the hundreds of workers who have been beaten, tortured and murdered?

One cannot question the integrity of Allende and his associates. They believed in the course that they were following. Nevertheless, the question that poses itself cannot be avoided: Why did they fail to realise that the compromises they were making with the enemies of their ideal were bound to lead to ultimate betrayal.

To unravel a clear-cut answer one has to go back to events that had taken place within the First International, founded in 1864. Its original aim was to bring to an end the Governments throughout the world that were the main props in upholding economic exploitation that kept the greater part of mankind enslaved. It naturally became a threat to both institutions that, in turn, lead to widespread persecution of the adherents of the International.

Three leading figures emerged within the International: Karl Marx, August Bebel and Michael Bakunin. At first, the three were close friends. Two diverse attitudes arose between the first two and the last named, centred around the issue of centralisation. To Marx and Bebel the most important need for the International was a Central Executive Committee with unlimited power to decree what course its adherents everywhere need follow. Bakunin, on the other hand, detected in this authoritarian attitude that would deny initiative thus crippling any rebellion that may arise spontaneously amidst the oppressed people.

These two adverse positions began to effect the adherents of the International in every country where it had groups, with the position of Bakunin gaining the most support. This fact, in turn, enraged Marx and Bebel - who decided upon a course that would destroy Bakunin's stature. Bakunin had been imprisoned in Russia for more than a score of years. But this did not keep Marx and Bebel from accusing Bakunin of having been a Russian spy! The impartial intellectuals, led by the novelist Georges Sand - forced Marx and Bebel to retract the accusation. Thus the unity that once prevailed within the International diminished, as the animosity between the two factions increased.

It was at the last Congress of the International, held at the Hague in 1872, that Marx and Bebel pursued their course of "The End Justifies the Means": knowing that most of the delegates would be pro-Bakuninists, they decided to rig the Congress with phoney delegates from various countries in order to have a "majority" with which to railroad through their pre-arranged course. Bakunin, who was prevented from attending the Congress, being sought by the police, was ousted from the International, along with his close associate, James Guillaume, and for the first time - political action was adopted as a weapon to gain social liberation. The rigged "majority" also moved the Central Executive Committee to New York, and appointed its members as named by Marx and Bebel, where it ultimately died. (The statements made in this paragraph are based upon the facts given in a volume "The First International: Minutes of the Hague Congress of 1872, with related documents, edited and translated by Hans Gerth, published by The University of Wisconsin, Madison, U.S.A., 1958.)

The Marxian Political Triumphs

Marxian candidates for political offices in various countries after years of bitter and costly struggles succeeded in being elected to parliaments, state and local positions. This was hailed as "triumphs for socialism". In some countries Marxists succeeded even to assume the reigns of Governments. But not in a single marxian-ruled country has economic exploitation by capitalism been abolished. Marxian Govern-

ments were, through the political game replaced by "liberal" or conservative one, and vice versa, and still are.

The Non-Political Revolution in Russia

Marx had predicted that the first Social Revolution was to take place in Germany, but the country where it did take place - last on Marx's list - was Russia! And what's even more to be noted is the fact that Lenin, Trotsky and many other well-known Marxists were not even in Russia when the end of the Tsarist political reign and economic exploitation came to an abrupt end. Since to Marx and Bebel, as shown already, "The End Justifies the Means", Lenin and his fellow-Marxian had no hesitation in emulating the example set by their mentors. There was no real government after Kerensky made a feeble attempt to form one. The Soviets, representing the people, became the voice of the Social Revolution, and Land and Freedom - its immediate aim. How to subvert the Soviets became Lenin's and fellow-Marxists chief sinister aim. At first they joined in the chorus of people - "All Power to the Soviets"! By this sort of chicanery Lenin and his Marxian associates succeeded in establishing themselves as a Government. Naturally enough, it was the anarchists who were the first to oppose and expose them, and for this reason some were first to be murdered and jailed by the new Government, with the social revolutionaries meeting the same persecution afterwards. Stalin who succeeded Lenin's death, followed Lenin's method with dissenters - with a vengeance. Considering himself as the new infallible Marxian ruler, Stalin began to exterminate his fellow-Marxians. Through dishonest promises of leniency, some of the accused humiliated themselves by confessions of guilt, only to be metted out by prompt executions.

The successors to Stalin - to this very day - continue their reign of terror in a more subtle way. Stages trials now end in sending the courageous men and women of conscience into insane asylums - instead of outright executions! Some would no doubt prefer the latter than be declared mentally insane.

How to destroy a genuine social revolution - which is still being practiced in Russia by the Marxist rulers - should therefore be laid at the door-steps of Karl Marx and August Bebel - who set the example of "The End Justifies the Means"!

Lenin's counter-revolutionary acts reached also outside of Russia. A peoples' uprising in China was knifed in the back by Lenin's support of Chiang Kai Shek. Lenin also ordered his fellow-Marxians in Italy not to lend any support to the enthusiastic response that the people showed to Errico Malatesta's rousing calls for a social revolution - which if it had been successful - would have prevented the fascist Mussolini from ever rising to power. The later rulers of Russia emulated Lenin's counter-revolutionary acts by seeing to it that the most effective resistance to the menacing fascist Franco's hordes - should be deprived of military needs - in those parts of Spain where the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists had succeeded to establish genuine communes. The Marxian rulers of Spain even resorted to the outright murdering of anarchists, such as the Friends of Durruti and others who resisted the militarisation and betrayals of the Communist Party.

The Marxian Rulers of China

Chairman Mao, the "Lenin" of China, has made himself the demi-god over the people of China. His rulership is distinguished only in the secretive manner in which action against the revolution is carried out. It therefore takes a long time before the world can learn of these facts. Dissidents are paraded and branded as 'enemies', and some are executed.

In so far as emulating Marx's and Bebel's method: That the End Justifies the Means - the Marxists in China are on a par with the Marxian rulers of Russia.

The Marxian rulers of Russia and China have greeted and feted President Nixon and his outright counter-revolutionary clique - before the Watergate exposure came to light.

MARXIST TRAGEDY (2) M.Graham

Now, when the Watergate exposure has already revealed that the Nixon regime that rose to power upon a platform of "Law and Order" - stands exposed as the most crooked bunch of thieves in American history - one has yet to see either the Marxian rulers of Russia or China - utter a word of condemnation, or even publicise this exposure!

Instead "cultural"? relations continue between the Russian, Chinese and the exposed Nixon Governments as if nothing has happened. The same goes for the usual business relations with this and every other capitalist Government. Could betrayal of the people of Russia and China, and the oppressed people of the world by the Marxian rulers be surpassed? **Social Revolution versus the Deceiving Political Game.**

The social revolutions in Russia and China, as well as in other Balkan countries were achieved *not through political action, but through blood and untold sacrifices by the oppressed people.* The fact that by treacherous means Marxists have succeeded in replacing the overthrown capitalist governments resulting in the betrayal of the true aims of the social revolutions to build a genuine free society, need not throw one in despair. For the conscience of sincere men and women will always arise, as they have already begun in Russia, to expose the new misrulers and deceivers of the social Revolution. The same may already have begun in China also, as well as in other Marxian ruled countries. Thus the Marxian rulers are no more safe in their reigns than are the capitalist rulers.

Government versus Pacifism.

The basic foundation upon which every Government rests is force, through its police, courts and military apparatus. It certainly is not pacifistic by any shape or form. In every strike, in every attempted uprising, each government employs the clubs, the guns, the jails and outright murder to maintain its reign. History fully attests to this.

The Government of France, with the direct aid of the German one, drowned the Paris Commune in blood. As in Chile, "lawfully" elected Governments were overthrown in Guatemala in 1954 and the Dominican Republic in 1963, through, the direct counter-revolutionary imperialist Government of the United States, resulting in bloody massacres of thousands of oppressed people.

All governments think they are secure because of the means by which they stand ready to suppress the people's inherent desire to liberate themselves. Fortunately, relying upon their own ingenuity, the oppressed are finding means through which to combat the government. The Tupamaros that have arisen in Montevideo have become an inspiring example that the oppressed are now emulating in many other countries. They seize hostages in order to obtain the release of imprisoned rebels. They demand ransom money from the exploiters in order to be enabled to carry on their struggle for liberation. In the United States the Weathermen arose whose revolutionary deeds have thrown the capitalist rulers into consternation, certainly far more so than the marches and imprisonment of thousands of men and women. In Great Britain the revolutionary acts, by The First of May and Angry Brigade Movement, against institutions that serve as props to Franco's fascist Spain, drew attention to that bloody regime, and to the manner by which the capitalist world makes it possible for Franco to survive for so long.

In the face of revolutionary acts that the oppressed are employing in various parts of the world, without any orders from any party, but resorted to *spontaneously* - as Michael Bakunin prophetically predicted they would - emphasizes the oft-repeated truth that the political and economic oppressors are doomed to the extinction that they deserve, and that the future belongs to the self-liberated people everywhere.

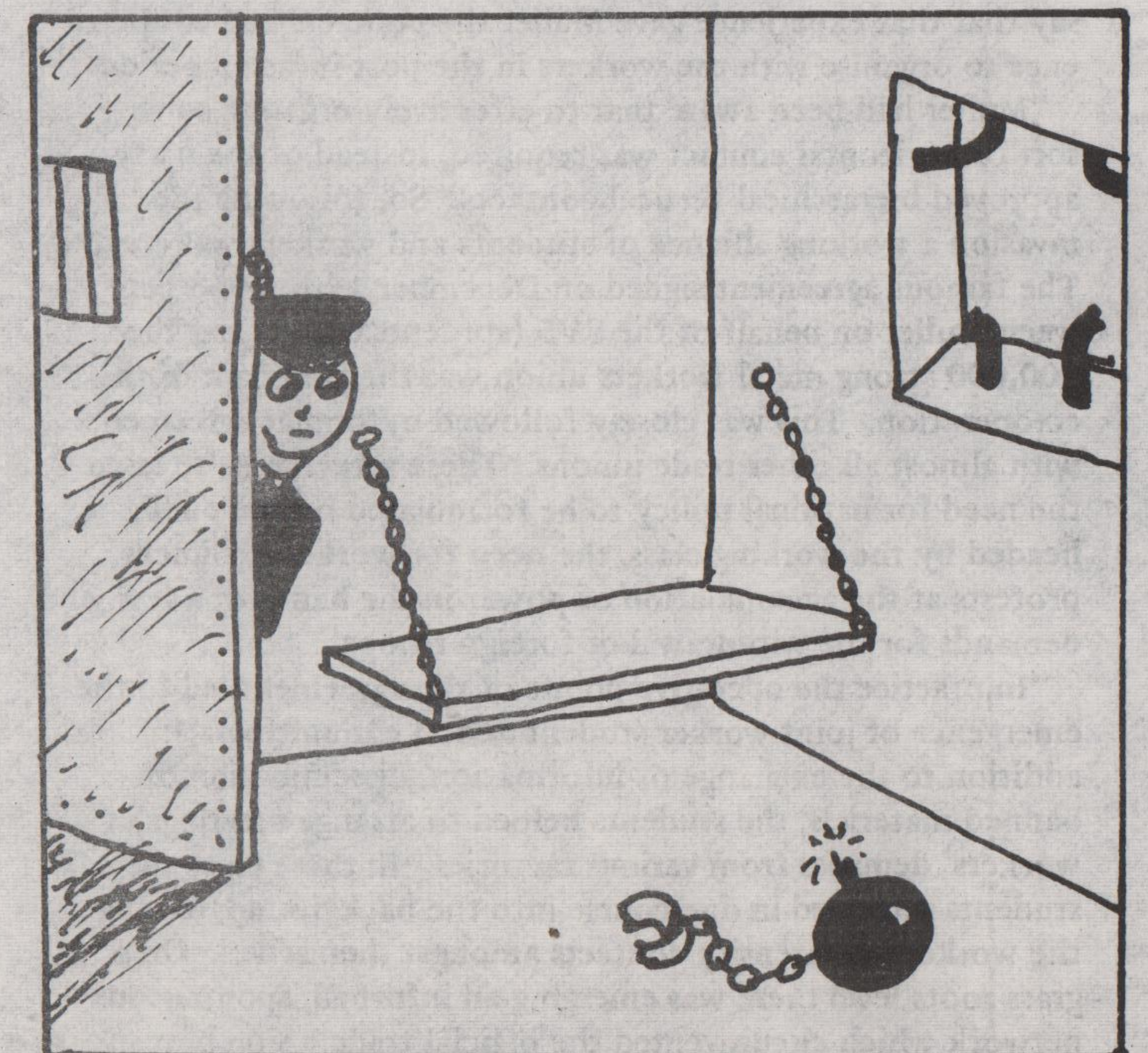
Re-discovering the Soundness of Anarchist Ideas.

After each so-called political "success", Marxists have indulged in burying the ideas of anarchism. It remained for Marxists themselves to assume the reigns of government, and thereby reveal their own moral bankruptcy in so far as bringing about a genuine free society. Thus, Bakunin's prophecy what a Marxian dictatorship would lead to stands fully vindicated, and more relevant than ever before. Proof of this fact lies in the rediscovery of anarchist ideas as evinced in volumes about anarchism that have and are continuing to make their appearance, especially also by reprints of the ideas of anarchism as expounded by its theoreticians. In turn, this had the effect of arousing the youth to exert their own ingenuity by starting newspapers, beginning to live in communal houses and farms. True, some of these endeavours have or will fail. But the fact that the experiments were made, lends proof that a genuine free society is possible to realise, whenever the oppressed understand that the first and essential need is the discarding of every form of economic exploitation and its lawless protector - Governments. And that this can only be achieved, not through the ensnaring road of political action, but only through Social Revolutions. This is attested to by the journalist Jonathan Kandell, of the New York Times who was present in Chile, when the Marxian Allende government was overthrown, and concluded that this overthrow "may well revive the polemic between peaceful and violent roads to socialism", and by the fact that at a forum discussion in Russia there was "suggested considerable disillusionment with hopes that a Marxist society could be achieved peaceably through democratic process." - as reported in the Christian Science Monitor.

The lesson from Chile adds but another chapter to the utter bankruptcy of the so-called "lawful political tactics that Marx and Bebel brought into the First International, and which in turn led to the equally disastrous end in Austria in 1934 when the leading Marxian parliament representatives made every sort of compromise offer to the Dollfuss regime, only to be murdered by it, just as it happened to the Allende Marxist Government in Chile..

One hopes that the rank and file Marxists throughout the world will at last awaken and realise from the tragical lesson in Chile, that the Marxian tactics of political "lawful" action can never end otherwise than in disastrous failure.

+ + + + +



BLACK CROSS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

From a comrade who has recently returned from that country.

Five years ago this summer Soviet tanks rolled into the Czechoslovak republic smashing a movement which was developing along revolutionary, anti-authoritarian lines. One of the people active in this struggle throughout the 1960's was Jiri Muller. In the summer of 1972 he was brought to trial, the charge was subversion of the republic. The actual trial arose out of the distribution of leaflets at the general election of November 1971. This election should have taken place in 1968 but had been repeatedly postponed. The aim of the leafleters was to expose the cynicism implicit in holding an election at this time, when the regime felt that "normalisation" had proceeded to such an extent that they wouldn't be embarrassed by large scale abstentions or spoiled papers. As always for Stalinists the form, devoid of all content, is what is important. The leaflet explained to ordinary citizens their legal and constitutional rights in an election. This of course had an immense implicit political significance, dealing as it did with the right of abstention and deletion of a candidate's name. This of course was not lost on the regime. The distribution began on 8th November. Two weeks later the majority of the defendants had been arrested.

What were the political activities and attitudes of Muller? His attitude to the state is expressed very clearly in a letter that he wrote when the student union was debating affiliation with the National Front. (The Czech N.F. is an umbrella organisation set up in the post-war period, and includes all political factions, such as the socialist party, that want to play any part in the national life, under the leading role of the communist party. It should not be confused with the British N.F. Or perhaps it should?) Muller wrote:-

"It is important who will rule us and in what way; it is important that there should not be rulers and ruled. . . . The question of whether or not to join the N.F., will show very clearly the level of critical thinking among student representatives, and also our understanding of - or, conversely, illusions about the regime under which we live "To rephrase the West German students declaration, I would say: Only the most stupid oxen choose their own butcher. . . .

According to a report recently published Muller was active in the youth movement all through the '60s but there isn't space here to give a description of that struggle. Enough to say that that experience gave Muller the contacts and confidence to organise with the workers in the post-invasion period.

"Muller had been aware that to effectively organise some sort of horizontal contact was required, instead of the party approved hierarchical vertical contacts. So, following the invasion a working alliance of students and workers was created. The famous agreement signed on December 19th, 1968 between Muller on behalf of the SVS (students union) and the 900,000 strong metal workers union was the first fruit of this co-operation. This was closely followed by similar agreements with almost all other trade unions. These agreements stressed the need for national policy to be formulated by the public headed by the working class, the need for workers' councils, protests at the accumulation of power in the hands of a few, and demands for the withdrawal of foreign troops.

"In practice the operative points of the agreement led to the emergence of joint worker student action committees. In addition to the exchange of information, dissemination of banned materials, the students helped to arrange meetings of workers' deputies from various factories. In these cases the students retreated in due course into the background, leaving the workers to intensify contacts amongst themselves. On a grass roots level there was emerging an informal, spontaneous network which circumvented the official trade union bureaucracy, and exerted pressure on the latter.

The result of the trial was that Muller was sentenced to five and a half years imprisonment. He is being detained in conditions that flaunt even Husak's grotesque idea of "socialist legality". As a result of the treatment that he has received Jiri Muller is now ill. He suffers from gall stones and boils, both untreated and failing sight. He has written a complaint about the conditions in Bory prison in an attempt to draw attention to the deliberate discrimination against the prisoners from last years trials.

This and other relevant documents can be found in the August issue of Pravda Vitezi! (Truth will prevail!) The English-language Bulletin of the committee to defend Czechoslovak Socialists in London.

The struggle in Czechoslovakia still goes on!

OUT OF AFRICA

The proposals from the Trade Union delegation to South Africa recommending the establishment of an office in South Africa to help the organisation of African trade unions, the setting up of an appeal fund to assist victimised African trade unionists, discouragement of the emigration of white workers to South Africa and finally opposition to British companies operating in South Africa not helping African trade unions have met criticism from all quarters. The Anti-Apartheid Movement asked why the trade unions set up with TUC blessing should not be suppressed just as African unions have been in the past. There was a means of protecting African unions but, the AAM asks "In the case of victimisation and attack would the TUC and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions be prepared to use their industrial strength against the South African Government?"

Within South Africa all white political comment has been hostile to the TUC proposals. The Government mouthpiece "Die Burger" proposes sending a study group to Britain to investigate the workings of trade unionism in Britain with the making of recommendations for its improvement. The supposedly liberal "Rand Daily Mail", controlled by millionaire Harry Oppenheimer, considers that "Britain is being brought to the brink of disaster by the unions" but none the less remarks that the "TUC remains the nearest we have to an advocate against international worker sanctions." The so-called Opposition in South Africa and the sole member of the Progressive Party united to condemn the TUC's suggestions.

It all goes to show how useless the exercise by the TUC was. All they needed was one simple proposal: United action against all firms trading in South Africa with the use of industrial action to implement the proposal.

The United States is to re-impose sanctions against the purchase of Rhodesian chrome, nickel and asbestos which will mean a loss of £10 million a year to Rhodesia in foreign exchange. I'd venture to suggest that a more important loss for Rhodesia was revealed in Rhodesia's first net outflow of whites for seven years in the month of September, 1973. The figure for emigrants exceeded the number of European immigrants by 95. The white person leaving Rhodesia is forfeiting a material standard of living far in excess to what he can expect in Europe. Anyone guess why the material benefits are no longer so attractive? It couldn't be moral compunction induced by the shame of privilege based on trampling African citizens into the dust could it? Not bloody likely.

President Amin of Uganda certainly showed an astute and humorous way of indicating to the British people what it feels like to live in a country where one is subject to appeals for charity on ones own behalf. His donation of £600 to a fund "to rescue innocent friends who are becoming victims of sharp tax increases, a tighter credit squeeze, and possible pay inflation" in Britain was only the sort of donation people make to funds to help victims of exploitation in developing countries. I hope Amin's studied insult angered the victims of Britain's economic balls-up sufficiently to realise that to be on the receiving end of a do-gooder is worse than suffering alone.

Jerry Westall.

DEATH SENTENCE IN BARCELONA

According to figures published by the Spanish police a series of nine bank raids in the northern part of Spain has realised over 9½ million pesetas, or some £75,000. The police maintain that these raids have been part of a campaign to finance the illegal opposition to Franco's dictatorship. In a chase following a bank robbery in September Jose Luis Pons Llobet, a 17 year old student and Oriol Sole Sugranyes, a 25 year old printer were arrested after a gun-fight with the Civil Guard at the point of crossing the frontier into France.

Later there followed the arrests of a number of oppositionists, one of whom, Santiago Soler Amigo, suffers from epilepsy. It seems certain that the police pressurised this comrade by means of this condition to arrange a rendez-vous with two of his comrades, Javier Garriga Paituvi and Salvador Puig Antich. The police tried to arrest these comrades at the rendez-vous, and in an attempt to escape arrest Salvador Puig Antich was obliged to use his gun and mortally wound a member of the police force. After this further arrests of libertarians were made and among those seized were Emillio Pardinias Viladrich, a 30 year old professor at the University of Barcelona and Maria Luise Piguillen Mateos, a 14 year old girl.

Further in anticipation of the customary solidarity and co-operation between national police forces in the furtherance of their repressive roles, the Spanish police have asked Interpol to search out and arrest certain militants who they maintain have been implicated in these bank raids and who they believe have managed to get out of Spain.

The tactic of the Spanish police has been to seek to implicate all those arrested, all of whom, except the 14 year old girl, have a history of revolutionary activity against the regime, in the armed bank robberies and other armed activities. One of these comrades, Salvador Puig Antich, has been sentenced to death. The other two face sentences of up to 30 years. Salvador's death sentence can be carried out within 12 hours. Statements have been issued to the Francoist representatives in numerous countries and to the world press that the libertarian and revolutionary movement will not sit back passively while this sentence is carried out. We urge all comrades to make their protest to the Spanish representative in their locality, by telephone, letter or otherwise. THIS IS EXTREMELY URGENT. ORIOL SOLE SUGRANYES.

Started his revolutionary activities in Barcelona in 1964 in the ranks of the Catalan nationalists, and passed through a number of groups. Arrested in Barcelona in 1967 and charged with illicit association and illegal propaganda. Arrested in Gerona in 1968 on the same charges and sentenced to 2 years in prison. On his release he sought political asylum in France to avoid a further prosecution which could have got him further years in prison. Continued his activities in France in libertarian workers' organisations. Arrested by the French police while trying to cross into Spain with two comrades and samples of a Dictionary of the Workers' Movement. Escaped from prison at Perpignan,

recaptured at the border and condemned to an extra 6 month months. Also arrested in connection with the matter of the Bessiere farm where there was discovered printing equipment, stocks of leaflets and weapons, and sentenced to one year in prison.

JOSE LUIS PONS LLOBET

Young militant connected with Maoist organisations up to 1972.

SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH

Commenced militant activity in Barcelona in 1967, but had a record of political activity before that and was arrested for illegal work in a local workers' Commission.

SANTIAGO SOLER AMIGO

Started militant activity about 1962. Active in the Catalan Workers' Front (F.O.C.) in 1967 and then in the People's Liberation Front (F.L.P.) in Accion Comunista and the workers' Commissions.

JAVIER GARRIGA PAITUVI

Started revolutionary activity in 1965. On leaving a congress of Lotta Continua in Italy in 1969, which he attended with two Spanish workers, he was interrogated by the Italian police, following which incident his passport was not renewed.

EMILIO PARDINIAS VILADRICH

Worked at first with the nationalists, came to France and did three months in prison there for activities with a Maoist group, went back to Spain and continued his activity.

The Defence Committee's address is:-

COMITE DE SOUTIEN,
33 RUE DES VIGNOLES,
PARIS.

OUT OF THE NET

In a previous issue we referred to the fact of the young libertarian Andres Martinez, kept in Pentonville Jail for six months for no crime whatever. He had been working here for two years without any problems arising, having entered lawfully and obtained a working permit; he left for Sweden, but owing to a technicality had to return. The authorities promptly held him for return to Spain where, as an objector to military service, he would have gone to jail for years.

They declined to let him return to Sweden except under conditions no Government could accept to guarantee (that in no circumstances he should return) unless, like the Spanish Government - very willing to accept it - it intended to jail him.

Martinez has been kept here at the taxpayer's expense, which is the argument that has weighed the most, though it cannot cost much to keep even so unconvicted Pentonville aliens, the majority of whom have not even entered illegally but were caught in transit, in the conditions that prevail. Now, after months of pressure, he has been returned to Sweden.

He has written to the Anarchist Black Cross saying that in turn he is interesting many Swedish comrades in the idea of forming one there, too; and we hope our several readers there will get together on it.

IGNACIO BEOTEGUI

Many of our readers in England and Wales will have met Ignacio Beotegui, referred to in the daily press under his full name Pedro Perez Ignacio Beotegui. At the time of the trial of Burgos, joint meetings were held all over the country in which speeches on behalf of the Basque revolutionaries were made by Miguel Garcia, Secretary of the International Black Cross, a spokesman for the Catalans, and Ignacio Beotegui.

He was later found guilty of an attack on the Spanish Embassy, imprisoned and deported.

Because of his revolutionary connections, the Spanish police (obviously in this case working, once more, on a British-supplied file) have accused him of being the prime mover in the assassination of Admiral Carrero Blanco.

Like many other Basques (only a minority of whom, incidentally, are Nationalists, and not all of whom are necessarily Catholics, but all of whom are unavoidably Basques — an obvious statement that needs to be said in view of idiotic press comment) he is now being harassed by the French police. Already many Basques have been moved from their own province to Northern France. Others are regarded as refugees. North and South Euzkadi are occupied by the French and Spanish States respectively.

To regard a Basque as a "refugee" in his own country, or to be able to deport him from that country to say, German-speaking Alsace could only make sense — but even so, hardly justice — to a Statist. In which part of the world can he cease to be a "foreigner" subject to harassment? To ask this question is not to be a "nationalist": because the question is unanswered the Basques have risen — not just the Catholics or the Nationalists, who, incidentally, have always acted as a drag on the struggle.

ITALY

Money is urgently required for the Goliardo Fiaschi Defence Committee c/o Franco Leggio, Via San Francesco 238, 97100 RAGUSA, Italy.

Money is also required for the Giovanni Marini Defence Committee c/o Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 20100 MILANO Italy. Joint international demonstrations are being planned to demand the release of these two comrades. Further news forthcoming.

AMERICA

The release Maetin Sostre Committee (U.K. Group) at our address is trying to raise a £5,000 Fighting Fund to assist his appeal against sentence and prevent his further ill-treatment in prison.

Stoke Newington Five Committee is at 54, Harcombe Road, London N.16. These five comrades have now been imprisoned for almost two years with another eight to go. All of them are studying and money is required for the text-books and educational fees. Send what you can to the above address.

Hilary has been returned to Holloway from hospital, but is still not fully recovered. Anna is also in Holloway. Jim Greenfield is in Wakefield Prison, John Barker is in Wormwood Scrubs, and Jake Prescott in Gartree, all on maximum security, but appear to be in the best of health and spirit. Letters and cards to all of these comrades would be much appreciated.

SPAIN

David Urbano Bermudez, Jaime Pozas of the F.I.J.L., and the comrades of the M.I.L. we believe are being held in Barcelona Prison. So far we have been unable to confirm this but will do so at the first opportunity.

Floodgates of Anarchy

The hardback edition (2,000) at £1.25 has nearly sold out, but is being reprinted.

The paperback edition (20,000 print) has now sold 18,000 copies (we are informed by Sphere Books), which have mainly gone through commercial bookshops.

Cienfuegos Press has taken 2,000 for distribution at the same price of 35p (less wholesale discount) will be maintained. A second paperback edition is contemplated.

The Spanish translation (Anarquismo y luchas de clases) is still available.

We are using the profit to getting the International Libertarian Centre off the ground.

GUILTY BUT NOT WRONG

One of the most important political trials in the USA drew to an end in Madison, Wisconsin with the sentencing of Karl Armstrong, 27, to 23 years in prison. Armstrong was accused of destroying the building which housed the Army Math Research Centre (AMRC), and murdering a researcher who died in the bombing.

Karl's trial was unique among modern political trials because rather than trying to establish his innocence, his defence centred on the contention that, while he had committed the acts as charged, his actions were morally and politically correct inasmuch as they were designed to save the lives of the Indochinese people. Also, the bombing came out of a political movement which, while demanding the end of AMRC and the war had exhausted all legal channels of protest and action only to be met with police violence.

Karl and his lawyers agreed to plead guilty to second-degree murder, arson and lesser charges. In return the prosecution asked for no more than 25 years and the judged agreed to hear 2 weeks of "mitigating" testimony.

Rather than devote this 2 weeks of testimony to psychological and other testimony about Karl, Karl made the important decision to turn the tables by putting the war and its defenders on trial. The defence therefore presented testimony about atrocities in Southeast Asia and the illegality and the immorality of the war. During the first week Anthony Russo, Howard Zinn, Senator Gruening, Philip Berrigan and other nationally known opponents of the war came to Madison and indicted the government and supported Karl's action.

Even more important, however, was the testimony of veterans who tied specific projects of AMRC to specific atrocities in Vietnam. Kenneth Osborn, a former CID agent (military intelligence), connected with the Phoenix assassination programme, revealed that AMRC had developed the "sniffer", which was used to detect human presence by the ammonia content of their urine and to pinpoint target for saturation bombing. Other testimony was equally damning.

The second week of testimony centred on the history of the anti-war movement in Madison, its growing awareness of the oppressive nature of the American ruling class, its reaction to that knowledge, and the role Karl played as one of the people driven to desperate acts by the criminal nature of the war. On the final day of the hearings, Karl testified and so did his mother, who told a packed hushed courtroom, "There would never have been any bombing if people of my age had gotten up and acted, instead of letting our children do it."

The hearings had two important effects in Madison. They created an atmosphere where the anticipated "string-him-up" cries of the right wing were stifled. And the re-created consciousness of importance and of power in the Madison left which had, like the rest of the country, felt impotent in the face of the system.

Although no-one on the left is pleased with Karl's sentence, his courage has clearly gone a long way toward checking the right and renewing the left. This explains why the national media has not reported the trial or the testimony. As a poster circulated in Madison says, "Live Like Him."

From Sedition (San Jose)

Thought for the month:
Why discuss the future
with the boss
He hasn't got one!

chuckle

BOOKS

The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution - edited by

Paul Avrich.

(Thames & Hudson - £1.35 cardboard back, Documents of Revolution series).

There is no reason why Anarchists, of all political tendencies, should stand and fall back on "their record". Unlike parties which offer themselves as leaders of the working class, and which should therefore be exemplars of behaviour, Anarchism rejects the cult of leadership and does not suggest that if one follows the protagonists of the idea, liberation follows; nor indeed that the protagonists of the idea must necessarily be in any way different from anyone else. Yet notwithstanding, one finds that time and again, the vision of Anarchism inspires people to heroism and self-sacrifice; while the would-be leaders, from the authoritarian parties, run away at the sign of danger and isolate themselves from all struggles but that for the leadership.

The Russian Anarchist Movement so brilliantly depicted with illustrations, in this contribution to a general series on revolutionary history — is a perfect example of the moral heights which Anarchists reached in an out-balanced fight.

In Russia, the Civil War presented, as Avrich says, a dilemma to the anarchists as it did to the other left-wing opposition parties. "Which side were they to support? As staunch libertarians they held no brief for the dictatorial policies of Lenin's government. But the prospect of a White victory seemed even worse." They plunged in defence of the Revolution — which had been betrayed even before it began.

The working people themselves had everywhere overthrown the Tsar and established free soviets. They had power; the shaky fabric of the post-Tsarist Governments provided a background for the dramatic struggle between the power of workers, peasants, soldiers, and the re-establishment of State power. The political parties struggled for representation; which is another way of saying supremacy. Lenin — or rather Helphand-Parvus, was victorious. He co-operated with the German Government to bring Lenin back to Russia and into power, using their money and power to build up the Bolshevik Government in order (as he thought) to further German national aims and Marxism, at one and the same time. It was Helphand-Parvus who was the father of the "Soviet" State.

Whether or not to collaborate was a spur of deep concern to many anarchists. Some were far-sighted from the beginning; some (like Shatov) thought "we must not criticise at this time" (always a fatal point of view), some (like Makhno) were able to fight on two fronts, and the most glorious chapters of the Russian revolution are those of the Makhnovista movement so grossly labelled by the Bolsheviks, in a manner which rebounded on them, when the lie machine they built up was taken over by Stalin.

In Avrich's fascinating collection of documents there are incidents of the Russian Revolution one had never known before, for instance the joint action by the "Underground Anarchists" and the Left SRs to bomb the headquarters of the Communist Party Committee — one of the few ways in which the dictatorship was vulnerable. Who now can say they were wrong to do so? — or that if followed up, their action would not have saved hundreds of thousands of lives?

Some of the manifestoes and declarations are startlingly topical. As always with such collections some documents are included which are scarcely anarchist by any but the most generous interpretation of the word. One may presume Tolstoy knew what he was talking about when he specifically said he was not an anarchist, but few historians are apparently prepared to admit he might know that better than they.

It is inspiring reading all the same. It provokes comparison with other epochs, other countries, where the anarchist ideal

has not become identical with struggle and can remain for years an esoteric doctrine with squat significance. The mere alleged profession of its ideals is the simplest thing in the world and may conceal squalid motives. Yet when it becomes a real living force — such as it was in Russia — when it enters into the struggle for social change, and its fighters storm into history, it can always prove itself, as much in defeat as it might do with the triumph of its principles. For when the Anarchists lose out what wins? When the Anarchists are in defeat where is liberty?

Anarchy in Action by Colin Ward

(Geo. Allen & Unwin - £1.75. stiff cover.)

"How would you feel," asks Colin Ward opening his important new book 'Anarchy in Action', "If you discovered that the society in which you would really like to live was already here, apart from a few little local difficulties like exploitation, war, dictatorship and starvation?"

Surprised.

The argument is saved from being palpable nonsense by Colin Ward's belief that anarchism is always there, something rooted in everyday life, notwithstanding capitalism and war (which he seems to treat as unrelated phenomena). What he is really saying is that anarchism is not something that comes out of the skies like a divine revelation given on high at Sinai; it is the application of certain principles such as solidarity, freedom, mutual aid and so on. But it can hardly be supposed that the belief in, or application of, such principles are exclusive to those who call themselves anarchists, or that people have only to call themselves such to appropriate such beliefs. Indeed, the purpose of the sectarian labelling of oneself an anarchist is surely to life such principles from idealism and transform them into a positive achievable programme. If one does not do that, the label is meaningless.

Just as St. Teresa of Avila said she walked into the kitchen "and there among the plates, is God" so one could walk into the concentration camps and there, among the gas chambers is anarchism — or rather, attempts at solidarity and resistance before the last flicker of life was beaten out. But having said this, one has merely uttered some words of consolation — which is all ideals ever amount to in the finish — for one could hardly tolerate concentration camps on the grounds that they could not entirely extinguish the basic forces of humankind.

Colin Ward would certainly not do this — he takes the "moslems" — or "zombies" — of the concentration camp as an instance of how this last flicker of life can be beaten out — but he undoubtedly feels that it is not necessary to go to the extreme of destroying capitalism and the State in order to realise an anarchist programme. For him, reform and revolution are "false antitheses". He says, not altogether incorrectly, that one must distinguish between the kind of revolution which installs a different gang of rulers, and the kind of reform that makes oppression more palatable or more efficient, on the one hand, with the kind of social changes — whether revolutionary or reformist, through which people enlarge their autonomy and reduce their subjection to external authority.

But this is to suggest that there can be "social changes" which "enlarge autonomy and reduce authority" within the State, a belief which is pure liberalism — for liberalism is the conception of freedom within the State just as anarchism is its conception beyond it (to put it in class terms is completely beyond Colin Ward's term of reference). It is here the flaw in his reasoning comes, for viewing liberalism as a sort of complementary philosophy to anarchism (you get as much as you can your way, and we'll get as much as we can our way) — he comes at times close to losing his way altogether since the deceptive corollary is to get it the easier way — without struggle or resistance.

As editor of the old Anarchy* Colin Ward called to his aid, to justify the anarchist philosophy — not to make it more

clearly defined for at times it writers were totally incomprehensible in order the better to display their intellectuality - but to make it more respectable - the militant liberals of the nuclear disarmament movement who dashed off their learned articles in the common-rooms of universities. What has happened to them all now? It was a movement that has gone with the wind - what remained of it went, with the sniff of anarchism in the air, with the wind up. Like Kropotkin in "An Appeal to the Young" (and his outlook is very Kropotkinian) Ward asked them to explain anarchist ideas in terms of cybernetics and sociology and all the trendy subjects - even criminology - and the liberal pundits went to it with a will . . . to halt with blank amazement when an anarchist inadvertently found his way into the columns and said pointblank - for instance - that prisons should be abolished. Forthwith. But how? "He gives no indication of how this should be done" they cried.

One feels (even if it could have got past the spike!) a formula for the destruction of prison buildings would have upset their non-violent souls even more. But basically their concern was how could one abolish an institution with no concern for the - well, the State, but they wouldn't put it that way.

An extreme of this liberal "anarchism" is given in Giovanni Baldelli's unintentionally hilarious *Social Anarchism* (published by Penguin) when he suggested maybe we ("we"? The State? The capitalists?) could try dropping a law at a time and seeing if "we" could do without it. . . if "we" could, and "we" managed OK, maybe "we" could try dropping another . . . Thus - wait for it, folks, you've heard this before - revolution would be "outmoded".

Colin Ward himself would never drop to this level of social liberalism; and in *Anarchy in Action* he is very careful to prune away the excesses of nonsense of the militant liberals and non-volunteers who filled the pages of the old *Anarchy* before they disappeared into Academe.

Though the cover gives a picture of anarchists in action, the book has nothing to do with that at all - the blurb offers it as the "social theory of the alternative society" but it is not that either (the social theory of the alternative society is liberal fascism). What the book is an honest, though circumscribed, attempt to show how a limited application of anarchist principles may be made within in State preserving some civil rights. It therefore has relevance to many issues of the day, and, while it ignores social change, and therefore, avoids all discussion of a future society - and one suspects (but without proof) the author may have some reservations as to whether that is immediately achievable or not - within those limitations it is a major achievement in the discussion of Anarchism.

*The new series of *Anarchy* adopts a very different attitude.

GOOD ADVICE

IT'S NOT ALL AT THE CO-OP.

Under the conditions generally prevailing, it seems timely to inform or remind comrades that food may be obtained much more cheaply and perhaps with less effort in the long run if it is bought in bulk direct from farmers and market gardeners. This is particularly true at harvest time, when crops can be bought literally "off the field" and there is no carting or storing to pay for.

Tenants' associations are obvious bodies to purchase and distribute. Strike committees too, but make sure housewives supervise the buying. Pensioners' organisations need help with transport and humping.

To many the countryside is a closed book, but keep your eyes open at the greengrocer's and you will soon get an idea of what is available locally. Better still, look up harvest times in a farming encyclopedia (local library), listen to the farm reports on the radio or watch TV Sunday dinnertime. Then just drive up to the nearest farm and ask from there; or use the yellow pages and 'phone first to save petrol. Ideally, make friends with some gypsies living permanently near your town or city (they have horses and scrap iron together in a field by the road); they always know who grows what and where.

Get some idea of the going price "at the farm gate" or "off the field" before you do a deal; the farmer's crop is his livelihood and he aims to sell it dear (it may fail the next year). Always inspect the goods before you even begin to bargain and if in doubt ask for a sample, to take and cook if need be. The dodgy crops are roots and potatoes, conveniently available ex-farm all through the winter, but which can be flavourless and full of water. The best produce is grown with farmyard manure, not chemicals, though all but a few use some chemical fertilizer. Salads are often grown for sale by people with quite small gardens.

Even if you feel insulted by the price asked by one man, just refuse politely; that way he'll be cheaper next year. But be prepared to haggle, and expect a good discount for quantity. Also, enquire about transport; farm diesel is a lot cheaper than petrol. And always be discrete; many farmers are under contract to the food companies and must make any sales to you "under the counter".

At harvest time, unripe, over-ripe, undersized or damaged but perfectly wholesome fruit and vegetables can be bought very cheaply indeed (ask for "seconds"). At most times of year cracked, or misshapen eggs ("seconds again") are available at poultry farms or egg packing stations (you surely didn't think that posh restaurants used anything else, did you?). Sometimes in summer farmers have milk returned to them that has gone sour (*not* rotten, as in the bottle), and ten gallons of sour milk makes a lot of cottage cheese (or yoghurt if you are ambitious); just be sure the milk is "accredited brucellosis-free".

Finally remember that farms are often useful sources of casual employment from June to October; but don't aim to try Californian grape-pickers' tactics on the bloke with fifteen acres and the cheapest spuds in miles: he probably works for a boss himself for six months in the year!

ROBINSON CRUSOE.

Improving on misprints . . . but the reference in the last quiz to Charles Bradlaugh as 'George' Bradlaugh was not Homer nodding, but our lady typesetter who also, in the book review betrayed by a Freudian slip (*sweetshop* instead of *sweatshop*) that she's not as exploited as she makes out!

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Letters

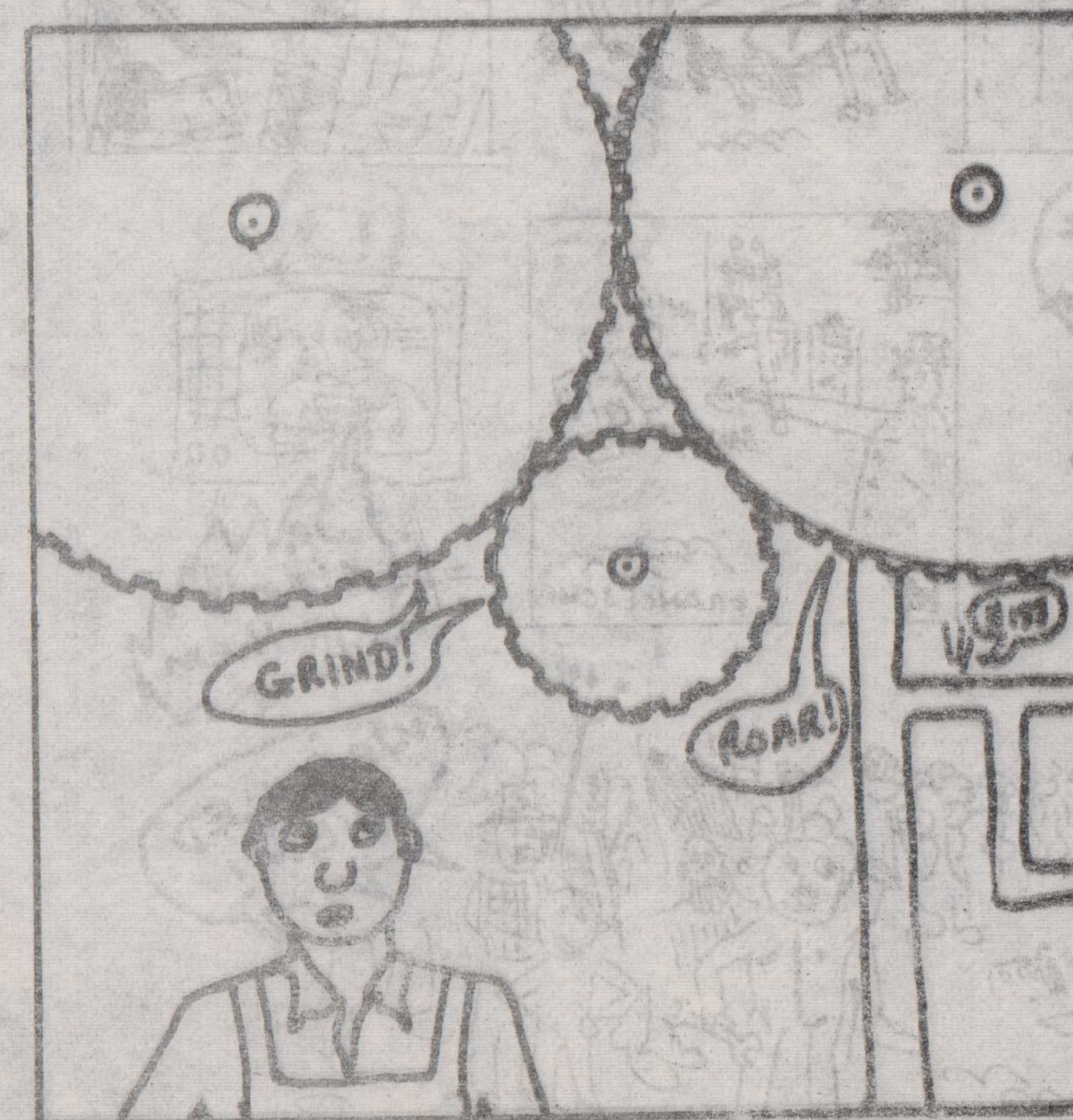
Dear Comrades,

In my view, your article "Allah and Petrol" overlooks an important element in Marxist support of the Arab "cause": anti-Jewish prejudice. Marxists have been anti-Jewish since Marx himself. In his essay on the Jewish question, written in the same year as he "humanist" essays, Marx asserts that a Jew is nothing but a capitalist in concentrated form. In a similar way, our modern Marxists, with their nationalist preoccupations, assert that Israel is little more than a U.S. base, preserving for the rulers of the Zionist State a venom unmatched by any they loose on those of any other American dependency.

The Jew-bating that is endemic in Christendom is also an original element of the Marxist movement. Anti-Zionism gives anti-semitism an acceptable guise, just as do the current attacks on "property speculators". Of course, the individual Marxist who attacks Israel for "socialist" reasons, can no more help his prejudice than the Bishop of Stepney who holds prayer outside the Jewish-owner Centrepont for charitable reasons. Comrade Gollan - Healey - Cliff - Ali - Birch etc., is no more a "bad man" than is Father Huddleston. They have just chosen creeds which accord with their prejudices.

M.H.

(Note: The Russian State has incorporated many features of the old including the Tsarist use of anti-semitism. But in our view it would be a mistake to equate Marxism with anti-semitism, a virtually unknown expression in Marx's time, when the most rabid persecutors of the Jews considered that they changed their alleged inherent nature by the miraculous waters of Holy Baptism. This belief (most of those appertaining to reasons for Jewish persecution are of equal scientific value) is apparent in Marx's essays on the Jews which was written when he was still immature, and under the influence of Heira. He did not know he was to become a god whose writings would be taken as holy writ. Many of the Leninist circle of Jewish intellectuals, such as Trotsky, have an element of self-flagellation on the Jewish "question". But it is a mistake, in our view, to equate them with the "Cossack" type of anti-semitism later utilised by Stalin which comes up on the question of Zionism - a creed which has in reality today nothing more to do with the subject of "anti-semitism" than the problems of Pakistanis in England has to do with the conflict in the Indian continent.)



Makhno, Schwarzbart and their circle.

I too have followed with interest the articles and letters in the flag on Makhno and Schwarzbart. EBM mentioned Ausubel's "A Pictorial History of the Jewish People" (Letters December issue) which I suddenly realised I had on my shelves - a present from a relative to the children some years ago. Somewhat ashamed at harbouring this type of propaganda, I looked up the reference to Makhno which you quote in full. The paragraph you quote is by way of a caption to a photograph (REPRODUCED HEREWITH). It states that it is a photograph of Schwarzbart giving defence evidence at the trial, questioned by the famous civil rights lawyer Maitre Torres.

I looked at this with a magnifying glass - (the photograph is here blown up). It is obvious - as anyone can tell referring back to the photograph you published of Makhno - that the witness is not Schwarzbart giving evidence but Makhno!

Obviously Schwarzbart called on Makhno to give evidence as to the nature of Petlura's pogroms. This photograph, therefore, to be seen is Ausubel's book, fully demolishes his "lie, or ignorance" about Makhno being a fellow-general of Petlura's, as also the other guy's version of Schwarzbart as a "Soviet agent"!

London

J.C.

Dear Black Flag,

There is a rumour going around - no doubt a false and malicious one, but one which sounds as if it just might be true - that the one and only Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists is planning a recruitment drive under the slogan "Join the O.R.A., as a first step towards building the Workers' Revolutionary Party!"

Set our minds at rest, O.R.A. comrades. It isn't true is it?
DAVE COULL

Answer to Quiz

1. Apparently, God.
2. The English State (under Edward VI) at the time of Ket's Rebellion of 1549.
3. Daisy Countess of Warwick, former lover of Edward VII, who endeavoured to blackmail them.
4. Herbert Wehner was a member of the anarcho-syndicalist workers' movement (FAUD) in Berlin at one time until, convinced by early Leninist writings of the petty bourgeois nature of anarchist opportunism, he entered the mass party of the workers, the Socialist Party of Germany, and has thus finished up a Cabinet Minister.
5. He pictured the Pope sitting in the ruins of the Vatican working as a bookmaker's clerk. (What would a bookmaker be doing in a free society?)
6. Rothschild floated a loan to the Commune against the assets of the Paris municipality - which the reactionaries were bound to respect if they won, but which prevented the Commune in triumph from confiscating the wealth of a creditor - something unacceptable to the notions of honour of the time.

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Does that mean 'arold will get in?