

It has a frightened look in its eyes

General Sir Walter Walker — former NATO Commander in Chief in Northern Europe — cannot be dismissed as an isolated crank. He is endeavouring to carry the infamous Kitson theories into practice. He is not going to allow, he says, "these political bully boys, trade union communists and wretched young anarchists to bring Britain to her knees".

The wretched young anarchists have some remarks to make about the miserable old generals, who from their armchairs in pleasant clubs, with a whiskey-and-soda by their side, and farm hideouts which they have got by the sacrifice of the worker and the humiliation of the soldier, set out to fight the people now that their army is no longer capable of meeting a foreign enemy.

Walker has many friends in high places in the Forces. It is their support he hopes to get for his new private army. They intend to recruit "trustworthy, loyal, level-headed men" says this disciple of Bulldog Drummond "ready to respond to the call when anarchy, subversion or political militancy strike". It is striking now, you gutless old sod — why are you waiting for your ku kluxers? Don't you dare attack the people until you have the backing of the Army and the blind eye of the police?

He plans to recruit 500 to step in such as in "that ghastly business at Grosvenor Square" — i.e. he intends to break up political demonstrations. He has the backing of rifle clubs and plane clubs. One such plane club "is run on airforce lines and could supply several aircraft . . . we also have an associated parachute club."

States General Walker: "This could be very useful for liaison and trouble-shooting, particularly with industrial troubles all over the country."

He is selecting local controllers and vetting members of

his elite corps. "We shall be called Fascists," he said. He is not frightened about that. What he aims to do is to go out and break up political demonstrations but above all workers' struggles for higher wages, "in defence of the middle classes".

The way to deal with such an organisation is not to allow it to choose the battlefield. In the thirties, the Communists chose to confront Sir Oswald Mosley in the East End, and in other working class districts. Life was made hell for the inhabitants. Every night Sir Oswald retired to his country house or his London flat. When it was all over, he took a chateau in Paris. It was good recruiting for the Commies but not so hot for the workers on the spot. Sir Walter Walker lives at delectable East Lambrook Farm, East Lambrook, near Yeovil, Somerset which is nicely tucked away but not so much that one could not take a few charabancs down from Bristol . . . his three aides are stockbroker Major Alexander Greenwood; Liet. Col. Robert Butler, a retired businessman clinging to his military title; and an unknown, but we are assured military-grounded Peter Burnand — all of whose addresses we shall publish in the event of their sending goon squads to attack the workers.

We all know there are certain sections of the workers they will never dare go near . . . imagine sending these fancy-pants officers and their batmen down to the docks. This is why they fancy Enoch Powell for leader, he is the one Tory who can, by his demagogy, get a hearing for the right wing. But they had better know what they are taking on. The wretched Anarchists, unlike the neo-Marxists, are not sold on the idea of 'confrontation in the streets'. We will take them on at East Lambrook Farm any time without even waiting for a counter-revolution.

How outrageous!

1) Carefully shit into a french-letter. This has no "splash" as yet so



2) place another french-letter over the top, so as to close it and



3) roll it down as in diagram.



4) Turn this second condom upside down and add 100cc piss.



5) Tie the top of this second condom.



6) Emulsify contents in order to ensure satisfactory splatter on impact. Optimum weight 250 grms.



Field tested against Japanese Emperor Hirohito, official visit to Copenhagen, 1971, by Japanese left wing (non-sectarian) radicals of Europe.

Actually it didn't hit the Emperor only his car but the results were said to be satisfactory from the point of view of those lost to all moral shame — shit-stirrers in the wildest sense.

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 How Outrageous!

State of Play

Black Flag	
C/fwd ... Credit \$206 in clearing	84.45
deficit	47.40
credit balance	37.05
Sales & subs to July 24	48.55
Donations A & R £4.91 (Germany); L.S. £4 (London)	
R.W. £6, J.B. £2.80 (Ireland); Marxist (London) £1	
part proceeds Santa Teresa picnic (Calif) \$50 - £20.75	
total	39.46
credit	125.06



Paper supplies	98.00
Printing costs to July 24	57.00
Stationery	3.30
Literature	7.00
Guillotine	10.00
Postage	25.00
	300.30

deficit c/fwd: £75.24.

Prisoners/Resistance Fund

Balance in hand	43.99
pt proceeds Santa Teresa picnic (Calif) \$100	41.50
R.E. (Liverpool) £2	

S.B. (Hants) £4
 B. 70p IWW (Toronto) \$10 -
 £3.99, L.T. (Newcastle-u-L) £1

Disbursements	97.18
Earmarked Spain £60;	
S.N. 5 Committee £10	70.00
Balance in hand	27.18

100 pts (SB) and 3,500 pts per AG balance Spanish visits sent direct to prisoners' wives. Clothing per AG also acknowledged.

NOTE: We can use for Centre used records, clean rags, useful scrap also sold for prisoners' fund — clothes ditto or sent direct. Trading stamps; used stamps also handy.

International Libertarian Centre

C/fwd deficit	385.55
Rent to July	242.64
Electricity	9.63
Gas	13.24
Phone	9.00
	274.51
	660.06
Sub-rents	286.50
Collections	
for rent	25.00
Donation GR	5.00
	316.50

deficit:
 £343.56

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What have the Lundies in common with Castle Catholics?
2. How was it that James Ramsay Macdonald, an unknown Lossiemouth schoolteacher and recent recruit of the I.L.P., was elected secretary of the Labour Representation Committee, which became the Labour Party, in 1900 (and so, ultimately, Labour's first Prime Minister)?
3. In a new book, "Crusade in Spain" ex-International Brigadier Jason Gurney says political commissar Dave Springhall "was later imprisoned in England for spying on behalf of the Nazis". I never discovered what caused the switch in his allegiance. Is Gurney's allegation true or false?
4. In which country is there a public monument to the International Brigade?
5. What (according to radical poet Heinrich Heine) was the way in which demagogic republican Ludwig Borne learned to become a vitriolic writer against the German States of the eighteen-forties; and what convinced Borne that the time was ripe for a democratic republic?

answers on page 15

YOU KNOW SUCHUS,
 PERHAPES WE
 SHOULD
 SUBSCRIBE
 TO
 "BLACK FLAG"



PROSPECTS OF CHANGE

Pio Baroja said of the Spanish Army that in time of peace it shot the people and in time of war it ran away — General Franco was its personification, lifting the art of shooting the people to civil war and military occupation, and the art of running away to a diplomatic avoidance of his obligations to the regimes that put him in power. There was nobody of Franco's stature among the Greek colonels, and though they maintained the art of military occupation without the need for civil war (because they met so much less resistance), their moment of truth in time of war found them lacking.

Suffering from the occupational hazard of military rulers, they flattered themselves in their paranoia that, because they were able to defeat the workers at home they were therefore invincible heroes and able to take on the classical national enemy. They decided to move in on Cyprus despite the Turkish "interest" and oust the wily cleric Makarios from his position as ruler, so that they could incorporate Cyprus in Greece (as he had promised to do so before the lure of his own little princely ethnarchy proved too great to overcome). They were sure they could show the Turks what was what just as they had shown the Greek working class.

In the first few days their dream collapsed; but of course with the awakening of "national spirit" there was no lack of Greek Cypriots ready to give their lives — and plenty more not ready at all, but compelled to do so. Both the Turkish army and Greek guards shot, tortured and interned in conditions of humiliation. The privations and slaughter had to go on for a bit, because both sides wanted a slightly more favourable edge to the subsequent talks. This is the pattern of today's diplomacy; and while the babies are screaming and their parents being shot, the prospect of another day or two to build up a stronger position in the "talks" that follow is alluring to smooth-tongued statesmen in every country — though if anyone ever ruffles their calm by directing a rifle at the wrong target — such as themselves — the hue-and-cry over "terrorism" deafens the noise of the battle. None have protested more loudly against the wicked Anarchists than these white-suited Greek and Turkish statesmen who sit over whisky-on-the-rocks and say they will be prepared to talk when there has been a little more fighting — who excuse the massacres and the rape and the murder and work out that it can all go on for a day or two more . . . but who will call out the Army reserves if so much as a window pane in their

own palatial homes gets broken by way of protest.

When one reads of babies being shot in their mothers' arms by the invading Turks — or even, on a much lesser scale, sees those degrading photos of interned civilian Turks stretching out their hands over the barbed wire for a drink of water against hard cash from their captors — one's mind goes back to those recent trials of Anarchists and others in both Greece and Turkey, whom the militarists have denounced as the last word in wickedness because of their resistance to nationalism and war and the holding of hostages to free prisoners.

Those who are fiercest in the shooting of the people never turn up to war to run away themselves and consequently are the most indignant that "terrorist" attacks should not be indiscriminate blows at one people as against another but highly discriminate attacks on themselves. Armies preach serious heroism but cowardice runs through the senior ranks and never more so than when those senior ranks usurp the civil functions. They all think themselves Napoleons . . . but Napoleon too was a coward of the same type, who fought to the death . . . of others . . . but proved to be highly obsessed with the need to save his own skin.

The end of the Greek junta is hailed by the bourgeoisie for it marks a return to the democratic form of dictatorship that was ruling before they took over. The extra-repressive nature of the military regime has perhaps made it seem that the days from 1945 were hardly halcyon days for freedom. The parliamentarians ruled, but their main object was the suppression of working-class activity (just as was the case in Chile when Allende was in power). They crushed however the only force that could have preserved the crumbling democratic state. Now perhaps the workers will move again into the struggle though there is less tradition and less signs of this in Greece than in Portugal, where the new regime struggles (with the aid of the Communist Party) to keep down the working class movement which feels that after all these years now is the time for action.

The crumbling of two military states however must be welcomed, though in both cases it comes after military setbacks and not because of the will of the people (this is what the politicians euphemistically term a "bloodless revolution"). Nowhere more clearly than in Greece could the vicious nature of State, Church, Army, Capitalism, Nationalism be seen. Each stood out in stark relief as in a classical tragedy. The case for Anarchism is so plain that it suffers the fate of being the most vilified, distorted and persecuted of all movements.

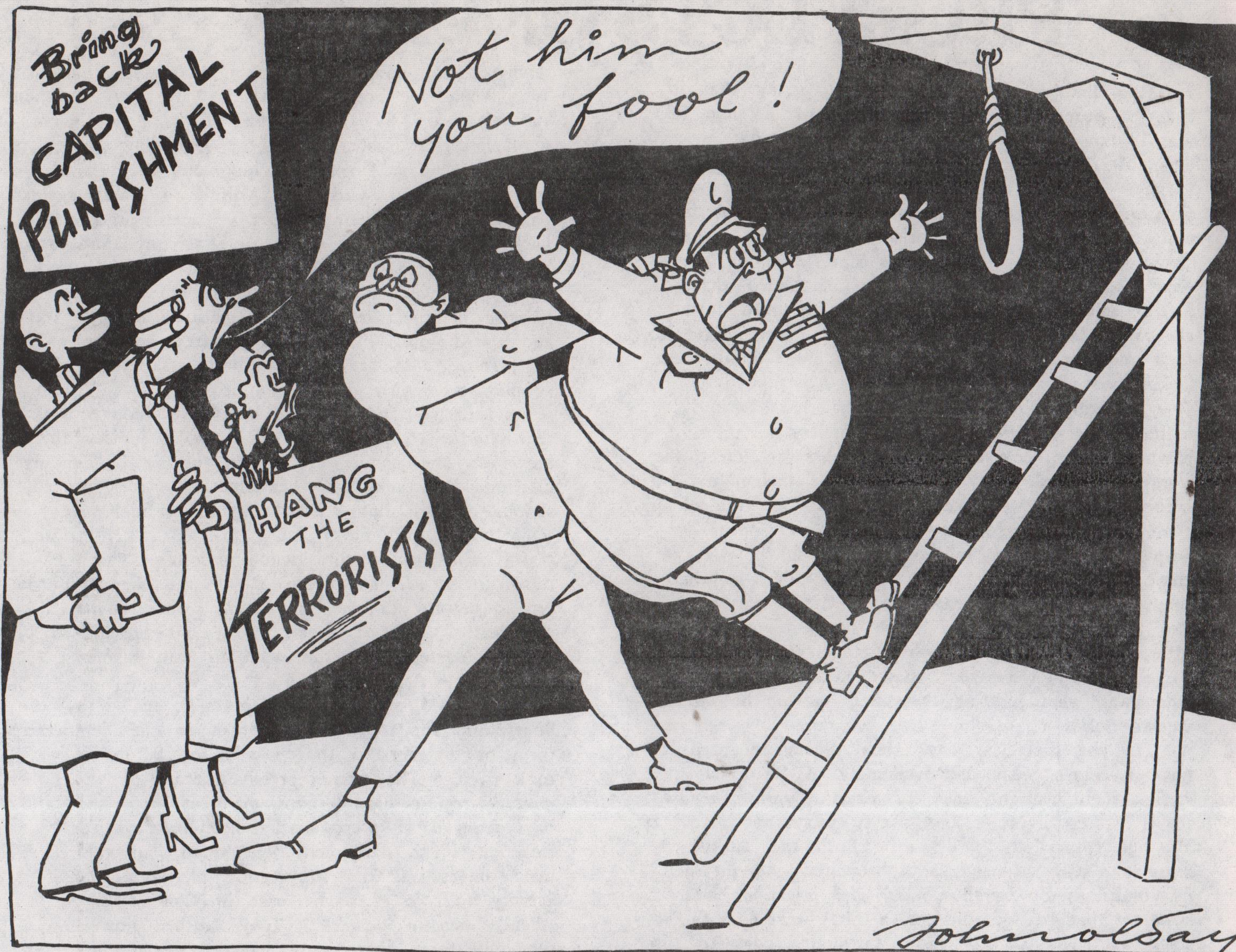
S.N.5

Dr. Shirley Summerskill (MP for Halifax and now at the Home Office) has "carefully and sympathetically considered" points made by us on behalf of the Stoke Newington 5 but does not think there is any reason for "interference with the sentence" (despite the recommendation of the jury to clemency). She is "satisfied" that there is "adequate medical advice and care" at Holloway for Hilary Creek.

In the case of Jake Prescott, sentenced in December 1971, he became eligible for parole in March 1974 but

it was turned down by the Parole Board and the case will not be heard again until next March. The others, sentenced a year later, have not become eligible for consideration for parole.

It will be recalled that in the case of the Price sisters, the Home Office pleaded that they could not give way to "blackmail" and "improper pressures". In this case these pressures were not applied. Yet they still could not give way, though to have done so would have been a guarantee that the Home Office was genuine in the private deals it was making, via Lord Brockway, with the Price Sisters.



THE LIE MACHINE

"Detectives investigating the Tower of London bomb outrage," stated T.A. Sandrock, crime correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, were considering the possibility it was "the work of an anarchist movement encouraged by the I.R.A."

His heading was TOWER BOMBERS MAY HAVE BEEN ANARCHISTS. "One of the factors influencing this thinking," stated Sandrock, was that the IRA depended upon the support of Irish Americans "and would not want to antagonise them by placing a bomb at a place popular with American tourists". So they asked the anarchists to do it!

This fantastic theory (which did not survive the early editions) may have been got from the police, or may have been Mr. Sandrock flying a political kite for the benefit of his paper's views. It appeared on July 19th — and was totally contradicted by later editions when the headline read POLICE NAME 3 IN TOWER BOMB HUNT. The "three Belfast-born men" were not members of an "anarchist movement encouraged by the IRA" at all. Sandrock nailed Sandrock's own lie. The "guilty anarchists" disappeared — after confirming political prejudices.

The bomb *might* have been planted by crime reporters encouraged by the Tory Party. To hold this supposition intelligently, one would have to prove to oneself first that crime reporters did this sort of thing and that it might help the Tory Party. No instances of a similar occurrence by anarchists have ever occurred; no suggestion as to how the IRA can "encourage anarchist movements" to support

nationalism and religion (of which anarchism is the negation) has ever been offered, nor how this would benefit the latter.

Mr. Sandrock *really* meant that the police were considering the possibility that English or English-born-Irish Roman Catholics had planted the bomb in sympathy with the IRA; he could not say "Roman Catholic" so (using the police rule which the Evening News adopted) "Catholics" became "Anarchists!" Had the incident happened in Belfast or Derry, of course, the reporter could have said in a moment whether it was a "Catholic" or a "Protestant" bomb! In London it had to be an "Anarchist" one, until the police could say (later that day) it was an Irish IRA one.

Meanwhile over at the Evening News, the editor wanted an article on people who "threw bombs, that sort of thing" so he asked Caren Meyer to write a series on "THE ANARCHISTS". She did four articles. But she had no more idea than the editor what anarchists were so she did three on the Trotskyists — IS, IMG and WRP. Told that this was not complete, she threw in a fourth article, on the National Front. At the very last moment, one of the subs who had done a little reading appreciated that the title was all wrong. Healey, Cliff, Tariq Ali and the rest (let alone the Natfront!) might be many things . . . but to put the series over as "The Anarchists" would expose Miss Meyer to ridicule. It appeared with the headline "THE WRECKERS".

...the lie direct

In the Daily Telegraph of August 1st, the mysterious anarchist theory is pursued. Here referring to the discovery of incendiaries in Birmingham cinemas and shops, James Allan states on the front page that "police are not convinced that all the attacks (in Birmingham) have been the work of the Provisional IRA. Anarchist groups are suspected of jumping on the bandwagon."

This malicious lie has been made deliberately, since in no single instance — either in Birmingham or the rest of the world — have anarchist groups ever let off indiscriminate bombs in this way in 100 years of anarchist activity. Nothing whatever connects stateless socialism with its opposition to nationality and religion with the IRA. No conceivable publicity or motive could accrue to the anarchist movement from attacks generally attributed to the Provisional IRA. Anarchist attacks — for instance those on Franco, Mussolini etc., — which have made them the subject of hostility from ruling-class circles, have always been against individual tyrants or dictators, or against property in certain instances.

How anonymous attacks could be thought by anarchists to have a publicity effect, or how there could exist a "bandwagon" on which they could jump, remains obscure and Mr. Allan does not go on further to describe. The reference, like that of Mr. T.A. Sandrock, is a lie.

But the interesting point is WHO IS THE LIAR? Was it Mr. Allan . . . or was it Mr. Maurice Buck, Birmingham's Assistant Chief Constable (Crime) who is mentioned in the previous paragraph of Mr. Allan's story and after whose name the reference "Police are not convinced . . ." appears. Mr. Allan's motives as employed by a Conservative paper concerned to give tendentious reports can be understood. What are Mr. Buck's?

It is interesting to note that though the story appeared on August 1st, to date exhaustive inquiries show that NOT ONE SINGLE INQUIRY, NOT ONE RAID, NOT ONE QUESTION has been put by Birmingham Police to any anarchist group or individual whatever. Though they are said to be "not convinced" that the work was that of the Provisional IRA, their inquiries were confined to republican sympathisers. Are they failing in their duty — or is it a hoax story?

The malicious nature of such a hoax story (and even more so if it comes from Mr. Buck and not Mr. Allan) is that it acts in effect as an incitement to violence, since it suggests that not only can Irish republicans use indiscriminate attacks on the public at large as a weapon in their struggle but that it might also be effective by those aiming at libertarian socialism; and connects the struggle against individual abuse of power, such as the Anarchist movement has operated in many countries, with the type of national war used by the IRA.

see you in hell!

An international anarchist conference will be held in Hell during the early part of August. The libertarian groups and federations of Scandinavia are meeting in the town of Hell (near Trondheim) in Norway.

ITALY

MARINI

The trial of Giovanni Marini began in Salerno early this year but had been adjourned just when it seemed to be coming to a close — supposedly because of a public demonstration (which was broken up by the carabinieri anyway). It was postponed by the State prosecution and transferred to Vallo della Lucania in the province of Salerno — a remote village, difficult to reach, where it was hoped Marini would be isolated from support. Nevertheless, though the trial went on for more than a month with a few sessions each week, the anarchists managed to maintain a constant presence in large numbers in the court-room.

Certain facts came out about the case showing that the police had made false statements — for instance, the policeman who arrested Marini said that the latter admitted stabbing two fascists. The policeman's direct superior, however, gave the lie to this. Another police statement said that the fascist killed was almost blind, and was therefore unable to have made an attack in the manner described by the defence. Yet an expert appointed by the tribunal agreed however, that while the dead man had worn glasses, he could see normally and drove a motor cycle.

A friend of Marini's testified that he had talked to her of frequent threats made against him by fascists because of his militant activity — for a time he had been obliged to leave Salerno — and told her he carried a knife for protection. But she added that it was a penknife that could do no great harm to anyone. She did not recognise the knife shown to her as Marini's. Another witness confirmed that there were many other fascists present in addition to Falvella and Alfinito when Marini and his anarchist friends were attacked in the Via Velia. This the State denied.

Another witness for the defence, a journalist from Florence (summoned to appear) admitted that in his Conservative paper he had published an official declaration of the M.S.I. (neo-fascist) leader Almirante which stated that he encouraged his followers to fight their political adversaries through physical confrontation in the street. This came just before the attack on Marini, Mastrogiovanni and Scariati, and it is reasonable to suppose there was a connection between the command and the attack, which turned out fatal for the main attacker.

The fascist lawyers present maintained that Marini was guilty, a bloodthirsty, violent and bestial man, who had killed a helpless fascist merely passing him by while out with a group of friends. The State followed suit and demanded 18 years for Marini, and one year for Mastrogiovanni (who had been beaten up by the fascists, and to whose aid Marini had come).

Marini was found guilty and sentenced to 12 years, Mastrogiovanni acquitted.

In the year following the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements, the U.S. sent 86,000 bombs and 360 million pounds of other ammunitions to South Vietnam. The Pentagon reports it will spend 3.4 billion dollars in the current fiscal year in Southeast Asia. This means that Nixon's 'Peace with Honour' is costing 4,000,000 dollars an hour.

FRANCO'S JACKALS

Interpol all out to smash anti-Francoists
Brigada Politico-Social arrest anarchists on information
supplied by French Police.



Luis Andres Edo David Urbano Bermudez
Two of the comrades held in Barcelona
Carcel Modelo de Barcelona.

We have just heard that 26 persons were arrested in Barcelona on the orders of the French Examining Magistrate, Alain Bernard. Five of them, all of whom are Anarcho-Syndicalist Trade Unionists remain in custody. They are:-

Luis Edo	arrested	25th June
Luis Burro	"	25th June
David Urbano	"	26th June
Juan Ferra	"	1st July
Margarita Guejano	"	1st July

Among the eight arrested comrades were two whose names are well-known to readers of the Black Flag — Luis Andres Edo and David Urbano Bermudez.

Both these comrades have only recently been released from Spanish prisons where they had served long sentences for their activities against the bloody Francoist regime.

Edo had been arrested in 1966 and was sentenced to nine years imprisonment for his alleged part in the kidnap attempt against Rear Admiral Norman Gillette, the C in C of North American forces in Spain. He was released in 1972 having served eight years of his sentence and returned to join his wife and family in Paris. Unable to get a job due to bureaucratic and police harassment, Edo was only able to feed and support his young family by working with a small anarchist collective doing odd jobs around Paris. All the time he was under constant police surveillance by the French (and Spanish) police, and on numerous occasions he was picked up and taken to the Quai des Ofevres where he was physically threatened and told his papers would be withheld, meaning that he would be returned to the Spanish border and delivered into the hands of his enemies.

David Urbano Bermudez, another young militant of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth — the anarchist youth organisation FIJL — had only recently been released after serving a six year sentence for "illegal propaganda". Within a matter of weeks of his release he was re-arrested and charged with the same offence — the old cat and mouse game. David, an untiring and uncompromising organiser, activist and propagandist was obviously too dangerous to remain free. At the time of his arrest he was on bail for the "illegal propaganda" charge.

It is almost certain that the Spanish police will attempt to implicate both Luis and David in some way with the organisation of the MIL/GAC and GARI inside Spain. This will mean a court martial and consequent long terms of imprisonment at the least.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY COMMISSION

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH SPANISH RESISTANCE

There have been developments since the police actions against the MIL activists in Spain detailed in Black Flag no. 10 Vol. III. There has occurred a systematic campaign of repression against the anarchists on the part of the Spanish authorities.

Since the beginning of the year the Spanish government has made 150 arrests of supposed anarchist militants, and later events indicate that this was part of a deliberate attempt by the Spanish government to destroy the libertarian movement in Spain.

The Spanish press has played its part with stories of the dispersal of an anarchist group "Organizaccio de Lluita Armada", which is alleged to consist of political and guerrilla wings. But it seems that this 'scare story' has been given prominence because the authorities fear an extension of the activities of the MIL and are trying to spread confusion to prevent this.

Another way they do this is by referring to all resistance activities as communist, whether they are anarchist or not. And in this connection the declaration of comrade Puig Antich "I admit myself to be a communist" has been widely reported, usually without the following sentence, which was, "But a libertarian one. I make no distinction between anarchism and libertarian communism; it is the same thing."

In view of these and other developments comrades in France have decided to establish a "Commission of Active International Solidarity" to combine three principal areas of activity.

(1) It is proposed to take direct action against those who collaborate with Francoism in economic, military and police matters. Action in solidarity can be carried out as the need arises. On these occasions trade unions must be made to face up to their responsibilities. Also the support will be sought of all those who are in a position to wield some influence or pressure on the Spanish authorities.

(2) Comrades are urged to send to the Commission all available information and statistics on the various forms of collaboration with Francoism in the spheres mentioned, and also any details they might have of anti-Franco action within Spain, or on the international scene. This information will be made available by the publication of communiqués and pamphlets.

(3) We hope to develop and build up a press and propaganda system in support of our comrades in Spain. This will be a libertarian press and propaganda which will combine anti-Francoism, anti-capitalism and anti-statism.

The address of the Commission is:-

Solidarite International Espagne,
chez "Commune Libre"
BP 521-31011
Toulouse, France.

or via Anarchist Black Cross, 83a, Haverstock Hill,
London N.W.3.

ODDS 'N SODS



A new Bill has passed the House of Lords stage without discussion, the Parks Regulations Amendments Bill which redesignates park keepers in royal parks as "park constables". It is pointed out that they already have "constabular" duties apart from park keeping, but it is noticeable that they have no duties that are not also those of other inner London parks, under the GLC, or Hampstead Heath, Clapham Common, Epping Forest. What is "different" about the royal parks is their strategic position. They became public as the result of one civil war. Are they to be "policed" because of the preparations for another?

+ + + +

According to Press reports, Marx's tomb in London's Highgate Cemetery was vandalised, the bust toppled over and the words "Lords of anarchy love you" painted on it. "It must have been done by left-wing extremists" stated our absurd press.

Marxists who "loved" Marx — and therefore desecrated his tomb? Hardly likely. Or were the "lords of anarchy" anarchists? Is that what the fools meant?

It would seem clear that the words were written in sarcasm by extremists of the right, or centre, who rarely distinguish between anarchism and Marxism and use the word "anarchy" in a perjorative way as they are sold on authoritarianism.

A lady in California left a fortune to her beloved dogs. As a result they have escaped death for nearly twenty years to live a life of carefully refined torture merely in order to keep them alive, so that the trustees can benefit. The blind crippled dogs, confined in a small space, can still go through their motions as major capitalists. . . . In sunny Spain, too, the ageing Caudillo has been kept alive far beyond his normal span so that unseen faces in the background may benefit. But at long last the pretence is crumbling. . . Franco is dying.

A shiver runs through the regime, for "Franco Franco" was the one and only thing that kept the shebang together. The rule of military law, enforced by a massive pogrom against the workers on an equivalent basis as that of Hitler against the German Jews, both made the regime solid and made its individual components hated. They must hang together or hang separately. There is no peaceful solution possible, no transitional approach to freedom, for the murderers and jailers of the people cannot hope to gain general acceptance by that same people; and their alternative is a dictatorship such as the wily Franco imposed as his contribution to Inquisition Spain which may not outlive him. He has built his own huge memorial tomb with a park surrounding it; but how long will his bones lie there?

On his death bed he has made poor stupid Juan Carlos de Bourbon Head of State, soon to become King. We have good advice to offer don Juan: don't bother to unpack more than a travelling bag.

URUGUAY

The military fascist dictatorship which rules Uruguay adds to its already long list of crimes by its recent repression directed against anarchists dedicated to the resistance against the regime.

A few weeks ago the owner of a cafe in the outskirts of Montevideo called the police to inform them of the presence in his bar of "three suspicious youths". The forces of "Law and Order" arrived soon after and in the resultant gun battle one of the comrades, Larranga, two policemen and the owner of the bar, the informer, were killed. The two other comrades were arrested and charged with belonging to an anarchist guerrilla organisation.

After being savagely tortured in police headquarters the comrades were forced to reveal the whereabouts of one of their arms deposits and information on the infrastructure of the organisation which the police claim extends as far as Buenos Aires where thousands of Uruguayans live in exile. As the case concerned anarchists the Peronist government had no qualms of handing over three supposed conspirators to the Uruguayan police. To another of the arrested anarchists, comrade Carlos Rodriguez, the Peronist authorities preferred expelling him, and put him on a plane for France. However, the plane carrying Carlos landed at Montevideo airport, the first stop on its journey to Europe, and the armed police removed Carlos under close arrest — despite strong resistance on the part of the flight crew and other passengers. At this very moment Carlos Rodriguez, as well as the other three extradited from Buenos Aires and the two arrested in Montevideo are being tortured in the CUARTEL DE LA VILLA DEL CERRO, Uruguay.

The libertarian anti-fascist resistance demands the solidarity of all comrades and revolutionaries to save the lives of these six anarchist fighters.

Gilberto Coghlan, a 38 year old chemist, leader in the l'Union Ferroviaire, and an anarchist militant in ROE, was tortured to death by the Uruguayan fascists using electrical shocks.

ROE (Worker-Student Resistance) is an anarchist structure within the Communist Party-dominated union federation, representing 90% of all Uruguayan workers and outlawed since last year's coup. ROE (Resistance Ouvriere Etudiante) controls the FUNSA syndicates, the printing works, and has strong influence in the FUS health syndicates, the University of Work, TEM, Pepsi, and among bank employees.

ROE has an armed branch, Organisation Revolutionnaire Populaire 33, part of the Tupamaro infrastructure.



LEST WE FORGET!

DUBLIN

Dear Comrades,

Received your letter during our trial last week. The position now is that three of us have been sentenced by the Special Criminal Court (three judges). Edward Jones has been acquitted on conspiracy to cause explosions. Mrs. Marie Murray was given a two year suspended sentence for receiving, and a warrant was issued for the arrest of her husband Noel who failed to appear.

The sentences are as follows. Bobby Cullen given seven years penal servitude for armed robbery, Columba Longmore given four years for receiving and three years for possession of firearms. This sentence to run concurrently. Myself, I was given five years penal servitude for conspiring to cause explosions. The total sentences come to 62 years when added up in relation to all the charges when convicted, although I will not go into each one as that would fill a library. The State chopped and changed various charges right up to the final day of the trial, to their own advantage of course. Leave to appeal was refused in each case. Anyway the whole trial was a farce from start to finish. The State did not bring the political slant into the case except in a very minor detail; this was in regard to names and addresses of Spanish envoys and addresses which they say they found in one of the flats.

Anyway we will live to fight another day no matter what the system tries, and we live in solidarity with you and all our fellow comrades in and outside the jails of the world. Black Flag seems to be improving with every issue, and this is a sure sign that things are moving in the right direction. We see that they are really putting it up to them in Southern France etc. Will you tell all our comrades that we stand united with them, and their fight is ours. Once again from the lads here thank you for your thoughts and we wish you the best of luck in the future.

c/o THE CURRAGH DETENTION CENTRE
Yours,
CURRAGH CAMP Desie Keane
CO. KILDARE. Columba Longmore
Bobby Cullen etc.

Further notes on the Dublin Anarchist trial

We are told by Dublin comrades that they feel that the publicity they received was instrumental in their getting what were comparatively low sentences in the case of Robert Cullen (7 years) and Columba Longmore (4 years) — a 2 years suspended in the case of Marie McPhillips, and an acquittal.

In the case of Desmond Keane, however, there is not the slightest doubt he was framed and for a specific reason. Desmond had not been concerned in the urban guerrilla actions of the others, who admitted that they had taken part in bank raids to raise funds. There was nothing with which he could be charged but the "blanket" one of conspiracy — he was politically involved with them, therefore any criminal actions of theirs, must be his too.

The slightness of the case would be amazing but for one thing. Desmond came to anarchism from Saor Eire. His brother Frank had been in actions of this sort in Saor Eire, it had been alleged, "therefore" it was assumed Desmond would carry them over into anarchism. Five years ago, Frank Keane was accused of shooting a Garda named Fallon in the course of a bank robbery. He was acquitted. But the police hated him and his family ever since.

When Frank naturally, but as it happened unwisely, turned up at his brother's trial, the attitude of the police hardened*. Desmond might have been acquitted for lack of evidence. Evidence soon turned up — a book of "bomb recipes" found at his home by Gardai. The police were laughing their heads off up in the public gallery at Desmond, who is appealing.

* (realising for the first time the relationship).

The Watergates of Anarchy

IN MEMORIAL : PRESIDENT NIXON



Let us just say one thing for President Nixon. He was not (outside his normal Presidential functions, and relating to his own conduct) one of the great scoundrels of the present century. He was an ordinary run-of-the-mill scoundrel who committed the unpardonable sin of breaking the main Commandment: Thou shalt not be found out.

Bugging of premises, break-ins and managed burglaries, the deliberate build-up of lies against political opponents and unscrupulous use of power to defeat them are not peculiar to Nixon. They are part and parcel of the so-called democratic way of life.

Such methods are not normally used within the totalitarian countries which can smash their opponents by the light of day, and only come early in the morning to create more terror. The State is able, when all safeguards have been removed, to take all measures that will enable it to wipe out political opposition.

In countries based on a two or three party system, these actions, which run counter to anyone's notion of even limited liberty and decency, are not normally practised as between the parties, still less within the same party. That is not considered fair, and when the President's men were discovered at it, they were hounded from office to prison.

But such practices against those who lie outside the established parties are the norm of political life not only in the U.S.A., but in England, however hypocritically the press chooses to deny it. We, like the left parties, have suffered defamation campaigns, false arrests, break-ins, staged burglaries, phone bugging and letter opening. If we do not allow ourselves to become paranoid over it, that is not to say it does not exist. If the Labour Party tried a fraction of what we, or the left parties, have taken on the Tories, or vice versa, it would be a "Watergate".

PARIS ELEVEN

On Saturday July 27th, over 70 comrades, representing the Anarchist Black Cross, Centro Iberico, Freedom, ORA, Oxford, Sussex and Birmingham Anarchist Groups, the Syndicalist Workers Federation and individuals marched to the French Embassy to protest against the arrest of 11 comrades in France. 600 police were drafted to control the demo which ended quietly at the French Embassy after a comrade handed in a letter of protest from the Black Cross against the repression of anti-Francoists by the French police.

The Defence Committee for the 11 comrades in France and the five comrades in Barcelona held its first meeting last Wednesday, (Aug. 7th) which was attended by observers from ORA, ASA, Solidarity, Libertarian Communism, Direct Action. The Defence Committee urgently requires money for leaflets and posters, but more important still active solidarity from all comrades, readers, sympathisers and anti-fascists throughout the world.

Write a letter of solidarity NOW to the comrades behind bars today. Also letters of protest to the French Ambassador or Consul and raise it with your Trade Union Branch.



Octavio Alberola Ariane Gransac-Sadori

The names and prisons addresses of the arrested comrades are:—

Octavio Alberola Surinach	1, Avenue de la Division
Georges Riviere	Leclerc,
Lucio Urtubia Jimenez	94261 - FRESNES,
Pierre Gilbert	France.
Arnaud Chastel	

Ariane Gransac-Sadori	9, Avenue des Peupliers,
Annie Plazen	91700 - St. Genevieve des
Anne Urtubia	Bois,
Danielle Haas	France.
Jean Helen Weir	
Chantal Chastel	

Total abstinence is easier

It used to be the principle in schools that the most intelligent sat at the top of the class, the least intelligent at the bottom; the average wits were presumed to be in the middle. That did not work out; but in any assembly people must sit somewhere. Politically, views have been defined — inaccurately, and based on the French Assembly — right, left and centre. No arrangement was ever made that the most rational, the coolest minded or the most cautious should sit in the centre. In the French Assembly after the Second World War, when the "Right" was discredited for its association with Nazism, everyone for a time wanted to sit on the Left. The Gaullists protested that they were a left-wing party.

Today, some Conservatives — who at the time were supporters of Hitler and Mussolini — like to accuse the latter of being "left-wing" — didn't they call themselves national-socialists and national-syndicalists respectively? But of course making out Franco's national-syndicalism "left-wing" would become too ridiculous.

Most of the current extremist propaganda does not come from the so-called Right or the so-called Left at all. It comes from the Centre. But because the Centre is so narrow-minded, bigoted and complacent, it takes for granted that its opinions are those of the majority, without asking them (a silent majority) and that because it takes what is called a "moderate" line in regard to certain financial reforms it is therefore to be equated with moderation. (Unionists, in the sense used by the Tories, have nothing necessarily to do with trade unionists; liberals are not necessarily liberal with their money; socialists are not necessarily sociable nor Conservatives conservative).

A dictatorship of the Centre is quite as possible as that of the Right or Left; it is more likely in the context of Great Britain; its advocates are more extreme (take their views on dealing with IRA terrorism by escalating the situation; on arming the police and so on).

The notion being touted that a "Centre" party could be a Coalition of the "best men of all parties" is a fallacy based upon the lies associated with the parliamentary system. The "best" men and women are not necessarily scattered through the parties, or in them at all; a Coalition divides according to party alignment (the places have to be

apportioned out). The war-time coalition was obliged to give places in the Ministries to make sure all three parties were "fairly" represented.

Because on the whole the so-called Moderate, or Centre, governments tend to be unspectacular their crimes receive less publicity than those of the dictatorships of the Left or Right, since these usually come into power at times of stress. If we take Europe between the wars; the Centre Party in Germany exercised a vicious clerical dictatorship first in Bavaria, then in Austria; it literally sold the pass in Germany proper to the Nazis who could not have succeeded without their help. In Poland its anti-semitism and racialism was the disgrace of the Continent, though the Centre Party carried it out "in moderation" as compared with Hitler. The parties of the Centre carried France through one financial scandal to another, concerned only with corruption, and aiding the rise of fascism. The Centre collapsed in England with the Liberal Party decline between the wars, but it was they who set off the continuing fighting in Ireland. A dictatorship of the Centre existed in Spain under Primo de Rivera long before there was a dictatorship of the Right: the Centre politicians later jumped on to the bandwagon of the Republic and did their best to emasculate the Left. The triumph of the moderate parties in the U.S.A. (assuming Roosevelt to be more or less "Left" as the definition goes) was to bring in so typically "moderate" a form of dictatorship as Prohibition, leading to so vastly expanding a business of crime that everyone said "never again" (until in our day they did it all over again, on the drug scene).

The Centre is not a nice, convenient mean between Right and Left. It is the party of complacency within capitalism as distinct from those who would reform it to make it stronger or, as they would claim, to modify it. It, no less than they, can resort to dictatorship though more often to corruption. It has so far from any monopoly of common-sense, the greatest number of extreme idiocies to its name (the artificial Great Depression a typical "moderate" piece of planning); so far from any monopoly of concern for free speech, it is usually the party of suppression by law (as against suppression by force). If both Right and Left stink, what is to be gained by going in the middle?

AM

GERMANY

ULRICH SCHMUECKER

Black Flag reported in the last issue the killing of "an Anarchist by Anarchists". The shot man was found by American soldiers in the Berlin Grunewald on 5th June. The police stated that they had reason to believe that he had been killed by his own comrades.

The 22 year-old man was identified as student Ulrich Schmuecker. He had been previously arrested (May 72) together with other comrades on their way to Bonn when explosives were found in their car. Schmuecker and his comrade Sommerfeld confessed freely. Schmuecker was condemned to 2½ years only but managed to "disappear underground".

The Anarchist Commando "Black June" declared in a communique that they were responsible for the execution of Schmuecker, whom they found to be a spy. (The next issue of Black Flag will contain a translation of the letters attacking the position and action taken by the Black June group and the replies). The communique contains a detailed questioning of Schmuecker and a commentary by the Black June underground group. "The Commando Black June" has acted on its conviction that traitors within the ranks of the revolution may expect nothing but certain death."

In a lengthy open letter some Berlin Anarchists dissociated themselves in a fashion which makes one wonder if one is dealing with Socialdemocrats or sophisticated Christians, especially as no one has denied that Schmuecker was in fact a spy.

The "German Language Group London" declares full solidarity with the Black June group. Judging from the supporting response as well as the many controversial letters, we may hope, at last, for a clear division in the German movement on the issue of class war.

John Olday — Michael
Buechner.

The Koln Anarchist group "Heinzelmenschem" welcomes in principle the C.I.C.L. plan to publish a 5-language bulletin. The group is willing to support international co-ordination suggested by the ORA-journal Libertaire (Belgium) and ORA-F.L. France on the same basis as the Libertarian-Socialist group Tübingen, namely as an autonomous group. Co-ordination should develop between groups engaged in similar practical day by day local working-class struggle (workshop, community, prison etc). Once co-operation in these fields comes off satisfactorily the next step towards international co-operation can follow. The Koln group appeals to all German Libertarian-Communist and Anarchist groups to discuss the possibilities. (Mutual demos, rallies, lectures etc).

ROON 'N ABOUT



A group of young women were allowed out of a Pacific Highschool class to attend a meeting with Miss Pacific, Miss California and Pacifica Mayor Aubrey Lumley. They spoke to students about the great virtues of beauty contests.

During the mayor's address, Zoe Joyner, suggested to the mayor that he prove his worth by revealing the measurements of his genitals, since the important thing about a woman is her measurements, how about telling us the measurement of your penis she suggested.

With this she walked up to the podium and handed Lumley a tape measure. She she, "I think its a debasing thing for a woman to display herself and the measurements of her breasts to get some trophies in order to sell products."

Seventeen year-old Zoe is now "cooling her heels" during a five-day suspension from school!

LONDON

In a survey of visitors to Madame Tussauds Wax Museum in London, Richard Nixon headed the list for the second year running, as the man the public most 'hated and feared'. Adolf Hitler and Jack the Ripper were close runners-up in the survey where many visitors from abroad, especially the United States were asked to participate in the survey!

SWITZERLAND

An investigation into the profits made by the company manufacturing the world's two leading tranquilisers, Librium and Valium, reveals that the profit margins far exceed other industries.

Librium and Valium, which were introduced in 1960 and 1963, are manufactured by the world's largest drug company, Haffman-La Roche (H-L), based in Basle, Switzerland. H-L sells 1.2 billion dollars worth of drugs each year. The overall profit margin is 15%, but H-L does even better on its two best sellers. Profits run to 40% on the 500 million dollar-a-year sales of Librium and Valium.

OBITUARY

Luise Huppertz, pioneer anarcho-syndicalist and life-long mate of our old comrade Willy Huppertz — of the Ruhr — died on the 27th July. For many decades she took part in the ups and downs of the movement, and like many working class wives, made no song about her involvement. Her devotion to the ideal of freedom expressed itself in untiring, silent sharing of the organisational work through good years and bad. She kept a link in the anarchist chain during the years of the Hitler persecution and in later years, when the few survivors set out to revitalise the movement, helped to keep the wolf from the door when every spare penny was needed for the anarchist paper 'Befreiung'.

Luise has set an example of a lifelong, unshakable conviction and shown liberty is a reality to people with its own fulfilment. She will be sadly missed.

John Olday &
Albert Meltzer.

AMERICA

In 1946 there was a massive strikewave in America. So far 1974 promises to come close to it. The news media is reluctant to report significantly for fear of a spread of industrial action. The press barely mentions certain actions, remembering how quickly the "sit-down craze" swept the country.

The first direct challenge to the Government over energy policies by independent truck drivers could not be covered up.

During the past ten years the runaway shop has emerged as a great threat to American Workers. The Unions stood by helplessly because of their narrow tactical views. The workers in Britain, France, Italy, Australia, and elsewhere had learned to deal with threatened closures by occupying the means of production as a means of protecting their tools. At Clydeside and Lip they actually began resumption of production. Faced by the loss of their jobs, workers followed the example and took over their New York Rhinegold Brewery.

Strikes by municipal employees have not been uncommon. Memorable strikes have been conducted by public workers in New York, Memphis and elsewhere. In San Francisco striking teachers found themselves joined by sanitation workers, transit workers, hospital employees — the City was virtually closed down.

There was the predictable injunction forbidding picketing, to which the unions responded by extending picket lines to the docks. The port of San Francisco was closed as the longshoremen respected the pickets. Two hundred and eighty strikers were arrested and there was intermittent, but sometimes heavy, fighting with the police. The strikers won most of their demands.

In the light of the current great dis-satisfaction of the car workers with the way management has worked, this could indicate increased struggle for self-management in the car industry.

In the steel industry workers are restless under the no-strike agreement between USW President, Abel, and the industry. In making this agreement he violated a promise to union members that he would offer a referendum on the subject (which would have been overwhelmingly rejected by the rank-and-file). Caucuses have sprung up in all major plants with the purpose of forcing the union to break the no-strike agreement. Each day the possibility of a wildcat strike increases which could soon spread throughout the industry.

The United Mine Workers are beginning to live up to their old reputation of being the "shock troops of labour". The United Mine Workers have returned, after a nine month crucial battle, to Harlan County and the Eastern Kentucky coal fields that they deserted in dismay in the '30s. The Union has only one mine out in Harlan, but all the rest in the district are watching closely. Success at that one mine would assure success in the entire region and give a great boost to growing efforts in the greatly-expanding western fields. (Wyoming and Colorado).

The miners' wives played an important part in the strike. When faced with an injunction limiting the number allowed at each picket gate to three, the miners' wives turned out in force. They laid down in the road to block the scab trucks and when the judge ruled that they came under the ruling of the injunction, they fought the police with sticks.

In February and March West Virginia was the hardest hit region in terms of petrol supplies. Many towns were absolutely dry. One West Virginia mayor called a national news network to announce that the first petrol tanker through his town would be stopped at gunpoint,

the petrol confiscated and the driver paid and sent on his way.

The West Virginia miners remembered the effect of the British coal strike and went out on a wildcat strike demanding an increased supply of fuel for the area. Thus for the second time a group of workers in the U.S., had called a strike not over grievances with the boss, but over grievances with the government.

The union tried to persuade the miners to go back to work, but when it became apparent that the union could not stop the action, it assumed official leadership of the strike.

A strong series of precedents has been established for simply ignoring court injunctions or other interventions. There is a strong tendency to ignore union leadership that tries to restrain or forbid action. We may see increased use of sit-down tactics or of occupation as a weapon devised by the rank-and-file.

HAWAII

Towards the end of last year, unrest started in Hawaii's sugar and pineapple industries. The International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union has tried, since December 4th, to negotiate with the owner/growers, but to no avail.

At the beginning of February 90% of sugar and pineapple workers voted to reject the meagre crumbs offered by the bosses and go on strike if necessary. The ILWU bent over backwards, as a gesture of conciliation to the owners. Wage demands were lowered from an increase of 50 cents an hour to 40 cents.

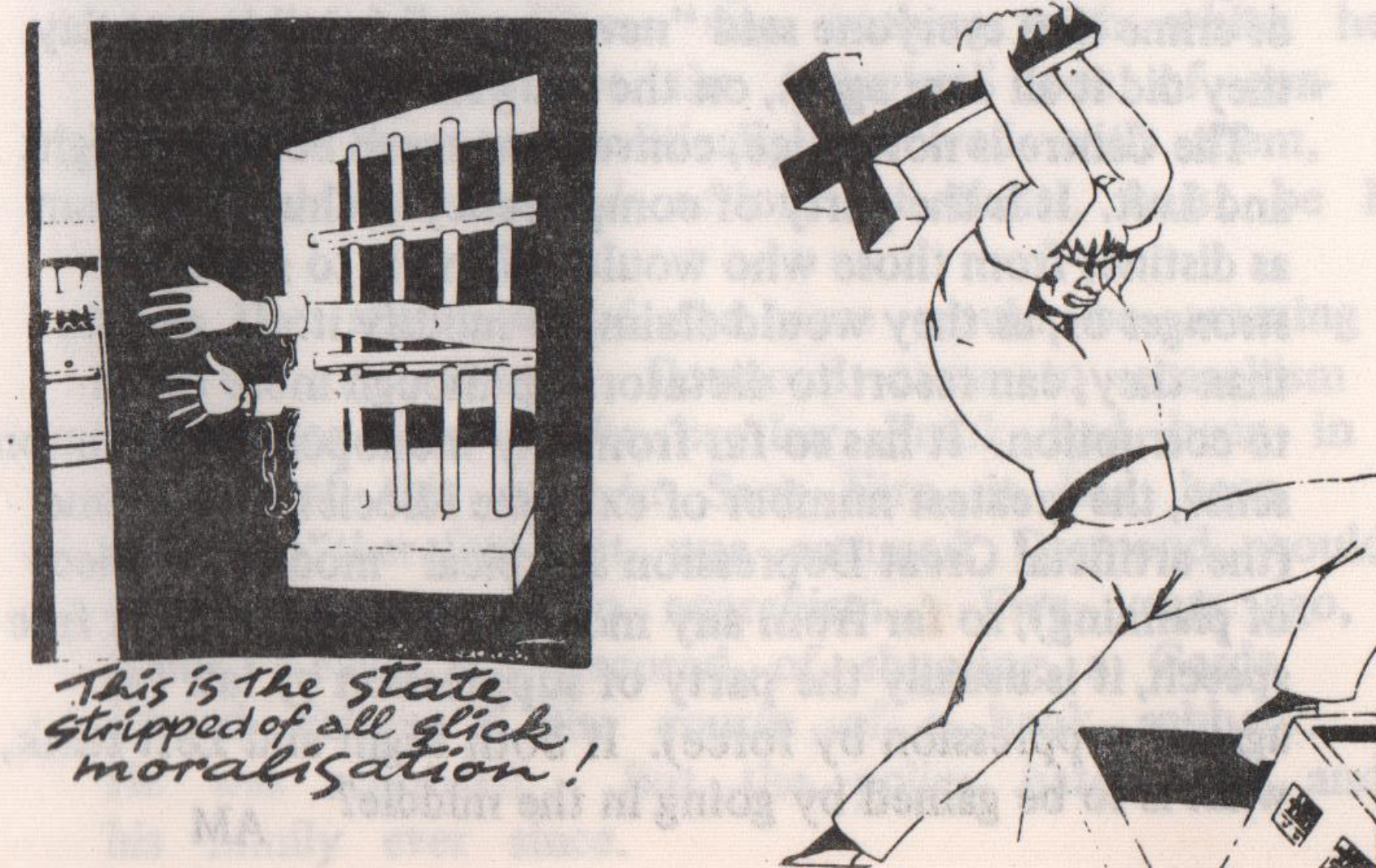
On March 9th, 9000 sugar workers went on strike. All of the ILWU's Grove Farm demands were met — no redundancies, medical care for pensioners and their families and a rent freeze until 1977 on plantation housing, and the continuation of vital plantation community services at the plantation's expense.

At Bar Harbour, Florida, the American Federation of Labour/Congress of Industrial Organisations executive council called a meeting and on the closing day, George Meany, President of the AFL/CIO, publicly stated that the executive council would meet later to consider a report recommending nationalisation.

Our comrades from the IWW are vigorously fighting the idea that nationalisation will benefit the workers and are asking the workers to examine more closely what form nationalisation is likely to take. The IWW points out that nationalisation of industry through public corporation represents the apex of the philosophy of the corporate state and the economics of fascism. The only socialisation that is going to help the working class in the United States is the socialisation that comes when the workers seize the means of production and begin to operate them co-operatively, for the good of all.

Neil Reithmuller, 27 year old student jailed in Paparua Prison for four years last September in Wellington, New Zealand, for a protest fire bomb at the U.S. Consulate, is to be deported to Australia at the end of his sentence. Margaret Matheson, jailed for three years at the same time is a New Zealand citizen. Both comrades are believed to be Anarchists.

Commenting on the deportation order, an Immigration Department spokesman said there was "nothing unusual" about the order and "it was not related to the nature of the offence — it was not uncommon for Australians to be deported from New Zealand."



What next?

Almost sixty years ago the Russian revolution proclaimed as its main goal the destruction of the capitalist system throughout the world and the abolition of economic exploitation and poverty. Today Soviet Russia is one of the mightiest nations, equipped with a vast, powerful military machine. Yet it offers neither economic equality nor freedom nor democracy. Russia has created new privileged social classes. A commissar earns far more than a worker. Only one party is permitted in political elections. There is no free press, no freedom of assembly, no free trade unions, no independent thought that can be disseminated or taught.

Most workers are now aware of the end-result of the Communist experiment and have no desire to repeat it in their own country.

The Communist sector of the world pretends to be a monolithic and unified power. Closer inspection reveals that the "unified and cohesive" Communist world is a dishonest advertisement used simply to gain prestige. There is the conflict with China. The secession of Tito back in 1948. Romania's defiance of the Soviet Union's aspirations to hegemony.

With the exposure of Stalin's terror regime, Moscow ceased to be recognised as guide and mentor for all the Communist parties of the world.

Critical workers therefore conclude that there is no trace of Communism left and that we are dealing with a decadent system. The political programme which gained the support of the international working class has lost its ideological basis. The main threat of Communist power now rests in its armed might. Soviet Russia, at one time considered to be the fatherland of the workers, has become a force just as capable as any other capitalist power of causing a world conflagration which could destroy the international working class.

The workers have come to realise that Bolshevism thrives on situations pregnant with the danger of war and — like all imperialist powers — paid only lip service to peace, while it excused war preparations and aggression with the need for self-protection.

The Third World

In 1961, twenty-six countries participated in a conference in Belgrade. In September 1973 another conference of so-called neutral states in Asia, Africa and Latin America took place in Algiers. These states constitute a majority inside the United Nations. They represent 800 million people exposed to exploitation, who are demanding social improvements and a share in the benefits of modern technology.

In Algiers there was a stormy discussion on the struggle against imperialism, but no unanimity as to what constituted imperialism. There were conflicts between supporters of Moscow and those of Peking. Others wanted to maintain good relations with the U.S.A. Thus the "Club of Neutrals" was as divided among itself as the capitalist ("First World") or the Communist ("Second World") nations.

The Arab rulers encouraged the Third World countries to assume that they could become a major force in a position to compete politically with the wealthy countries and, in time, even with the great powers. All they had to do was to become aware of their potential economic strength and look upon their natural resources as a means to demand a new deal in the distribution of the world's wealth.

(Labour leaders in the Western world have sharply denounced the oil blackmail of the Arabs and the aid they received from the Soviet Union; at the same time they have applauded the aid given by the U.S.A., to Israel.)

As a consequence of the Middle East conflict the nations of the "free world" and 800 million people of the Third World stand now at the threshold of political events moving rapidly towards the outbreak of a global war.

After the Cold War

During the Cold War era workers adjusted to the changed world situation. They acknowledged the rivalry of West versus East. But today the balance is held by five major powers: China with a significant nuclear capability and a growing array of bombers and missiles; Japan with the world's third largest industrial capacity; Western Europe with a combined system as powerful as that of the U.S.A.; the Soviet Union with a global navy and growing influence in the Middle East and South Asia; the U.S.A., a still strong but declining military power (as a nuclear power the U.S.A. has lost the supremacy enjoyed in the fifties and sixties).

While the Cold War lasted the paramount objectives of U.S. foreign policy were: containment of Soviet power and influence, the defeat of liberation movements in the Third World, and the expansion of the U.S. share of world trade. These objectives were clothed in a rigid anti-Communist ethic which justified American intervention at the slightest sign of Communist activity in one of the U.S.'s "free world" protectorates.

The shifted world balance of power and the Vietnam war have changed all this. The U.S. government no longer has carte blanche.

In Chile for example, U.S. policy makers had to apply a subtle combination of economic warfare (aid cut-offs, credit blockade, freezes on deliveries of key machine parts, etc) to paralyse the Allende government, while encouraging its opponents in the armed forces.

The Power Chess-Game

The military coups in Ethiopia and Portugal can be traced to this underhand strategy, the flexibility of which is subject to the commitments to other pro-U.S., regimes. As these regimes can be expected to engender discontent so long as they frustrate popular demands for self-determined national development, their need for U.S. support remains.

The U.S. must be prepared to defend its interests in the strategic Mediterranean/Indian Ocean area even at the expense of the U.S. presence elsewhere. Soon after the signing of a peace agreement with North Vietnam, Henry Kissinger was ordered to delegate many of his Southeast Asia functions to deputies and concentrate on the Middle East. Nixon's visits to the Arabs, Israel and Moscow complete the picture of a power chess-game, in which each player is ready to sacrifice any piece on the chessboard for the sake of beating his opponent.

As of this moment the U.S. Defence Department is acting as if intervention in the Mediterranean/Persian Gulf region is inevitable. Battle plans are being formulated, bases established, weapons tested and U.S.-based soldiers trained for deployment abroad in an emergency.

U.S. military and economic aid to favoured Third World regimes has established local "gendarmes" that can be used for counter-insurgency operations (remember Thai troops in Laos and Cambodia). Such forces will be armed with U.S. weapons, led by U.S.-trained officers, and guided in battle by U.S. advisers. Among the countries being groomed for such a role are South Korea, Indonesia, Ethiopia and Brazil.

U.S. navy and sea-based Marine forces have obtained priority. They can be called in quickly, provide air support, and be withdrawn just as quickly — thus preventing the development of public opposition and Congressional criticism. Navy amphibious forces based at sea cannot become a political liability at home, nor be expelled by a nationalistic regime abroad (as happened to the U.S. airbase in Libya).

In October 1973 the Pentagon warned the Arabs that the

U.S. was prepared to use force if the oil boycott threatened U.S. national security. This warning was recently underlined by a high-ranking U.S. naval officer who stated that "the Mediterranean is the Atlantic Fleet's Vietnam."

In contrast to the long-drawn-out Vietnam war, which exhausted U.S. aid, the new strategy will employ quick "surgical" strikes, with massive use of air and sea power, followed by equally rapid withdrawals from the conflict zone.

Since Nixon has offered the Arabs aid under presumably better conditions than that from the Soviets, and has managed at the same time to avoid friction with Israel, it remains to be seen if his power-sharing propositions to Moscow will be considered in relation to Peking's position in the power game.

Where the Workers Stand

Where do the workers stand in this situation? How are the millions of people in the Third World, who have no say in this matter of life and death, facing the catastrophic possibilities of their fate?

There will be no international working-class support for Russia. The workers of the continent are unlikely to follow the Maoist doctrinaires. The militarised police forces of the "free democratic world" have demonstrated their newly acquired skill in successfully breaking any radical resistance from this pro-Peking quarter.

The strategy of the defenders of the First World has been carefully and methodically designed after taking into account the experiences of public reactions to the Vietnam enterprise. There, the peasant units, in numbers less than half the strength of a modern 500,000-man U.S. expeditionary army, managed to fight it to a standstill.

On the homefront, the collapse of the ideological consensus, with its assured popular support for all Cold War measures based on uncompromising opposition to Communist expansion, meant there was no longer sufficient public backing for the deployment of U.S. forces abroad. Since millions of people in the U.S. joined the anti-war movement, the military have abandoned the idea of continuing another protracted counter-guerrilla land war.

The spread of anti-war sentiment to the armed forces, and a growing GI resistance to racism and repression, substantially reduced the combat worthiness of many units and further induced the Pentagon to abandon manpower-intensive strategic plans. This cannot be booked on the credit side of revolutionary strategy — if we survey the development objectively.

As the domestic pressure mounts in every country, with rising costs, unemployment, energy crisis, inflation, balance of payments deficit, we find unrest growing in the industrial working class. Trade union and labour party leaders, in accordance with the gentlemen's agreement to bargain with private capitalists and governments, are bound to put the brakes on rank-and-file initiatives which overstep legal restrictions; thus the influence of anti-state socialists, syn-

dicalists, revolutionary industrial unionists and some types of council communists increases.

A review of the recent spontaneous strike actions shows that they are internationally interrelated, although there seems to be no co-ordinating organisation, no means of exchanging and broadcasting information on a large scale. Lack of funds prevents the propaganda of radical groups being widespread, yet news of spontaneous strike actions and new tactics developed in one particular country does reach workers abroad, and gives them inspiration.

The shifting of labour forces from one country to another and the communication of members of the armed forces with oppressed people promote new orientations, and awakens the awareness of solidarity.

As yet there is no common strategy to combine efforts in effective defence against police aggression. Police and army act according to carefully worked out plans which utilise all the lessons of previous clashes with workers in revolt.

Workers of the older generation will remember how military experts of every nation were sent to the battlefields of Spain during the Civil War to study the impact of Hitler's new mechanised warfare and air raids and report back to the general staffs at home. Today we get the same picture at exercises and operations of Nato troops.

It is an open secret that Interpol will serve any police state hunting revolutionary activists.

Any number of statements by state officials provides conclusive evidence that all states have one aim in common: to preserve their internal and external power at all costs. Their defence plans against aggression from without include measures against aggression from within. While they anxiously safeguard their war secrets, they freely exchange methods of overpowering social revolutionary movements — in mutual recognition of their infectious character.

In increasing numbers, workers in every country are beginning to realise the true nature of the economic crises resulting from the shortage of vital raw materials. These are the outcome of imperialism, not confined to their own First World, but applying equally to the imperialist aspirations of the Second and Third Worlds. They are becoming conscious of the fact that the policies of the rivals must create an endless chain of crises.

The Choice

Workers can see for themselves that the policies of their trade unions and parties amount to recognition of the very establishments forged to frustrate them.

Wildcat actions may indicate a tendency of the rank and file to take matters into their own hands, but as long as their struggle remains one for mere economic improvement and not for the destruction of the state they cannot hope for ultimate liberation from want and war. The choice before the working class is: Either be conducted to utter self-destruction in a global war or take a chance and fight an uncompromising total class war.

An examining magistrate sent Gianfranco Bertoldi, an "anarchist individualist" for trial, charged with throwing a bomb in Milan in 1973 which killed four people and wounded forty-six. (Milan, July 30th).

POLICE TORTURE IN BIRMINGHAM

Eight people arrested by Birmingham police at the beginning of August have all been charged with 'Conspiracy to cause explosions'. Comrades who have visited them in prison have been shown cigarette burns, still easily visible on their arms and have been told that while in police custody they were threatened with guns at their heads and had been burned with cigarettes in order to force them to sign 'confessions' admitting involvement in the conspiracy.

A Defence Committee has been set up by the Birmingham comrades: Libertarian Defence Committee, Peace Centre, Moore Street, Birmingham. The names of the arrested people are: Patrick Joseph Guilfoyle (24), Joseph Duffy (23), Gerrard Small (28), James Joseph Ash (20), Gerard Peter Young (26), Martin Coughlin (24), Stephen Adrian Blake (22), Tony James Madigan (19), all are being held in H.M.P., Winson Green, Birmingham 18.

SABATÉ

guerrilla
extraordinary
Antonio Tellez



We now can inform comrades who have placed orders for the Cienfuegos edition of "SABATE" that the publication date is now September. We apologise to comrades who have already placed orders with us for this delay, but as you probably know there has been a paper shortage and this has unfortunately held things up.

"SABATE" is a limited bookclub edition of 1000 and is available only to individuals at £2.35p plus 20p postage and packing.

We also distribute the Solidarity/Black and Red edition of Arshinov's "History of the Makhnovist Movement 1918-1921" in Britain. Paperback 284 pages with illustrations and photographs, Price £2.00, plus 20p p&p - available NOW.

The series of books now being published in collaboration between Black & Red of Detroit (Mich.) and Solidarity Bookshop (Chicago) is staggering in the beauty and craftsmanship of the printing and production. They are bringing some major classics of the American movement, which one almost feels presumptuous to review, on a non-profit making basis. The lavish production is one that most commercial publishers would be glad to emulate, but they are in fact produced by voluntary labour.

The latest is Voline's "The Unknown Revolution". A magnificent work of 718 pages, it is a complete translation of the French work of 1947. An incomplete two volume translation in English was published in 1955 (translated by Holley Cantine); this has been incorporated into the work with the omitted sections translated by Fredy Perlman. The work runs the whole gamut of the Russian Revolution. Black and Red have already brought out Arshinov's "History of the Makhnovist Movement", and another just appearing is a work by Sam Dolgoff on the Anarchist Collectives in Spain.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS



MAN!

AN ANTHOLOGY OF ANARCHIST IDEAS, ESSAYS, POETRY AND COMMENTARIES EDITED BY M. GRAHAM

The articles, essays and poems which appear in this volume originally appeared in the monthly American anarchist journal MAN! from 1933 to 1940. This was one of the most critical periods in the history of the U.S. with President Hoover's "prosperity" for the few ending with one of the worst depressions to hit the North American Continent. During the same period in Europe Mussolini had imposed a fascist regime in Italy, Hitler followed suit in Germany and in Spain Franco only succeeded in imposing his vile regime after three long years of resistance by the Spanish workers.

Most of the major events of this crucial decade were reported and interpreted from an anarchist point of view in the pages of this internationally circulated English-language paper.

Sections in this anthology of its articles include topics as relevant today as they were forty years ago: Racism, Anti-militarism, student demonstrations, American Imperialism, censorship, prison demonstrations, crime, fascism, repression, strikes and dealt extensively with the theory and practise of Anarchism. It thus effectively disposes, without comment, of the myth that American anarchism is some form of the "new Left" or originated with the student revolt.

The series IDEAS OF ANARCHISM which ran consecutively in each issue of the journal was contributed to and written by anarchists who for the major part of their lives have dedicated themselves to the struggles of the international anarchist movement. For this reason these articles do more to impart the real spirit of anarchism and its motivation than do all the other "authoritative" works written by academics and professional commentators. Contributors to this series include: E. ARMAND, MICHELE FASANO, M. BAKUNIN, VOLTARINE DE CLEYRE, SEBASTIAN FAURE, PIETRO GORI, C.L. JAMES, E. MALATESTA, W.C. OWEN, PROUDHON, ELISEE RECLUS, PAUL RECLUS, ROBERT REITZEL, MAX STIRNER, CHAIM WEINBERG, VOLIN, KATE AUSTIN, MELCHIOR SEELE, JAYME VAN RYNER, LEON FELIPE, LAURENCE LABADIE, CLEMENT DUVAL, ETC.

The series BIOGRAPHIES which also ran in the journal offers a totally different picture of the men and women involved in the revolutionary anarchist struggle throughout history to that imposed on us by most criminologists, bourgeois historians, politicians and journalists from Cesare Lombroso to the present day crime correspondent of the London Daily Mail. Anarchists included in this section are: NESTOR MAKHNO, MARINUS VAN DER LUBBE, CAMILLO BERNERI, ERICH MUESHAM, ERICCO MALATESTA, SEVERINO DI GIOVANNI, PAULINO SCARFO, CHAIM WEINBERG, MICHAEL SCHIRRU, ROBERT REITZEL, LUIGI GALLEANI, JOHANN MOST, CLEMENT DUVAL, LUIGI FABBRI, DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS, CARLO CAFIERO, MARY ISAAC AND MANY OTHERS. This section contributes many items of historical interest in regard to native American Anarchism though its roots were essentially international.

In addition to the above many artists, poets and writers gladly contributed to the pages of MAN! Their contributions merit a volume by itself. This may well come about in the near future, but for the present a meagre sample of their works are included in this volume.

ORDER FORM

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Please send me copy/copies of MAN! (Bookclub edition) at £3.25p (U.S. dollars \$8.00) or copy/copies of MAN! (Library edition) at £7.00 (U.S. dollars 17.00) plus 25p postage and packing (UK and Europe), USA/Canada - sea mail 90p. Crossed cheque/P.O./Giro payable to Cienfuegos Press with order please to us at 83a, Haggerston Hill, London N.W.3.

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Letters

Dear Friends,

Jerry Westall says the article in Anarchy on The Spanish Labour Movement by Albert Meltzer is one of the best things Albert has ever done. He has done so many not only in Black Flag but in the international anarchist press for so many years I would hesitate to judge; but for me the most brilliant article he ever wrote was not in an anarchist paper at all, but a devastating analysis of Frank Buchman the Moral Rearmament preacher, which he did for a secularist paper. The MRA influence is still so insidious in the factory that I think you ought to reproduce it as one of your pamphlets.

J.G.
Greenwich.

Stop Press: Prison staff at **Fresnes Prison** went on strike. Eighty riot police took over watch duties inside the prison. Reporters were not permitted to enter the building. The unions have not issued any general call for strikes.

M. Merignac, Chief Warden of the Melun Penitentiary, gave a few home truths about prisons and reform. "Prison makes men worse than when they came in" he said.

M. Claude Charme, released on parole after serving fifteen years of a life sentence, who succeeded in passing a master's degree in law while in prison writes: "To put a man in prison is like putting a car which has a puncture on blocks for ten years. When you try to make it work again you find the motor is corroded."

Answers to Anarcho Quiz

1. (Dublin) Castle Catholics was the name given to Irish Catholics who supported United Kingdom rule in pre-Free State Ireland and is sometimes given to Catholic "Loyalists" (Stormont Castle) in Ulster. "Lundies" is a Presbyterian swearword for Protestant gentry favourable to present-day Dublin; ecumenists, or supporters of the Sunningdale agreement. (Governor Lundy opened the gates of Derry to surrender to James II but the apprentice boys rushed to shut them). Both terms imply "collaborationists".

2. He was mistaken for James R. Macdonald, who was highly respected by London trade unionists but who was not present (he belonged to the Social Democratic Federation, a Marxist body which did not attend the conference at which the secretary was chosen).

3. False. C.P. industrial organiser Springhall was indeed sentenced for spying during the Second World War, but for an Allied Power (not named, but guesses permitted). Had he spied for the Germans he would have been sentenced to death, not to a few years imprisonment. Later he became one of Moscow's top men in China.

4. In Wales: Hidden away in the Labour Rooms, an inconspicuous terraced house in Aberdare, there is a plaque to five local men who died fighting in the Brigade. Designed by Cardiff art students in 1967 it bears the heads, in relief, of the five workers (two of them colliers) with the Catalan motto "Ne Passera".

5. Heine said that Borne learned to become a political writer by his slashing attacks on the play actors when he was a dramatic critic; and that when someone stole his watch at a Republican meeting he felt it was a sure sign Germany was ripe for democracy . . . "now even the thieves are on our side . . . we have had the honest men long enough".

Dear Comrades,

Having read the previous issue I can't think why I haven't taken out a sub before; but I've been out of touch with things since moving.

Yours,
D.G.

Dear friends,

I would just like to point out an error in the printing of my article 'TOWARDS 1984' in issue No. 12 of BLACK FLAG.

Instead of:

"The actuality of the situation announcement of the general election resistance to the Government was at an unprecedented peak."

the piece should have read:

"The actuality of the situation now facing the labour movement is exactly the reverse. Prior to the announcement of the general election, resistance to the Government was at an unprecedented peak."

The authorship of the spelling mistakes is irrefutably that of myself. Any claim to the contrary is a blatant attempt at fame on behalf of an unwarranted usurper of my miseducation.

Let me end by extending my warm greetings to an overworked and unpaid typesetter, and offering her my thanks for a job well-attempted. The occasional mistake is offset (unintentional pun folks!) by the exceptionally high standard of production that we are growing accustomed to attributing to "the Flag".

Good luck, and keep up the good work.

Phil Ruff
Birmingham.



To BLACK FLAG - Also known as Red Rag.

In accordance with procedures of the army of revolutionary action the following edict is pronounced. Those who do not follow these instructions; I won't talk to you any more!

1. Conservative Party shall be known as the CP (Communist Party)
2. Labour Party will be called the Monday Club.
3. Liberal Party are now the Bow (pronounced bough) Group.
4. Communist Party to be the Conservative Party.

All Pro-European members of the Labour Party are to be called Tribunites.

All fellow travellers shall now be known as Powellites. The National Front is to be termed the International Socialists.

The International Marxist Group will be the Peace Pledge Union.

The Workers Revolutionary Party shall be the League Against Cruel Sports.

In these ways comrades, we shall confuse our enemies. CRISIS, PANIC, REPRESSION, SCAPEGOAT, MARTYR - words shall lose their meaning. Then the Revolution will seize control and Anarchy will rain, rein . . .

Words, what do they matter anyway?

Fraternally comrades,
salud amigos,

J.W.