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ANARCHIST
BLACK FLAG

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THE ANARCHIST BLACK FLAG Bulletin of the Anarchist
Organ of revolutionary Black Cross
 anarchism.

MONTHLY

Government by Cowards

Rolls Royce

Towards the Police State

Anarcho-Syndicalism

Anarchist Prisoners in
Spain

Cartoon by Arthur Moyse

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GOVERNMENT BY COWARDS

H E A T H ' S F R I G H T E N E D M E N

Once, witchcraft terrified the statesmen of the civilised world. Terror measures were instituted against the cult. It is easy to look back today and say there was no need for them to panic. Witchcraft was no more (and no less) credible or possible or beneficial or otherwise than Christianity. But the statesmen feared many other things, such as the break-up of the State if accepted dogma were broken up. They required uniformity of a way of thought and of a way of life. They were prepared to go to extremes of violence and torture. Those who were attacked devised some form of counter-terrorism which today seems crude and naïve. But it was all they knew within the context of the time.

WORSHIP OF MONEY

The men around Heath are cowards because they have been brought up in the worship of money and cash transactions. Everything is measured in terms of profit. "If it pays it's good." When that is the sole consideration, men become cowards. The poor defend their possessions more dearly. (Overleaf)

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**“The
explosive
to blow
us apart
is there
and the
fuse is
burning”**

The Cabinet are businessmen. They do not have the stupid and irksome devotion to duty of the small-minded bureaucrat that is so proliferous in politics, nor even of the old-fashioned Tory with his aristocratic notions of duty. In time of war they may wangle themselves fancy commissions if that is the most profitable thing to do. In politics they will sell off everything including honour; and when they panic, the most extreme measures will be shrilly demanded.

These people are not Fascists so much as Hindenburgs who will call on Fascism if it helps them or Laval who look to it if it pays and until it stops paying. For their dirty work they call upon the Police. The price that may be paid is a state in which the police take supreme control.

This may mean pickings for the lawyers; it may mean a state in which the lawyers are out on a limb. But this is what panic legislation is all about.

... ENOCH POWELL

First the industrial relations Bill - get rid of the "agitator" ! Then the bill to control aliens - a firm belief of all policemen (originating in their excuse for not finding mysterious "agitator" leaders) is that all subversive activities come from "abroad" - a belief held as firmly in Russia and China as in the Putney High Street. Now the criminal damage bill - reporters say casually that it is to deal with "bomb-throwers, extremists and vandals" not understanding that to throw a bomb is a positive act which a person may be convicted of, but "extremism" is a condition of thought applied to somebody with whom you disagree. Even the Queen objects, as the royal family is forced to take police protection, amounting to surveillance,

only because the Cabinet cannot very well let them have less security than they demand for themselves!

THE CARR STRIKES

In the context of this general wave of panicking, the bombings that were kept secret for so long (the reaction of timid frightened men) must have caused an outbreak of diarrhoea amongst the men at the top. Having struck out in all directions to bash any form of independent activity, of libertarianism and industrial action, it seems somebody, somewhere, was not intimidated and was hitting back in a personal manner.

It may be argued that what was done was not effective since it could not change Cabinet decisions. It may even be argued it stimulated production, in various rebuilding schemes. But what it demonstrated clearly was that terror would bring terror. (The idiotic left then said the same thing: "Terror" - meaning the terror that had turned up in answer to the first terror - "would bring terror"!) Whether the "Angry Brigade" really exists we have our doubts: but that the people who seem to have frightened the Heath Cabinet out of what they had of wits acted for the best, we would scarcely deny. One thing leads to another.

SLITHERING IN THEIR OWN SHIT

The Labour Party in office sat back complacent with power. If action were required on the issues involved in "disciplining the workers" it slithered in the butter of office. The Tories slither in their own shit. The Labour Party sacrificed principle to keep in power. The Tories sacrifice democracy to keep up profits. There is nothing to choose between them. But this is what explains the panic legislation.

Yes, and the panic police measures too: for the unconstitutional police raids on the left all round have found a curious sequel. A young chap named Prescott - with apparently no involvement in left activity at all - has been chosen as scapegoat for the Carr bombings. He seems to have some connection with Women's Lib but none with industrial activity or militancy in that respect. But we fear the real fall guy is the unfortunate Insp. Habershon who is going to carry the can for higher officers who dreamed up a non-existent conspiracy. No person takes this prosecution seriously but by it Special Branch can wash their hands of responsibility.

Rolls Royce

4.

WHAT A SHOCK for the proud workers of Rolls-Royce.... without wanting to crow at the misfortunes this colossal bankruptcy has caused, one must sadly reflect on the crawling that was for years associated with some of the Rolls-Royce attitude. Class war - rubbish! With a good gov'nor like ours? Directors working hard on the job, too? Our interests are identical with the firm's prosperity.

Result: almost the cosy co-partnership advocated by the Liberal Party. Workers buying shares in the firm; firm going ahead knowing overtime was ploughed back in as investment. Joint pride; joint (you might almost think) ownership. And make no doubt about it, those engineer-directors were sincere. It wasn't all a con. What WAS a con was the capitalist system.

Now what happens? All the money ploughed back in could just as well have been in the hands of Guinness or Charrington. Bash for the sacred Methodist doctrine of frugal living and hard saving. Rolls-Royce is in the hands of the receiver. With dismay the Rolls workers and directors appear on the telly to say, bewildered, they do not know what went wrong, and as "class war" are the last dirty words left in the permissive society, nobody can tell them.

In a few, unfashionable phrases: the workers and their employers had nothing in common. The workers should have looked after their own interests. Any scheme of co-ownership - the full works, not just the dabbling in it by buying into the shareholding - is doomed to failure for you cannot alter the capitalist system that way, you are still at the mercy of international finance. If for the time being you cannot seize the works and take them over for the workers, then look to it that the firm pays for the labour power it uses - for that is all you have to sell.

And it was a good product - a bloody expensive, arse-crawling, useless product fit for princes and ponces - but it had craftsmanship. That is not what is valued in capitalism; what is valued is profit.

A N A R C H I S T

C O M M E N T A R Y

The great T.U.C. demonstration against the Industrial Relations Bill has come and gone. A great turn-out in London on Sunday Feb 21st must have included up to a quarter of a million people. Workers from all parts of the country marched. None panicked more than the General Council who feared they might have sown the whirlwind... "This is a peaceful demonstration. Let us keep it orderly" they pleaded time and again (though nobody had suggested the contrary)

The Government "must" withdraw the Bill, the Bill "must not" be allowed to go through, the demands of the people "must not" be ignored... "BUT WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?" the crowd kept shouting. Deftly, the orators of the General Council took up the theme... "What, you may say, are we going to DO about it?" Roars of applause. "We 'must not' let the government get away with it....." and so on. Translation: Nothing.

None more disappointed than the news media. No violence. Result: general mickey-taking. 'Workers' playtime' they chortled. Moral? Ah..... You'd better not raise THAT in the General Council.

Anarchism &
"Violence"

Or for that matter in some
"libertarian" circles. The quote
from Thoreau in our last issue was

very apt to the present situation. Thoreau may be regarded as a quietist but he was far more militant than his admirers. "N.W." puts a reasoned case in "Freedom" for the quietists: how galling if the so-called "Angry Brigade" - whom he compares to the weathermen of the U.S. for activity must be far away from us in time or space to be considered by the academic - should prove to be....

anarchists! We should have to apologise all over again. For we have told the public so lengthily, and spoken on the radio to explain, how the tiger has no claws and never bites, and purrs if you stroke him the right way... and gone on to write our academic theses on Makhnow, or Berkman, or Ravachol even.....as if writing of the South Seas or of Ancient Rome.....suddenly it proves the tiger is as fierce rampaging through Regent's Park as it ever was in the jungle. Poor academics! Poor "anarchologists!"

THE MILITANT RIGHT

IS IT A MENACE ?

Fascism in this country has gone through many phases. The original Imperial Fascisti, in imitation of Mussolini, was purely a strike-breaking outfit. As such, it received the blessing of many Right Wing Tories, including Churchill, until it fell under the domination of the unbalanced Arnold Leese, who introduced racial theories (which including measuring the members' noses with callipers).

Then came Mosley, first of all welcomed by the Tory Right - such as Rothermere - who played first with the idea of direct anti-working-class activity on the Mussolini lines, made popular in conservative circles by American examples such as the Legion, KKK etc - and then bid for power by parading as a "national socialist" on Hitler lines. This nominal anti-capitalism was never very strong in the case of British Fascism, which collapsed during the East End rent strikes because it wholeheartedly supported the landlords. During the War Mosley fell into disapproval with all because of the identification of Fascism with the national enemy, and since then he has tried to deny he ever was anything more than a pioneer of the Common Market. How far this is taken seriously by those who still support him (chiefly because of the bread scene) is doubtful.

Colin Jordan revived the Nazi movement by adroit publicity - out on a limb from other fascist movements, he deliberately cultivated a German Nazi appearances. But he seems out of the picture now. The other hordes of would-be Fuehrers have come and gone - one missed his chance because too much excitement sent him back to the nut-house (something which can only be overlooked once one gains power), another evaporated at the sight of too much cash around (so did the cash). The only fascist organisation left worth considering as more than a token gesture to frighten the naughty workers is the National Front. This sometimes boldly denies being fascist, but the members make little pretence of not being so. It has the overt sympathy of a large part of the Conservative Party, but also

makes a bid for working-class support chiefly on the anti-coloured issue. Yet it never spells out what it really is - because this issue conceals a larger truth: that the fascist movement has reverted to its honest position of being a militant pro-capitalist body without pretence about "national socialism".

For the Powellite line is quite clear: IF it is true that the capitalist gives work to the worker, and if it is true we are dependent upon "the market" for the amount of work available, then if there are too many workers there will be unemployment. Hence immigration is a calamity. BUT THIS IS FALSE FROM THE BEGINNING - for the capitalist is in reality dependent upon the worker. The more workers there are, the more is produced. "Ah - wait until you get depression," cheerfully cry the National Fronters. "Then you will see... rivers of blood etc." This is on the assumption that depressions are naturally caused, like floods or earthquakes, whereas in reality they are part of the repressive machinery of capitalism.

It is noticeable that those who call for a ban on immigration never call for a ban on emigration (of the totalitarians, only the Soviet Union is logical on this). But while both exist, and in more or less the same proportions, there are really no problems whether of overcrowding or anything else, even within capitalism.

Any tendency towards right wing militancy is welcomed even by the most liberal of the right wing, for it represents the threat to left wing militancy which is often called upon. "If you persist, what will happen will be a right wing backlash" we are warned. One would, however, need a better set of bogeymen than those now parading as the would-be restorers of order. Fascism in this country has never been able to get off the ground. Its only weapon is incitement to hooliganism on racial grounds. Even at this game, it has been outbid by the police. We repeat what is said elsewhere in this issue: the immediate danger in this country is a Police State, rather than a fascist one.

T H E C O M I N G

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Miguel Garcia Garcia

When I was released from jail in 1969 I went to a bar I knew in Barcelona. I was known there. They had, during my imprisonment, occasionally raised money for me to live. When I entered, I might as well have come from the grave as from twenty years' imprisonment. The silence overcame me and I left. The shadow of FEAR was still upon Spain.

After the Civil War ended, the victors shot the people by the thousand. The prisons were bursting. There was not room to lie down even in the prison yards. Whole families were broken up - the father shot, the mother sent to jail for five to ten years, the children thrown out on the street to beg.

Today, there are still prisoners in Franco's jails. Eighty per cent of the political prisoners are there for industrial action which is legal in any other country of Western Europe. State terrorism brings FEAR. But the Burgos Trial snapped the mood of the people.

BURGOS & AFTER The whole of Spanish opinion was outraged, and startled. The Terror was coming back again! The wholesale arrests and torture in the Basque country - just when it was thought Franco was tottering to his close - shook the nation. The Trial was resented. And the Basques struck back. They fought back and won. The death penalties had to be commuted. But when a dictatorship makes concessions, it runs the risk of breaking the circle of fear. This is what happened. Today, prosperous lawyers are prepared to come forward and defend - some without fee - our comrades Cipriano Damiano and others, now on trial in Madrid. The country is not so gripped with terror as it was.

THE SUCCESSION After Franco, who? This is really the

moment when the successor should seize power. Every one of the tendencies around the government has backing in the Army, and each one wants to put in its bid before it is too late.

There are the Constitutional Monarchists (supporters of Bourbon), who have been offended by the passing-over of the son of Alfonso XIII for his grandson. The latter may have a few supporters, too. Their bitter enemy is the Requete, which is for Bourbon Parma. The Falangists loathe them all and are on none too good relationship with the Church. The Church itself is now divided. Its right wing backs the Masonic-type Catholic Action "Opus Dei" which conspires to win. But there are the Democratic Christians, in opposition, who flirt with the Communists and control the Comisiones Obreras together.

THE DEAD COMMAND

But the mountains of corpses that could have been piled up prevent dissension on the right, or reconciliation with the workers. They shot too many. Too many died in prison or afterwards as a result of their treatment. One million dead Spaniards (who died after the war was over) now control the situation. Partics who supported Franco for so many years because he was the only man who could keep them together (and keep their differences shelved) now seek to impose their power. But if they abate the power they now hold, they will need to answer for their crimes. This is why a liberal regime cannot be imposed from the top. A million corpses object.

It is the hope of the Democratic Christians - and this is why they are gaining support - that a liberal regime might be composed of those whose hands were not so soiled. Right across Spain the old adherence to Franco is splitting up. It is expressed in the Basque national adherence to opposition to the regime. It is also expressed by the Catalan nationalists, where this seems a welcome alternative to the Christian Democrats. But one can state this in all certainty: if the succession is not speedily resolved and a liberal interim put into practice, Spain will boil over into guerrilla war.

The MAUDLING PRIZE for IDIOT OF THE MONTH

The determination of the "left" to prove Richard Briginshaw's thesis that Mr. Carr blew his own house up (wake up, Robert - how about a few libel actions? You can afford them, we can't!) led to a number of gallant attempts to gain the coveted Maudling Prize. A journal called "Dead Soul" or "Red Mole" or something made an interesting variation on the theme: "Are you being used, Angry Brigade?" - and mentioned from its profundity of wisdom about a policeman named Danny (an obvious libellous reference to Tariq Ali) who was concerned. We feel, however, the editor is having us on and trying to take the judges for idiots. One could as well say that the whole of Special Branch was concerned in the outrages (Mr Briginshaw, in the Natsopa "Journal", did suggest this by his parallels with the Reichstag Trial).

By far and away the best entry was Edward Davoren, hard line Maoist for whom the Chairman's Thought "Political Power grows out of the barrel of a gun" is Holy Writ. Well, in Albania and Peru and Bolivia and places like that. Not in Barnet. Yes, he IS all for urban guerrilla fighting and that sort of thing but at least "as far away as Paris is" ... when it happens in London, he puts it down to "fascists" and not Irish ones either (see "Irish Liberation"). Chairman Mao's Unwritten Thought "Never shit on your own doorstep", framed by Peking Police Action Squad, is presented to comrade Davoren as Idiot of the Month for his immediate understanding that any guerrilla action in this neck of the woods must logically be perpetrated by the enemy.

THE MEDICAL
STRIKE

Favourite
David Frost
type argu-
ment against strikers is
to take a pretty nurse
of 20 and some old boy
who can't express himself
well but is on strike....
Now this poor nurse can't
go on strike, can she? -
and the general line is a

man should expect to earn
less than his daughter....
But note the latest figures.
So serious is the under-
staffing in nursing that
patients are left unwashed
for days.. so few doctors
that many casualty officers
are too untrained to be able
to operate. ISN'T SWIFT ACT-
ION BETTER THAN DESERTION ?

CAMPAIGN FOR WORKERS' COUNCILS

FORM FIVES: Five people in the same locality IN THE SAME TRADE can get together to form a group if only to discuss the problems of their industry and to advocate workers' control - even if they only meet on a social basis it will be worth while. This we are calling, for convenience sake, a 'primary'.

WHEN IT CAN SPLIT OFF into 'secondaries' - FIVE PEOPLE IN THE SAME FACTORY OR WORKSHOP - we shall be creating the nucleus of a major campaign for workers' councils. The secondary groups will advocate the calling of a council of all workers to deal with their problems.. and having the goal of CONTROL.

We can start in a small way. Among the libertarian left, those who advocate the principles of workers' control, have only to act upon those principles and "form fives". We do not even go so far as to say there should be an "unsectarian" approach. Approach it as sectarians by all means! KEEP YOUR POLITICAL IDENTITY but if you advocate workers' councils without political control ... this is all that need be done.

It is only coincidental that this journal is the first to advocate the present CAMPAIGN FOR WORKERS COUNCILS. We ask other journals in sympathy with the idea to take it up. In any industrial struggle one looks around the plant for people more or less in sympathy with whom one can work. This is all we are suggesting now, but on a permanent basis.

We urge: THE IMMEDIATE SETTING UP OF "PRIMARIES" BY ALL INTERESTED IN ADVOCATING WORKERS' CONTROL. The groups at the places of work will automatically follow if the members of the groups are keen enough. And we suggest the formation of a secretariat with no other aim than to co-ordinate the groups making up the Campaign for Workers' Councils.

Other journals - please copy.

TOWARDS THE POLICE STATE

You have been warned.

All States employ police. Without a police force there is no power behind the State to enable it to have power. Not all States, however, are controlled by the same forces - for instance, institutions of the State such as the Army or the Church have been known to seize power. The term "police state" is properly employed to describe a state in which the police force, as such, has seized power.

Nowhere is it easier for the police to seize power than in England, where it has a fairly good name by contrast to many countries (including some within the British Isles).

For years not only the working class but the bourgeoisie have been fearful of extended police powers. These were granted reluctantly and subject to safeguards. If a standing Army represents a threat to democracy, so does a standing police force - especially in this country, where soldiers, even high ranking officers, do not as a rule have political ambitions but the police force does.

The most fatal day for democracy in England was the formation of SPECIAL BRANCH.

With hypocrisy it was so named: for there is a Fraud Squad to deal with fraud and a Murder Squad to deal with murder and Military Intelligence to deal with espionage and a Vice Squad that deals with - some say organises - vice. What is "special" about Special Branch? It is the Political Squad. It deals - frankly and without disguise - with subversion and dissent.

Rudi Dutschke said, on his expulsion, that the government was going "fascist" and sought to "criminalise the opposition". In the classic sense it is not fascist; and it may even be that the government does not intend to criminalise the opposition. But any intelligent reader of the newspapers, not blinded by the editorials which pooh-pooh the idea of dictatorship here, can see that the police wish to

do so and have achieved this in some cases beyond the wishes of the government. It is accepted by the Political Squad, at least for the time being, that there can be such a thing as a parliamentary and legally recognised Opposition - even an extra party or two. But in such accepted British traditions as heckling, the police have already clamped down. It is common practice (since the 1950's) for plain clothes policemen to act as stewards at political meetings. Ministers may NOT be heckled. This is within the parliamentary political tradition but the police, without public authority, have acted against it.

Thus, at Cambridge, Mr. Maudling spoke to a meeting that was guarded by 200 policemen with dogs, and when a heckler - who had managed to get in - told him he was talking crap, he was frogmarched out by plain clothes policemen acting for the time being as Conservative Party spokesmen. The Labour Party did not protest. For Wilson had the same protection.

Is this of minor consequence?
Before the Trade Union demo in February, police announced they "expected trouble" from Marxists, Anarchists and Maoists. "Expecting trouble" is the language one uses of criminals. Why were they expecting it? So far as the Anarchists were concerned, nobody had even discussed the demo. But the Yard were hoping for it. They wanted to crush the opposition which was already, in Dutschke's phrase, "criminalised". So apt was Dutschke's words that in many cases, police officers have objected to bail for anarchists because they were anarchists, or tried to use their political viewpoint as a means of prejudicing judges. The Bench, so far, has resisted this police attitude.

After the Carr case, the police raided all on the "criminalised" opposition (criminalised, be it noted, by no rule of law) hoping to find the perpetrators - or seeking to terrorise? Yet no raids were made on the Right Wing after the bombing of Pakistanis - for the Yard has not "criminalised" them. Why should the Yard be moved by political considerations? FOR ONE REASON ONLY - ITS OWN POLITICAL AMBITIONS. IT HOPES A "RIGHT WING BACK LASH" WILL BE FOR P O L I C E P O W E R.

Book Review

Four Patients of Dr Deibler:
a study in anarchy
- J.C.Longoni (Lawrence &
Wishart).

The sick title refers to the Paris executioner, Deibler, and his 'patients' are four Anarchists of the heroic era of French Anarchism. The author is a patient fellow-travelling Communist, who looks on the heroes of the working-class of old much as a Christian looks on the Jewish prophets. Good up to a point, correct in many ways, and if they were foolish and misguided and sinful, who could blame them since they came before the Light?

His conclusions are a bit banal - that all that came of the agitation was the cost of the buildings blown up &c. Are we to assess the Soviet Revolution solely in terms of the damage to Hungarian property when the tanks moved in? All this apart, he can hardly disguise the stirring story of Ravachol, Vaillant, Emile Henry and Santo Caserio. Those who would condemn the violence should ask themselves how the story would appear in the history books if they had fought not the class war, but the National War. How heroic they would appear if their deeds were done against the Prussians or the Nazis! But

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to those who understand the class struggle, their deeds are equally heroic; and one may add, they contributed to the understanding of the class struggle after the crushing of the Paris Commune had deadened all hopes.

The book has good photographs and long interesting extracts from anarchist journals of the time. There are some references to the notorious Inspector Melville of Scotland Yard, with whose career as a persecuting policeman of the political branch - with infamous links with the Tsarist Russian police - some working-class historian one should some day deal.

Film Review

"To Die in Madrid". This has been going the rounds for some years, and some have queried why we should bother to show it again. It is a good film, excellently made, but many comrades point out that one would think from it that the Communists (few in number in Spain in 1936) made the civil war on their own, with the aid of the International Brigade.

This was not the fault of the producer, however. The stupidity lay in our movement. The C.N.T. exile committee in Toulouse had since 1939 thousands and thousands of feet of unreleased film
(Continued on page 15)

H E A V Y

B R E A T H I N G

An attractive Yugoslav girl student tells me the best story I've heard for a long time... having been in this country three or four years, she reads in one of the intellectual socialist weeklies of "workers' control in Yugoslavia". She shakes her head unconvinced but reads again in some economic review of the new gains in workers control in Titoland... scientific social lectures, the lot... so she feels she's missing out and it's all changed.

She goes back, and asks at home, "What do you think of workers' control?" at the local factory. The women shake their heads sadly. "It's no good!" they chorus. "Oh?" she asks surprised. "Why?" "The director takes everything," says one.

Com. Feather shown on Television striding through TUC and welcoming foreign delegates. "If only we could get together like this for everything," he says. "Governments are no good, they only get in the way. If only we could manage without them, eh?" A light on the road to Damascus? - or did it just

slip out? Is this what Fred Hayday meant when he thought there would be an anarchist takeover of the TUC?

Doubt it: at the demo Vic referred to fringe elements. The fringe was in true with it style at least as big as the jacket. If Vic could not learn then that Social-Democracy was the lunatic minority, one fears he will never learn that one can manage without governments....

Film Review (from page 14.)

waiting until it rots or perhaps can be shown in time for the return celebrations, whichever is the earlier.... Could it be that somebody has an interest in blocking the facts - or is it stupidity? (French & Spanish language papers please copy, and let's find out).

Mr. Maudling (offshore finance operator and Home Secretary) was to speak at Cambridge - two hoteliers, fearing damage to their property from those objecting to his policies (or suspecting his financial associates?) refused (quite properly) to let to the Tories. A Tory chairman, stepped in to lend his school (i.e. ratepayers' money). Threat to freedom of speech! said the Press. But at the Anarchist Conference in Birmingham, a hall,

THE CHIEF AIMS OF

ANARCHISM

(Peter Kropotkin)

properly let to the organisers of the Conference, and with delegates already there, had its booking cancelled by the proprietor either for reasons of personal prejudice or because of police intervention - with no suggestion of riotous behaviour. Threat to freedom of speech? Not according to the press. The 'Guardian' was there and its reporter thought it was dead funny.

"SIMIAN" PAMPHLETS.

Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China.

Origins of the Revolutionary Movement in Spain.

Surrealism & Revolution.

"1649" - Jim Duke.

The Truth About the Bonnot Gang

* * *

FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY

by Stuart Christie & Albert Meltzer 21/-

SUBSCRIPTION TO

"BLACK FLAG"

75p. (15/-) for 12 issues.

So long as socialism was understood in its wide, generic and true sense - as an effort to abolish the exploitation of Labour by Capital - the Anarchists were marching hand-in-hand with the Socialists of that time. But they were compelled to separate from them when the Socialists began to say that there is no possibility of abolishing capitalist exploitation within the lifetime of our generation; that during that phase of economic evolution we are now living through we have only to mitigate the exploitation, and to impose upon the capitalists certain controls.

Contrarily..we must work for the abolition of the capitalist exploitation of labour. We must already, now, tend to transfer all that is needed for production - the soil, the mines, the factories, the means of communication, and the means of existence, too - from the hands of the individual capitalist into those of the communities of producers and consumers.

... We do not see in the system of State Capitalism, a solution of the social question. We see in the organisation of posts and telegraphs, State railways and the like - nothing but a new, perhaps improved, but still undesirable form of the Wage System.
(From: MODERN SCIENCE & ANARCHISM)

Libertarian Prisoners (CNT-FAI) now in
Spanish Jails
(March 1971)

Prision Central de Burgos, BURGOS, Spain:

Fernando Carballo Blanco (30 years sentence);
Angel Marques (25 yrs); Julio Moreno (30 yrs);
Pedro Sanches Perez (30 yrs); Francisco Sanchez
Rueno (28 yrs).

Prision de Soria, SORIA: Jose Luis Ibanez
Sierra (6 yrs)

Prision Central de Segovia, SEGOVIA: Luis
Andrew Edo (9 yrs); David Urbano Bermudez
(6 yrs); Jaime Pozes de Villena (6 yrs).

Prision Central de Ocana, OCANA: Francisco
Gil de Jaen (6 yrs); Fernando Sanchez Pintado (6 yrs
(6 yrs); Jose Tejeiro (6 yrs).

Prision de Puerto Santa Maria, CADIZ:
Florent Rodriguez de la Paz (18 yrs); Jose
Antonio Mendez Alveres (18 yrs);

Prision Central de Jaen, JAEN: Juan Salcedo
(72 yrs); Bernardo Terrel Lemela (9 yrs);
Dario Puertes (12 yrs).

Prision Celular de Valencia, VALENCIA:
Jose Luis Alonso Perez (18 yrs); Salvador
Soriano Martinez (18 yrs); Angel Munoz Lopez
(20 yrs); Pedro Gallegos Sans (6 yrs); Miguel
de la Cueva (6 yrs).

MADRID (The following are held in Madrid Prison
and the address for communication is their
lawyer, sr don Jaime Cortezo, Av. Calvo Sotelo 12
Madrid, Spain):

Cipriano Damiano (four years on one sentence
and awaits another); Hilario Garcia Rodrigues.

(continued)

18.

Alfonso Velasco, Jesus Lerin Hernandez
(all awaiting trial)

In addition, in the same prison is Julio Millan Hernandez, whose lawyer - to whom communications should be sent - is Sr. don Alfonso Sevilla, Antonio Acuna, Madrid.

There are also fifteen more comrades arrested recently in Madrid, and Barcelona, but details are not to hand owing to the postal strike.

The following are those who have been released over the past year or so :-

Alicia Mur from Alcala de Henares
Antonio Cenete from Palencia
Miguel Garcia from Soria
Juan Busquets from Burgos
Domingo Ibars from Burgos
Mercelino Gimenez from Burgos

NOTE

Money Orders may be sent to prisoners at the addresses given and these may be spent in the prison shop. Those emanating from relatives in England will not be refused.

Adopt a
Prisoner

Notes & News of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

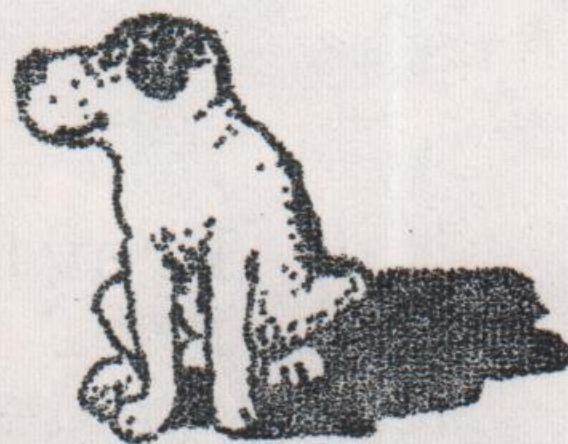
Previous to the postal strike we sent a number of comrades an address in Spain to which money orders could be sent -- but this has proved impossible for the lady concerned who is returning cheques sent to her. We have compiled instead a list of libertarian prisoners (in the following pages). We urge the individual adoption of a prisoner. This cuts out administrative costs such as organisations like Amnesty run up and which becomes the all-important factor. We think direct contact, too, has the advantage of building up friendships which are of great moral value.

It may be that prisoners will not get the letters sent them. In the case of Miguel Garcia he was receiving parcels for a long time from the same sender, but no letters. One day a letter was passed to him by the guards - quite by accident. He smuggled a reply out and began a correspondence and a lasting friendship.

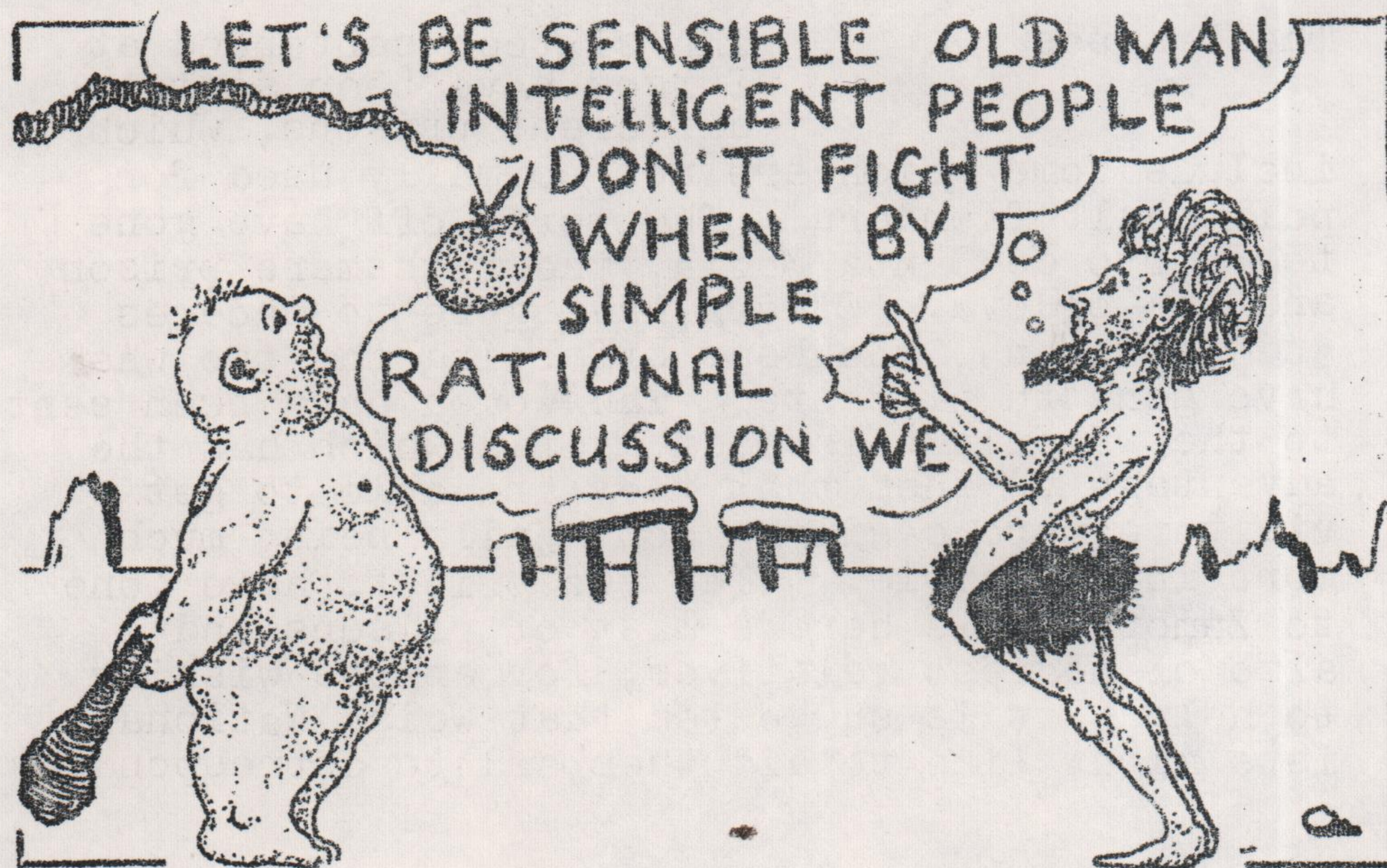
The Basques

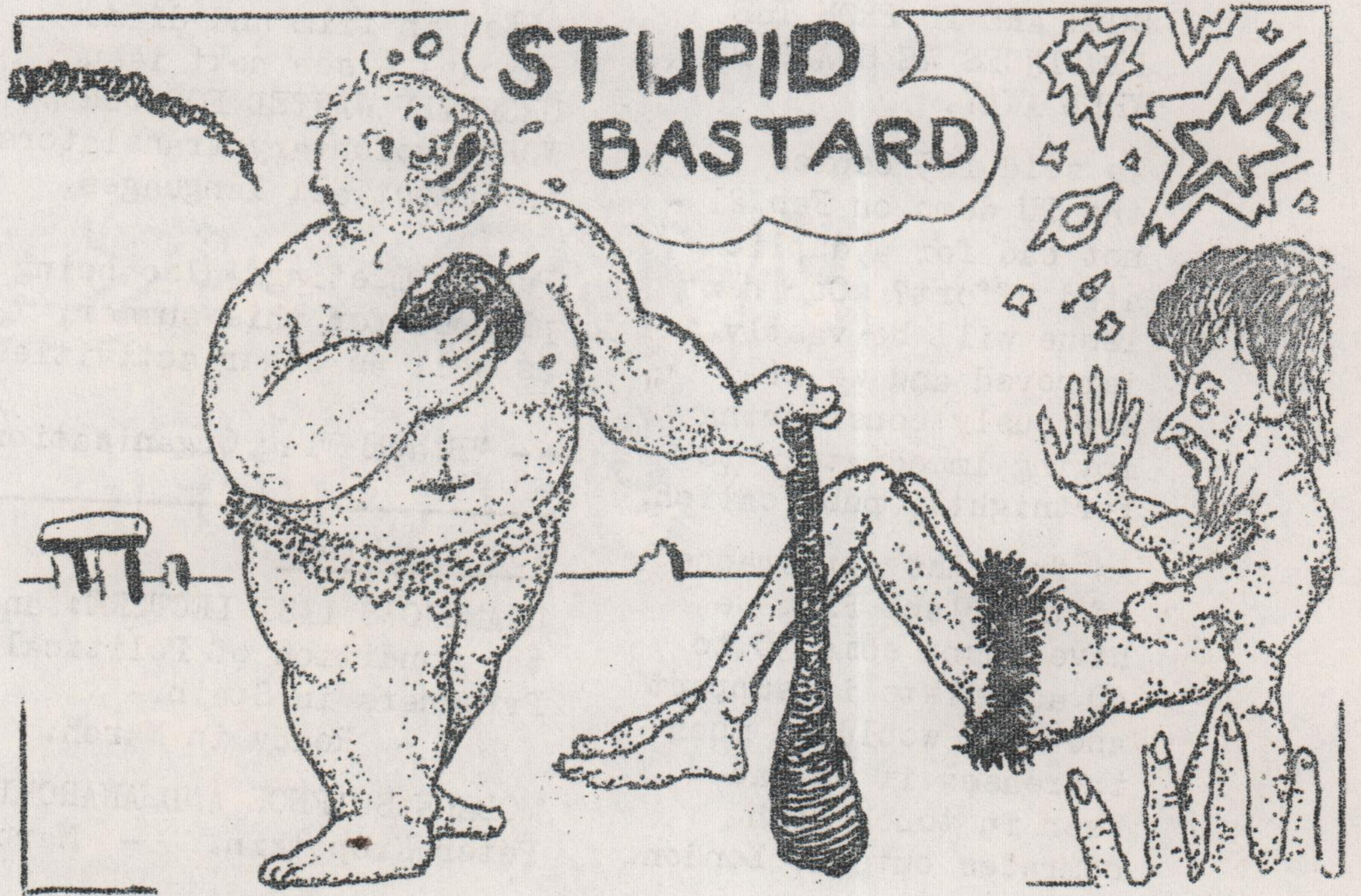
The sixteen sentenced at Burgos have been sent to different prisons, which include some which are not normally used for political offenders. The worst off have gone to Puerto de Santa Maria, the nightmare prison, and to Cordova. Others have gone to Caceres and Cartagena, the best off being the two who have gone to Alicante. The women have been sent to the Women's Prison in Madrid which has the advantage to them that they are able to get visitors more easily - some jails being much more inaccessible. The two priests have gone to Zamora. We have a list of prisons and also of nearest relatives, for anyone wishing to help - it is suggested that Welsh Nationalists might like to aid them and to correspond.

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by ARTHUR MOYSE





OURSELVES.

The production of this journal as the BLACK FLAG has been delayed too long. It at last came out during the Post Office strike when all journals were feeling the pinch. As the Bulletin of the ABC we had 200 subscribers, most of them outside London. We had to begin (as we thought) quite from scratch. BUT WE SOLD OUT OF Nos. 1 & 2 and No. 2. had to be reprinted THREE TIMES. Our minimum sale is 500 now for London alone, and it may increase to 1000 in a few issues. ONCE THE SUBS ARE IN FROM THE PROVINCES WE SHALL BE WELL AWAY.

We sold 165 copies at the TU demo on Feb 21 - not bad for a duplicated effort? Our next issue will be vastly improved and we are seriously considering moving immediately to fortnightly publication.

As from the appearance of the Black Flag we have found some 30 to 40 activists in support and this would be much increased if we had been in touch with comrades outside London.

In our view the paper is secondary to the movement: what counts is what activity it can achieve. For the moment it is the focus of our organisation. We are holding editorial meetings at different factory or college gatherings, so as to get activist collaboration in what purports to be an activist paper.

ON TO THE ANARCHIST DAILY !

Present rallying point in London is the Black Flag stall at Portobello Road on Saturdays (next to Finch's). Office premises will be open soon (10 Gilbert Place has been only an accommodation address). People interested in film and drama groups - see next issue. URGENTLY WANTED FOR OUR WORK: voluntary translators in almost all languages.

Public meetings also being planned for this summer, as well as other activities.

- "Black Flag Organisation"

New Pamphlets.

UNAMUNO'S LAST LECTURE: and the Condition of Political Prisoners in Spain.

- Ready in March.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM
Peter Kropotkin. - March.

(In two previous articles we traced the rise of Trotskyism as "permanent rejection" seeking to be a faction within the Communist Party or the Labour Party and becoming a "loyal opposition").

In one country, however, the Trotskyists had a unique advantage - more so than in Ceylon where they were numerically strong. In Palestine, the C.P. had declared against Zionism because it conflicted with Russian plans (going back to Tsarist days). But in the not always voluntary Jewish immigration there were some supporters or would-be supporters of the C.P. They formed a party with a policy of self-repatriation: it was like West Indians forming a Powellite Party today. The illogicality meant the growth of a rival CP and this encouraged the Trots: their line was that British Imperialism was to blame for Jewish Arab antagonism and that there should be unity between Jewish and Arab workers.

But for this unity to be achieved the Jewish workers had to get there in the first place, and so Trotskyism got the best of both worlds - some Arabs thinking of it as anti-Zionist (because the CP was) but it was certainly not against immigration.

DOUBLE TAKE

But many leading Zionist Trots did a double take during the period of the war and after, when British Imperialism clamped down on immigration. They were amongst the illegal fighters against this decree and so teamed up with the extreme (Jewish) Right. An interesting reminiscence of these days came recently from Tony Cliff, describing his illegal activity in Palestine but forgetting that this must have been in the 'rightist' days. The trots were never illegal. Only illegality was by those who switched over to the extreme right in the last days of the Mandate.

When after the state of Israel was created the C.P. was re-defined in its true role of a specifically Russian agency, the trots had a ready-made party. But now they campaigned against Zionism for they had the chance to unite some Arabs and Jews in a revolutionary-type party. This following the usual "loyal opposition" line, had to be anti-Zionist, but it also had to accept the repressive pseudo-socialist regimes of Nasser as progressive and the feudal Arab leaders as allies. Only Jordan - being more

inclined to England than to Russia, was outside the progressive fold.

The wealth poured into propaganda by both Jewish and Arab sources obscure what happened. The Trots played a decisive part in events for the first time in their history.

THE SHIN The vigilant
BETH Israeli
"S.B." (Shin Beth) - which for cunning and resource has beaten the CIA and the Russians at their own hard and dirty game - made use of the Trotskyist movement. It was able to crack open the narrow nationalism of the Arab world, and to pour in cosmopolitan spies which wrecked the concerted efforts of the Arab States. Finally, the Egyptian and Syrian police cracked down on the whole organisation. No Trotskyist organisation in the world protested at the suppression of their movement in those countries. They could not do so. The organisation there had become subservient to the Israeli police. The whole concept of an "elite", a secret body of "leaders" controlling the party, the basic tenets of Bolshevism itself and Trotskyism, were called into question. But they

could not be discussed. It would mean too damaging an admission.

JORDAN But in Jordan, as they had been against the King anyway, he could not act against them more than he had tried to already, poor devil. He (it would seem) made a secret pact with the Israel government whose spies provoked a premature rising he could crush. THIS IS THE REVOLUTION! shouted the supporters of Trotskyism abroad. The guerrillas, with a Trotskyite leadership, came out of hiding and fought the Army. The war against Israel was suspended.....

But during the time the guerrillas had controlled refugee camps by the dozen, small towns, whole areas of land, even some cities... with caches of arms, with children drilling up and down with arms chanting out anti-Jewish slogans, with a regular fighting detachment of troops.... and WITH THE WHOLE REFUGEE AND INDIGENOUS POPULATION LIVING IN THE MOST ABJECT AND BITTER MISERY (though some well to do leaders like Leila Khaled herself had gone to University).. WHAT HAPPENED TO SOCIALISM AND THE REVOLUTION?

(Continued on page 25)

LETTERBOX

Our postbox is empty like so many others. We look forward to readers' letters after the strike. Meanwhile the action of the Government deprives us and everyone else of the work of the hardworking and low paid postman. (How could you have a postal service without the State ? is about the most moronic question one could be asked at the moment).

TROTSKYISM (From page 24)

It occurred to none of the "dedicated students", the middle class "guerrilla leaders", the "Arab Revolution in Arms" or the "advanced" Socialists that a people in arms need not live in bitter poverty amid plenty in Amman and elsewhere. Or perhaps it did occur to them, and like any fascist leader, they preferred the masses to hate the foreigner instead !

With this bitter irony on "world revolution" Trotskyism as such came to an end. Henceforward - let them fall out as they might - there was not an atom of difference between them and the rampant nationalism (with no further pretext at socialism) of the admirers of Stalin.

congestion and all the other problems of our industrial society become more complex. We all express concern, but the policeman gets out and does something about it.

From this advertisement in THE OBSERVER 14th February it will be seen that fighting SOCIAL UPHEAVAL now takes precedence over combatting ORGANISED CRIME.

Note: the Flying Squad is being axed, Special Branch is being quadrupled.

ABOLISH THE POLICE FORCE
Disband Special Branch NOW !

Pick up a newspaper any day and the chances are you'll read about the police in action. Sometimes the sophistication of their modern equipment excites your imagination. But as often as not it's the dogged determination of the police that impresses you. Even if the job involves searching hundreds of yards of river bed the police will stick to it until they find what they are looking for. They never give up. And we all expect this as a matter of right. For the police it's a duty. A duty that is becoming more and more important as social upheaval, organised crime, traffic

iii. THE FORA and the SAC

THE CLOSED SHOP is the shibboleth of British trade unionism. It is almost impossible for anyone steeped in the traditions of British labour to understand that this is not necessarily the best, or the only, way a labour movement can proceed. Who

would join a union if they could get its benefits for nothing? they ask. But some reformist unions abroad fight for benefits only for their members; the anarcho-syndicalists have fought for all workers, in or out of the organisation. They have not lacked members (except after serious repression) for the members have understood and accepted what the union was about.

Those unions which, like the British, have accepted a social-democratic philosophy, have in fact accepted nothing.

To build a movement like the F.O.R.A. in the Argentine needed great courage and guts. The Workers Federation of the Argentine Region was built, like the CNT in Spain, on the basis of councils of workers in each factory. In this they resembled more the council communism of Germany (1918-21) than an orthodox trade union. It might be said to have

been an official standing committee of unofficial strikers! But the concept of "unofficial" strikes was unknown in an open shop society. All strikes were unofficial. Few employers "recognised" the union - but they recognised that its delegates were the men and women were those with whom to deal when demands were being presented.

Later, when ~~orthodox~~ - or one should rather say, Statist and reformist trade unionism was introduced, the State was able to clamp down on the FORA and it seized to be a union centre. But the committees which were its backbone remained. The daily paper might be suppressed (it came out illegally) but the idea it advocated - committees on the job, ad hoc if need be - could never be suppressed.

SWEDEN The Swedish
Workers Central
Organisation (the S.A.C.)
was formed originally among
the lumbermen, like the IWW,
on much the same lines as the
CNT and the FORA, but it

did not have to face the same long, bloody struggle. Its beginnings had to be rough and hard, but once it had been chosen by a large enough body of workers as its organ, it was not subjected to the same degree of repression. It was no doubt anticipated by the authorities that the complacency and apathy that goes with a reasonably high degree of prosperity within democratic capitalism would corrode the S.A.C. If conditions worsened, they would then call out their heavy reserves.

Can a revolutionary policy survive years of collective bargaining and the routine organisation on which the S.A.C. had to concentrate? It was a different type of struggle from that of the F.O.R.A. One would not give an unqualified reply to the question. In such circumstances one must always struggle against the development of a complacent and inactive bureaucracy...but if this leads to an active bureaucracy, one is in even worse straits! Such a struggle may mean a perennial inner conflict - and those who preach loftily against "internal squabbles" in this country should understand a degree of inevitability in certain

circumstances. So far as the SAC is concerned, it has passed through phases in which it has nearly sunk to reformism and bureaucracy and it has also overcome those phases because of the ideas of workers' control from the workshop floor over the whole organisation.

One may compare the FORA in the Argentine, despite its virtual suppression by succeeding governments, to the CGT in Mexico, formed at the same time and with the same aims. But the CGT - never suppressed, and in fact encouraged by respective governments - has never had any system of workers' control over its operations. Its secretaries were appointed on the English model, copied at second hand from the A.F.L. of America. Today it is almost a branch of the State. And what happens when there is any industrial action in Mexico? Workers' committees appear from nowhere, to make demands upon both employers and trade union leaders... in exactly the same way as it was with the F.O.R.A. - except that the F.O.R.A. was permanent and they are ad hoc. Why do employers and workers alike bother with the CGT? Only because they have to. The closed shop forces them to recognise it. But they recognise it for what it is... a department of State.

When it affects Ministers.....
STRANGE HAPPENINGS

over the CARR AFFAIR

Few people will remember a case where the normal judicial principles have been over-ruled. People who are charged are refused permission to see their solicitors. The police openly make comments to the press about suspects in defiance of the principle of sub judice. Anyone is entitled to hawk an opinion, from Briginshaw's suggestion that Carr and the police did it, to the last person on whose door the police happened to knock and ask what he or she thinks about it. Meanwhile, anyone on the left is entitled to be raided, accused or charged at will, without magistrates daring to ask for proof before issuing warrants.

First the police hawked the theory that Stuart Christie was responsible not only for this but for all the fifty bombings of a political nature that they could not solve. The press took this up so avidly that when the bubble was burst, it seemed the police would have, in sheer self defence, to charge some "young Scot in his mid-twenties" .. by a coincidence, they took two. The first is an obvious fall guy who has, so far as one could see, not the slightest connection with the agitation against the Bill. The second, Ian Purdie, has served a sentence for attacking the Ulster Office and would not appear even to have been around when the other matters were occurring.

LEFT TRAITORS

But there is a nasty story behind this. As mentioned elsewhere in this issue, certain people on the Left immediately denounced the whole "angry brigade" business as a fascist plot.... they could not flagrantly claim they DID it - for the police only wanted that - so as they could not get credit they seized on the pitiful excuse that the Tories did it themselves. One person, a layabout around the Irish movement, Gerry Lawless, went too far. For the usual few pints of Guinness he sold a story to Trotsky-

ist paper "Politique Hebdo", of Paris, which usually specialises in selling stories about who are the active militants against Franco (with names and addresses) - and suchlike 'revelations' which are hard to come by and sometimes need touching up a little. A strong streak of jealousy, if not inclination towards the authorities, may be observed here.

Under the pseudonym of MacColl (Lawless or his contact, Hebdo's London correspondent), it was stated that the Carr affair was a "police plot" captained by an officer of Australian Military Intelligence, "Digger" Walsh, who had "penetrated" the Irish movement (for what? Any secrets the Irish in London have are obtainable in any Irish pub for the usual entrance fee). The malicious part of the story, apart from the allegation of bombing, is that our friend Digger was, in fact, as a youth, in the Australian Army and did in fact become an intelligence officer. His colleagues in the police-inspired attack were our old mysterious Scottish friend who had served a sentence in a Spanish jail - but whose name was not revealed - and another who had served nine months for an attack on the Ulster Office. Purdie fitted this description.

IMMEDIATELY L'HEBDO REACHED LONDON, PURDIE WAS ARRESTED. The allegation against Walsh was absurd and that against Christie already exploded; but Purdie's name fitted in neatly because he had been in prison with Prescott who had been there on another charge.

"Private Eye" and "Red Mole" are not above using Lawless as an informant, but they can afford to be mistaken (they cannot give out 15 year sentences for any invented stories, for a start). If Scotland Yard are stooping to picking up Trotskyist stories invented in order to justify their non-leadership and out of pique at being ignored by the militant movement, it is in a poor way. Or in the special circumstances of this case, does anything go?

THE POST OFFICE WORKERS HAVE GONE BACK. Cries of "Sell out". The postmen may have a right to say it. Nobody else. Did you hear of one single stoppage or refusal to work on the overloaded planes, rails, messenger services? Sympathy, yes. Where it was wanted, no.

Subscription: 75 p. (15/-) for 12 issues.

NOTE: Last issue was wrongly described as Vol.2. No. 1.
It was No. 2. This is the third number in the new
series.

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ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THAT ADDRESS but please note this
is only a postal address. Our new office address will
be announced in the next issue.