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BLACK FLAG

6p



ANARCHIST MONTHLY

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

MONTHLY

6p (1/3d)

THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND

THE C.N.T. IN SPAIN

THE PROBLEMS OF AN ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

THE FORGOTTEN PIONEER (PARVUS & RUSSIA)

THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BILL

Will trade unions come to welcome it, as the Tories allege? Or is it part and parcel of the union-bashing that goes with the Police State drive?

Both answers may be Yes, but the first question needs further explanation. If one kills off everyone to the left of Harold Wilson, he will be on the extreme left. If one kills off everyone to the right of Edward Heath, he will be on the extreme right. This is a lesson learned in practice in totalitarian countries. But even here, though the right has not been 'killed off' literally, fascism has (by its worship of patriotism and association with anti-patriotism) been killed off; yet the Tories need a right wing that can say and do the things they want but dare not do. Hence the need for an Enoch Powell, and why a newly-formed nationalist movement can take the pressure off him and he can become 'liberal' again.

If the Bill really hits the militants so hard it shuts them up, the trade union bureaucracy would be in a tight spot. The pressure would be on them for militancy. They would be the targets for the police (authorised to attack the 'extreme left'); they would come under fire from their members to lead the struggles now led by the 'trouble-makers' whom the Bill 'seeks to curb' and whom at present the TU bureaucracy hopes to absorb into the leadership when they become a threat to it. All they can hope for is that the militants in industry will NOT be intimidated by the Bill. This is why the TU leadership opposes the Bill. This explains the assurances that the worst clauses 'may not be used'.

C A R R T H E

C O W A R D

WERE WE JUSTIFIED in branding the government as a pack of cowards? Usually when one describes Tories as such, the Press plaintively draws attention to the fact that so-and-so was an officer, and it is as unthinkable to call an officer a coward as to call a judge an idiot...

One often judges others by oneself - and in attacking "militants who dominate industry" at a constituency meeting in Mitcham, Robert Carr said that the majority of workers were "pawns in a power game played by small and unrepresentative groups". He has never done a day's work in his life, so he takes his viewpoint from how HE would act. The workers have no say in their own affairs, he says (Mail, 27.3.71)

"except, that is, occasionally through the phoney medium of an organised mass meeting where you have to be a brave man not to put your hand up when you are advised to."

You are NOT brave, Mr. Carr. Put your hand up, and damn 'em! If that is what you feel, why do you not attest?

We, "mindless" but not entirely gutless militants often have had to swim against the stream. Can't you be equally brave? (It wouldn't cost anything).

What the Police State Means
to the Man in the Street

Philip Silk, 21, a respectable auditor, was at school five or six years ago when he took some chalk, paper and a ruler from his desk. We all know that this is done by everyone. It is as natural as an office worker using the boss's telephone or paper. He forgot about them.

"Until last Friday," (D.Express March 3rd). "FIVE POLICEMEN CALLED AT HIS PARENTS' HOME IN THORNTON HEATH WITH A SEARCH WARRANT".

(Why five? Well, when you pick your own jobs and magistrates are fools enough to write out warrants, you don't go round after armed bandits).

Why pick on Philip? Knock at any door and you will find a pub glass or a few pieces of paper with Stationery Office watermarks... "IT WAS 'JUST ROUTINE' FOLLOWING THEFTS IN THE AREA". In other words, local Thornton Heath magistrates are betraying their neighbours by signing away their rights to privacy without looking at the warrants. There is no other way they could be issued. To justify the exercise, someone had to be 'done'. The magistrates then gave an absolute discharge - after causing distress to their neighbours - PROVING THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE SIGNED THE WARRANTS IN THE FIRST PLACE.

THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND

The struggle in Northern Ireland is a lot more than a clash between rival Christians whatever the Press may say. They are jettisoning their usual religious prejudices in case the Tories are damaged by an admission that a violent struggle always ensues when ingrained conservatism faces rising nationalism. The Labour Party limp along with the religious excuse. But religion is no longer a cause for war, only an apology. It has no validity in the Irish context except as a battle cry for nationalism and counter-nationalism in the North. It is used to justify 'communal strife', i.e. division.

The perjured and power-seeking police - currently staging its own attempt at takeover in Britain - state, as if the "police spokesmen" were paid by Conservative Central Office, that anarchists have gone to Belfast

"FOR THE SOLE PURPOSE OF SPREADING COMMUNAL STRIFE AND USING THE SITUATION IN ULSTER FOR THEIR OWN EVIL ENDS" (Evening News, 30.3.71)

This is an exact and apt description of the role of the Conservative & Unionist Party. (One wonders idly when the police were authorised to speak of political opponents as "evil"; whether their "evil" opponents are expected to pay taxes; whether police evidence against those they regard as "evil" can be anything but suspect).

The slogans of nationality and religion come from those who for their own ends ("evil" if one hates exploitation; perfectly proper if one supports it) seek to DIVIDE the workers communally. Anarchists seek to ignore such 'communal' differences and UNITE the workers against the State.

Nationalism has nothing to do with the social revolution which is going on, except that because the communal strife fostered by the Tories went too far, and caused the whole

situation to blow up, the full power of the State including the use of the British Army, had to be called into action. When two national groupings clash each with support from its own people, there is no easy solution and none whatever within the accepted terms of reference. Each side retains its bourgeois leadership, and to "choose" is to choose a bourgeois leadership. Moreover, both are right, for folks tend to want to stay where they are and not be pushed around, and if attacked individually will often fight back collectively, within or without of the law. But this communal strife is not revolution. What can be the social revolution is the attitude that is forged when the umbrella of the State collapses.

This is what has happened, for the State in Ulster now means Army units and barbed wire, guns and funerals.

We cannot accept the quietist humbug that because there IS communal strife there cannot be revolution. This comes from assessing everything in terms of the violence used. If we assess in terms of HAVE THE PEOPLE LEARNED TO BE FREE we will see that everywhere in Ulster the workers are learning to be independent of the State because it cannot provide the protection it promises. It has broken down in the communal strife stirred up to keep it in being. That is why there is solidarity, mutual defence, local radios, street organisation, unity in battles. It is there whether the district happens to wave the Orange or the Green. (If one could only spread the story that the Pope owned Harland & Wolff's shareholding, maybe the Belfast ship-builders would be the first to seize the dockyards!) WE MUST NOT FORGET the stirring up of strife began when the Tories found in alarm 'Protestant' students uniting with 'Catholic' workers and they found that it might be that they had armed 'their own people' whose guns might be turned not against their next-door neighbours, but against the wealthy and powerful. That is why they had to provoke. That is why they brought in the Army. That is why Special Branch was allowed to run riot in Ulster.

AND NOT ONLY SPECIAL BRANCH. For Dublin Castle also has its vital interests there. What is "evil" at Whitehall is

mortal sin at Dublin, where the gardai are beginning to taste the full delights of unbridled power, as the I.R.A. afford them the opportunity of masking their moves in secret. Dublin Castle, so long infiltrating the I.R.A. and vice versa until the double spies have long since forgotten which they are really working for, tries to upset the plans of Special Branch but also is determined to crush the revolutionary movement in Ulster.

These traitors, posing as friends to the civil rights movement and parading their fellow-Catholicism, are really terrified at the degree of social revolution that is going on as the workers of Northern Ireland begin to realise their power and know that they are not dependent upon the State. This is why they too attack the "evil" anarchists! ("Evil" indeed to those for whom Government is God!)

What of the IRA now once again putting in its ten cents? No revolutionary organisation in modern times has been so over-boasted as this, which looks back 55 years to the glorious rebellion over a vacuum of nothing achieved. In that time many generations have come and gone. It has passed hands from team to team more often than the F.A. Cup. It is not exactly fascist: Fascism picks on a minority, isolates it and builds up a killer reputation bit by bit as it first persecutes one minority and then another, until it holds power. The I.R.A. has not got past its first "minority". Its reputation is that of a killer pig which devours its own young. It thrives on its inner discipline, not on its victories. It maintains itself by worn-out slogans, like the Unionists. They too are not exactly fascist. Their battle-cries are also religious and nationalist, but what else have they? Parcels of second-hand ideals would be gratefully welcome at Stormont (thanks to the kind Indian gentleman who sent the last package of non-violent declarations which are being handed out with the arms issue).

YET ALL THIS HAS ACHIEVED ONE THING. THE REVOLUTIONARY WHO TRIES TO BUILD A FREE SOCIETY PROVOKES THE DIRECT INTERVENTION OF THE BRUTE FORCE OF THE STATE. BUT THIS IN IRELAND HAS ALREADY BEEN PROVOKED BY COMMUNAL STRIFE. The people are learning to live despite the State. THAT is the Revolution. THAT is what it is all about.

Albert Meltzer.

A N A R C H I S T

C O M M E N T A R Y

WE HAVE ALREADY drawn notice to the fact that the police pogrom against the militant left has been going on for months. House after house, flat after flat, has been turned over and jobs visited, ostensibly to find someone with explosives who has stocked up the 'Angry Brigade'. Actually, for harassment and fear which might lead to 'information leading to conviction'.

But what is significant is that it has taken so long. You could get through supporters of the Establishment in a week or two. Where are the militant conformists? Only hogging the TV political broadcasts.

Who are the 'silent majority'? I went to see 'The Battle of Algiers' which could only appeal to left revolutionaries. The cinema at King's X was for years a family cinema showing Rank and Mayer and instead of perishing to Bingo, made it-self into the sort of cinema for years associated with tiny audiences. Instead of having half a dozen upstairs and fifty downstairs, the place was packed. The film had been running a week. For the second house (Saturday) the queue stretched right round the street, a thing unseen in any

cinema for years. And there was no doubt this was a 'left' albeit often trendy left clientele.

Oz & IT may be harassed because in the present climate they could flourish better than the Daily Sketch (this financial aspect has been seen by the 'sub-culture' tycoons, too).

Writes an enthusiastic supporter of the trendy left: "This sub culture is often baffling to the traditional anarchist who finds the hedonism of the new movement disturbingly irreverent of revolutionary puritanism". Yes, maybe; also because he sometimes finds it a load of balls, too. Puritanism can also be kidding yourself you take pot because of Personal Liberation and revolutionary or spiritual idealism, when in fact it's just that you happen to like the stuff.

The Puritan could never admit to pleasure in taking or refusing: it had to be a duty. To have abolished caning in schools one should have tried to convince the Puritans that it gave pleasure to the teacher not that it gave pain to the pupil.

There is now a 'sub-culture' Establishment, financial oligarchy and puritan ethic. It only needs its own police.

F O R M

F I V E S !

Somebody or other - back last century when they had time to work out these wisecracks - said that if three or more of a trade or profession got together, even for purely social purposes, it ended up as a conspiracy against the public. Whoever it was, he was a capitalist individualist and likely enough a prize twit, but the point is good.

What does one look for in time of industrial dispute? Somebody else of militant views, more or less libertarian. It's a hell of a job, for the very people who preach agitational industrial work at the weekends are probably well dug in at work. This was understandable in the years of depression. Not today.

If the libertarian left exists at all, what we impress on it is the need to FORM FIVES. People in the same industry, or the same craft. LET THEM MEET EVEN ON A PURELY SOCIAL BASIS. If they only swop dirty jokes over a pint, it will be an advancement on the high-minded meeting. After a meeting or two they will exhaust the jokes anyway. What they will have achieved even so is the knowledge WHO IS WHERE.

This is the basis of libertarian organisation in

industry. We ask all who are seriously thinking of a campaign for workers' councils to push the idea of PRIMARY GROUPS OF FIVE WORKERS who will simply press on to form groups of five in their own actual places of work.

The 'secondary' groups of five - irrespective of their other affiliations - will be the embryo of industrial action and of WORKERS COUNCILS.

It is as simple as that. If the people concerned are not all that militant, it does not matter very much. We all know that the events of social and industrial pressure push forward to militancy. It is not 'outside agitators' who 'cause trouble' as the Press imagines except in matters affecting the N.U.J. What is important is to know on whom one can rely in times of stress, and who is interested in the idea of workers' councils, without an outside leadership.

It is not really necessary to write a load of boring articles on what is happening where in which factory. We are all bored to death with papers on workers' control. We want some action. FORM FIVES!!!

THE EASTER CONFERENCES of the various political organisations will show how the Trotskyists have taken over some sections of the Labour movement. The Grant faction ("Militant"), a middle-aged hard-line Trot group, now dominates the Labour Young Socialists. The Healey group, publishing the daily "Workers Press", is intervening in industry. The fact that shop stewards resent this outside intervention worries them not a bit.

What infuriates the workers even more is the fact that the daily press now wish to pick their leaders for them! Guru of the smallest trot group of all bar one, the International Marxist Group, is Tariq Ali. The "Mirror" (using him as an instant commentator on the events in East Pakistan) calls him "at 27, a leader of the British revolutionary movement".

If Heinz Baked Beans behaved the way the Mirror and others do, they would be prosecuted under the Trades Description Acts. Thus the Mirror seek to trick their readers into thinking they have an expert; and also subtly to discredit the revolutionary movement.

BITS AND PIECES

HENRY FORD told the limeys what he thought of them... Can't do an honest day's work, he said (he is an expert?). Too many strikes. If we were not careful, he would go away and exploit somebody else. Nothing could have been more calculated to have caused sympathy with the strikers.

One thing he forgot to mention when he complained of the British market..... if he didn't make here, could he sell here? We all know the dream of the capitalist is to make where people have nothing and sell where they are prosperous, but when you make on the Ford scale you cannot pick and choose.

Some cheeky sod threw not exactly a spanner in the works but an explosive device. Maybe they wished to confirm him in the opinion that the Old Country is not what it was (thank Christ).

Yes, it was sad that bit in the press about little kids playing with bombs and actually using them, in Belfast. Where did I hear it before? Oh, yes, it was highly commended when they did it in Helsinki against the Russkis. (Russo-Finn war, 1940, when we all went mad about the gallant Finns.)

The CNT in Spain

by Miguel Garcia Garcia

The publication of the rules of the CNT (as contained in its membership card) in Black Flag (No.1) has caused some interest. This is a brief statement of the history of the Confederation.

The Spanish anarchist movement began around 1840 as a federalist movement but it was in 1870 that the first congress of workers, influenced by anarchist ideas, took place. This was in Barcelona and, under the name of the "Spanish Region" it was part of the First International.

Four years later the International (Spanish Region) was declared illegal by the Government, under pressure from the employing classes. Thus Spanish anarcho-syndicalism began its clandestine existence.

In 1910 there was a "constitutive assembly" of anarchist workers in the Palacio de Bellas Artes of Barcelona. They formed the National Confederation of Labour (CNT). Although the anarchists influenced its constitution, the CNT was not an ideological body. It was a body of workers' resistance. It opposed exploitation and owed its creation to the need for working class unity in its mutual interests. Anyone could join, irrespective of ideology, who accepted its basic principles as stated in the 'rules'.

None the less, the CNT was always revolutionary, and its ideal was libertarian communism. So far as day-to-day problems were concerned, it dealt with them as they arose. The direct action of the workers' unions were necessary in the struggle against State and Capital.

From the first moment, it had two aims: the fighting of the wage struggle, and the revolutionary struggle. It fought for higher wages and better conditions, and most of all for the complete vindication of the worker's individual standing.

But it also aimed at an economic revolution that would abolish classes.

For the CNT, everything had to be controlled from the BASE. The confederal unions were horizontal unions - that is to say, all power was exercised from below. In vertical unions - such as in France and England - power comes from above. Only a small difference? Then as the French say, 'vive la petite difference'! In the trade union movement in Britain as in the French CGT (now dominated by the Communist Party) orders come from headquarters. Naming a secretary with £5000 a year to give orders means one has lost a militant and gained a new oppressor.

The CNT struggled constantly for the betterment of social conditions as well as economic. To its work is due the introduction of the eight-hour day in Spain, which came after a long and famous strike that lasted a month and a half, in February and March of 1919. That strike, at 'La Canadiense' was for those times a model of organisation, and hit at the gas and electricity supply. It was, incidentally, a British company against which they struck.

The general structure of the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain, based upon syndicate, section, factory committee, and the federations of industry, deserves much greater attention than it has received. We shall write further upon it, but this is by way of introduction.

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THE ORIGINS OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

Dashar (Simian)

THE ORIGINS OF THE
ANARCHIST MOVEMENT
IN CHINA (Simian)

From us.

FILM NEWS

King's X Other Cinema (see Commentary) has woken up the town with Battle of Algiers. But there are quite a few films about on anarchism which they might find would stagger the box office. German film on Malatesta (mixed reports); Italian film on Sacco & Vanzetti now showing in Rome, with Riccardo Cucciola and Gian Maria Volonta. And how about the exciting, stirring film of 'l'affaire Bonnot' for which we have been waiting so long?

Our note about the films on the Spanish War (last issue) brought one good response... a comrade has dug up a print of the CNT FAI film on the Civil War, left behind by Emma Goldman and forgotten for 30 years... (UNIVERSITIES NOTE: Miguel Garcia Garcia who has given some lectures with 'To Die in Madrid', will speak with the showing of this film).

What about those reels and reels of unedited CNT FAI material lying undiscovered in Toulouse? Why, why, when it could be used over and over again? (Continental papers, please copy; someone has gone to sleep on this).

NEW YEAR'S MESSAGE

(This was sent to us by the Political Prisoners of Carabanchel, where Stuart Christie was detained. It was smuggled out of prison and sent to several comrades abroad. Unfortunately, the postal strike intervened this end).

We now know about the ever-growing clamour for our release. We, the social and political prisoners of Carabanchel, look forward to a united pressure for our liberty.

This is a crucial time in the struggle for freedom and with renewed industrial actions, we look forward to hearing more about the fight for amnesty against repression and against this shameful state. We fight for the liquidation of the dictatorship and the conquest of freedom right up to the suppression of capitalist exploitation. Let us go forward together! Your support for us is more encouraging than you know. With the New Year we send our fraternal greetings.

THE PRISONERS OF CARABANCHEL

Miguel Garcia Garcia has nearly completed his book on twenty years in Franco's jails. It will be published in the Autumn by Rupert Hart-Davis.

Notes & News of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

An active organisation of the Anarchist Black Cross now exists in Germany. Centred both in Cologne and in Berlin, it has been able not only to organise solidarity for the Spanish prisoners, but to help in the growth of the German movement, and is now actively supporting the German political prisoners.

The following is a list of German libertarian prisoners:-

PLOTZENSEE PRISON: Michael Baumann.

LEHRTER STRASSE: Monika Berberich, Brigitte Asdoak, Ingrid Georgens, Ingrid Schubert. (Women's Prison).

FRAUEN-U-HAFT, Kanstr. : Renate Wolf (Woman's Prison).

MOABIT: Willi Parkasowski, Heinz Brookman, Hilmar Buddee, Ulrich Fischer, Peter Knoll, Dieter Knaselmann, Annerose Reiche, Georg v. Rauch, Bernard Scharein, Renate Sami, K.H. Wiersejewski, Thomas Weisbecker, Bernhard Wolf, Horst Maler, Heinz Stahl.

JUGENDHAFTANSTALLE NEUKOLIN: Herbert Houn. (Juvenile)

TEGEL: Thorwald Froll, Herbert Goerke.

HAFTANSTALT NURNBERG: Heinrich Jansen.

6 LANDSBERG, Hindenburgring 12: Fritz Teufel.

6 MUNCHEN 90, Studelheimer Str 12: Hans Georg Vogel, Michael Blank, Vitus Wolfsteiner.

Some comrades have been held up to seven months awaiting trial.

"The growth of the anarchist movement in Germany has been phenomenal."*There was always a small movement surviving even under Hitler times. The extent of the movement (because wholly working class) was underestimated by most writers on the German scene, so far

as pre-1914 was concerned (it was in fact extremely active) and its role in the worker council movement partly ignored. But few thought it would survive the Hitler repression. Now, with the new generation, the growth of anarchism in adherence and activism, is 'phenomenal'.

*vide press

There have been a wave of strikes in Spain, some directed against the regime; some as an assertion of economic demands. Four thousand workers in the Harry Walker factory of Barcelona occupied their places of work, and the police came in force to evict them. Thousands of workers are on strike now in the Asturias.

All these Asturian workers are now in jail as a result of the strike.

Severino Arias Murillo is in Segovia Prison. He has a wife and three children. Celedonio Calvo Alvarez is also in Soria. Both come from Gijon.

From Cuenca del Nalon there are a large number. Alfonso Vallina (who has two children) is in Jaen Prison; Venancio Rivas and Manuel Isglesias also. Gerardo Isglesias, who is another married man with a child, is in Segovia. Manuel Garcia Otones is in Jaen. Manuel Tasende, is in Soria. Jesus Gonzalez Grilla, a bachelor, is in Palencia while Jose Fernandez is in Jaen. Julio Macias and Jose Manuel Palacios are in unknown prisons. Felix Alberdi Gonzalez is in Jaen. Francisco Gonzalez and Oscar Garcia Perez are in Oviedo Prison.

From Caudal, Asturian prisoners include: Celestino Gonzalez, Andres Avelino, Higinio (? name not known) in an unknown prison. Ramon Bellas and Angel Delgao are in Jaen, and so is Herminio de Mieres. Pilu and Lito (other names not known) are in Oviedo.

Students in Barcelona have gone on strike in sympathy with the Asturian comrades. Sympathy strikes were also called by Asturian students, as a result of which Jose Luis Garcia, doctor of philosophy, has been arrested. But this is only one of dozens and perhaps hundreds of arrests sweeping the universities of Spain.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS.

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

General consensus of opinion on the left as to the demise of the Daily Sketch is good riddance. Jeers at the journalists who regret its passing. It was only a right-wing rag and who laments it? Well, the printworkers do.

An explanation from Mr. Vere Harmsworth to printworkers relates how the management did all they could to save the Sketch. He says nothing about improving it or altering its policy, though... If he could have cut wages he would have been happy.

Ah, well, as the redundant lavatory attendant said ruefully, "It was shit to the customers and shit to the Corporation... but it was bread and butter to me."

Our Lord in His wisdom decreed that six days should we labour. That is what is wrong with Britain, says Our Ford. In a revealing statement to the "Sunday Times" (21.3.71) we are told the Ford executives would most like to build their next big motor plant in Britain (it does have the advantage of political quiet).

" 'Britain has a tremendous potential,' I was told. 'with everything going for it, if only we could know that we could get them to do a full day's work every day of the year.' "

Damn it all we don't even have saints' days in this Protestant land, but at least let us keep Sundays and Bank Holidays... sorry, sir, I didn't mean it, please keep on exploiting us...

Tory M.P. Mr. Rees Davies' remark: "As a barrister, I could not possibly go on strike" (he could, actually, but nobody would notice; even barristers can turn down briefs and in point of fact they do if the money isn't enough) reminds one of the classic retort by a dockworker in the old days of the cage, to a barrister trying to browbeat him.

"You say you are a docker, a respectable worker - but I put it to you that you are just a casual labourer who works only if he gets a job and is willing or able to do it."

"Same as a barrister, guv'nor."

Writes John Lea in "International Socialism": "An undoubted burden for contemporary British anarchists is that they seem incapable of drawing to their ranks, or sustaining, any competent intellectuals".

Please copy, Socialist Worker. The proles would love to know that I.S. is really there to sustain competent intellectuals. Such burdens we can carry.

"We must begin to scare the pants off the pansies in Broadcasting House," G.K. Young, former F.O. chief, to Monday Club (Nottingham, March 7). OH? Your Freudian slip is showing, Mr. Young.

ON TO THE
ANARCHIST DAILY!

Fanciful? Well, only time will tell... If we cannot achieve an anarchist daily NOW, within the capitalist repressive state, have we hope of achieving anarchism? Pass a valued judgment...

We shall certainly be moving to a printed fortnightly format as soon as we are able.... and that means soon.

MEANWHILE SELLERS ARE WANTED: As from this issue we can send bulk orders outside London on time. Inside London we need help for our Hyde Park team which has pushed up sales so rapidly. (Balance sheet, elsewhere, was to March 31st: over the next week end 60 more copies were sold!)

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

BLACK FLAG - still at 10 Gilbert Place,
LONDON, W.C.1. (new address in next issue)

DRUNKENNESS

Tory MP Tim Fortescue states he has "detailed evidence" of serious misdemeanours concerning Ford workers - such as drunkenness.

Striker-basher Fortescue may well be right. It is a safe accusation wherever there is a large body of men without the protection of State privilege. He also lists such crimes as idleness, sabotage, and intimidation, all of which are, of course, totally unknown in the precincts of the House.

Internal Problems of
Anarchism ?

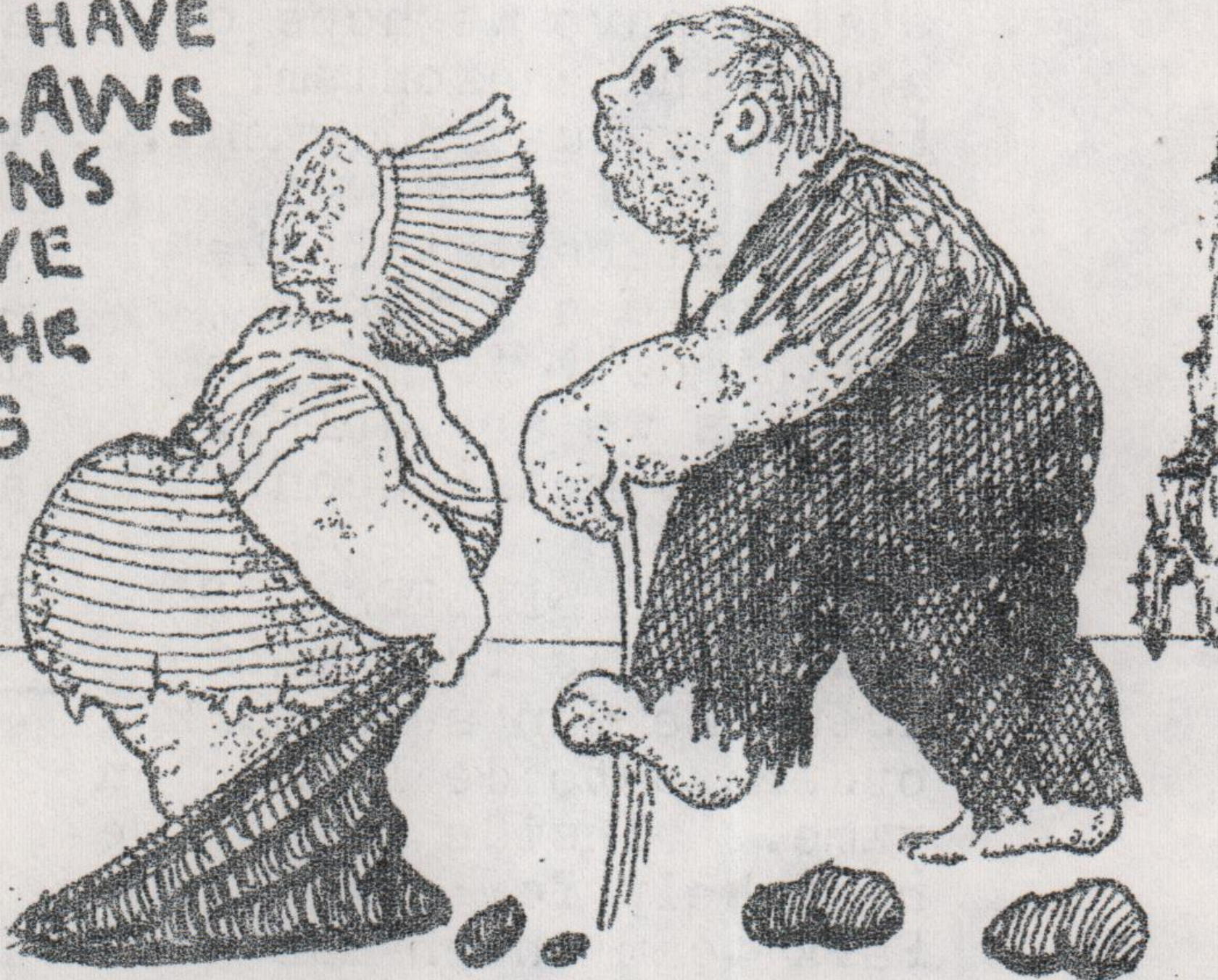
Some students write to inform us they have formed an Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists; and their programme and theoretical pamphlets are to be written by a Christian Pacifist. Heigho, very much heigho.. we can hardly wait for the announced pamphlet on Terrorism ("highly relevant at the moment"). Lord forbid we should suppress the news; but we can't express much hope. "Black Flag" Org.

Leeds AFB Conference:
April 24th & 25th.

ERN

WE ARE YOUR PRIESTS YOUR
STUDENTS AND YOUR INTELLECTUALS.
WITHOUT US YOU WOULD HAVE

NO GOD. NO LAWS
NO PRISONS
SO GIVE
WITH THE
POTATOES
MAN



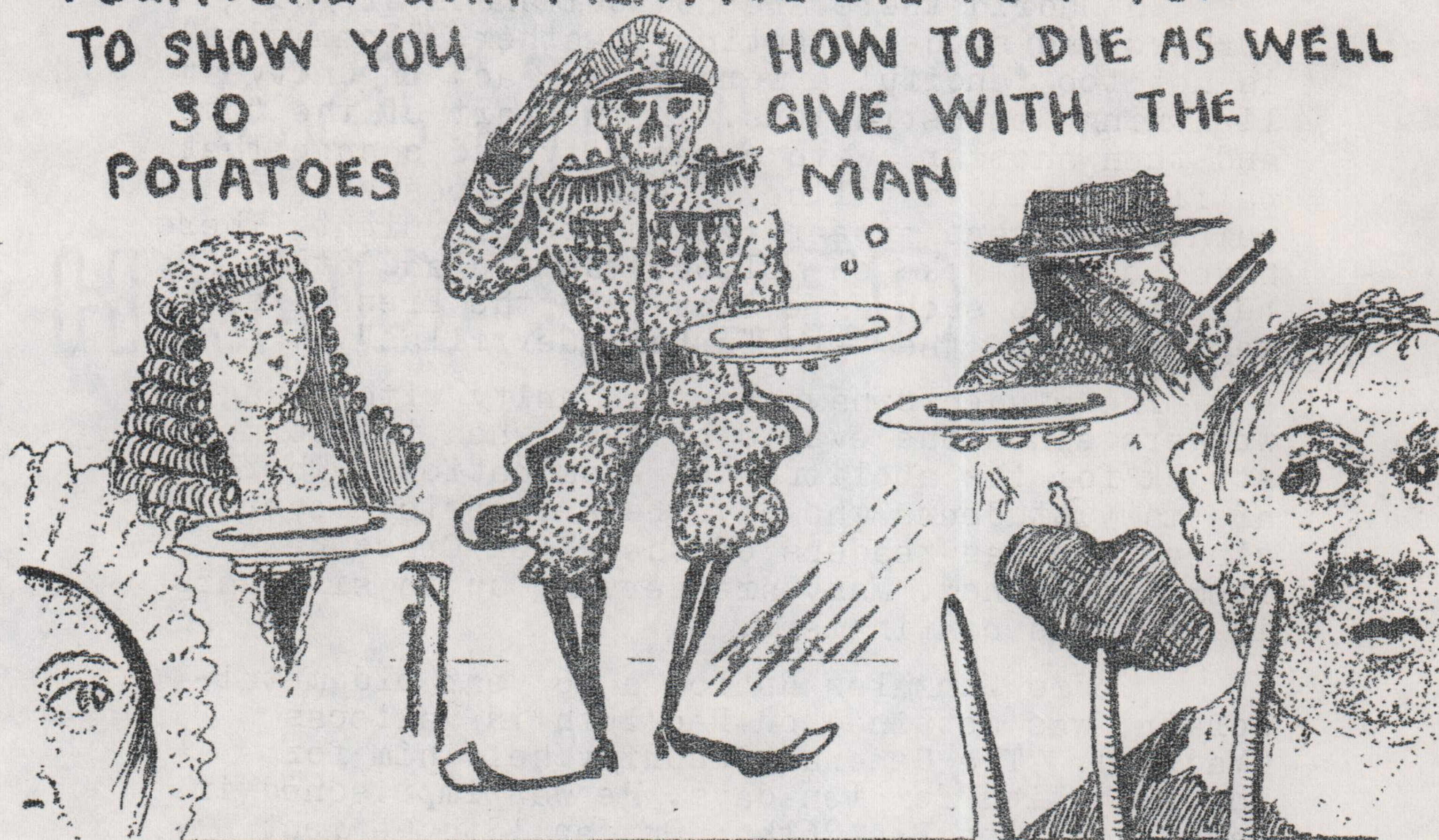
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AND INDUSTRIALISTS
WOULD HAVE
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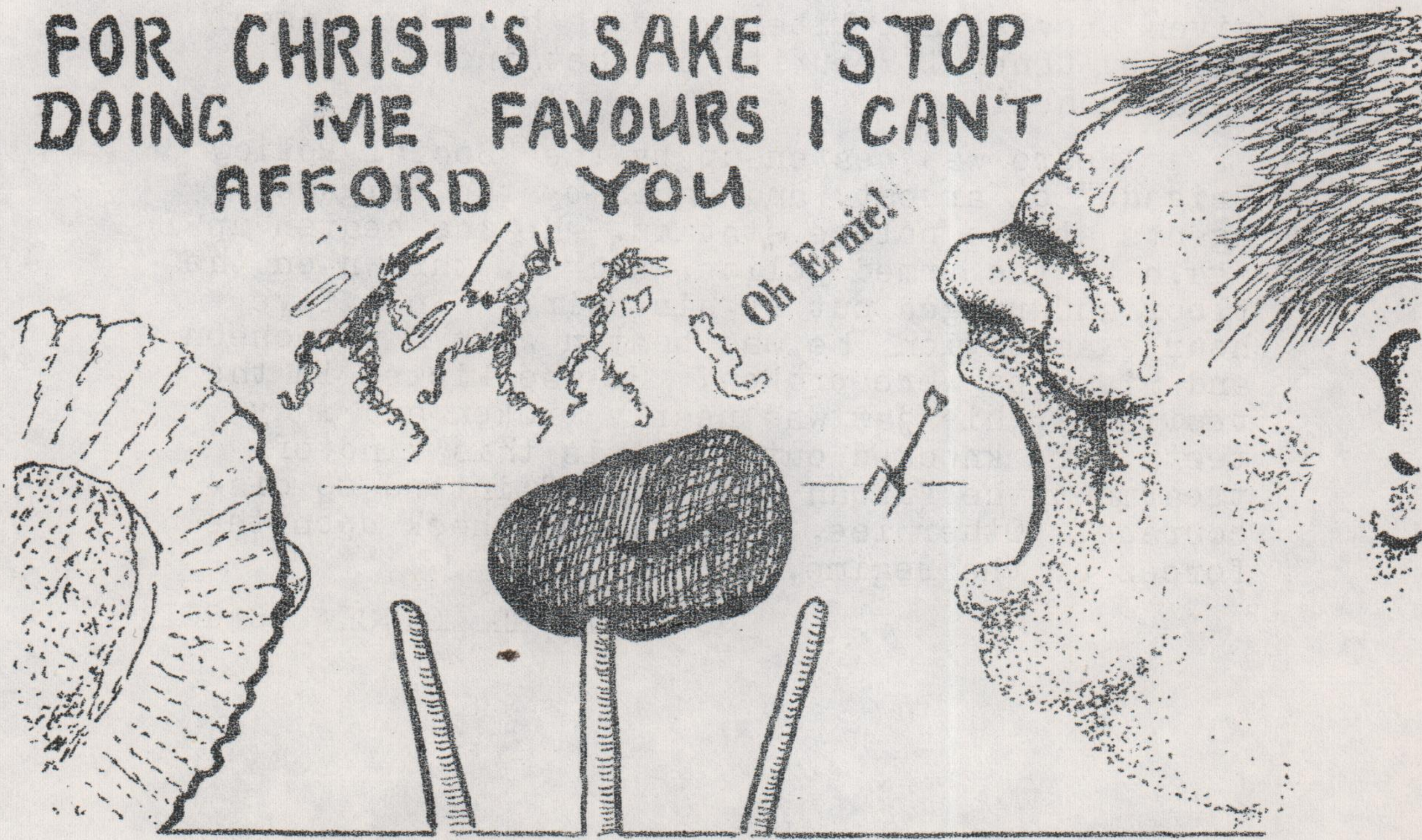
WITHOUT US YOU
CONCORDE OR I.T.V
WITH THE POTATOES
MAN



WE ARE YOUR LAW, YOUR MILITARY,
YOUR POLICE, YOUR JUDGES AND YOUR
POLITICAL GUN MEN. WE DIE FOR YOU
TO SHOW YOU
30
POTATOES
HOW TO DIE AS WELL
GIVE WITH THE
MAN



FOR CHRIST'S SAKE STOP
DOING ME FAVOURS I CAN'T
AFFORD YOU



Spain

UNITY IN DEMONSTRATIONS

In Madrid there are now commandos of young workers and students acting together. "Commandos" is not too fanciful a word. They act in unity at lightning demonstrations, in one part of the town and then another, with a rapidity and change that baffles Franco's police. Leaflets, posters, and painted slogans appear everywhere overnight. There have been attacks on police stations and State buildings to such an extent that the Press itself begins to use the term "urban guerrillas".

The students have been in unity with young workers since the events of 1966 when the former struck for the abolition of examinations. There are many students who have been in prison ever since, such as readers of the Black Cross news items will know. Many are serving up to six years in rigorous confinement.

Pedro Gonzalez Rubio, a 16 year old metal-worker, was detained on Dec 16th in Vallecas (Madrid). The General Security held him for interrogation for ten days. He was imprisoned in Carabanchel on Dec 26th. On Jan 13th he went before the Tribunal of Public Order. He was given provisional liberty so he has been taken back by General Security and detained in Carabanchel!

Pedro was beaten up by the "Social Policy Brigade" on arrest, and again by the Brigade agents at the police station. He was beaten up again by the armed police, kicked, thrown on the floor and dragged out by his hair. In a five hour examination, he was beaten with a truncheon and his lips were broken. He was kicked in the testicles, his jaw was nearly broken and many teeth were knocked out. It is this kind of treatment the "urban guerrillas" intend to discourage. Otherwise, there is no check upon the forces of the regime.

MIGUEL GARCIA GARCIA

Italy

The trial continues of Anarchists Paolo Braschi, Paolo Faccioli, Angelo Pietro della Savia and Tito Pubscinelli, accused of bomb attacks between April 1968 and April 1969, at Genoa, Leghorn, Turin and Pisa. They are also accused of being concerned with Pietro Valpreda in the Milan bomb explosion.

Appearing before the court at Milan on 29th March, a demonstration of solidarity was made by a group of Anarchists. As the judge entered his apartments, he was startled to find, daubed in huge black paint, CALABRESI ASSASSIN across the door. Dr Calabresi is Milan's notorious chief of police, who is responsible for engineering the outrage at the Milan Fair and from whose office Pinelli - secretary of the Milan Black Cross - "fell" to his death.

The Milan comrades now publish "Revista Anarchica" (possibly the best produced piece of typography we have seen in the libertarian movement, and the latest "Anarchy" sets a high standard). In it there is a sick joke of an anarchist, called to appear before the police in the same sort of pogrom that is going on now in London, first holding up a doctor and forcing him to give a certificate to say that he suffers from pulmonary tuberculosis. When he appears before Dr Calabresi, he explains that for medical reasons he cannot sit near an open window... (It looks funnier in cartoon form).

GUARD: Halt! Nobody enters, by orders of the Caudillo!
But I'm a guest, I'm Eusebio of Real Madrid.

Prove it! (He kicks a ball around) Right, pass! You, stop!

I'm a guest, I'm Manolete the bullfighter - I can prove it too! (He makes some passes with his cloak).

Right! You stop!

I am Salvador Dali, a guest of the Caudillo - wait while I draw your picture. (He makes some weird drawings).

You stop! Prove who you are!

I, my good man, am Don Juan Carlos, heir to the throne and your future King. And don't ask me to do anything, there is nothing whatever I can do.

Pass, your majesty. You're him!

ANARCHIST BOOKSHOPS

LEEDS: 153 Woodhouse Lane
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LEICESTER: 1 Wilne Street.

LONDON: 84b Whitechapel
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THE FORGOTTEN PIONEER

How did Lenin (a politician in exile with the leadership of half a party) seize power? There are many cultivated myths. The legends surrounding the Russian Revolution are becoming sacred myths. From them is carefully expunged the role of Helphand-Parvus (two of his aliases, his real name is unknown).

Parvus was a member of the Russian Social-Democrat Party, but was equally at home in the German Party. He had in fact made his name in the latter as a theoretician (from him his friend Bronstein-Trotsky took the theory of 'permanent revolution'). Because of his move to Germany, he did not become involved in the split between Bolsheviks (the majority - at one conference only) and Mensheviks. He remained on good terms with all. He kept many in funds. He was Rosa Luxemburg's lover; he mixed with the Kautsky and Bebel factions; he remained on good terms with Lenin and especially Trotsky. He was a prominent member of both the German Party and the Second International, before the first World War. Then he turned his talents to making money.

In Turkey Parvus (the name he adopted in Russia, his original, Jewish name being unknown; Helphand was his nickname and later his alias in Germany) became a major capitalist. As such he was of invaluable assistance to the German Government. He had more or less fallen out with the Party and with politics when the war came. He supported the war, that is to say the Central Powers, justifying it by saying it would lead to the overthrow of Tsarism. But he was also a major war profiteer and became indispensable to the German Government. Some distrusted him because of his background; but many Socialists were supporting the war, and they simply could not dispense with Parvus-Helphand. He was denounced on the one hand as a "revolutionary" and on the other hand as a black-marketeer profiteer. But for all that he had to be included in their plans for economic warfare, and let us face it, he was far from being the most unsavoury character in the ministries.

When the Russian Revolution came - that is to say, when the soldiers and workers overthrew the Tsar - the provisional government was headed by Kerensky. Immediately the German Government saw the way out of relieving the

enormous pressure on its Eastern Front. Let the Tsar be overthrown; if that was the will of the Russians, but let us also smash up any liberal regime in his place. They identified 'Kerensky' with the Western democracies. They had no idea what a boomerang they were making. It is not even certain whether Parvus did when he prepared his plan. Was it, in Parvus' mind, for Germany, or 'Socialism'? Or a racket?

He arranged for Lenin to be returned to Russia by sealed train (so as not to compromise him when passing through Germany). He understood full well what Lenin needed. To be there, to make speeches, and to have the funds of war. With his own money and that of the German Government (so far as Parvus was concerned, it was not necessary to make distinctions), he financed the passage. Moreover, with good German money - at a time when the rouble was valueless - the Bolshevik Party was strong and powerful on Lenin's return. Ultimately, it was able to pay Lettish mercenaries to act as police when nobody else could pay the wages for a police force. This was the decisive force in Lenin's victory. Henceforward he was in sole power. The man responded to the moment and he made full use of it.

Instead of his collapsing with the defeat, the German Government collapsed instead. Lenin then shook off his paymasters. Parvus was treated with contempt by all. He remained, however, rich and wallowing in luxury until his death. (It was his individual case that led to the Nazis identifying Jews with the defeat, Bolshevism and war profiteering - all irreconcilable in any other case but his).

None of this is of great discredit to Lenin, who one might think acted very sensibly throughout. His philosophy could well justify the procedure (and Trotsky was well able to write such things as 'accepting help from the devil himself' etc). But considerable discredit lies on the humbugs who present the Russian events as a Bolshevik Revolution and show how 'the will of the proletariat inexorably triumphed'; how the 'Marxist analysis showed the road to victory' and so on. These humbugs include Lenin and a great many others. The truth is so simple. The myths are so many on all sides.

Internationalist.

BOOK REVIEWS.

Jim Huggin is to be congratulated on bringing out a new edition of Nechayev's Catechism of a Revolutionist. For too long this has been kept hidden. It has been thought of as a 'guilty secret' of the anarchist movement. Yet one hundred years after, how can it be modified? In one detail only - by making it more severe.

Nechayev presented the minimum requirements of a revolutionist in Russia. He had to be ruthless, severe, self-sacrificing, pitiless. Of prosperous democracies he said nothing. If, there, one could 'indulge' oneself, Nechayev did not comment. But Nicholas Walter reminds us that the Black Panthers find the creed still apposite.

What Nechayev said was that one must be completely dedicated to the task in Russia. He went too far for Bakunin. But he did not say (and this is why Bakunin at first supported him) that the revolutionist was the ONLY requisite for revolution. He accepted that the people must make the revolution. But only his 'commandos' of revolution could break the Tsarist terror. It meant self abnegation that went beyond Bakunin in his old age. But Nechayev was right. Today,

we can still say that only someone accepting his 'catechism' (not intended for general acceptance) could fight in Russia. We could only say do NOT spare 'those guilty of great abuse' among the bureaucracy. As to the conclusion that in fact, only the bandits carried out revolutionary work in Russia (in the absence of real revolutionism), was it not correct? And in China, in Spain, in the French Maquis?

In defence of Nechayev, read (also reprinted oddly enough by a pacifist group) the Defence of John Brown by Thoreau. Brown completely accepted the Nechayev philosophy except that, in the USA, he clothed it in Christian terms. But his uprising was one in complete accordance with the 'Catechism'. Nechayev was an atheist and did not disguise his Catechism with idealism. But for 'Brown' read 'Nechayev' and you have the perfect foreword to the Catechism.

ANARCHY 2, 1921: KRONSTADT
Excellent issue on Kronstadt. Three minor reservations (other than the unexplained Lonelyhearts column by Paul Goodman at the finish): "The full tragedy of Kronstadt is that the real enemies of the social revolution are the people who most loudly call themselves revolutionaries". Known legally as a non

sequitur, this argument does not make it clear whether it attacks the sailors or the Party. It isn't the 'loudness' of the declaration that counts. Peter Newell describes the present life in Leningrad from a visit (all private cars belonging to the bureaucracy etc.) but a little while ago, in Freedom, he said that the economic system in Londonderry and that of Russia were the same. Maybe he should go for a trip to Ulster next? To distinguish is not to choose.

And one cannot resist this delicious bit from (Lord?) Peter Neville on Castro: "He is a man of the people, not exactly from the gutter, but certainly from the...middle class". (There is a step or two between, your Grace).

CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER No. 23 to hand, is a radical Christian paper which avoids the humbug that is associated with pacifist Christianity, head and shoulders over Peace News. Well worth reading for its international coverage.

HYDE PARK SOCIALIST. To prove anarchists are not "paragons of tolerance" (as they should NOT be, for tolerance implies rule) the editor quotes story in Black Flag (1) - the bit about the French student of Eric Gill - but manages to omit the first half of the story which explains the fury.

THE MAUDLING PRIZE for IDIOT OF THE MONTH

Sensational prizewinning entry from Mrs. Field of Essex pushes out all other contestants, including hardened professionals. Wife of a Ford striker, she went along to a meeting and hit the speaker with her handbag. The Press (quick on the draw to deplore violence, even non-violence such as sending to Coventry, if used against non-strikers) made her a great national heroine. With a B script.

She sobbed incoherently that he was a good man but strikes made it hard for the poor housewife and she knew they needed more pay and it was all quite right but how can we manage without the wage packet... Ah, yes, said the Press, in the profundity of wisdom that has brought it near bankruptcy, the Women Must Have Their Say. What Of The Wives, I Ask You? (Oh, women's lib, women's lib, what a task yet lies before you....)

A couple of days later Ford caved in anyway with a big pay increase. But Strikes Are Wrong, Evil, Wicked...chorus the press (not NUJ ones)...and how about wives like Mrs Field having their say? What a right idiot her husband must feel! But it is she who got the prize: bound copy of the Christmas 1971 edition of the Daily Sketch, subject to availability.

Correspondence.

I have just seen the first two issues of the Black Flag and find it impressive and much needed. I am interested to hear any organizational plans that you may have.

E.S. E.Yks.

Most people in Manchester seem to like Black Flag and I wish you every success in the new venture.

R.M.

I have argued and argued till I'm tired that violence is a-moral and that it defeats its own ends, for whatever you win by violence can be taken from you by the same method. The Mosley punch ups were defensive and the Hitler war had to be fought for it was the first of the major political wars but to play games with people's lives... I would not even hand a brick to someone else. As for the Carr bombing, I think whoever did it were prize idiots. M.O.

(Ed: Hitler War was - whatever else - the second of its kind, and the last.. or last but one...Violence at a distance of time or space or sanctioned by law seems OK to the pacifist).

Thanks for the back numbers of CUDDONS.. I enjoyed reading them though it is very disappointing to think of a publication of the quality of CUDDONS no longer being produced, still BLACK FLAG looks good and it looks as though you enjoyed producing it which is very important... I do have one complaint - why do you keep persecuting us poor collectors? With Cuddon's you changed the size so that we couldn't bind 'em and now you describe us as strange people.. there is talk of a Collectors Liberation Front....

D.S.

(No,no,not prejudice... though we admit we wouldn't like one of them to bind our daughter in their files...)

All good wishes.

J.T. Bangor.

About ruddy time! I am delighted to see you are all taking the plunge into Black Flag and home grown struggles! The anarchist movement needs some common sense talk. B.O'C. London. Wonders, wonders! An anarchist group that talks good plain sense!

'Soli' supporter.

THE PROBLEMS OF AN ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. by "Sectarian"

There are many who believe that "an anarchist movement" exists in this country, and to some extent it does. It is not however our passion for secrecy or cliques that prevents our pointing it out. It is impossible to define, and therefore despite all the good anarchists about, does not really exist. When it can be defined, it will do so. When it exists, it will gather unsuspected strength.

At present, it is accepted by many that anyone is an anarchist who happens to call himself one. On that basis, it can easily be proved that anarchism is a load of incoherent rubbish. By introversion one can 'live' in the movement and write on "Most anarchists believe... even many anarchists say... traditional anarchists declare...the vast majority (!) of anarchists think..." Such is the stuff of some of our theoreticians.

Some of our friends tell us we must avoid personalities. It seems to the writer that one should not use 'personalities' in the sense of - say - attacking A's physical stature. But if A writes consistently to say he is an anarchist and by any normal standard he is not, have we not to say he is no anarchist? How else do we distinguish him from B? Are we to tell C that anarchists can be like A or B, it doesn't matter which?

We propose in this series to analyse the strands claiming to be anarchist and try to find out if it is possible to unravel a coherent movement being choked by some of them.

WRITES A READER: I was interested to read in your last edition an attack on 'quietists' in the anarchist movement. But they deserve more condemnation than could be contained in half a dozen lines particularly because they are a danger to all activists and they are growing in numbers and seem to be swamping certain sections. It makes me very sad to see a political philosophy that I always thought to be in the front line of revolutionary activity turning more and more and quite surprisingly to a right wing stance. These people, the quietists or individualists, take great pleasure in justifying their conservatism

and pouring scorn on those who apply
themselves to working for the community.

T.G.T. W.11.

We agree, though not quite with the identification of "quietism" with "individualism". There could be such a thing as anarchist individualism and of a decidedly revolutionary nature, witness for instance the Bonnot Gang or the Angry Brigade. This is anarchism in its aims and revolutionary in its practice; moreover it does not exclude collective action and may very well be supplementary to it. It is certainly individual action, what else?

However, we know TGT refers to the non-anarchist individualism now preached by a group or so in England; which has nothing in it of anarchism except its identification with 'quietism' and is not individualistic except its support, as he says, for conservative, capitalist ideology.

"Quietism" is not to be identified with pacifism, either. It is not impossible for someone to be an anarchist and to support revolution but to draw reservations on the use of violence. If however the measure of violence is one's sole criterion, nothing could be more non-violent than nothing, hence pacifism tends to lead to quietism.

Moreover, "quietism" may be militant and even hysterical. We see that in the denunciations of revolutionaries now commonplace among "quietist" anarchists, so called.

The new major political credo, that will be the apologia for the Police State, is Conformism. Fascism is out-dated. It is now identified with a dead and damned ideology. All militant and hysterical reactionary codes advocate Conformism in one way or another. Powell, the National Front, dear little Mary Whitehouse, the newspaper myths, the Inflation Bogey, the Anti-Permissives, the immigration fanatics, all form part of a move - not towards 'fascism' whatever that means in this context (certainly not the corporate state) but towards Conformity.

What is the other side of the picture, the 'loyal opposition' as it were? Anti-Conformity - yes, but not a militant anti-conformity. This is what we call "quietism". It shares certain ideals (union-bashing and contempt for the rest of society) and fits neatly opposite others. It ranges from flower power to mushroom worship. Like Conformism, it is not too sold on parliamentary

methods, but then who could be. Unfortunately, just as communist slogans and attitudes were perverted and used by fascism, so anarchist slogans and attitudes are used by quietism. After all, what does it mean "to be against the State?" So we don't vote every five years. Not much of a sacrifice to be fashionably radical and to fit into the Conformist State without being hit on the head by a police truncheon.

There are various varieties of quietism only a few of which are expressed as 'anarchism' - the so-called Individualists to whom TGT refers are Elitists. Their fashionable game is to subjoin two opposing ideas (say Capitalism and Anarchism) which can be expressed as a contradiction. It is a harmless word game which underlies the Elitist approach (how to be an intellectual in one easy lesson). But it is only one aspect of Elitism.

Elitism proper is a general curse of the Left. The Left is able to denounce the racialism of the Right since that doesn't happen to be its endemic disease. The Right worships inheritance, birth, breeding - all mystic concepts which the rise of a popularly based fascist movement in Germany made it necessary to broaden - race, nation (since they could no longer say to five million helots, You are helots as the Master Race consists of us few; they had to say, You are all the Master Race). The Left equivalent is the claim to superiority of 'the intellectuals' by right of intellect. This elitism goes back a long way. What do they mean by intellectual? The suggestion is "scientist, professor, philosopher" as so many like to think themselves even if they work as a bank clerk; but again it is used sometimes to mean "writer" (but usually, Left Wing writer and only Right Wing if he happens to be particularly bright... a woman Left Wing writer of children's stories who called herself, modestly, an intellectual was furious when I asked her if Enid Blyton was one). In practice, it means much the same on the Left as 'white citizen' means on the Right.

What we understand by anarchism is anti-elitist and contemptuous both of Conformity and Quietism. If such are to use anarchist slogans, we have to qualify our own. It does not qualify our anarchism. It means we must be tautological and refer to revolutionary anarchism.

Bread

"BLACK FLAG"
finances

January to March
1971

Cost of duplicating Jan-March incl paper stencils &c. (also part cost No. 4)	92. 13	
Literature costs	12. 00	(includes £10 deposit)
Stationery	3. 35	
Postage	2. 64	
Cash in hand	<u>7. 99</u>	118. 11.
Sales of paper & other lit. Hyde Park & elsewhere	63. 30	
Sales in Bookshops ...	12. 86	
Donations (Ben £20, Paddy £10, Ed £3)....	33. 00	
Subs @ 15/- & £1.	<u>8. 95</u>	118. 11.

(where subscribers have
added 5/- to subs we
have included as subs
to save book keeping, but
it's still appreciated!)

NOTES: Literature in hand valued at £30.
Sales to date have averaged 350 in London area.
As Vols. 1 to 3 are now going out, delay due to
post strike, few subs have come in. Both postage
& subs columns are therefore well under schedule.

In future please keep Black Flag remittances
separate from Anarchist Black Cross as this
simplifies our accounts.

BLACKCROSS £10 received from 'Ben' for
Spanish prisoner. Handed direct.

Funds in hand : .32 pence.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS.

The main activity of the Black Cross remains the support for political prisoners. At the moment those we are able to help are those in Spain. It merely happens that way; it is not our fixation. Prisoners there may be helped by parcels or cash; and their cause is directly identifiable with the coming struggle in Spain.

We would like to pick an even wider field for support but this is as much as we can manage at the present time. The activity of the A.B.C. is twofold and should be distinguished from that of the Black Flag organisation.

- (i) The A.B.C. calls for help for prisoners. In the main it is far better for this to be sent DIRECT. Cash in prison money can be obtained against International Money Orders, inside a Spanish prison. We have a very comprehensive list of libertarian prisoners. The A.B.C. also needs a few pounds in hand for other methods of support. (At present we've spent out!)
- (ii) It is also urgent to support resistance in Spain and elsewhere. It is impossible to raise funds for resistance inside Spain (except by bank robberies!) But they need support.

OURSELVES.

Negotiations for the office are still going on (31st March) but should be complete in April - meanwhile still use our accommodation address. (BUT PLEASE NOTE: NO MORE LETTERS to Coptic St or Fulham Rd).

We are encouraged by the financial analysis (on another page); the Bulletin will be improved beyond recognition soon and we hope to pass to printing. Contents have been well received. (The blank on No.3's cover was due to a technical fault, incidentally).

Good selling at Portobello Road stopped by landlord of Finch's, whose court we were using. He gets a tidy few quid from anarchists in his pub, incidentally - so... Sales at Hyde Park forced us to reprint.

OLD SUBSCRIBERS: We did not send anything during postal strike and since then have been sending off piecemeal. Your subs ran out anyway. When you get Nos. 1 to 3, hope you'll renew (75 p.). You were not forgotten (but let's know you're still alive, anyway).

EDITORIAL MEETINGS have been held 'on the spot' in some factory canteens and rooms provided at universities. This we felt enabled us to dispense with a formal editorial group. It has worked so far. Experiment continues. Unfortunately it must be confined to London.

PRODUCTION: When we get a home again we will get back our (stored) duplicator and also our (long lost) offset litho.

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

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

(NOTE: This is still purely a postal address.
Negotiations for our office premises should be
complete by next issue).

CORRESPONDENCE: Simian 10 Gilbert Place
London W.C.1