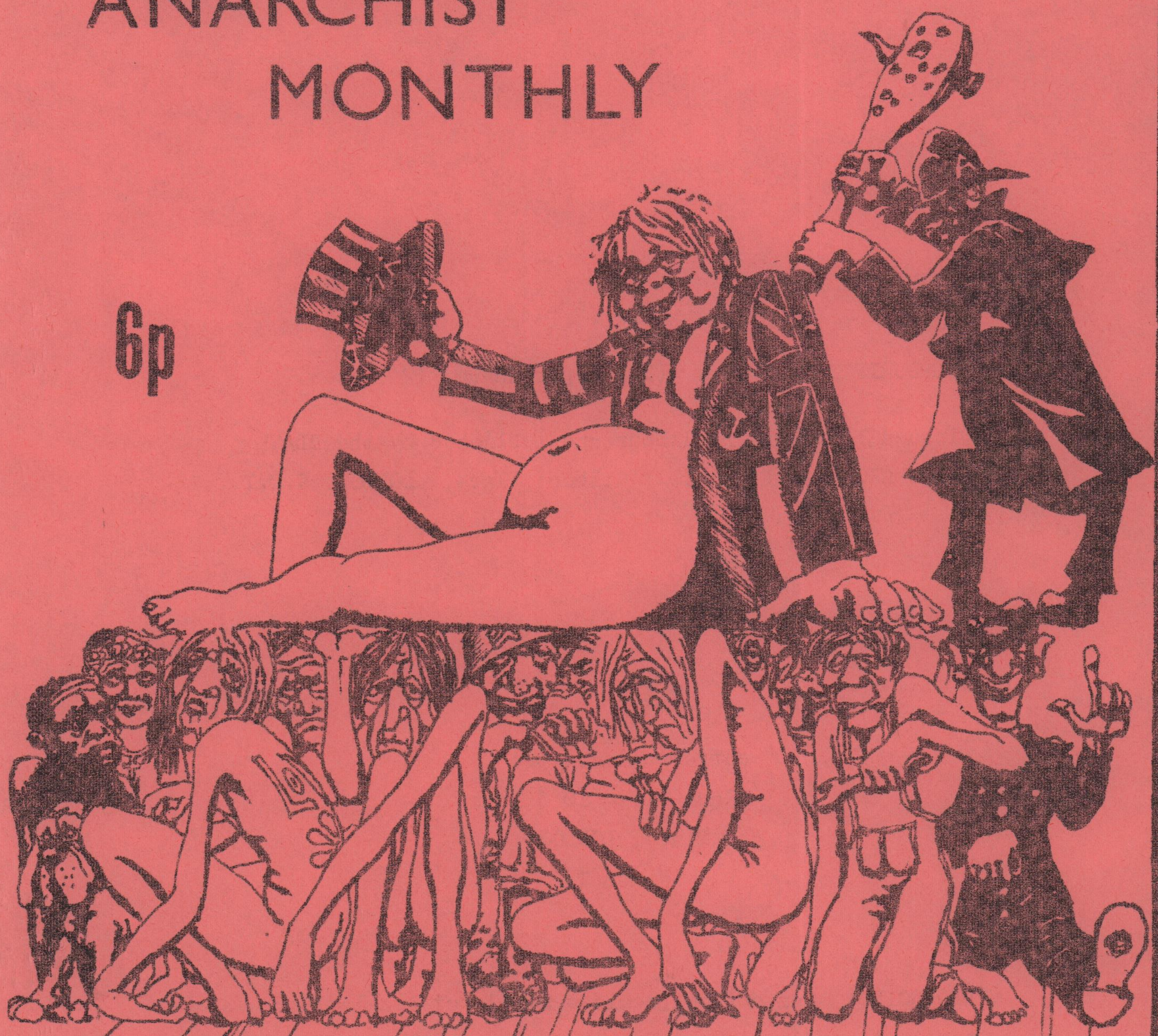


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THE ANARCHIST BLACK FLAG
organ of revolutionary
anarchism

Bulletin of the Anarchist
Black Cross - pp. 25-27

MONTHLY

AGAINST THE COMPUTER SOCIETY

JEWS IN RUSSIA

"INDIVIDUALISM" AS A CULT

NON-STARTER IN PRIN'

ERN (Cartoon) etc etc

Price per copy: 6 p. (1/3d) JUNE 1971 Vol.2.No.6.
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GOVERNMENT BY MASSACRE

THE LESSON OF BANGLA DESH

Years ago a few visionary intellectuals in British-occupied India dreamed up a Moslem Utopia. It could not work - anyone could demonstrate that - because India did not divide neatly into Indian and Moslem territories. The Moslems were Indians anyway; the Indians were not all Hindus. But impossibilities only remain incapable of realisation, on the political level, when insufficient force is used. The departure of the British was followed by huge massacres in both what became "India" and what became "Pakistan". Those who were not killed, converted or assimilated or fled. The impossible became a fact. "Communalism" - derided as reactionary and outdated - now became nationalism.

Nationalism is the worship of the State (it is "progressive" only as long as the State is a vision and not a reality). Nothing is so capable of worship as a theocratic State. Pakistan was a holy symbol to Indian Moslems - its very name is a pun of holiness, the initials of the States making up Pakistan spelling out Purity.

The natural enemies of Pakistan were their next-door neighbours: this is a fact of everyday politics. There followed the years of struggle between Pakistan and India. But this is a fact of diplomacy: the fact of class struggle meant that there was an even greater struggle within the two States though it manifested itself along communal lines still. The Naga revolt was one against the bureaucratic Gandhian centralist dictatorship. The Nagas wanted only to be left alone. They were a conquered people and could only become an oppressed class if subjected to central control (this was what happened, in history, to the Untouchables).

2.

The same thing happened to the Bengalis. All power was in the hands of the ruling - class of West Pakistan, landowning, feudal, militarily-inclined. The merchants of East Pakistan resented their control. The entity that was arbitrarily called East Pakistan was being exploited; it acquired a new sense of nationalism, there was again a move towards a new State to incorporate the new national feeling. West Pakistan struck back by force. The Bangli Dash movement was brutally attacked. Thousands fell against the violence of the State, without the shadow of a cause. But a powerful State when it feels itself threatened from within, will never hesitate to use the Army against its own people.

This is what the 'utopian vision' of Dr. Jinnah led to, in the course of a generation. His Moslem State, built upon Hindu-Moslem massacre, thrives on massacre of Moslems by Moslems, Pakistanis by Pakistanis. The vision of a country WITHOUT A STATE is not one atom more or less utopian than was the 'Pakistan' idea of Dr. Jinnah. It could come into being as quickly; its impossibilities could disappear as rapidly as did those of his plan. But it would in the real sense be 'utopian': it would be FREE and it would make it impossible for power politics to flourish and wholesale massacres to occur.

MUSEUM CHARGES

There is nothing more despicable and penny-pinching than the little money-grubbing schemes that the Government devices to make it look as if it is doing something about the economic situation. The charges on museums and art galleries are supremely irrelevant in terms of what they achieve. All they do is to prevent those who cannot afford two bob from visiting museums and art galleries. The refusal to exempt OAP's is a piece of pompous meanness. Is there

nothing we can do? Yes, there is and here the art students - so often unjustly attacked in their own (related) struggles by older people - can lead the way. Opposition to charges will not be led by industrial workers. They will moan, when interested, but will not see it as an issue. Art students above all should SEE THE ISSUE CLEARLY and it is for them to lead the way, helping the OAPs and others. Quietly, properly, ENTER AND REFUSE TO PAY. Give an address and

invite a summons. BUT DON'T PAY. Don't fight the porter. Just walk in, in numbers.

Then quietly, disperse, carry on as usual.

LET THE GOVERNMENT THEN TRY TO ENFORCE THE CHARGES.

(underground press - spread it!)

3.

AGAINST THE COMPUTER SOCIETY

Outrages.

The Angry Brigade seem to have upset everybody again, this time by blowing up the computer section of Scotland Yard. The police hastily concealed everything from cameramen and TV crews, and said there was nothing much to see. They said it was crude and amateur... the scene was so like our prophesy in issue No. 2. that we begin to despair of satire... One may from it fairly assume that what was attacked was the DOSSIER section, the Political Police records. And that places the action fairly on a level with the action of militant liberals in burning their census cards in Trafalgar Square, or students seizing the secret files the other year. "From each according to his abilities" but it all adds up to an attack upon the whole concept of a data bank, a computer society in which we are tabled and numbered from the cradle to the grave.

On the press reaction it is worth noting that later reports linked the attack with the attack on Ford's but refrained from linking it with the attack on Mr. Carr - for the latter is sub judice and it would never do to suggest that the police picked hold of scapegoats in no way implicated. The
_ _ _ _ _

'Evening News' did, though, link the cases (as by implication, the whole press did in acknowledging the existence of the 'Angry Brigade'). Usual idiotic pig-inspired press comment about French anarchists coming - last year it was Italian anarchists - as if cross-channel visitors must fill in their political affiliations at Dover or that those not associated with major political parties never travel except on 'business'.

On the same night that Scotland Yard literally blew its head, there were attacks in Paris on British firms against the Common Market talks or, more specifically, British backing of attacks on revolutionary groups. It emerged that the Marius Jacob group, the Angry Brigade and the Commune group are acting together. Only the week previously, they had scored a major success in an attack on the Police H.Q. in Barcelona and letting off a bomb in the central criminal court of that city.

It is not for us to condone or to condemn such attacks. No worthwhile revolutionary would respond to "incitement" and the use of direct action of this nature does not need to be "advocated". But it is great to know SOMEONE is acting. Only a few? But when were the bold ever numerous?

4.

A N A R C H I S T

C O M M E N T A R Y

The correct thing to do is, it seems, to praise women's lib for its aims but deplore its extreme tactics where such are employed. Without those tactics, however, the whole thing would have been ignored. The suffragettes realised that in their day too. The public needs an occasional custard pie in the face to know that something exists.

The criticism of 'male chauvinism' can be overdone, just of course as can that of leadership. It is not leadership in itself that is harmful and in fact the rebel has a hard job not getting followers. What is harmful is the state of mind that requires being led. The militant in a factory may easily become a leader, and the criticism is not of him but of those who want to be led.

Similarly, if women are prepared to scrub and cook and sew and be sexual objects, why blame the male for taking advantage? It is the woman who wants waking up in that case - if of course the only way of doing it is by an attack on males, well fair enough.

The bomb in Biba's boutique seems a protest against the economic exploitation of girls in the shop (sweatshop style labour) and the social exploitation of women. But the

official women's lib have gone in a tizzy over it, no doubt on the correct grounds that they didn't do it and don't want it to be said they did. But it seems their message is getting across even to the revolutionaries. And hasn't that been one of their complaints, that even the revolutionaries haven't woken up to women's lib? Well, some have, it would seem...

CLAIMANTS The other new
UNION and exciting
development of recent years has been the growth of the Claimants' Unions. Once the older 'politicised' worker formed youth groups to help the unpolitical youth. Now the initiative comes from the young and they are helping the old. Nothing more potentially revolutionary than the ability and knowledge of student s (in an exemplary position to form Claimants' Unions) being put at the disposal of those up against the State, which are predominantly the old - though not exclusively, of course.

The big struggle of the anarchist movement in the 20's and 30's - when it was by-passed in industry by the C.P. - was among the unemployed - against the State machinery. The Claimants' Unions are on a much wider scale. Their effect could be tremendous.

5.

Spanish Resistance Today.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE O.R.T.

The main union of Spain was the C.N.T. (the anarcho-syndicalist confederation of labour). Against the C.N.T. the heaviest blows of the fascist repression fell. This meant not only the sacrifice of thousands of militants by swift death, slow death in prison, imprisonment or exile; it also meant - as it was intended to mean - a campaign of terror against workers who wished to organise within the C.N.T. That is why there was no conflict between individual counter-terroristic action and the organisation of the union: without one, the other was impossible.

As the socialists in the past sought only ministerial participation and could not free themselves from parliamentary tactics even after any semblance of democracy disappeared, the socialist-led trade union, the minority U.G.T., became weaker and weaker to vanishing point within Spain. What sprang up in recent years, heavily backed with money from abroad and well-to-do sympathisers inside Spain, was the Workers' Commissions. This was inspired by the Communist Party which hitherto had taken very little interest in labour organisation within Spain, as the result of a Moscow directive; it was backed by the Christian-Democrats who felt it a way of broadening their party as against the powerful Opus Dei. The latter is the rival Catholic party, strongly conservative and with an emphasis on banking and big business, that aims to take over after Franco goes. The Christian-Democrats had an influential middle- and professional-class backing. They wanted working-class support. The Communists, on the other hand, wanted a "national alliance" for purposes more allied to Russian diplomacy than to Spanish needs. This is why Carrillo was able to build up the Workers' Commissions though they too, of course, are illegal but belong to the 'Opposition' rather than the 'Resistance'.

The first test has come with the elections to the official, legally permitted and State-controlled syndicates, the phoney trade unions. Should the workers participate, or by a resounding abstention, expose them for what they are? The CNT and the UGT take the view that the workers should abstain. Not so the leadership of the Commissions, for this would challenge the whole precarious base of 'national unity' and represent a downright challenge to the entire set-up of the 'vertical syndicate'. Because of this challenge, the O.R.T. (Revolutionary Workers Organisation) has set up within the framework of

6.

the Commissions themselves. It represents the first break of the Workers Commissions, and a throwback to libertarian ideas. Already it is contacting the CNT workers for assistance, solidarity and mutual aid.

The boycott of the elections is intended to show which districts have the highest degree of militancy. By carrying out this campaign, the O.R.T. exposes itself to the malice of the regime. It has issued a document outlining procedures for the various industries at local, national and provincial levels because the fight to destroy the Vertical Syndicates is regarded as the first step in co-ordinating the workers on the factory floor. By combining horizontally, any leadership whether Falangist or neo-Leninist, will be destroyed. It is certain there will be a fresh wave of arrests if the O.R.T. is successful in the boycott. But the O.R.T. has already made one fact crystal clear. The Spanish workers will not have other forms of authoritarian trade unionism foisted on them from outside. They have had enough of dictatorship. It is useless for international trade unionists to devise plans for building a new trade union structure on "approved" lines. They had better spend their time in assisting the Resistance with the sinews of war it requires.

Miguel Garcia Garcia.

F O R M F I V E S !

This is our Policy.

There are now thousands of people, tens of thousands even, who regard themselves as 'left' or as 'underground' or as revolutionary. They know themselves to be powerless. Every so often they protest at arbitrary dictates by the Silent Minority rulers. They know their protests mean nothing. Meetings, however advanced and militant the ideas expressed, are a little effective as those held in a pub bar. Yet these same people, at work, represent an enormous factor - stronger perhaps than the TUC itself. In every dispute on the workshop floor one looks around for allies, for other militants. If only one did not have to look! If one accepts the idea of WORKERS' COUNCILS, cutting out State control from above, then form the embryos NOW. Just get to know, at any meeting, four others of a trade. Meet them occasionally. See to it that some time each of the five tries to form a group of five in his ACTUAL PLACE OF WORK. There you will have a framework of militants all over the country, all believing in workers' councils, all believing in militant action. Their other political views are irrelevant. Those fives will be the forerunners of workers' councils. Try it and see for yourself. Workers' Councils, of all the workers, will bypass political action, devalue the State and destroy capitalism.

7. Ceylon Revolution -
A MISTAKE ?

The Telegraph (17th May) has some interesting information from its correspondent that the "extreme Marxist Leninist revolutionaries" in Ceylon think the revolution "a mistake". They had received "little outside help" (true enough) from Russia or China - which, on the contrary, both backed the regime. They hope to get power by 1973 but think the April uprising "a ghastly mistake and a complete failure". Because they did not lead it.

Police ill-treatment caused the youth of Ceylon to "get out of hand". They revolted "long before they were ready", that is to say, before the Marxist-Leninists could assume control and leadership the way the Trots (now in the government) once did.

It is for that reason that the revolution was NOT a failure. The youth of Ceylon made a glorious bid for revolution. And they are still fighting. All the heavy artillery from the 'capitalist' and 'socialist' and 'new world' nations have not crushed the rebellion. All it has done is made the would-be leaders chicken out. The seizure of the land and the plantations, the ransacking of the police and army garrisons, are a beacon to the world.

GUNTER'S LOGIC

Ray Gunter, former Minister of Labour who left Wilson's Government to fish for promotion in waters to the right, attacked shop stewards at the Merchant Navy & Airline Officers' Association. The rule books did not define the powers of shop stewards. "Twenty men could stop British Rail's Southern Region...what of the 20,000 people left on the cold, wet platforms...how about their freedom?". He concluded that society had to ensure the rules laid down were obeyed.

Foolish Gunter forgot that if 20,000 people were left on the platform - where they would not be in the case of a strike - it was because of a WORK-TO-RULE. In which case it was precisely because the rules laid down were obeyed that the poor sods had to wait.

Corny it may be but you can't do without the workers. Devise all the rules you like. You cannot work them without the man on the job. In this case the traveller is separated from the worker by British Rail's class structure. The rule book does not help him.

A reception at Buck Palace on the 18th May had to be called off because so few people accepted the invitation to meet the Duke...Perhaps the time has come as the Duke told the French-Canadians, if we want to end it, let's do so without a fuss.

8.

BOURGEOIS UNIVERSITY

From a San Francisco cod leaflet.

PEACE MARCH QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER 10 (compiled annually)

please check correct answer.

QUESTION 1. Why are you on this march?

☐ I am on this march because I am opposed to the war in Vietnam and see this march as a way of ending it.

☐ I am here mainly for more personal or political reasons

☐ I am a pickpocket

☐ I am a dope dealer

☐ I am stoned and came to see where the hell everybody was going.

☐ I am a political opportunist/labour leader/member of a political vanguard here to instil leadership and sell my newspapers.

☐ I want the opportunity to stomp a pig that looks like my old man and to paint slogans on walls, which he wouldn't let me do.

QUESTION 2. How is this march going to end the war exactly?

☐ It is a way of telling our leaders to end the war.

☐ It is a way of telling others that I am telling our leaders to end the war.

☐ It is a way to get other people to try to end the war.

☐ It is a way of assuaging our collective guilt.

QUESTION 3. What else are you going to do to end the war?

☐ I am going to pray, fast, lacerate my body, go around barefoot till it ends.

☐ I am going to smash store windows and set pipe bombs at the Bank of Amerika.

☐ I am going to get stoned till it ends.

☐ I am going to sign the People's Peace Treaty with the Vietnamese which gives them the same opportunities to participate in their government that we enjoy in ours.

☐ I am going to vote for peace candidates who, before they get in office, say they will end the war.

(Once you have completed the above questionnaire, crumple it up and place half-way in a bottle of petrol and soap. Ignite and vigorously discard. The message will be received. Alternate method of returning completed questionnaire requires wrapping round strong magnet and depositing in computer memory bank).

FINAL QUESTION: Would My Lai have occurred if Calley etc had been 'fragged' earlier?

9.

JEWS IN RUSSIA

Why the wave of unabated trials against Jews in the "Soviet" Union? The Jewish population of Russia was, of course, the traditional scapegoat of Tsarism and years of Tsarism have not been wiped out. The new rulers of Russia after 1918/19 naturally included a fair proportion of Jews as the whole of the Jewish population had been the subject of Tsarist discrimination, hence the Jewish bourgeoisie no less than the workers supported the Revolution and the proportion of Jewish bourgeois intellectuals (Trotsky &c.) was higher than would otherwise have been the case. Later, under Stalin, Russian autocracy reverted to type. The Jewish element in the bureaucracy became smaller and the need for a scapegoat still remained and the Jews were a popular scapegoat amongst an illiterate people.

Their present status is not, though, to be compared to that in Hitler's Germany but to the black population in the U.S.A. They can score successes in certain fields (entertainment is common to both groups) and discrimination against them - while showing a reactionary mentality according to the official version - is merely modified to tolerance at the best of times. In the USSR the State forces those registered at

birth to "remain" Jews though the disappearance of religion makes this an irrelevancy. Except by intermarriage being concealed, there is no escape from the passport at birth. The Russian Jews are thus condemned for religion, zionism &c which they may not agree with, but prevented from totally renouncing association with Judaic or national practice.

In other words, Jewish origin ceases to be a faith or a recognised nationality or a language-bond, in Russia: it becomes just "a misfortune" like having a black face in Alabama. Against such an attitude there is a natural turn to zionism or to black power.

But because of this an interesting parallel arises with Welsh nationalism. Why do (every now and then) miners turn to Welsh nationalism? Only because they are disgusted with the Labour Party and won't go Tory. If there was a parallel in London, there would be occasional Cockney Nationalist M.P.s just as there are Welsh. THE WHOLE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKING CLASS IS DISGUSTED WITH STATE-COMMUNISM. But it does not want to go capitalist (the State itself is more likely to go that way) and it is nationally afraid of association with the USA, China or W. Germany. Those of Jewish origin (and many who are claiming it on very loose grounds - one Jewish grandmother) have an answer (as they think) in Zionism or at least nationality.

Review.

Catalan & Basque Nationalism
Stanley Payne (Journal of
Contemp.History Vol.6.No.1
1971 £1.05)

The author is a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin who has published many books on Spanish history. He gives a general review of Catalan and Basque history from the union of the Hispanic crowns until the mid nineteenth century. More recent times, from the Civil War to today, are dismissed rather disappointingly. But they give a good historical background to anyone wanting to understand present-day trends in political thinking in these areas of Spain. He ends by saying: "Catalanism has never been primarily a matter of 'interests' but of feelings and sentiments."

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Sales of Black Flag
Anarchist Monthly.

These have now reached a
regular 750, including
sales, subscribers & book-
shop sales. Overseas

readers are in France, Italy, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Germany,
U.S.A., Canada, Australia, Belgium, Holland.

Film ReviewQuaimada: at the Columbia.

Real stirring affirmative stuff
by the guy who made Battle of
Algiers. Like that, also histor-
ically dubious (though it admits
to be fiction) but gets the
message over. Quaimada is a
Portuguese Caribbean island, once
burnt by them to suppress the
Indians. They brought in slaves.
Now the British, to stir up the
colony, want to start a slave
rising to get the Portuguese out.

Their agent succeeds in sparking
off the revolt. The negro slave
who was the natural leader of his
people becomes general of the
rebel army. He finds that the
white settlers have seen the red
light and overthrown the Portug-
uese; now constitute themselves
a "provisional" government. He
is tricked by them and by the
British. The "freed" slaves give
up their arms.

Ten years pass and they rise
again. This time the sugar company
calls in the same agent who now
must use brute force and burn the
island down (echoes of Indochina).
The general is defeated and
executed. But, leaderless, the
people fight on. As the agent
leaves, he is assassinated by
one of the defeated rebels. In
time, it is suggested, they will
win. They do not need leaders.

Despite what the bourgeois
critics say, it has nothing to
do with 'black power', it is
concerned with power and liberty.
The British agent could as well
be a Russian for the C.P. has
played an identical role in
different circumstances. The film
has so revolutionary a message it
was held up for years. Only the
success of "The Battle of Algiers"
got it out of cold storage.

H E A V Y

B R E A T H I N G

Roel van Duyn is going the rounds flogging his pretty grim alternative society, as conformist as the old, with its own set ways and brainwashing but a bit more trendy. Gnome City of Amsterdam and all that crap is his "kingdom". It will be (says the Observer, May 16th) seeking admission to the U.N. as the "only State conforming to the UN Charter" and the poor Observer thinks this is "gentle anarchism". So gentle you'd hardly notice it.

The Gnomes are pushing their way on to the Council and in to Parliament. They are not trying to overthrow capitalism or anything crude and fred-like of that sort. Just to spread peace and love. Hippy liberalism. But what audacity to call it revolutionary!

Says the Observer, mysteriously, "his most prized works are those of Prince Peter Kropotkin, the saintly, largely forgotten, non-violent Russian anarchist who is patron saint to the Gnomes - an honorary Gnome." Where do they get the line about Kropotkin's non-violence? Certainly he was for the destruction of the organised violence of the State. But did he ever suggest that this could be done without violence? Well, if he's a saint now, that hardly matters, for saints notoriously have no

connection with their real life history. St George was an Armenian pork butcher and never met a dragon in his life. Why "saintly" Kropotkin, though? This is often said, without any suggestion as to why. My own theory is that it's the white beard. The Victorians, despite all that hair, just worshipped the saintliness of white beards (every one is "venerable"). Watch it in ten or fifteen years time, you hairies, you will be marching in like saints...

Fidel Castro too will be a saint one day, when that black beard grows white, but a saint of State Capitalism. His edict now is that "LOAFING" must stop. "Gramma" (Cuban CP English edition) reports that "as a result of the workers' discussions of the law on loafing, 100,825 able-bodied men of working age have just started to work." We know those 'discussions', Fidelito, we haven't trained at the English UAB for nothing... "The patient and persuasive way in which the problem created by able-bodied men of working age who were neither working nor studying ..has been a resounding success."

It would say more for the 'persuasion' if it had been a little less successful. But, warns the Party, "it would be

12.

a mistake to think that just because they have started to work, they will automatically acquire the discipline, habits, sense of responsibility and productive efficiency that our country requires of every worker." They must be "re-educated", and as to the "recalcitrant elements that remain" they will have to accept the "correctional and rehabilitative measures imposed on them". Those who insist on loafing "openly defying the will of the nation, will have to face the cool-headed, firm and inflexible action of revolutionary power."

One fears that the application of the law of loafing would thin the ranks of the Castroites in many countries. But two aspects stand out. First, freedom does not exist for the minority that wants to loaf and is prepared to face the economic consequences (it is not suggested that these people have private means). Secondly, there is no pretence at workers' control. It is economists and industrial managers who object to the 'loafers' they could use. When people really control, they find themselves a lot more leisure. If they want to work, there is no need to impose State power on them.

FLOWER Just a sad little
POWER tale of the son of
a millionaire who has gone
hippy, flower power, psychedelic
everything ... and the million-
aire put him on the Board to
"learn responsibility" but he
turned up stoned... and the
directors of a multi-million
financial society begged the
chairman to get rid of his son
from the Board.

No, he trusted him to
"reform" - but the millionaire
died and now the son is in line
to become the chairman of a
huge financial empire, which
he says he will wreck in the
interests of Peace and Love.

What will happen next?
Will the switched on hippy
millionaire switch back to
normal? Will he sell out and
form yet another hippy top
establishment? Or will he
carry out his threat and smash
the multi-million pound
empire on which thousands of
capitalists depend? In the
latter event, what's the
betting that before long he
will die mysteriously "of
drugs"? It is not only
"extremists" who are "violent"
you know...

BLACK FLAG BOOKSHOP

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LEICESTER

Freedom Bookshop 84 b,
Whitechapel High St. LONDON,
E. 1.

13. Internal Problems of Anarchism by Sectarian.

UNDERSTANDING ANARCHISM

One of the many misconceptions of anarchist history that float around the pacifist periphery is that the Spanish Anarchists wanted power. In "Newsletter", repeating the fantastic myth that the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) was "Leninist" (it was formed with one of its objects precisely to combat Leninism), a writer points out that this was why it dominated the CNT.

We have reprinted the constitution of the CNT (see No.1., Jan.). Nobody could dominate the CNT for it was a vertical organisation not a horizontal one. Groups in factories linked up with one another to form the union. They did not elect an hierarchy. For this reason no political leadership could emerge. The FAI in no way exercised a political leadership. Its original main aim was to link the anarchist groups, but these, composed of the smallest number of people (for clandestine reasons), were in no position to try to dominate. Nor, as anarchists, did they want to. Had they done so, they would indeed have been (in some way) Leninist (there is even so more to it than that). One purpose of the FAI was to form small groups to shoot back at the employers' gangsters. Never did it supply a leadership to the CNT.

There did arise a crisis during the civil war, when certain prominent anarchists entered the government. They did not do so as the result of a decision by the FAI and though the decision was ratified in the mistaken belief that it would mean unity, by the CNT, neither was it a CNT bureaucracy. The CNT had one paid full time official, its general secretary. Those who entered the government did so as "prominent people" rather than as delegates. Herein lies a real danger for a libertarian movement: that people become "well known personalities" and as such, not as delegates, become leaders. Kropotkin is one who springs to mind. He belonged to no anarchist organisation after he came to this country. Yet his views in 1914 assumed exaggerated importance. There was no way he could be "recalled" for he spoke only for himself. This is a danger of libertarianism rather than of Leninism and one we must always combat.

In this issue we print an article by Jim Lovell on the SOGAT non-starter. We agree with a lot but not all. The issue was always a non-starter. But once the anti-mergers had taken up the fight there was not much they could do but fight in the High Courts since they did not start the legal proceedings but had them thrust upon them. This is our impression, at least.

CORRESPONDENCE

Just seen the March Black Flag and congratulations on a fine job. I was especially struck by the Workers' Councils idea, and would reprint it, if I thought it would have any real relevance in a university context, and not be just another mythical invocation of the WORKERS as an excuse to ignore our own struggle (such as it is). Also pleased with the article on the Palestinians. It's about time that myth was split apart.

Cambridge.

B. B.

Your suggestion that the New Left is out freeloading for jaunts abroad on well-to-do sympathisers is wickedly funny but it just will not do as serious analysis. In the context of progressive nationalism, the leaders of the Arab world are bound to be with the revolution. But it does not mean there is not a revolution.

London, N.8.

L.O.E.

(When people are living in abject poverty, as is admitted, and have guns in their hands, as is admitted, counter-revolutionary nationalism has taken over. Poverty and no guns, perhaps, or guns and no poverty one can also understand, but lined up behind the oil-rich

sheikhs only to fight the foreigner does not spell revolution in our book. ED.)

BURN THE FILES !!

It is an old revolutionary slogan. We raised it in Britain in 1940. What did Special Branch intend to do with the political dossiers if the Gestapo came? (In France, M. Chiappe handed them over intact). The students raised the issue again last year. Now the police raise it: at the annual conference of the Police Federation they protest at "secret files on police, detailing their personal affairs and habits," same as the political police have had on others since their inception.

In Egypt, the secret police hastily burned their files when the new government took over.
WHAT HAVE OUR COPS GOT OF OUR TOPS?

CRITICISMS OF THE "BLACK FLAG"

Several constructive criticisms of a friendly nature have been received and acted on. Of a more or less hostile nature we have, following Keith Nathan's allegation that we "avoid activity" a statement by Mike Malet that we are "not helpful": but these remain on the level of Peter Neville's mysterious allegations in "Freedom" that we have been unfair to Colin Wilson. Further clarification please!!

More specific criticisms made personally seem to be based on objections to direct action.

15.

FIGURES CAN'T LIE

.... Though it has been added that liars can figure! But we have received the following 'breakdown' of the anarchist movement in England (not GB) from a group of students who have compiled it after a fairly wide study. They agree with our criticism that it can't be taken too seriously and owes a bit to guesswork. But they also insist that there is more to it than that.

- a. Hardcore activists round publications & organisations 200
- b. Militant & active ... 350
- c. Ditto, but largely in other movements (squat &c.) 400
- d. In foreign-speaking groups 350
- e. No longer active but still anarchists..... 400
- f. Accepting name anarchist but doing nothing about it 600
- g. More or less in sympathy but that's all 600
- h. In pacifist movement.. 250
- i. In pacif.movement but not understanding difference between anarchism & liberalism 500
- j. In various socialist movements but put off accepting anarchism because of class (1) and other reasons 350
- k. Special groupings, cliques, factions &c. 300
- l. 'Underground', TU contacts &c. nominally accepting name 300

"We have allowed for overlapping," they state.

IMPARTIAL POLITICAL POLICE ?

The Evening News (12th April) stated that Special Branch were recruiting special policewomen for Ulster but they were being probed as to their "political and religious beliefs".

What, in the context of that province, is an acceptable political and religious background? We know that left-wing opinions are automatically suspect but are not the Tories more implicated in violence? Are right wing Tories beyond suspicion as to their partiality in Ulster's affairs? Surely not. And which of the two Christian religions in this country is free from suspicion of partisanry?

Is Scotland Yard recruiting Special Branch policewomen for Ulster solely from Jewish liberals? Or is this yet another deliberate lie?

LORD DOWDING

Controversy still filters through the national press. Many are still ready to defend the Air Vice Marshal who "saved" us from Germany in the Battle of Britain ("everybody did it but me," as the soldier said), and was shabbily treated by Lord Sinclair of Thurso the Air Minister. Nobody mentions that Lord Dowding was nuttier than a fruit cake. He conversed with angels up in the sky, and he and his wife had interesting meetings with the fairies in their garden. (Not that sort). They spoke

16.

gently and kindly to the rats in their garden when they invaded the house, and persuaded them, by love, to leave. Lord Sinclair was not a little worried as to whether he could leave the safe custody of airmen's lives, to say nothing of civilians, in the hands of Lord Dowding. This was no doubt most ungrateful of Lord Sinclair.

Most amusing? Not when the reader reflects that Lord Dowding had such supreme bomber power at his command. Who now has control of the atom bomb? Suppose the fairies suggest he drops it? Suppose the angels declare it's the Day of Judgment? Lord Dowding 'saved' London, they tell us, and he could have destroyed it if he thought it merited destruction. Many worthy people following Lord Longford's anti-porno campaign believe London is a Sodom or Gomorrah and does deserve it.

WHEN WE YIELD UP POWER TO OTHER PEOPLE THIS IS ONE OF THE CHANCES WE TAKE. We do not know if we have a nut case handling our doom. If we had one, like Hitler, it would be concealed beneath propaganda.

SPEAKER: We shall raise pensions. We shall clear the slums. We shall raise the value of the £...
OPPONENT: Where's the money coming from?
HYSTERICAL LADY: Don't tell him!

TOO MANY PEOPLE ?

The latest report by the Government suggests we are "over-populated" and the press shrieks BABIES BY LICENCE? - though that is the ultimate end of State worship. If they could introduce it, they would.

Governments always encourage breeding when they want war. There is never any question of too many babies for cannon-fodder, and as for immigration, one recalls how people lined the docks and cheered when the first Jamaicans arrived...in R.A.F. uniform.

It is encouraging to note that they do not intend war at present (except by accident), hence the concern at too many people. But it is only social divisions that cause over-crowding. There is plenty of room on this earth for people. But if too few take up too much of it, and too many are crowded into too small a part of it, then problems must arise. But the trouble is not that there are too many people. It is that there is not enough freedom, in particular the freedom to live where one wills.

The book of Miguel Garcia Garcia's on Spanish jails will be published in the Spring 1972 (by Rupert Hart Davis). No title yet.

BASQUE DEAL

On Sunday 23rd May the Black X received notice from Basque comrades as to the deal done by the French Government over three Basque referees. We alerted the Press. Three Spanish Basques are to be deported from France though they are wanted by the Spanish police and one has already been sentenced to death in his absence. They have committed no crime in French law. It is believed to be part of the deal by which Franco is buying Mirage fighters from France.

38 French Basques sat in Bayonne Cathedral on hunger strike. But support is growing as the news has spread and whole townships of French Basques, including mayors and priests, are going to join in the protests. The mayors may resign their offices (already thirty have threatened to do so).

 The great non-starter in print.

The print union is bureaucratic. Surprised? The shock would be if one found it were not. The late George Isaacs built up a rigid centralistic structure to keep commies like Briginshaw out. Briginshaw got in to abolish the structure but he strengthened it instead. He intended to merge NATSOPA

(one print union) with SOGAT (a larger one). The deal went through without consultation. Then Briginshaw found that the double union was not so impregnable as he had thought. So he unilaterally split the union and went back to NATSOPA. Conclusion by many; there is no democracy in NATSOPA. Nor was there is SOGAT.

Some in the house chapels wanted to fight on this issue. But it was a big non-starter among the membership which could not care less. It was there for the money, or it knew fatalistically that NATSOPA, SOGAT, F.U.2, all was the same bureaucratic set-up. But the handful in the chapels decided to go to the Courts. They are currently appealing to the High Court to "restore" democracy to the union. But the membership still could not care less on this great non-issue. FOR HOW CAN A HIGH COURT JUDGE MAKE A UNION DEMOCRATIC? Call on the membership, yes; and if it does not respond, call on God (no trouble in calling) - but calling on the High Court is a plain non-starter. What happens if you win? Do you call on the tipstaff to go along to the branch to eject the usurpers? Get the Receiver in to manage (in fact a receiver has been temporarily appointed!)? Rely on the police to build up your free new union? FRIENDS, THAT IS

18.

NOT THE WAY, as we in my union found to our cost! I am an electrician and we too were dominated by commies whom Catholic Action moved in on. There CAN be a measure of democracy in a union. But the High Court will not establish it for you. "There is no substitute for wool", neither is there any substitute for the militant worker on the job who attends his meetings.

It is elementary anarchist thinking that the police can't liberate for you. Well, nothing is too elementary for some people these days... Let it be made clear at least to those aspiring to the name anarchist if not to all print-workers including socialists and others that there is no redress within the Law Courts and that anyhow the main fight is against the employer, and only as a side-issue against the union (for SOGAT and NATSOPA are equally bureaucratic, and for that reason your man on the job couldn't care a monkey's which he's in).

James Lovell.

Tortures in No.1.Shed at St Pancras! Millions slaughtered in the gas-filled sidings of Kings Cross! World War planned in Waterloo! Balls, you say? Not if you believe the fantastic Mr. Straubenzee M.P. who tells us that there is a

tyranny at British Rail which is equal to that in Nazi Germany. What happened to excite Mr. Straubenzee? Someone refused to join a trade union, and refused to apply for conscientious objection exemption from joining, so B.R. sacked him. That was Nazism? News for Tory M.P. Straubenzee: there was more to it than that.

An earnest liberal writes in a local paper that he is heartened to see the Prison Service ahead of the police in that there are now black warders... in Holloway there are several coloured warders. This is a "big breakthrough" in race relations, he says. All prisons need a big breakthrough followed by an even bigger break-up. But race has nothing to do with it.

FROM THE PRESS: "Lift attendant required; interesting work."

OBITUARY

Sorry to learn of death of old friend, R.E. Williams formerly of Tunbridge Wells. Mr. Williams, a crippled ex-serviceman, was a keen anti-fascist who 'infiltrated' National Front and similar bodies to disrupt and oppose. We had many disagreements on this but he took them in good part and contributed to Anarchist Black X from inception.

He died in December, we learn, still battling for pensioners' rights and causing havoc in rightist bodies ("it's the only militant action I can undertake as a cripple," he told us. "But I support your stand on Spain nevertheless.").

19.

The Maudling Prize for
IDIOT OF THE MONTH

Step forward, first prize-winning entrant from overseas, Horst Peters, former POW now London editor of the magazine "Quick" telling the verpfluchte Engländer what is wrong with them, in the News of the World (16th May).

Horst (freed in 1948 and back 26 years later, so the N.o.W. tells us - quick? I'll say!) asks who "really won the war" for England is now inefficient, poor, lacks service. The war, for Horst, was fought to improve efficiency, profits and service, so how can England have won it?

"Not very long ago, Germany was a conquered country, disgraced in the eyes of the world." But not, lieber Horst, for its inefficiency. There were other reasons. "Britain..was then the hub of the world's trade, commerce and culture" - for culture too follows the flag of victory. But what happened? It declined. "It came about through a series of trivial but significant incidents." NO - WE'RE NOT KIDDING - he goes on to relate how his gas cooker did not work, how he was overcharged for his furniture removing, and the carpenter left his tools around.. By these sins fell the angels..."Almost no one really wants to work".. "rich Europeans will come to see you from time to time .. for holidays." And

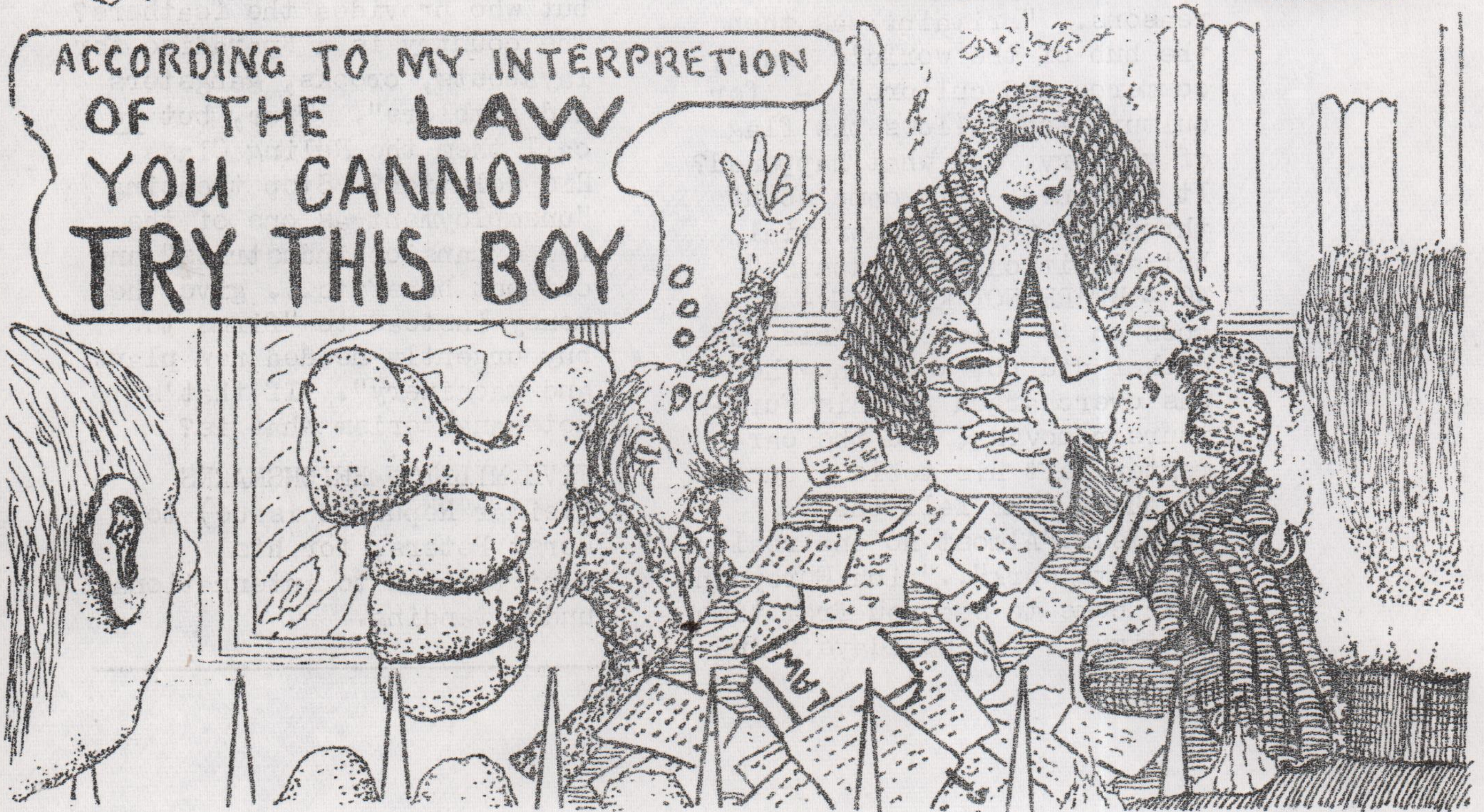
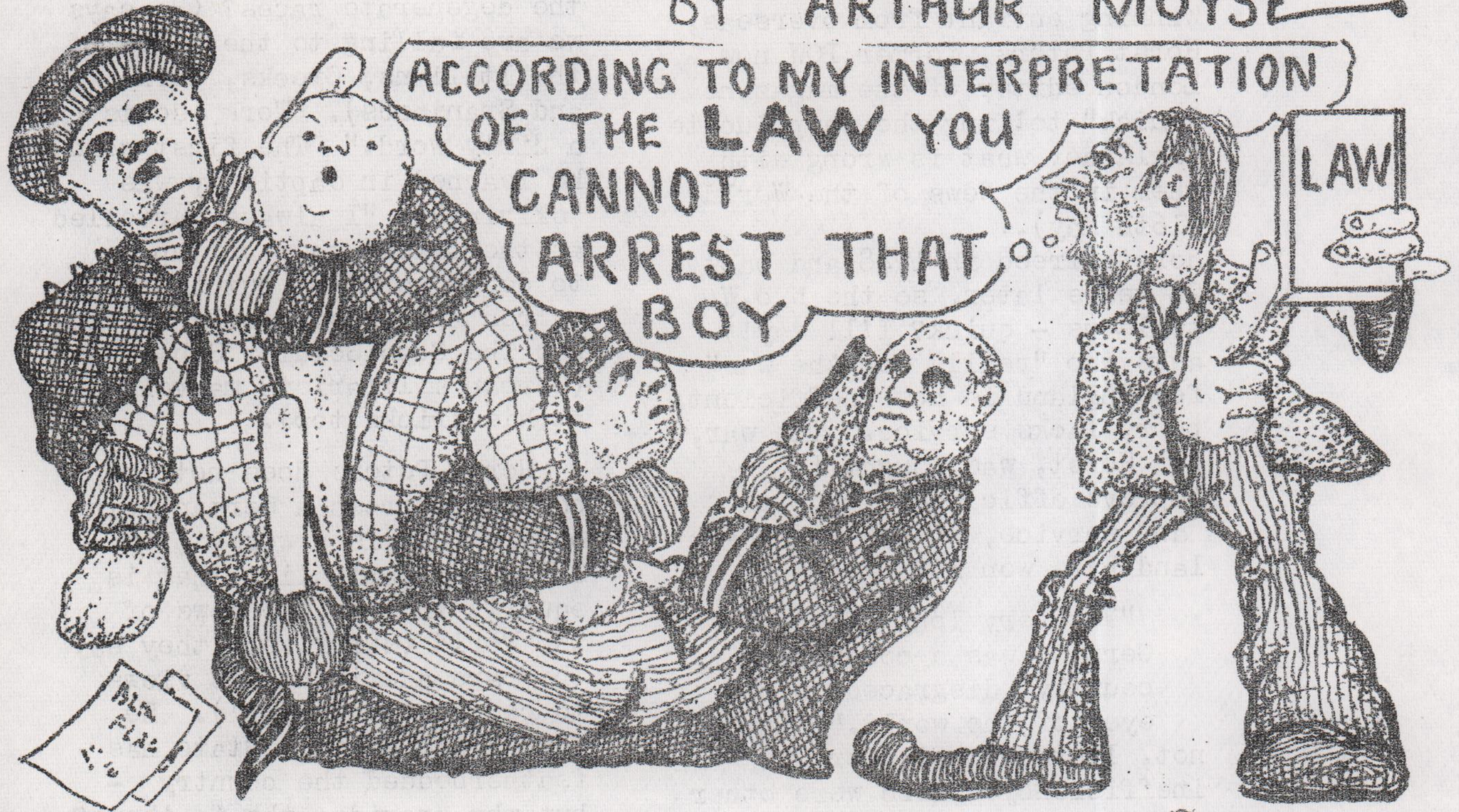
do their own washing-up? You must be joking! Or is catering not a trade, just subject for the degenerate races? (He says we are falling to the level of the Italians, Greeks, Turks and Spaniards). "Work" seems a dirty word." The first word he learned in captivity was "skiving". "I always marvelled at the tricks they got up to to dodge work" - but the patron art of soldierly skiving was The Good Soldier Schweik (German militarists marvelled at his tricks too).

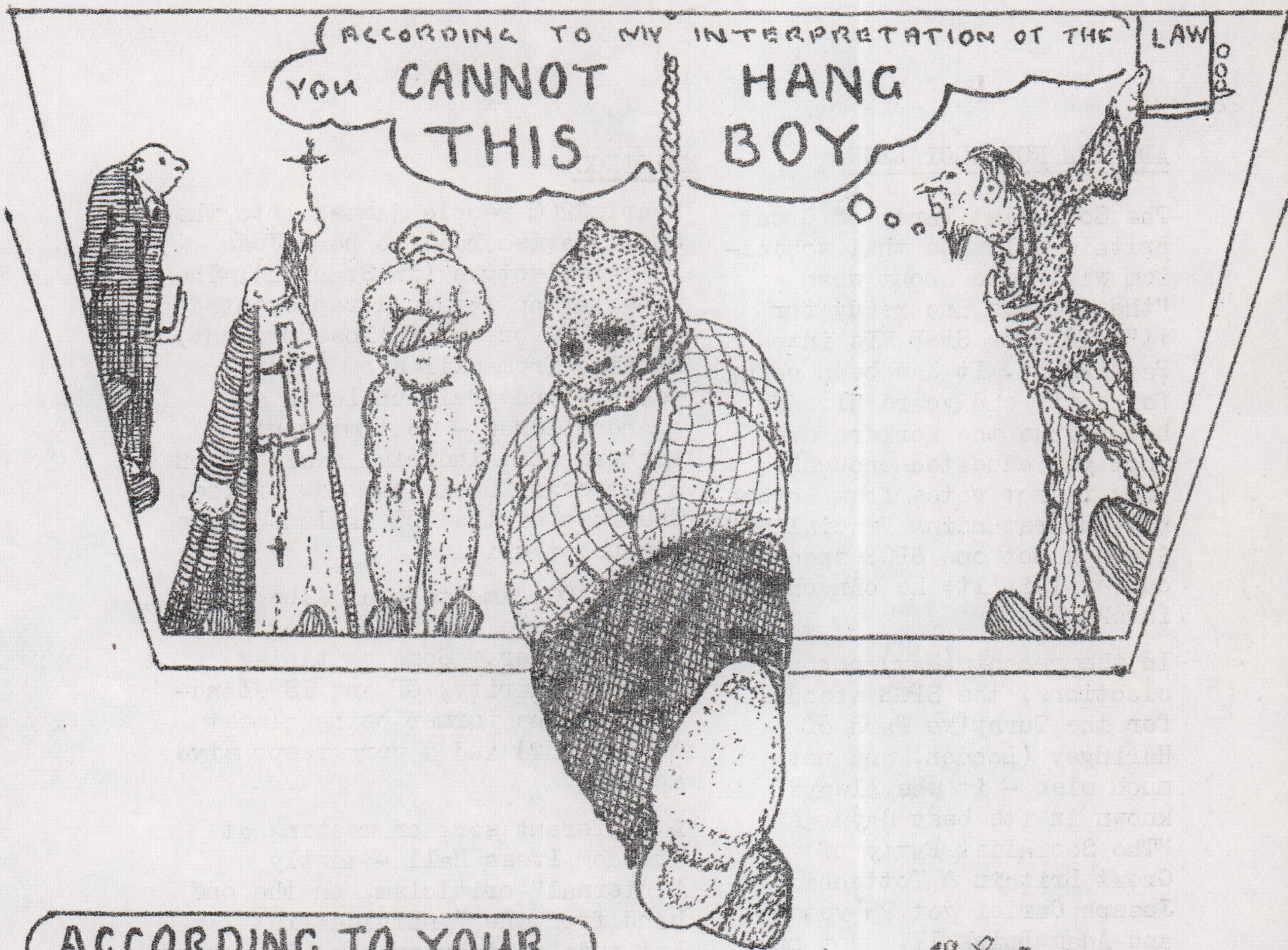
Horst Peters does not, of course, express a German point of view. It is a worship of State and capitalism that is equally that of the News of the World (surprise...they say they are admitting his views to be 'controversial'). He thinks the Welfare State has featherbedded the country - but who provides the feathers? The country is a "paradise for layabouts, crooks, gangsters and gamblers". True, but we call them the Ruling Class. His solution? Stop treating "unemployment as one of the few expansion industries" and cut out benefits... give the money instead to "firms to buy urgently needed new plant and machinery". If that's not gangsterism what is?

FIVE MILLION REICHSMARKS
(Weimar Republic issue) to
Horst Peters, for his
contribution to international
understanding.

ERN

BY ARTHUR MOYSE





ACCORDING TO YOUR
INTERPRETATION OF
OUR LAW OLD MAN
YOU COULD BE RIGHT.



ADVANCE FOR SOCIALISM

The Socialist Party of Great Britain believes that socialism will come about when "the workers are ready for it" and vote SPGB MPs into Parliament. It has been going for sixty odd years already but thinks the workers are "not yet educated enough": they reject votes from anyone not understanding "socialism" (though not one SPGB speaker can explain it; he can only invoke it).

In the recent (May) borough elections, the SPGB stood for the Turnpike Ward of Haringey (London) and not much else - it was always known in its best days as "The Socialist Party of Great Britain & Tottenham." Joseph Carter got 25 votes and Adam Buick 17. Not much chance of the workers being "educated enough" to send SPGBers to Parliament, the cynic might say, but add wonderingly if Carter got eight half-understanding voters as well. Surely the voters, having two votes, who picked Buick (on principles, not personalities, or don't vote for us - that's what the man says) picked Carter, and vice versa. Then how come the eight difference?

THE FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY

Christie & Meltzer
21/-

Hardback published
by Kahn & Averill.

MEETINGS

Nearly 2200 people jammed into the small parish hall to hear José Peirats lecture (in Spanish). The libertarian was well represented (some 150 or so of those present) ranging from exiles of thirty years - and their children and grandchildren - to immigrant workers and students, visitors on a temporary basis and new exiles. The rest of the 200 included some communist critics.

About 100 came to hear Albert Meltzer give the Black Flag case at Leicester. Some criticism from Solidarity, CP and IS standpoints (the former being almost converted?) and a very responsive meeting.

A different sort of meeting at Freedom Press Hall - mostly "internal" criticism, on the one hand from the "individualist" attitude that everything is absurd bar doing nothing and being cynical and on the other from what one can only call the "rival shop" attitude that X must be a "psychopathic case" for selling wares other than Y has to offer... Bowling brisk, batting lively, beer stopped play; we probably impressed those who agreed with us in the first place. (Now you know, folks, why we abandoned weekly meetings in London as a waste of time and energy).

Acid Liberation meeting in London was generally agreed to be a flop due to some acidheads from Brighton turning up switched on... but that's how it is, man. Speech by Gerry on acid profiteering led to interest in this mag.

"INDIVIDUALISM" AS A CULT

When "individualists" assert the revolution is "now", their concept of the revolution is one where politics, the placement and use of power in society, is irrelevant. At conferences held primarily to discuss a political philosophy which has always embraced socialistic activism they seem to have all the congruity of mystics at a local borough council meeting.

Their contribution can, at least, only be ego-oriented since they are naturally pessimistic as to the value of any politically based concept of anarchism. Their espousal of the revolution of the self does not seem to contain any indication of where 'self' begins and 'other' ends, and, in consequence of their ill-motivated and strangely priggish doctrine, their views would be better suited to the growing company of Neroes, not anarchists.

The sort of definition of 'self' that they use to justify their a-political activity is contradicted by all the conclusions which psychologists and physicists have reached in the past fifty years. From the expressed attitude of 'individualists' self enlightenment seems to be, for them, an easily attainable position

Problems of an Anarchist Movement.

where they are able, at will, to grant themselves maximum freedom. Self-enlightenment is, on the contrary, a condition where the self no longer rises up against itself in dialectic attitudes because of an existential awareness of its own mutability. It might be possible to achieve this sort of inner anarchism, western society having long ago made the ego an institution, in a Zen monastery, but if a monastic way of life is a cop-out at least it isn't tinged with the hypocritical acrobatics the "individualists" use as a key into the fun fairs that they have made of their own egos.

Making a meal out of yourself is the pastime of fascists, not socialists, and furthermore, it is an apt reflection on the strange political corruption Britain always seems to be voyaging through that some so-called anarchists would, in the unlikely event of the barricades going up, be the last to take sides. The "individualist" wing with their shrunken brains and swollen egos consider they have already found liberation. Does anarchism no longer wish to involve itself in a direct sense with the problems of property, class, international capitalism, poverty and education?

One can make other comparisons between "individualists" and fascists: both believe that men who feel a very deep responsibility to others are bleeding hearts,

the man in Kropotkin's fable who does not save the child from drowning for the sheer pleasure of exercising the negative aspect of his freedom of choice could be either a fascist or an "individualist" and again, both fascists and "individualists" consider that those who risk their lives because of a sense of identification with the lot of the drowning child are no more than masochists.

We may never find ourselves in a position to test the depth of our humanity, nevertheless there is so much to be done that we really can't spend the time rationalising our more selfish moments into the mould of a political philosophy.

T. G. THOMAS.

(WE WELCOME this analysis of the "individualist" cult that hovers around anarchism without being really individualist-anarchism but rather individualist non-anarchism. In practice its function is to provide, in London at least, a semi-secret coterie meeting in pub addresses that change for fear of infiltration, but remain on a basis of perpetual discussion; and the "infiltrators" into other meetings and conferences as "the perpetual cynic", a tragedian's role in farce).

US

This is the sixth issue of BLACK FLAG since we extended the scope of the old Black X Bulletin. Some of the issues seem to have lost their dates & number (but we have back numbers of all but No.2).

BRIEF INDEX: No.1. Is there an Anarchist Peril? Second Half of Spanish Civil War. Anarchism in North China.

No.2. Angry Young Scots? (Carr Bombings) Anarchism in China; Workers' Councils.

No.3. Govt. by Cowards; Towards Police State; Coming War of Spanish Succession; Conclusion of articles on Trotskyism.

No.4. Industrial Relations Bill; CNT in Spain; Revolution in Ireland; Parvus-Helphand; The Problems of an Anarchist Movement.

No.5. Revolution in Ceylon; Violence; Politics in Sport; Attachment of Wages; Playboys.

THE COPTIC REPRINTS: Almost all our literature has sold out. "Surrealism" "Origins of China" now sold out 2nd edition of ours; "Origins Spain" nearly out of 2nd edition; all the rest (except 1649) out of 1st edition. Back to the duplicator. Meanwhile at last "Unamuno's Last Essay" and "Modern Science & Anarchism" are now ready.

(Apologies to those expecting back numbers of Cuddon's: there are a few but in store and we have to find them). There are positively no back numbers of Anarchist Black Cross Bulletin so will libraries' dealers kindly not tantalise with inflated offers to buy?

NOTES & NEWS OF THE
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Readers of the Bulletin will recall the case of our comrade Francisco Gil de Jaen, the student serving a sentence in Ocaña Prison. He writes to thank us for the efforts on his behalf. Due to the publicity made in his case he is being allowed to finish his studies while in jail. He has resumed his fourth year studies, and will be allowed to attend examinations, accompanied by policemen.

There are now 15 political prisoners in Ocaña prison.

THE PETITION. Those who have not yet received the petition to send to the various Spanish Ministers should write for a copy. This is helping to back up the campaign. Hundreds have recently gone off from this country. Every day we hear from Spain of fresh cases to bring up.

Awaiting trial for nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, for instance, is Julian Millan Hernandez, accused of having blown up the front of the Law Court (Tribunal de Cuentas) in Madrid. He was tortured in the Prefecture of Police and also drugged to try to induce a confession.

In Madrid, Cipriano Damiano

and others still await trial for their work in rebuilding the unions of the CNT. In many prisons there are those who, returned from profitable work as immigrants in Germany or from political exile in France, have come back to help organise. The whole structure of the CNT has undergone change. Within Spain it is reviving as the real union organisation. (Against it, the Comisiones Obreras, dominated by the alliance of Moscow-line Communists and the Christian Democrats) has outside backing but no tradition of working-class loyalty). That is why there are so many libertarian prisoners. That is why they should receive trade union backing in this country. If they do not, it is a sign both of political ignorance and deliberate sectarianist obstruction. Raise the matter with the international secretaries of trade unions - it is interesting if only to see them wriggle. Some are still sending funds to sustain the moribund, wraith-like UGT! The funds have to go to France for the ghost does not even haunt Spain.

NOTE: Parcels should not be sent unless you have been sending them and got acknowledgment. International Money Orders to prisoners are being received safely. None to our knowledge have been held back even if unacknowledged.

Terms of Reference.

Have we exceeded our terms of reference in the Black X ? We must say at once that we are under obligation to nobody if we have, but the question was raised at the London meeting that has been presented before: "Should you not stick to sending parcels and aid to Spanish prisoners - others, too, if possible - and not go on to other matters such as class struggle &c."

Those who put the question have no idea of how anarchist prisoners react on being imprisoned for their beliefs. There is none of the silver lady touch-your-hat-God-bless-you business, such as one gets with the average non-political prisoner. Those who have received aid are grateful for it. Without cash, or aid in kind, from outside, life is impossible in a Spanish prison. The CP lavish aid in order to 'buy' prisoners. In many cases, workers in jail have wives and young children. The wife must work to support the husband in jail. Students have been disowned by their prosperous families. Thus the sort of help we are asking to be sent direct is essential.

We could have settled down to a routine of despatch. But maybe psychologically we are the wrong people to do that. It would have ended as a charity with officials being paid salaries. The costs would have grown. We preferred to

say, "Do it yourself.. we will send you the addresses in Spain. Cut out the administrative costs and send it direct." A very little has gone astray in Spain but even so, this is well worth it for the propaganda value of such sendings ends in releases.

Every prisoner with whom we have communicated has, however, stressed the need for action against the dictatorship. This is a plain fact of prison life, and it can be readily understood that persons serving five to seventy years in jail prefer to know there is at least some attempt to see they get out, than to know they will be assured of cigarettes all the time. This is not to under-rate the latter where that is all that can be done. But it remains a fact.

Finally, we have tried to present the old Bulletin in a fairly non-controversial way. It does not succeed. The people who make most play of their "Christianity" or "Pacifism" and who speak how "non violence" can help the revolution seldom do much for political prisoners. Some are actively hostile, and denounce them as terrorists. This is why "Amnesty" will not act. All aid must be for the bourgeois liberal persecuted for his "conscience", nothing to those who really act against the dictatorship. Who is it that helps the prisoners? Those who share their beliefs. Few others.

27.

"BLACK FLAG" FINANCES

BREAD

Following the good old maxim "never pay your dues on time but call the treasurer a crook" we expect criticism why waste space on a balance sheet but if you don't everyone wonders why not... Last sheet showed a profit of £7.99 in hand. This one goes on even better.

Cost of paper, duplicating, ink &c. (we have now re- printed most of early issues thus increasing circulation retrospectively)	51.82	
Postages	22.85	
Literature purchased	3.50	
Stall at CND rally	1.00	
Stationery75	
Sales expenses, ads &c. ...	3.00	
To photocopying reserve (£10 already i/h.)	25.00	107.92

Subscriptions	8.07	
Bookshop sales	8.60	
General sales	34.20	
<u>DONATIONS</u> Ben £20; S.C. £5;		
Loughborough Grp £7; Leicester		
Grp £2; Leeds Grp coll'n £2.21		
Plus £7.99 i/h	<u>36.21</u>	<u>95.07</u>

This however does not take	<u>deficit</u>	<u>£12.85</u>
into account sales of MAY		On 31st May 1971.
issue so expect , in fact a		
fair amount in hand (plus the		
fact that we have £35.00 aside		
for photocopying).		

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS.

£5. received from German
Black X for Spanish prisoners;
sent via M.G.G.
Gift of clothes from Ben L.
The pamphlet UNAMUNO'S LAST
LECTURE is being published for
benefit of Spanish prisoners
and ex-prisoners. Price 10 p.

SIMIAN PUBLICATIONS.

Almost everything is now out
of print except ORIGINS OF
SPANISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
and 1649. We are now re-
printing all we can. Other new
titles are also being prepared.

- - - - -

The BLACK FLAG
of ANARCHY
is for FREEDOM
and DIRECT ACTION
SOLIDARITY
and MUTUAL AID.

For a red-and-black outlook
read the organ of revolutionary
anarchism -

BLACK FLAG

