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THE ANARCHIST BLACK FLAG

Price per copy 6p. (1/3d)

12 issues: 75p.

Vol. 2 No. 9.

DECEMBER 1971.

Incorporating

Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross.

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All communications to: BLACK FLAG 10 Gilbert Place London W.C.1.

(Postal  
address  
only).

"Justice must not only be done. It must also be seen to be done."  
- legal joke.

"I'll be judge, I'll be jury, says cunning old Fury,  
I'll try the whole case... and condemn you to death!"

.....

AUBREY MELFORD STEVENSON - JUDGE IN

HIS OWN CAUSE

The Old Bailey jury carefully assessed the conspiracy case against Prescott and Purdie. It seems to have come to the reasoned conclusion that there was, indeed, a conspiracy, but the authors of that conspiracy were not before them... at least, not in the dock. It could not indict them but it did not believe them, and to the rage of the prosecution - part of the Secret Police Conspiracy - it acquitted Purdie of all charges, and Prescott of all but one.

This was in face of Judge Melford Stevenson's prejudiced summing up. He dismissed the evidence offered by the defence and commended the anonymous witnesses for the prosecution. Apparently Prescott was found guilty of addressing envelopes, though nobody seems to have questioned the fact that even if he did, there was no proof - but that of the police - as to what was inside.

Never mind, said Old Fury. Fresh from the Kray case, he said this Angry Brigade business was "the most evil conspiracy" he had ever had before him. He had, he said - a trifle reluctantly - "loyally to abide" by the jury's decision to find Prescott not guilty of causing any explosions. But he could still chuck the maximum at him for what was left, and giving him fifteen years, he chucked in a concurrent five years on a piddling fraud charge, it would seem in the anticipation that Purdie was still to face such a charge. But what caused his anger, his fury, his lack of



reasoned judgment? True, it was a conspiracy against the Establishment and that is enough to damn it utterly, whereas the Kray case, for instance, was a conspiracy well within capitalism and capable of co-existence with it - indeed, unthinkable otherwise. Most people said - oh, well, you know Melford Stevenson's political views - he always reflects them in his judgments.

But this was more than that.  
Melford Stevenson was acting as  
judge in his own cause. That

was what made him so touchy, so determined to pressurise the jury, so adamant as to the 'evil' nature of the case and why he rubbed in how the jury might regard the views expressed with abhorrence (though this should not be done, ha ha).

Last January the Yard put a special guard on the Judge after a bomb threat to his home in London. This was admitted by the 'Mail' who said sycophantically, "there is no known connection between that and yesterday's case. Either way, no one who knows him would doubt that Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson would permit it to affect his judgment in law". They might doubt it very well if the old buzzard kept it quiet, as he did! But in fact, everyone who had knowledge - denied at the time to the defendants - that he had received a bomb threat would know it logically came from the people generically known as the 'Angry Brigade' .... was it

perhaps the insular IRA who objected to his vicious sentences on the Cambridge students who protested against Greek tyranny?

The fact of well known people "including a High Court" judge being on the alleged 'list' of persons to be attacked appeared in this case. It is also on the depositions in the 'Stoke Newington' case. If the judge was named personally, he should not have sat. A juror who behaved in this way would face a sentence for contempt of court.

Will Aubrey Melford Stevenson be impeached? Perhaps not. But if the name of Old Fury is tagged to him for acting as judge in his own cause, some as yet unknown 'offender' of the future may be encouraged to raise in court a protest that he does not wish to be judged by him.

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A COPY OF THE LAST ISSUE was sent, not unreasonably, to its editor, Stuart Christie, now on remand inrixton Jail. He has been permitted all sorts of vile, corrupting literature ranging from the Times to IT and Oz. But not this. Strange. Could it corrupt him? Could he be hoist with his own petard? The prison authorities state they have to ask the Home Secretary, to whom the journal has gone... and the Home Office, notwithstanding our generous Maudling Prize offered to the Idiot of the Month, do not seem very keen on the paper. If this issue fares badly too, in our next issue we will make it the Woodrow Wyatt Prize.. how's that?



## JULIAN MILLAN HERNANDEZ

by Miguel Garcia Garcia



For over four years our comrade Julian Millan has been held prisoner without trial. His case has at last been remitted to the Military Tribunal, directed by the infamous Garcia Robull, now Captain-General in Madrid, formerly Captain-General in Burgos (who tried and convicted the 16 Basques).

The Army tried to hold the trial in secret. Thanks to the Black Cross, we have brought it to public attention, and at last the trial will be held. Moreover an important witness has been found. It can be proved beyond doubt that at the time he is alleged to have been committing crimes in Spain, he was working in France. The witnesses are Spanish and would be arrested in Spain, but the well-known human rights lawyer, Maitre Lalleman, is prepared to travel to Madrid from Brussels and put the depositions.

### WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

Julian Millan was a worker interested in the trade union struggle.

He was helping to reorganise the C.N.T. Amongst fellow-workers were Granados and Delgado. Finding himself unemployed, Millan went to France in 1961. He went back to Spain, to work and to organise, in 1967. He did not know he was on the "wanted" list. But Granados and Delgado had been accused of working for the Resistance in 1962, and were arrested and garrotted. It had then been established that Granados knew Millan. On

this 'guilt by association', Millan was placed upon the 'Wanted' list, and the Spanish police was notified when Millan returned to France. (There was so little against him they could not apply for extradition; had they done so, it would have defeated the object as he could have applied for political asylum.) Millan has been tortured, kept without food, drugged, given the 'opportunity' to escape so he could be shot without trial. Now the prosecution demands 41 years. Protests from trade unions against yet another trial of a civilian by court-martial might be of assistance in the present sensitive state of mind of the ruling caste in Spain.



## ON THE ANGRY GENERATION

(Letter Two of 'Letters to An Opponent' from which this is extracted was written by the pioneer anti-Tsarist Alexander Herzen in 1864. Writing over 100 years ago, he had no idea how apposite his strictures on Russia would be to the England of 1971).

You judge us harshly. "Your propaganda," you say, "has affected a whole generation, as a disastrous habit"... you have enfeebled its brain and nervous system, rendering it incapable of concentration, endurance and energetic activity...for you have no ground underfoot and so go on with your revolutionary itch, without faith, out of sheer habit."

But is the new generation really enfeebled? Is it indeed incapable of endurance and energy? ... On the contrary, it is we old men who will have to reproach ourselves for disastrous habits. We were dreamers, philosophers, theoreticians... but we were not very conspicuous for our energy, activity, courage. You will reply that there is very little opportunity to display military heroism when there is no war. True, but what right have we to throw stones at the young people impatient to give battle, for being too reckless and for not learning their textbooks from cover to cover? There are periods of history when the pulse beats too fast for that.

... What has frightened and troubled you? Was it that students began to gather in groups? Why shouldn't they? There was no sick room... why should they not speak a little louder? Why did you see in this natural outburst of young enthusiasm nothing but disorder and an attack on the system (and what a system!)

Where (in face of its struggles against oppression) is the proof of that moral dissolution, that incapacity for energetic activity of which you accuse the young generation? What has incited you against it? Can it really be only because it is so lax in its studies and gives it so little time? ...The government persecutes the young generation because it is afraid of it, because it is certain that the fire lit by 'Young Russia' could bring the year of the French Revolution to St Petersburg... and it has indeed brought about a revolution! Ministers of progress and directors of liberalism, the humane police and the head clerks of liberation have all dissipated like smoke in terror at the words 'Young Russia'.

The government endeavoured to regain the haven of the repressive regime of Nicholas. Fortunately it was also terrified to make for that port and it stopped, like a vessel without coal or sails, suffering all the inconveniences of a ship's pitching but without making headway. The fear inspired by a handful of energetic young people was so great that a year later Katkov congratulated the government and all Russia on having escaped a terrible revolution. The persecution instituted by the government can be explained: fear magnifies the reality.

From: Kolokol.



W H A T        I S        T H I S        "A N G R Y  
B R I G A D E"        B U S I N E S S        A L L  
A B O U T ?

A Summary of Views.  
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A reasonably factual sociological view        Increasing  
State powers  
and above all the enormous power of the State for mass  
destruction, plus the countergrowth of literacy and  
protest, has led to many actions against the State. Some  
were for a long time on classical non-violent lines, but  
these were canalised and institutionalised. They led to  
mass demonstrations which were countered by the police.  
Then, following a line of approach that had never been  
totally absent from revolutionary politics, the tactics  
of protest by individual violence began to be used. This  
trend was universal.

Labelled "The Angry Brigade", many who used such methods  
(an incalculable number of times, because the facts were  
at first suppressed by press and police), the movement may  
be compared to the Luddites, rather than to any specific  
body of persons. Because different people did different  
things at different times, it was impossible for the  
police to make any arrests. Pushed on by Ministerial  
indignation, they made wild dog swoops on the left generally  
and picked up people considered most militant. But this did  
not stop the outrages... Then, when the police finally said  
they had everybody and there would be no more heard of the  
Angry Brigade, the Press was told to keep quiet again...  
But with the blowing up of the Post Office Tower, it could  
not do so any longer.

Philosophy of the "Angry Brigade: Libertarian, revolution-  
ary and within the framework of individual protest. At  
no time did they identify themselves far less demand power.

Reaction from political factions:        If this had happened  
in Outer Mongolia or  
Pantagonia we could have claimed it was us. As we can't,  
or we would be nabbed by the wild dog raids, it must be  
elitists seeking power, fascists, neo-Nazis, CIA, misguided  
idealists, or right nutters. However we are all for civil  
liberties: the wild dog raids didn't exempt us; and the  
least said the better and a pity the press doesn't shut up.



### The Press

A fantastic anarchistic conspiracy, likely to endanger our society, hatched preferably by foreigners but drug fiends welcome. Part of the malaise of our society, but an organised plot just the same. Willing to accept a Catholic IRA plot as it once would have accepted a Judaeo-Masonic one, but open to suggestions on this. Favourite line: Hidden Conspirators. No possibility that this might be a logical result of the frustration suffered after the October demo that was contained, or this would be a reflection on the press and police that contained it.

Not prepared to question guilt of anyone accused, but conspiracy theory broken by Daily Telegraph reporter who reported "200 Angry Brigade sympathisers" marching in support of "Angry Brigade member" Prescott...Some conspiracy, that.

### The Police

All was sweetness and light until a certain person came home from a stay abroad. From then on he organised a "conspiracy". Persons connected with the conspiracy, on this theory, were at school when many of the connected events took place, and were only found years later. Once they were apprehended all outrages ceased (the resumption of them upset this theory). The ringleaders have fled several times, the "hierarchy" broken up, conspirators escaped in planes and so on (all theories given to press but which are omitted in the actual prosecutions)..

.....  
In our next issue we shall detail the charges and also give a report of the committal proceedings due to start on January 3rd of persons accused by direct implication in this matter.

"The most favoured weapon of a despotism is a law against conspiracy and a pliant police force."



## The Milan Affair Continues.

When will the trial of Pietro Valpreda and other members of the 22nd March group - accused of the bombings of 12th December 1969 -- take place? Two years have gone by and no date has yet been fixed. Will it ever take place? Or are the Italian authorities so fearful of the outcome that Valpreda is in danger of "falling to his death" - as did Pinelli, secretary of the Anarchist Black Cross in Milan who fell to his death from the fourth floor of the Milan Police HQ on the night of December 15th.

In an Italy where fascist provocation and increasingly heavy police and judicial repression of the left are now commonplace, and with the prospect of the Presidential elections paving the way for an authoritarian regime, these are serious questions. Scepticism about the official version of the events of December 12th is widespread. But so is the fear that the authorities can and will do everything and anything to suppress the truth, and that nothing can be done about it.

PINELLI        The investigation into the death of the railwayman Pinelli, which has been dragging on under various guises for more than 21 months, has been notable for two things. Firstly, for the attempts at intimidation against those who are eager for the truth, including members of the legal profession. Here we can note the grotesque figure of Michele Lener, counsel for the notorious Inspector Luigi Calabresi in his libel action against Lotta Continua (the

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left-wing periodical which in 1970 accused him openly and repeatedly of murder). Amongst Lener's more recent exploits have been his objection against the judge in the Calabresi-Lotta Continua case, accusing him of prejudice against the police, and his suing of the widow's lawyers for libel (the libel consisting in the charges they have formulated against Calabresi & Co. on her behalf).

POLICE VERSIONS        The other striking feature of the affair has been the impunity with which the police have consistently given differing and often contradictory versions of the incident which frequently slip into the absurd (at one stage, one valiant guardian of the law was claiming he had managed to grab Pinelli's shoe as he disappeared out of the window, even though those who saw the body lying on the ground distinctly remember that the victim was wearing both shoes -- the anarchist with three feet has become a standing sick joke). Not only have none of these buffoons been indicted for perjury (let alone murder) or even temporarily suspended from duty while the investigation is in progress -- they have all been promoted.

WHAT WAS REALLY GOING ON IN ITALY IN 1969? It was the creation by the fascists of a climate of terror through 'actions' - beatings, bombings etc. (of which those of December 12th were the most spectacular) and which was perhaps intended to usher in a coup d'etat and was in any case a favourable climate



for the bourgeoisie in their struggle against an increasingly militant working class. There are known to be links between the fascists and the Greek regime, the CIA, and highly-placed officials in the Government, business, Army and police. All this is by now well documented outside the courts (often at considerable risk to the investigators). It is certain that Pinelli's death is connected with this plot, though it is not entirely clear how. BUT IF THE MILAN POLICE ARE TAKING SUCH PAINS TO SEE THAT NO LIGHT IS SHED ON THE MURDER OF PINELLI, WHAT MAY WE EXPECT WILL HAPPEN TO VALPREDA AND HIS COMRADES?

VALPREDA            Though an acquittal would be embarrassing to the regime, it will be very hard for any court mindful of its reputation to convict on the evidence available. For this reason it may be that the trial will never take place, but what, then, will happen to the accused? Another accident? There have been a great many (as we go to press, we learn of yet another witness who has died of a 'road accident').

The accused are partly being accused of 'guilt by association' (they 'admit' being members of the March 22nd Group), partly by default (their alibi is not watertight -- who can ever provide one completely watertight?) Some members of the theatrical underworld who testify to having seen Valpreda in Rome after the bombing have already been charged with perjury. There is an element of the comic: Valpreda is alleged to have

taken the bomb by taxi, a journey of 150 yards - so the taxi-driver could 'witness' his act. But the comedy soon ends. The unfortunate taxi-driver, who could never have stood up to cross-examination, died suddenly (of 'bronchial pneumonia' at the age of 49), and cannot be challenged on the testimony he left behind.

Fortunately for the police: for earlier this year, six anarchists accused of a previous bomb attack were found not guilty when the star prosecution witness broke down under cross-examination, and said she had only said what the police had told her to say. Another example of Dr Calabresi's technique. Remember, too: Dr Calabresi is not merely the opposite number of "Commander X". He is his colleague. A common market already exists in the political police section of Interpol.

So many have died since this came up, some suggest an analogy with the Oswald case. All that is missing is the death of the main character, Pietro Valpreda.

#### WILL HE COME TO TRIAL?

BRITISH            Meanwhile a heavy  
ANALOGY            responsibility lies upon  
                         the shoulders of magistrates  
and judges who flippantly refuse bail merely upon police say-so. They are accessories to potential murder. NEVER AGAIN SAY THAT "IT CANNOT HAPPEN HERE".

WHAT WE CAN DO    Make the case known.  
                         Let the world understand how fascism has reared its head again in Italy. Lose no opportunity to demand the DISBANDMENT OF INTERPOL and the end of political police co-operation.



## WHY THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL WIN IN SPAIN

The Communist Party is playing for high stakes in Spain. On present form it will win.

One of the main reasons for its success will be the strategically placed traitors within Interpol who are ensuring that if Franco goes, the Communist Party will take over.

These startling, and to many, bizarre facts emerge from a study of Spain today. It must first be appreciated that the Kremlin has spent millions of pounds fostering the Spanish Communist Party, which was on the decline and losing out to the Maoists anyway.

It does not want, necessarily, a State-Communist regime in Spain. It wants a satellite of whatever colour. Hence the Christian-Democrats have formed their alliance with the C.P. This Catholic Opposition is opposed to the militant reactionary Opus Dei, the Masonic-like Catholic conspiracy which aims to supplant Franco, and to the Army.

Together, the Christian-Democrats and the C.P. have got control of the Comisiones Obreras. But their control does not go too deeply. Strikers gladly accept aid from Catholic middle-class lawyers; in jail, their families readily accept the well organised Red Aid. Once they take money from the Party for their necessities, they are considered 'in'. The CP in jail does not share with other political prisoners, not does it dispense the funds it collects under non-party labels to non-party members. Thus the Christian Democrat and

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Moscow line alliance trades on the strikers who have fallen foul of the law. It exploits the oppression. There are some, within the regime, who connive at this. But they do not have control of the factory floor. The resurgence of the CNT, the anarchist union being reorganised by the younger workers who are taking advantage of emigration and are not obliged to be permanent exiles, is proof of that.

THE NEW STATESMAN  
TELLS A LIE

Recently, the CP, audacious and cunning as ever, held a clandestine meeting in a Barcelona church. Its resistance activity has been nil, confined to propaganda leaflets. Now it held a meeting at which (says the NS, Nov. 26) "all the different anti-Franco factions gathered under one roof to discuss a common plan of action". But who came? Not the CNT, not the moribund UGT, not the Catalanists or others... only the Christian Demos and the joint Socialist-Communist Party of Catalonia. Yet the Statesman pretends "Communists were there, of course, and so were the anarchists -- but so were Catalan business interests, Workers' Commission representatives, the usually reactionary Carlist groups,



and various Catholic figures not known for their revolutionary sympathies". All this is a total lie. But it may not be the correspondent himself who has invented it. The CP is quite up to inventing its own representatives from all the other movements.

THE FIRST OF MAY GROUP      There was in Spain only one body which could stand up to the machinations of the C.P. The First of May Group comprised the activists of the Anarchist movement, the true inheritors of the revolutionary spirit, the men who took part in the post-war resistance. It was feared by the C.P. not because it struck directly at them but because it struck directly at Franco at home and abroad, and gained the ready sympathy of the Spanish workers. In the period following the First World War, it was the FAI who combatted the pistoleros of the employers to enable the unions of the CNT to grow. This task passed after the Second World War to the resistance groups.

Then it was the First of May Group, a nebulous body to the majority of people, but one which the Franco police feared so much they induced their colleagues of the French police to chase out of the country. It did not suit their book when it came back to Spain and hit the regime from within. Since then it has been even less to the liking of the Moscow-line C.P. that the First of May Group challenges their hegemony and makes nonsense of their 'common plans of action'. The CP faction in the French police have called for action. To Interpol, the 1st May is now a synonym for political crime.

## THE WORK OF THE BLACK CROSS      What the Black Cross

has been able to do for prisoners in Spain is very small considering the overwhelming money available to the C.P. But even this token has been a thorn in the flesh. To have only a handful of political prisoners able to assert their faith defiantly, and receive international solidarity, is a blow at the C.P. hegemony. They would like to pretend the CNT does not exist and to claim its history for their own. For them, the anarchist prisoners are "rotten apples in the barrel" without whom all the prisoners would acknowledge the CP-Christian Demo. alliance as their saviours.

The Black Cross has taken heavy blows. Its Spanish supporters are harassed. Pinelli, its secretary in Milan, fell to his death from a police station window. Christie is in a London jail. The incidence of the persecutions are too sophisticated for the usual Spanish fascist approach and point to the presence of a Burgess or Philby in the police force. The German police are pigs enough, but they are alert to this type of infiltration. In Germany, the Black Cross has not been molested in the same way to date.

---      Fantastic, you think? Exactly what Masaryk said before he fell to his death in Prague. What the Foreign Office said when told of their traitors. But the F.O. is checked by M.I.5. Who checks them? Who in this country knows the forces behind and inside Special Branch? Not the Home Secretary. They may even have a dossier on him. On the present one it is highly likely.

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## QUIZ

1. Insp. Basil Thomson, of Scotland Yard, did in fact name the suspected "Peter the Painter" (the Anarchist, alleged, of Sidney Street). Who did he think it was?
2. Which current Head of State was a frequent visitor and speaker at anarchist meetings in London?
3. In which country did active proletarian revolutionaries dress in drag?
4. Name the son of a British general, himself an officer, who trained Connolly's Citizen Army - an Orangeman and a Republican - anti-Catholic and anti-Imperialist, later a Communist, who left the Party while fighting in Spain and became an Anarchist.
5. Moscow has an anti-God Museum. Which town in Western Europe had one first, and what happened to it?

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(answers on page 20 )

EXHIBITION OF SILKSCREEN  
PRINTS at the Prudhoe Gallery,  
79 Duke Street, London, W.1.

Until Dec. 11. - Flavio  
Costantini, Italian artist,  
is showing an exhibition of  
scenes from the heroic past  
of Anarchism.

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WE ARE MANY... THEY ARE FEW.

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## MOHICANS ON THE WARPATH

by

Terry Liddle

In the article THE END OF THE  
ILP (Vol. 2. No. 8) Black Flag asks  
"What is going to happen to the  
last of the Mohicans, the socialists  
who are still in the ILP?"

Well, writing as one of the  
Mohicans who has spent the last  
three years selling papers, pushing  
leaflets, speaking at meetings, and  
generally knocking myself out while  
the leadership has sat on its  
bourgeois academic arse and done  
nowt, I can say that most of us are  
not going to stay in an organisation  
which we thought was Libertarian and  
Revolutionary, but which we now know  
to be bureaucratic-centralist in  
structure, neo-Leninist in theory,  
and neo-Stalinist in practice. In  
other words a mini-Bolshevik sect  
no different from the IS, the IMG  
or the SLL.

For years the ILP, while growing  
smaller and smaller, remained an  
ideological ragbag containing  
pacifists, near Stalinists, De Leon-  
ists, Trotskyites who didn't like  
the 57 varieties on the market,  
Libertarians and nearly every other  
type of Leftist.

During the late fifties it was  
joined by a group of ex-YCL academics  
who were followed over the next  
decade by dropouts from the Labour  
and Communist parties, people who  
had had a belly full of the Trot  
sects and others, like myself, who  
were pissed off with the shambles  
that was the old London Anarchist  
Federation. Gradually three main  
tendencies emerged. The first was  
Left Social-Democratic and wanted



the ILP back in the Labour Party, the second was Leninist and wanted to apply the tactic of entry into the Labour Party (bribing their way in with the ILP's money) and the third was Libertarian. The second by combining with the first has taken over and is determining to get rid of the third.

The Libertarian tendency in the ILP, which will soon be out of the ILP, is anti-authoritarian, anti-parliamentarian, direct-actionist and very much in favour of control from the bottom up. Its thinking, which is influenced by the Council Communists like Gorter and Pannekoek, owes not a little to Anarchism.

The struggle between authoritarianism and bureaucratic tendencies on the one hand, and libertarian and decentralist tendencies on the other, is not confined to the ILP. The leadership of IS is preparing a full scale purge for its forthcoming conference, and many rank and file IS members are finding out the hard way that you can't be a libertarian in a Bolshevik-style organisation. The same is true of the Anarchist movement where the set-up at Freedom Press is as bureaucratic as in any Leninist party.

The time has come for the Mohicans to get together and go on the warpath to expose the organisations of the 'trad' Left for the shitheaps they are and to build in the factories and workplaces small groups which will build workers councils, the organs which the working class will use to smash capitalism and the capitalist state.

t.l.

## DEMO ON NOVEMBER 24

Demos have had their day (they were never much at the best of it, apart from the feeling of power - that great burst when one enters Fleet Street with 15,000 marchers, for instance). The great Anti-Unemployment rally made news. A great turn-out, though to no ultimate purpose.

It turned a bit 'violent' at the finish, to the glee of the media-men who would otherwise have given the whole affair three lines. Outside Parliament, there were 'shouts of derision for the Prime Minister', says the Press. Understand, we do not approve these shouts, but what was being chanted was 'Teddy is a queer' and it could be heard right through Parliament. (Better that or anything than coldfish politicians - if only Hitler had got his orgasms through any sexual deviation but political power!) On hearing it, and presumably under higher orders, the mounted police moved forward.

Mistakenly, the horses went for the men used to hurling frozen carcasses of beef around. Over went the first horse and rider. Crash went a lot of MPs' and Lords' cars in the car-park as others ripped off bits to defend themselves with. Problem: Piglets don't always realise when first in force that it is not nowadays safe to attack large bodies of workers (young workers or students on their own, yes), and that while they are going arse over tip in melee, the CID lot are sitting back in pubs on expenses working out schemes which will provoke further attacks on hard-working piglets.

What has this to do with solving unemployment? Unemployment is a positive economic factor, politically induced. It is not like famine or bad weather. It is caused by politicians. Demonstrations show only that this is recognised. Nothing more.



From our friends in

Brixton.....

Stuart Christie, secretary of the Anarchist Black Cross, asks us to convey thanks to all who have contributed to the various funds, sent post-cards etc. It has not been possible for us to arrange many visits, as his visiting times have been fully taken up thanks to the loyalty and persistence of his girl-friend who has visited him almost daily.

At the weekly farce of appearance at Clerkenwell Court to be remanded yet one more week, every week, the accused can send out for meals. But the oinks have been adding more victims. From six it has become nine... and dinner for nine can cost a bit. Any assistance here welcome. We would like a decent meal sent in each Wednesday.

The Stoke Newington Six (plus) fund is c/o Compendium Bookshop, 240 Camden High Street, N.W.1.

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#### ON THE STUDENT REBELLION.

A pamphlet by Prof. A. Garcia Calvo - one of the leading figures in the Madrid student rebellion - in the form of an open letter, raises some interesting reflections and speculations on the nature of student revolt. We do not agree with his conclusions, but they are well worth considering. They have been translated into English and will be published by "Simian" within a fortnight. (Price 20p.)

T H E P R E S S

by the Dean of Gloucester  
(Dr. Josiah Tucker, 1774)

These people may be said truly to trade in blood; for a war is their harvest. and a gazette extraordinary produces a crop of a hundredfold. How then can it be supposed that any ministers can be their favourites but the ministers of war? Yet these are the men who may be truly said to govern the minds of the good people of England, and to turn their affections whithersoever they please; who can render any scheme unpopular which they dislike, and whose approbation, or disapprobation, are regarded by thousands, and almost by millions, as the standard of right and wrong, of truth or falsehood: for it is a fact, and indisputable fact, that this country is as much news-mad, and news-ridden now, as ever it was Popery-mad and Priest-ridden, in the days of our forefathers.

(200 years later: the press trades in blood more than ever it did, for now it numbers its readers in tens of millions, and the mass media represent a new Church by which we are press-ridden as much as ever we were priest-ridden, and its standards are accepted without question.)

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#### CRIME IS NOW A VIRTUE

by the Bishop of Carthage  
(Cyprian, Epistle to Donatus, 250)

Murder which is admitted to be a crime in the case of an individual, is called a virtue when it is committed wholesale. Impunity is claimed..not on the plea that they are guiltless, but because the cruelty is perpetrated on a grand scale.

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Available: Origins of Anarchist  
Movement in China ..... 10p.



## THE SHIN BEIT

The Shin Beit is now the most efficient intelligence service in the world. The Israeli intelligence system (SB - Shin Beit) was born out of the Palestine military intelligence created, with the Haganah (military resistance) with the connivance of Gen. Orde Wingate while he was serving with the British Army and supporting the people he was supposed to be suppressing, and of the European Jewish resistance groupings which evolved a high degree of espionage especially in Rumania.

Notably since the Six Day war it has united features of all the European intelligence services and now competes on equal ground with the American CIA and the Russians. It is not only able to penetrate the Arab world: it has taken control of many of the Arab political groupings. Notably through varieties of the Trotskyist movement, it now controls many of the most 'militant' anti-Zionist groupings. It has done this by audaciously placing at the head of Arab nationalist movements men who moved from sincere Trotskyism to the extreme right wing of Zionism, and by putting them back again in left-wing circulation.

One would have thought its major success was to end the guerrilla war on Israel by audaciously seizing control of the guerrilla movement by phoney Marxist groupings, pitching that movement into battle with King Hussein, and letting him wipe out the Fedayeen. Such a manoeuvre is unequalled in political history. But it has since achieved another major feat. Its efficiency at police

work has been long recognised by the emergent African nations, and Israeli military advisers are building up the political police in all those countries. Now, it has been called in by THE ARABS.

The Shah gave a brilliant multi-million party for all the heads of State he could muster, to celebrate the founding of the Persian Empire (which had as much to do with his kingdom as the building of the Pyramids had to do with Nasser's republic). Who could be trusted to safeguard all these valuable people, especially the Arab Heads of State? You guessed right. The Israelis. For as practical men the Arabs knew (a) in the circumstances there could be no plot by Israeli agents (b) the Israelis were controlling the pseudo-revolutionary forces in the Arab countries (that were the most violent against Israel) (c) where your safety is concerned your politician doesn't stand on patriotic niceties. Safe at home, they can always roar for war again as the one sure method of keeping the fellahin quiet.

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### HOW STUPID CAN YOU GET, MR FEATHER?

Howled down at the Nov 24 meeting at Central Hall following the Anti-Unemployment rally, Mr Vic Feather said, "Most of those who were bawling were not trade unionists, or even workers - they came from communes". (Guardian 25th Nov.) Communes are not Cheltenham pensions where people live on their rents. People in them either work (and are workers) or do not work and are workless, which is what the thing was all about, Featherbrain.



WHAT DOES A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT in our present-day society consist of? If it exists at all, it can only be those who believe a change of society is practical and possible and who intend to work for it.

There is today a very large section of opinion which believes a revolutionary change is necessary; and a substantial part think it is possible, but they are convinced they are in so small a minority there is nothing they can do about it. The whole of the mass media confirms this; the so-called 'underground' press, by channeling opinion, gives those who support it a 'ghetto' mentality in supposing they are isolated from the rest of society in everything, not just life-style. In the meantime it builds an 'alternative society'; a capitalist, profit-making alternative.

No change is possible without a change in the economic basis of society. That is not to say this is all that is required. But if it is not effected, no other change can mean anything. The ruling class rules by means of its stranglehold on the economy, by which it is able to get power.

ECONOMIC CHANGE. The basis of altering the economy is by WORKERS COUNCILS. By control from the people over the places in which they work. Not by delegation of responsibility but by direct control. All revolutions which involve social change have at their

base the seizure of the places of work by workers councils.

How can a movement for workers councils be built up? Only by the a fraction of people convinced of their necessity putting forward the idea. Such people are usually, however, divided by philosophical differences, i.e. what comes next, when nothing has yet come first. Those views might well be modified by what happens in practice.

When those who support workers' councils are involved in strikes now, what do they do? They cannot build such councils then. But they find that very often an approximation to such councils is then in being. So they look round to work with other people in the same factory, or industry if they cannot find anyone in the same factory, so that there is a vocal militant minority.

That is what we propose now.

'Fives' in each industry - in each place of work where practical - who will live off into further 'fives' as they come along. So that those who believe in workers' control by workers' councils have a foothold in industry.

A precarious foothold? Perhaps if all those holding these minimal revolutionary views stood up to be counted - but only by five at a time at the present moment - they would prove a force within the labour movement greater than that supporting the TUC, if not as great as the apathetic mass.



## ANARCHIST COMMENTARY

Nothing annoyed me more than to hear a solicitor describe a comrade apologetically as "belonging to an unpopular minority". Most police above beat level, and all the Special Branch with only a few exceptions, have political views corresponding to those of the National Front. Call a meeting in Trafalgar Square of them one week and us the next and who will prove to be the "unpopular minority"? Let the real fascist mob voice the views of most police and a crowd will be shouting for their blood... when did you last hear a crowd demanding to lynch an anarchist speaker because of his 'unpopular views'?

On the contrary, most people - without knowing it - voice anarchist views as regards the good will and intentions of government. The meetings of political parties are negligible. They cannot raise the numbers the 'minorities' can. But at elections, due to the mass media, most people still take part. True, but without conviction and without belief. It could not be said the victors, or the vanquished, in Parliamentary elections, were 'popular'. Nor a majority, except in the Parliamentary sense. And - with the media at their beck and call - they are far from silent.

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Coming from a meeting, some of our comrades went in a pub. They had ordered and paid for their drinks when they noticed the landlord had put up a placard inviting customers to sign a petition calling for the repeal

of the law on capital punishment. They finished their drinks, and one went up to the bar, ordering a further round which would have set him back £5. When the landlady had poured them all out, he asked her politely if she would take the notice down.

"Oh, no," she bridled. "The landlord wants it there and so do I, and if you don't like it, you know what you can do."

"Right, I will," he said, and signalled to the others to go, leaving the drinks untasted and unpaid for. The landlord gaped, and shouted, "What about the drinks?" "Serve a bucket of blood instead," he suggested.

When I was at the pub, by accident, a few weeks later, I recognised it. "Didn't you have a notice up about capital punishment?" I asked. "Oh, no," the landlady told me. "It doesn't pay to discuss politics in this trade." Touch of the old silent majority there....

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You cannot train sub-editors. Note how the "alleged anarchist" and "self-confessed anarchist" has crept back in again. You don't actually have to be illiterate to be a Fleet Street sub. But it helps to conceal your literacy. They would know more about anarchism if they only read the book reviews in their own papers. But that is usually a different department. In the news-room anarchism, unashamed and unconcealed, is still good for a shiver. (Thank Christ!)



## Attitudes Uncovered in Ulster

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NOTHING LIKE A CRISIS to find out what people really think. The Press now regularly uses the term "British" to exclude not only Irish but Northern Irish ("British casualties" mean "soldiers").

A Stormont spokesman said that a large number of aliens were concerned in the 'outrages' - 12. Naming them, they proved to be one Frenchman, one American of Irish descent, and ten citizens of the Irish Republic. One Frenchman had become 12 aliens; without him the statement could not have been made.

One military spokesman, not widely reported, tried to reassure public opinion 'at home' (i.e. 'Britain', not 'Northern Ireland' now tacitly no longer 'home'). The number of 'British' casualties were no greater than would have normally been caused by training schemes and Army duties. True. Why the emotion at 'home', then? Because the public simply does not understand what the Army is really for. Neither, it would seem, do most recruits.

The notorious Spanish General Millan Astray ("Viva la muerte") understood militaristic mentality. He always told the Foreign Legionnaires they were not there to fight for Spain. Nor were the Spaniards there to 'defend their country'. "It is Morocco. It belongs to us, but it is not our country as Spain is." What, then, were they in the Army for? "To die. Long live death!"

Psychopath? Yes. But a frank one, not like our generals.

A wry smile for the term, now extensively used, 'the Catholic ghetto'. The ghetto was invented by the Roman Church, in which to enclose Jews, to keep them in particular occupations, to prevent their mixing with the Christians, and to exploit them. But also to preserve them, in small numbers, as a useful scapegoat.

In Poland, over Easter, the Catholics strolled down to watch the ghetto burning, when it rose up against Hitler. Do people wander down to the Falls Road to enjoy a Sunday stroll and watch it in flames?

The Press continues to shriek hysteria against the IRA - now under the control of CP and Maoist factions. That explains it all, to them. But the terrorism is not of the IRA but from the ultra-Catholic Provisional IRA, an entirely different body. The separatism of the Provos is one thing. The CP, like the Roman Church before 1914, condemns the terrorists, because they do not want control of the backwater of Ireland. They want power in 'Britain' using the dissatisfaction of Irishmen on both sides of the Channel as a lever. They excommunicate the 'terrorists'. But the even more formidable State terrorism drives the people themselves further away from the idea of union with England than ever.

Nothing more alarms the State than the idea of 'anarchist conspiracy' in Ireland. If there really was one, it would be to dissolve Church and State, end nationalism, the Army and religion. It would mean peace.



1. Joseph Stalin, according to Insp. Thomson's reminiscence.
2. Jomo Kenyatta.
3. Wales. The contemporaries of the Luddites were the Daughters of Rebecca, who put on women's clothing and spoke of each other as 'she' when attacking tollgates, prison houses etc.
4. Capt. J. R. White.
5. The tea merchant Mr. T. A. Horniman founded one in Dulwich, London. He was an active Secularist. It is still there, but the Horniman Museum, now officially endowed, has slightly toned down its emphasis. (It was, however, always scientific rather than propagandistic).

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FROM A CORRESPONDENT: "I am fascinated by your quiz - carry on with it, I haven't had a single one right so far" .... J.G.

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Sentencing the Leeds cops who bashed around the Nigerian dossier until he committed suicide - or was found in the river - Mr Justice Hinchcliffe felt it necessary to say the police 'is a fine and splendid profession. Without them there could be anarchy and chaos.' With them there is authority and chaos. But it is not so chaotic it does not provide Mr. Justice Hinchcliffe with a comfortable seat of power.

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FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY.... 21/-

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Sport

KARATE

Criticising a suggestion that revolutionaries should learn karate, a comrade in an internal discussion paper dismisses karate as "fascist".

There is no justification for this. Fascism may use strong-arm methods but they are essentially those of a group. Karate is individualistic by nature. The art and technique of fascism is to build up the fear of a minority by it attacking an unpopular and unorganised minority, or preferably individual members of that minority. Thus it becomes feared since people are reluctant to take up the cudgels for the unpopular minority, and then see the fascist (literally at a certain stage) getting away with murder.

It is nonsense to say fascism is violence per se; it is a particular form of violence. There is, too, a non-violent fascism which achieves the same result by verbal attacks.

Karate is, in fact, non-violent and intended as an alternative to the use of arms. The individual trained in karate may be libertarian for he does not need to fear anyone. He may also be authoritarian (the police use it too) but the karate teachers do not encourage its use for aggression. It is, however, democratic in that it gives the weedy equality and even a slight edge on the beefy. (This is more libertarian than the flower-power cult of 'beautiful people').

At the average pop festival today, one can see incipient fascism in its two aspects: aggressive and pacifist. Those who submit are no less fascistic than those who dominate: they make up the pattern of fascism.



The Hell's Angels are playing at silly-bugger fascism. They want to act as 'alternative society police'. One can understand their desire to push people around and build up an attitude of toughness by picking on isolated individuals. When a vast crowd of hippies plays the passive role, though, that is really frightening. That's how dictatorships are born.

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#### THOUGHT ON CHRISTMAS

Would Christ have strangled the neck of a turkey for Christmas? asks vegetarian Cunliffe in, of all places, 'Freedom'. Hardly likely: it wasn't around, being an American bird, but if it had been, he would have cut its throat and let it bleed to death (in accordance with 'The Law').

Not only was the central character of the New Testament not a vegetarian ('What God has called clean, call you not unclean'), his treatment of the pigs ('Gadarone swine') by hurling them over a cliff, possessed of 'devils' or not, would have got him three weeks jail and a heavy fine on an RSPCA prosecution today.

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#### Individual Activity.

Pig prosecutions have caused a number of critical voices to be raised within the libertarian movement as a whole as to whether individual activity is worth the candle. One sympathises with the reasoning that if people take anarchism seriously and attack the State, it makes it embarrassing for those who regard it as not voting every five years, and a means of harmless radical ticketing. 21.

But that is the chance they have to take. If any form of excommunication were possible, the trendy pacifists would have tried it long since. Unfortunately for them, there will always be people to take rebellion seriously.

But such action will give the State an excuse to harass the entire 'movement'. True, but it does not need an excuse. The pigs will always be ready to invent an attack on those who oppose authority, because of their militancy.

It may, some point out in all earnestness, imperil such vital schemes as showing unemployed their rights or squatting or teaching the educationally sub-normal. To describe all that as reform is not to decry it. Reform has its place. But once you make a fetish of it, you become a reformist. There is no fundamental remedy for the social system but social change by revolution.

Individual action is not social revolution either. But it is, sometimes literally, a shot across the bows. The authoritarians want all the backlash to come from them. When they wake up to the fact that there might be a freedom-loving backlash, there will still not be a revolutionary situation. But it will be a crack in the authoritarian structure.

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#### Gay Liberation

One must admire the courage of the 'gay' who have broken old tabus and come out openly against persecution and ridicule. But they seem unsure of what to do now. Surely the main thing to gain public acceptance would be to break down the whole



structure of exploitation, in particular commercial exploitation, in homosexuality. That would impress the public at large more than anything. The 'freemasonry' that leads to domination in many professions, particularly the artistic ones, and reserves the media for 'the inner circle' of 'gays' could be broken down by Gay Liberation.

Women's Lib has exposed the commercialisation of women by advertising, beauty shows etc. ("Earn more, be a real whore"). But Gay Lib must look in on its own scene. They may get discrimination and ridicule, but they are not exploited, as such; they do the exploiting. What better way of demonstrating sincerity than throwing open the charmed circle of radio, TV, the higher echelons of the press, certain facets of drama, music and ballet to all and sundry?

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#### HUMBUG ON COMMUNES

Every so often the press takes a look at the commune scene and complains bitterly. But when it comes to accepting advertising one never sees them checking to find if 'family life' is being preserved.

Turn to the London evening papers. Note the wages offered in the jobs columns. Then look at the flats to let (one must ignore the houses to sell; there are none offered to rent)... the rents are higher than the wages. They are not too expensive for the wages. They are higher.

What, therefore, is the reader expected to do? The answer comes in another column. Share a flat with 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 or 8 others. That way it comes out not too dear. But then you are offending the philosophy expounded in the articles in the same newspaper.

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#### THE COMMON MARKET IN PIGS

The acceptance of the Common Market by the Government has not percolated to the French and British police and Customs officers, who still stop political opponents at the Customs post, question you until you lose the connection and perhaps must pay extra, confiscate literature which is available openly in both countries, and follow you to your destination. The two towns most considered 'out of bounds' for Anarchists are Paris and above all Brussels. You can get a call to the Yard to ask why you went to the latter notorious city.

This is not law, of course - but the political police are above the law. If the Common Market only broke a few of such restrictions, it would be a step forward. But instead, the restrictions continue and through Interpol the police draw nearer together - from the Fascist police of Madrid to the Communist world (ultimately),

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"You can never make Anarchism illegal. You can make membership of an organisation illegal, you can make it criminal to associate or to work for a change in society ... but it is not yet possible to frame a law which will make people love the State."

SHIH FU.



## Problems of anarchist organisation.

The statist argument against anarchism is that without governing authority no organisation can exist. The fallacious suggestion that anarchist organisation is a contradiction in itself therefore continually comes to intrude itself on a discussion of this nature.

While, therefore, it is evident that there is such a thing as anarchistic organisation, it does not follow that an organisation of what happens to be people more or less professing that idea is either feasible or desirable. A movement of libertarian teachers, or a grouping of shop stewards, may be examples of anarchistic organisation. An organisation on party lines is utterly useless.

**BLACK FLAG POSITION** Our esteemed critic, Keith Nathan, has put it to us on several occasions that this is a contradiction: citing our statements pro organisation he assumes we must go on to support what must, in effect, be a party type of organisation, albeit called a federation, and have gone back on ourselves if we have not. But what use is a nation-wide body of persons professing anarchism? If it were really a political party, well and good: it could work for party victories, build up a 'democratic centre', fight bye-elections. A nation-wide anarchist body could not openly be revolutionary except in name. Its common actions would be reformist, as are those of many local groups. This is not to decry reformism where it is not part of a political machine - trade union action, claimants' unions, squatting, and

the like. But for such action to be effective it needs to be, and usually is, grassroots. It needs to be local. It may be that those engaged in such action will go on to revolutionary action. That cannot be expressed in any sort of centralism, nor is there any historical case where it has been. All revolutionary anarchist movements have been composed of small, voluntary groups independent of each other. They are not to be confused with the type of organisation that expresses itself upon the factory floor, or in the locality.

**THE ORGANISATION.** Quite a contrary criticism of 'Black Flag' is expressed by the same comrade, who is concerned that we feel we are the only organisation, and overlooks that we have none. This, he points out, is crypto-bolshevism, and so it would be if we felt we were the anarchist organisation, issued cards and all the rest of it. But to what purpose would it be? The S.W.F. was a sad case of an organisation going through all the motions of a highly organised body, and performing absolutely no function whatsoever.

Another, more factious and less sincere critic is Peter Neville, who, writing in 'Anarchy' is under the impression that 'Floodgates' gave a 'history and critique' of the anarchist movement which was just 'not anarchist'. In no way did it deal with that, as he would have found out if he had read it. (He is the second pseud to have dismissed it on the strength of what does not appear). People who happen to 'be around', currently militant or not,



do not comprise 'the anarchist movement' and such a concept cannot be reckoned in the normal coinage of democracy. The term is both wider and narrower than the way it is used in some quarters. The mere calling oneself 'anarchist' is not enough and many people who do not call themselves such, for various reasons, may well be included. What defines an anarchist movement is the manner in which people are moving towards anarchism.

For us, what is important is that there should be a revolutionary movement that will, ultimately, be able to challenge authoritarianism, and immediately be able to stand up to it. The way things are, we are realistic enough to understand that many sections of such a revolutionary movement will be reformistic or authoritarian. At a certain point, such authoritarianism can take them into the enemy camp. But not invariably. Our task is to infuse the revolutionary movement with the libertarian spirit. The voluntarism of the workers' councils must be opposed to the ideas of nationalisation.

OUR PROGRAMME. We do not, in this journal, seek to build up "our organisation". We would like to see strong local anarchist groups, based upon realities of what is going on, and not the window-dressing of national organisations. Above all we want to see groups working for workers' councils. That is the way of revolution. It is the antithesis of bolshevism. It is the destruction of the State.

## JACK THE RIPPER

The actual identity of the notorious Jack the Ripper was never established. At the time it was felt by the public he must be a 'pauper alien' and the poor and the foreign got knocked about a bit until it dawned on the public that 'Jack' was a determined Conservative Christian gentleman who only ripped up drunken prostitutes.

He was within an ace of being caught on two occasions, when the police let him go, overawed by his being 'a real toff' (those were the eighties). In the end, he was never caught. There have been many speculations as to the identity of this poor lunatic driven mad by contemporary ravings like those now peddled by Buchmanism, the Festival of Light and so on. (It was 'the permissive society' of late Victorian England, with its drunks and its whores, that Jack the Ripper was in revolt against... like Mrs. Whitehouse).

There have been many clues to his identity. He may have been a Tory solicitor. But the latest, most likely of all, received some publicity. It had been hushed up at the time. The conspiracy of silence is not over. It may have been H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence (son of the Prince of Wales, later Edward VII. and direct heir, had he not died), notoriously mad and in revolt against the society epitomised by his father.

Perhaps the theory is not true. But there are many reasons why it might be so, not least the failure to prosecute. Why it should, even now, be prevented from being known - nearly 100 years after - will surprise nobody who follows public affairs in England.

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## THE MAUDLING PRIZE FOR IDIOT OF THE MONTH

The Daily Express set City reporter Andrew Fyall to look into what kids do with their pocket money and how it could be bolstering up capitalism. The judges look with awed fascination on Mr Fyall's winning entry for the coveted and hotly-contested Maudling Prize for Idiot of the Month.

At the William Penn School at Herne Hill, for instance, there is "something like £260 knocking around the form every Friday". This could be £13,000 a year if invested properly, the man says. (It comes to £13,520 if spent wildly). "Giant financial empires have been founded on a lot less" but, he adds a little ruefully, "our children's pocket money and their earnings are generally sacrosanct." Pity. The best financial empires are founded by breaking open the kid's money box. Once you can do that, there is no stopping your path to success.

One boy interviewed by Idiot of the Month Andrew Fyall earns £1 a week by a car park job and has "amassed" £20 in five months. He wants to invest it on the Stock Exchange having grasped that you earn nothing by actual work; fortunes are made by letting your money work for you. He sometimes thinks he would like to spend it. It is a 'long hard road'. But can he stick it? And if he does, "what can his weekly

pound become at the end of five years?" In short, can you become a capitalist by sweeping out a car park?

A City expert gives his answer, which Mr Fyall does not see destroys his entire point. By investing £52 a year (which is the total amount the poor little sod earns) he could by playing it safe in a building society or National Savings get £260 in five years which would grow to £287 or £274 respectively. (But it would decline in purchasing power). By speculation, however, and here it comes... if he had, on past performance over the last five years, invested in Scotbits, the money (accumulated over the previous five!) would have grown to £450. But Abacus shares would have meant a total loss of £30.

If on high speculation he had chosen Rank Organisation, it would have become £625, a profit of £390 representing ten years (five work, five investment); or if he had chosen Alfred Herbert all he would have left would be £80. He could have made a fortune on Western Mining (£6000) or lost the lot. Had he lost the lot, no doubt he would have joined the plaintive chorus of shareholders ("I put my life savings into....") who do not realise that in the high finance stakes the Big Money is what counts. If everyone could become rich the rich would no longer be powerful. They frame the rules of the game. There are other ways of gambling, though, which the Express would have been horrified to preach; more honest gambles that it would be 'immoral' to recommend to juveniles. Mr. Fyall's prize: A second-hand Guide to the Turf.



MERRY GO ROUND

Quin Saine

PROLOGUE      When the current ceases to flow,  
the lights go out, mechanisms fail to operate  
and the cops go limp.

The boil upon censored history books, fattened  
by government sponsored lies,  
continues to grow with the pus of corruption.  
i can't help but want to get off  
this historical merry-go-round which was  
once operated by man power  
and now by electrical current.

In a moment of sheer insanity, or courage, i know  
not which,  
i jumped off between notes  
and landed upon wounded earth,  
i collected myself and crawled toward the switchbox  
The guards beat me with clubs,  
but, with my blood-soaked hand, i somehow  
managed to grasp the plug....

\* \* \* \*