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BLACK FLAG

Stuart Christie talks of freedom — and the future

By ANTHONY FINLAY

Stuart Christie converts cookers to natural gas. He is also the best-known anarchist in Britain.

Earlier this month he and three others walked free from the dock of the Angry Brigade trial after being found not guilty, while four others were each jailed for 10 years.

During the total of five years in prison he translated a number of anarchist works and wrote a book "Floodgates of Anarchy" expounding his own philosophies. He is planning to start work on his autobiography in the new year.

CLOSE WATCH

After returning to Britain from Spain he founded the International Anarchists Black Cross, an organisation which works for the freedom of political prisoners. Since his return in 1967 till his arrest in August

Christie's ideal is a "society where there is workers' control based on mutual co-operation and aid."

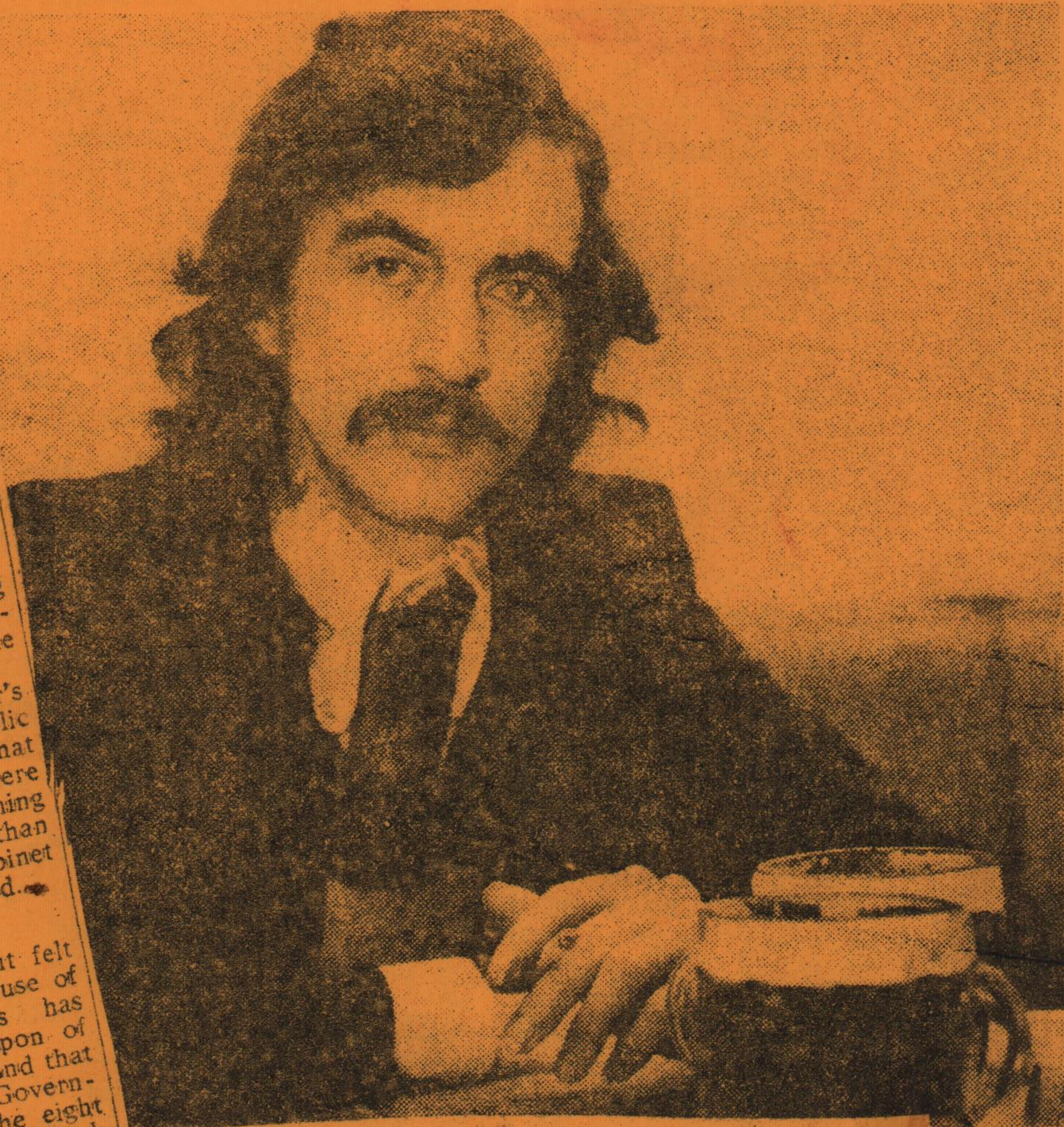
what he calls "the class war."

"I saw the Angry Brigade explosions as expressions of political frustration. I would not condemn them but I would not condone them either. It is not surprising these bombings started, particularly because of the Industrial Relations Act.

"The bombing of Carr's home got tremendous public support irrespective of what the papers say. There were far worse things happening in the world at the time than the bombing of a Cabinet Minister's home," he said.

MUTUAL AID

"But the Government felt threatened by it. The use of the conspiracy laws has always been the weapon of the threatened State and that is what the British Government used against the eight who were on trial. I think



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This publication is issued in continuation of a tradition of anarchist publication in Great Britain going back 125 years. Its seizure by a police officer, other than in receipt of a proper authority, constitutes an act of theft.

Black Flag (or something)

Outlaws of America by Roger Lewis, (The Underground Press & Its Context: Notes on a Cultural Revolution) Pelican 40p.

The book seemed quite interesting as a summing up of the 'underground' movement until the writer got on to this country and mentioned us. It is always disconcerting to find when someone is claiming to be a specialist that when he comes on to facts you know yourself, he is wrong. What has Black Flag to do with the Cultural Revolution, the 'Underground' &c.?

Perhaps we ought to explain in case others than Mr Lewis are bemused. We look on the whole 'counter-culture' as a sort of 'Reformation', with extreme significance, but we do not confuse it with social revolution. The Industrial Revolution had some contacts with the old Reformation; it was intertwined, but it was not the same thing.

There are, notoriously, hippy capitalists and hippy millionaires; people who are using the counter-culture to make fortunes, just as there are those who are using it to 'drop out', or to justify an enforced dropping-out, and become a sort of sub-proletariat. The revolutionary movement is in no way identical with the counter-culture. That is the illusion of some journalists (as we note on another page). The whole

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SIX NEW PENCE

trendy scene cuts across political lines; it includes a strong groovy capitalist class as well as a large body of oppressed minorities. The 'New Left' is not something we take with unqualified praise. Even where it is libertarian rather than Marxist, it tends to swallow without criticism package-deal liberalism with its justification of nationalism, or the deification of Marx or Marxist leaders.

We reject the Marcuse idea that the students have a special role in revolution. "We will respect scholars for their services but..we must not grant them any social privileges or accord them any right other than the general right of freedom to propagate their convictions, thought and knowledge. We must not give them power more than anyone else, for whoever is invested with power, by an immutable social law will without fail become the oppressor and exploiter of society" (Bakunin) A government of scholars would be "the most burdensome, offensive and contemptible kind of government there is."

Within the libertarian revolutionary ranks there must be the 'counter-culture' and the 'straight'; the students and the claimants; but above all a revolution must rest upon the working-class for the only way to abolish the bases of power is by altering the economic structure of society and that can only be done at work.

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THE SPECIAL BRANCH VERSUS THE PEOPLE.

The hypocrisy that surrounds Special Branch has now been fully exposed. The British political police have been brought into the open.

The longest, and one of the most important, trials at the Old Bailey concluded in December.

SENTENCED

Jim Greenfield, Anna Mendolson, John Barker, Hilary Creek. (10 years)
ACQUITTED Stuart Christie, Chris Bott, Angie Weir, Kate Maclean.

The series of armed attacks which the prosecution said made a pattern to fit the Angry Brigade could only be held to be a single conspiracy by taking Stuart Christie as a connecting thread. In fact, if one extended the argument by logic, the conspiracy dated from 1960, and incorporated the First of May Group and other groupings on the Continent. But to make it fit a pattern, the prosecution began with a series seven years ago. As, however, it was shown that Christie had been framed, an alternative series had to be offered dating from only two years ago. Had this not been done, all would have been acquitted.

The jury unanimously acquitted four, though in the case of Stuart Christie, this clearly meant they accepted that he had been framed (since possession of detonators was alleged) - something he had stated from the beginning (and had said would happen long before his arrest). The evidence apart from the detonators amounted to little more than saying "he is the sort of person who would have done this". The case against the other three acquitted vanished in thin air. In the case of the two girls, it finished up only being a charlatan's reading of handwriting. Graphologists no longer have to tell fortunes for a living, but he certainly had their future badly read.

The jury were then in a sweat as to what to do about the other four and two stood out for acquittal. After a long stay out they were still undecided, and the novelty method of a majority vote was allowed: two still stood out for acquittal. The other ten put in a plea for clemency - which shook the judge. Was it a feeling that the four might not be guilty, or was it a statement by a working-class jury that they felt sympathy with the actions alleged to have been done?

He said he would otherwise have sentenced them to fifteen years for their major part in the conspiracy (Jack Prescott got fifteen years for a minor part - he admitted writing envelopes though he did not know what was inside them). As it was he gave them ten. Thus in the case of the Angry Brigade v. Special Branch, of twelve charged ('I'll have

twelve' as Insp. Haborshon once put it) SEVEN HAVE GONE FREE (two because the Attorney General himself realised the case was too weak), and FIVE convicted but cleared of many charges, and NOBODY has been convicted of causing explosions.

Christie and Bott have done the equivalent of a two year stretch yet been found not guilty. Imprisoning people for long periods on charges that no jury will substantiate is exactly what is meant by the police state.

Commander Bond said when Christie was arrested: "YOU HAVE ADMITTED PUBLICLY BEING A MEMBER OF TH ANARCHIST MOVEMENT". This is what he spent his sentence for. This was why bail was refused. It was therefore nonsense to say, as did Mr Justice James, that this was not a political trial.

The one who appeared to be accused was Insp. Palmer Hall. He sweated visibly, wiped his forehead, called for glasses of water. He said he could not answer the question to every awkward question including one by Greenfield asking if the reason he could not answer was because he had been acting illegally. He was the representative of the political police. We do not have the worst in the world but the most secret. They did not like their stone overturned so the maggots could be seen underneath. Like M.I.5 which acts against foreign governments, when discovered they must be disowned. What sticks in the gullet about political police in any country in the world is that they use against their own citizens, political dissenters, what Intelligence uses against foreign agents.

In contrast to Palmer Hall was the behaviour of the accused, who kept their composure when they read the verdict - kissed and hugged, the vanquished congratulating the acquitted, and gave clenched fist salutes to friends and relatives in the public seats.

THEY ALL ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR SYMPATHY WITH THE AIMS OF THE ANGRY BRIGADE. THEIR COURAGE CONTRASTED WITH THE PUSILLANIMOUS 'OLD' AND 'NEW' LEFTS WHICH RAN FOR COVER. The politicians showed no solidarity. They woke up to the case a little when they saw that the defence was police planting. What a pity for the phoney left that the eight were English and Scottish revolutionaries. Had they been Irish fascists they would have hailed them. Nationalism they can understand: Social Revolution they could not.

But the jury, being working-class, understood. So did a very large number of workers, whether they entirely supported the actions or not. That was why Carr took an armed bodyguard to Glasgow.

That was the reason for vicious Press attacks. Neither we, nor those condemned, support or supported every action done or attributed to the Angry Brigade. But we understand why there should be so many attacks upon the capitalist system. What history will not understand is why these have been so few.

THE STRANGE CASE OF GEOFFREY JACKSON

We omitted to say very much about the detention of British diplomat Geoffrey Jackson. Perhaps we in turn have been influenced by the Latin American legend, so widely believed even by revolutionaries, that "an English gentleman always pays his bill", that we have been expecting the discharge of an obligation.

It was known when Mr Jackson was detained that his kidnapping had been organised by the Tupamaros. The Marxist section was in favour of releasing him against a huge indemnity to be paid out in grants to the unemployed etc. The Libertarians felt that this was a political programme and insisted that he be released against the discharge of political prisoners. These views were known to British agents. So far as we can gather, they came to the conclusion that the second solution was best, the easiest way of saving face for both the Uruguayan and the British Governments and they also believed that Jackson was, in fact, held by Anarchists and not Marxists.

APPROACH TO THE BLACK CROSS The Foreign Office, though it has by devious means (believed to be certain foreign embassies) contact with the Marxists, has none with the Anarchists. An unofficial approach was made to the Anarchist Black Cross. This came from an approach by a reporter of the Times, known to have diplomatic connections. He contacted Stuart Christie, bringing with him a reporter of the Mirror. Why should the Times and Mirror run in harness?

Only because this was not a journalistic job. No word of it appeared in the Press. It is confirmed in written deposit-

ions by the journalists concerned, and it will be published.

On the following day, however, Christie was arrested as the result of the long witch-hunt of the political police against the Black Cross. The journalists concerned were very upset to think that he might think that their intervention had been a 'plant'. The Foreign Office had acted on its own bat. But Christie had made it clear that if he approached the International Black Cross for Mr Jackson, he wanted a 'brokerage', namely, Jack Prescott's release. On those conditions he would go forward. However, as he was in jail himself he could not do so.

NEXT MOVE A journalist (no police were involved since it was known the Black X would not speak to them) then approached Albert Meltzer in a pub. He had full knowledge of the previous encounter. Meltzer said that any brokerage would now be Prescott plus Christie (the others were not known at the time, only a couple of days after their arrest). But he could not guarantee it would be possible to contact the Tupas without an unbugged interview at Brixton.

Next, yet another journalist, this time one with impeccable anti-Fascist background, asked if Miguel Garcia, as international secretary, would back an urgent appeal for Jackson's release. It was put to him that this would be by a number of Spanish exiles in London. It had been intended as a 'gesture of thanks for political asylum'. But names like Salvador de Madariaga, distinguished as they might sound to English liberal scholars, would cut very little ice in the

Uruguayan revolutionary movement, some of whom might think he did not come out of the Spanish War with too much glory. Garcia agreed to sign the appeal, but reiterated the point about the gesture the British Government would have to make. He did not stipulate for the 'brokerage' since by now there were a dozen involved. But he asked that this be borne in mind by the Foreign Office.

That week the Tupas released Mr Jackson (now Sir Geoffrey). The Montevideo Government in return had to 'allow to escape' a very large number of prisoners. But it was supposed that the British Government too would let some go.

It was appreciated by us and by people in Uruguay that they needed to save face and to go through the legal processes. We did not expect the trial to be stopped. We did expect clemency to anyone who was convicted. Clemency was precisely, as it happened what the jury recommended for Greenfield, Barker, Mondelson and Creek. They did not get it. So far as Christie was concerned, the negotiations for Mr Jackson did great harm. Bail was consistently refused 'because of his international connections' and Insp Habershon brought up time and time again the question of 'South America'. In a passing reference to the attempt to help Jackson (to which the defence never referred) he said the Black Cross was 'ostensibly' to help political prisoners.

Many papers, commenting on the fact that Christie was (and remains) secretary of the Anarchist Black Cross, said it was to 'help Left Wing prisoners'.

Mr - now Sir Geoffrey - Jackson was not a 'Left Wing' prisoner though undoubtedly a political one. We do not mind having helped get him out. We are glad the prisoners in the Uruguayan jail went free as a result. But without insisting on the idiotic Hispano-American proverb about the English gentleman paying his bill, we must gently ask - who knows when they'll want us again? Would it be too much to implement the jury's wishes?

ANARCHIST TO SUE POLICE?

Immediately the trial was over, Mr Benedict Birnberg, solicitor for Stuart Christie, announced that he was considering suing Scotland Yard on behalf of his client who had served the equivalent of a two year sentence. He had been persistently refused bail on account of his political views and 'international connections', i.e. work for political prisoners abroad. Yet he had been acquitted on all charges.

It will be recalled that the jury acquitted Stuart although the police alleged possession of detonators in his car. He counter-alleged framing (something he had done since before the arrest). A successful action would underline the point that the four accused and convicted of possession and conspiracy might also have been framed. Their only other legal 'chance' is by appeal - taking the chance that they might meet Appeal Judge Melford Stevenson-Sieghail.

Libel actions are difficult and costly. But action is contemplated against the porno-Sun, probably the News of the World and the Telegraph too. Incidentally, we have no particular love for Garcia Oliver who sold out on the anarchist movement to become Minister in the civil war government. But the 'Telegraph' (working on the assumption by a phoney Professor of Social History, --no less!-- that he was a 'French,

German and Italian' anarchist of the past (and not a living Spaniard capable of being defamed) described him, in contrast to the 'pale imitation' of the Angry Brigade (in joke to the real student of social history: Friends of Durruti?) as a 'murderous psychopath' who had supporters one of whom boasted of killing 253 men. (Guinness Book of Records for assassins unless it was the Civil War?) If Garcia Oliver (or as the 'g puts it, 'Hosea' Garcia Oliver) wants to sue, he can have the clipping.

"Can an Anarchist bring a court action?" asks an ingenuous correspondent. Difficult in an English Court for any political action to succeed unless the litigant is a Rightist (compare the ever-victorious Randolph Churchill with the disaster into which Harold Laski plunged when suing against being described as a revolutionary terrorist). But if you raise the money you can bring the action, and there's the rub.

PRESS COMMENT ON THE ANARCHISTS - 1.

The Sunday Telegraph (10.12.72) under the heading ANARCHISM IN BRITAIN published an interview with Stuart Christie. There were inevitably some inaccuracies, as one could not expect a highly-paid journalist to get his facts completely right, but in contrast to the absurd article in the Daily Telegraph the day before, referring to 'English anarchism' as a pale 'imitation' of anarchists like Garcia Oliver! - reasonably fair.

Beside it, a totally illiterate journalist, John Smalldon, wrote a piece on Anarchism in Britain headed 'Violence is not our aim' in which he managed to get every single piece of fact wrong. He could, like Peter Gladstone Smith

have checked his facts. He chose not to do so, though it would have been very easy.

He began with a journey to Freedom 'official spokesmen for British anarchy!' The journal Freedom had been published 'ten years' as something to do with CND. He went from there to the 'favourite meeting places of anarchists'. From then on it was a pure trip in the 'underground' of Marxist and hippy movements: there were 'growing number of bookstalls' - even station kiosks-selling anarchist newspapers!

At Centreprise in Hackney he met a Palestinian (obviously a Nationalist): the proprietor, asked if any of his clientele were anarchists said 'I don't know'.

"A young would-be anarchist coming to London would find a bewildering choice of protest groups.. which in principle he is expected to support automatically." They include every Marxist, authoritarian left and Nationalist group Mr Smalldon can dig up. You could find 'a list of addresses of anarchist contacts in the underground press' (such as that well known anarchist paper Friendz).

Reader: If you are 17 years old, and were set a paper on what is Fascism in Britain, would you not be ashamed to make so many mistakes as Mr John Smalldon of the Sunday Telegraph? Having no sympathy with Fascists, would you not do something less crude than bringing in every Tory name you knew? If set the paper in an exam, would you not expect to fail?

Mr Smalldon has a highly paid job in a glamorous profession. He thinks himself no end of a genius. This was the best he could do on anarchism in Britain. The over-paid, influential Editor of the SundayTel passed it. THE PRINTWORKERS COULD HAVE DONE MUCH BETTER.

PRESS COMMENT ON THE ANARCHISTS

- 2.

After the trial the SUN ran a grossly offensive article attacking the accused. They went farther than is usual even by their standards in also running a grossly offensive and lying attack on one of the acquitted (obviously written in the assumption that he would be found guilty, and then hastily re-written).

The journalists concerned wrote up a series of gross lies, culled from the local Essex paper about students and since denied, which had the vaguest link with two of the accused (they happened to live in a house where someone had once killed a chicken). It was done to refer to 'The House of Blood' in spine-chilling tones. Sex, drugs and violence were dragged in. Yet every word was a lie. Even the sensational sister of 'Dirty Digger' Murdoch, the News of the World, had admitted that the police had said 'no drugs element' came into the whole Angry Brigade scene. The sex angle was dragged in by glamorising a witness whose evidence was totally rejected. Even the fact that one of the defendants sunbathed in a walled garden 'in the semi-nude' was brought in (Sun reporters' wives all sunbathe in long Victorian bloomers and bathing caps).

What was sinister about the SUN was its likeness to DER STUERMER. In DER STUERMER popular politics was given in a sexy, porno-racy way. First of all the Jews were attacked - in the Sun the students, or to some extent all dissident youth - takes their place. Then, having pinpointed the scapegoat, all opposing movements are put down to their evil machinations. THE SUN, having condemned the

students, makes them responsible for anarchism, and whips up hatred by a portrayal of sexual orgies from which their readers are disbarred.

This was done, its own differences in context being allowed, by DER STUERMER. There, hard line anti-Semitic propaganda took the place of anti-intellectualism; it was spiced with lascivious stories of pornographic games which the reader had no means of joining in, and the same purpose was in mind - not the downfall of the Jews in the one paper or the students on the other - but the ability to use such minorities thus made unpopular to damn the revolutionary movement by alleging their association.

It is not, of course, strange in the circumstances that the editor of the Sun, Bernard Shrimley, happens to be Jewish. Even in Germany the number of Jews ready to be Nazis if permitted was only proportionately less than the Germans who did become Nazis. Some became Kapo leaders. Even that was not quite so disgusting as to become editor of the SUN.

PRESS COMMENT ON THE ANARCHISTS

- 3.

The most sympathetic in a peculiar way, of the Establishment, proved to be the Observer - an interview in depth with Stuart (again one of these bemused comments that he seemed to be human though admitting to be an anarchist) - plus a long commentary by Neil Asherson and Colin

Smith on the trial itself, too clever by half. Nobody could be ashamed of such a clever article (compared with the Telegraph for instance!) but it was quite off the rails politically.

(Stuart became 'surely Britain's best known anarchist since Peter the Painter'... Was Peter the Painter an anarchist? Why not, then, since Kropotkin who came after Peter the Painter? Was it to connect him with the unknown criminal, whose anarchism was a guess by the Press?)

It follows the customary pattern of such articles - the principle of 'vae victis' (woe to the vanquished): the four who have been condemned must be responsible not only for what they have been sentenced but everything besides. So they try to follow a line of reasoning as to the Angry Brigade by confining themselves to the four condemned. Following the despicable liberal-social democratic line plagiarised in Tribune by Nicolas Walter, Christie, being an anarchist, must have been too respectable to have had much to do with the A.B. therefore it must be (as the court had to decide when it was proved he was not guilty of the charges against him) a conspiracy over the last two years, and therefore one arising out of the Paris students, the Situationists etc.

Again the cant that those who did lay bombs (and for all the 'amateurism' didn't get caught: nobody has been convicted of it yet) 'futilely' hoped that 'sticks of gelignite would blow the life-like mask off the fetishes and inspire the masses to rise'. Strange that such arguments never apply to imperialist war, and that (for instance) Spanish partisans are criminals for doing exactly the same thing as French partisans who are patriots, and that nobody ever puts the incidents in Belfast and Derry down to youthful student exuberance turning sour.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ON THE PRESS COMMENTS.

Quite clearly some curb on the rantings of Fleet Street is needed. Note how some of them (the Sunday Mirror, for instance)

gloated over the downfall of the parents. Who would have foreseen that such brilliant young people would turn into bitter, fanatical anarchists? asked the morose, dyspeptic leader-writer of the Telegraph who is maudlin drunk by 6.30 each evening. The workers at the Sun did actually consider stopping the Press over the vicious personal attacks but the argument about 'Freedom of the Press' won the day. But is this Freedom of the Press? Must we submit to any insult flung at us on the grounds of freedom of speech?

The Mirror referred to Christie as a 'dreamer'... but catch any of them trying to discuss his book in detail. 'Foolish ideas' but do not let people know what they are.

PERHAPS IT IS TIME TO MAKE IT REALLY PERSONAL. AN OCCASIONAL PICKET OF JOURNALISTS' HOMES MUST BE CONSIDERED. Do the neighbours know they make their money out of politico porno? IF THEY DON'T LIKE IT LET THEM TURN CONTROL OVER TO THE PEOPLE WHO REALLY PRODUCE THE PAPERS. Nothing in the conception of freedom of the press suggests that it should be confined to financiers; or even to working journalists. Others, also including the liftmen, help to bring the papers out.

FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY

Christie & Meltzer

35p SPHERE paperback

Is your bookshop stocking it? If not, get a copy from us - tour round and show them it and say that it's in demand. They can send their orders direct to Sphere.

(Apart from being almost the only available exposition of anarchism by Anarchists, other than classical works without much immediate reference, the authors rely on the royalties from it to finance the Anarchist Black Cross)

These Names Make Newspapers

EIGHT EVIL MEN FROM FLEET STREET

Arnold Latchman and Richard Wright working on the Daily Express write political diatribes in the guise of news. Without knowing what anarchy means (they did not consult the one Encyclopaedia Britannica available in the Express Library) they described the Angry Brigade, or perhaps the four found guilty only as 'anarchy on a grand scale.' They had set out 'to destr oy anything that came to mind' (it was apparently mere coincidence the objects attacked were well defined politically). Prescott, who wrote a few envelopes, was - on no evidence presented - 'Big Jake' - the '26 year overlord' (though described by the judge as a 'minor tool'). That is how Little Arnold writes. Fat Richard's contribution was to call Anna Mendelson 'bosomy' (he is hot-breathed at the moment for a very bony model).

Richard Herd in the Mail describes the four accused as 'young, attractive and destined for success' - enough to arouse the obsessive hatred of this ageing, hideous satyr doomed to stay in hack journalism. Therefore he describes them as 'obsessed with hatred' and as seeing themselves as 'stormtroopers of the Alternative Society'. When the stormtroopers appeared in Germany, the Mail welcomed them: now it is a dirty word to oppose the anti-Fascists.

Maurice Weaver in the Telegraph is more fool than rogue. He falls for professors though he hates students. He goes to a Professor of Psychology to get a phoney analysis but slips in the shit with his interview with political professor Dr Anthony Polonsky (whose students at LSE might question as to his credentials) and refers to 'Kavaschol' and 'Hosea Garcia Oliver' in reference to which we make elsewhere in this issue. Foolish rather than evil, Weaver has been led astray.

This cannot be said for Sun-porno-merchants Iain Walker, Bill Jenkins, Barrie Mattei and Leslie Hinton who churned out the Sun's filth. Those who write of 'Sex orgies at the cottage of blood' cannot expect co-operation when they go for stories in future. Mark all these names. Our readership may not be large. But it contains many who may well be asked favours by these gentry. They will come for stories or for other assistance. They will skulk into workers' meetings, all smiles and let-me-pay-for-the-drinks-old-boy. The application of boot to apex will do wonders for honest journalism.

ONE JOURNALIST made amends for his profession. He said in the course of the trial, privately, to a friend of ours that he had intended to write a critique of anarchism. He got hold of 'Floodgates' for that purpose and realised he did not know the first thing about it. He had thought it was only to do with the 'Alternative Society'. Unlike Mr Smalldon, he did not write the article.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAY made such an exposure of the Fleet Street conspiracy that one has to take back many criticisms of TV. The BBC is incidentally at the moment making a film of the background of the case and of international anarchist activism.

Leading for coverage: TIME OUT. But following a letter from Alex Comfort, the Guardian gave some good coverage of the last six weeks of the trial.

THREE HIGH RANKING POLICE OFFICERS HAVE NO BEEN CHARGED WITH CONCEALING EVIDENCE IN THE CASE OF THE MILAN MASSACRE carried out by neo-Fascists and secret police, following which Anarchists were raided, murdered and jailed.

Pietro Valpreda and others have been and still are in jail after three years, and this evidence has kept them there.

One of the three pigs now charged is Antonino Allegra, one of the 'interrogators' of Giuseppe Pinelli, secretary of the Anarchist Black Cross in Milan, who 'fell' from a police station window.

CLIVE BORRELL, in the TIMES, a typical Fleet Street hack, now says (in face of the stories in not only the Guardian but also the Times itself), writing on the Angry Brigade Trial, that Pinelli 'mysteriously' fell from 'A BLOCK OF FLATS'!! He happened to fall, it happened to be a police station on the block... THIS IS HOW THE STALINISTS WROTE ABOUT THE DEATH OF THOMAS MASARYK WHO ALSO 'FELL FROM A BLOCK OF FLATS'.

The Guardian (27.10.72) states that at last the Italian Ministry of the Interior are admitting that the affair might have been engineered by the extreme Right. One of the other pigs arrested (COLLEAGUES THROUGH INTERPOL OF ENGLAND'S SPECIAL BRANCH AND BOMB SQUAD) is Elivio Catenacci who co-operated in the Angry Brigade case. Allegra is the man who fingered (and may well have murdered) the publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli.

Fifty political prisoners, says the London Evening News (4.11.72) have escaped from the

island prison on Lake Titicaca in the Andes. They have escaped the Bolivian police and many have arrived in Peru. Others are being hunted. Some two dozen Anarchists were held in this prison camp. No information has been given about the escape which seems to have been organised from inside, but the camp held Marxists, Guevarists and Anarchists.

The bloody dictator of the Argentine Juan Manuel de Rosas was overthrown in 1852. El Gran Caudillo (responsible for the deaths of thousands of people and for systematic police terror) beat it with the cash in a British warship and is buried in the old municipal cemetery of Southampton. Now some fools in Buenos Aires want the remains of the old swine back. They should have been consigned to the municipal sewer long since.

The Argentine Government, says the Times, may apply to the registrar for exhumation of the corpse of this mass murderer and pioneer of the police state. There is nothing very brave in attacking a corpse (as the English Royalists still do with the desecrated corpse of Cromwell, whose head was severed from his dead body and is still said to be passing around); but as England is too cowardly to resist its own police tyrants it can at least spit on the corpse of a dead foreign one as it is shipped back to Buenos Aires in return for corned beef.

Mr Justice Melford Stevenson-Siegheil who came so heavily down on the Cambridge students, and who gave Jack

Prescott 15 years for the addressing of three envelopes, and another 15 years for the forgery of cheques value £20, has been appointed a Privy Counsellor in the New Year's Honours List, an unprecedented honour so soon after the event, for a judge. It may prove the most disastrous royal appointment since Rasputin. 'What mercy do you expect, giving none?' It is now, not after a revolution, that the titular heads need to show that they are not responsible for excesses.

After an unsuccessful attempt to link her with the Stoke Newington Eight, Michelle O'Callaghan has gone to jail for possessing arms (for which persons of Right Wing views are getting light suspended sentences). Hard on that case comes yet one more round in the attempt to 'find' the Angry Brigade. Pauline Conroy, who had to be released by sheer total lack of charge - let alone evidence - at the committal hearing of the 8 (then ten) has been re-arrested, with Andy Ellsmore, one of the Defence Group. An admitted agent-provocateur and informer alleges he tried to buy arms from him. The Conroy/Ellsmore Defence Group appear for information on JOHN (JACK) TIERNEY, D/INSP. BARTON, D/SGT MEYRICK, D/CON SNODGRASS and Woman D/CON SCARD.

Case starts March 26th.

In Catalonia, four more Anarchist militants are arrested charged with Anarchist propaganda: Pascual Mondell, Arturo Guasch, Lucio Oliva Corpas and Ezequiel Varela Reg.

After all these years of repression Franco is still not able to completely suppress the fight for freedom, the movement to rebuild the CNT. On the contrary, the Brigada Politico-Social now leans heavily on the assistance given it by the French and British police. This came out quite clearly in the SN8 trial.

All around the country you will find in every workers' pub someone who recalls that in the thirties he raised money for Spain or fought in the International Brigade or in some way helped the fight against fascism... if only one tenth of these would put their glass down and think how to carry on the fight now, the Resistance would be able to overthrow Franco. The enemy is not on the Ebro or Jarama... here, in this country, with the co-operation of the labour movement built up by the same anti-fascists of yesteryear, are Franco's associates. Floreal Rodriguez is in jail thanks to Scotland Yard. Franco is grateful... Commander Bond - not General Mola now - has said 'we' must co-operate closely with the French and Spanish police.

The Gestapo no longer exists. If it did, the same co-operation would no doubt be given. We hear about Russian prison camps. But does Scotland Yard co-operate with the Russian police to put people there. We do not know... yet. If they do not, it is not for excess of humanity, solely for political reasons.

FRANCO'S PRISONER... Miguel

Garcia (Hart Davis) £2.25

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Letter to an 'Orange' Friend

by Stuart Christie

(Sent from HMP Brixton to friends of a 'Protestant' prisoner)

Writing about the present situation in Ulster presents not an easy task when one has been removed from the outside world for over a year. But coming from a small mining community (Blantyre, in Scotland) where the same sectarian distrust divides - or, at least, attempts to divide working-class unity as it has (very effectively) done in Northern Ireland for the past seventy years, I feel I can write with some understanding of the complexities of the class struggle in that part of the world.

Shortly after the famine in the mid-19th century, large numbers of the Irish working class were forced to emigrate. The alternative was starvation. Some went to the USA but a large number came to Britain and in particular to the industrial belt of Scotland.

It was at this time that the Scottish working class was beginning to organise itself into trade unions to protect its interests against the autocratic factory owners and coal bosses such as the Duke of Hamilton. The miners were in a particularly vulnerable position as they depended on the coal owners not only for their jobs, but for their houses (cottages) which in most cases went with the job, and the 'company stores' where they were obliged to buy their provisions. This meant, in terms of organisation and

local pool of unemployed to break the organisation.

IMPORTED LABOUR. The coal bosses realised the danger very quickly and as they were unable to draw on any local labour force, 'imported' their labour force from outside -- Ireland. The Irishmen who came were those who had suffered most from the famine, the peasantry, who happened to be Catholic. These men, with their families, rightly or wrongly, were prepared to work and live under conditions laid down by the coal bosses. They possessed no property and had come from an extremely poverty-stricken environment, and were not prepared to lose this chance to feed, clothe and house themselves and their families. This broke the embryonic miners' organisation, and large numbers of the more militant ones were thrown out of their tied cottages with no chance of a job, or credit at the 'company store' - at least, not in the neighbourhood.

Not surprisingly, this led to great distrust and hatred against the Irish Catholic immigrants, not because they were Irish or Catholic, but because they had taken their jobs on the terms which the Scottish workers had rejected. The manner in which they worshipped had nothing whatever to do with it.

The coal bosses realised that it would only be a matter of time before the immigrant workers began to

was done by propagating the myth of a Papist conspiracy in the world much the same as the Nazi and Czarist myth of the Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world. It was quite easy to believe at that time when most, if not all, Catholics were completely subservient to the local priest, who in turn served the Harlot of Rome... an ominous threat to the Protestant workers who served the Boss and God in that order. The fear of losing their job was still the greatest of all, and so the coal bosses drew their labour from a still-divided working class.

THE GAP As the Labour Movement grew this produced an unexpected polarisation in the ranks of the working class. In particular, as the Catholics remained because of Southern Irish influx, a largely poverty-stricken class, the working-class Protestants could feel they had something to 'conserve'. They were assimilated into the Orange Lodges of Ulster and Scotland, at any rate in the industrial areas, where the class struggle had been twisted and perverted.

The Unionist (Conservative) Party, the political organ of the ruling class, made sure that the policy statement of the Tories was synonymous with the interests of the Grand Orange Lodge, thus putting the Protestant working class in the ironic position of being their own taskmasters.

The paradox of this situation is now realised by large numbers of Protestant Irish, who see plainly that the interests of the 'Queen' and the Unionist-Tory Party are most definitely opposed to those of the working class. It goes without saying that the same applies to the opportunist politicians of the

S.D.L.P. and the insane Nationalist terrorists of the Provisional I.R.A. whose tactics are directed against the working class of Northern Ireland, to exactly the same ends as those of the Tories.

A 32-county Ireland is out of the question, at least now given the fact that the Lynch Government is even more reactionary than Westminster. It might be feasible if the same potentially revolutionary situation existed in the South as in the North but that is not the case.

WHICH WAY FORWARD NOW? The suggestion I would put forward would be for a six to nine county workers' republic, based not on party or State control, but on workers' control of all the means of production, distribution and welfare. The struggle in Ulster has thrown up its own grass roots organisational structure as the same struggle has thrown up in all revolutionary situations.

Revolutions have failed because of the political machinations of elitist vanguard groups, who claim to be the only ones capable of efficiently administering the way to a classless society on the grounds that they alone can analyse the revolutionary situation. But one of the main lessons history teaches us is that in all social conflicts once a class or party is ensconced in a position of authority and power, no moral persuasion will shift them from that position. Far less can freedom or justice be administered and legislated in a society where the minority controls the majority.

Local street, area and factory committees can be answerable to the people they represents. Decisions can be taken at that level - not by the MP in Stormont or Westminster. 'Eternal vigilance' is not the price of freedom because we do not live in a free society. Freedom has yet to be taken.

THE ANGRY BRIGADE

Immediately the trial of the Stoke Newington Eight was over, the police announced the names of two they were looking for - known in the libertarian movement as Gerry and Polly, and the last two one could suspect of 'conspiracy'. Why, after so many years of investigation (and 16 months of the 'Stoke Newington' trial), did they suddenly come up with these two names? It was to save face. No one has been causing the explosions and convicted except in one case where he was convicted but the conspiracy side held over for a different trial altogether.

What the 'Bomb Squad' were saying was that they admitted they had not found the 'sinister conspirators' (though they let the Press talk as if they had) and were leaving the list open to shop around for some more.

Meanwhile, in another 'possession' case the association - not directly with the Angry Brigade, but (conveniently) with Gerry and Polly, was made. SO IT CONTINUES - the Special Branch now represents an armed wing of the Tory Party and the Bomb Squad is determined to escalate the situation even to Belfast standards provided they can crush any trace of libertarian feeling.

It is nonsense, as some politicians are saying (in their chagrin at not being in the leadership, or even able to explain, a revolutionary trend) that the attacks on Carr, Davies, Waldron, Fords, the Spanish Embassy and airlines, the American Embassy, and so on, were all organised by the police themselves. No Home Secretary will sit down and say it is a good idea to have a few explosions to 'discredit' the revolutionaries, and start with his own home.

Has the Angry Brigade discredited anything, anyway, bar the politicians? The police come out of the whole matter in disgrace, Special Branch has been exposed for the first time (to the general public) as a secret political police, the prisons have been stirred up, the working-class was so sympathetic that Carr the Coward had to take an armed guard with him to Glasgow, and all the Cabinet and half the judiciary are surrounded by gorillas. The actions of the Angry Brigade have encouraged a great many more consequential activities like squatting and sitting in - because there is nothing like hitting the enemy to identify him.

THE CANT OF THE PIOUS It is journalistic shit to suppose the Angry Brigade wanted to 'impose a reign of terror', 'blow up everything in sight'. This was how the Anarchists of the Nineties received so bad a press: at the time, rulers were slaughtering whole populations, but the singling out for attack one or two rulers brought the whole sycophantic press down on the Anarchists. They have never lived down the name of wholesale slaughterers because they killed a few mass murderers.

So too the Angry Brigade, whose attacks - mere demonstrations - are viewed with horror by those who condone either Government or Nationalism in Northern Ireland.

The pious come out with the cant that 'if you use the methods of your enemies you will become the same as them'. This is one of those Mao-like aphorisms, completely unanswerable and totally inapplicable. Obviously, if the Angry Brigade had carried out company take-overs or asset-stripping or evictions or Army shootings or incarceration, they

would be the same as their enemies (even so, a little distinguishable, one might have thought). To say that by making physical attacks on the property of their enemies they become indistinguishable is moral cant, hypocrisy and political humbug. It is justified by those who claim they have only one criterion: 'violence' and to whom, because a punch on the nose is 'morally indistinguishable' from dropping the atom bomb, the atom bomb becomes excusable because it is no worse than punching someone on the nose.

Governments have never resorted to the methods of the Angry Brigade: that is to say, to sort out for attack those guilty of tyranny and to bring home to the oppressor the grievance of the oppressed. That is all they tried to do. Those who seek to damn them by over-stating their objectives ('they tried to bring about a bloody revolution'... 'they tried to enlighten the reluctant masses'....) are another set of humbugs.

WHO ARE THE ANGRY BRIGADE ? In an effort to pin a suitable political label on the Angry Brigade, they have been labelled both Anarchists and Marxists, while others have sought to seek their political label from the opinions either of all or some of the accused, or alternatively from the Stoke Newington Eight Defence Committee.

None of these identities suitably fit for the simple fact that if you, reader, feel strongly enough about a particular issue to attack the boss class thus admitting you feel angry about it, the Press will have it labelled ANGRY

BRIGADE STRIKES AGAIN. You will not have entered a 'conspiracy' insofar as that catch - all word can be used at all though on the 'wink and nod' principle any single person with whom you make common political cause could be contained as a fellow-conspirator if you were ever caught and charged. Your views can be over a wide spectrum providing it is within what Special Branch chooses to regard as the libertarian left. On that basis they, too, will link you with the ANGRY BRIGADE. And you too, in your mind, may come for that matter to think of yourself as 'belonging' to it, as if it were an organisation like the Fire Brigade.

Yet the idea persists and will go on persisting, for the outrages against the public are beginning to be resented. People will put up with injustices for ever and a day providing they do not appreciate those injustices. But when they are seen to exist, they rattle. No Government, however tyrannical, can admit that people resent it so much they will spontaneously hit back, without waiting for it to be 'legal'. At first they will say that any attacks must be by isolated nut-cases. Then, when there are too many to maintain that thesis, they will talk of CONSPIRACY. A 'wicked' conspiracy to overturn a government that everybody loves... and which is inevitably put down to foreigners (already the press talks of 'international bomb organisers'!).

WHY THE POLITICOS HATE THE ANGRIES We repeat once more that the reason the pseudo left and humbug libertarians hate the Angry Brigade is because it polarises the struggle. The fight is on and is seen to be on. Their elitism is challenged. They cannot assume the role of leadership (as they would if the incidents took place far away enough in space or time). Their opinions are not asked. Their philosophising is brushed aside as irrelevant. Their ~~existence~~ is devalued. What, then, would become of them in a real revolutionary upheaval?

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. It is generally accepted that the movement for Women's Suffrage in Britain was begun by a number of middle-class women in the 80s. True or false? If false, who had already considered it a feasible political proposition?
2. During the infancy of Princess Alexandrina Victoria (later Queen Victoria) it was widely believed she would be assassinated by the Tories. Why, and by which Tory suspected murderer in particular?
3. Among sensational headlines in the 'Daily Mirror' on the Angry Brigade Trial is LINK WITH ANARCHIST. What link has the 'Daily Mirror' with a 'self-confessed' Anarchist?
4. Stuart Christie is not the first Anarchist to be charged with a serious offence, and been cleared after alleging planting. What was the last time, resulting in an Old Bailey case, and what was the main difference as regards the officer concerned?
5. Why (and on what occasion) did anarchist and arch-atheist Michael Bakunin attend a synagogue service?

ANSWERS OVERLEAF

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS. Our friends in Cologne have recently organised some major demonstrations, including the holding of a stall in the centre of the town. CHICAGO ABC now organises relief for Spanish prisoners directly, and publishes its own Black Cross Bulletin. The AUSTRALIAN Black Cross is just getting going. Libertarian prisoners in Spain have now been adopted in many parts of the world. We can send a name and address on request, and details on what to send (at the present moment cash is most acceptable).

VALPREDA

COES FREE !

In the parallel Political Police conspiracy in Italy, just a few weeks after the results of the Old Bailey trial, the judges have decided to set Pietro Valpreda and others free. He has been detained since December 15th 1969, following the Milan bomb attacks organised by the neo-Fascists with the aid of the secret police. During that pogrom against the anarchists, Black Cross secretary Pinelli was murdered by the police; and Valpreda, Roberto Gargameili and Emilio Borghese were detained.

Witnesses have mysteriously vanished. There have separately been arrested neo-Fascists who have been charged with the same crime. Demonstrations for the release of Valpreda and the others have grown. Still the State dare not bring them to trial because they fear the exposure it would bring. But, perhaps following the realisation that the political police can receive setbacks like this without losing their power, they have at last set the three th free. Free, that is, to await trial. A trial that shows no signs of materialising, for which no shred of evidence exists, and for an offence for which totally different people have been charged.

Also free is the shady Mario Merlino, a Fascist masquerading among the Situationists, not among the Anarchists, as wrongly reported in the Times - which incidentally excels itself with 'provisional freedom granted to alleged anarchist'. It was not his anarchism with which Valpreda was alleged, but his complicity in the bomb outrages. Or perhaps 'out of the mouths of fools' comes truth and it was purely political framing.

ANSWERS TO QUA OVERLEAF.

1. It was considered as one of the points of the Great Charter. Most Chartists agreed to the idea of Women's Suffrage, but felt that the ridicule it would incur would set back the movement and they therefore deferred it till other points had been won. But working-class men and women had agreed on the idea fifty years before the Suffragists.

2. It was thought that the Duke of Cumberland, bigoted Tory next in line for the Throne (who became King Ernest of Hanover, where a woman could not succeed) would murder her; and that he had in fact murdered his valet.

3. Herbert Read was one of the judges of its Children's Art competition.

4. Donald Room was accused by Sgt Challenor of having a brick to throw at the Queens of Greece and England. At Room's trial it was proved beyond doubt that the brick had been 'planted'. An Old Bailey prosecution of the police officers followed. Two went to jail; Challenor pleaded insanity. In the Christie case, Cdr Bond has been promoted.

5. Bakunin (often accused by later historians of anti-semitism because of his differences with socialist Karl Marx) attended the requiem service for social-democratic pioneer Ferdinand Lassalle, whom he criticised but respected personally.

MAUDLING PRIZE FOR IDIOT OF the month

In a month abounding with inane comments, top prize

goes to Jeffrey Gordon, of the British Legal Association, who criticised the selection of the jury at the Old Bailey trial as an undesirable precedent. It was forced on the court by the fact that all eight, acting separately, registered seven objections thus giving them a chance, out of 56, to pick a jury they felt to be unprejudiced. They picked a solidly working-class jury.

Time and again, in the past, there have been solidly middle-class juries. It has become an accepted pattern. Yet no middle-class juries have the experience that makes them know how police conspiracy works...or whether harassment is possible. (Even during the trial, one juror was leaned on heavily by the police - to the consternation of the judge, who had to give them a sharp warning).

All wrong, says Mr. Gordon to the solicitors of Britain. After all, as someone else smugly put it, what if someone objected to members of the Communist Party as jurors? Clinging to the widely held belief of the Tories that 'the media' are against them, what (he asked) would 'the media' say?

Could Mr Gordon or anyone else of his mind put his hand to his heart and say that if he were wrongfully and maliciously accused of belonging to the BROLLY BRIGADE and setting fire to railwaymen's council houses, and the only evidence against him was an (admitted) friendship with (say) Enoch Powell or a 'self confessed' membership of the National Front, he would be happy at protesting his innocence before a jury composed of members of the Communist Party?

FOR THAT MATTER, WOULD HE BE VERY HAPPY AT GETTING A JUDGE AS FAR TO THE AUTHORITARIAN LEFT (a mythical one at present) AS MR JUSTICE MELFORD STEVENSON IS TO THE AUTHORITARIAN RIGHT?

Award to Mr Jeffrey Gordon:
an anonymous denunciation.

Who could possibly select anyone this month for the Northcliffe Award for Press Paranoia? The mind boggles.

HOW TO RECAPTURE "FREEDOM" FOR THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

The weekly "Freedom" was built up by the Anarchist Movement as a whole. It was taken over by the Freedom Press Group (not the same thing as Freedom Press, which had existed many years before). The last survivors of this group have let it drift into the hands of a body we can only describe as Non-Violent Fascists. Some latitude is allowed to anarchists to write in it otherwise it would collapse. Under Jack Robinson's (non-violent) machinations, the circulation has dropped to 900 of which perhaps 700 are genuine subscriptions (sales outside are now nil).

The paper now asks for Guarantors for 1973 "or it will not appear". Offer a guarantee provided (a) the policy reverts to traditional anarchism (b) the NVF are dismissed. It is the last chance. Like 'Le Libertaire' in Paris, after captured by a semi-Trotskyist group, such hybrids must collapse within a year or two. We agree with Nicholas Walter that we are not part of the same movement.

The (non-violent) artfulness that puts in 'a Contact column advert for support of the Stoke Newington Eight' but denounces them editorially as 'wicked' - and calls this 'critical support' (in fact, an effort to span two worlds, like combining a benefit for their own Funds and the SN8 Funds though 'not part of the same movement') is repugnant to those who built the paper up and did not jump on its bandwagon for financial subsistence.

HOW THE I.L.P. WAS FINALLY LOST

After years of sliding to its death, the Independent Labour Party (a glittering financial prize, worth over a million pounds) is to all political purposes over. Successive waves of political racketeers tried to capture it. At last a Trot-inclined Labour Party entry group - under the control of one Eric Preston - has seized the rump. The last man in has not only to switch off the light: he has to empty the till.

One of the editors of 'Freedom' rushed from that not very profitable prize to be in on the demise of the 'Socialist Leader' and is now the last London ILP member.

The party of Koir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald and James Maxton is now over. Much of the Socialist cash may find its way to the Labour Party as a hostage for entry and recognition of those who managed it. Some of it may go into private hands. Already the dossiers and records (a prize for a wealthy university) have vanished.

Yet the real ILP militants who are now going into new (real) Socialist movements (like the Workers Review) feel all the better for it. Socialists who take a 'party line' have one advantage over Anarchists who do not. They do not feel a vague responsibility towards or association with those who - against all reason - adopt the same name.

CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE ... join it!

Note how, after yapping about the 'conspiracy of silence' in the trial, Peace News and Freedom both published sparse, inadequate and ungenerous comments afterwards. Even the Trot 'Workers' Press' took, at least, a class struggle orientated line. While in the Guardian, the Letters Page carried many letters from the usual 'Disclaimants' Union' including one from a lady who (boasting she had 'edited an anarchist paper for some years' but

omitting to say she left doing so to marry the wealthy scion of a banking family) actually suggested 'we never advocated the shooting of Miss World', as if the Angry Brigade had done so. The real whores are so much more understanding.

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Emerging from the welter of publicity our organisation has been given over the last few weeks, we have many enquiries about what it is we are doing. We set up the Black Cross to help class war prisoners. We felt that intervention in securing the release or amelioration of conditions of political prisoners in other countries would have the double effect of showing revolutionaries that they are not forgotten and thus encouraging them to continue while also giving a raison d'etre to libertarian groups elsewhere which would inspire them to militancy.

There may be two points of view - which have been expressed to us by two different comrades. One, E, says to us that we have been entirely successful. At first, we only contemplated the sending of parcels to Spanish prisoners (having found from Christie's experience in Spain that this was possible). By instituting this, we did more than 'established organisations' had done over 30 years of Franco's rule. The 'professional revolutionaries' of exile had lapsed into admiration of their own incompetence. We said, points out E, that if we could obtain the liberation of only one prisoner, we would be happy. In fact, since the one we got out happened to be Miguel Garcia, his energy (which we had not allowed for -

in fact, we had thought he would have to 'take it easy') directly or indirectly obtained the release of dozens. Furthermore, our intention to wake up libertarian groups abroad by giving them a cause has been equally successful. We repeat what we have said: we do not believe anarchist organisation is a possibility in most countries - what anarchists must work for is WORKERS' ORGANISATION. An anarchist organisation, as such, will be persecuted if it is openly revolutionary; to avoid the taint of reformism, therefore, it needs some reforming activity around which it can work (industrial action; squatting; aid to prisoners &c.) merely so libertarians could meet to some purpose. Their propaganda should not be to each other, but into the whole working class community.

We naturally welcome E's views which make us feel complacent, but J feels we are totally inadequate. Why only Spanish prisoners? he asks. Why not work for political prisoners everywhere? Why only political prisoners anyway? Why do you make such a distinction which in itself is reactionary?

Such a criticism could cheaply be dismissed by saying how few we are in number, without the help of many, and with the hostility of some, professed libertarians. Indeed, it is true with only a couple more people to help us we could 'take on' half-a-dozen more countries! We have also a sort of built-in financial crisis, since by asking people to send money direct to prisoners and cut out bureaucracy, we have effectively sabotaged anything coming except by sales and subs to support Black Flag, which itself has to subsidise our enormous postal bill. Unlike any other organisation helping prisoners (or anyone else) we have not only no paid staff but no income except by the sale of our pamphlets (this has fortunately been

supplemented by the royalties on 'Floodgates of Anarchy' - despite the statements printed elsewhere that the paperback publisher only did it for 'profit', as if publishers of anything else did so out of the purest of motives, and were 'disappointed', the hard fact remains that since its appearance we have had some £600 to play with for which we were accountable to nobody but the authors themselves. Thus we are in the happy position of being able to ignore any criticism if we wish to do so.

But to reply to J nevertheless: We have repeatedly made it clear that we are for the abolition of prisons and in favour of agitation for all political prisoners. The main reason for beginning with Spain was because when we began we had no English libertarian political prisoners; the fact was that there was nothing whatever happening on behalf of Spanish prisoners, and as internationalists we began with Spain. In Spain, too, help could be effective (as distinct from Russia, on which the old Black Cross concentrated) but where it is now utterly impossible to give any aid to libertarian prisoners from outside). As the Black X grew (and each one began by concentrating on Spain) it was possible to work for political prisoners above all in Germany and also in Italy.

In fact, we found that by doing so we had stirred up a hornet's nest and hence the Political Police conspiracy against the International ABC.

J however cuts us to the quick when he asks why we concentrate on political prisoners at all. This is a criticism made elsewhere too. We

must at once say that in prison we reject the distinction as a harmful one: there is a case for it consistently put by the Irish and one we respect - they feel they should not be classified as 'common' criminals but political ones. Yet experience in every country shows that once Governments classify some prisoners as political, it is to their detriment. The political prisoners in Russia (Tsarist and Communist) have been treated the worst: others are capable of reform, they are 'intractable'. In Nazi Germany, they went straight to their death while 'criminals' went to the administrative side quickly. In Spain, political prisoners are consistently refused their legal remissions.

But of course there is a distinction in the reasons for which people are in prison, and without moralising about it, we can only say that if one says one is helping everybody, one helps nobody. The liberal may think it possible to ameliorate prison conditions through prison reform. We know it can only be by abolition of the prison system. In some ways, liberal prison reform has been worse than anything devised by the torturers (it is a fact that after all these years of the Howard League, prison conditions in England, as distinct from reasons for being in prison, vary unfavourably with fascist Spain). By limiting our energies, since limit them we must, to aiding libertarian political prisoners (of whom we now have many in England) first, and also political prisoners generally, we have been able to help many others. (E.g. in Spain the libertarians share with Marxists and also non-political prisoners, in their 'commune' system; in Germany, we make no distinction between rebel prisoners whether 'Marxist' or libertarian.)

Our aim has been to provide a sort of non-combatant corps in the revolutionary movement.

'British Anarchists have links with groups abroad'

'We are NOW IN EUROPE!!' ... vide Press.

The hoocha over Common Market entry or not is in our view phoney. The Labour Party is sour at the Tories doing what they did not. The Communists and their 'loyal Opposition' the Trots work out how it affects Moscow. They all reveal their nationalist thinking, in line with the Enoch Powell Tories.

Yet what they should be asking is how, after years of the most powerful, free and unfettered trade union movement in the world, and Labour Governments with power, this country is one of the backward slums of Europe. The dreaded 'invasion' of European workers will not take place. Unlike the Commonwealth workers, they have better places to go to. The lower fantastic rents, high fares and low standard of living of Britannia the Land of the Free does not attract them enough to pass the rigid controls of Dover.

The unbelievable complacency that has haunted British thinking for so long has been dented a bit by tourism, but even in twilight housing conditions folk console themselves with the thought that the world envies us our good fortune and they all want to come over here...

We do not believe ourselves that the Common Market will make any differ-

BLACK & RED OUTLOOK

Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance.....

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

BULLETIN (Chicago).....

MOVEMENT (just out -

Write 14 Hanley Rd, London N.4. - sort of libertarian left directory).

ence since it is a method by which the capitalist class seeks to legalise and justify what already exists. To take one aspect, the British police force is already one, politically, with the fascist police force of Spain. But when Spain comes into the Common Market (as it will at the first convenient political moment, say when Franco dies, though nothing else changes) this will be 'recognised'.

THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT MUST SEEK ITS ALLIES THROUGHOUT EUROPE.

Everywhere there is a movement for WORKERS CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. It is a grand debate to which many nationalities throughout the world have contributed... the occupation of the factories in France and Italy, the workers control of Spain 1936, the workers' councils of Germany 1918, the battle for free soviets inside Russia, the shop stewards' movement of Britain, the Wobblies, the Syndicalists, the South African miners whose battle has been forgotten by the liberals of today.

This must be the moment for the creation of councils of workers everywhere, in every strategic point of industry, to uphold the fundamental principle of workers' control. Those who hold the view that workers' power is possible now, that they need no State or super-State to administer their affairs, and that all they lack is the assurance that others are with them to march forward, number not thousands but millions. Everybody is waiting for somebody else. Yet only a few like-minded people in one industry represent a potentiality so valuable that the Press screams its head off, not that it exists, but that it might exist.

NEXT ISSUE: We hope to improve production-wise.