

BLACK FLAG

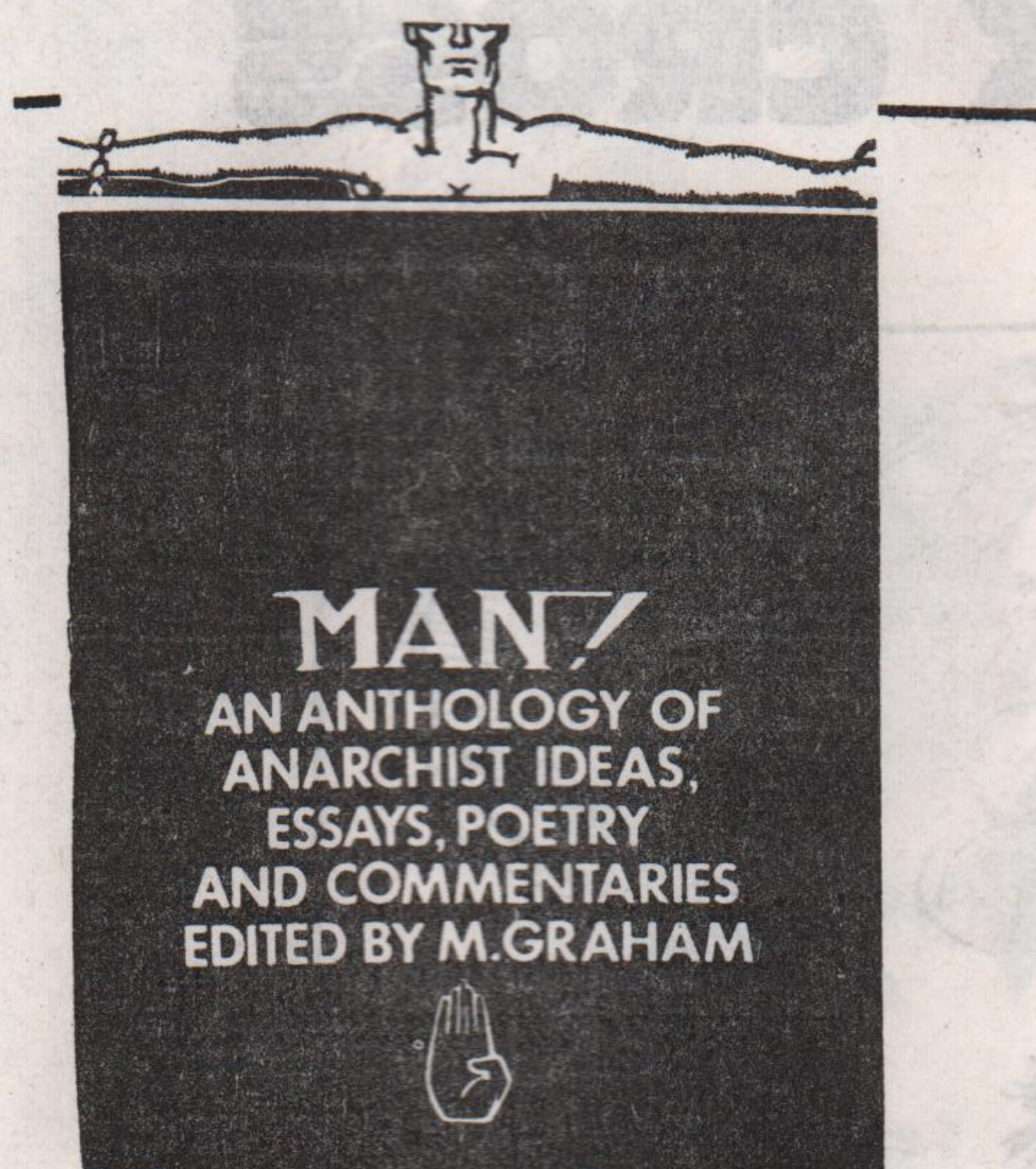
organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol IV No.1 May 1975 10p



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SOLIDARITY seminars at International Libertarian Centre 2.30 Sats.
17th May – New Struggles in Society.
31st May – Anarchism in Britain.
14th June – Socialism and self-management.
28th June – The Economy.

FREEDOM

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

MAY DAY 1886 to the Chicago Martyrs by Alexandre Christov (translated from the Bulgarian)

May Day! May Day!
Once you were the revolt
for bread and liberty.
Then you called on the masses to fight
and die for justice
and fraternity, equality in labour
May Day!
In Chicago
on the blackened gallows
they hanged
Parsons, Fischer, Engel, Spies!
And Ling in prison
lighted an explosive cigarette
and was decapitated,
but he believed in the new dawn.
May Day! May Day!
They proudly died
for an eight-hour working day
and bravely by their death
bequeathed equal pay.
May Day!
From their dark sunken eyes
flashed the spiritual glow
of a new sunrise.
May Day!
Then you overflowed with hope
but now you're just a dull day off
with flowers, crocodile tears, parades
and bloody, savage wars.
May Day!
You will again be the guiding light
of liberty and justice.

* * *

As May 1975 represented the fortieth year of Albert Meltzer's involvement in the anarchist movement, the Anarchist Black Cross presented, instead of a party, a gala concert at the Conway Hall, London – proceeds to go to Spanish Prisoners/Resistance fund of ABC. The profit proved to be £90 at the final count – for which thanks go to Karl Dallas, who compered and brought along the versatile guitarist Gordon Giltrap (and Brillo) the Tiger Lily rock group and the 2-Bit Band. Thanks also to Valhalla Liberation, our talented Birmingham comrades, and the many who helped entertain in the small hall as well as organising the buffet, tickets, stewarding and literature (we sold nearly £22-worth on our stall). We still have a few Souvenir Programmes (5p) if anyone wants to preserve it as a memento of a first class evening.

The two-week strike at Time Out hit us as far as bringing the general public along – most of those present came from anarchist movement or our own contacts. But it has proved we can manage a first rate concert given the support we now know we can rely on. Look out for some more.

NOSTALGIA FOR HIMMLER (1975)

How can people take the word of people like this – anarchists – against officers who have served thirty to forty years in the force?

Berlin Police Chief speaking
to the press.

USED POSTAGE STAMPS

Sending them to about 30 collectors in US prisons and a dozen in Spanish (for their families). Note: tear off whole corner. peeling the stamps off ruins them for collectors. When you've a batch send to ABC, 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3, or Beni, 1433 University Terrace 715, Ann Arbor MI 48104, U.S.A. or direct to prison address Terry Flower POB 2304, Sta. B Lincoln NE 68502 U.S.A. Don't waste foreign stamps or the dearer British ones.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH ANNOUNCE:
A BICYCLE RALLY AND DEMONSTRATION
Sunday 15th June County Hall 2.30pm.

To protest at the totally inadequate provision for cyclists in Britain and to call for measures to make cycling safer. This event will launch national Bike Week.

For further information contact Tom Burke FOE,
9 Poland Street, London W1. 01-434 1684.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. A leading woman free-thinker – ostracised by Christian society and the Church of England during her lifetime and buried in unconsecrated ground – is to be officially “pardoned” in five years time. Who – how – why?
2. Which pioneer of Spanish women's rights was garrotted?
3. The shop stewards' movement in Britain owes much to a Sheffield man who established the Workers Committee movement in World War I and by 1917 was looked on as its “national theorist”. He later became a founder member of the CP but left in 1932 – to become associated in later years with British Intelligence and the Royal Family. Who?
4. Jean Maitron (writing in a recent symposium on anarchism) said Daniel Cohn-Bendit never, to his knowledge, belonged to “the anarchist federation”, and though he attended the international congress of anarchist federations in Carrara in 1968 “it was as an observer and ‘contestaire’ ” not as a delegate. Correct or not?
5. A year or two after coming to power, the Nazis made a film of the “heroic struggle” of Horst Wessel. How did this film nearly make history?

answers on page 15 . . .

The "Red Army Fraction" carried out an attack on the West German Embassy in Stockholm. Abhorrent, cries the press — never forgetting to use the word "Anarchist" to describe them each time (though papers such as the Times managed to get through the Spanish Civil War without mentioning the word once). How "violent" to burst into the Embassy and kill a diplomat — yes a diplomat, that sacred tribe which above all others should be protected! Even avid supporters of the Arab cause have agreed that while civilian men, women and children can be attacked with impunity, it is beyond all bounds of civilised behaviour to attack a diplomat! And these "terrorists" held other diplomatic staff hostage, demanding the release of women like Ulrike Meinhof, held for 18 months under torture, unable to speak, subject at the whim of the Governor to being turned from a courageous woman into a vegetable. Held, of course, perfectly legally, while the "terrorists" were grossly illegal!

The "terrorists" were giving up all in order to demand the release of people they had probably never met; in the case of Ulrike, certainly never met. One gave up his life rather than be arrested and turned over to the German police. They had nothing to gain; everything to lose. They could have made careers for themselves in the "miracle republic": they went down to their doom fighting for a principle, resisting tyranny and unheard-of callous behaviour. The prison Governors at whose whim the prisoners are respectively held sit in their

NEW GROUP BOMBS FBI

A new underground group called the Red Guerrilla Family has claimed credit for a bomb attack on the FBI office in downtown Berkeley last week.

Damage was estimated at \$10,000. Special agent Frank Perone made a point of mentioning to the media that the act carries a penalty of a \$10,000 fine and/or 10 years in jail.

The Red Guerrilla Family are reportedly unknown to the FBI. Perone would not comment on the number of agents now on their case.

Warning of the bomb came at 2 am. last Thursday. A woman called the San Francisco Chronicle and two radio stations. At 2.34, the bomb went off in a rest room, one floor above the FBI office in the Great Western Building Centre, on Sjtattuck Avenue.

Here follows the full text of the communique sent out to explain the action by the Red Guerrilla Family, stating the group's solidarity with other underground organisations, especially the SLA.

"The Red Guerrilla Family is responsible for the attack on the Berkeley office of the FBI. We take this action in solidarity with the Symbionese Liberation Army and all other comrades under attack from the Amerikan capitalist state.

We are taking this action to help defend the people from fascist intimidation and harrassment, so the people can carry on the work of political and defensive organisation. We are acting to protect the lives and freedom of all the guerrilla forces actively attacking the fascist state. As comrade Cinque told the pigs, "You have hunted and robbed and exploited us all. Now we are the hunters that will give you no rest."

We send greetings to all peoples engaged in revolutionary warfare, in and out of Amerka's political prisons: to the

armchairs comfortably, subject to no regulation on their behaviour, at no risk to themselves they carry out inhuman, bestial experiments such as many thought were ended when the concentration camps were closed down. They look forward to retiring on nice pensions to cosy little retreats in the mountains and lakesides of the Fatherland, while their victims stare open-eyed into vacancy, and the contemptible journalists of the daily press explain how they were all mad in the first place really, or they would never have rebelled.

There are those who think that we seem to take some pleasure in "violence" and "terror". Those who really wallow in it are the loudest to inveigh against anyone who hits back. We explained (in our last issue) writing on the June 2nd movement, the position of the "Red Army Fraction" vis a vis Anarchism. But the action taken in Stockholm speaks for itself. On the one hand we have the heirs to Nazidom, whose senior police officers have all served in a tough school for "law and order", whose senior judges learned their law at a time when it was a mockery and a farce, who are deliberately and sadistically holding active opponents in de-humanising torture; on the other hand those who are fighting selflessly against them. "They have no clear idea of their aims," says the radio as I write. Not that bourgeois journalists would recognise. Not that the German State would consider acceptable. Democracy, says Bundeskanzler Herr Schmidt, is in danger: perhaps he will let us know if anything positive happens to it.

Black Liberation Army, the Symbionese Liberation Army, the Frente de Liberacion Chicano, the FALN, the warriors of AIM and Wounded Knee, the Weather Underground Organisation and to all the soldiers of the New World Liberation Front.

**HANDS OFF THE SLA
LIFE & FREEDOM TO THE PEOPLE**

From The Barb, April 10th 1975.

The Maoist "Workers Weekly" (organ of the Communist Party of England [Marxist Leninist]) dedicated to hard-line Stalinism and Maoism states categorically (April 18 issue) that it differs from the Trotskyists "being . . . devoid of any principle" since they "are based on the worship of one Leon Trotsky, disruptor and splittist in the Russian Social Democratic and Labour Party, arch-betrayer in the great Soviet state, collaborator with imperialist intervention in the first workers' state, and eventual paid agent of the fascists".

The curious English favoured by the hard-line Peking Maoists (splittists for instance) is due to its worship of China's dictator). This leads them to continue the Stalinist denunciation of Trotsky. The slander machine built by Trotsky (basing himself on Marx) against the Anarchists, reverberated against himself, and apparently still does. We ask curiously if the Maoists believe that Trotsky was for "imperial intervention" in the first world war, did not this even in Bolshevik eyes justify Makhno's fighting against him?

Roon'n Aboot

"IF ONLY I WERE BLACK . . ." A woman peers out of a window sighing over her inferiority . . . Such is the whining sticker put out by the National Front as its latest po' white trash type propaganda. The 'racialism' of the National Front should not be confused with the racial *superiority* propaganda of the Rhodesians or the South Africans. It is based on the allegation that black people, or immigrants generally, are all "treated better": its support arises from those who seek to be patronised or mollycoddled by the State, who have no consciousness or pride in independence and struggle, and who are afraid and envious that "they" get treated better by soft-hearted liberals. "If only I were black" they would "give" me a council house, better grant, etc. . . .

German anti-semitism arose from a similar programme of racial inferiority (and should not be confused, say, with Tsarist anti-semitism which was based on a feeling of religious superiority). The real "Uebermenschen" — the Master Race — was not the German people, it was the chosen "leadership" of the nation. The German people were "helots" ran the original "Aryan" theory, of whom a "racially pure" people like the Jews could gain control by guile. Only when Nazism became a mass movement did it become impolitic to tell hundreds of thousands of voters they were born helots who had to chose between Jewish domination and domination by the Master Race few. The theory was altered and it was said the "Master Race" was the German people, except in esoteric Nazi circles (and Hitler at the end insisted they were "not worthy of him").

The Monday Club is not quite the same as the National Front. They have the "Rhodesian" attitude of superiority, though to black and white alike. They believe themselves, with the consciousness of moneybags in the baby linen, to be above the common herd and have no need to seek the patronage of the State. They include many of the Ernest Benn *laissez-faire* liberals who don't want the State to act as nurserymaid to anyone either. But naturally they prefer to have the National Front whiners on their side. They supplement them perfectly.

A letter to "*The Times*" (Apl 17, 75) from the newly appointed editor of the *New Humanist*, Nicolas Walter, states that "the fears by editors of national newspapers for the maintenance of the freedom of the press would carry more conviction if they were as worried about the pressures of proprietors and advertisers and of financial and religious interests as they are about the pressures of staff journalists and political interests."

Impeccable liberal thingking, though even so, we would distrust the (hypothetical) editor of a great capitalist newspaper.

But adds Walter: "I write as the editor of one and as a contributor to several of the many small papers which have been founded largely because minority news and views are not allowed in the big papers."

It is interesting to identify these. He cannot refer to *New Society*, *The Listener*, the *Times Literary Supplement* and others to which he contributes and which are, though not daily papers, part and parcel of the national press. (Anyway he adds, they "keep themselves free from all external pressures, we don't make any money, but we do keep faith with the tradition . . . of the free press" which rules them out completely). He must therefore refer to *Freedom*, *Tribune*, *Peace News*, *Wildcat* and the like. Their present *raison d'être* is stated as being "largely because minority news and views are not allowed in the big papers".

The showing of the film "The Exorcist" was of public service bringing to the attention of the people at large what was going on below . . . turning over the rock on which the Christian Church was built one saw the maggots. The furore over this average-horror film was based not on a dread of "obscenity" but on the fact that there were still people who believed such events could conceivably be true. More, even in the staid, apologetic old Church of England, mature gentlemen were living on public funds by their "work" as exorcists of evil spirits. Could the State Church be so full of nuts as the excitable sideshow churches?

It was a farce that turned to tragedy with the events in Yorkshire; for a poor, crazy parishioner murdered his wife by tearing out her tongue and her eyes after a bunch of preachers, male and female, has "exorcised" him. At the coroner's inquest the Church literally got away with murder, for the "ministry" of the Church to ridding people of "evil spirits" was recognised though it was felt the particular spirit-chasers acted unwisely in not working with medical advice. Faced with the mumbo-jumbo of the cult, the man who was troubled in mind was driven clean out of it. But that was not the fault of the witch-doctors, says the coroner, faced with pillars of the Establishment rather than a hippy Charles Manson.

The Bishops — educated men, who express polite cynicism over their sherry, capable conversationalists able to smooth over objections with words like "spirituality" — have had to throw their weight behind the witch-doctors, because the "ministry to evil spirits" is indeed part and parcel of Christianity's mumbo-jumbo. "No bishop, no king", observed James VI & I, sagely enough, when confronted by the challenge to episcopacy; no exorcists, no bishops, we might say today; for in fact, the Church's teaching, the office of exorcist is considerably inferior to that of priest, and one can cast out spirits long before one can cure souls. To give up one (though it be recognised as lunacy) would be to surrender the other.

The State has a recognised interest that this should not be surrendered, for though the Church has lost its ruling privileges, the pretext of its authority has to be maintained since there is nothing to replace it as moral instructor. The whole balance of ethics and morals in our society has been justified, not out of principle, but by reference to superstitions in which no sane person any longer believes. With no intelligible motives for civilised restraint from social behaviour, so far as a vast section of the population is concerned, all that is left to enforce harmony is the brute power of the State. And as harmony is not amenable to force, we live in a jungle. It is only in the wild, dark jungle that people believe in evil spirits, never in the clear daylight of the cultivated plain.

Approaching his eightieth year, F. A. Ridley — "the last of the Radicals" — is awaiting the publication of his magnum opus "The Rise and Fall of the English Empire" (being brought out by Medusa Press). It will be in four volumes, the first coming out in a few months; the second (taking the story to 1814) will appear later in the year, and the last two next year.

Ridley — not being an academic and in the magic circle of accepted sages — has been neglected, like many writers who have identified themselves with the working-class movement. His monumental work on the "Jesuits" is still rifled by scholars; his next book on Christianity — a mere 100,000 words — dealing with its rise, has just been completed.

Rape

In a decision by the Law Lords a man cannot be convicted of rape if he "honestly believed" he had the woman's consent. A great many rapists believe *that*. Some have described this as a "rapists' charter" for in future any one may plead he "thought" he had consent and the struggle was merely to lead him on.

Already it is notorious that, in any case, thousands of rape victims do not report attacks. They face a second "rape by legal ordeal" in the questioning by police and defence counsel. In small towns they are thereafter classed as the local whore. A great many prefer to tell nobody — not even husband or lover — for the moral code imposed by the State suggests that the victim is somehow cheapened and debased by her ordeal.

It is true on the other hand that it can become easy for a woman to claim she was raped when she did consent . . . Until recently this was the easiest way to kill a man one did not like, in some parts of the United States where the man accused was black. False accusations of rape, in many countries, led to men being convicted of crimes they had not committed. But on the other hand, thousands of rapes were committed

which the law was powerless to prevent, and in fact could impose in added punishment on the victim if an action was brought and the man acquitted.

Though the law does not work, it is still cited as an "objection to anarchism" that the law "prevents" crimes like rape — which it is suggested would flourish if it were not for the lawyers and policemen. The latter flourish like the green bay tree; but so does rape. Do the penalties of imprisonment really deter? They certainly do not deter the determined. There is need for a major reform that affects women here and now. They cannot wait for the free society to affect changes in social understanding which will make rape unthinkable. The reform is very simple. It is to teach girls the same art of self defence appropriate to their physique, as is taught to boys. When boys are taught the art of self-defence at school, it is recognised and expected for them to react if sexually molested.

So far from this being deplored by moralists they applaud; this is fully in accord with Christian prejudice, implicit in the attitude of judges in condemning homosexual rape (which is seldom as brutal as heterosexual rape) far more severely.

Not only would the art of self-defence help women to resist attack; it would at the worst act as a deterrent in that the attacker could not plead he had consent. The overwhelming majority of women today could not begin to defend themselves. At school it was "unladylike" to study karate or the martial arts the way boys took boxing lessons.

"Non-violent resistance" — that well-hackneyed cliché always trotted out on such occasions — is non-resistance. No woman victim of attempted rape will ever be able to defend herself with an impeccable moral platitude: the sooner *that* is realised the nearer we shall be to the achievement of liberty, which is fundamentally the right not to be molested.

The art of unarmed defence was never so easy to acquire as now. The provision of classes should not only rank with the demand for clinic facilities in the women's movement; it should be seriously considered alongside the fruit-preserving activities of the Women's Institutes. It is not essentially a political demand nor one that will be resisted by bourgeois minds.

THE SECRET DIRECTIVE AT WORK

"He claimed to be a member of the 'Meinhof-Puig Antich group' named after the German woman anarchist, and the Catalan nationalist leader executed two years ago."

(Times 5.5.75).

Ulrike Meinhof must be an anarchist because she doesn't call herself one. But Puig Antich *did*, therefore he is a "nationalist". The secret political directive to the press from Military Security said — as we have mentioned before — Anarchists must be called Marxists, Marxists must be called Anarchists, Nationalists may be called either, either may be called Nationalists." Such is British journalism — including The Times. A propaganda machine.

Portuguese Libertarians must have been plunged into a dilemma with the recent elections. The "classical" anarchistic formula — "don't vote" — is simplistic. But the Armed Forces Movement also used it — sensing perhaps a disgust with all the parties. They announced boldly that a blank vote — a spoiled paper or a non-vote — would be for them. They would then "legitimise" their seizure of power until Portugal was "ready for democracy". (What presumption to say that one is able to rule one's fellow-citizens until they are "ready to rule themselves!")

What was the alternative? The right wing parties were unthinkable. And to exchange Salazar's dictatorship for a "proletariat" dictatorship of the Moscow or Peking orientated Communists? It is hardly surprising the Socialist Party soared into victory as a "lesser evil": it is hard to know how an anarchist could oppose that tide by any suggestion as to

MOOR ABOUT SPAIN

The Kuwait International Investment Co., signed a 6 million Dinar note during April which has been issued by Autopistas de Cataluna y Aragon and guaranteed by the Spanish Government. This is the first loan to Spain from Kuwait and it will be interesting to see how much influence it will have over the future Spanish/U.S. collaboration, especially as the Arab oil producers are not reknowned for their appreciation of American support for Israel. The U.S. Air Force may find it harder to keep their air bases in the Peninsula than they expect if Arab aid increases for Franco.

O. Thello.

what to do at that particular moment.

The argument about the "lesser evil" is a misleading one; it leads people voting for the most reactionary parties . . . even the British Labour Party, largely on the ground that most of the working class votes for it when it wants socialism even though it never gets it. But of course this negative attitude — don't vote, don't join the Army, don't pay rent, don't allow an infringement of civil liberty — rules structureless libertarianism.

Bourgeois-liberal pacifist shadow-anarchism has no relation to anarchism except in its negations; where it strives to be recognised as anarchistic it clings desperately to those negations. But anarchism in itself is not a thing of negations. It does not set rules and limits nor bother about contradictions. We must stumble into fallacious situations sometimes. But what anarchism is about is the abolition of the State.

Book Reviews

Snipe's Spinster by Jeff Nuttall (Calder & Boyars £2.95).

Apparently Jeff Nuttall wanted to "kiss goodbye" to the image he created in "Bomb Culture" for which one can hardly blame him. Nuttall tells a pretentious slight story of a jazz musician who wants to assassinate "The Man" and he works into it what he thinks he knows about "the left". God knows it's easy enough to write a Calder-Boyars story (recipe: slimness to fit in with maximum price, incomprehensibility with a bit of effin' and blindin' and a compulsory reference to the author's homosexuality even if untrue).

The theme is the absurdity of the "far left" with all those different names just fancy! (I could forgive Nuttall much but for the fact that, in a snide and palpably false reference to myself, he mis-spells my name . . . the libel itself is nothing, as Sarah Bernhardt could have explained to him).

Nuttall had but a brief glimpse of the anarchist movement: he writes of the CND as if it were the anarchist movement! As I recall he quivered on the edge of the latter, afraid of police spies whom he saw everywhere (recognisable by their short hair and clean collars). He writes of someone — presumably a false name but possibly recognisable — that "he claims to have been a childhood friend of Stuart Christie . . . His biggest claim to distinction is that he discovered the military explosives that were to be stolen for the activities of the Angry Brigade". Authors like this — spies you need?

A. M.

The Death of Lorca by Ian Gibson Paladin £1.00.

In the early morning of 19 August, 1936, four people were executed in the little village of Viznar, 6 miles north-east of Granada. Not an unusual occurrence in Spain then (or now), but one of them happened to be a poet of international reputation. His name was Federico Garcia Lorca.

The Death of Lorca has been a cause of deep feeling and bitter controversy in Spain for 39 years. None have been more eager to put an end to the debate than the Spanish government, angered and embarrassed by the unwanted international attention that has been focused upon it by Lorca's death. For it is not ONE death that must be explained but the systematic extermination of a generation.

Franco's uprising reached Lorca in Granada on 20 July, 1936, where the local troops left their barracks and began seizing the city. Almost totally unarmed, by virtue of the Government's refusal to distribute arms to the workers, the populace fought as best they could. But as Gibson points out " . . . a handful of pistols and rifles without ammunition is no answer . . . to modern artillery, aeroplanes, grenades and machine guns. Granada fell to the rebels because, quite simply, they had the weapons and the training to use them effectively." (p79).

With the military victory complete the Francoists immediately set about rounding up those left alive and herded them in their hundreds into prisons and detention camps. Mass executions began in the municipal cemetery at once. By the end of August (according to official records) over 800 people had already been shot.

It was against this background that Lorca sought refuge in the home of his friend the Falangist poet Luis Rosales. This was his undoing. " . . . the confidence that people are always good, that belief that a friend is a friend, Fascist or no, cost him his life. Because it was his friend's friends

who he counted among his best, who at the last moment turned out to be Fascists first and foremost . . . they didn't shoot him. They washed their hands of him and then handed him over to those who did" (p55). On the 16 August the ex-deputy of CEDA (Catholic Action Party) Ramon Ruiz Alonso arrested Lorca at Rosales' house accompanied by a group of armed men. Two and a half days later Lorca was dead.

For Franco's regime Lorca's murder was a serious tactical blunder. Constantly seeking to evade responsibility, Franco dismissed the affair (in 1937) as "one of those natural accidents of war". But Lorca's reputation brought world attention at the same time to the murders of thousands of other people who could not so easily be shrugged off as "accidents". This is undoubtably the greatest strength of Gibson's book, the fact that he places the death of one man in the perspective of a general and systematic campaign of genocide and puts the blame where it belongs.

"Lorca, along with thousands of other victims, was eliminated by a system of terror set up for the express purpose of crushing all possible resistance by the Granadine populace to the Movement" (of Franco). (p133).

Predictably until the 60's Lorca's work was banned in Spain. But international interest has forced the regime to 'rehabilitate' the poet. Attempting to profit by this decision the Falangists have gone so far as to claim that Lorca was really 'one of their own', extending the poet's friendship with Rosales to suggest that he was composing a "Falangist battle hymn" at the time of his death, (which they blame alternatively on "Reds" and unspecified assassins "acting on their own initiative"). Whilst Lorca's "leftness" has certainly been exaggerated by most people he was certainly no ally of the Francoists. It is worthwhile to quote Lorca himself. "I am brother to all men, and I detest the person who sacrifices himself for an abstract, nationalist ideal just because he loves his country with a blindfold over his eyes. A good Chinaman is closer to me than a bad Spaniard . . . I am cosmopolitan and a brother to all. Needless to say I don't believe in political frontiers."

"I will always be on the side of those who have nothing, of those to whom even the peace of nothingness is denied." (El Sol, 1934).

"Like all true poets I'm a revolutionary, but a politician — never!" (July, 1936).

Lorca was first and foremost an artist, politically a "liberal" in the widest and best sense of the word. That such a sensitive and personally mild man was killed by the Francoists bears witness to the indiscriminate nature of the repression — blinded to any sense of human compassion and savagely opposed to even the mildest criticisms.

Lorca's life is best remembered for the unique writing it gave the world. His death serves as a potent reminder of the murder and hatred upon which Franco built and maintains his rule. "Had Federico not died that morning in Vizna, the thousands of other innocent, but less well known Granadinos liquidated by the rebels might have been forgotten" (p168).

The Death of Lorca serves as a gravestone on the mass grave of Spain.

Phil Ruff.

For Spanish readers it is worth mentioning a book by Jose Luis Villa-San Juan ("GARCIA LORCA, ASESINADO") which has been published in Barcelona by the Planeta since this review was penned; and which seems to prove that the friendship between Lorca and Rosales was genuine.

Unknown heroes

I introduced this series of articles on unknown heroes of the Spanish Resistance with Noguero. He, like Facerias and Sabate, was an exceptional man. But the Resistance was not formed by exceptional men and women, nor is it in any way an elite. *El Negret*, as we called him, of Sans (a working class district of Barcelona) worked on the docks before the civil war; *El Valencia* was a coachdriver from Castellon. Those who spent their holidays in Spain in the thirties may have been driven by him on one of the coaches from Castellon to Valencia (hence his nickname).

They both fought in CNT battalions, and like many others, they refused to accept Franco's victory (or rather, Hitler's). When the posters appeared telling former combatants to report, they ignored them and went into hiding. They lived as best they could. The victor's instructions not only informed us that collectivisation had ended: we were also told we were back to wages as they existed on 18th July 1936 — which was, by this time, worth about a loaf of bread on the black market.

Both Negret and Valencia were picked up by the police during the period of world war and began their separate prison odysseys. They regarded themselves as "ordinary" rather than political prisoners because they did not have the puritanism of many of the anarchists which they thought was indistinguishable from calling oneself such. But their solidarity was high, and among other things they established something of a record for their escapes. Negret escaped at least 17 times (once when I was in jail with him) and Valencia seven. Innumerable escapes were made possible by them. Here I shall refer to one, concerning Tomas (I call him that as he is probably still alive).

In his village he had been the CNT representative (one death sentence) on the Revolutionary Committee (another). Certain notorious caciques in the village had been killed during the war. Each of these earned him a death sentence and he had to face nearly seven charges each incurring the death penalty, when — in the notorious Fourth Gallery — second floor — the maximum security wing of Barcelona's prison — he met Valencia, the small, tough, bantam sized coachdriver.

"They're accusing me of everything . . . I stand no chance".

"There's one chance . . . you could come with el Negret and me . . . but look at you."

Negret was tall and slim; Valencia short and wiry — but Tomas's size ruled him out. He was a large stout man. "We have to go out through a window . . . but your size . . . there's one thing only. You must reduce your weight."

From then on Tomas was running up and down the yard, sweating it out on P.T. and starving till he might have preferred the death sentence. To add to his misery his wife sent him huge hampers of food. People in the country could still manage to find provisions. His comrades sat around eating all they wanted. "Nothing for you — not even an apple" they would tease. Everyone laughed as Tomas looked at his hamper plaintively. They did not know what depended on this slimming course. It seemed a grim joke to worry about one's figure in the shadow of death.

Finally Negret's wife sent in a saw concealed in a paella. While Negret stood on Tomas's shoulders, Valencia lay on the floor of the cell listening for footsteps. Negret sawed away at the bar, leaving the centre in so that the warder on bar inspection would not notice. The marks were covered with dirt. They worked by day, as it would have sounded too much at night, until finally the right night came. With one

pull they wrenched out the bar, and crept out on to the pipe. Tomas — weak from fasting but fashionably thin — got through the aperture. They climbed up the pipe to another department of the prison that connected with the outside block.

When they were outside Tomas made for the North Star directly to France — no more looking back than Lot's wife. Negret unfortunately was recaptured. He would not leave Spain and was discovered with his woman companion. Valencia too was re-arrested some months later. I met him in Ciudad Real prison in 1956 and he told me that one day when he was desperately poor in Barcelona Jail he was called to the bursary. He was wondering who was sending him money for he had no 'rich uncles'. It was 500 pesetas from Andorra — the first money Tomas had been able to raise after he had heard that his benefactor was back in prison.

As escapes involve the loss of all previous time served, Valencia may still be in prison. I have lost track of him. According to my calculations it may be 1976 before he comes out when he will have done the present maximum of twenty years since his last escape. Otherwise I could tell a great deal more about him.

But Negret is dead. He was a victim of the criminal La Farga, the most notorious prison officer in Barcelona. Rojas had been one of the most hated prison governors — comparable with any of the Nazi concentration camp chiefs (and it must be remembered that the number of Spanish workers who died in executions or as a result of prison exceeded the number of German Jews killed by Hitler). La Farga was for years his secretary. One day before the war, (Rojas even then was notorious) they were driving out in a limousine cruising for women, when members of the CNT Resistance ambushed them. La Farga lost an eye, getting the bullet intended for Rojas. This increased his hatred for the libertarian prisoners, and his favourite trick was to beat up those who had escaped and were recaptured, and confine them to a damp cell in which they could neither stand nor lie down. Negret after one of his escapes, was beaten up unmercifully and confined in such a cell for three months. Like other victims, he contracted T.B. of which he died. Even so, he tried to escape one more time before his death somewhere in prison in about 1957.

Neither of these men called themselves anarchists, nor did they regard themselves as political prisoners. But were they not so? When I knew Valencia if he had an ounce of tobacco in his pocket it was shared with everyone. I would not be able to count how many comrades they kept alive to carry on the fight outside. This is the stuff of the working class Resistance in Spain.

Miguel Garcia.

Direct Action

PAPER OF THE SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FEDERATION

YOU'RE KEEPING
MY HANDS OUT OF
THE WORKERS'
POCKETS
ADMIRAL!



ONLY FOR TWO
MINUTES,
SEÑOR
PRESIDENTE
— OURS ARE TOO
BLOODY TO
SHOW!!

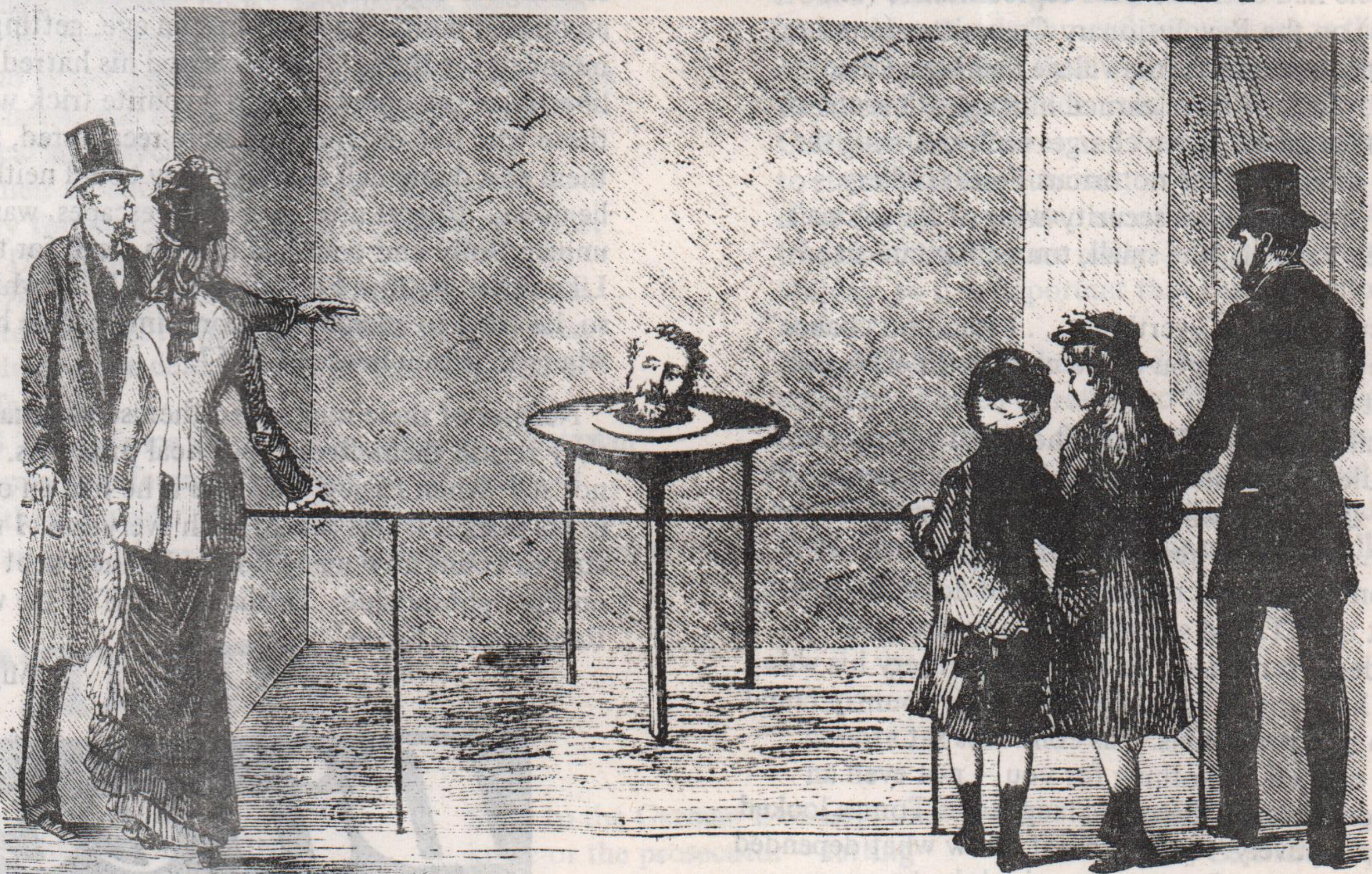
STRIKES, CHAOS,
ANARCHY!!
THIS DAMNED
CRISIS IN CAPITALISM
IS BAD FOR BUSINESS
YOU KNOW HAROLD,
OLD CHAP...

NO NEED TO WORRY
STOKES. I'LL JUST GIVE
THE LEYLAND WORKERS
THAT OLD LINE ABOUT
NATIONALISATION BEING
SOCIALISM. THE SHITS
WILL LAP IT UP!!



N PORTUGAL, THE JUNTA LOOK HAPPY

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL RALLY



'LABOUR GOVERNMENT MUST
RECOGNISE PRG & GRUNK'

Indochina

VICTORY TO THE VIETCONG

NOW FOR THE RESISTANCE

Victory comes to the Vietcong! The "communist" forces sweep over Indochina and the "democratic" forces pull out. The new regime sweeps aside the corruption and inequalities of the old feudal system which was being replaced by capitalism at its crudest and brashest, and was in the full blast of that industrial change, its miseries heightened by war and foreign intervention. It brings in military rule and de-personalisation, brain-washing and the glorification of bureaucracy and nationalism at its shrillest and most strident — a patriotism indistinguishable from fascism.

The American state decided to make a stand in Indochina and squandered the lives of untold thousands in its determination to prop up the old regime at all costs. Now it flies out, a few wealthy Vietnamese make their way out in the helicopters of the departing invaders, and in a grand sentimental orgy the orphaned babies are offered around at auction.

As the people celebrate peace the tanks of the conqueror roll in and the austerities of a military regime are introduced. Cut your hair short! Stop your decadent frivolities! Work, obey, study! Those who fawned on the old invader now prepare to fit into the new society where privilege depends not on profit but on position, not on corruption but on sycophancy, and where privilege brings power rather than comfort.

For one thing, or the other, thousands have died, thousands have been maimed, the country has been turned into a living hell. Statesmen far from the scene have discussed strategy, and from those placid discussions has come mass terror. (But this is not "terrorism": everyone knows that term can only be applied when the smiling, disputant statesman are themselves held accountable).

Because of the ferocity of the war, the Vietnamese working class has ceased to exist as an entity. It has become simply part of the production machine, and an expendable part at that. The peasant forced off his land, subject to the whims of every man with a gun who passed his way, long since retreated into sullen acceptance as a way of life. The Vietnamese people no more mattered than the animals or the foliage that were being destroyed by napalm. They were part of the landscape, part of the "price we must pay". But now — with the ending of hostilities — they will come into their own. They have lost every single thing they had, and the United States, after encouraging the South to fight on in its own interests, now abandons them for ever. Soon the inherent villainy of the West in every Vietnamese north of an arbitrarily fixed line will be that of every Vietnamese whatever! The war was staked, the war was lost, now the people are abandoned. Pull out a few "friends" and go!

It is a relief to the world if the hostilities are indeed over — to America no less than anywhere else — for now surely there must be a great move to end the iniquitous draft, the blood sacrifice demanded by the State of the people it conquered at home. But it does not have to mean that the Vietnamese are lost to military nationalist "communism" for

all time. Now that the people will have power again, it is time to build a resistance that will sweep aside the conquering State that won no less than that which lost. Which will seize the land for the people and rebuild the towns for itself but will sweep aside those who seek to have this done for their own glorification in the name of the State and patriotism.

The "communists" — drunk with power — may think it is a pipe dream to imagine that this can be done. They have defeated the mightiest power in the world and achieved victory: the old bureaucrat Ho Chi Minh is to be deified and his last alias bestowed on Saigon (for it was as Nguyen that he helped break the Chinese seamen's strike). They will take to the firing squad any revolutionaries they find and where will they be found after these years of war? Let the new bureaucracy enjoy its moment of its triumph as it tries out the comfortable chairs of power of the retreating American military: but another generation will come and those revolutionaries will be found.

If they do not avert this danger with another military gamble, there may be a bigger backlash from the despised people than the rulers of the State may expect.

— Internationalist.

The Brolly Brigade Conspiracy

With all respect to those of our readers who like a flutter, it can hardly be denied that the punters at the average race meeting include some of the most worthless, idle, criminal, parasitic and useless sections of the community. Not by a long way are all punters wasters and crooks; but nearly all wasters and crooks are punters. And violence on the race track is hardly something new. It is certainly more vicious and calculated than the violence at the football stadium which exercises the nation's moralists.

While the Newmarket stable lads were on strike, the owners and trainers and punters "lost their tempers". They advanced in a rush (on May 1st) and "mobbed" the strikers' pickets. The press wrote highly sympathetically of these mobsters beating up the stable lads. Yet they had (and still do) viciously attacked the Shrewsbury Two because they said the pickets on the building sites had used violence. The difference: the Shrewsbury Two were fighting for trade union rights. The scum of Newmarket had risen up to fight the stable lads against their trade union demands. It ceased to be "violence" — it was "backlash".

The retired officers who — despite their careers of slaughter, are the loudest to inveigh against "violence" when it is not mass murder — joined in the fray, afterwards uttering blood-curdling threats against the stable-lads which the sycophantic journalists lapped up.

LETTER FROM PARIS

"... Much has been written in the English papers since December of the IRA hunger-strikers, yet nowhere has there been any mention of the six libertarians who have been on hunger-strike in Paris gaols since 27 December 1974.

They are:

Michel Camilleri
Mario Ines Torres
Jean Michel Martinez
Victor Manrique
Jean Marc Rouillan
Raymond Delgado

In addition, two more comrades, Pierre Roger and Jose Maria Condom-Bofill, have been on hunger strike in Toulouse's St. Michel Prison.

They are all charged with incidents following the execution of Puig Antich and of allegedly belonging to the GARI. Because of Spanish pressure on the French authorities they have been denied all rights normally given to "political" prisoners. France has also refused to recognise their so called "offences" as political. Consequently, the amnesty for political prisoners granted by Giscard d'Estaing when he took office has been withheld from them even though they come under its scope, as all their "offences" happened before d'Estaing became President. Hence their hunger-strike.

The demands of these comrades are:

- The right to meet together and to be visited by friends
- An end to the censoring of information concerning their case
- The right to receive books, newspapers, and total freedom of expression
- An end to the degradation they have received since their arrest, and to be allowed to satisfy their physical and psychological needs.

In addition their defence group have also demanded a general amnesty for all political prisoners (Germany, Chile, Spain, France, UK, Ireland).

21 December '74 A fund raising concert/meeting is held in Paris's Mutualite theatre at which over 2,000 people listen to speakers including the defence lawyers and members of the prisoners' families.

30 January '75 The defence lawyers, supported by libertarian groups, hold a press conference to report on the health of the comrades (then 5 weeks on hunger-strike). Amongst the papers who attend are L'Aurore, Figaro, L'Revu and Liberation.

Germany

Comrades from Cologne (Koln), Germany report that ROLF STEIN editor of "Befreiung" (Liberation) and active unionist and member of Cologne Black Cross, is in Ossendorf Prison. Under the new wide-sweeping conspiracy laws revived from the Nazi period, there is a campaign against German comrades by the Government.

SHOW SOLIDARITY! Write letters of protest at the arrest of Rolf

Stein to the German Embassy, the judge or the prosecutor — letting them know how world opinion regards the New Nazi laws against libertarians: Amtsgericht Koln, abt 203.7.47 — Richter Tiepel, 5 Kolm 1, Appellofplatz 1; judge OR Bundes-anwaltschaft Karlsruhe, z.Hd. Herrn Bieger, Karlsruhe, Postfach. prosecution.

Trade union protests to: I.G.

1 February '75 J. Lancelot and other comrades appear on French T.V. to explain the reasons for the hunger strike.

Throughout this time the close collaboration between the French and Spanish police is repeatedly demonstrated. Even Lacannet, the French Justice Minister admits that he wishes to comply with the requests from the Spanish authorities for tougher action against those in prison.

Finally on 7 February '75 the weight of public opinion forces the French authorities to grant (unofficially) some of the rights demanded by the hunger-strikers. The strike ends after a gruelling seven weeks.

At the present moment all but two of the imprisoned comrades have been temporarily released on "provisional liberty" until their trial begins. Without the solidarity shown by their comrades in France they would still be in prison today, denied all basic political rights.

But massive international solidarity is still desperately needed if these comrades, and more in the future, are to go free. It is vital that international opinion forces the French authorities to bring their collaboration with Franco's police to an end."

Felina Ruefont
Paris.

Stop Press

Jose-Maria Condon-Bofill was released from the Maison d'Arret Saint Michel, Toulouse on 16 April.

Jean-Michel Martinez was released from La Sante, Paris — both on provisional liberty. Condom-Bofill should benefit from a "non-lieu" (no suit) some time in the future.

Victor Manrique's demand was refused as the police have not yet completed their interrogations of him.

Raymond Delgado's demand was also refused some time ago. Camilleri, Ines-Torres and Jean-Marc Rouillan are expected to stand trial this summer, as the Cour de la Surete doesn't close for the usual two months in July and August. Apparently these two months are really dead, with most people away on holiday, so it is important that this isn't allowed to happen at this time.

Maitre Dechezelles has asked Judge Bernard whether Jean Weir could be allowed to return to England to have a medical examination, which she can't afford in France, and which is desperately needed. He refused, saying that in view of the fact that there may be more arrests concerning the case (a prediction or an excuse?) he could not allow her request.

Metall, Ortsleitung Koln, Hans Bockler Platz, Germany.

Letters and cards of solidarity to: Rolf Stein, 5 Koln 30, Rochus str. 350 (Germany). Defence committee representative: Ralph Aurand, 5 Koln, Tieckstr. 49.

I. A. T.

Frank Gould Lost in the Philippines

States Industrial Worker Far Eastern Economic Review, published in Hong Kong, reported in its April 4th edition that Fellow Worker Frank Gould is missing and presumed dead in the Philippines. F.W. Gould a free-lance journalist, was in the islands reporting on the Moslem rebellion on Mindano. Last seen in September in northern Cotabato province, he was on his way to a rebel training camp. That camp was attacked by government troops in October, and the entire garrison was reported killed. There was little chance that F.W. Gould survived.

Before going to the Orient in 1970, F.W. Gould was an active member of the Chicago Branch of the IWW and was one of the

Self-criticism

Black Flag "is generally criticised here," writes an American reader, "as being too 'macho', too oriented to older-style anarchism — more fighting and less in the realm of consciousness. The role of the women's movement here has been to make people dig much more deeply into themselves than had been the case previously and to make for a much more personal concern than the idea of mass revolts. This may be a regeneration of the 'love' ideology of the hippie movement, but it does promote a much closer feeling of comradeship and closeness among people when it's at its best. The new Anarchy has an element of that about it from time to time."

States another critic from the USA — who also complains of our "machismo": *Black Flag* tends to sweep aside all those developments of the last fifteen to twenty years as if they were totally irrelevant and to raise again the class war issues, as if it had never heard of personal liberation."

We accept that we follow "traditional", "classical" or "class war" anarchism and if that is "old style", so be it; "new styles" and "revisionistic" ideas are usually in the direction of trimming sails and fitting revolutionary theory to conformist practice, rarely the other way round. We have heard of personal liberation, but do not accept that it has anything to do with the class war. Liberation from imposed codes of morality are not all that "new" despite the commercially-sold package deal of hippie liberalism. Back in the 1890s it burst on the scene (the New Woman, the New Age, the Ibsenite movement) but it comes and goes: it affects all classes as a rule, but naturally benefits those with money the most. When people found it wasn't really necessary to go to church every Sunday morning the people who got most out of it were those who could afford cars or could take long weekends rather than those who, as a result, went on to Sunday shifts. The woman freed from conventional family life duties and obligations was much better off if she could break out into an independent life as a professional person; a lot worse off if she had as a result to take a job, and the two-job family was no better off than the male-breadwinner one where the wife at least had some time free.

We do accept that "personal liberation" has its importance but do not confuse it with class war or revolution. It is important to brush one's teeth; one does not put it as a revolutionary axiom. Those who have accepted the "personal liberation" movement at its face value, and substituted it for class struggle, have de-gutted their revolutionary thinking. It is liberalism to suppose that one can improve society within

young workers who helped revive it in the mid and late Sixties. Fluent in a number of languages, he went to the Orient to study and write about social movements there. But he did more than that. He became involved in struggles in Japan and Korea, and often served as a part of an informal communications network between scattered groups of anarchists, syndicalists and other libertarian leftists. He was in contact with super-underground Chinese anarchists, and helped to spread the story of the Shanghai strikes two years ago. He most frequently wrote in Japanese and Lorean exile papers, occasionally getting a better-paying assignment in an Establishment journal. Some of his writing appeared in the Industrial Worker.

Frank Gould lived, and now has apparently died, a true rebel. He knew the chances he took, and took them eagerly. In doing so he became the second IWW member in two years to fall victim to reactionary violence abroad. F.W. Frank Terrugi was killed in the Chilean Coup in September 1973.

capitalism and without the abolition of the State. We don't mind a bit of liberalism which is better than more authority; but we don't regard it as revolutionary.

There can be, often is, much more comradeship and closeness amongst people who are for the revolutionary idea than for those who are concerned about their place in present society.

Another reader complains of "not your advocacy of violence but your treating it as humourous — especially in the cartoons (such as Anarchik). Surely the bom-throwing caricature of the Anarchist is that of the capitalist press?"

We have never advocated violence. We do recognise the world as it is. Those who remember "Pilot Officer Prune" will ask why such a caricature was never regarded as treating violence in a humourous fashion? There have been years of Anarchists trying to "live down" the capitalist caricature; it is high time it got thrown back at them. When one does so, it is recognised as a caricature and (we find so, at least) there is a desire to know the truth — even among some newspapermen who try to improve their natural illiteracy even if it does not come across in their reports.

The attacks by anarchists on individual dictators and heads of state gave it a bad image (as no amount of mass violence or indiscriminate slaughter ever gave other political movements) — this "bad image" was naturally dictated to the press by heads of state and dictators. It has for years given a "complex" to the movement: it is simply not credible that for years the movement has kept quiet about some of its most glorious achievements "for fear of giving a bad image". Everyone in the whole world has heard how certain German officers (known for their slaughter of the workers, incidentally) at the last moment rounded on Hitler (because he was losing). Their name and fame resounds as much as do the officers (how many?) who escaped from Colditz etc But the anarchist movement has preferred not to mention that it engineered two attacks on Hitler — one by Spanish Anarchists, against Hitler and Franco simultaneously, at their meeting; that was frustrated by sheer bad luck — (remember, *our people* are not professional assassins for who would pay them? *Their people* are); the other by German Anarchists. There were three attacks on Mussolini by Anarchists. Is it "glorifying violence" if we want to take these facts out of the cupboard and dust them? What is the alternative when dictatorship takes over? To wait for military conquest by a foreign power that might conceivably ease the restrictions. Has that anything to do with "freedom" . . . "respect for life" . . . ?

Book Reviews

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE

On Friday, March 21, 1975, a new dungeon was opened in the Okla. State Prison at McAlester, Okla. The rat infested hole underneath the rotunda has not been used for several decades. The dungeon is filled to capacity with 12 political activists. These brothers are being grossly maltreated and deserve support from concerned citizens from all political ideologies. The ethnic composition is 3 Whites, 3 Native Americans and 6 Blacks. This curious anomaly speaks to the fact that the institution is being used as a tool of class and ethnic oppression. We ask that people write letters of support directly to the captives. If they receive a lot of mail the sadistic pigs of the execution squad will think twice before murdering them as they did political prisoner Bobby Forsythe. Write letters of support to these 12 men TODAY! DON'T PUT IT OFF AS TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE.

Address to: Name, Number, Box 97, McAlester, Okla. 74501. USA.

Kenny Goodson	No 83534	Bill Webster	85053
Frank Minister	74002	Dale McDonald	77519-1
Lawrence Wayne Brady	(unknown)		
Erwin McCoy	85157	Reno Francis	81001
Marvin Gibson	78347	(Jomo Kenyatta)	
Bennie Pell	84312	(Wamahota Balondemu)	
Willie Tipton	85043	(Dejungle Rantua)	
Rodney Warrior	88622	(Jomo Simba, 1)	
Rickke Green	84244	(Ogonna Sir Warrior)	
		(Comrade Yoruba)	

Also write to Johnny Miller No. 77380 who is in the hospital with a broken head from a sadistic goon squad beating!

For further information concerning the McAlester Struggle write:

FRENCH-SPANISH IMPERIALISM AGAINST ANDORRA.

The close, and hypocritical police collaboration between "democratic" France and Franco's Spain (with the complicity of Scotland Yard) ceased to be a secret during 1974.

In spite of the denials of French police (etc.) at first, this collaboration has already been clearly proved, in the first place, by the illegal imprisonment of Octavio Alberola and ten other comrades in Paris, and Jose Condom-Bofill and another eleven comrades from different parts of France.

(Condom-Bofill is still in prison today after serving four months and still with no legal justification. He and several other comrades who, like himself, were arrested under the unproved pretext of belonging to the anti-francoist organisations GARI and/or MIL, have been brutally and repeatedly tortured by the French police).

Until now, this open co-operation between "democratic" France and Franco's Spain, was confined (more or less) inside the limits of police activity. Now, at the beginning of 1975, their collaboration has escalated by a scandalous, cynical and imperialistic decision, which the French and the Spanish governments together have officially made against the tiny "Principado" of Andorra — and the thousands of antifrancoists, most of them Spanish refugees, who live there.

Both Spain and France have always had "a finger" in some of the public affairs of the little country. Although Andorra's is no more than a sort of "two-masters" colonial Constitution, it has now been openly and

Abdullah Sallah Rahman
533 + Zion,
Tulsa, Okla. 74106. USA.

Robert H. Wilson
No. 83947
Box 97
McAlester, Okla. 74501. USA.

Revolutionary Student Brigade
c/o Robert Rix,
529 E. Comanche
Norman, Okla. 73069. USA.

Also send letters, telegrams and phone calls demanding an immediate end to the brutalisation of the prisoners of McAlester:

Hon. Luther J. Bohanon
U.S. District Court,
Federal Bldg.,
Oklahoma City, Okla. 73101. USA

Mr. Quinlan J. Shea Jr.,
Deputy Director
Office of Institutions & Facilities,
Department of Justice,
Washington D.C. 20530, USA'

Hon. M. David Riggs,
1640 S. Boston
Tulsa, Okla. 74103, USA.

Richard Pyle
U.S. Attorney
Federal Bldg.
Muskogee, Okla. 74401, USA.

Hon David L. Boren
Governor, State of Okla.,
State Capitol Bldg,
Oklahoma City, Okla. 73105 USA.

thoroughly violated by the two "giants": Their "fingers" inside the little country are now the real and crushing (and foreign) fists of Power. A French-Spanish Decree, which the two "big" countries have issued together without even consulting the little one, gives from now on to French and Spanish police together "the effective control of foreigners in Andorra". The meaning of such news is perfectly obvious in what concerns the anti-francoist refugees, who are the majority of the 16,000 foreign residents in the country. What are the official "reasons" for such a decision? "To protect" Andorra,

- (1) "[To] ensure that the numbers of immigrants do not swell beyond the country's possibilities". — And
- (2) "[to] enable the authorities [which?] to ban people who by their conduct and previous behaviour could be a threat for public order and peace of the valleys".

Astonished, terrified, humiliated and furious, the Andorran "Council of the Valleys" has immediately and strongly protested against such imperialistic measures, denounced the blatant violation of Andorra's ancient Constitution by such Decree, and rejected such imposed "protection" — the necessity of which has never been felt in the least by the Andorranos themselves.

Andorra's protest against France and Spain! It is certainly not difficult to imagine them laughing, who in hell is going to listen to (let alone help) that poor Liliputian "Council of the Valleys"?

JMA.

Africa

Ezekiel Mphahlele is one of the acutest writers on Africa. His outstanding book "Down Seocnd Avenue" about his native South Africa was followed by a number of writings on African art, politics and literature which were collected together in "The African Image" which has recently come out in a revised 2nd edition published by Faber at £3.95.

Two quotes from "The African Image" concentrate on the core of what is important about Southern Africa and they can usefully be taken as the basis of any examination of the interesting scene in that fluctuating area of the world. "Palefaced, worried, frightened, desperate men" writes Mphahlele of the non-blacks of Southern Africa who are engineering torture, hangings, banishments, eviction, starvation, extermination, imprisonment aimed at terrorising Africans into submission for all time. Are they mere monstrous survivals on the fringe of western civilisation? No, they are not acting off-stage. They are right there in the centre of the arena of a civilisation. Else why would the rest of the world either actively support them or let them be?" And of the Africans: "If our leaders used the small segment of the radical left among the whites in our political life, it was literally to use them. Naive minds interpreted this as a subordination of African interests to the whims of white marxists . . . You could count with the fingers of your hand Africans who were ideologically marxist. Nationalism has always been the dominant motive in liberation politics in South Africa whatever the rhetoric."

So the non-blacks of South Africa are at the centre of the struggle for "western civilisation" and the Africans are not dupes of the Marxists but nationalists fighting to achieve political independence. Economic independence is something else to be sure and national liberation does not mean anything libertarian — it means power for an emerging black bourgeoisie who will run the system of exploitation of black labour by foreign multinationals as was done by the previous white rulers.

That African leaders in Mozambique wanted to destroy Portuguese hegemony is no bad thing, that armed struggle succeeded in achieving national liberation as was the case in Algeria is a significant development.

One it needs hardly to be said, which all blind eyed pacifists will surely miss. Yet Frelimo leader Samora Machel finds his most constant companion prior to the full independence of Mozambique is none other than Harry Oppenheimer — the nationalist Frelimo leader and the supposedly liberal capitalist meet and the reason? Why it is the requirement South Africa has for cheap African labour and what does the nationalist do but agree to the continuance of the cheap labour scheme because it will, he supposes, be to the benefit of the newly independent Mozambique nation. Not much marxism there!

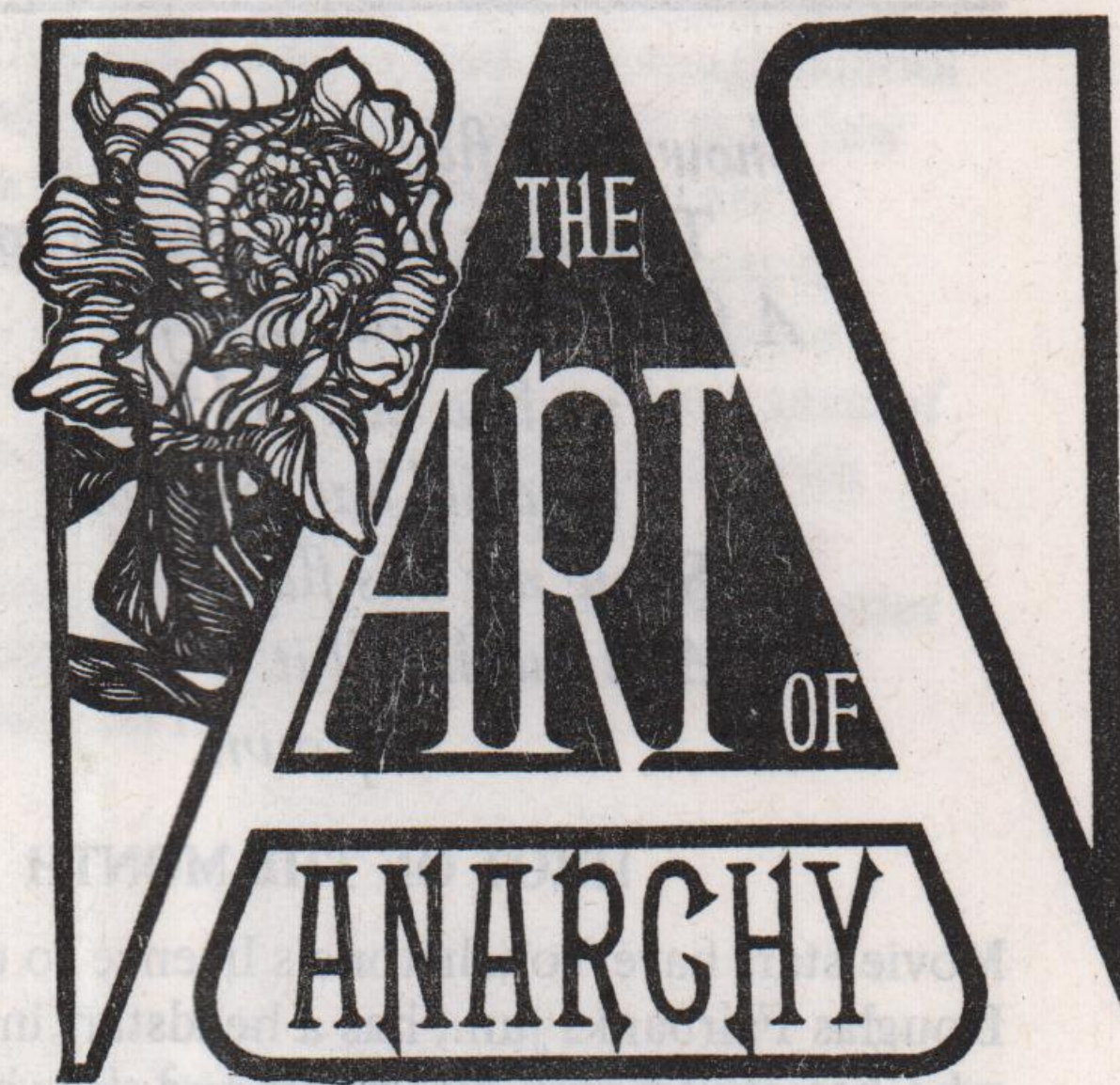
So South Africa is safe, but Smith's rebellious Rhodesia is in another bracket. It has become a pawn in a league of politics far outside its influence and power. It is the vital trading partner of Britain, South Africa, which comes first in the defence of "western civilisation". Rhodesia is the pawn — it is to be traded for detente between African nationalists and South Africa. No one sheds a tear over that nuisance Smith and if he takes rather too long getting the message then Frelimo may find that its support for guerrilla activity is increasing just as South Africa finds it cannot maintain a force in its sixth province (Rhodesia). With any sanctions by Mozambique probably likely to destroy Rhodesia economically and the Commonwealth countries likely to make up any loss to Mozambique caused by imposing sanctions, Rhodesia is in such a vice-like grip we are bound to see the moderate African nationalists getting agreement with the Rhodesian non-blacks. It is not the sort of racial integration recommended by the the weirdos of the community relations industry but no one takes any notice of them anyway.

Britain has the sort of hypocritical position in all this trading of peoples which makes so many other ruling elites green with envy. Britain exploits cheap African labour in South Africa and benefits economically on a huge scale from the evil of apartheid yet at home maintains a race relations industry which sanctimoniously preaches racial harmony in a racist society and thereby ensures the continuance of racism. Britain condemns the torture and imprisonment without trial by the non-blacks in Southern Africa whilst refining its own torture techniques on those held

without trial in Northern Ireland.

The answer of any healthy, sane individual to all these political chess players is to organise our lives without the encumbrance of "leaders" placing themselves on our backs. The African people of Southern Africa are faced with a series of formidable challenges and it is a time when all those who fight against apartheid need to be sure that Britain's growing unemployment is not used by South Africa's apologists to encourage emigration to that land.

Kali.



Catalogue of publications from Cienfuegos Press and Simian now available. If you are interested in receiving a copy send s.a.e. to 83a, Haverstock Hill, London NW3. Cienfuegos Press proudly announces the imminent publication of their next book: **THE ART OF ANARCHY** by Flavio Costantini. We have been obliged to put back date of publication by one month to July 1 this year, but all readers of **Black Flag** and other libertarian papers can obtain copies of this magnificent book at the bargain price of £2. 00 cash in advance of publication date irrespective of the final cost of the book which we suspect will be much higher. You can help keep costs down by ordering a copy (along with our other publications) for your local library. The Art of Anarchy/Flavio Costantini 1.7.75/52 pages/43 half tone illustrations/3 colour laminated cover/25x25cms/Anarchist Resistance no. 3/ISBN 0-904564-03-7

Unnoticed and unmourned, the Independent Labour Party passed away. Its Easter conference wound it up. Now it enters "the broader Labour movement" as Independent Labour Publications. Last in the shop takes the till, and the particular variety of trots who have seized it will from now on be independent publishers, with a valuable press and considerable capital. The ILP (when P was for Party) never belonged to the people who happen to be in it at the moment: its huge funds came from the working class. It was they, their halls, their activities, expressed in terms of parliamentary socialism that built the ILP. The heritage, financially at least, goes to a few smart-alecks from the universities. It could have gone — it should have gone — to building anew the workers' clubs (in which the ILP pioneers were passionately interested). Now every penny goes away from the working class, into the pockets of the middle class "intellectual" con-men who have taken it over.

*Show me a flag
That does not fly over prisons
A flag no man has died for
no law has lied for
no child has cried for
Show me this flag
And I will call it
my own.*

IDIOT OF THE MONTH

Movie stars have Touchstone's licence to utter inanities, and Douglas Fairbanks jun., has a headstart in the business as one who has mixed with diplomats and showbiz and not lost the commonplace and complacent remark. But this classic piece of capitalist propaganda — from the Times (Apl 28) deserves a place in our competition for Idiot of the Month.

"In America the working man will see someone drive by in his Cadillac and he'll say 'that guy has that Cadillac and I don't have anything. I am walking. I am hitch-hiking. Some day I am going to have two Cadillacs and you watch me'. In this country the instant reaction is: 'That man has a Rolls-Royce, I don't have a Rolls-Royce, I may be looked after by the welfare state and I may have this and that, but I am damned if he is going to have anything. He is going to come down to my level. This may or may not be true, but it is an impression that has got abroad.'

Does the working man in America end up with two Cadillacs any more than the working man here ends up with a Rolls-Royce? He may *dream* of his two Cadillacs and his swimming-pools and his white-stuccoed house, Spanish colonial style — and nobody has contributed to the dream more than the Fairbanks family — but how many have them? Mr. Fairbanks "hates to chronicle the decline he sees" in finding the British worker begrudges Rolls-Royces to those who do not work. He does not *get* the Rolls-Royce driver down to his level, of course: that is *his* dream — one of social equality. But we know no recorded example of someone who was driving around in a Rolls-Royce and came down, by an action of someone supported by the welfare state, to that level. That belongs to the dreamworld of Hollywood whose aura Mr. Fairbanks casts over capitalism.

When you think back on the struggles, the toil, the heart-breaks, that went into the building of the ILP! Men and women fought and died to build it; they were blacklisted and went hungry; they gave of their all to build up the party vote by vote. Now it is gone, not with a bang but a whimper. And a whimper of greed and self-aggrandisement, alien to the sacrifice and work that built up the ILP. From now on the ILP (P for Publications) will be none of anybody else's business but big business for some.

But parties mean nothing. What counts is the things of the will; and the party was long since useless and an encumbrance. The dead wood has been lopped off the tree. Don't mourn it. Organise anew. And better.

Those two renowned defenders of law and order, "Sirs" Robert Mark and Keith Joseph took time off from dragon slaying recently to warn the nation of the imminent red peril that awaits us unsuspecting citizens.

In a lecture at the Police College at Bramshill, Mark warned his audience that 'sophisticated political extremists' were out to undermine Britain through "... deliberate violence, planned counter-demonstration and routine complaints of police brutality". He concluded with his usual complaint that the courts were not tough enough on demonstrators.

Joseph, not to be outdone, told an audience of the Society of Conservative Lawyers that "... fears of revolution in the West could no longer be dismissed as middle class neurotic ravings." There was a greater need than ever, he said "for more emergency powers" to be taken by Parliament. And he continued to rave on about the "fundamental rights of the subject to life, liberty and property", all of which deserved to be protected "by law". "Parliament's limitless authority should not be reduced."

It is interesting to note that a week after Mark warned of "political extremists" deliberately planning violent demonstrations the internal bulletin of the National Front, calling for support in their picketing of Islington Town Hall (which had denied the NF the convenience of a meeting room) told its fascist members: "Like last year's Red Lion Sq., activity, this could be one of those special events which those members who do not attend will curse themselves for missing!"

The implication should be clear. And true to form the naive Trots of IS/IMG did just what the NF knew they would and immediately announced — surprise — a counter-picket!

Where is the sophistication that Mark attributed to our Trotskyist friends? All armed actions by revolutionaries immediately get their cold shoulder (Marxists only support guns if they are in Nationalist hands) but they let themselves be manoeuvred into unarmed fights without a second (or first) thought. The "sophistication" in this situation clearly belongs to the fascist NF who prefer to provoke their Marxist adversaries into a position where the police will do the fighting for them, and at the same time provide their friends in Parliament with the excuse for the "emergency" legislation of which Mark/Joseph lecture so much.

Mark and Joseph do not under-rate the threat to their power of a revolution. It is about time that the muddle-heads on the 'package-deal left' begin to recognise that they are being led up the garden path by 'deliberate', 'sophisticated' actions of anti-working class 'extremists' and changed their tactics accordingly. The first advantage in any fight goes to the person who chooses the time and place. Trots please note.

Letters

Dear Comrades,

I would like to bring to the attention of your readers the following from *The Bookseller* of 3rd May:

"A Spanish Book Exhibition will be held at the Royal Festival Hall (main foyer) from 22nd May to 1st June. The Instituto Nacional del Libro Espanol, on behalf of the Spanish publishers and together with the Spanish embassy will present some 3,000 books covering a wide range of subjects. There will also be a selection of books in English about Spain and translated from Spanish; these have been chosen by the National Book League."

As a bookseller, the fact that the NBL is prepared to actively co-operate in this exhibition, presented as it is by the representatives of a regime which continues to suppress any freedom of the spoken or written word, disgusts me.

I suggest that comrades who share this feeling express it in writing to the National Book League, 7 Albermarle Street, W. 1. and 'The Bookseller', 13 Bedford Square, W.C.1. It may also be worthwhile contacting the Booksellers' Association, 154 Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1 and the Publishers' Association, 19 Bedford Square, W.C.1.

Comrades should also consider the possibility of further action.

Fraternally,

L.S.

ANSWERS TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans), the novelist, who died in 1880 and was buried in unconsecrated ground at Highgate Cemetery, is to be given a plaque in Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey, on the centenary of her death. Owing to her liaison with G. H. Lewes, and her opinions, she had always been refused recognition in the Abbey; but her fame has spread and times have changed.
2. 27 year old Mariana Pineda was garrotted in her native Granada on 26th May 1831, under the tyrannical "legitimist" government of Ferdinand VII.
3. J. T. Murphy (1888-1966). In after-years he became friendly with Lord Mountbatten — possibly because Mountbatten (whose wife was partly Jewish) was anti-Nazi (the only one in the Royal circle), and later during the war, Mountbatten brought Murphy into Intelligence as his "personal adviser".
4. Incorrect. Cohn-Bendit attended as a member of a properly constituted federation, the then British Anarchist Federation — in protest at the bureaucratic decision to exclude him and others with recent revolutionary experience. The secretary of the conference felt it was "English humour" to say that the federation saw no reason for its delegation to be confined to nationals of the country. But he showed his own peculiar sense of humour in, for the next conference (Paris) recognising as the "one federation" "allowed" to this country one of a dozen people in all.
5. The shooting of the film woke up the local people — in working class district of Berlin still anti-Nazi — and they came rushing out of their homes, seeing the Nazis apparently beleaguered and losing, ready to join in the "revolt" which took a whole day to be quelled.

Dear Black Flag,

Another illustration of P.R.'s article Tools of the Trade (April issue, No.19) was reported in the hallowed pages of the TIMES on 30 April. When Iranian students attempted to occupy the Iranian Embassy in London, protesting about the deaths of nine political prisoners in Iran, armed policemen of the "Diplomatic Protection Group" arrived within seconds.

The students have since been charged with "conspiracy to trespass", a ridiculous charge when technically they were on the soil of their own country! Needless to say their flats were also ransacked by the Special Branch who seized personal documents and information hoping to help the good Shah persecute more people who raise their voices against his tyranny.

The actions of the Special Branch and D.P.G. underline once again the willingness of our wonderful police to do everything in their power to prop up international oppression.

Franco, the Shah of Iran, which dictator will they pledge their conspiratorial support to next?

Watch out, there's an (armed) fuzz about!

Terry Wrist.

I was very interested in Miguel Garcia's article, "Lorenzo Lopez Noguero", in the April, 1975 issue of Black Flag, wherein he describes how Noguero entered Spain in 1950 with a group that was invading the province of Lerida in Catalonia "via Andorra", and their return again via Mount Sec, "Between the Republic of Andorra and Lerida".

In the summer of 1950, a friend and I decided that we would try to visit Spain (it was before the tourist influx). We applied for visas, but for some reason or another (relations between France and Spain were, I believe, somewhat strained at the time) we were not allowed them. Nevertheless, we decided we would try. We made our way by train to Toulouse and then on to Ax, which was the last station in the foothills of the Pyrenees before the Spanish border. We made our way from Ax, and into Andorra, in an old local bus. And we made our base in Les Escaldes. Over a period of time, we travelled over much of Andorra and, ultimately through various passes managed to find our way into Spain. We even managed to get as far as Seu D'Urgell, which at the time was "lousy" with Francoist troops (I still have a few very poor photos of some of the soldiers and the local forts). Later, we returned to Andorra.

But perhaps the interesting aspect of our journeys through the mountain passes between Andorra and Spain was our encounter, one morning, with three men (who had obviously seen us well before we passed them). I remember them to this day. They looked Spanish, wore berets, carried haversacks — and each had a rifle. As we passed, they nodded and then grinned. That was all. In our digs some time later, we mentioned the encounter to the owner. He appeared a little embarrassed, and told us they were "bandits". But he did not sound at all convincing.

Last year, I mentioned the above to comrade Christie, and he said that it could have been Guardia Civil, but that they generally had at least one of their members on horseback. He felt that it was probably someone like Sabate or Noguero and an anarchist guerrilla group. On reflection I also feel the same way. I'm certain that the Guardia Civil would not have grinned at us — particularly as my companion was of Italian origin and could have been taken for a Spaniard!

Fraternally,

Peter Newell.



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