



The printshop in which Cerrada printed hundreds of official carnets for Jews (altering national identification on the general principle of the Spanish anarchist resistance — the rich paid, the poor (and resistance fighters) didn't).

LAUREANO SANTOS'S MURDERER now resident in Canada, is 52 year old Ramon Benicho Canuda, alias Ramon Leriles, nicknamed "el Leriles." We urge all Canadian and North American comrades to do everything possible to trace the whereabouts of this man and to pass the information on to us as soon as possible. We hope to obtain a photograph and a detailed description of Canuda in time for the next issue.

make a suitable recruit for the Mounties — if they can be quite sure he is not acting for someone else's military intelligence — but at the same time we would like to assure them that Laureano's murder will not be brushed off lightly!

How the fascist gangs of Spain and the secret police of three countries must have enjoyed their Xmas when they heard that the "notorious public enemy" Cerrada was killed! Their triumph is a tribute to our comrade who was going to retire to write his memoirs which, in turn, would have been a major inspiration to all who fight for freedom. Laureano Cerrada Santos — we salute your memory!

BLACK FLAG

organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Vol. IV No.13 1977 15p



MURDERED!

Coming out of a bar in the boulevard Belleville in a working-class suburb of Paris last October, comrade Laureano Cerrada Santos, one of the last of the old guard anarchist activists, was ambushed and murdered by a police agent who had managed to penetrate the ranks of the Spanish Resistance. Cerrada had discovered the activities of this despicable character who was acting for the Spanish secret police in France (working in close association with the French police) and was preparing to publish details of them when this hero of fascism discovered he was known, and shot dead our veteran comrade — an unarmed man of 74. Cerrada's death is a double blow to the anarchist movement because, apart from his drive and energy, he was a skilled forger whose talents were dedicated to the struggle against tyranny and the State.

Laureano Cerrada Santos was one of the few remaining survivors of a generations who were prepared to — and countless numbers of them did — risk their lives in the struggle for social justice. He had been one of the founders of the railway union of the CNT, a disciple of Francisco Ferrer and a comrade of the legendary "Sugar Baby," the fighting secretary of the anarcho-syndicalist union movement. He fought it goes without saying, in the civil war and afterwards joined the resistance which spread through Spain and France where he was one of the most dangerous to the Francoist regime.

He upset many 'puritans' in the movement during the period of Resistance because of his organisation of forgery on a widespread scale and a huge black market operation. It was felt that forgery gave the anarchist movement a bad name, but it did help keep the

movement and the Resistance alive, and the fascist State maintained its pervasive influence in part by the control it had over rationing. Among the attempts against Franco in which Laureano participated was the abortive attack on him while in the company of Hitler and also another in San Sebastian in 1948.

He held his anarchist ideas to the end — one of the many who held back the march of tyranny and did not live to see the dawn.

What of his assassin? He has been smuggled out of the country by the French police, into Canada. Does Canada, then, admit terrorists? We heard a lot from the Canadian Cabinet last year about their determination to keep terrorists out of their country when the editor of this paper was to be flown in for a TV interview with CBC. Not this kind however! They can be congratulated on their new citizen who should

Anarchists in New Zealand or just visiting
contact: Anarchy, P.O. Box 22-607,
Christchurch, N.Z.

Our apologies to all comrades and readers
for the lengthy delay in binding *The Black
Flag Anarcho Quiz Book* (due to circum-
stances beyond our control). With a bit
of luck this title should be ready within
the next week or so.

Issue No.2 of *The Cienfuegos Press
Anarchist Review* will go to press on
March 1st and advance copies should be
ready by the end of the month. This issue
is much larger than the previous one with
64 tightly packed pages (A4 size with
card cover) with articles covering a wide
range of subjects including: B. Traven :
Master of the Revolutionary Novel; Blueprint
for a Police State; Anarchism in Japan;
Anarchist Alternatives to NATO; Notes
on the Study of Anarchism in Germany;
Anarchism (Peter Kropotkin); The History
of the Anarchist Movement in Poland
(Nagorski); Witchcraft; Geomancy; The
origins of the Universe etc, etc, plus
detailed reviews of books dealing with
anarchism in the U.K., U.S.A., Canada,
France, Spain, etc., - hours of interesting
reading "All human life is there" *Prof.
Hagbard Celine*. This is superb value at
£1.00 (+ 20p p&p) but it will be mailed
free to all sustaining subscribers to
Cienfuegos Press (£6.00 per year/£25
life sub).

State of Play : Encouraging.

As at 31/12/76

Black Flag deficit carried fwd	£1490. 48
Production & printing costs	
paid to date	115. 00
Postage	40. 75
	1646. 23
Sales & subs	£90. 82
Donations*	182. 00
	272. 82
deficit brought fwd.£1373. 41	
(actually down!)	

Donations:
London Smithfield workers £35 (see last
issue); L.S. £5; Jumble sale at Muswell
Hill £14; Nottingham A.B. £5; Reading
A.S. £10; Bath T.L.J. £1; R.E. £1;
Leeds M.S. £2; Huddersfield Meeting £5;
Glasgow A. McG £1; HMP M.S. £3;
Germany £100.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What was significant about Mrs.
Sukhanova getting her husband to stay
out all night?
2. What, according to Playwright
Henrik Ibsen, in the play "An Enemy of
the People," was the lesson to be learned
by all who go out to battle for truth and
justice?

For The Symbionese Liberation Army
March 6, 1974.

They call it terror
if you are few
and have no B-52s
if you are not a head of state
with an army and police
if you have neither napalm
nor tanks
nor electronic battlefields
terror is if you are dispossessed
and have only your own two hands
and each other
and your rage
It is not terror
if you are New York's finest
and you shoot a 10-year black child in the
back
because you think black people
all look like they've just committed a
robbery
It is no terror if you are ITT
and buy the men
who line Chilean doctors up in their
hospital corridors
and shoot them . . .
Only those who have nothing
can be terrorists
. . . there will be mistakes
but do not let
the enemy define the mistakes
because he is experienced
and has ten thousand printing presses at
his back
behind which he hides the tanks and guns
and he will say, the people don't support
you
and saying it can make it so
if we agree
he will say, you only turn off
those you are fighting for
he is helpful
no anti-war march
no sit-in
no teach-in
but had its helpful editor to say
how much more we could accomplish by
doing less
or preferably nothing . . .

December got us well and truly out of
trouble; apart from the surprise gift from
Smithfield, many comrades rallied around
to our S.O.S. and our comrade from way
back in the "Coptic" days, Anna Blume,
weighed in from Germany with a hefty
contribution out of her pay packet.
Thanks to Robyn and Mark organising the
jumble sale, we shared the £28 with
Centro Iberico - appreciation to all who

3. Which U.S. general was a former
Marxist, and is claimed (inaccurately) by
the German Social Democratic Party
as their founder?
4. Why was the toughest, most militant
and fighting spokesperson for the US
miners so hostile to women's suffrage?
5. John Brown - transformed during
the Civil War into a secular saint ('his
soul goes marching on') - was at the

but do not be fooled
there is no weapon they will allow
nothing that works will be called legitimate
unless we fight for it
unless we educate ourselves and others
unless we separate resistance from oppression

The same editorials that scream terrorism
screamed mob rule
at the civil rights marches of the early
sixties
at the anti-war demonstrations
thousands of busted heads later
they say, of course
we always upheld the right to preaceful
protest

The attitudes they offer up in print
with little tabs, cut them out and wear them
written by men who have not
seen a jail cell from the inside
or hunger
or the face of a duly constituted officer
of the law as he says
make one move and you'll be dead
they say, we cannot condone violence
but watch out
for whether they say it about murdering
prisoners
or about kidnapping Patricia Hearst
about the disinherited
or about the inheritors . . .

Sisters and brothers, think hard before
you jump
onto the bandwagon
of condemning terrorism
remember who is making the definitions
remember not to strengthen the hand
that will turn in an instant
against every means of resistance to
oppression
That bandwagon rolls straight towards
fascism
do not forget the real terrorists
that lurk behind the masks of heads of state
do not be afraid to hold strong
together
with all who dare to struggle.
"A sister in the Weather Underground."

helped. Wonderful work, all concerned
who helped us survive the end of the
year!
Finally, our postage bill has been
considerably reduced by the new
Publications Distribution Cooperative.
MURRAY DEFENCE COMMITTEE
Money urgently required: 155 Church
Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Eire.

time of his invasion of slave-owning
Virginia at the head of an army of under
two dozen, regarded as 'insane,' 'criminal,'
and 'ruffianly' and execrated as was the
Symbionese Liberation Army in our day.
Who was the anarchist writer who
defended him? (Was his project imprac-
ticable? Why did public opinion change?)
6. What cowardly royal assassination
took place at Smithfield?
cont.p15

The bogey of trade unionism is raised
more avidly by the press and politicians
than it has been since its earliest years,
when it was regarded as a criminal con-
spiracy to band together to form
combinations of workers with the purpose
of increasing wages. Nothing is too bad
to throw at the unions; they are both
running and ruining "the country", they
dictate to the public, deny freedom to
their members, are destroying the
"middle class" and causing inflation (an
artificial State-made process if ever there
was one). The press even views sympa-
thetically the Plymouth Brethren claim
that if they joined an appropriate trade
union they would be "unlawfully yoked
with the heathen" (though they poured
scorn on the "straining of Biblical texts"
during the war when the selfsame people
thought "thou shalt not kill" was meant
to be taken literally.)

To pass from the fantasy world of the
press and the politicians to the factory
floor is like the inter-war experience of
going into a slum inhabited by pauper
Jews and being handed a Mosleyite
leaflet explaining they were the real
rulers of the world.

Does It Exist?
The larger employers all welcome the
formation of unions, and the closed shop
in particular. They want to do business
that way and the idea of a free "free
market" - freedom of choice for the
workers to join or form what unions they
wished, to bargain any way they wanted,
and to have no imposed discipline from
outside professional organisers, would
send them round the bend. As the State
goes further into business it incorporates
the trade unions into the organising
machine, - while the Conservative press
condemns it as bureaucratic and kow
towing to the "unions" in its columns,
it does precisely the same thing in precisely
the same way and good care is taken not
to have any unyoked Plymouth Brethren
round the place . . .

Not only, however, are the unions
not so powerful as claimed - except in
their utility value to the State and large
employers - it is even doubtful whether
in the true meaning of the term, the
trade union movement exists at all except
in name. This may seem a surprising or
provocative statement to make since
their power is stressed over and over
again. But the Soviet trade unions are
the largest, and possibly the largest-
financed, in the world. Do they exist in
the true sense of the word, then? Have
they any powers other than acting as an
adjunct of the State machine? In the
normal use of the word "trade union" as
clearly understood when not meaning
to deceive and confuse, trade unions do
not exist in State Communist countries.

But they are ceasing to exist in the
so-called "Western world" too as they
go the same way. There is a general
move in the economy from rule based on

profits to rule based on power. It is
part of the hocus-pocus of Leninism to
suggest that "Communism" in their sense
is implacably the opposite of "Capitalism."
What we are moving towards in the
capitalist countries is State Capitalism.
The term has been misused by dissident
Marxists as an alibi for State Communism
("the evils in Soviet Russia do not spring
from State Communism or from Leninism;
Stalinism has introduced State Capital-
ism").

The question of what is "State
Capitalism" represents a semantic
difference among libertarians, too. Some
- among our groupings too - would say
that Stalinism is State Capitalism. But
I would say that as the Russian economy

TRADE UNIONS

ARE THEY A MENACE?

is not based on competition or profit,
it is very clearly State Communism
(which Bakunin foresaw could be an
even greater tyranny than capitalism),
whereas State Capitalism is the type of
control by (salaried) technocrats,
accountants, solicitors and seat-warmers
who constitute the managerial society
of the West, which does very nicely
whether it makes a loss or not for the
company or the nationalised industry,
and whose power lies in the fact of
controlling rather than in the ability to
make it profitable.

Is It Free?
Reformist trade unionism had a place
in the free economy, as only wage
bargaining could lift the workers out of
a species of industrial serfdom. That
was the basis of competition. But under
State Capitalism competition between
unions is eliminated, or at any rate
regarded as something discreditable and
interfering with the "normalcy" of
production. Even bargaining itself, by
industrial action, is regarded as virtually
an act of treason - in spirit if not in law.
The higher interests of the State (though
in the usual guise of "the country")
are threatened. The unions themselves
are to some extent reluctant entirely to
give up the old methods of wage bargain-
ing and occasional strikes because they
know full well from experience that it
may be that they will be replaced with
something new, something militant and
something live. Perhaps this could be
bought off. But that would only bene-
fit the capitalist, not the superannuated
T.U. leaders.

The larger employers - those with
more experience of working conditions
know too the dangers of a new unionism,
or a return to the older unionism, and

that explains the divisions in the Con-
servative Party since what is good for
the individual employer and his profits
does not necessarily correspond with
what he regards as good for "the nation"
that is to say the State.

The workers today possess tremendous
power though it is whittled away by
their gradual displacement in productive
work into useless tasks that produce
nothing but enable the parasitic class to
maintain their importance. Engineers
may be laid off, but there is always a
demand for lower grades of office workers,
for cleaners, for doorkeepers, for
chauffeurs and drivers Politically
they have been totally displaced by a
left with its roots in the academic
establishment of the ruling class which
has turned the workers out of their own
movement; industrially they have been
step by step incorporated into something
which calls itself the trade union move-

ment but every day ceases to be one and
becomes more like a totalitarian labour
front even though maintaining some
independence yet. When one looks at
what a real union is (alas, was) one
realises the gap there is between *that*
and what we have.

As It Was . . .
Read what B. Traven has to say about
the railwaymen's union in Mexico in
the early 1920s. In those days it was
still anarcho-syndicalist (the natural
libertarianism of the workers has since,
in Mexico as everywhere else, been
sidetracked and liquidated: today, it
is more like the NUR). But this is
what it was like then.

"The railwaymen of Mexico are all without
exception members of a first-class union,
radical to the backbone and never averse
from a strike; and they hang together to a
man. Their organisation and the spirit pre-
vailing in it make self-respecting men of them,
who are eager to improve themselves as
citizens of their country. Courteous and
helpful, always laughing and joking, they bear
no resemblance at all to the growling and
snarling N.C.O.'s who, disguised as railwaymen,
make travelling in Central Europe such a dis-
agreeable experience. They are not the
subordinates of arrogant superior officers, for
all share as comrades in the pride of their
organisation. The fireman may be president
and spokesman of the group at whose meetings
the chief of the line sits modestly on the same
bench as shunters, pointsmen and wheel-greasers
and listens quietly and attentively to the
proposals the fireman has to make, as chairman,
for improving the conditions of the railway
worker. And in the event of a strike, the
chief of the line, whose pay is ten times that
of a wheel-greaser or shunter, does not organise
the technical staff as an emergency gang. On
the contrary, he gets out the bills and posters
which inform the public of the reason and
the necessity for the railway strike, because
he is better at writing than the fireman, though
the fireman is chairman and spokesman. The
chief of the line and the shunter eat from
the same spoon, so to speak; by virtue of
their organisation the dirty wheel-greaser is
cont. p5

The "PETTY BOURGEOIS" SAGA

Religiously repeating the trite remarks out of context from the saviour god philosophers, any Marxist-Leninist will repeat the words "petty bourgeois" when talking of anarchism . . . it matters not that they nowadays invariably come from the wealthier student class, *they* cannot be "petty bourgeois" because they have the light, whereas the Anarchists *must* be "petty bourgeois" and they can produce chapter and page number of one of the other of the god philosophers to prove it.

The Communist Party is adept at throwing up false fronts, and now the Maoists come to copy them — the

ROON

Spanish Communists in London adopted the name "Centro Antonio Machado," after the distinguished poet. Note the Maoists have a rival club, the "Club Alvarez del Vayo." Senor del Vayo was a distinguished Socialist career diplomat from the upper classes, who became Foreign Minister and, after Negrin became Premier, went closer to the Stalinists. He never did a day's work or fought for his principles in his life. Not indeed a "petty" bourgeois! But when you think of all the workers in Spain who have fought so hard and bitterly against Fascism, who have provided great names that are remembered and unknown names that are not, would you not think one of them could have provided a better alias for Marxist Revolutionaries? After all, the dead cannot object . . . But the problem is, all these workers were Anarchists. Mere "petty bourgeois opportunists." Trotsky said so.

KEITH PATON KNEW MY FATHER

For a bit of unmitigated humbug, we recommend Keith Paton's leaflet "Alternative Liberalism — in search of ideological neighbours."

It is an appeal to the Liberal Party, especially the Young Liberals, now in deep disarray and confusion, to adopt "non violent" anarchism.

"We are heading towards a situation where the challenge of the traditional (white/male/industrially based/Labour or Leninist) Left will be countered by military/fascist reaction." Stop Pharisee!

Ignore the "Labour Leninist" bit. You are putting things in terms of America, with which you have a love-hate relationship. If there are fewer blacks in Left politics here, it is not because — as in America — they have been excluded in the past, but because they as immigrants, have no tradition of being in politics. All "Left" groups ask for black support. Will "military-

fascist reaction" take any form except against industrially-based organisations? Anything less does not need the Army.

But, goes on Keith Paton — advocating "Peace News" as his ideal, "If you go back in your own liberal tradition beyond Mill, you'll come to William Godwin, from whom we anarchists derive our claim to be able to synthesise the best in liberal, as well as socialist, thought. I'm not talking about the violent or destructive currents of anarchism or the anarchism that tail-ends Marxism and is obsessed with preventing the "emasculatation" (sic) of the revolution. . . . We claim a long and largely honourable tradition: e.g. it was we anarchists whom the Bolsheviks first attacked in post-revolutionary Russia, April 1918; e.g. the social creativity of the anarchist influenced workers and peasants in Spain in 1936/37, before snuffed out by the troops of right and

ABOUT

left; May 68, to some extent. Many liberals have been moving our way for a decade, and I thought it would be nice to say a friendly hello! to the nearest wing (fringe?) of you lot."

Humbug! "We anarchists" whom the Bolsheviks attacked, "we anarchists" who fought in Spain, and struggled ever since — what have "we" to do with you? Or are you pretending that it was "Peace News" types that fought in Russia and Spain? What with, bunches of posies? Welcome to Keith Paton, Liberals — if he's not in the Loyd George tradition, who is?

THE "CLEAN HANDS" SAGA

Academics spend comfortable lives on Government grants churning out theses — sometimes, alas, based on *our* work which we produce under hurried conditions in what time we can spare from working to bring in the cash to finance them. They can draw on what books they like and have State-aided research facilities yet they enjoy nothing better than sneering at *our* occasional slip ups. But what are they to theirs?

Just ran across this in *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* by Daniel Bell: "... This is the theme of Conrad's powerful novel about nihilism, *The Secret Agent*, which was prompted by anarchist activities at the turn of the century — the bombings and the *random murders of "bourgeois-looking" people in the streets*. It is the novel that adumbrates the more widespread terrorist by radicals in the 1960." (our italics).

Conrad wrote a book based on Nihilism ("Under Western Eyes"). "The Secret Agent" was supposed to be about

Anarchists, though Conrad was unclear on what they were. At no time does the book deal with "random murders of 'bourgeois-looking' people" and it is hardly necessary to say that only an idiot could have supposed this ever happened. It is a variation of the "shot for having clean hands" story. Imagine somebody — and especially in time of tranquility, not even in a revolutionary situation — shooting people at random because they looked "bourgeois."

This "adumbrates" not the turn-of-the-century or 1960 radical "terrorism" but nationalist terrorism which singles out people of one particular race, nationality or colour. In Belfast, where nothing can be stranger than fact, they shoot people at random knowing their religion on sight.

Even there, they would be hard put to it to distinguish which are "bourgeois". Do these mythical assassins now, or then, recognise their quarry by wearing "collars and ties" (another hardy annual!) — by bowler hats and umbrellas? — or maybe by wearing specially frayed scruffy jeans?

What rot! Yet the exact opposite is the truth. Reactionaries do, in many countries, go round and murder working-class-looking people. The police in many countries, in times of riot, single out the working-class scruffy-looking, or minority group, looking people, beat them up and sometimes shoot them. In times of strikes, in many countries, even in comparatively democratic countries let alone dictatorships, groups of workers are taken out and one in every dozen, or every hundred, arrested, sometimes shot. In times of military mutiny, this is the course even in the "freest" States. When or where, however, are officers or members of the Board of Directors, taken out, and imprisoned or shot by the workers? Or by terrorists? Answer, Never. Mr. Bell is not only a propagandist and a liar, but a clumsy one at that.

ANARCHIST OUTLAWRY

Listening to the radio a sudden phrase caught my ear. A German politician was explaining how we were moving towards "the outlawry of anarchism" . . . It is typical of State paranoia — people can be forced to love the State. You can impose fear by bludgeons, but respect must be won and love is always free . . .

At the height of the inquisition people were not allowed to question the dictates of the Church. But provided they outwardly conformed the Church wisely did not say that people *had* to have faith, provided they were silent on their disbelief — or confessed and asked forgiveness.

It is possible to make anarchist propaganda illegal or to ban anarchist organisations. It is possible to make it so unpleasant for anyone to be an anarchist that they will refrain from calling

TRADE UNIONS Cont.

more to the chief of the line than the state can be, or the interests of trade and industry, or the common weal, all of which come second to the aim of securing the necessities of existence for the pointsman, his comrade. For this reason the engine-driver need not have asked his fireman what he had to say; for he might have known what answer he would make; and what answer all the other railwaymen who were standing about waiting for the goods train to start, would make also.

It was a question first of all of their own union members; but even if they had all been safe and sound, still they would have gone, because there were the passengers in desperate straits. Even though they put the members of their union first, the passengers came second. Indeed the railwayman feels a greater responsibility for the welfare of the passengers than for the welfare of his own family. For that is what his union teaches him. And his union is never wrong whatever anyone, the archbishop included, may say."

Quote from *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*.

Try that on for size and see if it fits.

Albert Meltzer.

FILMS

FRAME UP — the story of Martin Sostre; and **RED SQUAD** will be shown in London on 12th MARCH, 7.30 at the Tabernacle Community Hall, Powis Square, Notting Hill.

ROON 'N' ABOUT.

themselves one. It is possible to caricature and denigrate anarchism to deter people from naming themselves such. But unless they have found a way of making us all masochists, the State will not be able to "outlaw anarchism."

WHEN WEALTH IS KING

Multi-millionaire Howard Hughes had everything that the rat-race can offer — he made it, and had his pick of women as a sexual commodity, men as objects of service, luxury, adventure, power, influence, prestige. He was one of capitalism's winners for whom thousands of people were directly sacrificed to make way and millions exploited.

Those who drop out, whether from choice or necessity, must wonder sometimes at all they missed. Take a look at Howard Hughes's last days now being recounted in books and newspapers. For years a completely mad recluse, a crazy meglomaniac reduced to sitting naked surrounded by well scrubbed and sterilised equipment and dozens of bought followers, of whom it is hard to say if they were his warders or his prisoners. His money provided for his every repellent whim, he preserved his urine in glass jars around him, he was covered with bed sores and squandered sums that would have kept whole cities in order to ensure his privacy or captivity, whichever it was.

Harold Wilson Prize for Sincerity

Making an attack on the Trotskyists in a speech in Derbyshire (reported in full in the Guardian, Jan. 22) Shirley Williams "took up the issues raised by the Militant Group." She was not concerned with the fortunes of right-wing members of the Labour Party facing personal displacement by the infiltrators — oh no. She was concerned with individual liberty. Trotsky himself, she said with brilliant insight, "cared nothing for individual liberty . . . his actions in the 1920s as one of the leaders of the Soviet State — for example, his part in the crushing of the Kronstadt rising, makes this clear."

Yet when Emma Goldman was deported from Russia and came to England to make the crushing of the Kronstadt sailors — among other facts about Russia, she was abused and calumniated by the Labour Party — including such figures

What use was he to society? Absolutely none. Yet anarchists are accused of being "against society"! The State ensured his wealth . . . but in what way had he earned it? Like a pet dog left a fortune by an adoring mistress, this emaciated relic of a man held in his hands the destinies of thousands of people, though being no more and no less capable of acting than the pet dog. The only thing that spoke was the money. What distinguished Howard Hughes from any other capitalist is that most of them enjoy the luxury and command their wealth brings them. But their utility value is equally nil and only the weight of property-based laws ensures they get what they "pay for."

BAND OF HOPE

Surely the funniest piece of Christian hope reported recently was the action of Caerphilly councillors in demonstrating against the Sex Pistols with the counter-attraction of a carol concert in the car park of the hall where they were playing?

NO RESPECTER OF PERSONS

A leading Gaullist and prominent Christian Conservative, M. Gerard Amanrich, diplomatic counsellor to the Government, was brought back from his Ambassadorship to the Vatican (due to the decline of Gaullism) and, apparently out of pique, brutally murdered his wife, 18 year old daughter and 16 year old son.

as George Lansbury and Ernest Bevin. Bit late in the day for Shirley to show how the Labour Party cares for individual liberty when it connived at the massacre by silence over the facts and abuse for those who related them?

When you read Alexander Berkman's *Russian Tragedy* reflect that at the time the Labour Party was falling over itself to apologise for Soviet Russia even though it was holding off the British Communists at arms' length (they read Lenin too on the reason he wanted the British CP to affiliate).

When, of course, you hear Tories mention Kronstadt (they have at last cottoned on to the fact that it is a sizeable count against the Russian dictatorship) consider how *they* would deal with a sailors' mutiny to enforce the demands of the revolution and smash the State. They are libertarians but "as far away as Russia is."

He said he was going to commit suicide too but "lacked courage."

The murders were directly concerned with his Statist opinions and conservative prejudices. His career was slipping. Would that have mattered had he been a libertarian?

Will Paris hold up its hands in horror at those who are preaching political Catholicism and Conservatism? Will Gaullism be declared a criminal conspiracy? Will President Giscard go to Strasbourg seeking to make Statism an illegal international conspiracy? We fear not.

Yet that his murderous actions were a result of his deeply held convictions cannot be disputed.

When it was discussed a few years ago "what would you have done had Hitler won the war?" many leading English politicians sharing M. Amanrich's views said they would do *precisely the same*. Mr. Enoch Powell on television put it succinctly: So long as the King was sovereign he would have resisted. If the King abdicates there would be nothing left (not illegal guerrilla action, obviously) but suicide — and no doubt he would not have "lacked courage" to take his family with him. Every right-wing politician echoed this.

Now consider how French opinion treats of an Anarchist who say (sixty years ago) shot a gendarme in the course of a strike in which the Army intervened . . .

It is with great sorrow and a feeling of deep loss that we learned recently of the death in December of our close comrade and collaborator Aaron Rogat. Whenever we were faced with a financial crisis — which was (and is) often — Aaron was always among the very first to contribute his hard earned cash. Aaron's widow informs us that he has left a considerable sum of money in his will to Black Flag, Cienfuegos Press, Black Star and the Bulletin of the SRAF. We can only try to live up to the high expectations of this sorely missed veteran who played an important part in giving continuity to the ideas of revolutionary activism. We hope we do credit to his memory.

AN OBITUARY FOR

AARON ROGAT

Marcus Graham, one of Aaron Rogat's closest comrades of many years standing, writes:

California in the 1920's was the Mecca which attracted many radical youngsters of which I was but one. I had known beforehand of the existence of the anarchist group "Free Society" and it was there I met Aaron Rogat for the first time. The majority of the group members were readers of the Jewish anarchist paper *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Free Workers' Voice), issued by the group of the same name and sponsored by the Jewish Anarchist Federation which in turn was made up of groups in different parts of the country. The paper had a chequered list of editors, the most outstanding being David Edelstadt who was considered by many to be one of the most outstanding poets in Yiddish literature. Through carrying out his editorial duties in a damp basement David contracted TB and died in a sanatorium in Denver, Colorado. Another M. Katz, was a well-known literary critic, but the longest to hold the position of editor was Sh. Yanovsky who was brought over from England to do the job. Yanovsky was a brilliant journalist, compared with Rudolf Rocker, the editor of the London paper *Arbeiter Freund* (The Workers' Friend) he was far from being a revolutionary anarchist. In World War I Yanovsky sided with the anarchists who opposed it, but in World War II he did a complete *volte face* and went as far as including an advert placed by the U.S. Government urging readers to buy Liberty Bonds! He ended his editorship when he started collaborating on the socialist daily *Forverts* (Forward).

When the social revolution took place in Russia and the Bolsheviks managed to absorb the then editor of *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, Dr. J.A. Merryson, although thought of as a revolutionist, realised that the revolution has been betrayed by the Bolsheviks and set out to expose them. Most anarchists outside of Russia were pro-Bolshevik, including the business

manager of F.A.S., Joseph Cohen. Cohen succeeded in ousting Merryson as editor of the paper and took on the job himself. At that time I was editing an English language monthly which was published clandestinely by the "Free Society" Group and when Cohen began to reveal his revisionist position outdoing even that of Dr. Merryson, I wrote two articles showing how non-anarchist his position was. He replied, but refused to allow any follow up to the discussion by saying that my reply quoted too many anarchists. Most of the "Free Society" Group were in sympathy with my position and, after many discussions, it was agreed that a new Jewish speaking movement

should be formed to counter the revisionist and pro-Bolshevik stand taken by *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*. I drew up a manifesto which was read and approved by the group, and which was signed by Aaron Rogat, Joseph Spivak and myself. This manifesto also announced that I was to embark on a hitch-hiking lecture tour to enlist the support of the Jewish speaking groups. Cohen's reply to this was to publish an attack on us in an attempt to ridicule Rogat and Spivak as ignoramuses and to call into question the method by which I earned my living. (It was well-known in our circles that I only worked at either of my two trades if I was in material need). The immediate protest made against this libel by the "Free Society" Group was suppressed by Cohen. Our group sent representatives to the publications group which issued *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* to demand that Cohen retract his unfounded and unwarranted accusation. They appointed a committee to investigate the matter and later printed a partial retraction. The Radical Library of Philadelphia, where Cohen and I were once members, set up an honorary tribunal composed of seven members, and both Cohen and myself were asked to attend. Cohen refused to come, but I did attend and after many sessions the committee published a lengthy report which denounced Cohen's insinuations as utterly false and indefensible, and demanded that he retract them. He printed the report, but issued no retraction and it was only when Dr. Michael Cohn became secretary to the Federation that Cohen was forced to retract publicly in the paper. However, Cohen did succeed in putting our attempt to form a new movement on the defensive, and thereby killed it. It was at this juncture that Aaron Rogat, Joseph Spivak myself, and many others of the "Free Society" Group withdrew from any further participation in the Jewish speaking anarchist movement.

In 1923 Hyppolite Havel and a group of comrades founded "The Road to Freedom". This paper was to appear monthly until 1932, and Rogat, Spivak and myself gave it moral and material support. Within the labour movement itself *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* took the side of the socialists who were in control of the paying jobs. Cohen and his associates wanted the *Road to Freedom* to do likewise and, when Havel refused they withdrew their support. It was then Havel wrote to me to say that this decision sealed the fate of the paper's continued existence, and to encourage me to start a new paper. The Italian speaking comrades of San Francisco were most anxious to have a paper to take the place of *Road to Freedom* and they agreed to suspend publication of *Emanzipazione* to support our venture. Thus MAN! first appeared in January 1933 published by the International Group of San Francisco. When the paper was moved to Los Angeles Rogat was overjoyed. The International Group consisted of comrades of many different nationalities and languages and lasted up until 1940 when it was eventually suppressed by the U.S. Government. Rogat was the Treasurer of the Group, and having learned the key typing system was of enormous assistance (I could not break the habit of two finger typing). Aaron was also invaluable in proof reading galley pulls.

In 1968 when the magazine *Anarchos* first made its appearance Aaron gave it his full enthusiastic support and, in 1969, when a group of comrades in Seattle, began to publish a duplicated newsletter called *Ideas* (later renamed Black River) he also gave it material support. The same whole-hearted material support was forthcoming for *Match* and Aaron did everything he could to build up its subscription list. When the break between the editor of *The Match* and myself came (because of my criticism of the anti-revolutionary stand taken by that paper) Rogat was deeply hurt when the Italian speaking comrades — at whose affairs he was one of the most active participants — continued to support that paper financially, disregarding the vicious attacks made against me by the editor. Aaron went through all the correspondence between myself and the editor of *The Match* and typed it all out as the best proof of the editor's anti-revolutionary position. There was no need to issue this correspondence after *Black Flag* denounced the editor for the rogue he was, (although Aaron had prepared everything for the printer who was eventually to do it). Aaron also insisted in sharing with me the cost of publishing *MAN!* through Cienfuegos Press and has since contributed substantially to Black Flag and Cienfuegos Press (as well as leaving them a considerable sum

cont. p13

With one record ("Anarchy in the U.K.") and a small amount of pissing and televised swearing, the Sex Pistols punk-rock band burst into the British press in a big way. To the papers they are Anarchists, plain and simple. Our comrades Noel and Marie Murray, though, whilst awaiting their appeal on Dublin's death row, were "anarchists" — with inverted commas, and "self-styled" ones as that! The Sex Pistols conform to the Fleet Street view of what anarchism is of course — wild-eyed and vomiting, spreading outrage and vandalism. Anarchism as a revolutionary creed is dismissed or left to gentle academics for dissection. When in doubt reach for inverted commas, or better still substitute "Marxist" or "nationalists!"

Still for all Fleet Street's calculated ignorance, what about the Sex Pistols? Does their brand of punk-anarchism bear a second startled look? Not as anarchist propaganda it is sure; but then it is only music (or noise, or theatre). "You pays your money, and you takes your choice." Need we expect more? Some clearly do, though perhaps it would be more fruitful for the anarchist movement if they expected more of themselves. One after the other, half a dozen "self-styled" comrades, impress on me how punks like the Sex Pistols and their like are giving anarchism a bad name. Could it be worse already? Apparently so. Johnny Rotten has succeeded where Winston Churchill failed; *les Enrages* are out-raged! Yet if punk-rock IS getting anarchism a bad name it is certainly getting the crowds too; whilst the anarchists with ruffled feathers, who assure this is the case, certainly are not, for all their righteousness.

Punk bands are chastised for paving the way for fascist hordes because a few of their number sport Nazi emblems (next to pictures of Karl Marx) and have



a passion for leather gear. If fascism did seize power the punks and their young working class fans, who revel in the ridiculous and violent, would be marked down for early entry into concentration camps. Authoritarians of any brand can not tolerate the outspoken. Trendy pacifist liberals who snigger at the Sex Pistols but raise Bob Dylan to King should laugh while they can. If fascism does engulf Britain they would be the first to suffer; the advantage of shooting at pacifists is that they don't shoot back. But the street punks, like every generation of working class youth before them, are not so tame. The dumb insolence and aggression bred into them at school or in the dole queue is fertile ground for resistance. It may be that they will be future storm troopers

but it needn't be. It is not the Sex Pistols who are to blame if every teenager doesn't become a revolutionary. If the National Front are attracting disillusioned Labour voters from the working class it

LISTEN PUNKS!

would be more useful to think why WE are not attracting them.

The same people who hailed Mick Jagger as an "anarchist" in the 60s and now wax so hot under the collar over a few punks having fun ought to ask themselves a few questions. Mr. Jagger is not the "street fighting man" he used to be, but then he never was. Perhaps Johnny Rotten will climb the same ladder to tax-evading seclusion as part of the musical establishment too. That is not the point. People can listen to what music they like. The Sex Pistols, or any musician will not inspire the unemployed to revolt, but then we shouldn't need them to. It is not the punks who give anarchism a bad name, it is too many people who are anarchists in name only.

Henry Black.

SCHOOL FOR TERRORISTS

A singularly gruesome school of terrorists was recently described as having been set up in London's Osterley Park. "They taught ungentlemanly arts like strangling with bare hands and suffocating with wire," it was reported in the Daily Telegraph colour supplement; also "that three inches of broken glass in the road would stop any tired vehicle, a wire four feet from the ground would stop any motor cyclist, and sheets hung across the road from trees would draw the fire of a motorised column, leaving the flanks open to attack.

"They were also taught how to poison water supplies and that the art of street

fighting is to stay out of the streets knocking holes in houses so that you can run from one to another under cover."

Men were also taught how to "attack airfields, sabotage planes, derail trains, blow up ammunition dumps, fire petrol supplies."

The worst case was a publican who kept one of his beer pumps chained and told customers that the pipe leaked. In fact he intended to abandon his pub, having attached the chained pump to a barrel of beer treated with arsenic. He believed that German soldiers would help themselves to it. For this was all

official Government directive, in 1940 when invasion was thought possible. It was not "terrorism" at all! Sorry to have fooled you. But if I have fooled you for a minute, what have you to say to the moralists who are tricking you all the time? "But this was war, Hitler might have won." He did in Spain. But the Spanish Resistance is still called "terrorist" by the people who would have supported this sort of thing in Britain. Yet when did it ever descend to the level of poisoning the wine of ordinary soldiers?

E.B.M.

PRESS HYSTERIA

There are no political prisoners in England, we are assured time and again and by none less vigorously than the Tories. But some prisoners seem to be more political than others. It illumines once more what the Anarchist Black Cross has stated many times that the granting of political status is rarely of benefit to prisoners — it merely serves when granted to divide them from others (as in the case of the Irish political prisoners); otherwise, such status is held to justify narsier treatment against them, as witness the case of Russia, Germany (Nazi or otherwise) Spain, China and other totalitarian countries.

There has been a hùe-and-cry over the release of Anna Mendelson. First picked up by the Sun in its circulation drive against the Mirror (they had scored in putting Marcia Williams on the rack; so the Sun picked up in February the startling news that Anna Mendelson had been released from prison in November. (Only a minority of journalists were not surprised: they had read it in the December Black Flag). As the Sun had missed it before, they said it was “being kept secret.”

The Tory M.P.s rallied around the Sun, ultimately bedmates, following it up with a series of vicious personal attacks . . . the Press not to be outdone came in — but what marks this as a campaign of unprecedented viciousness was the fact that here was a prisoner having served five and a half years in prison (they said four — conveniently forgetting the time before sentence) out of a 10 year sentence, *who had been recommended to clemency by the jury at the time*, being accused after release of *crimes of which she was acquitted*. Eight were accused, four were acquitted unanimously and four, of which Anna was one, acquitted of all crimes relating to causing explosions. Now, four years later, she becomes a “terrorist”; she becomes a “founder of the Angry Brigade” (not then alleged); even by implication, a murderer. Comparisons are made between her case and that of people convicted of several murders and sentenced to life. Why, they’re all “terrorists” aren’t they?

The ravings of the Tory M.P.s are not entirely divorced from the fact that they’re frightened little men to whom the Angry Brigade posed a personal threat, whereas the I.R.A. poses a national one. This is where their politics intrude upon justice for it cannot be denied that had the Stoke Newington Five not been sentenced as political prisoners they would all be out long since if judged on their character.

The three sentenced with Anna are due for remission — as indeed they have been due for parole for a long time now — but Jake Prescott has lost two years’ remission because of his activity on behalf of prisoners in the Hull 1976 protests. (An excellent summary of this case is available from PROP, 339a Finchley Road, London NW3). He was active in the struggle against ill-treatment, particularly serious in Hull — and which was notoriously triggered off by the National Front prison warders who can anticipate their fascist utopia by stepping up the discipline now. Blacks, “reds”, Jews . . . versus firmness in uniform . . . today Hull tomorrow the world . . . what masturbation fantasies must be induced.

Time and again Prescott has been refused even the opportunity of being considered for parole because he has been on top security . . . a classification the prison authorities have been reluctant to lift for purely political reasons, nothing to do with security, but because he too is classed as “a terrorist” though in his case all he was convicted for was writing envelopes. His struggle against brutality in Hull is to be condemned. Since the facts about conditions in Hull prison have been shown clearly — television has pinpointed it — why is he to be made the scapegoat?

BEHAVIOUR MODIFICATION

“The day has come when we can combine sensory deprivation with the use of drugs, hypnosis, and the astute manipulation of reward and punishment to gain absolute control over an individual’s behaviour.”

We want to reshape our society drastically, so that all of us will be trained from birth to want to do what society wants us to do. Today’s behavioural psychologists are the architects and engineers who are shaping the Brave New World of tomorrow. I do hope the legal profession will help us decide what we should build and show us how to institute the most desirable of building codes.”

Prof. James V. McConnell
Dept. of Mental Health Research
Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor
from A Psychologist looks at Crime and Punishment circa 1969,

The new maximum security unit being built by Monroe, Washington is a behaviour modification centre, the first in this state, but one of many built

or in progress across America. It will be used to “cure” prisoners who struggle against oppression and fascism in the nation’s prisons. It will be used to “cure” prisoners who seek prison reform and who defend constitutional rights and humanitarian treatment of all human beings. It will be used against any and all prisoners who attempt to expose the crimes of the State.

Those prisoners scheduled for treatment will be labelled troublemakers, violent, radical elements, and revolutionaries. The unit will be used to isolate progressive prisoners from their peers.

It is becoming increasingly dangerous for anyone to speak out about this or anything else wrong in the Washington State Penal System. All people who do are sent to the Washington State Penitentiary and then to the Intensive Security Unit, or are transferred to the federal system at Marion, Ill., or its equivalent elsewhere.

Here, the paper work is gathered up and prepared on us prisoners and the lists perfected as to who requires immediate modification. This, and other units across the nation will slowly invade the free communities, especially in the poor and minority areas to begin with, under the guise of law and order.

The community should take warning and deal with this danger, so that it can have a voice in its future. All people, and especially any prisoners who help build the Monroe Unit are traitors to the people themselves, and their fellow prisoners. Monroe prisoners know what

Maximum Security Units are for, and it would be a crime for them to aid in the construction.

The media, especially the underground media must become aware of the dangers of behaviour modification and educate the public to the danger this form of mind control represents. The goal of this unit is not penal reform; it is thought control and the eventual ability to manipulate all human behaviour in this country, and then the world, for the sake of profit . . .

Educate and organise to expose and paralyse this movement to enslave human beings.

Carl Harp.

For more information and documentation on behaviour modification write to:—Sanity Now, P.O. Box 261, La Puente, CA 91747. Free for S.A.S.E. Carl Harp, 126516, Box 520, Walla Walla WN. 99362. U.S.A.

(Carl would like to hear from comrades at the above address where he is serving a 95 year prison sentence).



Carballo with his wife being greeted by Madrid comrades in the Plaza de Espana (“Frente Libertario”)

APPEAL TO THE GENERATIONS



CONFEDERACION
NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO
COMITE NACIONAL

“The publication of our Confederal organ, CNT, which brings new life to this era, marks a decisive guide-post in the process of bridging the generation gap between the battle-scarred veterans of so many social struggles and the young fighters who support our new unions and federations today.”

The men and women all around us in the CNT today are well aware that they belong to an organisation which promoted one of the great revolutionary hopes of this tragic twentieth century, since our unions also contain fighters who have battled on the barricades, for the collectives, on the front, and in the underground resistance movement.

From this past experience we know that our present organisational dimensions are still far from what the Confederation will encompass. Yet our revolutionary aspirations are still the same.

From what the CNT has meant in the history of the working class of this country and the entire world, we also know that our present situation is temporary, very different from what the Confederation will be in very short order. When the working masses of the new generation will have seen for themselves enough of the electoral deceptions and demagoguery of every

political party, each of which only aims to perpetuate the governmental mandate in its own way, it will be the end of the present “democratic” illusions and of the glamour bestowed on those parties by their persecution under Franco totalitarianism, obscuring the recollections of their own reformist or authoritarian roots.

The labour movement must recover its total independence, and the struggle for its goals of emancipation can no longer be delegated to political and bureaucratic intermediaries. This experience is being forged in our present struggles — and anarchosyadicalist activity and propaganda are playing an increasing role in shaping it.

When the day comes for the social transformations which workers long for, the revolutionary syndicalism of which the CNT is the historic representative will again be the liberating impetus of direct action, unconquerable by the garrisons of reaction now crouching in the anterooms of power.”

CNT National Committee.

Financial support for the CNT can be channelled through Black Flag. All contributions should be clearly marked “C.N.T.”



The two coloured poster published and distributed in thousands throughout Spain by the Comité Nacional pro-Presos.

POLICE WARN ON ANARCHY

“Police representatives from all over Britain warned their MPs this afternoon that there is a real danger of militants taking control of the Police Federation unless the demand for a £6 pay increase is met.

They said there could be consequent demands for affiliation to the TUC and the right to strike, now banned by law for policemen. There might even be anarchy and an eventual take-over by state control backed by an armed service.”

vide Press

It is enlightening to note the spread of fascist ideas among the police, even at the time when they are moving towards an apparent militancy in wage demands. (Perhaps of course, the National Front element in the police are deliberately diverting these demands which is the classic fascist technique). It is the Marxist case that the achievement of anarchy, a free society in which there is no room for police, is impossible, but the Fascist case that it is possible but inevitably must lead to “eventual take-over by state control backed by an armed service,” which is to say by themselves or by a rival which they variously describe as any one of several conspiracies in their own image.

CARRARA

New police provocation: members of the Anti-Terrorist Squad search Goliardo Fiaschi's home looking for weapons and members of the N.A.P. (Proletarian Armed Cells).

At 5.35am on October 28, 1976, armed police wearing bullet-proof jackets rang the doorbell of the home of Goliardo Fiaschi. As soon as his aged mother opened the door the police pushed her onto the landing. At this point Goliardo got out of bed to see what was going on. As he went to help his invalid sister he heard the voice of the chief of the police squad shout, ordering him to leave her and come ahead with his hands up.

ITALY

Goliardo asked them who they were but received no answer. He assumed at first that they were a fascist commando come to kill him and his family. Later, while the police were searching his house, he asked the armed men once more who they were, finally getting an answer: they were members of the Anti-Terrorism Squad ("Security Service") and they had an order signed by the Judge of Massa-Carrara to search his house.

The police squad also searched the anarchist cultural club organised by Goliardo Fiaschi. Both police searches drew a blank and they went away empty-handed.

This sort of neo-fascist action, an attempt to discourage political activity, is not new in Italy. Recently in Milan the anti-terrorist squad went to search the home of a suspected member of the Red Brigade. As they entered the house a gunfight began resulting in the deaths of the Red Brigade suspect and two policemen. Last July the anti-terrorist squad went to search a hideout of the N.A.P. Finding no one there they waited outside. When a girl — Anna Maria Mantini, a member of the N.A.P. opened the door — they shot her without warning.

Such actions means only one thing: Italy is undergoing the militarisation of everyday life. The natural response to such a growing state of repression is active resistance.

Goliardo Fiaschi, a veteran of the civil war and resistance in Spain has already spent 8 years in Spanish jails and 9 years in an Italian prison until public opinion gained his release. We denounce this latest attempt of the Italian police to continue the persecution he has suffered for his belief in anarchism.

VALPREDA

Pietro Valpreda is staying away from the fourth 'Milan Bombs Trial' now in progress in Catanzaro Calabria, in protest at the delays. Though Valpreda and

three other comrades still face charges of multiple manslaughter it is at last generally admitted in the press that their role in the affair has been only that of "... victims of Italian justice ... It has been transparent, almost from the beginning that the Valpreda group had been framed" (*Guardian*: 18-1-77). Though not transparent enough, we have noticed, for the *Guardian* to change its opinion of Valpreda's innocence several times during his six year ordeal.

Also facing identical charges in the same trial is a group of neo-fascists and Italian police which includes a former chief of Italy's secret police. Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti (who was Defence Minister responsible for the Italian Intelligence services in 1969) is amongst more than 241 witnesses due to be called in this fourth attempt to judge who was responsible for the bombing of the Milan Agricultural Bank on December 12, 1969, in which 16 people died and 100 were injured. General Gian Adelio Maletti, former head of Internal Security Division (SID), is one of several senior intelligence officers in the dock.

Valpreda was not arrested until four days after the explosion yet within only a few hours of it police were proclaiming it was the work of anarchists. Not until two years afterwards were two neo-fascists Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura, arrested on the same charges. Valpreda spent more than three years in prison awaiting trial until finally granted provisional liberty. Of the 33 defendants in this fourth trial, only one is still in prison — Guido Giannettini, a neo-fascist and paid informer of the Italian secret service. Our comrade, Giuseppe Pinelli, then secretary of the Milan Black Cross,

was amongst 100 anarchists arrested for questioning at the time. Pinelli "fell" from a window to his death whilst helping police with their enquiries, with a little help from Police Commissioner Luigi Calabresi. Calabresi has since been killed, as has Vittorio Occosio, (the Rome judge who lead the early investigations), shot last July. Other potential witnesses on the right have disappeared in the direction of Spain.

The professional intelligence informer Guido Giannettini stands accused of forming a right wing group with the immediate aim of carrying out terrorist acts designed to subvert by violent means the constitutional order of the state.

— That he did so with the knowledge of his superiors, who may have encouraged him and certainly did not take action to stop him.

— That Giannetti attempted to organise the escape from prison of Giovanni Ventura.

— That General Gian Adelio Maletti (former chief of SID) provided a second neo-fascist with a fake passport to enable him to leave Italy when police were looking for him in connection with the bomb attack. Three neo-fascists, including Ventura are charged with organising and carrying out the attack for which Valpreda was blamed.

The likely outcome of this trial, as in the previous hearings, is that it will grind to a halt over the question of military secrecy. It is expected that witnesses like SID General Vito Miceli (now a neo-fascist senator), himself under investigation for his involvement in an alleged right-wing coup attempt, will refuse to answer questions on the excuse of "national security." It is poor justice for Valpreda.



Right-wingers Franco Freda (right) and Giovanni Ventura pictured in an Italian court where they face charges in connection with the 1969 bombing of a Milan bank in which 16 people were killed. There are 33 defendants in the case including the anarchist Pietro Valpreda and this is the fourth time it has been brought to trial

(The Guardian)

SPAIN: AID FOR C.N.T. LOCALS

In order to help the Spanish struggle what is needed now is printing and allied facilities. In making this appeal to all friends of the Spanish working-class who have fought so long against tyranny we perhaps need to explain — in view of past endeavours — that we ARE referring to communication facilities and not using the term as a euphemism for anything else.

The strength of the libertarian and confederal movement has always lain in its locals and a diversity of papers has strengthened this. In rebuilding the unions now, every local needs its own facilities.

Black Flag, the Black Cross and Centro Iberico have sent six duplicators so far to Spain. We extract from a letter received from the Regional Committee of the Asturias:

"Asturias, January 1977

Dear Comrades,

A short note to confirm the safe arrival of the latest electronic duplicator sent by you through comrade

It is impossible to convey our gratitude, but the benefit this has brought us is enormous. Apart from helping with our immediate needs it has enabled us to pass on the duplicator we had here to the comrades of Leon who had no means of propaganda at their disposal. Slowly but surely we are overcoming all the difficulties facing us here and we are making our presence felt. Thanks to you and the duplicators we are now able to publish magazines and put out propaganda which was impossible for us before.

. . . un fuerito abrazo y salud
(Regional Committee of the CNT in Asturias, Leon, Palencia and Santander)

Many more need to be sent. There are probably dozens of duplicators and mimeograph machines lying around — second-hand ones will do, and there are many willing hands to renovate them — once bought by groups or clubs and no longer used, rusting, or replaced by something better. (The NUAW let us have two old ones, which are now being used by agricultural workers in Spain).

Eventually we hope to be able to send offset litho printing equipment as our contribution to the Spanish struggle. But at the moment we are concentrating on duplicators as being more readily accessible. We can arrange transport to Spain (and pick up within reasonable distance from London). Overseas readers who can help should write to us first. Contact Miguel Garcia, 123 Upper Tollington Park, London N.4.

FRENCH PRISONERS



Michel Camilleri

GARI prisoners still remaining in French prisons awaiting trial

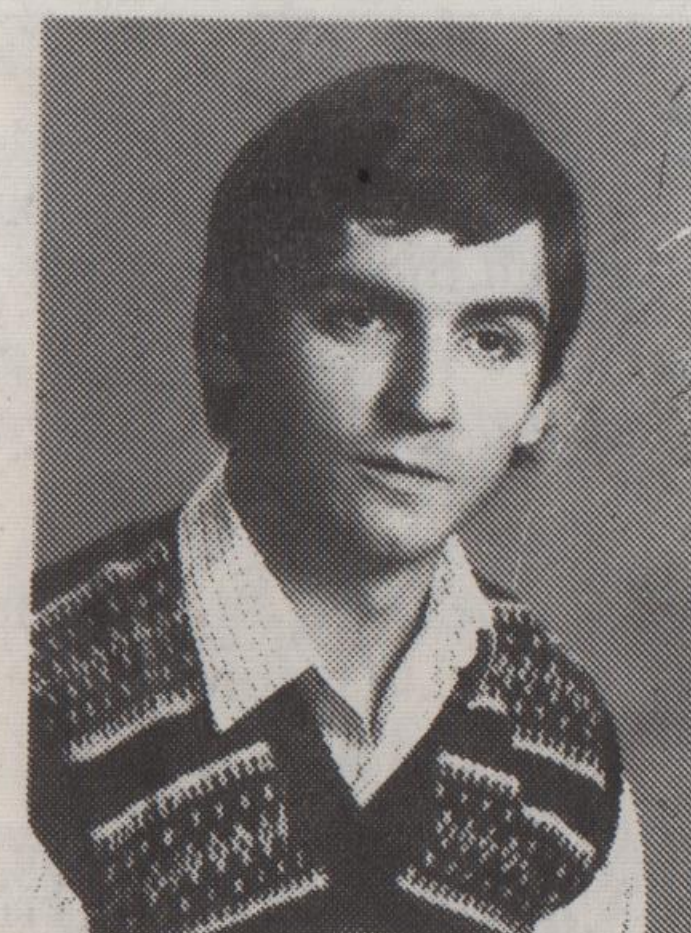
Michel Camilleri

Mario Ines Torres

Jean-Marc Rouillon.

All three now starting their third year in prison AWAITING TRIAL. Their cases (from March '76) have been passed from the State Security Court (which normally handles political cases) to the Court of Assizes, the inference being that they are bandits (criminals) rather than political prisoners.

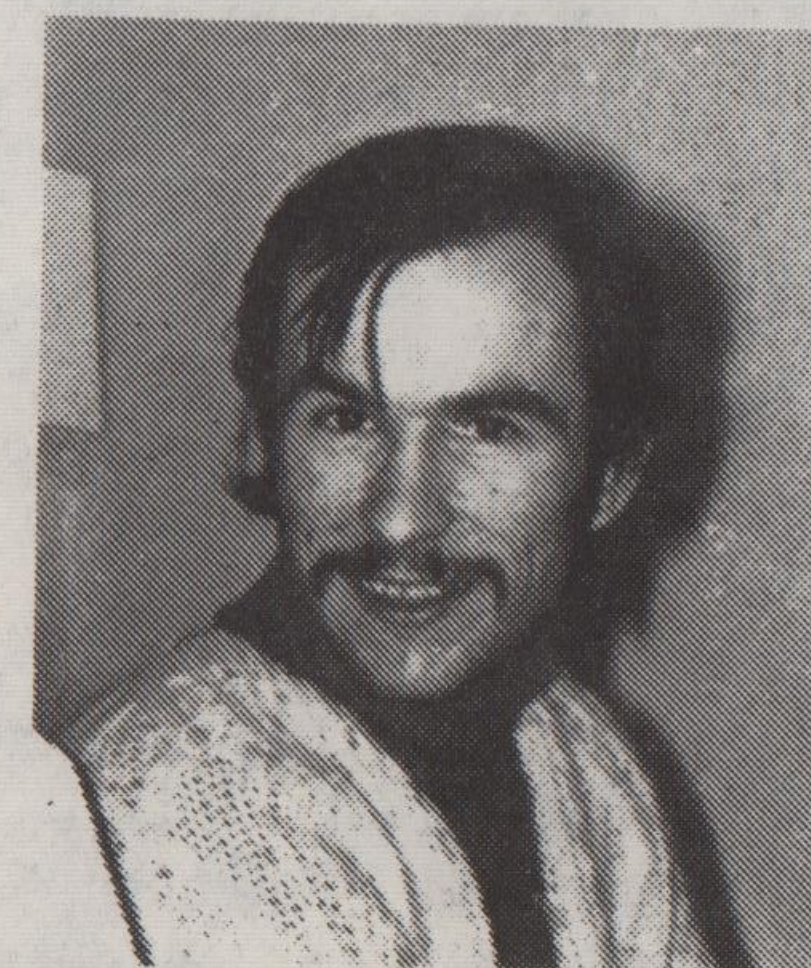
The prosecution investigations are now completed but no one knows yet when or even if their trials will take place . . . or whether, like all other persons charged with membership of the GARI



Mario Ines Torres

and participation in the wave of protest at the murder of Puig Antich they will be granted "provisional liberty" as a convenient way of excusing the habit of the French police of imprisoning anarchists without evidence, hoping while they are locked away, to find or invent the necessary facts to keep them in jail still further.

Our three comrades feel, as we do, that they are being used by the French Government as hostages of the official "anti-terrorist" policy. As in the case of the Murrys in Ireland, anarchists are here being made the scapegoats for the Government hypocrisy . . . that allows nationalist terrorists to come and go,



Jean Marc Rouillon

saving valuable arms contracts between France and the Arab world, whilst providing a show of fighting terrorism. Send letters of protest to the examining magistrate;

M. Guy PIA
Juge d'Instruction,
Palais de Justice,
75, Paris.

Messages of solidarity to the three in jail to:—

Prison de la Sante,
42, rue de la Sante,
75014 Paris.

More information from: Comite d'Informations sur les Detenus des ex-GARI, Martin BP 4098-31030 Toulouse France.

WORLD NEWS

Civil rights campaigners in Israel have appealed for a campaign of support for 24 year old Palestinian Musa Juma Talalka, who was sentenced to death on 17th June by the Lydda Military Court, for his part in an al Fatah raid on the Savoy Hotel, in March 1975. The raid on the hotel, which was intended to secure the release of Palestinian prisoners jailed in Israel, ended when the commandos stormed the hotel, and one wing of the building which had been mined, exploded, killing many hostages and most of the Palestinians.

The Middle East Research and Action Group (MERAG) has asked British groups wishing to support the appeal, to sign the following statement:

"We, the undersigned demand that the death sentence passed against Musa Talalka be commuted."

Petitions should be sent to Leah Zemel, Advocate, 14 Koresh St., Entrance E, Jerusalem. Further details can be obtained from MERAG, 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1. (Tel: 01 278 - 9308).

(source: *Free Palestine*).

POLAND

Polish workers Marek Majewski and Adam Zukowski have been sent to prison for 3 years each for their part during the anti-government strikes at Ursus last June. Letters of protest to the Polish Embassy.

SPAIN

The libertarian women's organisation *Mujeres Libres* which was active between 1936 and 1939 has been reformed on new lines, works for feminine emancipation and has established relations with other radical women's groups. The movement accepts support from men, considering that its struggle is not against men but against the political and social structures which place men and women in opposed positions.

Fernando Carballo Blanco, Spain's longest serving political prisoner has been released by the Carlist Regime following a national and international campaign on his behalf. Fernando is well and sends his regards to all comrades and readers of *Black Flag*.

NEW ADDRESS

Centro Documentazione Anarchica, Via Guido Reni 96/6
10136 Torino,
Italy.

WEST GERMANY

Manhunt

Official posters are being displayed in public places carrying the announcement "700,000 DM reward, anarchist criminals sought," followed by photographs of 14 "criminals" (six men, eight women). The capture of each of these public enemies will account for 50,000 DM (about £12,500). This is the price which, in the opinion of a "social democratic" government, is to be put on the heads of so-called anarchists.

The Police Versus the Anarchist Federation of Baden.

The growth of the ABF and its recent anti-electoral campaign has been disturbing the authorities. Slogans drawn on walls in Bruchsal have unleashed police repression and a police appeal has been circulated asking people to denounce the "criminals". At Ulstradt, a commune, where many young comrades are living was raided and searched — the discovery of a naked woman in a church had provoked the indignation of the guardians of order and propriety.

Meanwhile the police attempted to enrol a comrade as an informer. They promised him money, a flat, a job, and a holiday abroad — in return for incriminating evidence and other information concerning the Federation of Baden.

The ABF is functioning in spite of these difficulties and the continuing police harassment.

from *Le Monde Libertaire*.

U.S.A.

Bar None is an American paper intended for prisoners and distributed to them free of charge, and now for the first time during its two year existence it has issued an appeal to pay off its crippling debts. Issue 10 could be the last unless the appeal is successful.
Bar None, P.O. Box 124, W. Somerville, Mass. 02144, USA.

Dragon the paper of the Bay Area Research Collective (Berkeley, California) which was established about a year and a half ago with the intention of providing a forum for debate between the over-ground and the underground is to cease publication. Although the collective have been under financial pressure (which they partly resolved by doing all the printing and collating of *Dragon* themselves), the main reason for the decision to stop was that most of the support and response to *Dragon* came from people in prison and outside the Bay Area.

Over the 13 months during which *Dragon* appeared correspondence

increased tremendously and more people were drawn into dialogue with the underground. Much as the group attempted to keep things in perspective readers often made the (wrong) assumption that the revolutionary movement in America is larger and better organised than it is, and that the B.A.R.C. was larger, stronger and more durable than it is. Collective members felt that such a situation was intolerable and coupling this with a need to sit back and evaluate successes and failures and discuss new directions for their work, they decided to suspend publication. The collective itself is continuing and from time to time will distribute important items to individuals on their mailing lists. B.A.R.C. still have copies of the Last SLA Statement and Dragon No. 10.
B.A.R.C., Box 4344, Sather Gate Sta., Berkeley, California 94704, USA.

TUG (The Urban Guerrilla) still continues to occupy the same function as Dragon provided Peoples' Information Relay No. 1, New World Liberation Front, 423 Oak St., San Francisco, Ca. 94102, USA. 50 cents a copy.

In their letter to subscribers *Dragon* reports a major split within the Weather Underground Organisation and the Prairie Fire Organising Committee — given the increasingly heavy-handedness of marxist-leninist rhetoric from Weather Underground, and the moves about 18 months ago to tighten up discipline in almost slavish imitation of the North Vietnamese, it is not surprising that a split has taken place.

Anarchist Cal Harp is currently on hunger strike in protest against being confined to the "hoel" for 6 months for informing other prisoners about means of legal aid. Letters of solidarity to Carl Harp (126516), Box 520 Wallawalla, Washington 99362, U.S.A. Letters of protest to Gov. Evans, State of Wahington. Carl (who prefers the name Asin) is selling paintings and poems in an attempt to raise money for a new trial and to fight prison conditions. These can be obtained as follows, Carl Harp, c/o Ann Neitlich, 27 Pierce St., Arlington, MA - 02174, U.S.A.

WAP newsletter.

Eddie Sanchez (see previous issues of *Black Flag*) — New prison address: — No. 18827-175, P.O. Box 400, Springfield, MO 65802, U.S.A.

Woodstock Anarchist Party Newsletter
New Address: (mail only) Box 171, Stockton, CA. 95201, U.S.A.

Since 1953 five Puerto Rican nationals have been confined in American jails. One of the five is Andres Cordero, currently in the U.S. Medical Centre,

Ronan Stenson was acquitted in Dublin on all charges. After a year and a half awaiting a murder charge carrying the supreme penalty you would think this would make news. The silence was deafening. The Murrays had already been sentenced and spent a record time in the death cells. Marie Murray is still facing the death penalty; Noel's "guilt" has been confirmed by the court which however lifted the charge of capital murder. Meanwhile Ronan Stenson did not come to trial.

The press said he "had a nervous breakdown" immediately on interrogation. But he was in a bad way physically and mentally and this was something more than a "breakdown." He went into the interrogation cells a normal healthy young man. As a result of torture he was unable to face trial until last week — when the court decided the evidence against him was *inadmissible*. In what way inadmissible? It could not be admitted as evidence because it was obtained under torture. Yet it is on

WORLD NEWS Cont.

Springfield suffering from cancer. All are now old and unless released soon, could die in prison. The names of the other Puerto Ricans, (the longest serving political prisoners in the USA) are:- Lolita Lebron, Rafael Miranda, Irving Flores.

WAP Newsletter.

Among the resolutions passed at the 35th General Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), held over the Labour Day weekend in Chicago at the end of 1976 was a resolution of solidarity with the CNT pledging the IWW to do everything possible to aid their fellow workers. The resolution was passed unanimously and \$100 was later appropriated from General Defence funds to be sent to the Catalan Regional Federation of the CNT.

(source: *Industrial Defence Bulletin*).

BULGARIA

Our Road, the monthly Bulgarian language review of the Anarchist-Communist Federation of Bulgaria (FACB) in exile, is celebrating its 25th anniversary year of activity. Those 25 years have seen 218 issues of *Our Road*, containing more than 2,500 articles, including 200 biographies of theorists and militants and "exemplary combatants" and 300 of an ideological nature. During this period about 30 books have been published. All without outside assistance by a handful of workers, scattered through ten countries on four continents, in their struggle against Stalinist dictatorship. Contact: — Our Road, P.O. Box A 586, Sidney South 21000, N.S.W. Australia.

precisely this type of evidence that Noel Murray faces a lifetime in jail and Marie faces the noose still.

How dare the press in these circumstances talk about its freedom being threatened when the printers declined to print David Astor's attacks on them without reply? Noel's refusal to go through the farce of the Appeal Court was headed "Killer pleads to hang;" Marie was a "self-confessed killer." No mention of her giving out a "verbal" inculcating herself only to stop Noel being tortured . . . which is now, in the case of the "third man" regarded as inadmissible by the Irish court itself. One could understand the Irish press covering up — it has to face serious penalties. But what reason did the English press have? The Irish court's admission that the evidence against Ronan Stenson was inadmissible coincided with the Irish Government's case against the United Kingdom at Strasbourg on the admitted torture and inhuman treatment in Northern Ireland . . . was the

HOLLAND

Portuguese militants living in Holland have begun publishing an anarchist review, *Tierra Liure*. So far three issues have appeared.

BELGIUM

This year's "Camping International Libertaire Ecologique" will be held at Rouse-Renaix, Belgium, and a local group "Liberta" has started preparations. They are appealing for help for the festival which will be held from July 15th to August 15th. For further details contact: — Eric Sobrie, Zonnestraat 3, 9792 Wortegem-Petegem, Belgium.

HELLO, PHILLY..

What sight is more heart warming than that of an old comrade rejoining the ranks? I refer of course of Philip Sansom's return to print with his long and scholarly review in *Freedom* of Albert Meltzer's *The Anarchists in London 1935-55*. It seems like an age since Philip let us have the benefit of his sharp and original insights and his bluff and genial personality.

Some may say it was wrong of Philip to spend more than a page of *Freedom's* precious space to describing his own activities during the period in question, but here one must point out the essential good nature of the man himself in including in his article only an extremely *small* photo of himself on the public platform, and that the caption to the picture lists no less than twelve other people, half of them not even visible in the photo.

That Philip's name appears twice in the one caption seems totally

EIRE

omission to mention Stenson's case an act of Christian forbearance and charity? Or an instance of class solidarity?

Congratualtions to Ronan Stenson who is quietly recovering at a relative's from his ordeal.

We do not forget the others — Columba Longmore, Bobby Cullen, Desmond Keane — all still in the Curragh, now deprived of their contacts — they can no longer receive books and papers from fellow libertarians and their correspondence is severely restricted, though a trickle of letters out still get through the Shamrock Curtain. Meanwhile the Murray Defence Committees throughout the world can quietly take pleasure that their work for the Murrays has created the climate in which Ronan Stenson could be acquitted.

AARON ROGAT

of money to enable them to continue the good work they are doing).

Rogat has left a companion, a son and two grandchildren. As a furrier by trade Rogat was also active in its union, refusing to side either with the right wing which controlled it, or the left that aimed at gaining control.

His passing at the age of 86 is a great loss to our movement, but as the same time he is an inspiring example of the fine devotion that our ideal inspires among sincere thinking people.

Marcus Graham

Man o' tie Movement.

ILLUMINATUS! Vol. I The Eye
in the Pyramid. Vol. II The Golden
Apple. Vol.III Leviathan, by Robert Snea
and Robert Anton Wilson, Sphere, 75p each

The lunatic wing of the authoritarian right has always delighted in conspiracy theories. Offhand, indeed, it is hard for them to find any other reason why the masses are not perfectly happy with despotism and exploitation. "It's the Freemasons"; "it's all a plot" . . . the details of the plot have ranged from the Elders of Zion to the Communistic world conspiracy now ranking favourite. Taking the more esoteric conspiracy theories of history in deadpan fashion the authors of "Illuminatus!" have created a riproaring mind-blowing spoof of the struggle between the two major conspiracies and counter-conspiracies in "history" dating back to Atlantis — that of the authoritarians and that of the anarchists

BOOK REVIEWS

Starting off in apparently orthodox late night TV fashion with the good Jewish liberal cop tracking down a murder mystery and finding himself up against the conspiracy that governs the world — it goes off in Book I into an acid-type fantasy in which one begins to despair of ever tracing the threads of the narrative together. But by Book II it gradually becomes easier to pick up the pieces as one gets into the occult conspiracies and sees how government has always been a racket through which the elitists have aspired to rule the world, while throughout history the anarchist tendency has tried its damndest to see they didn't succeed. The dolphins, incidentally, are anarchists from way back, and their spokesfish, Howard, is one of the nicest characters in the story.

This is a major epic in what one might call parascientific fiction, and it rings the changes on every conspiracy theory in the book (though the ending in Book II is somewhat of a shaggy-dog let-down) and is a superb occult mickey-take which ought to be translated into (or at least annotated in) English some day — the American references are as esoteric as the conspiracy.

A reservation of the authors' views on anarchism as here presented, which may strike the non-American reader as being deliberate deadpan humour like the Laurel and Hardy interpretation of history which also comes in and is one of the funniest theories yet. They are in earnest about their propagandism of "anarcho-capitalism." The American right has always cherished the illusion that enterprise and initiative, without any Government force, can build up wealth. This is the theory of so-called "individualism" (which is not so at all) that Kropotkin smashed notably in his

pamphlet "Expropriation" (one of his least-known that ought to be more widely circulated).

Whereas in England this is the doctrine of the extreme law-and-order party, the hang 'em, flog 'em, jail 'ems, in America — using the same economic gurus like F.A. Hayek — it has traditionally distrusted central government and stood for States' rights (which it has confused with federalism). This right wing illusion has consoled rather than consolidated the revolt against authoritarianism. Just as middle-class so-called left libertarians were consoled by militant liberalism, which enabled them to decline military conscription and live as free lives as possible but left them guilty about their possessions, this theory consoles those who want to smoke pot and the rest of it but not feel guilty about the way they bought their leisure.

The authors are to a large extent

ignorant of traditional revolutionary anarchism. They try to be fair to it, defining anarchism as the "free market" in which all (!) anarchists believe but whereas "right wing" anarchists believe it will involve competition, "left-wing" anarchists think the emphasis will be on co-operation. Thus they are more inclined to "hatred". As they know so little about anarchism/activists whose names they drop — as distinct from "libertarian pioneers" on whom they are knowledgeable; and so feel safe in bringing in as a "typical" anarchist activist, John Dillinger! (There is a superb comic reference to the John Dillinger Died for You Society). In some ways this type of anarcho-agorist (as some call themselves since they are stuck on the "market" rather than on capitalism) is more anarchistic than those we would regard as right wing. but they left wing "anarchists", pacifists, quietists, and so on, such as the *Catholic Worker* and examples nearer home. But their libertarianism goes just so far as criticism: since they rule out revolution except as rhetoric and apparently think the working class does not exist (everyone buys and sells like the proverbial Chinese laundrymen) they have no idea how to bring about this libertarianism and so are hooked on science fiction and pot when it comes to the nitty gritty, and the authors have made these three strains into a superb mickey-taking narrative.

Especially after this book, I am not sure one can deny that some at least of the agorists are anarchists; but they are clearly not what we mean by it. It's bowdlerisation which will be read by thousands who will (and should) read this odyssey of fun for its own sake. It may be read as an anarchist in-joke, a cult book for the cynical esotericist,

a Gulliver's Travels of the acid age or just for laughs; and the secret of what is really hidden in the Pentagon sent me at least into convulsions.

(The Illuminatus! trilogy has been nominated the Cienfuegos Press Book of the Year. If anybody wants to argue the point we would like to hear from them)

INVERGORDON '31 : How The Men of The RN Struck — And Won. Barry Duncan, £1.00.

Though there have been many class battles in the long history of the sea, nothing shakes the British Government more than to find, at times, that even the Royal Navy, the very bulwark of the State against foreign aggression, has bitten the hand that whips it. The British seaman was the last slave on British water; the press gang brought men into a life with its floggings, arbitrary punishments and tortures, confinements, hardships and poverty which no free person would submit to even under the name of patriotism.

After the horrors of naval life were mitigated quite late last century, though the Navy was treated to patriotic rhetoric, when it came to singing of the Wooden Walls of Old England, it received contempt when it came to doing anything for the sailors. Anything was good enough for the matelots, and in 1931, when cuts in pay were being worked out, it was natural and in the order of things that the Navy should be treated the worst.

It was well known that by then most of those in the Navy had done so to escape the privations of the Depression; why assume that they would object to pay cuts? In any case discipline could always be maintained in the Royal Navy — it would be a poor lookout for Old England if this were not so . . .

Barry Duncan gives a stirring account of how the Navy would not be treated in this cavalier fashion — "how it struck and won." Who was "behind the strike?" It has ever since been suggested it was the Communist Party. Duncan shows the true role of the Communist Party. It was very much outside the struggle. The men who organised it were the "barrack room lawyers" — "sea lawyers" — the agitators who have served their class so well, the village Hampdens, who have defied their tyrants . . . and for whom the Inns of Temple lawyers, the wig and gown fraternity, feel as implacable a hatred as can be felt against people who know their rights by people who are paid to know, and conceal, them. One or two of them, such as Len Wincott, subsequently joined the CP — seeing it make so large a noise outside and assuming that they were linking up with something "organised" instead of throwing away their grassroots contacts.

Letters

12/21/76

Dear Comrades,

The Italian comrades in the US had a fundraising gathering at Negri's at which they collected \$1040 for the anarchist movement worldwide. Of this total they decided to send Black Flag \$50. We all wish you the best in your continued efforts on behalf of anarchism.

Sacramento, Cal.

From a letter from Joe Remiro . . .

"After three years of being locked-down in the 'hole' I've been put into the main population which is a very strange and abrupt transition for me to make. I've never realised how much I was being affected by my time in the 'hole' but goddam, all these people and all this space to walk around in takes some getting used to. One of my problems is that I've never been in prison before and that I've been kept segregated in isolation since first arrested. I'm classified as HVP (high violent potential) but the way it works around here is that the only ones who are kept in the 'hole' behind that kind of classification are those whose rebellion is consciously of a political nature. Anyway, with a little help from my friends I'm slowly getting myself together.

Besides promising me that I'd be killed if I laid a hand on one of "their officers," when I was let out of the 'hole'

Another was Fred Copeman. Copeman lived and died an ardent Stalinist, never disillusioned with the Party, and took part in its dirty work in Spain. Wincott went to Russia and the rebelliousness that took him into battle with the British State also brought him to a Russian concentration camp.

The strike itself was, within its terms of reference, a success. The men were

ANSWERS TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. In the absence of Menshevik deputy Sukhanov, his wife (a Bolshevik sympathiser) invited Lenin and his committee round, and they planned the coup d'etat of 1917.
2. Not to put on your best trousers.
3. Carl Schurz was a colleague of Karl Marx before he left for the USA and became a General in the Civil War. The present-day Social Democratic Party (which once, correctly called itself the "party of Marx and Engels" and then, even more exactly "the party of Lassalle") finally trimmed its post-war sails to calling itself "the party of Carl Schurz".
4. Mary Jones — better known as Mother Jones — who fought the mine-

I was told that if I was smart I'd keep away from the writer's workshop group. Of course I had to go and find out why this particular group had been singled out so I went, I enjoyed and I'll probably become a group regular . . .

. . . my love & regards to the folks at Black Flag,

Love and rage,
Joe.

Dear Comrades,

We hope this small donation helps to keep one of the finest Revolutionary Anarchist monthlies around till the job is done.

Fraternally,
M.H.M.

From a correspondent:

I love your exotic address and I'd like to hear from you to be sure mail really goes there.

The Orkney Islands are civilised and cannibalism has practically died out. Cienfuegos Press has its bookshop and office there. Pending a new London address, "Black Flag" correspondence goes there.

Dear Comrades,
I've been following the letters that appear in the **Flag**, concerning the imprisoned Scottish Maoists and would like to throw my two cents in.

Although I have a few minor disagreements with Barry W., over all I must agree with him.

Although one might find all types of people of all shades of thinking as your allies while in prison (everyones first

militant, not revolutionary in their thought, but so in their deeds. They succeeded in shaking the Government which had to reduce the cuts from 25 to 10 per cent. But more than that, never since has a Government felt itself free to take the Navy for granted. In time of war they were no longer scum, in time of peace they are treated as skilled workmen. As Duncan shows, in his

owners and militia tooth and nail right into her 80s and 90s and led miners' wives with mops and brooms into battle — opposed the vote, saying she had raised all hell over the South without any vote, and the parliamentary struggle was a diversion; but one must also add that she disapproved of women having to go out to work which she felt was a demand of the middle-class women and one which would bear hardly on working-class women.

5. John Brown had defeated slave-owning armed bands in Kansas and resisted attempts to dislodge "Free Staters" (non-slave settlers) in his native Ossawatimie; it was not impracticable that he could have carried out his plan to seize Harper's Ferry, the main fort of Virginia, and he then hoped for a slave insurrection. The abolitionists rushed to disown him,

thoughts are how to get out and how to do over the most immediate forms of authority that hold you down) one quickly realises that all authoritarians are alike. The only difference is that the group in power has the ability to enforce their laws.

Instead of being labelled as 'criminals' against property and tossed into jail, as we are under capitalism, the Maoists would, (if they ever got the chance) jail or execute us as 'criminals against the working class.' It's like asking a condemned person whether they wish to be hung or shot.

Russia, Spain, China etc., are good examples of how, as Trotsky would put it, "fellow socialists" practise solidarity with anarchists and libertarians. It's time that we stopped being the beautiful losers!

Finally, although I don't believe in jails, let alone jailing someone, the outcome of a battle between politicians and political gangs has little to do with my life except their destruction. All I can say for them is — 'you play the game, you take your chances.'

Fraternally,

Ralph Franklin (Fifth Estate).

We hold no illusions as to what any of the authoritarian parties or groups would do to us if they managed to attain power, but in the meantime personal experience has shown us that our concern for all political prisoners can — and does — bring round a not inconsiderable number of them to libertarian ideas. (Eds.)

modest but extremely informative book, this was not achieved by obedience but by struggle.

A.M.
BARGAIN OF THE MONTH:

What is Property? An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government, P.J. Proudhon, Trans. by Ben. R. Tucker, Wm. Reeves, London £3.00 h/b 418 pages. (price inc. of p&p).

except for David Thoreau — the anarchist philosopher, sometimes regarded incorrectly as a "quietist" — who defended him in a moving essay (still relevant). Later the Republican Party took advantage of the situation by praising Brown because of the change of public opinion in admiration of John Brown's stand when in the hands of the State of Virginia, and the way he faced execution after the death of his sons.

6. Wat Tyler, at the head of the Kentish rebels, had entered London which — since Essex was also in revolt — they had at their mercy. The young King Richard parleyed with the rebels at Smithfield, when one of the royal party treacherously murdered Wat Tyler. Richard II then adroitly put himself forward as "the new leader" to acclaim, and deliver them to their doom.