

BLACK organ of the FLAG ANARCHIST



10p

BLACK CROSS

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..while the city sleeps..

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross and Black Flag Group

AN ANARCHIST BULLETIN DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION

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INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE /
CENTRO IBERICO

Social meetings held every Saturday and Sunday evenings at
83a Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3. (between Chalk Farm
and Belsize Park tubes).

JUMBLE WANTED: Send to our offices any unwanted
"jumble" for forthcoming sale.....BOOKS WANTED by
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in film group?.....

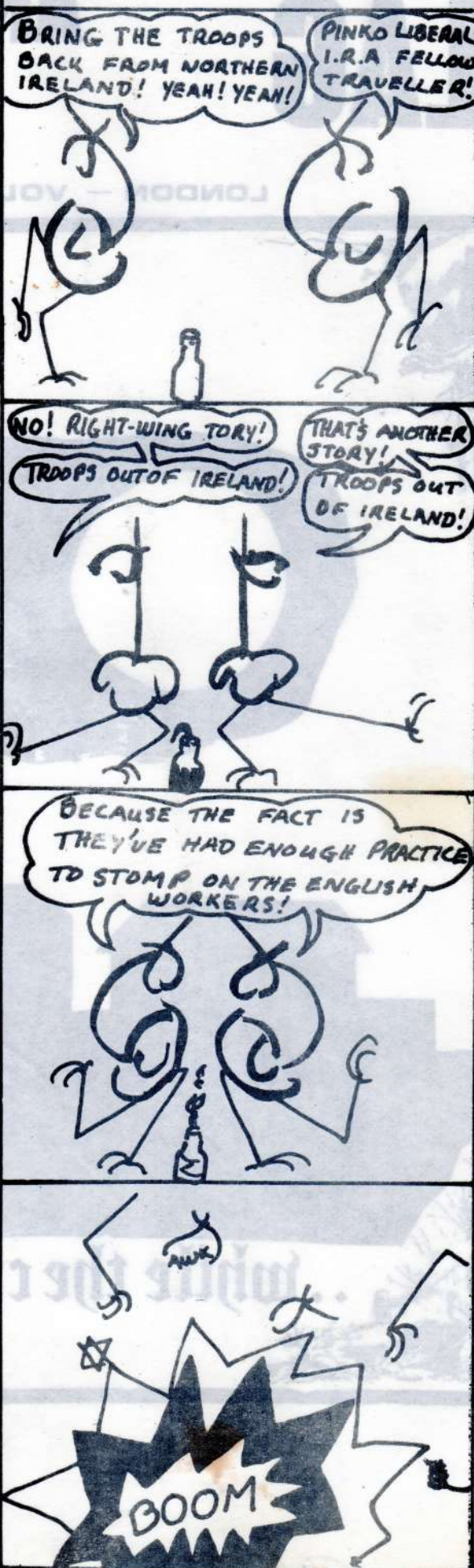


1. Everyone has heard of Wellington boots - after the Duke - but what were Bradlaugh boots?
2. What Canadian gangster, who became famous largely by fighting "the anarchist horde", later became an Allied General - with strong Communist party support?
3. In Thetford (Norfolk) there is a statue of which native son, equally distinguished in the cause of the British, American and French revolutions. Why did the British Legion oppose its being built nearer his actual birthplace and what is inappropriate about the present site?
4. What physical characteristic had Emma Goldman in common with Daniel Cohn-Bendit - and why was it seized on by the press and related to their politics?
5. Following "Rerum Novarum" - the denunciation by Pope Pius of socialism and communism - some British MPs asked if it were possible for Catholics to be members of the Labour Party; later some American pacifists asked if it were possible for Catholics to be Anarchists. What did the Pope reply?
6. There is a museum devoted to Tolstoy in Moscow - but where in London is there a museum devoted to an equally great libertarian socialist?

answers on page 15

THE BUTTER STORKS...

CREATURES OF DUPLICITY.....



ALLAH & PETROL

REVOLUTION! - JOIN THE ARMY ?

The sheer degradation of Marxist principle among the so-called Marxist parties has reached its zenith with the recent Arab-Israel War. One does not need to "take sides" to view with contempt the patriotic rubbish that passes muster as Marxist-Leninism these days.

For a long time the Trotskyist movement has been extolling the idea of the Palestinian guerrillas. They have taken an impoverished people, languishing in desert camps, and trained them as a military force. While the "educated student" class has come forward as guerrilla leaders and trained the masses to fight the foreigner, behind them have been some of the richest cities in the world. This has been extolled as "revolution" - join the Army and fight the foreigner! Oh, and complain about the millionaire cities that they are not giving you enough support!

As the Trotskyist movement originally stemmed from Zionism (it entered the Middle East that way, and after all the Zionist idea implied a Jewish State with its own police and its own criminals, its capitalists and its trade unions, and its pseudo-revolutionaries too) it was easy for the Israeli secret service (Shin Beit) to penetrate the Trotskyists and gain control of the guerrillas. They flung that movement against the Army of Jordan and helped to crush it. That was the end of Trotskyism and the chance for the Maoists with their tactics of individual nationalistic terror.

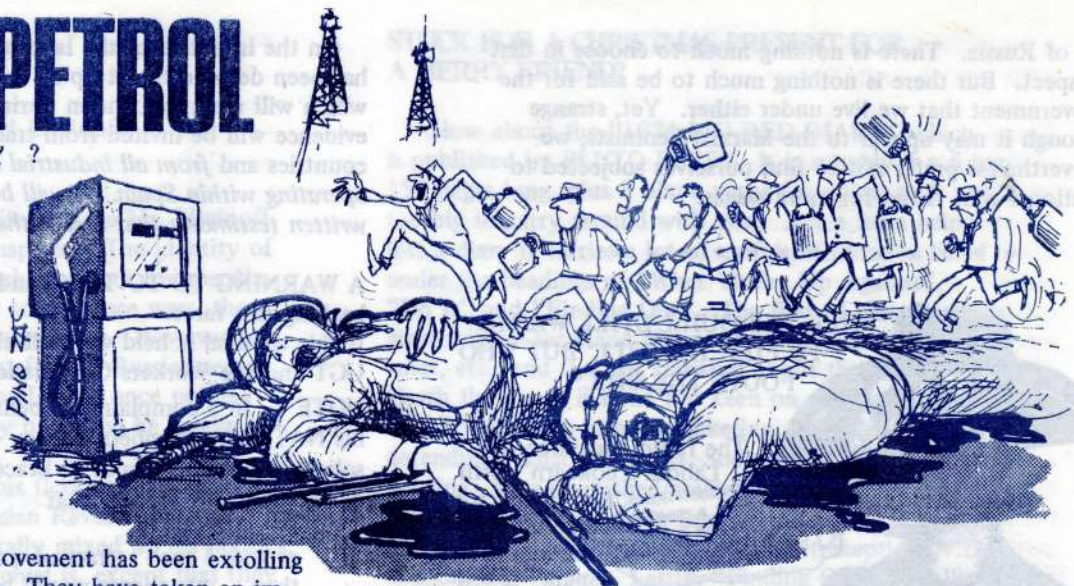
The Maoists caused disaster in quite a different scene. They used their international connections to build up a liaison between the Arab guerrillas (with their connections both with Shin Beit and with the Arab Governments) and revolutionary groups in Europe and elsewhere.

It is obvious that any nationalist movement, with sympathy for it in certain government circles, has a liaison with the intelligence services of those governments. Intelligence services live by swapping information. The Maoists managed to get the intelligence and police service of the world infiltrated into every single revolutionary group throughout the world that did not maintain an "anarchist sectarianism".

Finally came the war. It was the turn of Moscow to give its help to the Arabs, and those who have had experience of Moscow's alliance would tremble for the Arab cause. Ultimately, of course, one sees where it is taking them: Europe is to enter "its traditional place" in the Arab world, says Sadat; It is to sell out to capitalism. But meanwhile the attack was launched upon Israel.

What were the counts against Israel? It was allied with American Imperialism. So is Britain and the NATO countries. Are we, too, deserving of being blown up with SAM missiles and jets? It is that what the Marxist parties have in mind for us? In their journals they tell us they are on the side of our struggles, for high wages and explain patiently that if we, the workers, will accept their leadership we will get high economic benefits. A fat lot of good that will be if they think that we ought to be blown to pieces because the government we live under is allied to America.

But the Israelis have committed aggression against the Arabs, they say. It must at once be said that there is not one crime the Israelis could possibly have committed against the Arabs that the British have not committed ten times over, for ten times as long a period against the Irish. Does that mean we must be subjected to aerial attack, and have tanks marching into our cities, all the while Marxist-Leninists are yearning to lead us into getting the right work and higher wages, and opposing the Industrial Relations Act?



When the IRA uses nationalistic terror in England it is denounced as "provocative" and part and parcel of a ruling class campaign, by the self-same people who think that it would be perfectly alright for legal governments to do the same thing - but on a considerably larger scale.

But there is good reason for that, argue the Marxist-Leninists. The Palestine Arabs have been driven from their homes by the Israelis. They do not give the numbers involved. The *total population* of Palestine - Christian, Moslem, Druse and Jewish - at the time of creation of the State of Israel was numerically less than that of the numbers of Spaniards driven from their homes by General Franco, either by prison or political and economic exile. Yet the Soviet Union does not send its tanks and its planes to help liberate Spain. It has never sent a single rifle or peseta to the guerrillas of Spain, whom it looks on as bandits. It trades with General Franco while the Resistance fights. If of course it came to a point where the political and economic interests of Holy Russia clashed with those of Franco's Spain, then Moscow would remember all Franco's crimes!

To call on people all over the world to tear up Marxist-Leninism by the roots and dump it with the sewage following its contemptible role in the Middle East is not, of course, to defend the State of Israel. It is absurd, of course, to characterise that State as fascist (it is a state where workers' organisations continue to exist, and therefore cannot be fascist by definition; the existence of democracy at home is not incompatible with foreign aggression or the oppression of a minority). The main, and exciting feature of its democracy is its ability to *arm the people* - something not one single other government dare do, and which it manages to do successfully in military terms, against armies officered in the traditional authoritarian manner. (It was the refusal of the Spanish Popular Front to arm the people that enabled Franco's revolt to take place, and ultimately to win; the workers did their best to arm themselves). Since it can arm the people without facing a revolution, it is clear that it must, at base, be democratic even though it has all the faults of capitalism and bureaucracy. Normally a revolution is the people in arms.

But of course Israel's leadership has sold out to America and it is in the hands of parties that have allied it with reactionary forces all over the world. The Israeli State stands condemned by its supporters much more than on its own record. The Egyptian State is one more Army controlled government, another in the series of military regimes stretching from Greece to Chile, obliged for reasons of diplomacy to make noises like a support-

er of Russia. There is nothing much to choose in that respect. But there is nothing much to be said for the government that we live under either. Yet, strange though it may appear to the Marxist-Leninists, we nevertheless prefer not to find ourselves subjected to national war. Even for more wages.

* * * * *



WILL THE QUILL STILL WANTS
TO FILL THE TILL' BUT WHO
FOOTS THE BILL*

The fraud and farce of Labour's "concern" with the "fight" for trade union freedom in Spain" is reiterated by Will Paynter, Communist stooge who manages to write for several trade union journals at once (and the reproduction of which in the NATSOPA "Journal" I was told by the editor, could not be rectified as he was not a member

NOW HERE'S A SIMPLE
ANALYSIS FOR THOSE
COMPLETELY UNFAMILIAR
WITH ANARCHISM!

and presumably able to lie as much as he liked).

Paynter refers to the latest Amnesty International report on prisoners "including socialists, communists, libertarians", and goes on to the visit made by himself, and Michael Foot for the Spanish Democrats Defence Committee of the Labour Party "to discuss how best the trade unions and working class movement here in Britain could assist". We all know how much they have done in the past (for Franco). They succeeded he says,

"in having discussion with many leaders of the movement in Madrid. Among them were socialists, communists, representatives of the trade union UGT, the Workers Commissions, lawyers, students, young socialists and relatives of one of the imprisoned leaders of the Workers Commissions - a good cross section of the resistance movement."

It will be noted that the reference to "libertarians" had vanished; that Foot and Stalinoid Paynter had managed to see the non-existent UGT, the compromising Workers Commissions, and the middle class "intellectuals", but had singularly omitted to meet any of the organisations that Franco's ferocity in repression has designated as the *Resistance* - which is not the same as a semi-legal Christian Democrat - Communist Party Opposition.

Not once in his article did Paynter mention the *Resistance*, and for him no less than his social-democratic friends and Christian Democrat allies (and the regime alike) it is no doubt just banditry. He admits that the "greatest challenge to the regime comes from the industrial workers, and this despite intimidation, imprisonment and torture". But nowhere does he mention, nor suggest aid for, the majority of workers' organisation not the resistance groups which have suffered these years of imprisonment and torture. For Paynter and his cronies, only the C.P.-backed paper organisation (with the socialist paper organisations to show "impartiality") are to be helped: "especially financial help".

Will all this go to the pockets of the C.P. and to the Christian Democrat lawyers? Try to get your trade union branch to help the *RESISTANCE*. But if they will not - because the *Resistance* is anarchist and not socialist or communist - better they should spend the money on holidays in Spain for the T.U. bureaucrats. At least, with a bit of luck they might be caught up with the revolution that way.

On the initiative of the labour movement in this country, it has been decided to set up an International Judicial Tribunal which will meet in London during May 1974..... written evidence will be invited from trade union centres in European countries and from all industrial and political organisations operating within Spain. It will be required of those submitting written testimony that it is authentic....." (our italics)

A WARNING TO TO T.U.C. and the Stalinists and Trotskyists backing this farce.

If this tribunal is held we shall challenge the credentials of the UGT and the Workers Commissions.

NOTE :- In a complaint on behalf of Briginshaw (spending his NATSOPA members' money on "libels" against himself) solicitors Shawn, Roscoe & Bracewell demand of Laurie Flynn of "Socialist Worker" "that

provided such retraction and apology are forthcoming then.....our clients would be prepared to waive the question of damages provided that you make a donation, which may be quite small or even nominal, to the Spanish Democracy Defence Committee of the Labour Party."

Shawn, Roscoe & Bracewell are inviting donations to a committee the purpose of which is in any legal sense of the word a fraud: namely, to collect strike funds for a non-existent union. They are using the magic of their position as sheriffs to the High Court in order to collect donations - which, even though they be "small or even nominal" - will not be used for the purpose for which they are alleged to be collected.

† † † † † † † † † †

* Typesetter being merry, although under pressure from grim editor not to be!! (I'm not appreciated folks!!*†?)



THE INTELLECTUALS

From the Times letter page of November 20th.

Professor G.W. Ribbans, of the School of Hispanic Studies at Liverpool University, rightly protests at the arrest of more than a hundred people attending a meeting in a church hall in Barcelona, but describes it as "the biggest clandestine gathering of opposition leaders in the history of the Franco regime." Bearing in mind that "opposition" in this context usually refers to a semi-legal middle-class body, and not to the working-class *Resistance*, this may, narrowly, be true.

"Very heavy fines" says Prof. Ribbans (up to £2,400) were imposed on those attending; for 34 years workers arrested in such circumstances, belonging to the CNT, have received 10, 15 and more years imprisonment. But among those attending was Mrs. Jordi Carbonell, formerly a lecturer at Liverpool, "a scholar of high standing and a man of unimpeachable integrity". Many of the *Resistance* workers arrested were of unimpeachable integrity too, and had worked in unions abroad, but alas, the working class does not show the same solidarity as the professionals. Prof. Ribbans concludes that "unfortunate individuals of great integrity who are exposed to frequent ill-treatment and continued harassment should be left in peace"... but does "great integrity" merely mean scholastic acceptance?

A different point of view is expressed by Mr Aharon Megged, an Israeli writer, on the same page. He was "appalled" to witness "the silence of British intellectuals" regarding the fate of Israel. He begs for "a few voices of courageous and conscientious intellectuals" to be heard. When you can get Sir Isaac Wolfson to call a lunch of industrialists, bankers, property dealers and dress manufacturers, and raise a few millions in as many minutes, you really need the self-pitying professors?



An advertisement for Oxfam is headed **THE QUIET REVOLUTION**. It says that Oxfam is making a "radical yet peaceful attack on some of the unhappy statistics of the Third World - a Quiet Revolution". Its aim, it says, is to "help the poorest in these countries.....help themselves".

Such an approach to the "able-bodied poor" was common to the Victorians. It was behind the thinking that led to the workhouse. It has, despite the degeneration of the latter into a means of torturing the poor, some commendable qualities behind it, but even in its unperverted state it has nothing to do with revolution or even reform. It is not a radical attack on poverty. Ultimately it is not peaceful, for the seeds of war lie in just such a patronising approach - "to help the poorest," who will soon be tired of accepting charity and will follow nationalist leaders.

Call it charity like the Victorians used to do (unless perhaps you feel that the salaries paid to charity organisers have given the whole industry a bad name). But it is not a revolution....loud or noisy. Oxfam is not likely to be prosecuted under the Trades Descriptions Act. But it will fail to convince those whom it needs to convince if it says something is so which is not.

* * * * *

"London has long been respected throughout the world for the freedom of speech allowed the Hyde Park orators," states the guide to the new 417 London Broadcasting (London's new radio station). Now, the all-news station is giving everyone a platform to express his, or her opinion and to question the views of those in authority."

It is true London has been respected for the reason given. The respect is based on a lie. Londoners won for themselves the right to express their opinions - despite harassment and persecution from authority - on every street corner and in every open space and park. Gradually those rights have been eroded by apathy and whittled away by regulations and the growth of traffic.

Almost all that has been left is Hyde Park. And that is not taken seriously. If on rare occasions it is, as in the case of Mike Callinan and others, the persons concerned go to jail for months, even though they may ultimately be cleared of charges.

* * * * *

Writing an article for the next issue of "Anarchy" on the Spanish Labour Movement I wanted to illustrate the nature of the Assault Guards created by the Republic. "To imagine an equivalent, one must assume that in addition to the police, the Army are also on street patrol - as an equivalent to the Guardia Civil," I wrote. "But the Government brings in a special armed force (like the "B'Specials") to attack the TUC."

I thought this was a graphic illustration of the extremes to which the Spanish Republic went. A few days after writing it, that is exactly what the British Government introduced. Scotland Yard have set up a special department to "deal with" what they term "strike violence" in advance. One cannot imaginatively write of an extreme without, sooner or later, the Government turning to it. But they label us "extremists".

A.M.

SCIENTOLOGY

You Pays Your Money, You Takes Your Course

How far would you go in pursuit of the Almighty Dollar? Would you deliberately drive people mad if that would make you rich? The question posed no problems to science-fiction writer Ron Hubbard. In the current vogue for mysticism (which has stemmed from the smash up of established religion) he found some readers were taking his science fiction seriously, so he turned it into a religion. The basis of his theories is schizophrenia. Schizophrenics live in two worlds: the real one, and the imaginary one in which they have the power to do anything they choose. The truth about the world, says millionaire Ron, is that we were all originally Thetans with unlimited powers to do what we chose and by playing games at limiting our powers, with self-imposed rules like the existence, gravity and so on, and forgetting we were playing them, we got to our present state.

For a small fortune, one can be brain-processed and mentally worked upon until one becomes, once more, a Thetan - that is to say, a schizo. The more one is worked upon, the more one needs the process, and the mentally sick who have parted with their possessions to yachtsman Ron's organisation are legion. Few of them were any too bad at the beginning. I met the other week a chap with a small photographer's business, who had gradually lost everything he had - home and all - and finished up sponging around for a bed, still with faith that he can become a Thetan, still trying to find cash for "processing".

The Church of Scientology claims full religious status as a persecuted church. As psychiatric advisers to Governments condemn it, for obvious reasons, it carries on a campaign for "Freedom" for Scientology. Freedom to be brainwashed. Yet scientology is no more, no less, a racket than many of the "respectable", that is to say, established churches. The Thetan rubbish is no more incredible or harmful than believing that bread and water can be turned into the flesh and blood of the god, and then be eaten, as a result of which many have parted from friends and families, and lived their lives in poverty. But Scientology offers (it so happens) no chance of glorification or national identification to the State. If it did, Establishment psychiatrists would not condemn it, whatever it did to human understanding.

* * * * *

ARTISTS & POLITICS

The Sunday Times colour supplement (4th Nov) has a review of the work of George Grosz, the artist, by Robert Melville, research by Roger Law. It contains a superb peice of nonsense which is worth recording. Grosz "was more at home in the anarchistic atmosphere of Berlin in the last days of the war (W.W.I.) and the first wildly chaotic years of the peace than at any other period of his life. Berlin Dada was out to subvert all the old values, and as avowed revolutionists its members were fellow-travellers of the Spartacists on the extreme left. It had no political programme of its own worth calling one and gradually committed itself to Communism and its disciplines."

In such a way Mr Melville, aided by his researcher Mr. Law, can dismiss the great, far-reaching movement for workers' control by workers' councils that was within an ace of transforming Germany. The Spartacist movement for workers' councils was "hardly worth calling a programme" compared with the ruthless dictatorship methods that had succeeded in Soviet Russia, and which managed to smash the German working class.

Many misprints in last issue.....but before becoming known as Black Flag we are trying to master type-setting problems and were then still not able to proof-read after typesetting.....

Problematical remark in "Anarchism as seen by Trotskyists" was "The anarchists must take responsibility for all its (the CNT's) lapses (according to the Trots) *without accepting responsibility for them, even when they have help to build them up*" Omitted before the words italicised here were "but the trots are also members of *their* trade unions".

Pertinent query :- How when having in two issues in a row had to slip a month (and had Aug/Sept and Oct/Nov issues instead of four separate ones) do we hope to get fortnightly? Answer :- We need to get control of all processes without having to farm them out. When we can do that (we hope it will be soon) we shall come out regularly monthly and (very soon, we hope) fortnightly. (Anyway, we thoroughly approve in principle of missing an issue when there isn't enough for it. Better have people think they've missed an issue than wish they had). Do we reconsider our idea of, one day, a daily, a pipedream? No. Fragmented as it is, the anarchist movement could support - though not in a position organisationally to sustain - a daily which, with paid staff, would not be more out of the question than a weekly produced on voluntary effort. It entails no more than the effort and finance put by even a small political party into by-elections.

Thanks to some great support the Flag is not very much in debt and has pulled out magnificently since coming out in offset (compare present balance sheet with the last). As we can't live without problems we have plunged into the International Libertarian Centre and gone into debt there instead. If we can sort ourselves out there we shall be plunging into machinery problems.

The magazine East-West Digest is a right-wing magazine that specialises on problems of security. It is concerned with insurrection not merely in order to suppress it in this country. It is part of a network supplying such information to foreign powers. Those who are only slightly acquainted with this form of industrial espionage, perfected by the Economic League which prepares reports on militants and militancy, will know that it is part and parcel of the whole network of foreign espionage. An article in the September issue (written by the editor Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, Tory MP for Belper) deals with ANARCHISM IN CRISIS. It is a lengthy report on the British Anarchist movement and was, we are reliably informed, originally written for the purposes of Russian intelligence, something borne out by some of the language - e.g. the fact that "it seems unlikely" that our group "would co-operate with any other group" of that "we should therefore watch the current developments closely".

It endeavours to make sense out of the position of the various current groupings in British Anarchism, and it is interesting to speculate on Mr. Stewart-Smith's informants since the material is as closely documented as any of the sociological bilge (Government & Opposition etc.) and, while it makes several

Mr. Geoffrey Stewart Smith's predecessor at EAST-WEST DIGEST was Mr. Kenneth de Courcy. Unfortunately, this gentleman was obliged to resign following a seven year sentence imposed on him at the Old Bailey in 1963 for fraud. Last we heard he was editing the 'BANKER'S DIGEST'.....!

mistakes, the mistakes are no more than are likely to be made by 'insiders' e.g. it confuses the AFB with Freedom though the latter always held the AFB at arms' length (still this is a mistake encouraged for a long time by the AFB masthead inside Freedom and it calls the Anarchy group "semi-hippie" which suggests it does not know what "hippie" means and which can be compared by its calling the ABC "semi-clandestine" - a fantastically zany remark - for Christ's sake, clandestine or not clandestine, what could be more disastrous than *semi-clandestine*? Its picture of ORA as "formed by ex-members of the AFB disillusioned with the timidity and indecisiveness of the old guard" of the AFB! is equally idiotic and it somewhat too importantly says "Discussions have taken place with the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance": "The ORA's main strength is in its student membership, ASA's in its embryo industrial network and SWF's in agitational knowhow". If all this were true! But that is how you earn your living in espionage. The Special Branch expert on Anarchism is its greatest propagandist among the police.....he can never let them think it less important. The language used is standard political reportage.

The Black Cross "stands aloof from this activity" (squatt-ing, industrial action etc.) it "ostensibly" campaigns for the release of political prisoners (Habershon's word) but "in effect it has built up during the last six years an international network". They try to build us up, but let us down in one matter: so far from "standing aloof" various members of our group have been active, separately, in every single worth - while activity in the anarchist movement in periods ranging from 5 to 40 years. Stewart-Smith sees only our "leading spokesman" who "is also one of the most famous of contemporary anarchists" - guess who?

But the fact is that the media ignore all other spokesmen and only one has managed to break through (by notoriety rather than fame).

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FIVE YEARS OLD

We began our bulletin towards the end of 1968, running off 50 copies on the duplicator. The second issue ran to 200. We are now printing 1,200. The progress of the paper would have been quicker had we not also been running the Anarchist Black Cross which absorbed a lot of our energies, and if we had not had the long harassment and interruption caused by the trial.

* * * * *

With great regret I learn belatedly of the death of an old comrade Eddie McStephen, some two or three years ago. One of the Burnbank miners who kept up the struggle for years, he had been active in both Glasgow and later in Coventry. He took a dim view of the middle-class pacifist brigade and was perforce a "loner" round the Midlands for years but always a libertarian militant.

His great hobby was collecting books and his library, bought cheaply but with discrimination, would have been a major asset to a collection on anarchism; unfortunately his niece disposed of it, at a fraction of its value, to a book dealer. All that is left are a batch of minute books relating to the anarchist movement, between thirty and fifty years old. Eddie's niece told me she thought I should have them to dispose of as I wished. It poses a problem of ethics' whether to preserve them or destroy them. On the one hand such records are irreplaceable, but historians misinterpret and mishandle them; they were never intended for that purpose, and their preservation even has some hazards.

Has anyone any views on the matter? (Decision will be taken by what I have worked out as being the four "surviving" i.e. contactable, not necessarily the only living - people mentioned.

A. Meltzer.

INTERNAL CORRESPONDENCE

From some internal correspondence:-

"I disagree with the idea that anarchists work for the abolition of money as a reward and exchange medium. Some of us think that money (in some form if only coloured beads) should be retained - or indeed cannot be abolished except by authoritarian decree."

Would our friend agree to exchange his day's labour for me for a couple of million (weimar) marks? (The rate of exchange is nearly ten pence for a modern German mark) - *No authoritarian decree* as such made my two one-million mark notes valueless. What destroyed their value was the fact that the State which backed them lost the power and the confidence to have them accepted. Had that State issued coloured beads stamped with its insignia, they would have still been valueless. It tried over-stamping its currency ONE MILLION - super-imposed upon "100" or more - but in vain. The State had lost its power.

Of course, under capitalism other forces than the State can issue money. The banks do. Scottish banks issue cheques which are regarded as legal currency, though inaccurately, and all banks - by the issue of credits - invent a form of money that can be cashed into the authoritarian-backed currency of the State which is used as a measure of reward and ration.

If the State crashes (the Spanish Republic, for instance) its currency becomes valueless. The banks can no longer grant credits in that currency until it becomes stabilised again.

A revolution only takes place when the State disappears. No authoritarian decree would be necessary to "abolish" money, nor could it at that period preserve the old money. Nobody wants the Tsarist roubles or Confederate dollars of Franz Josef Reichsmarks after the authority of the State has vanished (not, at least, until they get collected years later by junk fanciers).

A revolution would not need to abolish money by decree. The money system would need to be re-introduced by authoritarian decree.

One cannot visualise a free society voluntarily and deliberately re-introducing the money system in any recognisable form as we know it. It would mean re-instituting a system of rewards as implied in the money system - with the sheer impossibility of working out both equitable and agreeable, without the power pressures which determine it in Statist society.

People seem to be prepared to live with any form of inequity and privilege provided it is traditional and its roots buried in the past: they cannot bear to see it deliberately introduced.

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UN-HEALEY ALLIANCE -

A strange incident in Hammersmith (London) the other week, when the Socialist Labour League (one of the many Trotskyist groupings) announced the formation of the revolutionary workers' party. What was the significance of that? Did not the S.L.L., in fact, already consider itself such? What magic has been wrought? Does it expect the other trot groups will now come into its fold? Does it think the C.P. will fold up? Both events might happen, with advantage, but it is hard to realise why the mere sounding of the trumpet should have such an effect. A lot of sincere young workers in the S.L.L. seem extremely bucked to think they have achieved it. Achieved what? We fail to understand.

After a long absence the magazine *Anarchy* has re-appeared. It has a re-vamped editorial board with members of the Black Flag Group, ASA, ORA, and the *Anarchy* Group itself. It will resume regular publication.

Black and Red Outlook has now gone into spasmodic publication. But we hope to see it again soon.

THE BITER BIT

Bitman stands in danger of becoming the Uncle Tom of the hippy world - in a letter in the mid-September issue there is a warning that 'freaks who are stoned in public give a very hard impression' and while 'government policy is quite tolerant..... the clothing and behaviour of the freaks gives the Nepalis a bad impression'. Yes, it's about Nepal but one presumes the warning to 'conform to local standards of behaviour' goes as much here? It is true *Bitman* takes a very servile attitude to the presumably Mystic East - it does not fail to refer to the Hello-Dalai Lama as His Holiness - which contrasts incidentally with its scorn for this paper "Work for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism!" it sums our articles up, in the best manner of commercial-hippie Saunders (Alternative London). The "revolution will only come about through constructive thinking and not through destruction and aggression," it says - defending the BIT visions - (in fact, through a change of property relations) and that is why Black Flag is (it says contemptuously) "over-emotional and therefore unreliable".

But if it has no commitment to revolution, it has to nationalism - where could one find anything more 'over-emotional and therefore unreliable' than the statement on a previous page that Palestine "epitomises the global scale of imperialist oppression; in order to provide Imperialist powers with a foothold in the Middle East, millions of families were driven from their homes and land"? One does not have to side with the Israelis to find this over-emotional and therefore unreliable. The entire population of Palestine has never exceeded two or three millions. Yet "Millions" not of people even, but of families were "driven out"



MARK'S MARK

Sir Robert Mark, the new Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis, has staggered the legal profession by following up his attack on the jury system - which manages to acquit some of the people his officers have already decided are guilty - by a body blow at the lawyers. He alleges there are bent lawyers who connive at crooked evidence. Despite the hysteria of the gentlemen in wigs, everyone knows this is perfectly true. But they also know that this applies quite as much to those appearing for the prosecution as it does for those appearing for the defence. Many of those who appear for the professional criminals know their clients are guilty. Many lawyers who appear for the Crown know full well, especially in political cases, that their instructions are based on falsehood and malice.

Mark, of course, does not attack lawyers briefed by the Crown, but merely those who have the temerity to try to get their clients acquitted.

THE LESSON FROM CHILE (1) by Marcus Graham

In 1970 Salvador Allende Cassens was elected to the presidency—an even that was greeted with joy by marxists and liberals everywhere.

Factually, Allende was elected by a minority, and he therefore proceeded at once to form a coalition Cabinet that included the second formidable party—the Christian Democrats.

James Nelson Goodsell, the Latin American Correspondent of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, who had been stationed in Santiago for some time past and including up to the overthrow of the Allende Government, was evidently unable to relate how the counter-revolution came about until he left Chile, and filed his analysis under the heading “Behind the Chile Coup” in the said paper of September 18th, 1973 and from which the following extracts are of particular interest:

“The rebellion was clearly not a sudden affair, but rather a well co-ordinated effort involving all the (military) services... Through May and June of this year, there were numerous rumblings among the military. On June 29th a tank regiment failed in an attempted coup to unseat the Allende government.... Events began to escalate rapidly. On the political front, Dr. Allende offered a dialogue with the opposition Christian Democratic Party over the country's difficult economic problems..... He must have felt the pressures weighing on him because in the course of the offer he broke down and wept.... Aware of the mushrooming crisis sweeping over him, Dr. Allende frantically searched for a political solution.... to head off military intervention.... leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties agreed to call ‘yes/no’ plebiscite on the Allende government, a step that would have given them five months time.... But time was running out.... the military conspiracy was too far advanced.... *there is considerable speculation by Santiago sources who have put together this scenario: that the military met with the Christian Democrats on September 9th or 10th eliciting their blessings to the coup.... the military on September 11th move against Dr. Allende—bringing to a violent end his socialist experiment in Chile three years and six days after he surprised the world by becoming the first freely elected Marxist leader in the world.*” (my italics).

WHAT THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTED

Jonathan Kandell, the NEW YORK TIMES correspondent, also stationed in Santiago, prior to and during the overthrow of the Allende Government, wrote in that paper on September 13th, 1973 from Buenos Aires:

“A virtual stalemate existed between the Marxist coalition.... and the opposition, - mainly the centre-left Christian Democrats, and the right-wing nationalists. President Allende used his authority.... to push through.... income distribution plans..... extensive agrarian reform programmes..... and to nationalise hundreds of foreign and domestic companies, large and small.... The stalemate extended to the court system as well. Judges ordered workers to evacuate..... seize factories and ordered peasants to return conquered land..... It is doubtful that the failed Chilean experiment will dim revolutionary fervour on the continent. *But it may well revive the polemic between the peaceful and violent roads to socialism.*” (my italics)

UNITED STATES IMPERIALIST INVOLVEMENT IN THE OVERTHROW

James Nelson Goodsell, in a dispatch from Buenos Aires, wrote in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR of September 17th, 1973 under the heading “Suspicion About Chile Coup Surface: Latin America Points the Finger at U.S.”, stating:-

In much of Latin America, the United States is being assigned the villain role in the military rebellion against Chilean President Salvador Allende Cassens..... On Wednesday, a State Department official asserted that Washington had known about Tuesday's rebellion 48 hours before it began..... The decision was made not to inform Dr. Allende, a State Department spokesman said, because it might have been construed as intervention in Chile's internal affairs..... Latin America detects no mourning for Dr. Allende in Washington. Many share the view of..... Peron that there was dancing in the halls of the Department when the tanks sailed against La Moneda, the Chilean White House Tuesday morning.... Newspapers as far apart as Buenos Aires and Caracas view with suspicion the lightning weekend visit of Nathaniel Davis, U.S. Ambassador to Chile, to Washington..... And they find it more than coincidental that the U.S. and Chilean Navies have scheduled joint exercises in the South Pacific this week..... Latin Americans have a long memory -- Guatemala in 1954, Bay of Pigs in 1961, and Dominican Republic 1965.”

How far Allende went in tying his Government to the military, one gathers from Charlotte Saikowski, a staff correspondent of the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR in the issue of September 14th, 1971, in dealing with the Chilean coup, brought to light this startling fact:-

“Although U.S. relations with Chile have hardened over the past three years, Washington has maintained its ties with the Chilean military establishment. Last year it provided Chile with \$12.4 million worth of credits for the purchase of military American equipment and the training of Chilean officers. U.S. and Chilean Navies have also kept up a programme of joint manoeuvres off the Chilean coast.”

Thus, Allende by his compromises with the Chilean and United States military and navy, unwittingly accepted the very military aid that Imperialist U.S., was only too willing to render, and which, in turn, assured his overthrow! It need also be pointed out here that the same Imperialist counter-revolutionary U.S., saw to it that Chile should be strangled economically by every means at its command.

THE ROLE OF MARXIST RULED RUSSIA AND CHINA IN THE CHILEAN TRAGEDY

Writes Charlotte Saikowski, in the same story of September 14th:-

“The Soviet leadership, which was naturally pleased to have a fellow Marxist in power in Chile, pursued a cautious policy that favoured the moderate pro-Allende forces rather than the extremist socialist elements. *But it refused to give President Allende all the economic aid he wanted.* Also it has not wanted to antagonise the United States at a time of growing detente and has therefore avoided getting into the Chilean-U.S. controversy over Chile's nationalisation of the American copper industry.”

There are pessimists who think that the Marxian Government of Russia will last forever. The constant rising voice of dissidents within Russia is proof to the contrary. This is revealed most strikingly in the reaction by some towards the questionable role that the Russian Government has played towards Chile, as the following excerpts from a correspondence by Leo Grullov from Moscow, in the CHRISTIAN MONITOR of October 2nd, 1973 shows:-

"The military coup in Chile has come as a greater shock here to the spirit of East-West *detente* than many Westerners realise. Some of the questions from the audience at this weekend's public forum on foreign affairs here indicate the depth of the shock: Why don't we speak out about the United States' role in Chile? What aid did we give Chile? What effective answer can we give to Chilean reaction? Doesn't our peace policy support imperialism? Although *detente* has nothing to do with the events in Chile, the implications were that the Soviet Union's hands were tied in some way by the negotiations for peace and trade with the West.

The speaker of the evening K.M. Smirnov, rebutted any such implications in answers..... as follows: Although we know of U.S. monopolies' efforts of subversion in Chile, and although it was reported that Washington had advance knowledge of the Chilean coup, there is no direct evidence of U.S. Government complicity..... No, the policy of *detente* implies no yielding on ideology or on class conflict.

The questions and answers suggested considerable *disillusion with hopes that a Marxist society could be achieved peacefully through democratic process*". (My italics)

If and when we can learn of the attitude of the diligent people of China toward their Government's betrayal of the Allende Government, similar protests as those that have taken place in Russia, will no doubt, come to light. And the same reaction has undoubtedly taken place in all Marxist ruled countries. At the so-called United Nations - where every Marxian Government is represented, only the Cuban one dared to raise its voice and point at the Imperialist counter-revolutionary United States - as the chief instigator in the overthrow of the Allende Government.

Those pro-marxist elements who still cling to the belief that the political game, initiated by Karl Marx, that a genuine social revolution can be achieved through the so-called "democratic" process, have evidently failed to learn anything from the events in Chile, as a dispatch in the NEW YORK TIMES of September 18th, 1973 shows:-

"More than 160 Spanish intellectuals..... condemned the overthrow (of the Allende Government), and in a statement, said: 'Chile was the testimony to the possibility of moving by a peaceful and legal road'".

Have these intellectuals forgotten what has happened in Spain when the fascist butcher Franco, aided by the capitalist Governments of the world crushed the revolution in Spain in 1936?!

(cont/.... next month)



ANARCHISM

"What matters it whether it be a sabre, an aspergill, or an umbrella that governs you? It is always a stick, and I am astonished that men of progress should dispute about the choice of cudgels to tickle their shoulders, when it would be much more progressive and less expensive to break it and throw the pieces to the devil."

Theophile GAUTIER 9
(MAN - December 1939).

ARGENTINA

Workers in Santa Fe are rallying round the re-building of the Emile Zola Library. It was the oldest extant anarchist library in the world. Founded around the beginning of the century, it stood in a street in the poor quarter of Santa Fe, library, workers institute and club, centre for libertarian discussion and debate, where some of the best known anarchist militants have lectured at some time or another.

Last December it was attacked by the fascist groups within the Peronista movement (one section openly fascist, or falangist, though the movement as a whole claims not to be) with incendiary bombs. It was part of a number of attacks on all those fighting for freedom and social justice.

We hear in the British press only of the attacks by the Tupamaros on the ruling-class. They never tell us what they are fighting against. This was but one of a series of provocations upon the workers' movement. The Emile Zola Library with irreplaceable books on the social struggle on its shelves, was burned to the ground; the workers' centre totally destroyed.

Now the Argentine comrades are re-building, we hope that international solidarity will be shown. Send them books to help refill their shelves. Their biggest need is of course books in Spanish, but they do need books in English and Italian as well. Send any books you can to:- Libertarian Federation of Argentina, Brasil 1551, Buenos Aires, (Rep. Argentina), stating on the package "For Emile Zola Library".

U.S.A.

URGENT

Martin Sostre is still maintaining his fight both for release and for an end to "systematic repression and brutality" in prison. As reported in previous issues of "Black Flag", Martin is serving 30 - 41 years. The key witness Arto Williams - who claimed he bought heroin from Sostre - changed his testimony to admit at a subsequent hearing that he framed Sostre to gain the help of police to get him out of his own trouble with the law. He knew Sostre was a wanted black militant.

The Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court in Rochester has re-affirmed the 1968 conviction but reduced the sentence by eleven years off the maximum (it has been modified to 25 to 30 years "in the interests of justice"). Meanwhile the appeal fight goes on. The ball now lies in the court of Federal Judge John T. Curtin, who has to rule on a writ of habeas corpus pending leave of appeal to the Court of Appeals.

Meanwhile, every time Martin Sostre leaves Clinton Prison he is beaten up. He refuses to submit to the deliberately degrading and humiliating rectal examination required when entering and leaving prison. Time and again gangs of warders, seven at a time, have set on him and he has appeared in court handcuffed and with his bruises showing - though not allowed to remove his shirt to show the worst injuries - with the prison officers denying he has been beaten up!

Sostre has been recognised by Amnesty International as a political prisoner suffering from a miscarriage of justice because of his beliefs, or rather because of his militant activity in the black movement. When he was arrested he still regarded himself as a Marxist and nationalist. Now he realises he has been an anarchist all along. As an anarchist he will not submit to the needlessly degrading rectal examination. The Martin Sostre Defence Committee is at Box 839 Ellicott Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14205, U.S.A. - and needs help. Send a letter of protest to Judge Robert J. Feinberg, Clinton County Court, Plattsburg, N.Y. 12901, U.S.A. (Letters from politically "sensitive" countries might help).

BELGIUM

Brussels, 7th November A.F.P. - Spain's representative to the European Community, Ambassador Alberto Calvo ULLASTRES, narrowly escaped being the victim of a kidnapping attempt yesterday in Brussels. Four armed men arrived at his apartment demanding to see the ambassador, but on realising he was not at home the men left empty handed after ten minutes. The only information the police have is that the men spoke perfect Spanish.

(This Agence France Presse communique was not published in any newspaper).

次基

CHINA

During the months of September and October so-called "trials" have been taking place in six different cities in China, where up to 300 workers have been charged with "aggravated hooliganism". The offence, alleging serious disorderly conduct, may sound trivial to Western ears, but it is one of the gravest accusations that can be made in China subordinated as it is to the State and where political trials are in reality planned and deliberate humiliations to subordinate lovers of freedom to the hatred and contempt of all.

The offence with which these workers are charged is simply that they endeavoured to get control of the workers' committees running their factories. Ostensibly, these committees are elected by popular vote; in practice they are made by government appointments which then seek popular approval. It is not unknown for persons aspiring to power to seek to get on to such management committees, and while not officially approved - and specifically denounced by the late Lin Piao - such behaviour does not rank as a crime.

What does rank as a crime is the endeavour to subordinate such committees to the will of the working people rather than to that of the Communist Party. During the late elections many workers, especially in the textile industry, made the mistake of assuming that they could use the process of choosing the factory committees to establish what they thought would be "real" working control. One cannot say that the majority of these workers were revolutionary. On the contrary, many assumed that revolution was implicit in the Chinese State, as they were often assured by Chairman Mao himself. What was stated time and again to be the fault of Lin Piao (former No.2 of Mao Tse-Tung) was his belief that "the revolution had been accomplished" and that all problems relating to the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of socialism had been solved. In other words, that it was not possible to go ahead to improve on the system of "communism" as known in China by eliminating party control of management, the surest relic of capitalism that exists. This was stated explicitly to be Lin's crime, and the reason for his assassination (though at first it was pretended that he was killed in a plane crash). The former head of state, Liu Shao-Chi, had also put himself against any move towards revolutionary change or even modification in the rigid State control which is transforming China into the robot dreamworld of Karel Capek.

The overthrow of Liu and Lin made many workers assume that Mao was not against revolutionary change and progress, and this of course was precisely what he intended them to think. Had he not done so he could not have survived. Unlike other dictators he lives constantly with the principles which brought him to power; and loses no opportunity of re-asserting them, though at the same time he allows not the slightest move which would bring about the withering away of the State or the least of its draconic laws.

Those workers who believed that it was possible to re-assert the revolution and that it was even now still possible to take over control of the factories face one of the most serious

crimes they can; and it should be remembered that such is the planned brainwashing and mutual system of informing regularly organised in Chinese prisons that few who go in, ever come out. On the contrary, they petition to stay as voluntary prisoners when their term is over.

This background must be understood by those who imagine that the individual attacks made by Anarchists on supporters of the regime are the "banditry" that Peking Radio constantly denounces. Only sensational attacks break up the unity of the State which otherwise would be a monolith with supreme powers over every person.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM?

In the October trial in Shanghai, the presentation of the case against the "wreckers" reached limits of farce. It was apparently decided by the prosecution that what the accused had done could be labelled under the dreaded name of "anarcho-syndicalist deviationism". They were therefore lectured with Marxist-Leninist admonitions of the dangers of anarcho-syndicalism by which the workers actually presumed to take over the control of their own factories. In an excited atmosphere the star turn (a former supporter of Liu Shao-Chi now determined to show how loyal he is to Mao Tse-Tung) the state prosecutor, read out Marx's denunciations of Bakunin to shouts of angry protest at the villainous enemy of the State.... developing into sustained applause when Marx stated how inadequate "Russian blood" was in making the revolution. Apparently Bakunin's worst fault was being a Russian - (but as a man of the 19th Century hardly a Leninist?) though worse was to come when his writings were read, to prolonged laughter and derision, which did not fail to culminate in the famous "Confession".

One of the communist cheerleaders present - or could it have been one of the accused, always encouraged to join in the attack on themselves? Could it have been sarcasm? - hearing the attacks on Ba-Ku-Nin and assuming, not unnaturally, that he was one of the people who had tried to take over the textile factory in Shanghai - shouted at this point, "Jail is too good for such a scoundrel! Hang him! Hang him!"

"THUS FAR"

A lengthy account of the trials was prepared in a pamphlet entitled "Thus Far". It was translated into many languages and prepared for foreign distribution. It explains clearly and simply how far workers are allowed to go in workers control. It shows when such participation in management ceases to be permissible. Copies have been sent all over the world. But the first reaction of Maoists elsewhere was fear that this would disgrace them in the eyes of workers all over the world who think workers' control means what it says. So it has been withdrawn. Try and get hold of a copy if you can. It is well worth the reading. But you are more likely to be handed a copy of Chairman Mao's Thoughts instead.

We asked our correspondent in China for a clarification of the, to us, baffling relationship of Mao Tse-Tung to the former Head of State Liu Shao-Chi and the recently deceased Lin Piao, now alleged to be the leader of the "opposition" though always the faithful No. 2 to Mao. He tells us:

Mao recognises the problems of dictatorship and that the No. 1 enemy of the Chinese people has always been the bureaucracy. Large numbers never came into contact with capitalism and to them the bureaucracy represented the worst enemy. Yet under "communism" and despite official disapproval it grows increasingly, Mao himself is unable to curb it though, basically still a soldier, he possibly genuinely disapproves of it.

Mao is determined that, although dictator, he will not repeat Stalin's mistakes, much as he admires him. He therefore acts as the "Trotsky" rather than the "Stalin" in attacking the bureaucracy and calling for further revolutionary efforts to get rid of the relics of capitalism within the party. He thus remains, apparently the "revolutionary" inspirer. But his immediate followers cannot act in so critical a fashion. They are the very embodiment of the bureaucracy and the relics of capitalism he is attacking. Nor dare they attack the State in the way Mao, from a position of power, can. He can criticise them, they cannot criticise him. Thus to the masses he appears to be struggling against their immediate oppressors. So while Chou En-lai is carrying out negotiations with the capitalist powers, on behalf of the most elementary principles of the Nation-State, with the full support of the entire party, Mao finds it quite possible to attack those who dare to sell out to the capitalist powers..... If the negotiations succeed, the glory will still be Mao's; if they fail the blame will be Chou's. Moreover the odium of dealing with capitalist powers is entirely that of Chou's. If Mao did not behave in this fashion, he would not have survived to his great age. He has more in common with General Franco than either of them realise. Or perhaps there is some secret trade union to which the rulers belong, and they do realise it?



The Federation Obrera Iberica (FOI) - to which we referred in a previous issue - has been named by the Spanish police as "one of the subversive organisations created for the rebuilding of illegal syndicalism", namely, the reconstitution of the CNT unions. Its work is supplemented by two other organisations, the M.I.L. and the M.I.R. (Libertarian Iberian Movement, and Revolutionary Iberian Movement respectively). The latter has been accused of participation in "illegal action" all over the Peninsula. As a result, there has been re-created a special "anti-anarchist squad" of the police force. It was hoped by the regime that in the 34 years of victory, all memory of the anarchist movement was wiped out, at least in the minds of the younger generation. News of it has been suppressed and all publicity given to "los rojos" the Communist Party which (because of its reliance on central committees and organisation from above easily controllable by police action does not constitute a menace. But, it may be, all in vain.

One of the actions of the "anti-anarchist squad" has been the arrest of our 26 year old comrade David Urbano Bermudez. He was serving two sentences of three years when he was released in 1971. (Reference to his sentence was made in Miguel Garcia's Spanish Political Prisoners pamphlet. In the hunger strike at Soria to which he refers in Franco's Prisoner, David was one who received the maximum sentence of 115 days solitary confinement).

His release came after General Franco's so-called "general pardon" in 1971, after he had served four years and some months. Had the law of conditional liberty been applied, as guaranteed by the constitution, he would have served 3½ years only. This in itself is indicative of Franco's idea of "clemency" for which he receives international publicity.

The sentences were for two offences - one for passing the frontier without a passport (even though there had been a general pardon for those who committed this offence) and the other for being a member of an illegal organisation (which is to say, a trade union affiliated to the CNT, legal where he

belonged to it, in France. Imagine being sentenced abroad for being a member of an English trade union!)

After his release for these "crimes" he went on meeting friends - young workers, students and others. They did nothing illegal and were not part of an organisation. But because of his moral prestige - to which the unjust sentence had contributed - the meeting took on a significance in the eyes of the authorities. It was heaping fuel on the fire of anarchist propaganda. The anti-anarchist squad in Madrid had him under surveillance.

When he went to the trial of Julian Millan Hernandez he was arrested and detained 72 hours. Now he has been re-arrested and charged with illegal propaganda. But, significantly, he has not been tortured in accordance with normal interrogation procedure. There was evidently nothing the police wished to find out. But of course the Governor of any Spanish province can put in jail anyone he chooses.

David comes from a family who were members of the CNT for years. His father's family were all skilled construction workers in Cordova and solid union stalwarts there. After the Civil War, his father went to jail and his mother took her sons to Catalonia where the family was not known. Later they were reunited and went abroad, David went to university in Strasbourg. Nevertheless he returned to Spain. Now for a second time, he waits to know his fate.

(The typesetter of this article met David in Barcelona last year and he was the kindest, most self-effacing man. He took me in and gave me a guided tour of the town, pointing out the CNT headquarters during the Civil War, and explained the battles and sieges of many streets in the town. This quiet man is now rotting in jail again on a trumped up charge, - I sincerely hope that comrades response in reaction to his case will NOT be quiet!)

THE IBERIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT AUTONOMOUS COMBAT GROUPS

On Tuesday, September 25th, agents of the Spanish Secret Police, the Brigada Politico-Social, arrested two presumed suspects of the Iberian Liberation Movement. One of these, on being attacked by the police, opened fire in self-defence, killing the well-known torturer Jesus Barragan of the Spanish Special Branch and, incidentally, the son of a Civil Guard. The following day, in an extensive police communique, it was announced that the comrades under arrest were *members of a dangerous gang of anarchist robbers responsible for numerous successful bank robberies and travelled between their base in France and Barcelona for their nefarious purposes.* We expect that these comrades will be tried by a summary Council of War and almost certainly face the death sentence when the farce known as Spanish Justice is played out.

The Autonomous Combat Groups of the Iberian Liberation Movement first showed their hand with a series of daring and successful bank raid in Catalonia in the early summer of 1972. An indication of how successful these robberies were is the fact that in one robbery alone, on the Banco Espanol de Credito in Barcelona, they netted more than three millions pesetas! This money was used to finance the anarchist resistance movement in Spain and among other things was used to set up print-shops both in France and Catalonia. In September, 1972, the French police raided a farm-house near Bessieres and announced the discovery of a sophisticated print-shop (which they confiscated), an arms dump, and what they referred to as indications that the place had obviously been used as a meeting place for international anarchist activists. An amusing footnote to this was the expropriation, some four months later, of this machinery by the MIL from police headquarters itself! A few days later, on December 29th, they carried out a successful robbery on the Layetana Savings Bank in Badalona taking with them 800,000 pesetas! Behind them they left a communique commemorating the death of Francisco Sabate Llopert, the anarchist urban guerrilla gunned down in 1960 (see "Sabate" to be published early next year by Cienfuegos Press Book Club.). cont/.....

The specifically anarchist aims and ideas of the Iberian Liberation Movement were published in a well produced pamphlet in which they also declared their solidarity with the First of May Group, and the Angry Brigade in Britain. The pamphlet also carried a long and detailed report of the trial of the Stoke Newington Eight at the Old Bailey in London.

We expect that all comrades will realise the seriousness of the charges facing the two comrades now in custody. Details of this case will be announced as soon as we receive further news and information concerning the Defence Committee now being formed in France.

URGENT

GOLIARDO FIASCHI: ITALY

Still no news on the progress of Goliardo's appeal. According to the lawyers there is every reason to be optimistic about the eventual outcome, but the appeal committee is out of urgently required funds. Please send what you can to Franco Leggio, Via San Francisco 238, 97100-RAGUSA, Sicily, Italy. Also, do not forget Goliardo himself - why not drop him a line or maybe a Christmas Card to :- Goliardo Fiaschi, Villa Bobo, No. 1, 73100-LECCE, Italy.

CANADA: News Flash!!!
Mass Arrests in Toronto:

A third I.W.W. member was arrested in Toronto, among 16 picketers jailed the morning of November 12th. The total arrests now stand at 90. One hundred and fifty riot squad police attacked 300 strikers and supporters on a mass picket line at Artistic Woodwork. As this is written, Heather Ramsey is in police custody and her charge unknown. Lawyers have been refused entry into police headquarters.

Over 100 of the picketers were drawn from other unions: Chemical Workers, UE, Postal Workers, United Steelworkers, Typographers, CUPE, and the IWW was also represented. Ambulances were necessary for the badly injured. But there were more than a couple of police on the ground.

†† November 14th violence again. 400 picketers including delegates from the Ontario Federation of Labour Convention. Mass arrests and beatings. Arrest total: 102. IWW worker Bill Lewis arrested again. Fellow worker Heather Ramsey faces the most serious of the charges laid against our fellow workers. One charge of common assault, one charge of mischief. She is accused of biting the hand of a fascist who was throttling her.

COMRADES - Please send one dollar contributions to the IWW General Defence Fund, IWW Toronto, P.O. Box 306, Station E, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada.

AUSTRALIA: Rupert Gerritsen got six years after pleading guilty at his trial. Mike Briscoe has escaped from Bunbury Prison. No further details are available as yet.



The G.L.C., has put up a plaque to Mark Gertler, the painter, at his birthplace in Spitalfields.

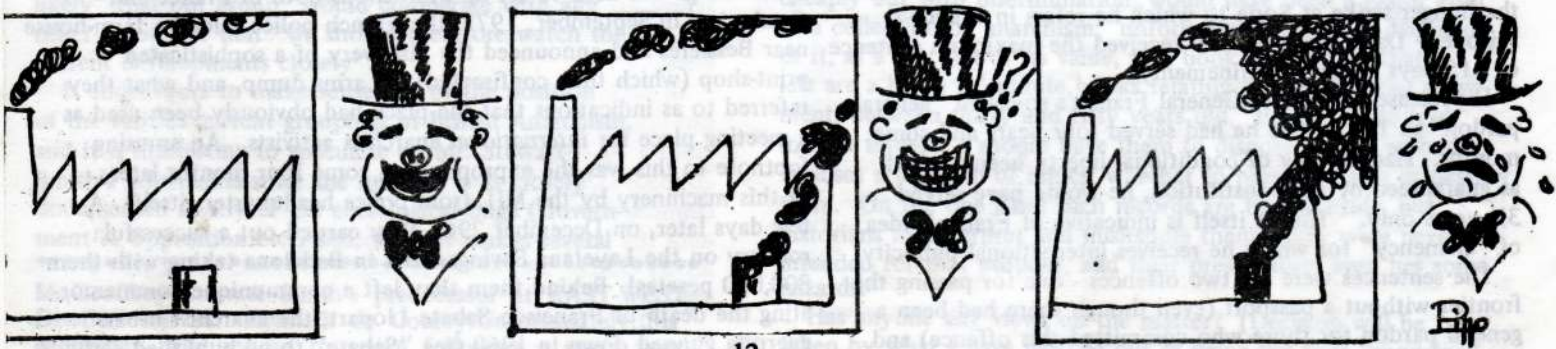
Gertler was, at the end of his life, an Anarchist. The North London Anarchist Group met at his house. He had great hopes of Anarchism in Spain and stated that if Franco won, he would commit suicide. He did commit suicide; but no hint of Gertler's views or the reason for his death has appeared in any art biographies. They have preferred to dwell on his years in the Bloomsbury set. One feels Mark would have laughed about the plaque. This paper is a better memorial.

JOBS FOR THE BOYS (AND GHOULS); or, Some of my best friends believe.....

Diocesan advisers on exorcism have now been appointed in London, Birmingham, Exeter and Peterborough. The Church of England is officially intervening in the "ever-growing number of cases of demonic possession" in Gt. Britain, and the retiring Bishop of Peterborough has called a conference on the subject while the new Bishop of London has appointed Prebendary Harry Cooper, the Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, as adviser on how to get rid of evil spirits to the clergy of London.

The Guild of St. Raphael has set up an approved service on how to exorcise evil spirits, invisible baneful influences and other hobgoblins, the increase of which has been noted in the Birmingham area. The Bishop of Aston (Birmingham) says there is "ample evidence" for the need for exorcists. It is too much for the amateur to do on his own, he needs the professional touch which only the State-established church can supply. Meantime better not go home in the dark.

As a contribution to this exercise (exorcise?) we appoint Prebendary Harry Cooper to the position of Maudling Prizewinner as Idiot of the Month.



A DEATH OUT OF SEASON Emanuel Litvinoff. (Michael Joseph £2.75.)

With the background of the Sidney Street siege Mr. Litvinoff could hardly go wrong for thrills and suspense. The identity of "Peter the Painter" is, of course, as much a subject for speculation as that of "Jack the Ripper" (now solved) once was; the eventual truth may be only a little less surprising. However Mr. Litvinoff casts "Peter" as a double agent for the Russian secret police and for the revolutionaries, and as Dumas once pointed out, the novelist can always rape history providing he produces children.

As he is intending to continue with his fictional characters and write a trilogy, bringing in the Russian Revolution, it is fortunate for the author that he has totally mixed up his politics. He simply does not know what an anarchist is, except that they are supposed to provide the background for "Sidney Street". He therefore cheerfully mixes up Social Revolutionaries (which is what most of his characters appear to be), Social Democrats of both Menshevik and Bolshevik tendencies, and any other Russian populist movement that appears to be around at the time. They can all come in later as government and opposition in Soviet Russia.

Among his "howlers" on the Anarchists are Malatesta as a "pacifist" and Rocker as an "impeccable Christian" (Litvinoff really means "Aryan" but a lot of his stories come from cleaned-up anti-semitism, which was the real background of the East End of the time). His central theme is impossible for the police or a Tsarist agent to penetrate the jargon-speaking Anarchist movement among the Jewish immigrants of the time. No police agents or detectives could be found who would take the time to learn the language (and there is a lot more to Yiddish jargon than the mere acquirement of a language) and go into a sweetshop to work fifteen hours a day to gain confidence.

Of course police agents of all kinds could penetrate the Social-Revolutionary movement, of former students living on remittances from home, none of whom could account for themselves except on trust - or Bolshevik professional revolutionaries with no other way of earning a living but in the party. (Lesson for today.) To back his theme, Mr Litvinoff even speaks - in all seriousness - of "swarthy Welshmen" in the police force taking a "crash course" in Yiddish and Russian to investigate the revolutionaries - look you already tovarish bach. It is a pity novelists, and for that matter journalists, could not take a crash course in politics, economics and history. The results would be to make their works less hilarious than rugger-playing Jones the Police turning up at the pants-presser's as just off the boat.

NATIONALISM IS THE LAST REFUGE OF A MARXIST
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STUCK FOR A CHRISTMAS PRESENT FOR A MERRY FRIEND?

How about the "1974 BIG RED DIARY" which is published by PLUTO PRESS. It is roughly 4 x 6 ins, 152 pages long, plus 8 blank pages for notes, so is not too big to carry around with you. Apart from being just a diary it carries a lot of useful information listed under the headings of "What You're Up Against", "Do It" and "Finding Out". The first of these sections gives reliable facts and figures showing just who owns what, etc., and the real statistics about the Freeze that Heath the Teeth is none too keen on people knowing. "Do It" contains info on picketing, civil liberties, defending yourself in court, Social Security benefits and housing - flats (furnished/council etc) agencies, squatting etc. The Sex Poll part in this section tells you what to do or how to cope with abortion, contraception, V.D., and Cervical Cancer. Lastly, "Finding Out" gives lists of papers & journals, where to give or get information, left book shops here and abroad, and libraries of particular interest to comrades.

On the whole it is a good buy at 75p. Maybe the only thing I wasn't over-keen on was all the over-printing, but then again I suppose it's more interesting that a lot of type written facts concerning events on certain days. I'm afraid I even have to admit to a muffled snicker at the definitely "Cliff Joke" that slipped in on October 20th!!!!

"BETRAYAL" IN ARGENTINA

Socialists, Stalinists and Maoists have all flocked to Peron's fascist banner. Somehow they will keep Peron on his his "revolutionary course". The left-wing reasoned thus: Hadn't Peron built up the powerful trade union movement when in office in the early fifties? (Answer: Yes, as Mussolini had built the fascist syndicates in Italy.) Hadn't Peron been an anti-imperialist seeking a third route between Russian communism and US capitalism? (Answer: Yes, and so had Hitler and Mussolini, both of whom Peron supported as an army officer in World War II). Come to think of it, who was it Peron conferred with shortly before returning to the Argentine from exile? His mentor, Francisco Franco, the dictator of fascist Spain.

The Peronist Establishment first blamed the massacre at the airport demonstration on the Trotskyist People's Revolutionary Army, one of the few left movements hostile to Peron. Then they changed the charge to include the left-wing Peronist Youth. The Peronist Youth (J.P.) whose slogan is "Peron, Evita, la patria socialista", counter-charged that the massacre was the work of the Right-wing Juventud Sindical Peronista, an armed trade union band under the direction of Col. Jorge Osinde, retired military officer who was Peron's internal security chief in 1946. Twenty five thousand dollars of party funds were alleged to have been used to buy machine guns for the union goons.

So Argentina's leftists learn a bitter lesson of what popular fronts are all about.

Only the E.R.P., and the anarcho-syndicalists have remained solidly against Peron. The anarcho-syndicalists, in decline since the 1920s, are small and badly organised. The Trotskyist E.R.P., is small too, but well-organised and dedicated to its own special Trot recipe for dictatorship.

Unless the Argentine working class develops the One Big Union concept fought for so heroically by the Buenos Aires I.W.W., (F.O.R.A.) in the 1920s, and learns too the lessons of the International Working Men's Association, they can expect nothing but more bloodshed and betrayal.

Joya.

A NOMINATION FOR THE NORTHCLIFFE AWARD FOR PRESS PARANOIA

Gartree prison is a high security concentration camp style of prison in the middle of a large area of flat and open land near Market Harborough in the southern part of Leicestershire. Jake Prescott is at present imprisoned there. During the past year there has occurred in Gartree a number of prisoners' demands for better treatment and conditions, and in view of the vicious manner in which screws normally respond to such manifestations of human dignity on the part of the prisoners, it is not surprising that violence has occurred.

The latest protest by the prisoners took the form of a sit-in, probably the most peaceable potentially effective means of making a demand that is open to prisoners. Nobody need be surprised to learn that the local paper reacted with its usual hysteria, slathering at the mouth about how hard pressed the warders were and how fraught with difficulty the situation was. Until, on a day when not much had happened at the prison, the Leicester Mercury, for such is the style and title of the local newspaper, ran a front page story headlined "Angry Brigade men sparked Gartree sit-in". I felt this to be excessive, because nobody in any prison in the country has been shown to belong to the Angry Brigade, so the description is unfair, inaccurate and probably slanderous. And if the reference was to Jake, who was never even a defendant at what became known as the Angry Brigade trial, it was paranoia of the most dangerous kind to make him plural. Which they'd done without even naming him.

So a prompt 'phone call went into the newspaper's reporters' desk and gathered the information that the story was the work of the News Editor, one Lawrie Simpkin, and that he'd gone home. So a letter was sent off, outlining the inaccuracies and distortions in the article and inviting a retraction. A reply to this letter was received which maintained that the article in question was within the normal standards of accuracy and responsibility. So I wrote back making certain observations on what this meant vis a vis the normal standards of accuracy and responsibility of the British press. The reply I had to this letter departed the real world entirely by suggesting that because only I had complained about the story (and therefore 1/2 a million other readers had not complained about it) this made it true.

I wrote a further last and despairing letter suggesting that the truthfulness of a piece of writing had something to do with how closely it corresponded with the events and people it purported to describe, rather than how widespread objections to it might be. And another invitation to acknowledge in writing that the original article had been an inaccurate and distorted piece of reporting. No reply has been seen to this last letter, and I am happy to award Lawrie Simpkin, News Editor of the Leicester Mercury, this month's Northcliffe Award for press paranoia, being a list of all the people charged and tried with "Angry Brigade" offences, with details of all the charges made against each person, and a summary of the totals of convictions and acquittals.

Peter Miller.

Early next year we intend to produce a theoretical quarterly. This, like Black Flag, will be international in outlook, and we shall be collaborating with Italian, Spanish, French and other journals appearing at the same time in their respective countries. We will be glad to receive any articles or ideas submitted by comrades on subjects they feel should be discussed within the International Anarchist movement. Black Flag, also requires more articles (...and subs!) from its readers. Keep your news and views coming in.

FIRE DANGER!

Never let it be said that this paper never taught you anything practical. Recently an American retail chain has been warning its janitors and warehousemen of a previously unobserved source of spontaneous combustion: Cat Litter and vegetable oils. The summer may not be hot enough but don't go putting your used feline friend's litter in the dustbin when you also intend cleaning out the oil from your chip pan. This may be an old trick of property developers but we strongly advise you to steer clear of this dangerous practice!

SUPPORT THE
FIGHTING FUND!

SOME PAY THEIR DUES
WHEN DUE
SOME WHEN OVERDUE
SOME NEVER DO
HOW DO YOU DO?



ANOTHER WATERGATE FRAME-UP!

When the psychiatrist who treated Daniel Ellsberg told the police that his office had been burgled, they picked up Elmer Davis, a many-time loser, off the street, and convicted him of this offense. When later events established who had committed that burglary, a reporter nosed in, found Davis, and established that at the time of the burglary he had been serving time on another charge in a Los Angeles jail. Elmer got out for a while.

FIGHTING FUND

To say that the financial position of the Black Cross is bad would be an understatement! Therefore to counter this lack of funds we are opening a fighting fund which we can draw on to expand our activities and to use when a particularly urgent situation arises. Our target for the next six months is £1000. If churches can manage that amount for their steeples and Princess Anne can get £300,000 in wedding presents, then surely we can raise a measly thousand pounds. A full list of all contributors to this fund will be published monthly in the Flag. There are very few people who are committed to an idea and who cannot afford at least £1 per month for a good cause. Make sure we're on your list for Christmas presents!

Letters

MAKHNO, SCHWARZBART AND THEIR CIRCLE



The articles in the Flag on the subject of Makhno and Schwarzbart I found extremely interesting as always. One of the people who viciously but ignorantly slandered Makhno was a guy called Nathan Ausubel, who wrote, "A Pictorial History of the Jewish People". He makes innumerable mistakes in this book (published, as a children's illustrated encyclopedia, by Crown Publishers New York in 1953* and on Makhno says only, curtly, that the Ukrainian Jews were "preyed upon ceaselessly by the troops of the White Guardist General Denikin and by the large bands of marauding nationalist insurgents.... commanded by General Petlura, Skoropadsky and Makhno."

It may well be that he is relying on one of the Bolshevik "histories". So little does he know of Makhno that in the Index has to omit the forename and give him only as 'Makhno. Gen.' Yet of Schwarzbart he has a good deal to say (not the fact that he was an Anarchist of course).

"A dramatic footnote to the Ukrainian massacres was written with a revolver on the boulevards of Paris in 1927. A young Ukrainian Jew, Samuel Schwarzbart, started out for the capital with the sole purpose of avenging the murder of his father and mother and of 200,000 other Jews. He had heard that after Petlura's flight before the Red Army he had gone to Paris. For days he stalked his prey like a hunter. Then he confronted him and shot him dead. Schwarzbart surrendered voluntarily to the police. Charged with murder, he was tried in the Court of Assizes. Amid scenes of great public excitement and emotionalism the court unanimously acquitted Schwarzbart."

It is an ironic commentary on Mr Ausubel that this shows up his lie, or ignorance, about Makhno. If Makhno were really a fellow-General of Petlura and a Jew-killer, no need to "stalk" Makhno like a prey, Schwarzbart met him every evening in the Russian Anarchist Club!

E.B.M.

* (Later published in England by Paul Hamlyn).

Dear Flag,

I'd just like you to know that I think your paper is bloody marvellous and easily outpaces any other paper of its kind. Unlike other papers the facts are not manipulated to fit the cliched crap that most of the leftist papers lift from their various 'bibles'. The lack of cliché and frozen party policies makes Black Flag the only readable paper which is reliable with its facts and which works towards pure Anarchism without the hyphenated anarchism which has been common for so long..... Keep up the good work.

Edinburgh - G. Moffat.

Glad to see the new-style Flag which now that it's legible is the best anarchist mag yet..... I get the smell of real revolutionary drive about it but it also manages to smile. I am surprised though you didn't comment on the Arab-Israeli war.

London - J.G.

(The October issue was delayed and came out as Oct/Nov; the war was on while we were printing.)

Dear Comrades,

Congratulations on the paper's continued improvement. The report on Anarchists in Chile was particularly welcome. The left press in general, and the Anarchist press in particular, have sadly neglected the Chilean Anarchists (though, I can appreciate the difficulties in communication at this time). "LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE" and FREEDOM seem to be satisfied with reprinting "SOCIALIST WORKER"-type articles, shorn of the call to build a revolutionary party, but with little else in its place.

Fraternally,

Phil Ruff,
GRAPEVINE

Birmingham -



Statement of Account

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* Donations : London: LS £5, JT £2, GR £1, AG £5,
Dublin : £5 California £82.21 per A.R.
Spanish Resistance: i/h £2.20; Australia £5 per RG - £7.20

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. They were manufactured in George Bradlaugh's Northamptonshire constituency for an admirer of the Radical MP and Freethought pioneer, J.W. Gott, of Bradford, editor of the atheist "Truth Seeker", who sold them in his outfitting shop as "Bradlaugh Boots - which do not force the feet into a preconceived pattern".
2. "Two-Gun Cohen" - a friend of Sun Yat Sen - became General Moishe Cohen of the Chinese Army, appreciated by both the Kuomintang and the Communists because of the successful war he carried against the Anarchists in the North; later he fought against the Japanese.
3. Thomas Paine. The British Legion claimed he was a "traitor" for having served the Americans against the British and opposed its being built on their property a few years ago. It was finally erected outside the parish church though inscribed with texts from "The Age of Reason" lambasting Christianity - to the astonishment of parishioners at the unveiling.
4. Both had red hair. Hence "Red Emma" and "Danny the Red".
5. Yes to both. To the former he made the (infallible) remark that when he mentioned socialism he did not have the Labour Party in mind. To the latter he said, equally or shrewdly, that it was possible for Catholics to be anarchists *provided they were also pacifists*. This proviso did not apply to the Labour Party, nor to the fascists (for instance) but showed acute political understanding of how anarchism could be emasculated.
6. The William Morris museum in Walthamstow. It relates of course to his art.



"Away with Anarchism!" The Falangists hold an anti-anarchist demonstration, demanding instead "Peace and Order" and give a decisive "No" to foreign agitators Godwin, Proud-hon and Bakunin. (The zany effect of the "No Goodwin" is echoed in the Shanghai trial of the "hooligan" with its denun- ciation of Bakunin, referred to in this issue).

It is no coincidence that after years of ignoring or hiding the existence of anarchism, the Falange openly denounces it, at the same time as the police have found it necessary to re- organise an "anti-anarchist squad"

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