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 generation 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
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 electronic battlefield
terror is if you are disqualified
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 us 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 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.

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?
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 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 executed as was the Symbionese Liberation Army in our day. Who was the anarchist writer who defended him? (Was his project impracticable? Why did public opinion change?)
6. What cowardly royal assassination took place at Smithfield?
The bugle 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 conspiracy 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 unemployment (an artificial State-made process if ever there was one). The press even views sympathetically 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 welcome the formation of unions, and the closed shop in particular. They want to do business that way and the idea of a 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 low-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 longest-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 misuse by dissident Marxists as an alibi for State Communism ("the evils in Soviet Russia do spring from State Communism or from Leninism: Stalinism has introduced State Capitalism").

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 is not based on competition or profit, it is very clearly State Communism (which Bukharin foresaw could be an even greater tyranny than capitalism), whereas State Capitalism is the type of control by (salaried) technocrats, accountants, solicitors and scant-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 servitude. 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 highest 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 bargaining 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 what would only benefit 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 is not based on competition or profit. It is very clearly State Communism (which Bukharin foresaw could be an even greater tyranny than capitalism), whereas State Capitalism is the type of control by (salaried) technocrats, accountants, solicitors and scant-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.

TRADE UNIONS

ARE THEY A MENACE?

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

As It Was...
Read what H. Travon has to say about the railwaymen's union in Mexico at the early 1920s. In those days it was still anarchos-socialist (thus radical in the academic meaning of the word) and had not a trace of the nationalisation of the workers' movement. In Mexico as everywhere else, the railwaymen were the only organised body in the country; they fought their battles in the industrial form of action and not in the political. They were the only body 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 movement but everyday 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 (that one realises the gap there is between that and what we have).

The railwaymen of Mexico are all without exception members of a first-class union which calls itself the trade union movement but everyday 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 (that one realises the gap there is between that and what we have).
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

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 produced a better alias for Marxian Revolutionaries? After all, the dead cannot object... But the problem is all these workers were Anarchists. More "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 Pharisism! 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 tails ends Marxism and is obsessed with preventing the "emasculating" (sic) of the revolution... We claim a long and largely honourable tradition: e.g. it was we anarchists whom the Bolsheviks first attacked in pre-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

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 1960s." (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 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 Ireland, 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, 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 blandishments, 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 pointsmen, his comrades.
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’ ABOOT.

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 as George Lansbury and Ernest Bevin.

But unless they have found a way of making us all mascots, the State will not be "outlaw anarchism." The only thing that spoke was the money.

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.

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

Sailors — among other facts about Russia, she was abused and calumniated by the Labour Party — including such figures as George Lansbury and Ernest Bevin.

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 is slipping.

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 is 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 Gaulism 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 I was one 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 and 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 Emancipazione 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 San Francisco, began to publish a duplicated newsletter called Ideals (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 Enragés are out-raged! Yet if punk-rock is getting anarchism a bad name it 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 insulance 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 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.

LISTEN PUNKS!

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 tyred 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.
There are no political prisoners in England, we are assured time and again by none less vigorously than the Tories. But some prisoners seem to be more political than others. It illuminates 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 harsher treatment against them, as witness the case of Russia, Germany (Nazi or otherwise) Spain, China and other totalitarian countries.

There has been a hue-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 on TV, what masturbation fantasies must be induced.

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. 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 to 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.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).

BEHAVIOUR MODIFICATION

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Carballo with his wife being greeted by Madrid comrades in the Plaza de España ("Frente Libertario")

APPEAL TO THE GENERATIONS

"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 deceit 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 anarchosyndicalist 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, unanswerable 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."

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 she 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 Goliardo Fiaschi's house.

CARRARA

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 Occasio, (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.

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 is staying away from the trial.

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)
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.

... Y un fuerto 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.

Civil rights campaigners in Israel have appealed for a campaign of support for 24 year old Palestinian Musa Juma Talalak, 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 Talalak be commuted." Petitions should be sent to Leah Zemel, Advocate, 14 Korsh 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 calling 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 Baiden.

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 Ulstadt, 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 Baiden.

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 overground 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 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 Washington. 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 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" incriminating 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

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 Lebrón, 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 Catalanian Regional Federation of the CNT.


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 throughout Europe and North America, in their struggle against Stalinist dictatorship. Contact: Our Road, P.O. Box A 586, Sidney South 21000, N.W. Australia.

HOLLAND

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

BELGIUM

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

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 bluntness and personal style. 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 this 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 justified in view of the publishers' failure to include two photographs of him in the book.

Not that there is anything commendable about over modesty of course. For if Philip's reappearance in print amounts to a Resurrection, the Parable of the Talents reminds us that a man has a duty to himself. Some comrades may object to Philip's pepping Albert into a pigeon hole along with the Stalinites and the fictional dictators of 1984, but surely the point is that here is Philip doing his best to put the record straight for the sake of the movement he loves, and refusing to mince words in the process. I know that for Anarchists it is heresy to question the dictum that life comes first, but I sometimes wonder if we aren't all just a weeny bit too strict on this one.

Marcus Graham

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 his union, refusing to side 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 at the same time he is an inspiring example of the fine devotion that our ideal inspires among sincere thinking people.

HELLO, PHILLY...

Man of the Movement.
ANA. Robert Anton Wilson. Sphere. 75p each
created a riproaring mind-blowing spoof
Taking the more esoteric conspiracy
world conspiracy now ranking favourite.
the t-ldcrs of Zion to the Communistic
the Freemasons". "it's all a plot" . . .
the masses are not perfectly happy
theories. Offhand, indeed, it is hard
right has always delighted in conspiracy
in "history" dating back to Atlantis -
the authors of "Illuminatus!" have
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 see 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 spokeskid, 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 propaganda 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

promised disappointment (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 'em, 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 illuision has conspired rather than consolidated the revolt against authoritarianism. Just as middle-class so-called left libertarians were conspired 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 conspires 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 "hate". As they know so little about anarchism' activities 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 connoisseur's travels of the dead age of 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 Conjunction Press Book of the Year. If anybody wants to argue the point we would like to hear from him"

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.
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 (everyone first militant, not really revolutionaries 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 modest but extremely informative book, this was not achieved by obedience but by struggle.

BARGAIN OF THE MONTH: 

LAUREANO SANTOS’S MURDERER now resident in Canada, is 52 year old Ramon Benito 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” Cerada 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!