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THE PARTY'S OVER....

The hippy dream in Spain has vanished into the air like last week's smoke. Drop out of society, achieve personal liberation, give a flower to a pig, lie in the sun and dream of love.. nice work if you can get it, but it all depended on the class struggle. (Don't drop this paper because you read a dirty word, draw a deep breath and continue). The fascist pigs in Spain can tolerate depravity and vice according to their own lights, provided the layabouts have money. That is the key to dropping out of society and providing you can pay your way, the Guardia Civil will stand outside the case house and keep away the riff raff.

But the hippies thought they could be above money, live like lizards in the sun at Ibiza, Formentera, Lloret, Torremolinos... and the fascists did not chase them away because they brought the tourists or because it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between bourgeois drop-outs and bourgeoisie dropping-out for a few weeks. How could they tell that such-and-such a hippy was not the son or daughter of a distinguished person? (That is their mentality). They needed guidance from above. It came. Exit the hippies to blows, bullets, beatings-up, humiliations, even torture and at least three deaths. And the grim knowledge that the class struggle exists however many times you chant Om.

THE GREAT ILLUSIONS

by Albert Meltzer

The late Norman Angell wrote a brilliant exposure of the myth that capitalist war brought prosperity. He proved beyond cavil that it was only capable of bringing poverty. Once, war had brought wealth, in the sense that one seized other people's wealth. But in the competitive system of today, war and war preparations were a waste. To common sense, destruction cannot bring prosperity. The illusion was that - because war preparations brought "employment" and those not gainfully employed could work - a war economy was one which had solved its economic problems (Hitler's Germany, after the unemployment of the Republic) being a supreme example.

But all that is necessary for prosperity in a society is for the goods to be there. The money system is to keep the distribution flowing. If the system had broken down, war preparations got it going again. But it was not work for war that did it, it was simply (according to Angell) work itself.

ILLUSIONS Angell was hailed in the Edwardian period as a great prophet because they thought he had proved war was impossible, and derided after 1914. But he had not said it

was impossible, only that it was unprofitable for society (the individuals who benefited did so as enemies of society, and indeed the term 'profiteer' became one of execration even in a profit-making society).

Angell shared the illusion that unemployment was a sort of natural disaster. But in the twenties all the economists came to accept the Keynes theory. If the system breaks down, pump back money into it. Put the unemployed on any nonsensical job. The illusion was that work brought prosperity - in itself. In fact there was enough for all. What the unemployed needed was, simply, money.

Is unemployment in itself a curse? Obviously not; it is lack of access to the material needs of life and to luxuries. In this society, the lack is money. Nowadays the great illusion is to assume that the government should keep down unemployment figures - there are a million now, but this is more than in the Depression when one adds to it the huge scholastic population explosion ("keep the 14 and 15 year olds at school" they used to say; now millions

carry on, for no specific purpose, into their twenties, thirties, and even beyond) - not to mention the drop-outs and the people absorbed in government projects.

Obviously the growth of technology means there is less hard work to do. Unemployment must increase. This should be a blessing - more leisure. It is a curse, except for those who can adapt to it. The great illusion is the Money Ethic which prevents "good money" being given for "laying about" unless some justification can be given in acceptable social terms.

THE COMMON MARKET

The whole conception of the Common Market is based upon an illusion. So is the opposition to it. The internationalisation of capitalism is a fact, which will continue whatever political decisions are taken at the moment. Fords will build in England, or take away its factories at its decision. No union with America is required. Renault and Volkswagen will sell here and Nuffield sell his cars over there. But the political forms have not kept pace with the economic.

The quality of the opposition to the Common Market is farcical - largely based on nationalist reaction sometimes on the level of "shall we have to eat frogs?" In war-time no

one bothers about cost (Angell said it was unprofitable, but once war is on, nobody minds). The fact that we could not afford to go to war stopped no Government bent on aggression. If political union prevented war, what would be the point of arguing about the price of butter and eggs? If, of course. For when it comes down to it there is not very much political union can do bar abolish passports (and even then we shall have to have identity cards instead).

CAUSES OF CONCERN? Surprising how such minor matters, of no real importance to society, can become causes of concern. The breach of the Salic Law caused two bloody civil wars in Spain (and had influence on a third) - could one imagine a less important issue? Yet it must be added that Carlism, the reaction to that breach by King Ferdinand, was also concerned with traditional Catholicism and mediaevalism. Had Carlos been a liberal, they would have taken the opposite view in regard to the Salic Law.

So it is with the Common Market, on a minor scale. Nobody has real feelings one way or another. But it serves to act as a banner for other interests - commercial, nationalistic, and so on. Some get so excited as to call for a referendum. The major issue of capitalism or not is forgotten - all that excites the naive is how it shall trade and under which flag.

Unemployment, war, political and economic union - all serve one purpose only....KEEPING THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION GOING.

A N A R C H I S T
C O M M E N T A R Y

Popsinger and morals crusader Cliff Richard has bought an eight-bedroomed house, in ten acres grounds, with squash and tennis courts, not to mention swimming pool, in exclusive Great Easton (near Dunmow, Essex). He will have an Anglican clergyman in residence, for the house is to be somewhere that his "show business friends can find Christ".

Place is called "Batailles". "But I'd like a more appropriate name," says Cliff.

"The Needle's Eye". Next question.

.....

Note the Buddha folk prancing and poncing up and down Oxford Street. Chants of Hare Krishna to the Selfridge shoppers. An easy way of picking up bread. Why the interest in Buddhism? Because the revival of interest in drugs has brought all the Oriental religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and suchlike nearer. The visions of the saints and the mystics were possible under hallucinogenics. The experiences of Christ are within reach of anyone on a trip. The phenomenon in the States, which will soon come here, is the back-to-Jesus cult. All on hallucinations. That was how it all began.

So easy to recognise the crisp Tory voice. How do they see us? Years ago in a Welsh pub I heard a large red-faced man complain that the villagers wouldn't speak English "though they understand it all right, they're just a pack of liberals". And the Telegraph drama critic makes a mysterious reference to the protagonist in a play suffering from "adolescent anarchism" because he uses an assumed Scottish accent! Ah wouldna ken aboot thot, but from York the police chief (after making political speeches denouncing anarchy and demanding conscription) "received" a message from the Angry Brigade - quite unlike any others ever received - which Scotland Yard say they would not have given credence to had they been consulted, but which he gave such importance to as wrecked the Queen's visit.

Sent to a newspaper, it referred to the "headitors" and the "angery" brigade... the very old-fashioned Cockney mis-spellings may well be how the Tories see ~~anarchists~~, and offer an interesting clue as to the identity of the author.

Last issue's cover was by a Spanish artist: Bonin. Drawn specially for the Black Flag. Cartoon on page 23 reproduced from the busman's paper Target.

REFLECTIONS ON COMMANDO RAIDS

by Stuart Christie.

Are individual attacks on capitalism right or wrong? It is impossible to discuss the question except in context of the class struggle.

Were the individual raids on German-held territory during the war right or wrong? Was it correct or incorrect military strategy to raid French coastal towns? This was doubtless raised and discussed at the time. But such discussions must have supposed that those participating had the same views.

What value had the opinions of the German High Command? Well, a certain value. Obviously they did not want action that would lead to success. As for those who opposed the war anyway, the whole matter was crazy, fanatical and a mere exercise in suicide. Those who supported Russia above all had a vested interest in escalation which was not necessarily that of the raiders - and to them it was a mere evasion of "D Day".

Why raid friendly towns at all? Why not just go over, as we do today, and have a nice day out? Why be 'fanatics' and 'lunatics' about it? All this is naive in the light of those who planned Allied strategy. But those who discuss and

presume to condemn the "Angries" of today have just the same naivete. They think the class war does not exist. So any "commando" action is lunatic or criminal, just as raids on Cherbourg or Dieppe would be ...today! Persons not supporting their aims and pretending no conflict exists, talk as if some imagined that by individual raids they could change ministerial policies or even overthrow governments.

No, they are not quite so simple. Fanatics, maybe; idiots, no. Neither did the British General Staff imagine that by a Marine raid on a coastal town they would get Hitler to resign or sign a non-aggression pact. Each time they retreated the German Press hailed it with glee as a defeat, as if they had planned D Day that week-end. Neither has the "Angry Brigade" planned D Day for next week-end, nor does it suppose that its commando actions will do more than bring about the climate in which the D Day of the class war will exist.

In terms of the class war, they are no more nor less eccentric or fanatical than any of the outfits that abounded in the

6.

militarist war, such as "Popski's Private Army" or Wingate's. As they are against the State, however, they are denounced by those who would laud them if they did the same deeds but in terms of State acceptance (on patriotic or nationalist grounds).

The between-wars generations were forced on to the defensive. They dared not provoke further capitalist aggression, for the Communist Party had weakened the front of working-class aggression by itself becoming a major Imperialist power. They were obsessed by the real fear of fascism. The fear of a right wing backlash was still over the heads of the post-war generation, and is still vainly threatened by the Right Wing. The CND movement was then touting the myth of a non-violent revolution in which the governments of the world would give up not only the H Bomb but anything else that gave them power. Today we have come back to reality, and we have also the confidence - born out of the realisation of what causes fascism, war and unemployment and that is our weakness - to know that our generation can once again take the offensive.

As working-class offensive arises, so we will find ourselves in guerrilla warfare,

in industrialised countries no less than in peasant wars. It is an open struggle that has not yet really begun, so far as "D Day" is concerned, but clearly recognised. As Mr. Heath said at UNO, it is a struggle between the governments of the world, whatever their political credo, and those who do not believe in government - indeed, of all those whom the former oppress.

Some cannot wait for the balloon to go up. Like John Brown at Harper's Ferry - whose individual actions and whose Angry Brigade sparked off the Civil War in the States, or at least determined that slavery would be one of its issues - they are jumping the gun .. literally. Like the Commando raids, they are preparing the way. It may be, strategically, that they are wrong. That is worth discussion. It must be a discussion, however, that treats the views of the enemy for what they are worth.

QUIZ

1. What English pub is named after a professing Anarchist?
2. What Paris Metro station is named after a prominent Anarchist militant?
3. What British Anarchist founded a daily working-class newspaper?
4. Which Prime Minister said "After all, the Anarchists are right - the poor have no country."?

(Answers - page 12)

CEYLON ---

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

by Terry Liddle

The recent revolt of students and unemployed workers in Ceylon not only caught the "extreme Marxist-Leninists" unawares (Black Flag Vol.2.No.6. - June) it also dealt another blow to the already tarnished image of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party - Ceylon's Trotskyist organisation.

The LSSP dates back to the twenties when it was formed by wealthy British-educated intellectuals. When the struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky became international, in Ceylon - by a peculiar quirk of history - the Trotskyists were in the majority, and in good comradely fashion they expelled the Stalinists and made the LSSP explicitly Trotskyist. So it came about that the LSSP developed into the only large-scale and politically significant Trotskyist group in the world.

PACT. Having failed to organise the rural masses, who form the bulk of Ceylon's working class, and missing out on the chance for social revolution offered by the general strike of 1953, the LSSP turned to exclusively parliamentary activity. In 1960 the LSSP signed an electoral non-aggression pact with the capitalist Sri Lanka Free-

dom Party. This was followed by the victory, in the elections of 1964, of a Popular Front composed of the LSSP, the SLFP and the pro-Russian communists. The Maoists (having failed to get in on the coalition) called for a boycott of the election.

All this was too much for some members of the LSSP, who broke away and formed the LSSP (Revolutionary). At their request, the LSSP - still claiming to be loyal to the teachings of the "Old Man" (Trotsky), was kicked out of the Fourth International, or at least from the remaining splinter of it led by Pierre Frank.

RECORD. The leading lights in the LSSP (R) were two M.P.s - Edmund Samarakoddy and Meryl Fernando, who gained eternal fame by voting against the proposed nationalisation of the reactionary Lake House publishing group. Because of this, Samarakoddy and Fernando fell out of grace and their place

was taken by Bala Tampoe, head of the Ceylon Mercantile Union. Tampoe has distinguished himself by instructing his members to scab on a textile workers strike, and by sacking a CMU branch secretary who brought his members out in sympathy with a civil servants strike.

Meanwhile the above mentioned coalition was returned to power in yet another election. N. Perera of the LSSP became Finance Minister. His policy is no different from that of Barber here in Britain. The LSSP Minister of Plantations, Colin De Silva, is preparing to carry out the racialist repatriation of Tamils to India.

When the recent revolt broke out the LSSP denounced it as the work of Fascists and C.I.A. agents.

The record of Trotskyism in Ceylon proves once again that social revolutions are made not by self-appointed revolutionary vanguards or by general staffs but by the conscious activity of ordinary workers. (Next time you are defending the libertarian position against Trotskyist attacks, mention Ceylon and see what happens!)

LETTERS

Black Flag got a good reception up here (Oldham), better than I expected.

They were all sold out within a few days of receiving them. I just hope it stimulates a bit of interest in the anarchist philosophy. If so, then we're on to something up here.

B.L.

Black Flag sold very quickly here (Plymouth)

.... R.G.

I think that Black Flag is heading dangerously for sectarianism.

I.S.

(ED:Nonsense, we're not heading for sectarianism; we started off that way. The British revolutionary movement has fought at its best under sectarian banners and been betrayed under catholic ones).

Without agreeing with your philosophy, it seems to me that it could be better expressed than in Black Flag with the violence of its language and the crudity of its drawings.

J.P.S.

(ED: True. It could also be written in other languages but our contributors, for better or worse, write in theirs).

Black Flag makes more sense to me than any other Anarchist paper I've come across.... J.L.

IS CAPITALISM INDIVIDUALISTIC?

You have seen fit to print criticisms of anarchist individualists and anarchist individualism. May I, as an individualist, reply? Admittedly a reply is not easy, because T.G.Thomas and "Sectarian" do not make out any rational case against individualism...Mr. Thomas, for example, announces that individualists are naturally pessimistic as to the value of any politically based concept of anarchism". Does he go on to give the grounds for optimism? On the contrary, he accuses the individualists of being "ill-motivated and strangely priggish" and equates them with some "growing company of Neros". This is sheer question begging.

He writes "The sort of definition of 'self' they use... is contradicted by all the conclusions of psychologists and physicists..." But if the individualists give no indication of what they mean by 'self', as he earlier complains, how can their definition be contradicted? And what conclusions? To invoke the undocumented and unnamed against the undefined and unspecified does not strike one as particularly persuasive.

As for "Sectarian", this master of tautology writes that if one subjoins "two opposing ideas" this "can be expressed as a contradiction". You don't

From a Reader

say! What I would like him to show is why he thinks that anarchism and capitalism are necessarily opposites. There is an increasing number of individuals, both in the USA and here, who believe that capitalism, in its pure, laissez faire form, is compatible with anarchism. I am not entirely convinced by them but I am equally not convinced Sectarian's type of anti-capitalism is compatible with anarchism either. Splenetic vituperation is no substitute for lucidity of thought.

S. E. PARKER.

1. Reader Parker is mistaken in assuming we attacked individualism. We would describe ourselves as anarchist individualists though our Eltzbacher inspired friends would label us as anarcho-communists, anarcho-syndicalists etc. - we would accept those labels too.

2, The "individualists" we criticised were those, like S.E.Parker, may be part of an individualist tradition but not of an anarchist one. The crucial question: do these "Neroes" oppose government? What action against it do they envisage? They are elitists who utilise as a substitute for "lucidity of thought" a Chestertonian paradox of pseudo-anarchist governmentalism. Not all opposing ideas are

mutually contradictory (e.g. fascism and State Communism; Labour and Tory) but contradictions (anarcho-capitalism) have a fascination for this obscure grouping.

3. Anarchism is not compatible with capitalism because if a person becomes rich he needs authority to protect his property. People will not be exploited without some sort of force being used on them. True, Goldwater, for instance, in the USA, opposes Government intervention in business. But he wants the FBI to act against strikers, agitators and others who would take away the property he amassed by "private enterprise". And where would the capitalist be without the life-blood of exploitation, money, guaranteed by the State and the State alone?

4. It is unfortunately true a "growing number of individuals" especially in the "underground" are trying to combine anarchistic social attitudes (non-conforming to present society) with exploitation and aggrandisement of capitalism (take any pop group or purveyor of trendy culture). They express the old capitalist philosophy in the new hip talk. But a fast buck remains a fast buck, even expressed as quickly rising bread.

Art Tax

PENNY PINCHING -

or POUND WISE ?

We called on art students to show the way, by resistance to the charges for admission to art galleries and museums, describing this as "penny-pinching". An art student points out to us that this adjective needs consideration. It springs to mind because the cost of collection of entrance fees cannot greatly differ from the fees themselves. The exercise would seem, like London Transport fares, to be basically unprofitable, and (lacking the principle behind bus fares - to preserve the traditional system) to be just for the sake of the few extra pounds.

This would indeed be penny-pinching were there no other motive. But there is a vast commercial gamble behind this. Millions of pounds are being poured into hotel building. As one looks round London alone, one sees the huge new industry of mass produced in-tourism taking shape in the form of new hotels. The Government is paying a subsidy of £1000 a room. The speculators are moving in with hotels.

But the luxury class is well catered for. What these hotels are to cater for is the package deal holiday, sardine tourism, all comprehensive and probably never-never. It

is in the nature of this kind of venture that concessions must be offered. One more concession after another, to pack them in. But if the magician takes a rabbit out of the hat, he must first put it in. Inclusive Tour of London with free admission to all museums, art galleries, places of interest, conducted tour! Excellent, but they are all free anyway! Not now.

Even a low charge (and the charges will not remain low once the principle is breached) has a nuisance value; and a conducted tour at which no charges are made (in with the cost of the hotel, or as a special extra) has a big selling attraction as everyone who has been a tourist abroad knows.

The general heritage of the people of the country - which in no way belongs to the Government nor to the hotel and tourist industry - is thus being sold for gain. Objections are made when an Old Master painting painted in one country, rarely seen in this, passes to another country at a sale. Yet indistinguishable copies exist. Straining at the gnat, the art lovers are swallowing the camel.

All the more reason why the charges must be resisted. The art students are always labelled as irresponsible before the public. But if they do not lead the way, who will?

THE ANGRY BRIGADE

[redacted] brought out a badge simply saying "ANGRY BRIGADE". In a day it sold 2000. One may fairly assume none of those who wear the badge actually do the thing, but the action at least has the effect of a vote of confidence. The "tiny minority", "the one or two on the fringe of our movement", the much-slandered by the would-be leaders, would seem to be not quite such a minority as was thought. There may not be many people actually taking militant action of this sort, and by the nature of things this is obvious, but do those taking militant action of a less dramatic sort support them or not? Do they at least sympathise? One does not need questionnaires and referenda when 2000 people start to wear a badge.

In their communique, the Angry Brigade said: "Every moment of badly paid boredom in a production line is a violent crime". They linked themselves to the class struggle. "To believe our struggle could be restricted to the channels provided to us by the pigs, WAS THE GREATEST CON". It is a con that pacifists and liberals have always insisted on. What bigger con, for instance, than legal recognition of conscientious objection in war time? And to pass this off as a substitute for struggle against war?

They went on to say: "We started out into the open, talk-

ing to friends, to neighbours, to people in the pubs, in football games, and we knew that we were not alone. WE WERE ALIVE AND GROWING!"

Because of the diversity and strength they have been able to carry on without detection not because (as they say) "They could not jail us for we did not exist" (nothing prevents the police from arresting people for crimes they did not commit as a current trial shows) but being alive and growing, and not confined to a small conspiracy, the "Angries" are "everywhere".

Infuriating to the punishment minded. Humiliating for the pigs who have announced time and again these people have been, are about to be, and must be crushed. Terrifying for the Government which consists of the yellowest-livered bunch in modern times (the pursuit of gain renders man cowardly). A setback too for the many who want to lead the Left but who cannot take credit for leadership in a case where it would mean being held responsible! Yet to the man on the bench who thinks about it no less than to the action minded cats, it is at the very least a great game, at most a contribution to the class struggle. Here and now, and not in South America, are your Tupamaros and guerrillas. Che Guevara on the posters?

Might not the bloke (or bird) next you as you read this have done more?

HUE AND CRY OVER BERNADETTE

Miss Devlin's announcement of her pregnancy has excited all the puritanical morons. How can she continue to be an M.P., they ask? They are perhaps even a bit more annoyed that the R. C. Church is not, in these more enlightened days, repeating the mistake it made when Mr. Parnell was hounded out of the Irish leadership.

What the indignant letter-writers are condemning must surely be Miss Devlin's honesty, or possibly her disbelief in abortion. Are they saying that no member of Parliament, past or present, ever made love outside marriage? Are all its bachelors celibate, all its married men and women faithful to their vows? Is this what they are telling us?

j.l.

The Home Secretary has stated that way-out dress and long hair are no longer, in themselves, to be regarded as pointing to the fact of the person concerned being in possession of drugs. It may be that some trendy Young Con. advertising executives have been stopped. Will he also say that holding non-conforming opinions is not, in itself, sufficient excuse to obtain warrants to search for explosives?

Answers to Quiz on Page 6.

1. The Augustus John in Liverpool.
2. Louise Michel.
3. John Creagh of Sheffield, founded La Protesta, Buenos Aires.
4. Clemenceau, of France.

THE POWER OF THE OUTRAGEOUS LIE

Casually overheard on the radio was a comment on the song POWER TO THE PEOPLE. "In this country the people have power and whoever says otherwise is a liar." As a throwaway, it could not be bettered for an outrageous lie. No attempt was made to justify it, though the obvious suggestion was that you could always vote for an M.P. The most boneheaded person in the country does not believe that this confers on him or her any power whatsoever other than the possibility of voting for another M.P.

Within this society it is possible for certain people to have power. They may have it by virtue of their money or their inheritance or the force they can bring to bear within society; they may choose it or have it thrust upon them; they may use it to choose the way and the place and the manner in which they live. That is what power is about. In present society, it is used by manipulating others; only rarely, by combining against those who manipulate.

To say in this real sense of the word the people have power is an absurd lie - like saying the people own the railways. Some people own cars. The people as a whole do not own the railways. If they did, they would travel on them freely.

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THE MAUDLING PRIZE

for IDIOT OF THE MONTH

Competitors this month were clearly influenced by Lord Longford (himself no mean performer for these stakes and napped as a future win) and his anti-permissive campaign. There was a love-in at Shepton Mallet and a police officer found it necessary to explain (Mail, 22nd June) that they could not stop "an act of copulation" (fucking words they use!) as "it took place on private property". Yes, it is still legal to perform the act of love in private.

Mr. Leo Abse, brilliantly waistcoated Labour MP for Pontypool, said the Director of Public Prosecutions should prosecute the doctor who gave the Pill to a 12 year old girl after her abortion. What she needed, said Mr. Abse, was "love and care". It was clear she had plenty of both, which in Mr. Abse are noted by their absence.

But the DPP himself, Sir Norman Skelhorn, carried the day (and this was all the same day) by a decision to refer the "sex education" film Growing Up to a private showing of "eminent doctors, psychologists, child guidance experts and teachers" and asking each to submit a report to "see if a criminal offence had been committed". Idiot of the Month Sir Norman please note what the Irishman told Serjeant Sullivan: "If it takes so many learned people to decide it's an offence, and it takes them five months to find out,

how in the name of Jesus do they find a poor ignorant ould sod like me guilty of intent?"

PRIZE TO DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS SIR NORMAN: The full name and address of the London evening newspaper whose crime reporter has been suspected of being the person to place the bomb in the Warner Cinema to make a story to discredit the IRA.

Book Reviews.

The flow of interest in Anarchist ideas stimulates the American book industry, which is churning out the classics (largely copyright-free) at inflated prices. All those books previously unavailable for generations - since groups struggled and starved to bring them out in cheap editions - are now available. A selection of Bakunin; most of Kropotkin - longer works, and pamphlets in collected form - Berkman's Prison Memoirs, Emma Goldman's

FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY
by Stuart Christie &
Albert Meltzer.

Will appear in September in a Spanish translation, as ANARQUISMO Y LA LUCHA DE CLASES, from Editorial Proyección, Buenos Aires.

Living My Life, and anthologies, not always well chosen, of most Anarchist writers. Latest of the anthologies* is brilliantly illustrated with photos and reprints that one would treasure. The text, which ambles, isn't too intelligent - what can one expect from one who recommends Woodcock and Joll as the authorities? But the stirring scenes of the past are well evoked by the illustrations, though the author rambles around in time.

Curious though how all these alleged historians make a sort of arbitrary assessment as to what is anarchist history, and some get in the canon and others not. Perhaps that is an inevitable result or rejecting the idea of The Party. The bourgeois historian at a later period fixes his canon where there is an absence of party lines in life.

*The Anarchists. 20th Century Library. 75 p. Ed. Roger Kedward.

Reprinted

Kropotkin's Modern Science and Anarchism. 30p.

THIRD EDITION: The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China. 10p.

LEICESTER: Black Flag Bookshop,
1 Wilne Street.

"THE GREATEST OF THESE...."

An organisation sincerely devoted to helping the victims of Bangla Desh sends us an urgent appeal for funds to publish. They want to send food and volunteers and require £2,500 per team. "So far as have £900 - and 30 volunteers," they say. What can one in conscience reply? Everyone knows - at least, after a century of socialist propaganda everyone should know, and nobody does - that the problem is a simple one.

All the medical supplies and food and equipment that is needed in Bangla Desh is readily available. There is no shortage at all. It is lying in the warehouses. The Government need only say Emergency, albeit in triplicate, and all will be released. The working population of this country can produce, over-produce and over-over-produce more than is enough to deal with the present situation, even if it were fifty times as great.

And what are thirty volunteers, however courageous, to a nation of millions? It has the people. No lack of people. The lack is of the supplies they bring. What is the hang up? It is the money. "Give us the money, and we will send". Hundreds, even thousands, respond to such an appeal. Yet what is this saying, in effect? To paraphrase it, what the organisers of the appeal

are saying is, "IF PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY ARE NOT PREPARED TO SACRIFICE SOMETHING, THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT HELP THESE VICTIMS!" If we, by disposing of the cash which is our ration card to the share out of life's commodities, sacrifice, the Government will allocate a suitable proportion - even a little more - to these victims.

This is what we mean when we say that Government is our enemy.

RANSOM MONEY. But should we pay ransom money, for that is what all the appeals, even the well-intentioned ones, are. Does not paying ransom money encourage the enemy to come back over and over again with further demands? By yielding to blackmail, do we not further the situation?

Because on the whole, people are somewhat generous, or do not like to be shamed in front of others, ransom money is usually paid. And in the next emergency - flood, war, earthquake - back comes the ransom note. We have the means of relief. But you must give up your money before we will release it, so choose whether these people die or not.

"But we can't wait for a revolution - we must help these

people now!" Time and again this irrefutable argument is one that wins the day, and still the State comes back for its blackmail in the form of "private charity". Is one perhaps justified in thinking that there is a do-gooder satisfaction in "helping" the "unfortunate" and appearing as ministering angels?

What after all is another answer to Ransom? Ransom. When the Tupamaros or others seize hostages they are universally condemned. It is outside the game. This is hitting the enemy too hard! "You are becoming like them" say the do-gooders smugly. And you, with your medical teams? Does hitting back relieve the suffering quicker and more effectively than charity? That should be the pragmatic answer.

We do not want to hold prisoners, or hostages, even as they do. Their system is based on imprisonment. But it is clear that the only way, and the only ultimately permanent way, to help the victims of the State is to stand up and fight, not to yield to the blackmail of relief beyond what is minimally necessary.

Yahya Khan is a strong man. In a lonely room, with captors around him, he would - away from his Army - appear not quite so strong. More like one of his victims.

ORGANISED CHARITY Turning from the well-intentioned to the racketeers of charity, one wonders how the public can be so gullible. The collector preys on vanity. He is told to go for the young bloke out with his bird and to leave alone the hardheaded looking businessman. To earn his, or her, commission he needs to knock on doors: the lonely housewife gives more, relieved to see a face.

Most charities are organised like the big business they are: the Salvation Army - whose humble beginnings were on a par with the fake clergyman who rattles a collecting box in a pub at Xmas - found it more profitable to be "honest". Some wealthy charities pay huge salaries: the dividing line between a fake charity and a genuine one is hard to find. So long as something is paid into the cause itself, it would seem legal, and few rackets can afford not to pay anything.

Capitalism being what it is, it is certainly no worse working for the R.S.P.C.A. than it is for Imperial Chemical. But do not talk about virtue. If you feel better for giving to Cancer Research, the charity organiser is no worse than the sub-manager at Booth's Gin. And legally, the position of charities seems to be like that of the old song - "it's the poor (ones) that gets the blame".

HALLELUJAH For that matter, you I'M A BUM want to give bread to the new phenomenon - the hippy

drop-outs, reviving the old "Hallelujah I'm a bum" philosophy and talking radical language in order to pounce off the workers? You can do so. It's started in Hyde Park. A little chat on how you get liberated, and man, gimme. Fair enough if you want to do so - in the same spirit that one pays at the box office for Olivier in Shaw - but if it's to stifle that gnawing conscience you would be far better off in the occasional role of Lord or Lady Bountiful scattering coppers among the meths drinkers.

Z I O N I S M

It is only some sixty odd years ago that a Liberal MP for Whitechapel declared that his constituency embraced "literally every form of impossibilism from A for Anarchism to Z for Zionism". He was reproached by one of his audience who demanded to know why a Jewish State was impossible. "Because by the time the Jews have agreed who is to be Ambassador for Paris the Anarchists will have abolished government," he responded wittily but unprophetically.

Today we are able to accept that Israel's Ambassador for Paris, and other attractive appointments, can be chosen with the same regard

for protocol and disregard of opinion as that of any other State. Anarchism remains as far off as ever... Before the First World War, Zionism - as distinct from the philanthropic colonies, which were not the same thing though they ultimately merged - was an obscure movement of dispossessed Jews. Those settled or wealthy feared it as likely to compromise their position. It moved into the scale of world politics only when it established a bridgehead by actual emigration and settling workers.

It was the workers in the kibbutzim who became the vanguard, and the bourgeoisie who followed afterwards in their wake -- sometimes, as with many German Jews, to drop their bourgeois status when divorced from the conditions that glamourised it. Thus came about the condition that makes the Middle East situation today: the working class in Israel cannot yield nationally because it would mean losing their working class status altogether (no other nation, including the alleged socialist countries, wants them). The bourgeoisie, who can settle anywhere and in fact can trade profitably, are generally for peace. Thus the normal situation is reversed, and this is equally true on the Arab side.

The Arab feudal leaders fear civil strife. Even those who glorify war know that it can mean total internal disaster. The oil-rich want to get on with making money. The pseudo-socialists want

to stabilise their desperately shaky regimes. Yet no one can openly talk peace because the Arab masses with nothing to lose will be up in arms against them. Ever since Farouk, the preoccupation of Egypt has been to keep "the street" quiet. If Israel had not existed, it would have had to be invented.

IS ISRAEL FASCIST? The cry of the pseudo-Left, which follows and forms a loyal Opposition to Russia, is that because of its external aggressions, Israel is "fascist". As Trotsky said (and his followers failed to learn) a State in which the working class organisations have not been abolished cannot be equated with a State where they have been abolished: and on this definition, Israel is not in any way fascist. Britain is the supreme example of how external aggression can be combined with democracy at home, and brutal policies used on national dissidents while parliamentary liberty exists.

IS EGYPT FASCIST? Despite the long time backing of fascist movements and the presence of Nazi military advisers (all out of Russian funds) the Egyptian government is neither fascist nor state communist. It is the victim of power politics, and Israel is merely the pivot around

which the manoeuvres of the rest of the world turn.

One does not have to pick and choose in a conflict. There is not right on one side and wrong on another. Because two sides have declared battle, it does not follow that there were no alternatives. What has happened is the breakdown of the condition normal in the rest of the world. To advocate a new State was in fact impossibilism if one was thinking of the betterment of mankind. Nationalism which grows up round the State is a poison ivy when it cannot be reconciled with another nationalism. In terms of nationalism, the claims of all States involved can be justified.

Only a solution which involved abandonment of nationalist and State principles is feasible. But that is not likely to happen in a part of the world where nationalism and the State have done their worst. Or is it? Perhaps that is the very place?

UNAMUNO'S LAST LECTURE
and the Condition of
Spanish Political Prisoners.
Sold for 10p. - all proceeds
to prisoners & ex-prisoners.

FORMING FIVES

FOR WORKERS' COUNCILS

There are now many who see clearly that the only possible advance to social revolution is through workers' control. The only way of smashing the power of the State and of getting away from the monetary-exploitation system is by social confiscation of the major industries. That is not all that has to be done; but without that, nothing can be done. You may ignore the State, until it chooses not to ignore you. You may individually conquer exploitation, by personal betterment, until you fall foul of the system. The only thing that will kill the system is laying the axe to the root and hitting capitalism at source.

Many by-pass the idea of workers' control by making it a political demand. They equate it with a request of the State. As some said "Ban the Bomb" so others go on to say blandly, "Establish workers control": and this as a demand of the State is equivalent to saying "Commit suicide". It is fair to ask the State to drop dead; but we must go farther and show it how to do so. Can one

go on to say, therefore, that what we demand is workers' control, to be pressed for by workers' councils now. This, automatically, cuts out the idea of political parties. To strike for control?

This is not quite feasible, for who could respond to such a demand? The individual, hearing "Strike for workers' control!" probably agrees, but how? And how could even a majority strike for control? They can say, "We are on strike until we get such and such a demand". But if they say we are on strike until the management finally and completely surrender the factory, they could not expect success. They could do no more than ruin the management either way. He might as well call on State power first as last.

Such slogans sound radical but lead to quietism, because they treat workers' control as something which could be granted politically or bargained for industrially; either way, it would be a travesty.

"But why don't the workers just take over for themselves? Why do they make arms, print the lies of the capitalists, build the prisons, house the Government?" Because they refer to others as a collectivity and themselves as individuals. I cannot seize hold of my place

of work and they are not willing. I am only one person and they are a bunch of morons. How does WE come into existence?

WE COME BACK TO OUR REPEATED INSISTENCE IN THESE COLUMNS ON THE IDEA OF "FORMING FIVES".

If one knows only four other people working in the same trade one has the nucleus of a "power base". Only five people, all imbued with the ideas that workers' councils are necessary, that workers' control is the aim and that militancy can bring it about, can have far-reaching effects. Each one, individually, is in touch with dozens, even hundreds, in the course of his working life. None of those each spoken to separately has any idea of the power within his or her hands. Once the original group of 'five' begins splitting up, each of the five forming another 'five' at work, there is the nucleus of an industrial organisation that would sweep away the general ideas of non-resistance.

What happens in any industrial dispute? The militants, of whatever Left political complexion, look anxiously around the factory for some other militants - with whom politically they would not even drink with. By the time they have formed an 'ad hoc' committee, the fuss is over and we are back

to not speaking. Those who have failed to form even a pale imitation of a fighting committee then talk nostalgically of great movements of the past. "But how can you unite people like that today?" You never could. Not all of them. Begin with five. But "five of a kind", all within the same industry. Watch the 'fives' grow until they sweep away the imposed power of the T.U.C. For only five militants in one union branch are enough, as a rule, to sway it. That is because of apathy. If one is pushing ahead the 'fives' idea, it will not be five in a branch, or even five in a factory, but soon five in every 50 or 100.

They will not be workers' councils until they have all? Agreed. But they will be the most representative fighting organisation that has yet appeared.

FIFTY YEARS ON

On August 5 1921 Lenin wrote a letter to G. Myasnikov who had said that "outrages and abuses are rife in this country; freedom of the press will expose them" and that the new Soviet Government should "grant" press freedom to all "from the monarchists to the anarchists, inclusively". (Even Myasnikov thought press freedom could be "granted" and was a favour from the State). Lenin replied, sarcastically, "Very good! I

beg to differ! Every Marxist who ponders over the four years experience of our revolution will say... Freedom of the press? What for? For which class?"

He went on to explain that all over the world, wherever there were capitalists, "freedom of the press means freedom to buy up newspapers, to buy writers, to bribe, buy and fake public opinion for the benefit of the bourgeoisie." (True: but there were other outlets. It was still possible, for the unbought and unbribeable, to publish their own material, according to their degree of popular support. In the new Russian State, it was still possible to take newspapers, to employ writers, and to bully them into faking public opinion. But the untaken, unemployable, unbullied went to jail or were shot).

The bourgeoisie in Russia, said Lenin, "has been defeated but not destroyed. Who can deny this?" Today, most people. But the same restrictions persist. The silly letter of Lenin's was republished in 'New Times'. But fifty years has gone by. None of Lenin's reservations need be considered. There is no 'hidden enemy' in Russia, no need for the 'young State' to be on its guard, no reason to suppose that every oppositionist is paid by the foreign foe. Yet the

idea of freedom of press "from the monarchists to the anarchists" is as laughable as ever, certainly to judge from "New Times".

A DANGEROUS NEW POLICE TREND

A person is arrested and charged with theft. He has a perfectly blameless character and, coupled with the lack of evidence against him, is likely to be acquitted. POLICE REACTION reported in at least three recent cases not yet come to trial: DID YOU DO THIS FOR POLITICAL MOTIVES? Well, it is hardly propaganda. BUT PERHAPS YOU STOLE TO HELP "THE ORGANISATION"? WAS THAT IT? IF SO "IT MIGHT GO EASIER WITH YOU".

"Might"!

Is the motive behind this to induce a confession? Or is it, in accordance with the political police line, to introduce politics into ordinary crime and detection? To hold the "unwritten law" against political extremism against the probably innocent?

Yet mostly, stealing for political motives is a vice of the Establishment, not of the workers. WHY DID CONSERVATIVE RANK AND FILE MEMBERS LIKE THE HOSEIN BROTHERS MURDER? To advance themselves. But in time, who knows, they might have bought themselves a title on the kidnap money.

"Go and call the Fire Brigade to proceed moderately with putting out the fire in your house..... but do not ask me to proceed moderately in the present cause". William Lloyd Garrison.

SOCIALIST CURRENT MYTH

Periodically on the further shores of anarchism comes the despairing idea of an alliance with all libertarian elements, who unfortunately happen not to exist in compact form. There are, of course, large numbers of libertarian militants repelled by quietism in the alleged anarchist movement, who are therefore snapped up by authoritarian bodies like International Socialism. But nobody cares to advocate anarchist-IS unity (that would be an interesting night of the long knives) so the myth of 'libertarian elements' with whom we could ally comes - and inevitably the 'libertarian Trotskyists' are mentioned.

This consists, when we get down to it, of the Socialist Current group of three or sometimes four members, with industrial activity nil, and political activity confined to a monthly bulletin. Joint libertarian activity is important to them (imagine a demo with 2000 jointly led by Soc. Cur. and the anarchists! That would be a comradely smack in the eye for Trot organisations like the S.L.L. which, due credit, do really exist.)

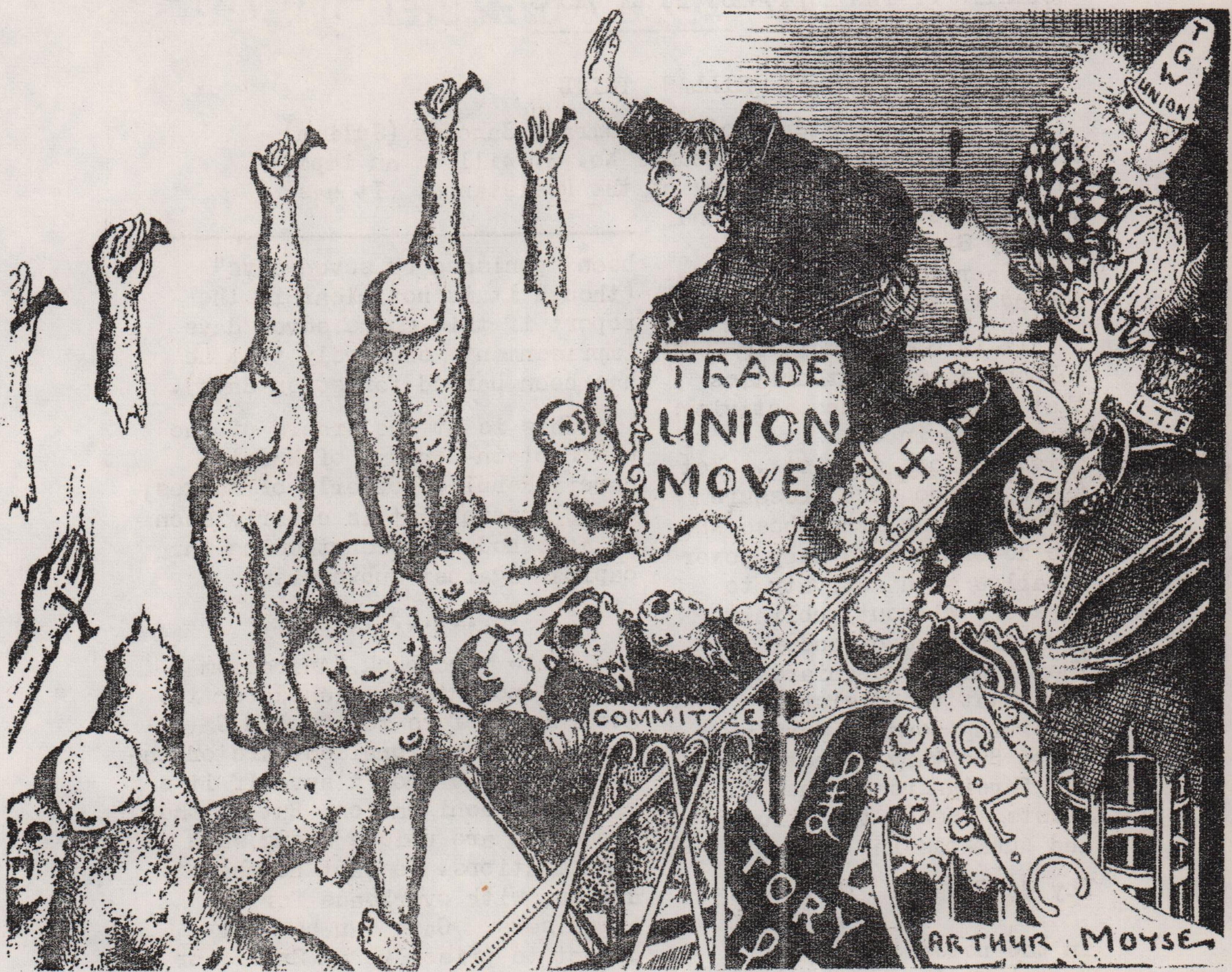
Are the people advocating this alliance really serious? In the opening shots of the campaign we are told that it will be "a start" (by giving a "joint" rally) to a "more difficult, if less glamorous"

task than following the "small semi-anarchist groups on the fringe of our movement who have, more in desperation than in hope, resorted to violent minority action".

"Small" and "fringe" is good coming from the advocates of Soc.Cur.unity. Those who "resort" to such action are not that desperate that they will cling to a Trafalgar Sq meeting with "The Four Musketeers" to solve their problems.

AGITPROP was evicted from its premises in North Gower St, and has opened up in East London. It will be a political lounge, with information boards and coffee machine in the shop, office for Red Notes and so forth. It is now at 248 Bethnal Green Road, E.2. (phone 739 1704).

In North London LIBERTARIA bookshop is now open in West Green Road, N.15. (a couple of minutes from the Seven Sisters Tube) - on which a reader from Yorkshire comments that "if things go on at this rate a federation of anarchist bookshops will be able to take the stuffing out of W.H.Smith", precisely - we may say - why we've never liked to knock W.H.S. for not taking underground stuff. If it had listened to those liberal criticisms it would really have been a monopoly.



"OUR FINEST UNION BRANCH IN THE ENTIRE FLEET. ALWAYS
100 PER CENT SOLID VOTE IN FAVOUR OF ANY COMMITTEE
RESOLUTION, EVEN BEFORE IT'S READ OUT."

BULLETIN OF THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

THE MILLAN TRIAL

The trial in Madrid of our comrade Sanchez (Julian) Millan before Military Tribunal No. 3. will be an important landmark in the history of the Resistance. It has been delayed many months and even by Spanish standards, faces a record delay in coming to trial, even years.

It is not especially welcome to the authorities that the Resistance activity be exposed in case it frightens off tourists. Yet there is too much pressure in the regime from those who are determined to keep power to allow such activity to pass off without publicly punishing the offenders. They want the Spaniards to know that the Resistance is receiving condign punishment. But they do not want the foreigners to know it exists. Hence the dilemma and buck-passing.

Ley de Fuga. There was one solution in the notorious Ley de Fuga (the law which permits a prisoner to be shot "while trying to escape" and this has often been liberally interpreted). Millan was offered the chance to "escape". He did not take it. He has also been subjected to torture. His lawyer has given publicity to this. We learn that as a result, the lawyer has

been "punished by seven days" (though it is not clear in the report if this means seven days imprisonment, or merely that he has been barred for seven days).

This is at the orders of the new Captain-General of Madrid, Garcia Rebull, formerly of Burgos, whose appointment is clearly seen as a method of strengthening the capital against subversion.

.....

A new paperback "Anarchism Today", not distinguished for its accuracy, refers to the A B C as "an international welfare organisation". We aren't sure if it's praise or denigration. But if the former we are unique among such organisations. We want no charity drives, with overheads for the organisers. Cash can be sent direct to prisoners in Spain, or at any rate to their families. To those who are sending, we find all the instances where we have checked prove that money gets there, or gets returned, and in no case has it gone astray. The prisoners need cash in Spain for what rules in its prison is not, as elsewhere, a state-socialist economy but an old-fashioned capitalist "free enterprise" one.
If you have nothing, you get nothing.

THE HISTORIC PETITION

by Miguel Garcia Garcia

When the Franco regime introduced the Tribunals of Public Order, composed of civilian lawyers, it found that the penalties imposed by the judges were appreciably lower than those imposed by the Military Tribunals, controlled by the Army. In deference to world opinion, it had tried to get away from running the nation like a conquered country, subject to martial law, but it found that the result was that the sentences upon Resistance fighters were much lower.

It was with this in mind that the Ministry of Justice waived the benefits of Conditional Liberty which were constitutionally guaranteed since 1870. Normally, the benefits of being released conditionally, before expiry of sentence, had to be applied and were considered by the prison governors three months before the due date, when the case had to be brought before the Director General of Prisons. From 1964, however, they began to place obstacles in the way of this. By 1966, nobody was receiving conditional liberty.

The prisoners took the matter before Judges, their lawyers went before the courts. All was useless. The position of the authorities was made clear by the Director

General of Prisons, don Jesus Gonzalez del Hierro, who pointed out that -in his view - conditional liberty depended on a change of heart in the prisoner and this was impossible in the case of the politicals, who had no intention of changing their ideas.

This was a monstrous perversion of the spirit of the law, contradictory to the way all lawyers had interpreted it. The law demanded "honesty" in the prisoner and referred to his general conduct. It made no reference to his ideas. All the political prisoners were "honest" and "of good character" in the manner intended by those who framed the law. It was not intended as an Inquisition to make them change their faith and ideals.

HUNGER STRIKE. Because of the complete lack of any satisfaction in demanding their just rights, the prisoners in many jails of Spain decided on a hunger strike at Christmas 1968. The politicals determined to bring their case to public attention. So it was that the year 1969 saw most of them in punishment cells to celebrate

the New Year. The hunger strike was by then over, and the board of governors were meeting to decide what to do with the offenders. Though punishment by deprivation of food is often meted out, the refusal to take food is a serious crime, one of the worst next to mutiny - since it devalues their own punishment system.

In Soria, where I was, for various reasons they took a reasonably lenient view, and imposed the 20 days minimum, but the Director General of Prisons revoked their decision and made it 10 days more. (As a result, the governor, Victor Grignon was demoted, and went to Salamanca as assistant governor).

CONGRESS Then came news that a lawyers' international conference was to be held in Rome. The prisoners were scarcely out of the punishment cells when the political groups reformed and began to draw up a lengthy document to send to the Congress. It had to be smuggled out. It was read at the Congress and published in many Italian newspapers. It was signed by all the political prisoners at Soria. It is now a historic document.

Later, the presiding Judge of Soria came to the prison determined to prosecute us. 67 had signed. But

most of them had since been transferred to the new prison for politicals, the grim old fortress of Segovia. We all denied knowledge of the document and nobody was prosecuted. Perhaps it suited them to be able to say it was fraudulent. But it is the true story. Had they taken proceedings, I for one would still be in jail.

It is not easy to prepare such a document in a place where one cannot move freely. It is even more difficult to get it to its destination. Nevertheless, a detailed account comprising 3000 words was prepared in which was interpreted the legal texts which ratified the benefits of Conditional Liberty, Statute of the Political Prisoner and Redemption of Penalties by work.

(As a tribute to that effort, and in order to place it before public opinion, we will in future issues publish a translation).

IWW CHARGED WITH CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM

After being unused for 50 years, the old "criminal syndicalism" law is being used against the IWW which suffered from it in the past. It is clearly directed against the new generation coming to the IWW. Three comrades have been indicted in San Diego, California. International protest may be able to save them.

It is not our wish to create a Pantheon of Working Class Heroes. But now that the bourgeois historians have "discovered" anarchism and their "histories" proliferate, it is salutary to mention some of the forgotten or unrecorded pages of working-class history and the militants whom the bourgeois historians ignore. ED.

1. MANUEL LECHA BLANCH

by Miguel Garcia Garcia.

Historians dealing with the fight against Fascism will roll over names such as Azaña and Caballero, Negrín and Prieto. They were great orators in the Cortes. But their deliberations and decisions were totally ignored by the people throughout the civil war. The historians need "great names". Manuel Lecha was certainly a great man in terms of bulk. He was a huge, tough man but gentle and chivalrous in his dealings with everyone. He was known throughout Barcelona as one of the toughest fighters on the docks, but with a code of honour like that of Guzman El Bueno.

For years he had been the organiser of the CNT dockers. When the rising came in 19th July 1936, the CNT workers swarmed out on the streets, rallying to their union halls to organise against the enemy. In the middle of the town the Captaincy-General held out against the people. Many lives were lost trying to storm it. Then, sweating, came an amazing sight: Manuel pulling along an enormous cannon to the Plaza de Cataluña, taken from the docks. The cannon was taken

for protection to the arcade opposite. The first shot was badly made and the marks may still be seen on the arcade pillars. The second shot blew the machine gun nest out and the Captain-General surrendered. For this, Manuel was jokingly known all over Barcelona as "the artilleryman".

Later he went to Majorca in a bid to recapture the island, jointly organised by the Navy and the Transport Union (dockers section). After the defeat, the Valencian docker escaped arrest, and began patiently to try to build up the union once more. When he was arrested, he had 2000 stamps in his possession - unused membership contribution stamps, to put into the union cards when subscriptions were paid. Damning evidence that he was keeping the union going.

Awaiting trial, "the artilleryman" shared my cell. He was sentenced to four years three months and a day.

Balance Sheet

"BLACK FLAG" 25.6.71 - 21.7.71.

Deficit c/fwd	£12. 85	Sales by groups ...	13. 74
Duplicating, paper, stencils, ink &c.	69. 03	Sales by bkshps ...	17. 76
Postage	8. 00	Subscriptions	4. 75
Production of Mod.Science & An. by p/copying 37.88 less 35 i/hand ..	<u>2. 88</u>	Deficit b/fwd	56. 51
	<u>92. 76</u>		<u>92. 76</u>

We have gone well into the red (but production cost includes a reprint of "Origins of Anarchist Movement in China" which, with "Modern Science & Anarchism" means we have plenty of stock to cover the deficit).

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

J.G. £5, * A.M. £8, bkshp sales £2 £15 - spent on production of Unamuno (All proceeds to go direct to Spanish prisoners & ex-prisoners).

*Prints of historic Copenhagen Fields demo sold pro admin of ABC.
(Spanish Liberation) In hand £23 from JQ.

BLACK FLAG: 10 Gilbert Place
London, W. C. 1.

NOTES ON " BLACK FLAG "

We are still looking for office premises, preferably combined with a meeting-place and have in mind a projects workshop. Any ideas, suggestions?

List of active groups in next issue (please send anything for inclusion).

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ring Gerry Bree 272 2098