



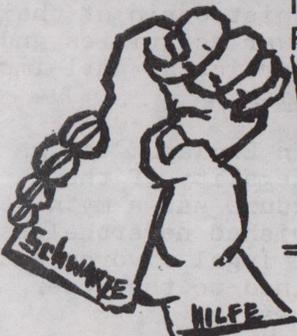
It's all right for you. I'm only the batman and no Frau Wagner sends me chokkies in jail.

To keep us here is an infringement of democracy. This is 1924 not the Middle Ages.

Ja but jail is no problem to me. A gypsy told me that in fifty years time I would have a fortress of my own and all our goals achieved... a strong Germany in a united Europe, a supra-national police force, agitators shot down in the streets, anti-semitism triumphant in Russia, the world united against anarchy, the Fuehrer's portrait all over London with titled actors re-enacting his struggle.....

Shut up, Black Agnes

New Lenin Manuscripts Found



+ SCHWARZKREUZ

MUCH LIKE THE INTELLIGENTSIA ANYWHERE..... IDEOLOGISTS, SPECIALISTS WITH A FIXED SET OF IDEAS REMOVED FROM PRACTICE... ...LIKE A HEAD FLOATING AROUND WITHOUT A BODY (JUST AS AN EXAMPLE, OF COURSE)

WHY THIS VIOLENCE? WHY THESE BARRICADES?

BECAUSE YOU'RE ALL IDIOTS.

BUT WE ARE THE MAJORITY!

THE MAJORITY HAS NO RIGHT TO IMPOSE ITS IDIOTRY ON THE MINORITY



Watch out! There's a fuzz about

TOWN-PLANNING IS A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THE SPECTACLE. WHO COULD IMAGINE RIOTING IN A BALLYMUN-TYPE ESTATE? YET WE WILL THINK OF SOMETHING ELSE, TO TURN OUR PRISONS INTO OUR PLAYGROUNDS. THE BOURGEOISIE THINK THEY CAN SOLVE OUR PERENNIAL REVOLT BY THE MANIPULATION OF TERRITORIAL SPACE...BUT WE, WHO SWEATED AT THE CONSTRUCTION OF THAT SPACE, AND WHO LIVE IN IT, KNOW BETTER

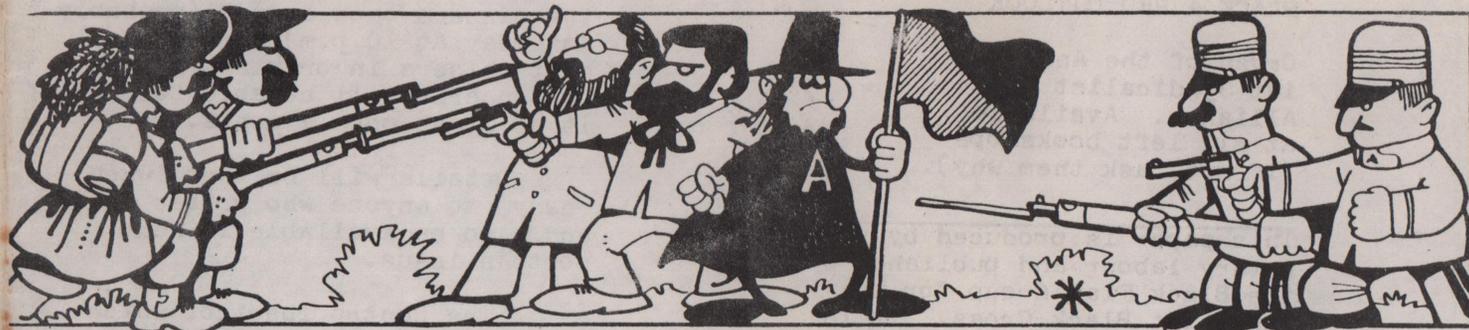
Miserable Terrorist!



BLACK FLAG anarchist black cross

ORGAN OF THE

JUNE 73 vol. III no. 3 10p



I fought against feudalism and reactionary Spain as all my family had done.... I stood for the capitalist revolution which was bound up with the suppression of Irish Catholicism....they asked me to come to Great Britain to ensure that the bourgeoisie would secure their national and social revolution.... So I should by 1973 be a Marxist hero, maker of the bourgeois revolution that was inevitable and pre-destined to lead to socialism... Why do the Marxists join in the Papist chorus of Down with King Billy? I must ask my admirer, military expert Fred Engels.....



BLACK FLAG: Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross and Black Flag Group. AN ANARCHIST BULLETIN DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF WORKING-CLASS REVOLUTION.

Vol. III. No. 3. JUNE 1973 10p

"There is a tinge of the anarchist in everyone".....
EVENING STANDARD,
May 17th

show your tinge..
READ THE ANARCHIST
PRESS ...



Read

BLACK & RED OUTLOOK

Organ of the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance. Available at all left bookshops (if not, ask them why).

This paper is produced by voluntary labour and published by the Black Flag Group for the Anarchist Black Cross. It is issued in continuation of a tradition of anarchist publishing in this country dating back over a century. Its seizure by a police officer except against an authorised warrant or other receipt constitutes an act of theft.

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*Subscription for 12 issues: £1.50

BLACK FLAG costs twice as much as most of its neighbours, and is worth a lot more, but we see no reason to keep it down to 5p and then appeal frantically for funds to cover the loss. We have huge postages (as our income has to cover the postages for Anarchist Black Cross as well as Black Flag). We do not get paid for a lot of the copies we send out on subscription as we are reluctant to cut off sending when the recipient is probably responding to our appeals to help prisoners and has no more cash over.

Communications to:
BLACK FLAG,

83a Haverstock Hill,
N. W. 3.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

Eating out once a month? The Chalk Farm & Belsize Dinner is to be started early in June. The name will commemorate a tradition of anarchist publishing and activity in Chalk Farm and Belsize Road and in fact we will be holding the dinners in that part of London.

Subscription is £1 per dinner and this includes good food and wine. Nosh will be preceded by gab, and any profits will go to the Black X or any cause of the moment. We contemplate holding the dinners once a week (probably Saturday at 10 p.m) and hope all sympathisers in or visiting the London area will be able to make it at least once a month.

Details will be sent (when ready) to anyone who writes in, and also be available in next month's issue.

The Centro Iberico, which is no longer holding its meetings in Holborn, will also resume in the same premises, for which we are now negotiating.

anarcho-quiz (ANSWERS P.15)

1. Which king sought the help of anarchists to help regain his throne?
2. In which country, until quite late last century, could one put a halter round one's wife's neck and take her to the cattle-market, a sale being reckoned a divorce (though not a remarriage)?
3. How would you connect London's swank Savoy Hotel with the social revolution (historically)?
4. When Sultan Abdul Hamid II (Abdul the Damned) heard of the Socialist International, he ordered his police agents to send a fake delegation. What was his reaction to their report?
5. Everyone knows Karl Marx is buried in Highgate Cemetery. But where would you find the graves of three famous libertarians (all fore-named William), also in London?

EDITORIAL

cont. P. 15

The perpetual crisis of the day is the dispossession of the working class. Their place was at the bottom of the ladder in the days of rising capitalism, but the need for their productive ability gave them power to pull themselves up. Now, the ruling classes in all countries are finding that "labour" is an over-priced commodity, and too much "people" is a disaster.

The rulers of the world want their menial tasks done, and they want sufficient serfs to show that they have power. There is a surplus of jobs for pretty secretaries and for doorkeepers, house servants are at a premium and there are always shortages for low-paid hospital workers or municipal employees. But unemployment - treated as if it were a natural disaster like an earthquake - rears up in what were once the essential jobs of capitalism: the skilled workers are pushed out from making ships and cars and hewing coal and told they must move out of their districts, or out of their old lands, and get jobs as postmen or waiters at nothing like the pay.

It is not a passing crisis or a natural phenomenon. It is the new development of capitalism. Just as in the clearances of the peasants (the Highland crofters, for instance) whole communities and ways of life are uprooted. They must adapt or go under. Or they can fight back.

Years of reformist policies under capitalism has made the working-class reluctant to fight back, and even when a ruling-class (such as in Spain) undertakes genocide against them, they have learned to live with it as their numbers dwindle.

What passes for defensive organisations of the working class, expressed as unions or political movements, is divided between the policy of gaining some improvements in the conditions of those who remain in a position of industrial power, and those who - sometimes thinking this represents a libertarian position rather than another defensive one - work for the unemployed in claimants' unions, or for the rights of the growing number at the bottom, or the homeless. All these activities are part of a struggle for survival, but it is a mistake to suppose they contain the means for changing society or the direction in which the State is taking us.

Hysteria over strikes is not because of the economic dislocation they can cause (for what could be greater than redundancies to cause such dislocation?) but because even unsuccessful strikes are



The press has had reams to say on the punching of Prof. Eysenck at L.S.E. by a few dozen members of a splinter-Maoist grouping. When one thinks of the way in which workers have been knocked about by the police in recent years - one need not even go over the Irish Channel - a remarkable show of indignation. But he was a professor speaking (literally) ex cathedra.

In the press version the punches became a "beating up" which is not quite the same thing. It is a pity a professor cannot speak at a university without such an attack even though his views are reactionary - and that he is a liberal of sorts is urged in his favour (though it was the quiet liberal professors who made the bullets for all reactionary movements to fire).

But the defenders of Prof. Eysenck ("he is not really a racist") are as hysterical as his attackers. In "Freedom" it is even suggested Prof. Eysenck was hit because the students "did not like the shape of his nose" - in itself an insulting piece of anti-semitism since most Jewish noses are indistinguishable from any other - compounded by an inverted anti-semitism that because he is a Jewish refugee he should (for that reason) not be attacked. The article concludes with a hysterical attack on "the Commies" who engineered it all to avenge an insult on their faith. But the CP of England (M.L.) is so anti-CPGB (Moscow variety) they would not flinch at war (let alone insult) on Russia. A sad piece of academic paranoia.

Idiot of the month

"I hate capitalism in any of its manifestations - in politics, in government or in policy. I hate the buying of privilege of wealth and the manipulation of man through the ownership of capital." What kind of an idiot would stand up at a Young Liberal conference and say that? It's not as if his audience were really interested in helping to change society.

Perhaps the same berk who could follow up with: "Profits are rather a different matter as long as they are not obtained by exploitation."

It must be Cyril Smith, Liberal MP for Rochdale, the owner of a nice little business himself, while his leader Jeremy Thorpe keeps body and soul together on what he can screw from starving South African workers.

Cyril, who can at least claim to be well fed, said his own experience of "poverty and deprivation qualified him to understand the real problems of Britain today". But not the facts of economic life as it is lived. Profit, he should know, is the amount stolen from a worker by his employer. It is the difference between what the boss pays his worker and what he sells the product for. He can only get away with this by "the ownership of capital".

MAUDLING PRIZE FOR IDIOT OF THE MONTH to Mr Smith: A message of victory to the voters from Mr Gladstone.

Harry Harmer

Pilkington Grass

One of the largest "family concerns" in the capitalist world, Pilkington Glass Works of St Helens, is noted for its attention to the workers. The late Miss Pilkington used to stroll around the local parks to find if anyone was "misbehaving", and so concerned was she for their moral welfare that anyone whom she found doing so was sacked immediately.

Dr J. D. Cameron is now the Chief Medical officer of Health at the works. He is worried about the medical welfare of the workers. Speaking to the Royal Society of Health Congress, Dr Cameron said that "employees injured at work should be encouraged to return to their jobs as quickly as possible - even if it means chopping the finger off."

Sometimes if a man's finger is crushed in an accident he is months off work, "condemned," mourns Dr Cameron, "to enforced inactivity at home".

What is the result? "Psychological upsets" which could be avoided if only surgeons would avoid merely "cosmetic surgery" - that is to say, putting the finger right - and amputate at once "allowing him to return to work within three weeks of the accident" instead of months ahead, with strain at home. "An early return to work was essential for the worker's moral welfare," said Dr Cameron, echoing the social philosophy of the late Miss Pilkington. But where she justified capitalist exploitation and ruthlessness in the name of Christ, he justifies it in the name of Freud. We make progress all the time.

According to Leslie Thomas, President of the Inland Revenue Staff Association, "Militancy and industrial action could lead to anarchy if it replaced well-established systems of negotiation."

This is what we have been saying all along. These "well-established systems" lead to autocracy. It is time that militancy and industrial action were used, to introduce free forms of association (anarchy).

But perhaps Mr Thomas thinks that this would be disastrous.

Classified

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c/o Dr. G. H. v. Schubert
"El Panorama" 9 e
Albufera, Alicante
Spain

Letters



....I would like to figure out a few problems concerning the application of Anarchism in today's highly industrialised society. It appears that Anarchy can work extremely well in small tightly-knit rural communities such as the Ukraine in 1918, or Spain to a lesser degree in the 30s, and could very well be achieved today in a country such as Ireland.

But if a country such as ours was to achieve a degree of anarchy, what would be our relations with the surrounding communist and capitalist regimes? How would we trade with them? We must as we cannot produce all our needs. With city populations exceeding five million, it might be just possible for the people to elect a committee to act on their behalf, but they would be such a size that no foreign trade department would be able to deal with them!

J. A.
Albany Prison.

(How one country would trade with another is not, in our view, crucial to anarchism as such. There could be an anarchist society in a prosperous country or an unprosperous one so far as having all one needed was concerned in material possessions. There was quite a different problem in Russia ("socialism in one country"?) as authoritarian socialism could not flourish in one country unless it could show a material improvement over capitalism (since no one would voluntarily choose dictatorship); whereas libertarian socialism can be distinguished in many other ways than mere material improvement and people will give up a lot for freedom and independence.

(For a libertarian area to trade with a non-libertarian one would obviously require a compromise, the extent of which depending on the degree to which the authoritarian country needed the produce of the libertarian areas. In Spain, the areas under workers' control did trade with those which were not, by means of interlocking committees, but it meant they had to retain the wage system, as a compromise, though they did have a "unitary wage". In parts which were self-sufficient, the money system was lifted.)

Dear Black Flag,

The piece on the Angry Brigade in "Solidarity" did not condemn "the guilty". The comments on the politics of the AB were based on its communiques and the arguments of its apologists and not on any statements of the defendants. We were not "afraid of being accused of lack of solidarity". In fact we stated at the beginning of the article that we were aware that this accusation would be made. Had we been afraid of such charges we would have commented with opportunist phrase-mongering like IS or IMG.

You also accuse Solidarity of supporting nationalist movements... we are surprised at these guilt by association techniques when "Black Flag" supports the German "RAF" who support the Arab guerillas.

Yours sincerely

R. Sandell
(For London Solidarity).

EDS: who support Mao who underwrites the Franco regime.... But had friend Sandell read "Black Flag" more carefully he would see precisely our criticism of the Marxist set within "RAF" was that by using Marxist phraseology, it fell into the trap (like "Solidarity") of supporting Nationalist movements. But all German rebels and political prisoners are labelled "RAF" by the police whether Marxist-Nationalists or not.

We are afraid he misunderstood another reference... at least we are not afraid.... if we were....

I read the latest Black Flag and thoroughly enjoyed it - it was great! It's good to get a feeling of revolutionary zeal after so much "New Left" whitewash has almost made you sick of the term!

"Floodgates" was the best reading I've enjoyed since Max Stirner!

Eugene Plawick
Edmonton (Alberta).

Black Flag in its new format is a fine job.

G. C. Graves
(IWW Chicago)

Editorial

seen as a bid for economic power. In every industry in the country there is now a bid for workers' control, for the taking over of the factories and the mines and the schools and the print-shops by those who work in them. As capitalism finds industries "redundant" so it is more apparent that they could be taken over by those who run them.

This attitude is incorrectly expressed in the slavish reformist slogan "The right to work", but it is nevertheless an inherent right that has been taken from us to run our own destiny, and to live and work as we choose - not, as the slogan suggests, for a wage, but for ourselves.

Why, after all these years of revolutionary theory and aspiration, is it still needful to say all this again and again? Solely because the tiger of exploitation has been shot at and wounded many times, but has thereby emerged more dangerous than ever. Today we need to lie low and stalk it. In every place of work we need to identify those who are for revolutionary action.

Instead of division by political ideas, we need to know a handful of fellow workers in the same trade or industry who are for workers control, and who will plug this line through good times and bad. This permeation for workers' control is a "conspiracy" which cannot be suppressed, for no government can suppress the meeting of five in a trade. We reiterate our policy of FORMING FIVES in every place of work, to pioneer the idea: form workers councils of all who work.

Neither revolutionary parties nor libertarian organisations can be any substitute for "fives" at the place of work. Such elite bodies can never be revolutionary, because they must either be sterile, with an academic revolutionary programme, or reformist - otherwise their organisation will be suppressed by the State.

The only possible alternative is that they are clandestine. But if they are going to be clandestine, the formation of small groupings is essential anyway, and it is clearly easier that they be based on industrial affinity.

And the truth is that even clandestine revolutionary movements are a drag on the revolutionary struggle. Usually, such movements exist merely to disclaim and deprecate any form of individual fighting back which will always arise spontaneously as repression clamps down. The old saying is still true, "The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves." ©

Waterhole

The Watergate Scandal bears a message for democracy which is greater than its overtones of corruption. All politicians are corrupt, and on the whole it is safer if they get corrupt on money rather than on power. Had Hitler plundered the party funds or Lenin sold out for the chance of a business opening with Parvus, we would all have been better off.

In totalitarian countries there is usually only one party. That party, being supreme, can dispose of State funds, imprison and kill its opponents, harass those with whom it disagrees or who disagree with it.

In a country with an old tradition of democracy like France, there are various parties. But as there is a chance that one party (today, the Communists) might upset the apple-cart as regards military alliances though it has long since sold out on the subject of revolution, it is in-built into the system that the ruling party may take some advantage of the State machinery, and utilise the repressive and propaganda media for its own partisan ends, without causing too great a scandal.

In Britain, the two parties which can take power are evenly balanced and the rules between them are meticulously observed. For one to trick the other or to harass its supporters would be like fixing a cricket match. The strictness of this observance is less marked in the USA since the two main parties are really coalitions of parties, and within either party there might be an element which, for one reason or another, might embarrass the smooth running of capitalism. The obvious example is the KKK which exists in the same Democratic Party which also included Stalinist fellow-travellers. Thus the machinery of repression may be used against political opponents provided the actual law is not broken.

We apologise to those who have written to us and not received a reply... as usual we are buried under letters... but keep writing and especially for publication (welcome more contributors especially those who can keep down to the available space.)

But there is no need to be hypocritical when it is found that President Nixon's close aides have broken the law by what they have done to their political opponents, since they could have done it all, breaking the law too, against their extra-parliamentary opponents with not the least demur. Had they been found out they could have boasted, as Habershon did here, that they had no time for legal niceties.

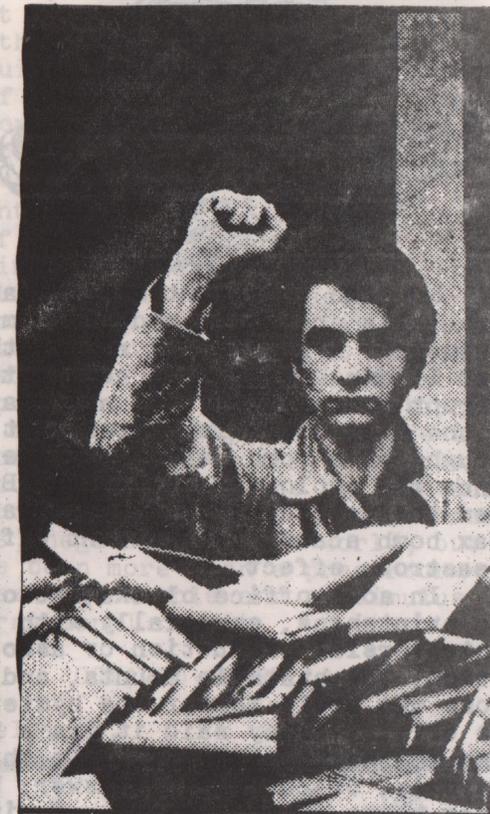
In Britain - and let alone Northern Ireland though it is an integral part of Great Britain (or if not, we have no business there at all) - there is the same, and worse than in Watergate, harassing of political opponents. It is not only the bugging of phones and opening of mail, planting of false documents, &c but of an unceasing attempt to incriminate, imprison and detain. False evidence is planted, tenants are reported to their landlords, employers are warned, files of political opponents of the Government are kept so that raids can be made to prevent opposition by force of "example". But this is not done by the Conservatives against the Labour Party, or the Labour Party against the Cons... it is done by the Two-Party System against those who fall outside it.

Heath's prisons

We referred in a previous issue to the sentences of fourteen years passed on class war fighters Malcolm Simpkins and Michael King. Their appeal against sentence was successful and Malcolm is now serving ten years and Michael seven. They are at Newport (Isle of Wight).

Commenting on our reference that their politics varied between Marxism and Libertarianism, Malcolm tells us this is "enough accurate" since having read up on Marxism and the classic works on Anarchism he feels "Marxism has the advantage of a scientific basis while Anarchism has more natural appeal and is rather more moral than Marxism...while the Anarchists feel that while there exists any form of State then there necessarily exists with it oppression, and therefore the overthrow of the State is the immediate aim--the Marxists claim that a 'people's state' is a very necessary first step in achieving the eventual ideal, a stateless society. Unfortunately, the examples we have of this 'people's state' show it to be a very oppressive state indeed, and therefore morally wrong. So, as you say, our politics vary between Marxism and Libertarianism." But he asks for further books on Anarchism.

HOLLAND



Militant of the Dutch "Red Youth" Lucien van Hoessel has been sentenced to three years' jail. Because of his militancy he was raided, and a revolver was found in his room - a charge which seldom carries more than a fine. With the exception of soldiers charged under court-martial for free speech in the barrack room, he is the first political prisoner in the Netherlands for some years.

Red Youth is a libertarian split from the Marxist-Leninist movement (with some national liberation hangovers).

Postcards, unpolitical papers &c can be sent to:

Lucien van Hoessel,
Huis van Bewaring,
Cel 110, Den Bosch,
Holland.

Revolutionary Activism



So high a proportion of hoax bomb calls are being made that many newspapers will now not report them lest it encourages more people to disrupt production. In some parts of the City there is hysteria at the thought of a bomb going off, ever since the explosion at the Old Bailey when the police treated it as a hoax bomb scare, and it went off with disastrous effect.

In some office blocks, factories and printshops, especially with controversial production or association, the hysteria mounts, and to those who would temper the hysteria the cry is, "They said it was a hoax bomb at the Old Bailey". To this there is, of course, no answer; but since there is no form of security either (for rushing out whenever some nutter phones does not prevent another nutter putting a bomb in and not phoning) hysteria does not help either.

What should reasonably be done is for all to ask themselves WHY it is they feel their building should be singled out, and rectify the cause. Even the most reactionary Irish Nationalist does not choose a target without cause. And revolutionaries would not be fighting against workers but against the property of capitalism and would avoid workers' blood being shed.

What is happening to the many nuclear bombs is no longer news. If one is exploded as a test, only a few "professional demonstrators" worry; the public care not a damn. The very fabric of the earth is threatened by the A-bomb production, but we can go to our work happily while it goes on - the danger of the H-bomb is not worth an hour's pay to demonstrate - but a phone call from a pimply youth that half a pound of gelignite is under the main stairs will clear the building in a jiffy.

"No, citizens, while society continues to demand the law of revenge, while religion and the law, the barracks and the court of justice, the jail and the industrial penitentiaries, the press and the schools continue to teach a supreme contempt for the life of the individual, don't ask those who rebel against this society to respect it! This would be demanding of them a degree of restraint greater than that for the whole society."

Peter Kropotkin (in a talk in Paris, 1896).

Not even the most notorious tyrants have dared to present their outrages or crimes for what they were: the result of ambition or the decision to take power and keep it. All the tyrannies, all the atrocities, all the exterminations of history are "justified" in the name of principles (law, religion, morals); of abstractions (humanity, society, the country). They are never defended in their real manner: a thirst for domination, the defence of vested interests and power. Or at least, such a defence is seldom made openly.

The Nazis surrounded their genocide of the Jews with myths of racial superiority; in later massacres, the persecution of political groups has been justified by the excuse of law and order, and peoples and nations have been exterminated in the name of ideals such as democracy or communism... Korea, Hungary, Vietnam... to mention only a few spectacular cases, since the list of violence and state outrages is endless. For, to go on with Kropotkin's speech, "the whole of our present way of life destroys the respect for human life:

"The judge who orders the killing and his lieutenant, the executioner who applies the garrote in the full sun of Madrid, or who guillotines in the early morning mists of Paris... the general who massacres and the newspaper correspondent who covers it in glory; the boss who poisons his workers because the use of less harmful materials would cost him more money... all in present society points to a contempt for human life, of that flesh which costs so little on the

market. And those who execute, those who deal in devalued human merchandise, those who make a religion of the principle that we must garrote, shoot and kill, are the very ones who deplore the lack of respect for human life!"

Not only do those who use the garrote and shoot down the people deplore and condemn the violence of those who do not wish to be murdered with impunity; even among those who are their exploited victims there are those who condemn indiscriminately "all forms of violence" and lump together the resistance of those who would be shot down with that of those who would shoot them down - or who will, indeed, regard this resistance as evil and the repression as "legal".

The social reality of injustice, violence and power generates a certain form of violence against itself - revolutionary violence - whether one wants it or not. It can only be when social reality ceases to maintain violence that one will be able to condemn violence indiscriminately. There are two forms of violence in present-day society: that which is for it and that which is against it. The established order has an inbuilt form of violence to perpetuate exploitation and oppression. In such a society delinquency, no less than rebellion, is bound to be violent. In a society in which social reality no longer maintains violence, when injustices and oppression are relegated to the past, the only cause of delinquency would be pathological.

Equally, any rebellion is bound to incur violence in its actions, for there is no intermediary position in the struggle for human dignity and freedom. The only time one can denounce liberating violence is when it has become counter-revolutionary; that is to say, when it is used to impose oppression and injustice and not to overthrow it.

Whether they recognise it or not, those who decry the excesses of violence by which they imply usually the means used by those opposed to oppression, or who lump it together with the violence of the oppressors, are doing nothing more than strengthening the real basis of violence which must come from imposed positions or privilege: the violence proper to the established order and those who benefit from it.

When we think of the men of action in the Spanish Resistance, one can only judge their deeds "for" or "against" according to whether one is for the dictatorship of Franco or against it. One might discuss the effectiveness of this or that particular action, but never could one compare the "terrorism" of one of these groups with that of the police corps or the Army. The revolutionary action of "el Quico" (Sabate) and others must be valued for demonstrating a coherent and effective line for the defeat of General Franco's regime, and for serving as an example to those who have continued the fight against other dictatorial regimes. His actions can now be judged in the light of the unparalleled successes of the ETA action groups. Leaving aside the national question raised by ETA, here we see a revival of the revolutionary struggle carried out over many years by Francisco Sabate and other anarchist revolutionary activists, neglected by the world, but which has been more than a precursor - it has been an example and a stimulus for international revolt.

OCTAVIO ALBEROLA

Liege (Belgium).



The Presbyterian Church in Ireland is manfully facing up to the problems of Ulster, and in its annual report points out how worrying it is that the "overworked police" have no time left to deal with illicit drinking clubs. "If obedience to law is liberty, then according to the reports from prebyteries and kirk sessions there is little liberty left in Ulster," it states. But if obedience to law is liberty, Presbyterians may look to Russia as the freest country in the world and pay respects to the late (teetotal) Adolf Hitler, who never objected to liberty in those terms, and who may be reckoned on such a definition as one of the world's greatest libertarians.

Germany

The three Della Savia brothers all were involved in some way in the Milan affair as witnesses. (In this case the secretary of the Black Cross in Milan, Giuseppe Pinelli, has been killed by the police and Valpreda has been held for years, until released conditionally recently, awaiting trial - though the fascist culprits have been found).

Ten witnesses have died in mysterious circumstances, among them Mario della Savia who is said to have "killed himself". Angelo della Savia, alleged to have been involved in the Milan bomb, fled to Switzerland. The Italian authorities demanded his extradition, and obtained it. Ivo went to Belgium, where the Government was less amenable to pressure. He was sentenced instead to three months jail for "illegal entry", and after release went to Germany.

On January 13, Angelo - fleeing deportation - tried to enter Germany too and was arrested on an Interpol warrant. (The lie that Interpol does not mix in political matters notwithstanding). On the 19th of the same month, Ivo was also arrested in Wiesbaden. Requests for provisional liberty were turned down, and extradition orders made against the two brothers.

The truth is that they know enough to prove that the 1969 explosions were caused by the neo-fascists, and they are in danger of their lives if they are returned to Italy.

Some German comrades have set up a defence committee: Usual help, please, to Chantal Bertin, bei Freitag, FRANKFURT am MAIN, Schubertstr. 27.

Australia

Posters all round Perth (Western Australia) and elsewhere proclaim that RIPLEY IS INNOCENT, KUCERA LIED. Det. Sgt. Kucera is the main prosecution witness against Anarchist Julian Ripley now serving five years' jail on a framed charge.

The police are indignant that a fellow-perjurer should be singled out for harassment: Kucera has been the target for phone calls, hoax deliveries and callers with life insurance, cleaning services, pest control and funeral arrangements. The police are, of course, not so indignant that the Anarchist Federation, and sym-

Spain

Julian Millan Hernandez, guilty of working for the rebuilding of the CNT inside Spain and charged on an explosives count (but not brought to trial until world opinion forced it) has now had his sentence confirmed. It is 18 years (not 10, as we stated in our last issue due to a typing error), plus 7,000 pesetas fine.

As he was arrested on 17th October 1967, it was five years, five months and 27 days to final confirmation. But with the various pardons given during that period, he can benefit by those of April 1 64, July 22 65 and September 23 71, i.e. a total of 5 years 9 months. This would make him a free man on Oct 10 1978 but with benefit of work in the prison of Madrid for two years, this means six months off, and under the law of 1883 he should be free in six months and three days time.

Since the prosecutor at first demanded the death penalty, then 45, then 23 years, this is a victory. The 1883 law was applied by Franco for 25 years but now (illegally) not applied to the political prisoners. (Miguel Garcia has written on this in his pamphlet on Spanish Political Prisoners).

Now Millan has been transferred to a central prison. Because of his international reputation, we do not know which one it will be. But we will continue the struggle for him.

What we must insist now is just that the law of 1883 be applied in his case.

Particular thanks to Kathy and Alan Gregory and their friends for solidarity to Julian Millan. cont. P.11

patrisers of Julian's in Perth, have been plagued with raids and seizures which have not been hoaxes.

Ripley's former home was raided twice, in one day, involving 13 police. Friends have been accused of harbouring drugs or explosives. It was pointed out by Supt Parker that the people who hit back by singling out perjurer Kucera can "have no regard for the ordinary processes of law". Police, says the local press, "are incensed over the treatment of Kucera". News for them: the Anarchists are even more incensed over the treatment of Ripley.

Spain cont. from previous page

Five RC priests were beaten up by the Right Wing Catholic guerrillas of Christ the King - brandishing iron bars and clubs - following a May Day Mass. The priests were some of the young Catholic progressives now concerned about the lack of freedom in Spain though the Church itself has always played with two packs of cards in this matter.

One of the groups "Equipos de Reflexio Cristiana" in Barcelona published a leaflet (in Spanish and Catalan) in our possession. They denounce the court-martials in Barcelona (two) and El Ferrol, Saragossa and Pamplona. "As Christians we share the suffering of these men before the courts-martial. The elementary rights of man... are still forbidden in this country. The present regime is totalitarian...we demand of the heads of the Church that they break their silence which seems to signify agreement with this repression... to be a Christian should mean to be on the side of the oppressed."

For less than this, many libertarians are now in prison.

The trick of staging "spontaneous" demonstrations was used by the Franco regime during the Burgos trials, when the armed right wing was allowed to stage "protest" meetings in the capitals of every province (culminating in a grand rally in the Plaza de Oriente in Madrid). Shouting to the caudillo, "We are with you!" they demanded the most savage reprisals against the Basque nation.

The charade was repeated on the death of a policeman during the May 1 demonstrations. This secret policeman went through Atocha pointing out to the uniformed police the suspected "subversive elements". Unexpectedly ("before we had time to draw our rifles," protested one indignant armed policeman) he was knifed.

This is an unexpected incident in a police state, where workers are left dying on the pavement, and even student demonstrations are subject to violent reprisal by armed police. The thugs and "guerrilleros" favoured by the regime went round mercilessly beating up workers and even priests in revenge; the parties of the Right staged a great "protest rally" against "lenient" elements in the government.



The leader of the Civil Guard, General Iniesta Cano, procurator ("M.P."), led the great funeral procession of policemen, demanding the dismissal of Interior Minister Garicano (and shouting "Iniesta to power!" which remark he did not exactly discourage). Garicano was blamed for having told police not to shoot so readily as they had done at San Adrian recently, because of the bad impression it gave foreigners. This, to them, was lenient do-goodism at its height.

In Barcelona, the police held a Requiem Mass, joined by all the Right Wing stalwarts. They marched as they did in the forties, to the strains not only of "Cara al sol" (the Falangist hymn) but the German "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden", popular with the Nazis.

Here too they echoed the slogan, "Garicano resign!" The slogans represent the dilemma in which the Government finds itself. It wants only to preserve the present situation, but economic pressures force it to join the Common Market and nations abroad, which is impossible while its institutions are so severe.

Yet the moment it relaxes its grip, the working-class tries to reorganise and so terrified are the reactionary elements (knowing what fate is in store for them if the regime goes) that they immediately give the orders to go out and shoot. Yet they are terrified out of their wits if even one person is shot on their side. The fascist elements live by shooting down all who come near but terrified as they do so, like Macbeth in his last days. For there is no peaceful solution: one cannot expect there to be, any more than one could have expected Eichmann to have settled down in a suburb of Tel Aviv.

ITALY

It is impossible to understand the Italian scene today without appreciating that there are three main opposing factors: the determination of the establish¹ parties to impose their will on the nation by force, using extreme police methods; the survival and re-birth of Fascism which hopes by terror to smash the left-wing groups making it unsafe for those with liberal opinions even to walk the streets, yet by provocation to create a situation to show that only they can guarantee law and order; and finally, the revolutionary forces which are hitting back.

The police, though harassed by fascist extremism, are nevertheless inclined to it as against the revolutionaries (since for them a solution to the problem would be fascism in power). So when the revolutionaries hit back, the police release a stream of calumny against them to the press; but also blame them (as in the Milan bank bomb) for deeds of the fascists.

The revolutionary movement is a mixed bag, since the absorption of the Communist Party into the establishment has meant that there are a variety of Marxist movements, some with nationalist connections (national liberation movements), some inclined to class struggle, some almost libertarian in outlook.

In the aftermath of Paris 1968, there were many movements which did not differentiate too closely between Anarchist, neo-Maoist, Marxist, and council-communist, and while this lack of sectarianism has no doubt some advantages, it had (as in Germany and elsewhere) disadvantages. For instance it was totally impossible for police or fascist agents to penetrate anarchist circles, which were working-class, but easier to infiltrate into movements like the Situationists where people's origins were "classless", that is to say unknown, while national liberation movements open fields to police agents from "friendly" countries and the police (even of

Third World countries) live by swapping information.

GENOA The 22nd October Group in Genoa was one movement of this kind, which until five years ago carried out revolutionary activity within the factories, and backed it up with sabotage and armed resistance to fascism. The use of Mafia and Fascist agents against the workers was prevented by armed counter-attack. It began to

disintegrate, however, because of the realisation of differences in ideas between the Anarchists and the Trotskyists and Maoists. By 1970 it had irrevocably split.

After the break-up of the group, some of them (most of those concerned being Maoists of the new type) felt that it was time they used their class knowledge for personal advancement. They turned to such actions as the kidnapping of the son of Genoa's leading industrialist ("the Golden Widow"), and later a hold-up in which a messenger was killed. He was a socialist, and while it could be argued he was foolish to defend his employer's insured property with his life yet it is obvious that such an action turned many people against the perpetrators. The police took advantage of this to swoop down, not merely on the perpetrators of the robbery, but on all with whom they had previously been associated, that is to say, on the former 22nd October group.

The press did their best to make it an "anarchist plot", as might be expected.

The police were helped by Gianfranco Astara, who was implicated in the bank robbery, but "sang".

Astara, renouncing his Marxism, affirmed on his Christian faith and appealed to God while incriminating all the 22nd October group together with the rump of it that had carried out these incidents. To his dismay, he was rewarded with 44 years jail (the third highest sentence given).

22 were accused, and the judge gave one a life sentence plus 37 years, and all of them a total of 392 years. One woman was acquitted and another given a month (which meant release) on the same "evidence" on which others got 16 or 18 years.

Lorenzo Castello was a member of the Anarchist Black Cross in Genoa and was, in fact, on a visit to us in London where he heard of the charge against him. Bearing in mind the case of Pinelli, von Rauch, Tommy Weisbecker and of Stuart Christie here, we strongly advised him to get political asylum somewhere. But he saw no reason to do so. He could show to "anyone's" satisfaction that he left the 22nd October group before it dissolved and had no connection with the deeds of those who under-

Fisher of men

Alan Fisher, fresh from urging the hospital workers to defeat - put in an appearance at the May Day demo in London and two NUPE employees from Lambeth were able to have a few words with him.

Bro. Fisher, eye-catching (and TV-camera-catching) as usual in his flash white mack, led off with the immortal thought: "Ah, a shop steward... not one of the rank-and-file, is he?"

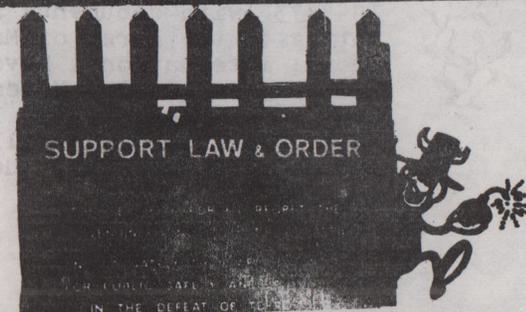
A nice insight into the way Fisher sees the union, one shared without exception by the rest of its leadership, with Fisher as the Commander-in-Chief, the officials as the officers, and the shop stewards as NCOs keeping the members in line and seeing orders are carried out.

Not bad from one who once wrote to one of his members that he was "sympathetic to syndicalism", knew something of the history of the CNT in Spain and thought it a pity that British workers weren't willing to organise in that way!

A stooping, white-macked entity, one understands how he made his way in the TU bureaucracy. "The Industrial Relations Act is a flop," he says. He feels the Government is afraid of what happened last July when it jailed five dockers and won't risk that again... what frightens the Government, of course, is working-class action, not weekend speeches by union leaders as keen to "discipline" their members as the Government is.

In the next breath he says the struggle must be to re-elect a Labour Government... to repeal (or repeat?) the Act. Why repeal it if it's a flop? "It's not the main clauses that worry us," said Fisher. "They won't be used again. There are some small sections that are a bloody nuisance to us. Awkward individuals, just out to cause trouble, who want to shift round from union to union. Some of them don't even want to be in a union... we're having a lot of trouble with quite a few people like that."

First it was a few contrary people. Then "quite a few". But the main thing is to keep the membership figures rising.



cont. from P.12

took those acts afterwards. He went back to Italy, and got ten years and eleven months.

Another accused was a sailor, abroad at the time, who went back thinking the same way. He got 31 years and three months. The highest sentences were on Mario Rossi (life plus), Giuseppe Bataglia (54 years) and Rinaldo Fiorani (43) and the "stool-pigeon" Astara. The others, whose sentences varied from six months to 30 years, were largely guilty by previous association.

It was a day of rejoicing for the Mafia, the Fascisti, the bourgeoisie and (less openly) for the socialist and communist parties who took the occasion to denounce "ultra-leftism", but a clear indication to others that fascism is on its way back to power. The judge unashamedly operated the fascist code.

THE CASE OF GOLIARDO FIASCHI - raised in the last issue but one of Black Flag - has aroused considerable interest. It has been found possible to launch an appeal in his case but it will cost between half a million and a million lire (about £700). We hope this can be raised internationally. Meanwhile, don't send parcels of food etc as suggested - build up a sum to send him which can go to the appeal (we will give an address at a later date, when a lawyer has been chosen, where the money can be sent).

The Belfast Ten refers to the ten people arrested at Heathrow Airport on March 8 and charged with conspiracy to cause explosions in London. They have already been found guilty by the media. Unheard-of departures from normal legal processes have already taken place, including the fact that the three girls are kept in all-male Brixton Prison.

What is important is that the case is being used as a lever to introduce Belfast-type "legal procedures" into the mainland.

The Belfast Ten committee can be contacted at 88 Roslyn Rd, London, N.15 (telephone 800 9392) and meets at the "General Picton" pub, Caledonian Rd (near Kings X Station) each Sunday at 8 p.m. It invites those interested in helping the defence to go along.

Books



The Military & Industrial Complex - S. Lens (Stanmore Press 85p paperback)

The Machiavellian intrigue and deadly attacks of character assassination have left the White House stained a deep republican red. As the administrators of the American State each day stand even more publicly revealed as the political Mafia, the spectacle is breathtaking.

But it is Nixon - the mad bomber of Whitehall - himself that provides the most unbelievable sight. After a life of red baiting, of accusation of conspiracy against those who are only reformist in their attitude towards his kind of State, he is now revealed as the arch-conspirator of them all. To such a point that more than half of the population of the USA regard their President as a criminal!

Just as they revealed the strategies outlined by the whole military industrial complex - think tanks, Rana Corporation, Pentagon and all - so Lens goes to work on all the disparate elements that make up the military machine. By far the most original of his research and writing must be on the role of labour within the complex. It is critical, it makes the clogs turn and it is controlled.

Lens's book was first published in this country at the time of the last Nixon crisis, the revelations that followed the New York Times publication of the Pentagon papers.

When you remember the involvement of one of the most important Government agencies - the CIA - in Vietnam and recall just how they cropped up in Watergate, it has to be remembered that losing credibility is one thing; losing power is another. This is possibly where Lens is at his weakest: by not offering more evidence on the Pentagon role in the past and by sticking to a factual interpretation of that history, he can excuse himself from detailed analysis of how you actually destroy the beast before it destroys you. But at least he wants to get rid of it, and explains why.

The real question is: with enough destructive power to wipe out the entire planet a dozen times over, do you think they - the military and political bosses - would allow anyone to threaten them? And if they couldn't stop the dismantling of their own power structure by revolution would they hesitate to use the nukes on their own country? From Lens's account of their power I doubt it.

DAVID

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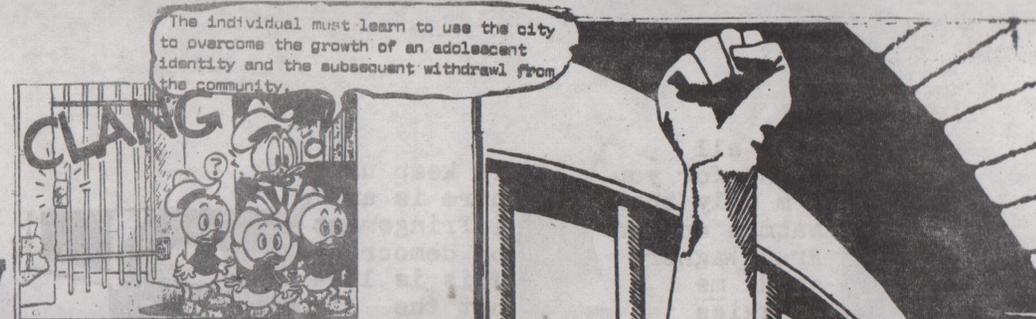
FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY (H/back £1.25; paperback 35p);
FRANCO'S PRISONER (H/back £2.25)
MILITARY & INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
S. Lens (paperback 85p).



CIENFUEGOS PRESS intends to build up a direct mailing book service and we are slowly compiling a list which we think will be of interest to the movement.

Next month will be our first publication (paperback 50p): THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN EUROPE 1945/73 (with documents relating to the First of May Group; International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement and latest manifesto of 1st May movement). This will be a historic document - don't miss it!

Turkey



In some parts of Turkey, martial law cannot be enforced because of the distance from a garrison, and the civil courts try political "offenders" against the regime.

In the criminal court of Bursa, nine paid informers reported on a 20 year old schoolteacher. (As in Spain when Franco won, the schoolteachers who have tried to humanise the system are denounced by reactionary elements). He was alleged to be a 'communist'. "They also thought he might be an 'anarchist' too, but they were not sure. Y. Dil was immediately arrested and spent three months in prison before appearing in court," writes Turkey Today (April 73). "We do not know what happened during those three months, but it seems unlikely that he was left in peace. In the court the prosecution witnesses, that is, the nine informers, repeated that they believed he was a 'communist'. When asked to define 'communism' and 'anarchism' not one of them was able to utter a single word. The young teacher was acquitted. He had spent three months in jail for nothing."

-But it is seldom that people are acquitted, and almost unknown in the military courts. Y. Dil was lucky to come before a civil court. Had he been convicted of the "offence" in a court martial, he would have received 16 years imprisonment.

ANSWERS

1. Haile Selassie, when in exile after the Italian invasion, expressed appreciation to Italian Anarchist Corio of their anti-war activities and his particular anti-imperialism.
2. In England: though the legality of the procedure was a myth, it flourished nevertheless since legal divorce was confined to the upper classes.
3. It is on the site of the Savoy Palace, belonging to John of Gaunt, burned down in the Peasants' Revolt.
4. He ordered the liquidation of socialism in Turkey; but as the only known socialists then were the members of the delegation, his own agents (not for the first time) were the ones who were shot.
5. William Godwin is buried in Old St Pancras Church; William Blake in Bunhill Fields; and William Morris in Walthamstow parish church. All the graves survive.