

BLACK FLAG

organ of the



of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL III NO. 9 1974 10p



I SHOULD LIKE TO SEE, AND THIS WILL BE THE LAST AND THE MOST ARDENT OF MY DESIRES, I SHOULD LIKE TO SEE THE LAST KING STRANGLLED WITH THE GUTS OF THE LAST PRIEST. (Jean Messelier).



SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH
DAWN MARCH 2nd 1974
NON OMNIS MORIAR

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We also distribute the special issue of "Cuadernos de Ruedo Iberico" on "The Spanish Libertarian Movement" - 350 pages paperback - 7" x 8" - £4.00.
 Contributors include: Rudolf de Jong, Noam Chomsky, S.Christie, A. Meltzer, Frank Mintz, Felipe Orero, D. Abad de Santillan, O. Alberola, Martin Artajo, Miguel Garcia, etc., etc. An invaluable work on the past, present and future of the Spanish Libertarian Movement.

WANTED!

Off-set Litho press in good condition and at a reasonable price. We will also require our own process camera and sundry equipment in order to be completely self-reliant.
 IN ADDITION to this we also urgently require a dictaphone machine complete with microphone, foot pedal, earphones, and tapes /belts - any make.

Contact Black Flag 586 - 2038, or write to our offices.

BOOKS WANTED

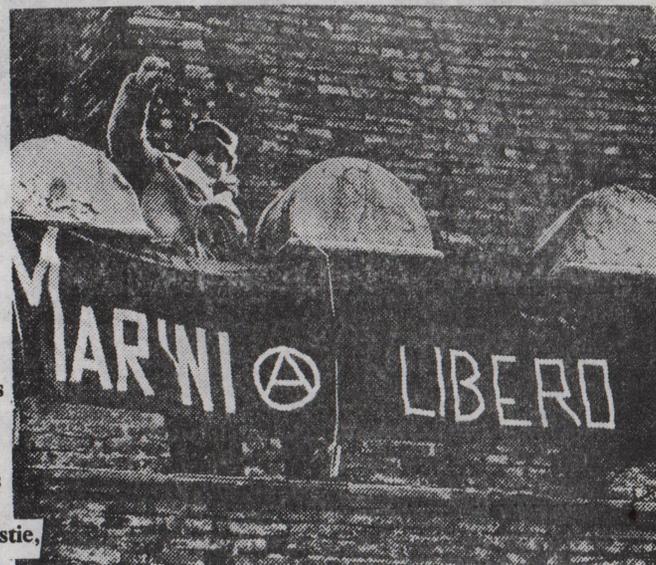
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 1889.

STOP PRESS

ZARAGOZA - 22 comrades of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth have been arrested here on charges of "illegal association." Further news in next issue.

BARCELONA - All the comrades of the MIL are being held in "La Carcel Model de Barcelona." Money for their defence is urgently required and should be sent to ABC, 83a, Haverstock Hill, London NW.3.

DAVID URBANO BERMUDEZ - Charged with illegal propaganda - has been released on bail.



GIOVANNI MARINI

The trial of comrade Giovanni Marini accused of "wilful murder" for having defended himself against an attack by fascists, opened in Salerno, Sicily, on February 28th.

Marini has been held in prison since July 1972. His unceasing revolutionary activity while inside has resulted in 16 prison transfers.

All comrades are urgently requested to make their protests to the nearest representatives of the Italian Government in their respective countries, and to the Minister of Justice in Rome. Cash contributions should be sent to: Croce Nera, Umberto del Grande, Via Soave 24, Milano, Italy.

Goliardo Fiaschi's appeal is now in the final stages. We urge all comrades to make a point of writing a letter (s) of support for his appeal and freedom after sixteen years of imprisonment in Spain and Italy to the Italian Embassies in their respective countries and to the Minister of Grazia y Justizia in Rome. This is very very important and demands little time, money and energy. Goliardo's prison address is G. Fiaschi, Villa Bobo No.1, 73100 Lecce, Italy; his defence group address is, Franco Leggio, Via San Francesco 238, Ragusa 97100, Sicily, Italy.

+ + +

We think it would be a nice gesture if comrades were to send some financial assistance or even a postcard to Goliardo's mother who has no source of income. The address is: Fiaschi Nella, Via San Maria 1, 54033 Carrara, Italy.

Commenting on the accident which took place in the calle Claudio Coello, Madrid, before Christmas the Spanish Press have made many mistakes when referring to the church frequented by Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco. Sometimes it has been referred to as the Jesuit Temple (which is in the calle Serrano), on other occasions it has been called San Francisco de Borja and even the Sagrario, (a church on the other side of the road). In order to avoid further confusion the people of Madrid have decided to re-name the now famous church in the Salamanca district of Madrid as the *Church of the Ascension!!*



SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH

SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH

The appeal of Salvador Puig Antich, the Catalan Anarchist sentenced to death by a Barcelona Council of War on January 9th, 1974, began on Monday February 11th in Madrid before the Supreme Council of Military Justice.

This Council also examined the case against Salvador's co-accused: Jose Luis Pons Llovet and Maria Angustias Mateos, sentenced, respectively to 30 and 6 years imprisonment.

The Military Prosecutor again demanded that the death sentence against 26 year old comrade Puig of the Iberian Liberation Movement be confirmed.

The Council sat all day and two of the hearings were open to the public. However, the public were greatly restricted by the large number of military law students present on a practical course. At least this was the excuse given by the President of the tribunal when the public were turned away from the doors of the court.

The first hearing in the morning was dedicated entirely to the prosecution case against all three comrades. In the afternoon the prosecution counsel very forcefully put the State case that the sentence passed by the Barcelona Council of War was correct and justifiable under the circumstances.

Comrade Antich's defence lawyer, Francisco Condemines Valls, who had appeared for him in Barcelona, questioned the competence of the court to try him and argued that his client did not form a part of a permanently structured group of a revolutionary character which would have qualified the court to hear the case.

Concerning the death of the policeman at the moment of comrade Puig's arrest the defence counsel made a number of points which the prosecution had failed to mention. Above all the fact that it was after Puig had been pistol whipped in the head *four times* and was falling to the floor when he shot in the direction of the policeman. Valls pointed out that in such circumstances it would be difficult to give any credit to the prosecution accusations that it was a pre-meditated act. He went on to say that the maximum sentence which should be passed on his client was six months for homicide in the course of an affray. He ended his speech with the conclusion that everyone had agreed that Puig had not intended to kill and therefore the court should throw out the death penalty and limit itself to the strictest possible application of the law.

The defence case against the other two was based on the fact that no one had formally recognised comrade Pons

Llovet as having been involved in any of the reputed actions and that in the case of Mateos Fernandez she had taken no decisive part in the prosecution case.

The Supreme Military Council confirmed the previous death sentence and the case went before Franco's Council of Ministers on Friday March 1st for the final stage of the appeal. Sentence was confirmed on Friday afternoon and at dawn the following day Comrade Salvador Puig was taken from his cell and judiciously murdered by a manually operated killing machine which both strangles and breaks the spinal column at one and the same time.

Resistance fighter and Anarchist, our comrade Salvador Puig Antich was garrotted by the personal orders of General Franco on Saturday March 2nd - ten years after the murder of two young Spanish Anarchists; Joaquin Delgado and Francisco Granados. His execution by the vicious and mediaeval Inquisition instrument the garrotte recalled in hundreds of thousands of Spanish minds all the excesses that the regime has committed since it came to power in the baggage carts of an invading Army.

Puig - at 25, he grew up without personal memory of the civil war or the revolution, or the post-war resistance - entered into the Anarchist resistance and became one of its militant exponents. In an attack by plain clothes secret policemen on one of the groups, they fought back and one of these Gestapo-trained thugs was killed. This the regime could not forgive; for they know the detestation in which their secret police are held is only equalled in Israel, and there it is towards the force of another State defunct for 28 years.

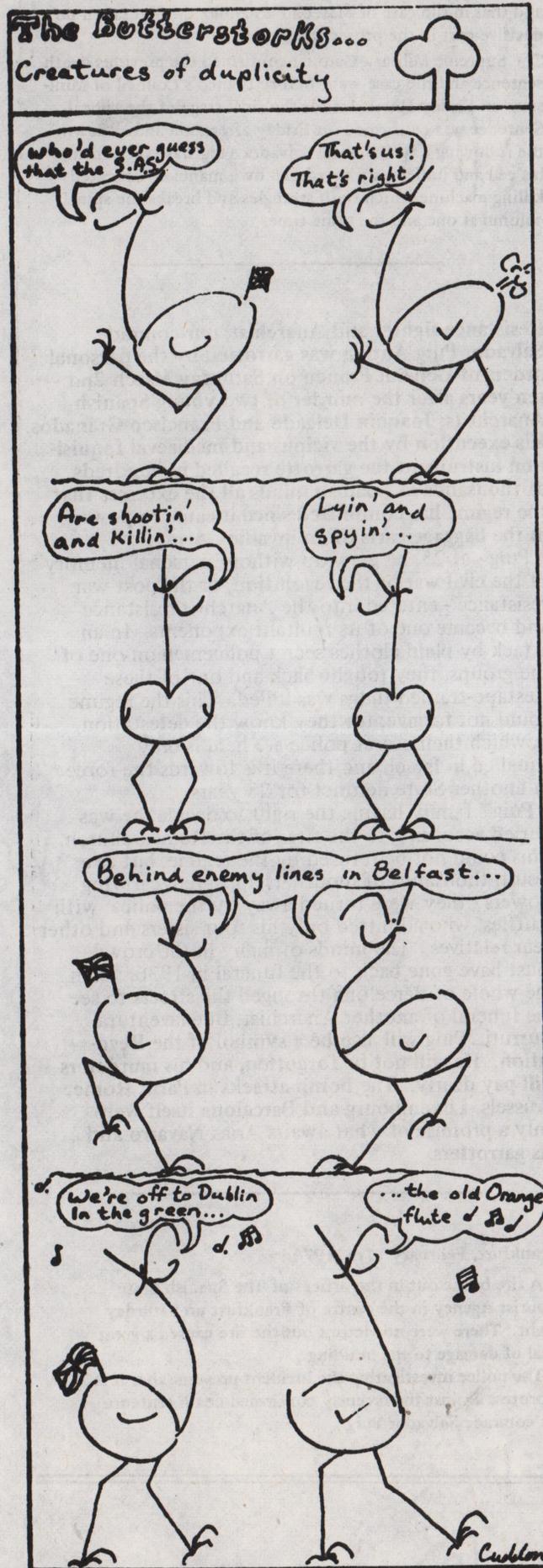
Puig's family having the right to decide, he was buried according to the rites of the Roman church. This could not be refused by the regime; but as a result, thousands of mourners appeared, carrying flowers - they were turned away by the police, with scuffles, who admitted only his four sisters and other near relatives. The minds of many in the crowd must have gone back to the funeral in 1936, when the whole of Barcelona thronged the streets to see the funeral of another Anarchist, Buenaventura Durruti. Puig will also be a symbol of the Revolution. He will not be forgotten, and his murderers will pay dearly. The bomb attacks in Paris, Rome, Brussels, Luxembourg and Barcelona itself were only a promise of what awaits Arias Navarro and his garrotters.

Frankfurt, February 17th, 1974.

A fire broke out in the offices of The Spanish State Tourist Agency in the centre of Frankfurt on Saturday night. There were no victims but the fire caused a great deal of damage to the building.

The police investigating the incident presume that it is a protest against the recently confirmed death sentence on comrade Salvador Puig.

ROTE ARME FRAKTION



The West German Federal Police have just begun a new wave of repression against revolutionary organisations in Germany. On Monday, February 4th, they carried out a large number of raids in Stuttgart during which they arrested fifteen militants. Two days later they carried out another series of raids in Southern Germany, this time making no arrests, but, as they say, discovered a number of compromising documents.

Among the compromising documents discovered by the police during these raids were a military I.D. card in the name of Raimund Boell and three expired passports in the name of his wife, Lila.

Twenty-six year old Raimund Boell, sculptor and son of the Nobel prize winner for literature was arrested together with his wife and taken in for questioning following a police raid on their house. The couple were held for over 24 hours before being released.

The Boell's admitted that Margit Schiller, arrested on Feb., 4th and accused, by the police of being one of the 'hard core' of the R.A.F., visited them on at least one occasion: "We received her with courtesy. Margit wanted us to understand her political convictions but we told her that violence is not a political argument".

Raimund and Lila Boell could not explain the presence of their documents in the Hamburg flat. However, they did explain that on many occasions they sheltered friends and fugitives in their house for the night. It was possible that one of these might have taken the documents in question.

Following this police investigation a bomb exploded in Darmstadt Police H.Q., causing considerable damage but no victims. Those who carried out this attack painted the slogan "RAF" on the outside wall of the station before departing.

On Saturday February 9th, a bomb was discovered outside the office of the Ministry of the Interior in Hamburg. The bomb, hidden in a sack, was discovered and defused before it exploded. According to the police it was of similar construction to the one which exploded in the offices of the reactionary Axel Springer publishing concern in May 1972, injuring 17 of the staff.

That same evening a bomb exploded in the offices of the "House of German Industry" in Cologne, no one was injured. The print shop situated on the ground floor was partially destroyed and the central heating system suffered considerable damage. The facade of the building, mostly of glass, was destroyed as were most of the windows in the vicinity.

On Sunday, February 10th, five people were arrested and charged with having taken part in the attentat against Darmstadt Police H.Q., three days before. All of the comrades were aged between 18 and 21 years of age: two schoolboys, one student, one printer and a petrol station attendant.

An official spokesman indicated that police had discovered chemicals used in the preparation of explosives in the flat of one of the accused.

On Saturday, February 9th, police raided a flat in Frankfurt and there discovered a detailed plan of escape from Schwamstadt (Hesse) prison where Andreas Baader is at present being held in preventive detention.

According to "Bild am Sonntag" the Hamburg weekly paper, two of Baader's comrades were supposed to smuggle him a grenade and bars of plastic explosive. Baader was then supposed to have demanded to see, under any pretext, Josef Augstein, a lawyer and brother of Rudolf Augstein, editor of "Der Spiegel".

Baader was then supposed to overpower Josef Augstein

and threaten to blow both of them up if he were not released. Meanwhile, other members of the group were to have kidnapped a number of Bundestag deputies to add weight to Baader's release.

Josef Augstein is a well known lawyer who has taken up, in recent months, the cases of those prisoners in West German gaols who are being held incommunicado for reasons of security. A few weeks before he had accused the Justice Department of West Germany of provoking nervous illness in a number of members of the "Baader/Meinhoff" group who had been placed in total isolation as an additional security measure.

Strangely enough, on February 4th, 26 year-old Astrid Proll, one of the founder members of the Baader/Meinhoff group was released from prison on medical grounds and all the charges against her dropped. These included: two attempted murders (of policemen), bank robberies, association with evildoers, false documentation etc.

Astrid Proll, a Kassel photographer, was arrested on May 6th, 1971, in Hamburg after shooting at two policemen who attempted to check the identity of herself and her companion. The two of them managed to escape in a police car but Astrid was arrested shortly after in the city centre. She denied any knowledge as to the identity of her companion. Astrid was also implicated in the escape of Andreas Baader. It may be co-incidental but on the very day Astrid was released fifteen people were arrested and accused of belonging to the same group.

On February 5th, a number of those comrades accused of belonging to the RAF petitioned the European Commission on Human Rights in Strasbourg concerning the treatment they were receiving in prison.

The signatories were Ulrike Meinhoff, Horst Mahler, Andreas Baader, Holger Meins and Wolfgang Grundmann. Similarly, Monika Berberich accused the authorities of having prolonged unduly her provisional detention.

On July 11th, 1973, the Commission refused to accept Horst Mahler's complaint. The other complaints will be heard during the 110th session due to start on March 28th this year.

The main complaint was presented collectively in the name of Andreas Baader, Holger Meins, Ulrike Meinhoff and Wolfgang Grundmann. They argued that the cellular regime to which they are subjected is contrary to the declaration of Human Rights and, furthermore, prevents them from preparing their defence. It was also argued that the restrictions which are placed on their visits, correspondence and newspapers are a direct attack on the right of freedom of expression and correspondence.

According to their lawyers, all the accused with the exception of Andreas Baader - who is serving a previously imposed sentence - were imprisoned under preventive detention in different Federal Prisons on suspicion of belonging to a criminal organisation.

All appeals made by the defendants to the Federal Courts have been rejected.

When all the necessary documents relating to the case have been presented to the Commission, in accordance with its rules of conduct, a member of the same will make a preliminary examination of the complaints and his report will be read by the Commission which will then decide on hearing the case.

The complaint of 32 year-old Monika Berberich, lawyer, was presented in October 1972. Monika is accused of various crimes, in particular that of having assisted members of the RAF to escape from justice by hiding them in a Berlin flat and of belonging to the criminal organisation herself. Her trial, which began in November 1972 still continues. Monika's

complaint is that being held in preventive detention for over two years violates the right to be tried within a reasonable period of time or be freed during the proceedings.

Andreas Baader; 32 years old, and married to the artist Ellinor Michel. They have one son. He was a journalist for some time and became involved with libertarian politics when he joined the Extra Parliamentary Opposition. He was sentenced to three years imprisonment in 1969 for his part in organising a number of protest demonstrations, but was released on provisional liberty until February 1970 when he was expected to return to prison voluntarily and thole his assize. He did not do this and consequently was arrested at the beginning of April 1970. With the assistance of some comrades he managed to escape from prison on May 14th, 1970. During the escape a member of the prison staff was injured as were two policemen. Baader was finally arrested on June 1st, 1972 following a shoot-out in the centre of Hamburg.

The sum total of the rewards offered for the capture of the RAF amounted to over 440,000 Marks. On May 19th, 1972, two bombs had exploded in the Axel Springer building in Hamburg. Three other bombs were later discovered on the premises, but these had not exploded. Arrested with Andreas were: Holger Klaus Meins and Jan Carl Raspe.

Hans Dietrich Genscher, the Minister of the Interior, and Rainer Barzel, Leader of the Christian Democrat Opposition, were in no way reticent in their praise for the activities of the police and the specially constituted Baader/Meinhoff Brigade.

A number of young comrades suspected by the police of belonging to the RAF have been murdered;

On July 15th, 1971, Hamburg Police murdered 20 year-old hairdresser, Petra Schelm. On December 5th, 1971, 25 year-old Georg Von Rauch, member of the Anarchist Black Cross, was murdered in West Berlin by police. On March 2nd, 1972, the Augsburg Police killed another member of the Anarchist Black Cross, Thomas Weisbecker, when they shot him down in the street.

Ulrike Meinhoff; 41 years of age and a native of Oldenburg. Ex-wife of Rolh, the founder of the left-wing paper "Konkret". She was heavily fined for writing an article in which she referred to Strauss as "the most infamous politician in Germany". Mother of two children she was divorced after 7 years of marriage and resigned her post as editor of Konkret, following the assassination attempt on Rudi Dutschke. She took up the cause of armed resistance and is now accused of instigating all the actions, supposed and real, undertaken by the Red Army Fraction since its inception.

With Baader's liberation from prison in May 1970 both went into hiding. They had met for the first time in 1968 when Andreas Baader appeared before a Frankfurt Court accused of setting fire to a large department store. It was also in 1968 that she split with her husband as a result of ideological differences between them.

Holger Klaus Meins; 33 year old Hamburg student accused of having wounded two policemen in Freiburg on September 25th, 1971, in an attempt to escape a road block on the Basle autobahn. Arrested with Andreas Baader.

Cont. over. p.6

Wolfgang Grundmann; 26 year-old member of a Berlin Anarchist group called Black Help. He was arrested on March 9th, 1972 following a police raid in Hamburg. Comrade Manfred Grashof, a 25 year-old student was arrested at the same time.

Horst Mahler; 39 year-old Berlin lawyer who specialised in defending members of the Extra Parliamentary Opposition. It was he who took the initiative in setting up the first Socialist Lawyers' Collective which was later banned by the Federal Court of Justice. Mahler was found not guilty on the charge of having assisted in the escape of Baader from prison, but he is still being held on a number of lesser charges.

A.T.

With interest and pleasure we learn that our young comrade Masahiro Saito has organised a Black Cross in Tokyo. It is a small grouping (reports *Le Libertaire Japonais* (Dec.'73) but one which is moving forward. It is acting in defence and relief of our comrade Shuichi Shimizu, sentenced to five years jail by the district court of Sapporo, Hokkaido - who is still continuing his struggle against the government.

Details of his case are in Japanese and not contained in the French-English page supplement to the magazine, and we have been unable to reproduce it.

But it is encouraging to read of the militant libertarian tradition of the Japanese Anarchists going forward in its seventy-year fight against militarism, feudalism and capitalism.

* * *

State of Play as at February 27th

	Black Flag	In Hand	£1. 17
Subs & sales to date			£69.22
Donations (London: AM £10, HH .50, JG £2; New York: PA £4.30; Dublin RW £2, JT £1; Manchester £12. 50*)			£32.30
		total	£102.69
Printing to date:	£64		
Stationery:	4		
Postages:	24.35	£	92.35
		In hand	10.34

*Rec'v £25 per BS (half to Centre, half to Black Flag).

† † †

SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND

In hand £7. 20

For prisoners: Canada ABC £4.27, Leeds: PWR & LME £5;
Dublin £5; London; LS £5; Norwich collection £2.26 -

Total i/h £28.73.

(The sum of £100 has been handed over to Spanish militants as the result of the collection at Centro Iberico film show and appeal via "Freedom").

† † †

PRESENT-DAY ANARCHIST ORGANISATIONS

The problem that has always faced the British anarchist movement is twofold: to what extent does it exist at all (and if so, how can it be defined); and how may it enter into the revolutionary struggle as a coherent body rather than as an isolated number of individuals.

The classical anarchist movement was composed of fairly tight-knit groups, well integrated in the working class movement, and playing a recognised part in the class struggle out of proportion to their actual numbers. This movement was disintegrated with various factors arising during the Second World War; in particular, the manner in which liberal pacifism and middle-class values became identified with a libertarian movement and confused with the anarchist one.

This fact has been (perhaps deliberately) obscured in recent discussions about anarchist organisation, made of topical interest because of an attempt to play at building organisations (rather than to organise), an obsession with which has led some would-be anarchists from liberal pacifism to marxist-leninism. They could not shed their pacifist values while professing to be anarchists, but could do so immediately they abandoned anarchism - a fact which speaks eloquently for the fact that this "liberal anarchism" is an authoritarian creed and not anarchism at all.

What is Traditional?

The ascribing of the term "traditional anarchism" to describe the weaknesses of the anarchist movement in the last ten years is misleading.

How Old is Traditional?

These weaknesses have been due to the fact that the anarchist movement, properly speaking, has since the war and until recently never clearly distinguished itself sufficiently from that militant liberalism that poses as anarchism and has much in common with "liberation" and so-called "underground" movements, but nothing in common with class struggle and revolution. That which does not accept class struggle does not accept fundamental social change; and the idea of liberty within the State is pure liberalism. Such liberalism, having abandoned the political concept of liberalism, is bound to be structureless and have the associated faults of the vaguely defined.

The Party

The problem of the anarchist movement is not the same as that of a Marxist organisation. Marxist-Leninist bodies often attack "anarchism" when they are not attacking what is really anarchism at all, but merely the impact of the militant liberal "new-left" movement upon themselves - that is to say, their own Marxist "problem-children" whom it is hoped that, by being labelled "anarchist" will be discovered by other Marxists.

The Leninist party may have a part to play in the revolutionary struggle. It may be superfluous. It may be positively harmful to the workers' cause. But positive criteria determine whether it exists or not, and to justify its existence its programme, discipline and achievements must be taken into consideration. This is why each vies with the other (for their credo is that the one which emerges as "the revolutionary party" has the right, and the duty, to suppress the rest in time of revolution).

That is why its problems are not ours. For such justification is unnecessary to anarchism, since the facts which the latter embodies are the same if everyone who presented them were crooks or heroes, charlatans or saints. The justification of the organisation to which they may or may not belong is quite irrelevant to anarchism, since the genuine anarchist body does not pretend to be the

vanguard of the revolution. There is a clearcut division between the Marxist Party which aspires to lead the workers, and the Anarchist movement which is aspiring to break the cult of leadership, and to associate the militant but not for the purpose of dominating the rest.

Those who think of the anarchist movement as a sort of libertarian socialist alternative to International Socialism or what - and complain at the fact that the latter organisation is better oiled - miss the essence of libertarian socialism. It is not that anarchists are "anti-organisation" (that is a literary irrelevance); it is true that there is no point in anarchists organising carefully, ward by ward and constituency by constituency, in order *not* to fight elections not to prepare for power. To abolish power from above they need to build associations that will circumvent and subvert the power bases.

"Variants" of Anarchism

The perpetual digging up of the "Eltzbacher" fallacy of "schools of anarchism" has added to this present minor crossroads in regard to anarchist organisation, where some groups are querying what they imagine to be traditional anarchism, which is merely the way some matters happen to have gone since the swamping of the anarchist movement by the pacifist-liberal elements. We in Black Flag have tried to disengage from this.

Such terms as "communism", "syndicalism" are bandied about without any knowledge of what they mean - sometimes "communism" is used, nowadays, to imply a more authoritarian and revisionistic "anarchist" organisation - sometimes "syndicalism" is. Sometimes "communism" is thought to have something to do with the "communes" of the hippy movement, some think it has more in common with workers' councils, and some think the latter are in contradiction to syndicalism which they confuse with dual unionism. The perversion of the word "individualism" is even worse - so that the most conformistic use the word and deny it to those who believe in individual action.

Regionalism

We believe in traditional anarchism, which rejects vanguards and elites as much as it does structurelessness. We do not find it necessary, with the fewness of numbers, to worry overmuch about anarchist organisation. The anarchist movement has always had to move forward by means of small groups, based on affinity and friendship and tightly-knit because that is the only way to exclude the takeover politicians and the agents of oppression. That this can lead to the self-perpetuating clique is a danger that has to be faced, but can be overcome by using a militant group as a springboard to others. We might not think for instance, that if Black Flag progressed we should necessarily automatically turn it over to any federation that happened to come into existence. But we would like to think that it would always co-operate in the building of another, bigger and better paper, wider read and more representative. A paper, however, that is founded on common effort and co-operation ought not to regress to becoming one controlled by the last group that takes over. But only a multiplication of papers, especially local ones, will lead to the natural growth of a movement. But a paper is not an organisation (though many organisations are paper!) It should reflect specific activity, firmly-held principles and at least a segment of a movement. The "Open Forum" is a device to evade responsibility.

At least a movement should exist for social interchange. But it should not stay there. The Black Cross, by putting forward the idea of aid to prisoners, has provided a device by which an anarchist group can have a common ground for action in its purely social exchange; but become a

springboard for further action.

The Workers Clubs

The main outlet for future action has to be in the industrial field, where there is the means of changing society. One major move towards a revolutionary movement in industry would be the forming of workers' clubs. Only this (it seems) can break down the gulf between anarchist thought and action.

The idea of the workers' club is one traditional in the British working class movement until the rise of the Labour Party. The old clubs embraced every form of radical and internationalist opinion; they acted as the jumping-off point of the whole working class movement, and since they disappeared, they have never been equalled as a revolutionary force. It was in the old clubs - and not in any parties - that the militants got together who later became active in their respective industries; they started off with a grassroots knowledge of their neighbourhood and each other, and built up a solid industrial movement before national trades unionism built itself up on their efforts.

The seemingly overwhelming dominance of reformist labour leadership in the British working class movement, and the apparent impossibility of ever replacing the nationally powerful trade unions as at present structured, vanishes in significance when one thinks in local terms. The IWW in America, at the height of its militant activity - though it stood in theory on the basis of nationally-federated industrial unionism - based its industrial Unions entirely on the decentralised labour halls. It was in these IWW halls that the militants met, and began to organise locally industry by industry.

And in the French Revolution it was the clubs, not the parties, that caused the social change. It was from these that the politicisation of the street began.

Both the meeting of fighters for workers in each industry - which enables them to get together for workshop action - and the participation in international activity by work for political prisoners - can be pushed forward by the idea of the workers' club. It is not by imitating the political party with its ward membership that one can enable the anarchist movement to grow. Not is it by forming an organisational ghetto in which the activities of the anarchist movement should be diverted to building up an organisation which can only ape pseudo-Marxist agitation. A workers movement that can fight the capitalism and the State, and does not need the guiding hand of politician, must stand upon firm ground. One of many of the traditional forms of building this is the workers' club. Its structure needs to reflect the needs of today.

The idea of workers' clubs is not given as an alternative to groupings as known at present, and is perhaps irrelevant to them, nor is it the only way or even the best possible way forward. But the movement towards workers' councils needs a shell in which to grow; and the movements towards community involvement needs a manner in which to develop into real control of local affairs. It is towards this end that the club movement (on which we shall expand in our next issue) has a contribution to make; and it should not be confused with what now passes as workers' clubs - indeed, it cannot possibly be except by those wishing to confuse and distract from the issues. Without some such idea the efforts of the anarchist movement here will be limited to propagandising negative courses or those unlikely to be obtained; and will be confused with the liberal fascism of the "underground" that seeks to use ideals, whether they be 'liberation' or 'nationalism' or 'marxism' or 'feminism' or even 'anarchism', solely as an obstructive negative to class struggle.



WORKERS' CONTROL IN CHINA:

An Open-Eyed View.
By Shelby Shapiro.

That ping-pong might have political overtones sounded absurd, that the defender of Quemoy and Matsu would go to Peking sounded even crazier. China is now allowing foreign visitors to enter, and as if to make up for years of Red-Chinese-Commie-Bastard propaganda ("apres mao, c'est le deluge") with a spate of articles, books, and pamphlets from both the capitalist and "new-left" press, ranging from sympathetic to blantly pro-Maoist, from writers such as Joseph Alsop, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Barbara Tuchman (See for example, Tuchman's *Notes from China*; ¹Fortune's Louis Kraar's "I Have Seen China - and They Work"; ²). Some of this new literature is quite good; other pieces rank with the apologies and praises for Stalinist Russia written in the '30's by the wilfully blind.

And so it is that we arrive at the latest offering, the Feb. 1973 issue of *Far East Reporter*, a Maoist drivle-sheet printed in New York City, which reprints Janet Goldwasser's and Stuart Dowty's (ahem!) "Chinese Factories are Exciting Places!" Their article sets forth the results of a one-month investigation of industrial China. They totally ignore the mind control, State repression, the persecution of political and industrial dissidents, and the actual class structure existing in China. They were not alone. While Barbara Tuchman does talk about the mind control and other repressive aspects of the Maoist regime, she writes that

In a country where misery and want were the foundation of the social structure, famine was periodic, death from starvation common, disease pervasive, thievery normal, and the graft corruption taken for granted, the elimination of these conditions in Communist China is so striking that negative aspects of the new rule fade in relative importance. ³

It is also a historic fact that Hitler ended unemployment and Mussolini made the trains run on time.

To Goldwasser, Dowty and Tuchman, what Raya Dunayevshaya wrote in 1967 is particularly apt:

Some self-styled revolutionaries are ready to forgive Mao every crime in the book and leave a few pages blank for those he might invent later. . . They are ignorant of fundamental class divisions within each country, China included, and illogically link those opposites, war and revolution. ⁴

The purpose of the present article, however, is not to carp at the Maoists and their sympathisers, but rather to examine the available literature to see if "workers' management of the means of production" does indeed exist in China. What are the groups that control the means of production, and how are these means of production controlled? Since this is a magazine article and not a book, discussion will be limited to mainly the same areas covered by Goldwasser and Dowty - the shop floor. Covering other areas - foreign policy, foreign trade, the activities of Maoists in Hong Kong trade unions, the continued existence in China of private capitalist enterprises, party power struggles, etc., - would only support the conclusions reached about Chinese society at its economic base.

WORKERS' CONTROL VS' WORKERS' MANAGEMENT

In China, the differences between the two concepts, "workers control" and "workers' management" become obvious. Management means *total control* - making decisions, initiating them, and enforcing them. As Maurice Brinton put it

To manage is to initiate the decisions oneself, as a sovereign person of collectivity, in full knowledge of all the relevant facts. *To control* is to supervise, inspect or check decisions initiated by others. 'Control' implies a limitation of sovereignty or, at best, a state of duality of power, wherein some people determine the objectives while others see that the appropriate means are used to achieve them. ⁵

Goldwasser and Dowty write that ". . . China's workers and peasants have been busily constructing a new socialist society." ⁶ They define "socialism for us:

Socialism means the economy and government are run by workers in their own interest - a 'dictatorship of the proletariat' which has replaced the previous class dictatorship of the capitalists. ⁷

In China - as will be shown below - reality is somewhat different. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is actually a "dictatorship over the proletariat." Workers do not control - they merely participate in the low-level technical and procedural aspects of production, they do not manage. Things in China are controlled by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and not by the working class. There exists a very marginal form of "workers' control" - but certainly

no "workers' management." "It is important to point out that the party is the ultimate and dominant authority in Red China. The party can and does determine dominant attitudes toward authority, responsibility, and subordination in industry and business; and enterprise personnel tend to adopt the prescribed part attitudes quite quickly when there are official changes in the party's position." ⁸ This is implied, but never stated straight out, in Goldwasser and Dowty's articles, and must be remembered if Chinese "workers' control" is to be understood.

The now-discredited Liu Shao-chi stated that:

The system adopted in managing our enterprises is a system which combines a high degree of centralisation with a high degree of democracy. All enterprises must abide by the unified leadership of the Communist Party and the state, and by observing strict labour discipline, ensure unity of will and action among the masses. At the same time, they should bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the workers, develop the supervising role of the masses, and get them to take part in management of their enterprises. ⁹

Let us see how the above is translated at the factory level.

REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES, PARTY COMMITTEES, and the 3-IN-1 COMBO.

Goldwasser and Dowty describe the mechanics of workers' control in the Eastern Workers' Paradise:

Chinese factories have two leading organs which make and administer decisions: *the Party committee is the basic decision-making body and exercises top leadership. The revolutionary committee is the top administrative body, carrying out the decisions of the Party committee.* Most factories we visited also had a workers' representative congress, a new mass organisation formed since the Cultural Revolution. ¹⁰

Fortune magazine's Louis Kraar apparently missed the Party Committee, for he writes that, "Every factory and farm is nominally controlled by a 'revolutionary committee' of workers, party members, and Army personnel." ¹¹

Since the Party Committee makes the top decisions (the Revolutionary Committee only carrying out the Party Committee's decisions), it is clear that the Party Committee - and thus the Party - is what runs the factories. Logically enough, only CCP members can serve on the Party Committee. ¹² Goldwasser and Dowty write that "About 15% of the workers and cadres in the factories we visited were members of the Chinese Communist Party." The Party Committee is supposed to be run on "3-in-1" lines (workers, cadres, army) whenever possible. ¹³

Now if we were to assume that there were no bosses in China (see the sections of cadres and the army, below), and were further to assume that at the factories the 15% figure cited above was made up solely of workers, that would mean that the Party worker minority of 15% dominated the 85% non-Party worker majority. This is statistical proof (assuming their estimate to be correct) of a dictatorship over the proletariat. The ruling committee - the party committee - is made up solely of Party members. The Revolutionary committees contain *both* Party and non-Party people ¹⁴ - thus the stranglehold of the CCP increased. This stranglehold will become all the more evident in the sections below dealing with the cadres, the Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA), the type of decisions made by the Revolutionary committees, and the manner of "election" to the two committees.

THE CADRES

Management expert Barry Richman differentiates between

factory personnel types: "Cadres are leaders, either Red or Expert, *party or managerial*; technicians are Experts and typically intellectuals; and workers are the masses." ¹⁵ The term "cadre" (ganbu or ganbou) covers a lot of territory, or, as it is said, a multitude of sins: ". . . it now loosely covers anyone in an administrative, professional, intellectual, or white-collar job, in short, *everyone who is not worker, peasant or soldier.* There is a sharp distinction between lower-echelon cadres called 'staff members' and the upper-echelon 'leading cadre' who is a person in a position of authority: a minister, bureau chief, manager, director, or head of any organisation . . ." ¹⁶ Goldwasser and Dowty state that a cadre is "anyone who is a leader," and that the concept combines "aspects of civil servants, political and ideological leaders, *managers and administrators,*" ¹⁷ and further:

". . . there is a more specific definition of cadre. Cadres . . . are those 'administrators' assigned to factories by the State. The same is true for cadres on communes. The full-time administrators in factory 'front offices'; the 'responsible person' at a public park in Wuhan; full-time government or Chinese Communist Party leaders - are all cadres." ¹⁸

Most of the cadres are members of the CCP. ¹⁹ The odds are pretty high, then, that any cadres might get onto the Revolutionary Committees will be CCP members.

Apparently these "dedicated revolutionaries" have become a slight problem:

Since factory cadres work full-time at administrative duties, there is always the danger that they lose touch with actual production, that a gap develops between the cadres and workers. Several methods have been introduced . . . to ensure that cadres do not become 'divorced from the masses.' The general rule is that cadres must regularly take part in manual labour.

Within that guide line, there are any number of specific ways to schedule *lao dong* (labour) for cadres.

Goldwasser and Dowty note that in a "few exceptional places" there was a sharp division between the cadres and the workers, analogous to the division of bosses and workers in the U.S. ²⁰ Special camps have been set up for the "re-education" of cadres, the May 7th Schools, where cadres go for ideological tune-ups. ²¹ Goldwasser and Dowty's definition of cadres - once the Maoist sugar-coating is stripped away - boils down to one word: BOSSSES!

THE PEOPLES LIBERATION ARMY (PLA).

An oft-quoted thought of Chairman Mao is "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." A bullet in the head effectively ends any argument; the threat of one does almost as well. The above dictum of Big Brother bares Maoist ideology to its State Capitalist core. Now, if - as Goldwasser and Dowty state - "workers and cadres run the factories" ²² - what the hell are PLA representatives doing on the Revolutionary and Party Committees? These soldiers are apparently not factory workers - what are they doing in the factories? Goldwasser and Dowty state that "They plan an important role in political education; one cadre (naturally! S.S.) told us, 'The Peoples' Liberation Army is a great school of Mao Tse Tung Thought, founded and led by Chairman Mao. They bring a fine tradition with them to the factory.'" ²³ A fine tradition, all right - a tradition of breaking strikes with armed force! "Political education" is the key concept - "Political Power grows out of the barrel of a gun" - and the PLA is ever-ready to "educate" rebellious workers. Says Louis Kraar:

The Army's presence undoubtedly helped the learning process, too. When the Cultural Revolution got

out of hand, Mao ordered the Peoples' Liberation Army into every enterprise and restore order. Though inconspicuous, the military men still exercise widespread authority - at the Kwangchow machine tool plant, among other places. The "most responsible person" at the plant, (who is also its chairman,) is an Army representative whom I was never able to meet. Confronted with this apparent contradiction in the principle of management by the masses, a member of the committee blandly says: "We can learn what we don't know through practice. After the chairman came to the factory, he integrated himself with the broad masses."²⁴

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith notes that even now, after the Cultural Revolution, "In factories, universities and even the secondary schools PLA . . . representatives are still present as a stabilising force."²⁵ As of May 1971, 22 out of 29 Chinese provinces had set up provincial Party Committees - all commanded by the PLA.²⁶

The role of the PLA - like armies everywhere - is to keep those on the bottom in line. In China the military's basic role is as a tool of class repression. When the army is helping to "lead" the factories (which are of course run by the workers and cadres!), the class-repressive nature of the PLA is obvious. And the class that is being repressed is the Chinese working class.

(To be continued in next issue.)

FOOTNOTES

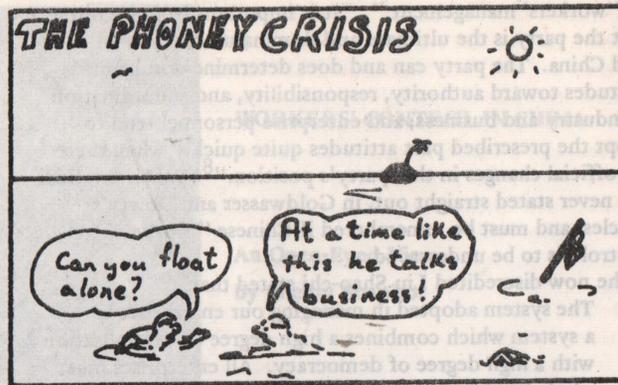
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5. Maurice Brinton *The Bolsheviks and Workers Control: 1917-1920 - the State & Counter-Revolution* (London: Solidarity, 1970), p.ii.
6. Janet Goldwasser & Stuart Dowty, "Chinese Factories are Exciting Places!" *Far East Reporter* (NY: Maud Russell, Feb. 1973 issue) p.1.
7. Ibid.
8. Barry M. Richman, *Industrial Society in Communist China* (NY: Random House, 1969), p. 249.
9. Ibid.
10. Goldwasser, op. cit. p.3.
11. Kraar, op. cit. p.4f.
13. Ibid, p.5.
14. Ibid p.4.
15. Richman, op. cit. p. 251.
16. Tuchman, op. cit. p.13.
17. Goldwasser, op. cit. p.2.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid. p.3.
21. *Time*, "Down on the Farm with Marx & Mao", p. 15f (June 11, 1973)
22. Goldwasser, op. cit. p. 5
23. Ibid, p. 4.
24. Kraar, op. cit. p.116.
25. John Kenneth Galbraith, "Building an Economy on Points, Not Profit," *The Asian* (Jan 21-27, 1973). p.7. Reprint of a 1972 New York Times Service article.
26. W.S.K. Waung, *Revolution and Liberation: A Short History of Modern China from 1900-1970*. (Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1971) p. 153.

It is up to you to cast your vote to show whether you believe in law and order or in anarchy. If you believe in the former - as I am sure you do - I hope you will cast your vote for me.

Election address, John Croft. (Conservative Candidate for Tottenham)

It's silly to mud-sling Harold Wilson, Tony Benn and myself with names like red-anarchist-marxist - whatever it means.

Election address, Norman Atkinson. (Labour Candidate for Tottenham)



THE PHONEY CRISIS

The earnest, grim-faced comings and goings at Downing Street are all part and parcel of the game of politics, and one of the reasons why its star players find it an attractive way of life. So far as the public is concerned, they are laughing their heads off at Mr. Heath's pratfall of throwing away his majority saying he could not govern because he had found there were Communists, no less, in the right-wing trade union leadership; expecting to get a renewed and increased "mandate" and coming out of the contest with stalemate.

The General Election is seen as an unprofitable horse race or an unglamorous Miss World contest; the process of trying to draw indications as to what the British public is really thinking is a glorious guessing game which has given rise to a whole industry of political comment and opinion gauging.

It is the most palpable nonsense to say that the electors returned a nearly half-Tweedledum and almost-half Tweedledee with Tweedlediddle holding the balance because that was what they wanted, as if they had a conspiracy to elect one here and one there to achieve the desired result. It is obvious that under the voting system it is purely a gamble as to what they get if there are more than two parties standing (otherwise the bookmakers would not be offering odds); and in view of the Burke letter that has attained the force of law - that once elected MPs have no need to obey the views of their constituents - the notion that by stalemating they opted for "moderation" and rejected "extremism" is deliberately misleading.

What emerges as self-evident from the Election is the fallacy that the parliamentary system has a connection with freedom (with which its advocates deliberately confuse it). The helplessness of the electors in regard to any issue whatever bar that of choosing one of a few candidates could never be seen more clearly. And the very existence of the opinion polls, despite their manipulation, and notwithstanding the laughter at their miscalculation by an odd percentage, and the degree to which they can obtain some accuracy in calculating, is of itself a symptom of the influence of the means of oppression by persuasion.

By working out what a selected number of people are conditioned to think on some issues, the polls nearly and almost accurately predict what the whole nation is conditioned to think (even if the nature of the constituency boundaries cannot render this entirely specific in terms of seats).

The majority of the press works in favour of conservative policies; but the years of socialist propaganda, which have won general acceptance, create an atmosphere in which the Labour Party can hold its own (though always conditioned with reservations, such as that of being the "lesser of two evils", which are the result of Labour-Party performance). The domination of media induced ideas influences the electorate to a degree quite comparable to any totalitarian country (nobody questions

whether "inflation", let alone "extremism", is necessarily an evil any more than the majority of the Russian public questions Marxism). It is to the extent of this brainwashing the opinion polls act as a gauge.

But of course (except when it comes to choosing a seat) politicians like to gloss over the class nature of the contest; for the real issue nowadays in every British election is to what extent the constituency is working-class or not. The talk of "safe" seats comes down to a clear analysis of the constituency ward by ward; and the transfer of a council housing estate, or the building of a new block of luxury flats, may make all the difference to the results, and the poor Liberals, who have to rely on individual points of view rather than assessments of class, have no safe homes to which to turn except a few fringes where the old-fashioned nonconformity traditions lingers on. This being so, the interesting thing is why the Conservatives obtain so many votes; but this points to the success of the media in persuading so many that they are "middle class". Just as, for purely political reasons, journalists have sunk the "Near East" without trace, since for various reasons it is expedient to regard all the Arab countries as "Middle East" (though North Africa is still there), so they have sunk the lower and to some extent the upper classes and like to think of everyone being middle-class (perhaps not with servants anymore, but possibly with one or two employees: this is not entirely sarcastic, one commentator actually referring to the "average voter" in the Midlands having two or three people working for him). A very large percentage of Conservative votes are not for Mr. Heath's policies: they are a pathetic bid to assert the respectability and middle class position of people seeking a place in the affluent society.

With the universities a stronghold of "revolutionary Marxism" no less, will this picture be altered in the future - when they have forgotten their "revolutionism", what role in the middle-class spectrum will they take up? We cannot profess to know the answer. Before this becomes a voting pattern, the jig may be up as regards the phoney elections, and the working people may be taking matters into their own hands

SIDESHOWS

The main turn having been a flop, it is instructive to look at the sideshows of the circus. Enoch Powell emerges as a solitary figure of his part allegiance. He voted Labour on the Common Market issue and urged other Tories to do likewise; but of course the only reason he is cheered by his devoted followers is because for them Enoch is "against the blacks". As to what, if anything, he intends to do about it, does not trouble this most illiterate section of the electorate. "Enoch knows . . . at least he's honest . . ." and having said he is anti-black, he appears as a prophet to those to whom their poverty is caused by too many people in the world.

The "revolutionary Marxists" put on their sideshows and collected derisory polls, thus discrediting the revolutionary idea among all those who think that Marxist-Leninism has something to do with that and is not today mere "agitation-alism" by which middle-class drop-outs sell papers to each other haranguing the workers as part of a ritual process (I'm more agitational than you are) but do not begin to touch the idea of working class revolution except historically; and imagine that what was once in Russia must be an immutable law be so again everywhere. The fact that nowhere could they get in shouting distance of the National Front, who at least polled a thousand or two in many constituencies, is a demonstration of the failure of Marxist-Leninism rather than the success of fascism, for any local candidate should be able to muster up his or her family and friends in a poll,

and the parties which cannot attain at least a thousand votes in their chosen constituencies do not seriously exist at all, in spite of their harangues.

Not being committed to election participation, perhaps it is easy for us to say that; does the anarchist movement either, as such, seriously exist at all? We are not at all sure it does. But as "lone rangers" we can at least say that while there may sometimes be a pseudo-anarchism that purports to be such and is not so at all, we see on the horizon something which does not usually purport to be anarchism, but which is an ever growing force of the future. It is more than the cynicism felt almost generally towards the political racket, and towards Government itself . . . the growing knowledge that the State is the enemy no less than the capitalist class . . . it is a positive challenge to the State by way of choosing sides in the struggle against the State's autocracy. It is this force which the State believes exists as a conspiracy and frantically seeks, and which neither the professional demonologists studying "conflict" and confrontation nor the international political police have ever been able to pinpoint, but which they know exists no less surely than its opponents of capitalism and state-communism. But it is not a conspiracy. If it were so clearly expressed, it would be everywhere triumphant.

* * * * *

Sadly we shake our heads in disbelief to find the argument still rages about whether one allows free speech for fascists. It is a hoary old argument about on the level of "Have you stopped beating your wife?" Few people however, no matter how bitter their feelings on fascism might be, would object to listening to a reasoned, intelligently discussed argument upon the nature of the Corporate State. When, however, did fascism ever present this? It is incapable of being defended logically and Fascists rarely attempt to do so. Those who do, cease to be fascists.

If someone is sitting quietly in a bus and someone shouts, "Bloody Nigger, go home" at him, that is not free speech, it is an invitation to a punch-up. How much fascist propaganda ever goes above this level?

The classical art of fascist advance is to leap-frog: to attack a minority, preferably unpopular so that one has support, or at any rate lack of resistance; then to pass on to another minority. Sooner or later the power of the fascist seems irresistible; the majority will stand abjectly aside as it sees minorities being attacked. Then it will find it, too, has adopted minority status.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. In what way was present Admiral of the Fleet, Sir Caspar John involved with an anarchist?
2. Is it true that there was a Scottish Highland family (Sawney Bean and his wife, and their sons and daughters, who inter-married among themselves) who lived by stealing from travellers and eating them?
3. Who was "England's murdered Queen" to whom Shelley wrote one of his finest poems?
4. What is, traditionally, the anarchist flag - black, or red and black?
5. French detective writer Arsene Lupin took, from life, a well known anarchist, and with only slight exaggerations made him into a sensational fictional figure. Who was it?
6. "You say Tolstoy was not in fact an Anarchist," writes a correspondent. "Well, what was he?"

answers on page

ELECTION RESULTS

Them 635

Us 0

We do not unlike some contemporaries including those whose judgment we respect, rate the National Front too highly.

The British capitalist class has always rejected fascism as divisive, since it can obtain its way through major parties. Fascism has only come into being where these parties have collapsed or been rendered impotent to defend capitalism. This is not the case here.

The capitalist class do not need to go to the inconvenience and dangers of fascism to resist such insignificant challenges as can be provided by, for instance, the trot groups - whether werps or imgies. But it may be useful from their point of view to discourage such symptoms of revolt and to hire thugs by specified groups (which are prepared to accept the political odium of using "violence" and preserve the main parties' democratic image).

They can try on the classic fascist technique of hedge-hopping from an attack on one minority to that on another thus building up - they hope - a situation where all will be afraid of them. This can be seen in embryo by a simple trick - buy the services of two or three bully boys, let them beat up someone in isolation, and so buy a cheap legend of toughness.

The Hell's Angels have got away with this trick among the hippies. But it is not the 'angels' one must regard as fascist, but those who have let them take a fascist role by tamely submitting to their force. A dozen toughs, or a handful of paid thugs, descending on an isolated couple cannot be resisted. But such a situation must never go unchallenged.

Recently in Brighton some three or four National Front hefties descended on the Maoist "Workers' Bookshop", pulled the books off the shelves and pushed over the girl assistant; they then went round to the Students Union and forced the mild President to stick up their posters, threatening to turn the place over if they came back the week following and found them gone.

The Maoists do not need to read the Chairman's Thoughts to know what they should do in such circumstances. But if they do, Mousey Tongue is quite explicit on the matter. We know what we would do if such a thing happened to us. It had better not.

When the Fascisti were at their height, mass battles took place in London streets. These were always stage-managed so as to take place in the workers' quarters. The C.P. in those days accepted the challenge to "defend" the East End, which was in effect to turn it into a battleground. Nobody ever thought to take the battle into the fascists' own quarters, and Sir Oswald Mosley retired to his delightful secluded country house to refresh himself, in between the battles of Cable Street and Ridley Road, far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife. Nobody ever molested him there; even to this day he is sitting in his elegant chateau in Paris, waiting for "the call" to march on Bethnal Green once more.

We do not see why the National Front should not spout all the rubbish it likes as long as it behaves itself. But Anarchists accept the idea of personal responsibility.

WELL DONE ROY!!

Our congratulations go to "Our Man on Broadway" Sgt. Roy Cremer, who has just been promoted to the rank of Detective Inspector.

But remember Roy :-

(to the tune of "Lili Marlene")

When,
Along from St. James's, down at the Yard,
Sat a little Sergeant who was working very hard,
Reading all the books in store,
From our Black Flag, to Guy Debord,
An eclectic dialectic,
Has "Raoul of the Yard!"

(it paid off and many verses later).....

When the time has come and the bookshops are shut down,
The Army's taken over and you're forced underground,
Don't worry Roy, we'll be all smiles,
Just make sure, you bring our files!
You'll be "The Peoples' Commie Sergeant,
Our "Raoul of the Yard!"

P.S. Should you require the other verses Roy as a reminder to you of your past and what looks like your future if Frank goes on the way he's going, send us a postal order for 15p and a stamped addressed envelope and we will willingly pass it on to you.

John Olday's Anarchist Cabaret opened with a swing at the International Libertarian Centre with three performers putting over a strong political cabaret act - with strong overtones of Berlin of the twenties - supported by others; with added support in the next cabaret a fortnight later (they are taking place alternate Saturdays). Still in its early stages and bearing marks of improvisation, the political comment in song is making its impact and despite some weaknesses may develop into the nucleus of what we hope will be Anarchist Theatre.

The first night was interrupted by some of those inconsequential characters from the underground-scene-where-it's-all-at-man (whom we got well pissed off with rubbing shoulders round the Defence Committee scene), who have no point of militant action but think they can turn up at anarchist (and women's lib) meetings to take over - your supposed to listen respectfully as they tell you you're not inclined to action. In the audience were representatives of three revolutions, ten strikes and nobody could total the "bird"..... the suddenness of the heave-ho took them by surprise and alas is the only answer (they went off inevitably mumbling "fascism").

The showing of the film "Dawn over Spain" - in co-operation with the Centro Iberico and "Freedom" - resulted in a packed house which raised £50 for Spanish Resistance funds (specifically for help to Salvador Puig). In future we shall have to limit attendance (hope you understand folks - but you might as well come early and see it in comfort and let us arrange a second showing for those who can't get in).

ANOTHER LIE NAILED

The illiterate, pornographic daily The Sun (on January 5th) carried a feature on Col. Gadaffi "The Godfather of World Terror". He has "forged a deadly Mafia out of the fanatics" said journalist Peter Bond, claiming there was a "Mafia-style set-up between the world's leading terrorist organisations - and Gadaffi is the Godfather".

This attempt to cash in on a film to sell the Sun is pathetic in its reasoning. Can one imagine, for instance, Catholic and Protestant "terrorist organisation" in Northern Ireland both manipulated by fanatical Moslem Gadaffi? Peter Bond can.

It is claimed he has handed over £65 million to Palestinian guerilla groups. It may be true. But it is hard, in that case, to know what they have done with the money.

When it comes to lying however, Peter Bond can stand up to Goebbels. He alleged that "the 31 year old colonel also sends his deadly largesse to the Basques, who recently assassinated the Spanish Prime Minister..." as well as to Irish, Turks, the Japanese pro-Arab group responsible for the massacre at Lydda airport and so on. We do not know about the others (any more than political porn merchant Bond does) - we do know that the Spanish Resistance has never received a peseta or a pistol from any communist country, any democratic country or any third world country. If it had done so, Franco would have been dead long since. Peter Bond refers to "the Basques" - as if he meant all Basques, or that all Basques were nationalists, or all were "terrorists". Those Basques who took part in the attack on Luis Carrero Blanco could not have paid their train fare to Madrid if they had relied in what came from sympathetic governments. Every penny spent by the real resistance in Spain comes from collections and passing the hat round.

When people ask why it is that the Palestinians and others can be so "effective" whereas the Spanish Resistance has seemed ineffective that is the answer. For "national liberation" there is a diplomatic game that can be played. For social liberation not only will the Gadaffis of this world give nothing, they will use the entree they get into certain revolutionary circles via the Palestinians and others to infiltrate their police, and so the whole political police of the world is served. For revolutionary movements they do not represent a "Godfather" as they do to Arab nationalists. They represent the kiss of death.

The Northcliffe Award for Press Paranoia to Peter Bond.

International Libertarian Centre.

Rent paid to end Feb.	£606. 60	
Rates	50. 45	
Phone	20. 17	
Electricity	20. 25	
Fittings	32. 35	£729. 82.
Sub-rents	208. 00	
Meetings	26. 17	
Cabaret	22. 60	
Donations (GR £30; AM £20; JL £2; DC £1; R £2; M/cr £12.50)		87. 50 deficit £385. 55.

pause for reflection here but as it has been a spring-board for so much including a leap in the Flag circulation and the huge collection for action in aid of Spanish Resistance, we hope this problem can be surmounted.

CARLISTS OR KARLISTS

Whatever happened to pin-up Stalinist of the thirties the "Passion Flower" Dolores Ibarruri? From being "la Pasionaria" she has become known among Spanish workers as "la Pensionaria" - still living on past glories in Moscow, from which she gives out stirring calls to oppose fascism but not to the extent of upsetting trade with the Communist countries.

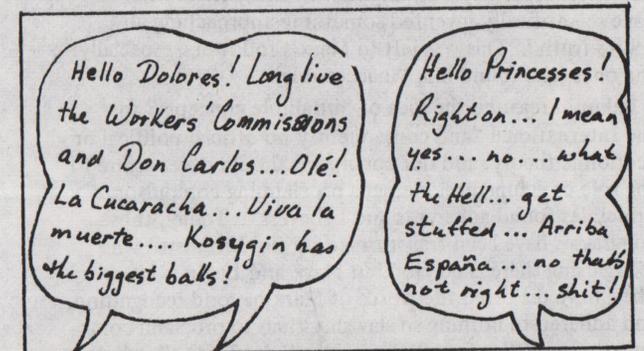
She was last seen at the World Congress of Peace held in Moscow, welcoming the leaders of the Spanish Communist Party and giving a warm kiss to the two "Patriotic" representatives of the opposition.

It is worth mentioning who these two representatives were, to show the true nature of the Communist-led Workers Commissions. They are the Carlist princess Maria Teresa and Cecilia de Bourbon Parma. They followed the strict Communist Party line (supporting Carrillo and asking for the expulsion of Lister - former Stalinist general of the civil war who is currently in disfavour).

The Carlists (followers of Don Carlos, the Pretender) are the extreme right wing of Spanish conservatism, differing from the Monarchists in that they want another branch of the family to take over the throne, but as a result of which allegiance they have gone traditionally far more to Catholic feudalism than any other party.

It used to be a joke among Spanish anarchists to refer to the Marxists as "los carlistas" (i.e. followers of Carlos Marx) of the left. But nobody at Moscow the other month would have appreciated the joke.

† † † † † †



A report by Dr. Hugh Lyons, a consultant psychiatrist working in Belfast, gives a frightening picture of the effects of contact with violence upon Ulster children. The psychological damage done to them will be great because of the "conditioning", and Dr. Lyons' report has been widely publicised in English papers. The odd thing is that the medical and psychological results should, one supposes, be the same whether the perpetrators of violence were legal or illegal, "patriots" or criminals. Yet such conditioning is not supposed to have affected those who grew up in the war - even those on the continent with more first-hand experience than here, though London, Coventry, Liverpool etc., had, even so, far more experience of bomb violence than Belfast ever did.

Had Dr. Lyons published his report during the war, the best he could have hoped for would have been a sneering reference in the "Mirror" to trick-cyclist traitors. If he has not taken the opportunity to couch his report in such a way as to suggest that no blame could possibly lie on those who were perpetrating the violence he might even have been considered as a possible internee under regulation 18b. But now his voice is quoted in favour of law and order.

BOOK REVIEW

Michael Bakunin: Selected writings ed & intro by Arthur Lehning (Jonathan Cape £2.25 - Writings of the Left).

Bakunin's reputation has suffered by being inevitably compared with Marx, since he was both his contemporary and his critic. Since the material success of State Socialism, Marx has been canonised and even deified (and in consequence Bakunin pictured as an arch-devil); but with the bankruptcy - so far as human well-being is concerned - of the same State Socialism, Bakunin has on occasion been pressed into service as an Anti-Marx. This he was not. Bakunin recognised clearly the "capable hands" of Marx in the idea of communism and saw in him the "undisputed leader of the German socialist party" of the time (it was too early to see him the deified Marx of today, anyway). Das Kapital, said Bakunin "is not a fantasy or an a priori concept hatched in a single day out of the mind of a young man more or less ignorant of the economic condition of society or the prevailing system of production". It was based "on a very detailed and extensive knowledge and analysis in depth of that system and its conditions."

Nowadays, of course, folk will "hatch in a single day" any amount of fantasies or a priori concepts on their interpretations of Das Kapital in the role of the Holy Bible or its opposite, but they will rarely have read it, for as Bakunin pointed out, and few today have the courage to admit, it is "bristling with metaphysical formulae and subtleties which make it inaccessible to the vast majority of readers." Yet said Bakunin, he would not insult Marx "by thinking that he imagines himself to have scientifically invented something approaching absolute truth". This was left to Marx's followers, especially the ones who found him "inaccessible".

Bakunin rejected the idea of "infallible concepts" for the International "and consequently no official political or economic theory, and our congresses should never aspire to the role of ecumenical councils proclaiming compulsory principles for all adherents and believers". Today, those congresses have been transformed by the Leninists - who recognising there is no God but Marx and Lenin is his prophet, have distorted the words of Marx beyond recognition, and adhered to nothing so slavishly than to proclaim compulsory principles for all adherents - indeed, for all, whether they believe or not, and the doctrine has the force of State power in a large part of the world (to any extent which any Pope - to whom Bakunin compared Marx - only dreamed of).

In his own right Bakunin is well worth reading for these amazingly topical references. In this edition, Arthur Lehning may be somewhat criticised for injudicious selection (there is no point in inserting, for instance, a letter to Bakunin's sisters, when he was 22, unpoliticised, and still apparently believing in Jesus), when the whole point of the edition is to present Bakunin's anarchist writings as part and parcel of the writings of the socialist movement. But in his exposition of atheism, in his biting criticism of the State, Bakunin remains unsurpassed, and the misleading letter must be ignored.

Lehning does, though, contribute a crystal clear introduction to Bakunin, the most important fact in which is his pointing out that for the Russian pioneer of anarchism, "freedom... is not an abstract or metaphysical matter", that for him freedom is something positive and not (and this is what marks the break with the liberal concept of freedom) purely negative. The liberal whose conception is that of freedom, as much as possible, within the State,

has a purely abstract view of freedom - it is freedom from this or that, it is the absence of oppressive forces or at least their limitation. But for the anarchist, freedom "is not the negation of solidarity; it represents on the contrary, the development, and so to speak, the humanisation of the latter", and social solidarity and freedom are inseparable concepts. Here, too, marks the distinction between bourgeois individualism and the revolutionary concept of individuality expressed in free communism.

At times Bakunin's writings are hard going - at other times, if one dips freely and takes passages at a time, they are lucid and contemporary. Unlike later anarchist philosophers, such as Kropotkin, he did not write directly for the workers; he wrote long voluminous letters to those who were addressing the workers directly, and during his lifetime his correspondence was used by Internationalists in Spain, Italy, France, Switzerland and Belgium (in particular) as the source book from which they learned to express an anarchist viewpoint. For a long time his writings were unavailable in English and Bakunin was known only as the man of action. Today his federalist views are more widely respected - though as little practised His anarchism is more relevant than ever.

BOOKS

Bakunin on Anarchy: edited, with an introduction and commentary, by Sam Dolgoff, preface by Paul Avrich (George Allen & Unwin - Hardback £5.50). The editor of this anthology brings together a wide and varied selection of writings by the father of revolutionary anarchism. Most of these appear for the first time in English. The articles, opening with a biographical sketch by James Guillaume, are presented in chronological order tracing the development of Bakunin's ideas from revolutionary pan-Slavism in 1846 through to revolutionary anarchism in 1864 and the subsequent years until his death in 1876.

All the essays have been especially translated for this volume giving it a freshness of style unusual in works of this genre. The price, however, will appeal only to libraries, rich aficionados and academics, so either ask for it in your local library or wait for the paperback, and don't forget to send us the balance.

Ourselfes:

Problems in getting our own press have led to delays - we hope to be better organised within a month from publication of this issue, and, paper supplies permitting, our fortnightly will get underway - in the meanwhile remember:

Capitalism won't fall voluntarily... so keep on pushing!



Love
Black Flag Group

WOULD ANARCHISTS LIKE RUMANIA?

Having been on a tour of Roumania, Sir Charles Taylor, as Tory M.P. for the salubrious town of Eastbourne, wrote to the Times that the Rumanians are expected to work a 48 hour week, six days a week, eight hours a day. (Most British workers incidentally work a longer week than this normally, if one includes overtime, but Sir Charles would not know this, never having done an honest day's work in his life). But "Labour is directed to jobs... strikes, sit-ins, political demonstrations and the like... are not allowed".

This seems to have come as a surprise to Sir Charles, and he wonders "whether the anarchists in this country and their dupes... would accept similar conditions."

Speaking for the anarchists, if not for the dupes, no. That answer your question, Charlie?

As a matter of fact, Anarchists have fought long and bitter revolutionary battles against the Communist State machine in regard to lack of freedom, workers control and conditions of work... in Russia, China, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and - to a lesser extent because of their lesser numbers only - in Poland and Rumania.

When have those of Sir Charles' faith been anything but docile conformists in any of these countries? We will say nothing of the fascist countries, where they have been "dupes", but what zeal have they shown in opposing communist tyranny... even from the safety of abroad where it would mean no risk to urge revolution?

At what point for that matter, would Sir Charles, or any of those smug middle class retired people who voted for him in Eastbourne be prepared to resist tyranny if there were a legal Communist Party take over here?

It may be of course that Charlie Taylor is so ignorant of politics he does not know the difference between a communist and an anarchist. It might not matter if he thinks the latter accept Marxist-Leninism or the dictatorship of the proletariat, one more fool or less in Parliament is of no consequence; but we warn Intelligence (our avid readers) to watch him closely if he ever gets a position near the Ministries. He might think the converse: that the Communist States are anarchistic, and have abolished the armed forces, police, espionage system etc... Should such a person be a suitable candidate for Parliament? We are unable to answer the question, but regard him as a suitable candidate, indeed a prizewinner, for the much-coveted Maudling Prize of Idiot of the Month. His reward: A copy of the "anarchist daily"... the Morning Star!



Idiot of the Month prize: A turd from the Queen's favourite Corgi.

March 2, 1974

Dear Friends,

With regard to J.C.'s letter to 'Black Flag' (III: 8, 1974), the speaker in the photograph is indeed Sholem Schwartzbard and not Makhno. Schwartzbard was a courageous and dedicated Anarchist about whom, unaccountably, a good deal of nonsense has been written, by Anarchists as well as non-Anarchists, in recent years.

Fraternally,

Paul Avrich.

Dear Comrades,

I'm not I think, one of those 'comrades' in good jobs at good wages' mentioned in the current issue of Black Flag (unless you consider take-home pay of £19.00 a week good wages) but I pay a low rent and live near to work, which eliminates travel fares, so I'm not exactly on the bread-line - so here's a pretty painless £5.00, not for ABC this time but for the 'Black Flag' fund.

Best wishes,
fraternally,
L.S.

Am I suffering from paranoia or is it true that there are a load of people going around demanding that I should go to a little booth down the road, put a cross on a bit of paper behind a screen and stick it in a box. What a strange culture, quaint to say the least. By the time you receive this letter the election will probably be over and Joe Public will be better off financially, and well protected from those militants like Vanessa Redgrave. The whole thing's too satirical for words - Monty Python's Flying Circus ain't so funny anymore. I'm going to smash my T.V. set if they don't stop putting so much comedy on it. Like party political broadcasts on behalf of the National Front reflecting the views of all the other parties at a later stage!

G.S.

answers to quiz.....

1. His father, Augustus John, the painter, was an anarchist.
2. It is indeed so stated by historians; but bearing in mind some discrepancies in the story (the Sawney Bean family seem to have stolen what was utterly useless for them in their troglodyte existence and cannibalism as a steady diet is highly unlikely) and the hatred felt by James VI & I for his Highland subjects, plus his accusations of witchcraft and allied offences against political opponents, maybe (it's only a guess) they were just local rebels, slandered to give him a chance to cut them to bits (which he did literally).
3. Liberty.
4. The black flag as a symbol of revolt, is said to have originated in Rheims in 1831 ("Work or death") in an unemployed demonstration but was raised by Louise Michel in 1833 as an anarchist flag which it has since been regarded. The flag of the labour movement (not necessarily only of socialism) is red. The CNT of Spain originated the red-and-black of anarcho-syndicalism (anarchism plus the labour movement).
5. Marius Jacob (1879-1954) anarchist "expropriator" sentenced to penal exile in 1905 after 106 "individual expropriations" (reprieved after 20 years) is the original of "Maurice Leblanc".
6. He was a follower of Henry George (Single Tax).