"The Acceptable Face of Dissent."
As the young people of Germany become disillusioned with radical politics and witness the horror of terrorism they are increasingly turning to other forms of protest against the wealth and materialism which they believe is threatening their health and peace of mind. James Hope looks at the Green Movement, which has become so influential it could decide who could form the next Government."

(Description of a TV Programme)

In those few words is summed up the case against the Green Movement, the Ecology Party and all the splinters of the Nuclear Disarmament, Alternative Society and libertarian new left tree which was planted by the Quakers and the Garden City pioneers. There is an 'acceptable!' form of dissent ... but by whom? That the young people of Germany need to protest against "wealth and materialism" is clear enough - but they are also in revolt against the history which they have inherited.

The Government found itself in a tight spot. The revolt that expressed itself in consistent struggle for years, forced it to drop its mask of liberalism. The activists started dropping out of the militant movement in Germany, faced with Nazi-type repression: the rump of the Red Army Fraction has drifted to Marxist-Leninism; others drift off to the "Green Movement" - in the vain hope that they are "doing something".

Revolutionary Struggle

In the absence of revolutionary struggle, those who want to be active in changing the world turn to side-shows like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or Ecology Party type organisations, which all come down to what the Liberal Party, or at least its radical tendency, once was. These organisations can generate a lot of support, without ever making the least impression whatsoever, because everything is in the clouds and nothing affects the economics or behaviour of everyday life. Ban the bomb? - by all means. Who, though, is being asked the question? Who is going to ban the bomb? The power-mad leaders of the world who are the only ones to have the bomb? This is a variation on Woodrow Wilson's idea of a League of Nations in which all the governments combined to "outlaw war" ... like having thieves sit round a table and agree to "outlaw burglary". If we sat down for long enough in Trafalgar Square, they once said, "they" would have to ban the bomb. But they didn't ban it - however long the banners sat, the bombers sat them out. And the protest wore itself out.

Now the demand is pitched in a much more minor key. Instead of trying to save the world from nuclear destruction, they try to save whales or seals; instead of trying to preserve the human race, they at least try to preserve the environment, no doubt thinking that one may get the leisure demand. But why should the governments listen to such pleas? "Let them protest. If that's all that they do!" the criminal statist may say. You may say that the protesters are doing something in the absence of a revolutionary struggle. But you shouldn't take for granted the absence of revolutionary struggle.

Reformism

What has happened to West Germany - and spread throughout the world - is that in the face of repeated insurrections (the disappointment with the failure of the Russian revolution, the rise of State Communism and Fascism, and the development of capitalism, in short, the whole rise of criminal statism) the working class has abandoned its principles and the movement it built up. The working class movement is totally derelict, and what remain are monuments, (and usually monuments to what was worst in the old movement); of what was best, there remain only archaeological digs.

For any new left, or new reformism, to pretend to the ideas of the traditional movement is a farce. The object of a socialist movement was to overthrow the economic system by those who produced the wealth of nations, taking it over and running it for themselves. The anarchist movement augmented this with a warning that there must be no parasites whatsoever or a new leisure class - ultimately a new ruling class would evolve. The warning was not heeded and this has happened.

There is no reason to scoff at those whose hearts are at least in the right place when it comes to protesting. But we have got to get back to effective struggle. That struggle is only effective in the area where despair is most profound: the places or work upon which all industry depends, on the running of which all governments rely.
Many Ministers have expressed their fear of the growth of the Rightists Organise.

"The CNT's campaign against the union elections has been a magnificent success, given the proportion of union members who have voted for it. The CNT has maintained its strong stance and achieved many victories against the unions.

Others have been acquitted in the notorious 'La Scala' episode, where a public place of entertainment was bombed and its employees blamed, only because they were wholly unionised by the CNT, the anarcho-syndicalist union, was bombed and its employees blamed, only because they were unionised.

"For this reason the CNT is, and seems fated to remain, the one union centre which stands for direct workers bargaining" - and in return, whether this deal is expected to work or not, is a question.

The fascist bands have taken full advantage of the activities of GRAPO and ETA to organise themselves, and represent their ideals. From this, when in reality dozens are being killed by the 'right-wing' as well as the murders and rapes it is carrying out on ordinary people for every one policeman or politician who is attacked by nationalist groups. In the climate of the attacks made by the 'rightists', there is bound to be armed defence.

Every resistance to the 'rightists' is treated as 'terrorism' and people are arrested and held indefinitely. In an obvious juggling trick, Suresnes, the newspaper, and other media have for months been trumpeting news about the 'shocking terrorist' groups. But it has placed a great deal of its reliance on the union elections: the only way to stop the workers quiet (they think). The arrested people have been tried and frequently convicted without any evidence: we have completely smashed the CNT as an organisation, 'even your general secretary, Jose Bonet, will be the first to admit it'. Now we feel like locking him up. We've more than enough evidence against him, and even, significantly, 'But you're not the real CNT at all. The real CNT is the other one, the serious one, the ones who came out of the congress in Valencia'.

This political intervention by the police is directly inspired by the Movement for the Liberation of Catalonia. They are not responsible for the schism in the CNT. But they are taking full advantage of it to try to dilute the CNT if it cannot be crushed.

The Schism

The "anti 5th congress" of the CNT met in July in Valencia. It had a larger number of syndicates than expected - 120 syndicates and 500 delegates came, plus 170 guests, with every regional confederation, but three (Extremadura, Galicia, which refuses to take sides in the split: and Rioja). But the CNT is hardly cloven in workplaces. Many of its members do not understand what the differences are. Many oppose - as we do - any influence of the "old gang" referred to variously as "the exiles", "poules", sometimes "the PA", but actually, however one may criticise them for past actions, at present they are solidly for independence and action, whereas the bright young students who want to take over, with Catalanist, Trotskyist, Maoist or political catholic sympathies, using criticisms of the Civil War culled from Felix Morrow, are precisely the groups who are trying to sell the organisation out.

It has nothing to do with the split; but the "official" CNT has remained totally impervious to the infiltrators; whereas the raver, 'renovated' CNT has let them in with vengeance. They are accepting participation in the union elections and so-called "collective bargaining" - and in return, whether this deal is open or not, are not getting the force of police repression. Thus the government is trying to smash the only union centre which stands for direct workers bargaining and represents the whole of Spain, with the world approving. Under Franco it didn't.

Whether they will succeed or not is another matter. Meanwhile they have visible hostages in the form of prominent people sentenced to 17 years; others lying in jail waiting until they are safely away so that they cannot give evidence. The Spanish government thinks it has lived down its Franco past sufficiently to be able to trade with the Cold War, and enter the Common Market. It has got another think coming:

We must take one more world protest against Spanish fascism, the heirs of Franco.
Dear Comrades:

You will recall that for upwards of 5 years now, I have been kept in assigned residence by the French authorities, awaiting trial for my alleged complicity (and that charge was not preferred against me until 3 years had passed from the time when we were released on bail) in the abduction of the Bank of Bilbao’s Paris director, on 30th January 1974. Said abduction was claimed by GARR...its aim was to press for the release of political prisoners in Spain...Well, we have just been informed that we are to appear before the Cours d’Assises on January 19th, 1981.

You will appreciate that such short notice affords us little time in which to prepare our defence or to mount a campaign on our behalf since aside from the little time allowed us for these purposes, that time will be largely used up by the period of end of year festivities and holidays.

Even so, we must not let the opportunity pass to turn our trial into a platform from which to speak out against the complicity of all their forces of repression with the anti-Francoist fascism of yesterday and the neo-fascism of today. Spanish fascism is turning the European human rights movement into an ante-chamber to the concentration camp world, which authoritarian and totalitarian edifice these forces of repression inform us have always dreamed of.

SUAREZ AFFAIR

Our defence and the campaign on our behalf is based on the following points:

1. We, the ten persons (two Spaniards, one Scottish girl, five French girls, and two Frenchmen, plus another Frenchman who has since died) charged in connection with the ‘Suarez affair’, deny the charge of ‘complicity’...the sole basis for this charge are the activities of the French police and courts...the placing of subjective constructions and implications upon quite normal everyday facts (all unconnected with the Suarez case) concerning people who were alive to the struggle of the Spanish people at a time when Franco was still at his numerous work.

2. Thus, in addition to dismissing these charges of ‘complicity’ (which is the only thing the courts have been able to use as pretext for sending us for trial before the Cours d’Assises), I have for my part, have from the outset denied the accusations that the French police with their Spanish colleagues in the frame-up which the French authorities cooked up against me. As proof of this I cite the fact (noted in the prosecution’s brief) that the French police allowed the Francoist agent Inocencio Martinez to slip away quietly. ‘It was Martinez who had prepared and supervised the execution of the frame-up for the purpose of complicity in the case of Suarez...having failed to do so successfully earlier, despite numerous efforts to that end.

3. The most paradoxical and grotesque aspect of the case and that which will be brought for trial for alleged “complicity” in a kidnap, the authors of which the French police and courts have not been able to determine...aside from granting that was the work of GARR since the kidnap was claimed on behalf of those initials. Which is to say that the complicity of the kidnap have been neither arrested nor identified...yet we are to stand trial for our activities with ‘complicity’ with these unknowns.

4. Another grotesque paradox. Ours will be the last Francoist trial to emerge some five years after the death of the dictator, at a time when, inside Spain itself, all those who have sought a truth about the crimes committed by this control case in which we were accused, have long since been annulled. And the most grotesque, most paradoxical thing of all is the fact that our trial will be mounted by the Francoist authorities who expressed themselves so pleased to see the advent to “democracy” in Spain.

5. To all of the above must be added the personalities of the accused in this “affair”. We are all well known for our libertarian ideas and feelings of solidarity for all the world’s oppressed. Add to that, we are all persons of good standing in our professions, etc.

6. Now the worst fuck-up of all is this threat hanging over my head (regardless of whether I be found guilty or innocent). For the French authorities have only delayed my deportation for the purpose of putting me on trial. Which means that once the trial is over they will try - unless they can be forced to back down on this point - to proceed with my immediate deportation from French soil. And since there is nowhere else in Europe where I can go, I will be left with no option but to go back to Spain under circumstances which are such that the freedom of Spain will mark the limits of my freedom of movement.

So, should you wish to be of assistance to us you must get on without delay. To that end, I suggest you use the points outlined above as the basis on which to draft press releases and communiques concerning the imminence of the trial, the risks involved, the tribute that protest telegrams be sent on our behalf, stressing being anti-Francoist militants caught up in a police frame-up devised by the French police and Franco’s state when Franco was still murdering those who were fighting on behalf of the freedom of the Spanish people.

Such telegrams or letters should be sent to the French President: M. Giscard d’Estaing, 16, Rue de l’Elysee, 75008 Paris. Also, if possible, send a copy of all such letters to: Faustino Llosa, Cecel Garcia Lombard, 75 Rue Gracieuse, 75005 Paris, France.

Octavio Alberpla

LETTERS

It is the period in which collettivo metropolitano was formed in Milan, from which the first military formations of the Brigate rosse originate.

Revolutionary practice meanwhile (we are around the years 1976-1977, before the Convegno di Bologna, a meeting against repression where a formula for the lumpenproletariat as a revolutionary element, and revision of relations existed) expanded with large mass demonstrations and bloody battles with the police.

At the Bologna meeting, where the revolutionary forces confronted each other with all their various differences but where the last moment of a historic period of the class struggle in Italy was signed, the area of autonomy was present in two different currents:

a) current of autonomy as a party, represented by the theses of the comrades of Padova and Milan, who supported the formation of an “autonomy party” of a strictly leninist character.

b) current of autonomy as a party, represented by the theses of the comrades of Padova and Milan, who supported the formation of an “autonomy party” of a strictly leninist character.

Both of these currents can be defined as being of marxist-leninist observance, even though breaks with the orthodox tradition have become more evident, especially in recent times. Among these changes, are the rejection of the dialectical analysis, reconsideration of the lumpenproletariat as a revolutionary element, and re-evaluation of the function of the minority organization in the class struggle.

Still at the Bologna meeting, the different forces of the anarchist movement were also present, in a more or less bilinear component: on the one side the various expressions of educationism, pacifism, pluralism, individualism, etc. on the other side a group of authors more prone to express a more inferior but more competitive side, who insisted on a greater penetration in the reality of the struggles, the formation of real cell, the inter-class revolution, the organization of armed and clandestine struggle, revolutionary violence and insurrection.

Black Flag Page 11
CHRISTIE SPEECH

THIS IS THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH GIVEN BY STUART CHRISTIE ON TV, BUT WHICH WAS CUT TO ABOUT 30 SECONDS.

"The reason for publishing TOWARDS A CITIZENS MILITIA AT THIS TIME is because we believe there is an alternative to the threat of nuclear holocaust or worldwide genocide as a result of chemical and biological warfare, from both East and West, perhaps in the event of Reagan being elected in the US and that alternative is one of a citizens' defence force along the lines of the Yugoslav, Swiss and Israeli models. An organised and defended population would be a lot more difficult for an aggressor to subdue than a professional elite subject to all sorts of class, political, and personal interests – after all, it's now the 40th anniversary of De Gaulle's call to the people of Occupied France to disregard the Pétain Government's surrender to the Nazis and continue the struggle against the invaders.

Perhaps if the peoples of Europe had been organised in Democratic Citizens Militias the rise of fascism, militarism, and all the attendant horrors of war, genocide, torture, then the history of the 20th Century and the future for civilisation would have been a lot healthier. In fact, a good topical example is the Russian invasion of Afghanistan: if the Afghan people had been organised along the lines suggested in our manual, perhaps the aggression might never have taken place.

The other possible scenario, however unlikely or improbable it may sound is that a cabal of ultra-right wing politicians and Army officers seize power tomorrow at 4 o'clock in the morning. What should the ordinary man and women in the street do to prevent this happening, in an organised fashion – very little at first. It's all very well saying that this is a fantasy, but history is full of such examples and so doubt there'll be many more to come. Living, as we do, in a society rooted in obedience to Authority, it is safe to assume that by mid-day there would be people clapping them in the streets...by three we'd have citizens loading other citizens – the so-called social security scroungers and nonce 'right minded' people in the first batch, probably – on to three ton lorries...consumption. Tonight there would be a well-known politician boasting assurances that all was for the best and that it was our constitutional duty to accept the New Order. By 10.30 the following morning we'd have respected members of the Bench sitting the seal of legality on the Authority of the new regime and packing the Opposition, social layabouts and scroungers off to the camps for wide and personal interests — after all, it's now the 40th anniversary of De Gaulle's call to the people of Occupied France to disregard the Pétain Government's surrender to the Nazis and continue the struggle against the invaders.

For six years he was a guest on Ustica and Ponza. In 1932 he slipped across the border into exile in France where he was active in the exiles' anti-fascist struggle. When the Spanish revolution broke out, he went to Barcelona to serve with theCNT — Fal's Escaso Column on the Aragon Front. In 1937 he was arrested by the Stalinists during an attempted sabotage of Francoist shipping, but managed to escape from a line he shared in Valencia. Tommasini refused to submit to the militarisation of the militias as the communists insisted and returned to France. He was arrested there in 1940 and interned in the Vernet d'Ariège concentration camp.

WHILE THERE IS A LOWER CLASS I AM IN IT. WHILE THERE IS A CRIMINAL ELEMENT I AM IN IT. WHILE THERE IS A SOUL IN PRISON I AM NOT FREE.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ (from page 2)

1. In the days when lashings were frequent, bo'suns frequently had qualms at putting the lash into the effigy of Christ, and making it bleed, but never into unadorned human flesh.

2. Cromwell's soldiers rebelled in the churchyard against further military service in Ireland which was blackening the name of the English Revolution.

3. His hobby was racing fast cars, which ultimately proved extremely useful, for when his hurry to take the Queen with him and she never forgave him.

4. Rudolf Rocker's portrait is in Whitechapel Public Library. He is described as a libertarian philosopher and organiser of immigrant labour.

5. Joshua Norton of San Francisco, (1819-1880) who claimed to be Emperor Norton 1 of the United States and Protector of Mexico, with at least as good a claim as Napoleon III, Emperor and 'Protector' of Mexico too, around the same time.

6. Cedillo's reply was "I want land. I want ammunition so that I can protect my land. I want ploughs and I want schools for my children and I want teachers and books and pencils and blackboards. And I don't want any church or saloon." He got the land and the blackboards, and the railway re-opened.
SCALA-provocation

The paper 'CNT' (Madrid) in its September issue charges the police with complicity in the Scala nightclub arson, that cost the lives of four workers, and which the police themselves have been trying to pull the CNT. The paper wishes to keep most of its evidence back, because of the imminent trial of CNT members on the Scala arson charges, but it points a finger at the arsonist himself - one Joaquim Moguer. Moguer, accused of being a police provocateur who infiltrated the CNT for the purpose of discrediting it.

Gambin, curiously, escaped the police dragnet that followed the fire and which saw dozens of CNT members arrested. Instead, he 'miraculously' vanished. Only nine months later he was arrested by police in Elche in connection with a fire and was sent to Alicante prison.

In February 1979, whilst being moved to Murcia Prison (and not yet having stood trial) and denied the facts that he was 'wanted' in connection with the Scala outrage, he was freed without paper being signed. The reason for his release was unknown even to the governor of Murcia prison who merely received orders from 'high up' to 'let Gambin go' and to Elche.

Gambin is described in a police report reproduced by 'CNT' as having been going by the alias of Manuel Garcia Gomez. Gambin was born 17th July 1929. He is described as a single man with no fixed abode and without steady employment.

ERAT

Six alleged members of ERAT (the Workers, Revolutionary Support Army) were sentenced recently to a total of 150 years imprisonment. They were alleged to have been involved in seven robberies. The sentences were as follows:

Manuel Cruz Cabaleiro: 44 years in prison.
Jose Hernandez Tapia: 41 years in prison.
Miguel Nogales Toro: 33 years 4 months each.
Agustin Garcia Coronado: 6 years 9 months 12 days.
Jose Ramon Sanchez Ramos: 4 years 9 months 12 days.

Although the offences involved no bloodshed, libertarians have received sentences in excess of ETA members found guilty of murder, sometimes being given sentences twice as long as ETA members have received.

Prisoners

The Vicissitudes of the courts when dealing with libertarians can be seen from the following cases:

On 27th February and 12th March 1979, Jose Oria, Ramon Marin and Francisco Mayo were arrested in Barcelona and Granollers. Taken to police station in the Via Layetana (Barcelona) they were subjected to the whole gamut of physical and mental tortures, the object being to extract signatures to ready made confessions.

Jose was incommunicado for twenty-one days; Ramon and Francisco for ten days. They were arrested under the anti-terrorist laws and sent to the Model prison.

Subsequently Jose Sanchez was arraigned alongside attenants, for clinic treatment for a gun-shot wound in the buttocks, received while leafleting near Moncada. He is joined in the Model Prison. Jose Oria was released on 40,000 pesetas bail after four months in prison.

Oria, Mayo and Marin are due in court soon. The prosecution has demanded stiff sentences for each on flimsy evidence and on a ragbag of charges.

Ramon Marin: 33 years 7 months 6 days
Francisco Mayo: 26 years 7 months 5 days
Jose Oria: 12 years 6 days

MANZANARES

On 24th July 1980, CNT member Jorge Rafael Benayas Manzanares was found hanging in a cell in Segovia Prison. Prisoners and fellow prisoners contend that he was suiciding. They argue that he was driven to this by the pressures of prison and there are also signs that the suicide was not so straightforward - forward as it first seemed.

He had, just before his death, exposed a massive fraud in the Post Office Bank involving 1,000 million pesetas. Many people would have been repossessed by his discoveries. The coroner refused an autopsy on Benayas. An autopsy was held privately at his family instigation on 28th August. A number of questions surround Benayas's death.

1. Why did the coroner refuse an autopsy?
2. Why did the coroner's report say death by strangulation when an autopsy found no supporting evidence?
3. If, indeed, drowned by hanging, why was his skull bashed in?
4. Why did he have marks on the collar bone and not around the neck?
5. Why would he have taken his life just when he had promised a week-long parole?
6. If he intended suicide why had he arranged to borrow 4,000 pesetas from the bursar that morning?
7. Why did warders speak of nail-marks on the walls when Benayas's nails were short, as warders themselves confirmed.
8. How could he have hung himself from the bars when his feet would still have been touching the ground?
9. Why lay behind the harassment the isolation and solitary confinement to which the judge condemned him?

One possible answer to the last point: one of the people alleged to have perpetrated the fraud, exposed by Benayas, was a certain Pedro Marugan Gomez and the judge, Gomez Panta, was once legal advisor to a firm owned by Marugan's brother. With Benayas gone, no one could prove that Benayas's signature on a phoney withdrawal slip had been forged by Marugan and his accomplices.

MURDER

Sixteen year old Belen Maris Sanchez, daughter of a striking Barcelona dock er was killed when a car, an Alfa Romeo, ploughed into the picket line of which she was a part on 24th July this year. She was drugged for one hundred yards and died in hospital next day. Other picketers, women and children among them, were also injured. The driver had exchanged some words with police in the docks then accelerated straight into the pickets.

...H BLOCKS cont.

People who have died in terrible circumstances in prisons throughout the years, have always fought for improved conditions, even in the most dreadful prisons. Few have voluntarily accepted worse conditions in defence of a principle as the H-Block men. They had a modern prison; they chose to go "on the blanket", living naked underground in their own filth in order to gain recognition that they are precisely what they are.

Loyalists

The Protestant Loyalist prisoners made a spontaneous decision to go on strike too, but were held back only by political considerations imposed upon the prisoners - thus showing that the differences are external.

Solutions?

Nothing will ever be solved in Northern Ireland while it is plagued by racialistic memories, nationalistic aims and medieval religious slogans, with differences between people that are no longer taken seriously in any other part of the world, including Ireland. But how it is to break away from these associations except with a new generation is another matter. There is just an outside possibility that such a generation might come out of the struggle against conditions of imprisonment, which evoke the choosing of even worse conditions and even death.
Many Black trade unions in South Africa have taken ever-increasingly radical stands, not only in resisting apartheid and economic oppression, but in the nature of their organisation. This is true of the South African Stainless Steel Workers Union (SASWU), which has a membership of 300,000. The Government required unions to register under the labour laws (similar to those of Spain) which entailed commitments that many have declined to register as unions.

Legal recognition of a union does not mean it does not exist, as many employers are finding to their cost. It merely means that the union is not subject to government pressure and control on its internal policies - though it is of course subject to external repression.

At Chloride Holdings, the South African subsidiary of the British battery manufacturers, reported the Financial Times, the company's interests clash with the Government; and they are prepared to negotiate with the union the Government wants to outlaw. This example reproduces the dilemma of Spanish capitalism in the old monarchy and under the republic.

Most of the multi-nationals have agreed to recognise the other Black trade unions, though they have all applied for registration under the new laws which permit black as well as white Unions. In the case of Chloride Holdings and its black workers, the union is determined not to be registered. It stands for independent unions.

The most important of the supergrasses held at Finchley and Stratford in 1979 broke all previous records for intrigue. It was this group who, more than any other in the period since Smalls, threw the criminal world into a state of confusion. The use of their particular modus operandi which was struck on the spot, a London's criminal milieu reeling with a sense of outrage. But for the first time since the Chief Takers of the 18th century, the normally well regulated criminal world was brought face to face with the law - and not only the law of the State in South Africa.

The names of the key men held by Lundy in 1979 were William Amies, Segars, Dowling, Keith Marie, David Smith and George Williams. The struggle which ensued between Lundy, his stable of supergrasses and those who gave evidence against was a sorry spectacle. Not only did the criminal fraternity fail to resort to the much publicised mafioso techniques accredited to them in the popular press, but they were decimated by a series of below the belt legal moves which turned any concept of justice on its head.

By their reliance upon legal argument, most defendants showed that they were unable to grasp the fact that in the hands of the State, the law is a mercurial weapon which can be changed and morally deceitful. The struggle which ensued was a sorry spectacle. The practice of making the supergrass conscious was to turn any concept of justice on its head.

...
Who should take up arms?

Finally, it should be recognised that the basic right of self-defence is implicit in a democracy: this was recognised in America from the beginning to distinguish itself from the monarchial principle that only the privileged could bear arms. However, in most modern capitalist states, and in all feudal states up to the present, there is an acceptance of the monarchial principle caused by an understandable fear that if the people have arms, they will not tolerate the government.

The left finds itself confused with its own logic on Israel, when it tries to say it is a fascist state: it is basically a democratic state which can allow its citizens to have free access to arms and to take the arms for a conscript army home with them. Fascism, fascist Spain, is frightened to let even conscript soldiers take arms with them and relies on an "old guard," select-S5, Praetorian guard or the like. Of course, saying that a capitalistic democratic state is not to say that it lacks aggression, and therefore, that's a free society, least of all that it lacks police repression: all these things exist in Israel as in other democracies. What distinguishes a democracy from a dictatorship so much is not freedom - that is only achieved by a libertarian society - but voluntary acquiescence. Fascist countries cannot allow people to take arms home with them. South Africa can allow it to its white population only; like Israel its democracy is one-sided. Britain retains the monarchial principle against the bearing of arms but at a pinch, in 1940, could allow home defence if it came to it. (Of course it never did.)

Does Revolution need arms?

Social Revolutionary change is to do with a change in the industrial relations and in the distribution of wealth, an alternation in the way the property system works, and an anarchist revolution means an abandonment of the idea of enshrined property rights. Industrial relations can only be altered by people who are concerned with them. It is a matter of occupying the places of work, of changes in the way society is run, of an alteration in the way power is directed from above so that it is levell ed and control comes from below. Libertarian social revolutionary change means a widening of conceptions so that such attitudes spread to all social relationships and prevent authoritarian tendencies developing in the way people relate to one another.

This has nothing to do with taking up the gun and nothing to do with sabotage or "violence," notwithstanding the media-induce image. Such resistance is needed not in order that a libertarian social revolution would take place, but to prevent authoritarians from outside (or inside) the country, from demonstrating or taking it over.

As conventional war means mass murder, let the discussion on Citizens' Militias continue.

A.M.

POSTSCRIPT

As a postscript to the saga of 'Towards a Citizens' Miltia' (now in its second edition), we had a report from a cadre travelling the bookshops in Scotland and getting a somewhat frosty reception. In the Hope Street, Glasgow, bookshop of the Workers Revolutionary Party they was told flatly that they didn't want to have anything to do with Cienfuegos titles because "the police were out to get Cienfuegos and if I didn't realise that I was a fool" and then "stocking the titles would establish a pretext for a raid on the bookshop".

We consider that this clarification is sufficient to show more clearly the relationship existing today between anarchists and the area of autonomy in Italy.

A final clarification seems necessary to us. In the article published by Black Flag on the blitz against Cienfuegos press titles is that "stocking the titles would establish a pretext for a raid on the bookshop".

That the quotations are not only literally mistaken, but could also create a mistaken impression and distract the interest of comrades from the problem of independence from the media. The correct translation which we are bringing to comrades' notice is "nothing to do with sabotage or "violence," notwithstanding the media-induce image. Such resistance is needed not in order that a libertarian social revolution would take place, but to prevent authoritarians from outside (or inside) the country, from demonstrating or taking it over."

As conventional war means mass murder, let the discussion on Citizens' Militias continue.

A.M.

Dear Black Flag,

When converting myself to Buddhism years ago I kept coming across mention of the Great Illusion. Eventually I tracked down its meaning: intellectual speculation without action; the misconception that Truth will appear before one in a monk's choir after a long period of mediating. Isn't this just Horst Mahler's Great Illusion? Let him reflect further on the medieval Chinese philosopher's words, Wang Yang Ming.

"Thought alone does not lead to knowledge. Action invariably does. But as Acting is harder than Thinking we must do the most difficult first!" Act-Think is correct; Think-Act is not.

Let him reflect also on this piece of knowledge from an academic logician like myself who spent years unerring it. Since thought and action are logically distinct it follows that no act can be supported one hundred percent by reason; acting always involves a leap in the dark no matter how prolonged the thinking before it. So it is a logical fact that war-ear changes things like States, and not jaw-jaw, which is the Great Illusion that words will melt melts and defact batteries.

L.H. (Fire Horse Associate) Dyfed

Black Flag Page 15

This attitude to threats is reminiscent of that adopted by some minority ethnic groups who are doing so yield their enemies a position of power which they have not yet legally acquired. All that has happened with Cienfuegos press titles is that certain reactionary MPs have demanded that this book be banned and the press closed down. Immediately a civil liberties lawyer (an NCL official) advised PDC to stop distributing the book! Yet these are the people they call on us to oppose. However, when the same book was advertised - with quotations from these self-same MPs - numerous orders were received, from all over the country and elsewhere, from shop stewards and others, all saying to the same effect: If these people are against it, I'm for it. Yet the so-called "vanguard parties" are afraid to cater for their demands - an obvious lesson. It may be mentioned that as regards "closing down" the press or banning it, notwithstanding the media, no legal machinery for this exists. A publisher can rightly or wrongly, successful ly or unsuccessfully, be prosecuted for publishing a book, no penalties do not include "closing down" the press. The people who are calling for this are too stupid to know their own stupid business.

...letters contd.

But both these tendencies shared suspicions towards all the more or less Marxist thesis, and also agreed in the rejection of any ideological identification with the area of autonomy. For both these tendencies in the anarchist movement the theory and practice of struggle continue to be those of the libertarian tradition.

The fact that on the operational level of the struggle anarchists and autonomists may sometimes have acted together should not necessarily lead us to believe that the substantial differences that divide these two parts of the Italian revolutionary movement have been overcome. Each has contributed with specific operative possibilities, remaining independent as organisational structures and, more obviously, as theoretical heritages.

We consider that this clarification is sufficient to show more clearly the relationship existing today between anarchists and the area of autonomy in Italy.

A final clarification seems necessary to us. In the article published by Black Flag on the blitz against Cienfuegos press titles is that "stocking the titles would establish a pretext for a raid on the bookshop".

That the quotations are not only literally mistaken, but could also create a mistaken impression and distract the interest of comrades from the problem of independence from the media. The correct translation which we are bringing to comrades' notice is therefore Armed Joy.

None of the Italian revolutionary movement have been overcome.

"Thought alone does not lead to knowledge. Action invariably does. But as Acting is harder than Thinking we must do the most difficult first!" Act-Think is correct; Think-Act is not.

Let him reflect also on this piece of knowledge from an academic logician like myself who spent years unerring it. Since thought and action are logically distinct it follows that no act can be supported one hundred percent by reason; acting always involves a leap in the dark no matter how prolonged the thinking before it. So it is a logical fact that war-ear changes things like States, and not jaw-jaw, which is the Great Illusion that words will melt melts and defact batteries.

P.S. Last it be thought that Buddhism is an activist anarchism - the Ghurkas were Buddhists!
Ronald Street, who lived in Banstead, Surrey, was a right wing nutcase. He was formerly in the SAS. He boasted to friends that he was a "mercenary". It is not hard to trace his political convictions through his fantasies, especially when we learn that "he used to get the kids around here to line up against the wall, and then he'd frisk them... when some coloured people moved in opposite he'd do a war dance in the street... an old man parked his car in the wrong place... Street marched out of the house and just smashed him in the face."

In his house he kept, like many others on the right wing rearguard (which may yet become its advance guard), a "small armoury" including Sten guns, automatic rifles, hand grenades, a saw off shotgun, gunpowder, plasticine, detonators, hundreds of rounds of ammo... "But police said they did not think Mr. Street was a terrorist".

The police spokesman admitted that "he had enough guns and explosives to start a small war but we don't know what he intended to do with them"; and when he came to their attention as having no licence for his gun, "several" - note that word - of his weapons were confiscated.

Following a domestic dispute when he threatened a woman, police went to his house and he shot himself. Exit Mr. Street. But how many more of his kind are there?

Mr. Street, being such a loyal good citizen, obviously wanted to save the country the expense of a trial.

Leyland - Management Gets the Message?

Leyland workers at Longbridge, Birmingham, smashed their way through the plant in November, damaging cars and breaking windows. This occurred when five hundred men were laid off because of a dispute over the new Metro car. It is good to see a revival of the old IWW spirit of direct action.

As working conditions get worse and unemployment increases we should encourage a bit less talk and more of "hitting them where it hurts".

A week-long anarchist congress in Oslo was arranged by ANORG - visited by 400 to 500 people including Danish and German anarchists and anarchosyndicalists. Among participants were a smaller syndicalist group of Norway (NSF, with thirty members) and also groups into the 'alternative culture' movement. The main anarchist paper in Folkbladet (The People's Journal). This autumn a new activist anarchist group with monthly action-campaigns has emerged. The ANORG has collectively joined the Anarchist Black Cross. There are many comrades who have been imprisoned for refusing to pay the male blood tax (military service); others consider it a useful way to gain knowledge of arms.

Kjell Vesje is one comrade who has refused to pay the tax. Letters to him can be sent to the Svarte Kors (Black Cross, Norwegian Division), Høxtedtv. 37b, N 1430 As, Norway.

Hanging in the Republic

Three men - Peter Pringle, Colin O'Shea and Patrick McCann - were sentenced to be hanged in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, by the Special Criminal Court. The Court has no jury - it is presided over by three judges. The judges found the men guilty of murdering a policeman last July when police intercepted a gang who had raided a bank in County Roscommon. They were also convicted of armed robbery. The three men pleaded not guilty to murder and armed robbery.

Three policemen have been murdered in the Republic this year compared with four in the previous ten years.

The vigorous campaign that was conducted for Noel and Marie Murray helped save them from the death penalty, but in this case the men's fate may lie with the Prime Minister, Charles Haughey, who is believed to be against hanging. Now is his chance to prove it.

A BELGIAN ANARCHIST CONFERENCE is to be held in GHENT on 21st-22nd February.