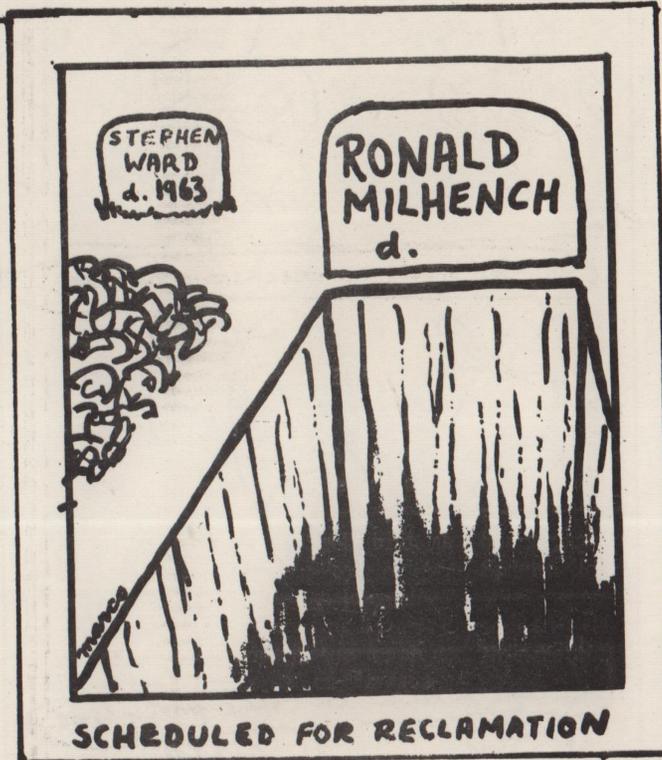


Pietro Valpreda has been acquitted on all charges arising from the explosion at the Banca di Agricoltura in Milan, December 1969. Warmest congratulations Pietro from the Black Flag and the International Anarchist Black Cross.



Cont. from p.1.

other deliberately lying journalists who find "IRA terrorists" responsible for actions in Spain. In this "report" (May 23rd) police propagandist Eric Kennedy, master-liar, describes Alberola as a "master-bomber".

Why the attack on Alberola as an Irish nationalist when he is neither one nor the other? He happens to be regarded as Franco's Public Enemy No. 1 — the "Mail" therefore tries to sell him as Britain's.

Such actions bring British journalists into contempt. People like Eric Kennedy are whores of the regime just as much as those who write in "Pravda" or "Izvestia". Kennedy goes on to spread the story of the Spanish police's — namely that a bomb explosion in Brussels was done by him — this to prepare the ground for his expulsion (or possibly his assassination).

Mr. Kennedy may be obeying an equivalent of the Evening News Style memo to which we referred. But if he is making himself a party to a prospective assassination of Alberola he should consult his insurance broker.

The International Black Cross urges all comrades and groups all over the world to prepare local defence groups to co-ordinate and assist the local, national and international campaigns to be organised in support of the comrades arrested in France. Their trial will be a condemnation of the butcher Francisco Franco and his vile regime. We must support them in their struggle — remember it is our struggle as well! We shall show the Spanish Government and their despicable allies what international revolutionary solidarity is capable of! Until further information is available we suggest that

The arrested comrades are being held in the Prison de Fresnes, Fresnes, Paris (men) and the women in the Prison des Femmes, Fleury Merogis, Paris. Letters and postcards of solidarity please.

Late News Flash:

News has just reached us that comrade Ed Stover has been murdered in San Quentin Prison.

**SABATÉ**

guerrilla  
extraordinary  
Antonio Tellez



This is a limited edition of 1000 published by Cienfuegos Press Book Club and available only to individuals. There will not be enough copies to go round every subscriber to the Flag so if you want to make sure you get your copy order it now. Publication date JULY 29th 1974.

We also distribute the Solidarity/Black and Red edition of Arshinov's "History of the Makhnovist Movement 1918-1921" in Britain. Paperback 284 pages with illustrations and photographs, Price £2.00, plus 20p p&p - available NOW.

groups organise demonstrations to the nearest representatives of the French Government — official, semi-official and trade bodies; send letters and petitions of protest in solidarity with the arrested comrades to the French Foreign Ministry, Ministry of the Interior and the French Ambassador in your respective countries. **ONLY YOU CAN PREVENT THE EXECUTION OF ORIOL SOLE SUGRANYES!** **ONLY YOU CAN PREVENT THE NINE COMRADES FROM FACING LONG AND SAVAGE PRISON SENTENCES.**

# BLACK FLAG

organ of the

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL III NO.11 1974 10p

## NINE COMRADES ARRESTED

On May 22nd French police announced that they had arrested a number of anarchists shortly after the release of the kidnapped banker, Balthazar Suarez. This was later put at nine and the police are searching for links in other European countries. The four men and five women are accused by the police of receiving stolen goods, but so far do not know where Suarez was held in Paris nor do they know the identity of the kidnappers. The arrested comrades are:— Octavio Alberola, Ariane Grandore, Jean Weir, Anne Urtubia, Lucio Urtubia, Pierre Gilbert, Daniel Gilbert, George Riviere and Anne Plazon.

Suarez was released by the comrades (whose identity is as yet unknown) on the undertaking of the Francoist Government that they would apply the law of conditional liberty (parole) to all political prisoners in Spanish jails. This would mean the immediate release of over 100 political prisoners. The ransom money of £250,000 was repayment of CNT funds stolen in 1939 by the Francoist Junta.

The Commissioner of the Paris Police, Judicaire, Mr. Jean Ducret, confirmed that the kidnapping related directly to the legal murder of the young anarchist Salvador Puig Antich two months ago. He omitted to make any comment on the similar fate awaiting Oriol Sole Sugranyes. No names were released at first but Ducret went on to say that in addition to French and Spanish nationals living in exile, they had also arrested a Scots girl. When news of the arrest was made known to Scotland Yard, a senior detective, Chief Superintendent Ronald Page flew out to interrogate her. It is quite obvious from this that Scotland Yard's allegiance is to Security H.Q., in Madrid and not to the people of Britain. However, it is not believed Page got very far with the Scottish girl.

On the same day that the French police announced the arrest of the comrades in France the Belgian police announced they

were searching for Octavio, supposedly in connection with an explosion in the offices of the Spanish State Airlines, Iberia, in Brussels the previous day. The intention behind these police statements is quite obvious and is part of a long campaign of hate inspired by the Spanish Secret Police and their European allies.

**ALBEROLA A TROT!**

On May 5th the following article appeared in the Madrid daily paper ABC:—

"The French Police have been informed by the Spanish Police of the presence in Paris of Octavio Alberola Sunilach, one of the most important killers in the service of the IVth International," writes fascist

journalist Alfredo Semprun. He goes on to say that "Alberola participated in the frustrated kidnap attempt on M. Emilio Garrigues, Spanish delegate to UNESCO, some time ago, as a result of which he was expelled by the French authorities."

This was exceeded later by Eric Kennedy, Brussels correspondent of the Daily Mail who announced "Europe's police were hunting for the master bomber thought to be behind the IRA Campaign! "He is Spanish born Octovi (sic) Alberola."

He was "extremely dangerous" (particularly when speaking Gaelic?). It made a change, of course, from the reports of

Cont. on back cover.



Comrade Octavio Alberola Sunilach, born 4th March 1928 in Alayor (Menorca), was forced into exile in Mexico with his family in 1939 following Franco's victory. Because of his untiring and uncompromising stand against Francoism this militant libertarian is hated, feared and libelled by the Spanish Government Press and the Spanish Security Services who, since 1961, have declared him the Regime's "Public Enemy No. 1". Over the last thirteen years these Security Services have made numerous attempts on his life. His father, the well-known Anarchist teacher, Jose Alberola, was murdered in Mexico City on May 1st 1967 by the Spanish Secret Police. He had been horribly tortured, presumably in an attempt to discover the whereabouts of his son in Europe.

Subs £1.50 per 12 issues.  
 America, Australia, New Zealand (airmail) £3.12 per  
 12 issues. (\$8.00)  
 All correspondence to 83A, Haverstock Hill, London NW3.  
 Telephone No:— (01) 586 - 2038.

State of Play at May 17th 1974.

<b>Black Flag</b>		
c/fwd from last statement	£10.34	credit
Sales and subscriptions (ditto)	69.56	
Donations: Dublin BC £10; Glasgow WW £5; Somerset RE £1; London GR £5, IM £5, LS £5; USA Arizona JB £3, San Fran- cisco AR \$105 = £45.50; Renfrew AB £1, Essex AG £10, ME 50p, London LS £3, AM £20, Anon £2.	£116.05	
		£195.95
Printing and paper	£93.15	
Postage	41.00	
Stationery	4.60	
Lit. purchased	4.60	
First payment on press	100.00	
	243.35	
		deficit £67.40.

We also have donations of \$100.00 AR (San Francisco),  
 \$100 MG (Los Angeles) plus \$6.00 sales US = \$206.00 in  
 course of clearing. This makes the deficit into a surplus.

Prisoners/Resistance

Prev.ack. £28.73 Hants SB £3; Surrey LD £5 Toronto IWW  
 \$10 = £4.07; Leeds PR £5; Nottingham AB £10; Birmingham  
 An Grp. £6.30; London raised by Cabaret £15; Melbourne,  
 Aus. ABC £11.89. Total — £88.99.  
 Disbursed: £25; £20 - in hand £43.99.  
 (Thanks to many who have been sending direct, especially to  
 comrades on trial at present).

BIRMINGHAM LIBERTARIAN BOOKSHOP &  
 INFORMATION CENTRE

Socialism. Anarchism. Womens Liberation. Sexual  
 Politics. Industry. Community Struggle. Claimants.  
 Ireland. International. Third World. Mental Health.  
 Education. Kids. Radical Technology. The Law &  
 Repression. Community Papers and Rank 'n File Papers.  
 In addition "632" is used by the Claimants Union and  
 local tenants, and serves as an information centre on  
 aspects of the "welfare State".  
 "632" has no financial backing and relies on donations  
 and fund-raising events for its existence.

632, Bristol Road,  
 Selly Oak,  
 Birmingham B29.

But these are the best years  
 of your life! Why are you  
 calling me the  
 brain police?



Housman's Bookshop at 5 Caledonian Road (near Kings Cross  
 Station) has transformed its cellar into a centre for the news-  
 papers of the libertarian, left, 'underground' and grassroots  
 movements. As Rising Free is just around the corner at 197,  
 Kings Cross Road, there is a wide range of books and pamphlets  
 near Kings Cross Station, which friends visiting London should  
 find worthwhile having a look at. It is a short ride from there  
 to Freedom Bookshop at 84B, Whitechapel High Street - (Aldgate  
 Station) or Compendium's wide range at Camden High Street,  
 (Camden Town).

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What happened to the monument to Pi y Margall (disciple of Godwin and Proudhon), federalist philosopher regarded as the "father" of Spanish anarchism, in what is now the Plaza de Victoria in Barcelona?
2. What was the specific, highly political reason for building the church of the Sacre Coeur in Paris; and what highly improbable sacred relic does it hold?
3. On one occasion (1911) a few delegates of the Industrial Workers of the World made a spectacular breakthrough into the British scene, creating a strike that almost overnight created a syndicalist form of organisation. Where?
4. After the crushing of the Munich Commune, the Bavarian Government executed several hundred workers (though in suppressing the Hitler putsch a few years later it only dealt out light prison sentences). What, however, was the meanest thing the Clerical and anti-semitic (though not yet Nazi) party did in this respect?
5. Which police inspector of the '20's and '30's became the idol of the British Left, and the only one ever to be equally respected by Anarchists and policemen?

Answers to Quiz on page 15

# SUAREZ KIDNAP

In a press communique issued by the persons who held Suarez, they made four demands: The first - the publication of the documents released to the press - has virtually been granted. For the first time, the Spanish TV, radio and press have allowed such demands to be stated publicly. These above all press for the granting of conditional liberty, in accordance with the already existing law, to those prisoners who fulfil the constitutional requirements for it. It also asks, soberly and realistically, for the granting of provisional liberty to Santiago Soler Amigo, who is lying gravely ill, and is due to be tried with the other comrades of the M.I.L. The third point is that demand the publication of the charges made against the alleged militants of the FRAP who were arrested following the incident in Madrid on the First of May. They fear the prosecution is biding its time and will in due course demand death penalties, when the ground has been prepared. The fourth point is the demand for application of the law regarding political prisoners, and they point out that the non-application of this law means in effect that those concerned are the victims of a kidnapping.



Balthazar Suarez

It will be seen therefore, that these demands are not as unrealistic and unreal as the press is pretending; they are asking not for reforms, but for the application of the regime's own laws (excepting in one case - the publication of documents - and this has been granted!) Sr. Suarez is unfortunate to be the banker who has to suffer for all the others; but it was certain that the blood of Puig would not go unavenged. Had it done so, it would have proved that Spain had been converted into one great sheep pasture. The garrotting of this young Anarchist has wakened the spirit of a whole generation. Reports in the British Press that the kidnapers of the Spanish banker in Paris are asking for the release of 100 political prisoners and for certain political reforms (with a reference to 'separatists') are politically slanted for English consumption. The kidnapers are demanding only the application of a constitutional law dating from 1870 which guarantees 'conditional liberty' to good conduct prisoners who have served three-quarters of their sentence. During twenty years of prison under Franco I have seen thousands go out under

this law, their cases being referred three months before the due date to the Director General of Prisons in Madrid. It is true that application of this law would mean the release of 100 political prisoners since it has only been ignored in their case. The police of Britain and France have been obliged to try to trace the perpetrators of an illegal act designed to enforce application of a constitutional law, not to bring about a reform. Reports I have had from inside Spain show clearly that those concerned are not separatists, any more than the majority of Catalan workers who want to rebuild the trade union movement, but are unreasonable enough to prefer the libertarian one (the majority one in Spain as a whole) rather than that selected by Moscow or the Trade Union International. Their funds, and indeed their lives and liberty, were confiscated not by metaphorically 'trigger happy' judges, but by literally 'trigger happy' generals. If, in the fury and despair generated since the garrotting of Salvador Puig, some have turned to kidnapping a banker, to recall how many libertarian trade unionists were kidnapped (and murdered) by the present regime is not to excuse but to understand.

Miguel Garcia Garcia.

HUMBUB ABOUT SOLIDARITY

A familiar story that the Left Wing "idealists" want to ban arms shipments for Chile, and that the AUEW has - naturally without consulting its members - called a strike that many of them want to ignore. It is a sovereign state and will get its arms anyway, so what, they reason, is the point of their not working - and if they are going to work in that trade anyway, what is there to be so choosy about?

One cannot deny the point - for everybody knows the subject is fraught with humbug, and the success of dictatorship in Chile rests not on whether it gets arms from Britain, since it is certain that it will get them from someone, but whether the workers get arms to fight back. And nobody is proposing that they should.

Even the World Council of Churches will put up money for nationalist movements; but there is never a penny or a rifle available for social revolutionary causes. The Communist Party always makes sure that these go without the bare essentials needed for defence, lest they be able to dispense with the availability of the C.P., as a labour movement imposed from abroad. The long history of the Spanish Resistance - treated as criminal, ostracised, ignored and the subject of international police surveillance - is enough to show that no social revolutionary cause will ever get positive support despite a token call intended as propaganda rather than believed to have an effect, for banning holidays in Spain.

And lest the CIA gets too much blame let us add that the workers resistance in the Communist countries is treated even worse; that it must face not only totalitarian repression at home, but is certain of being hounded down the moment it shows its face abroad, where it needs the bare essentials for its work. The C.P., can afford at times to stir up revolt and discontent in the capitalist countries; but the capitalist countries never dare stir up anything in Russia unless it has a limited, nationalist or religious connotation, and affects only a few intellectuals. Note the present furore about a few ballet dancers, an occasional writer, the plight of the Baptists or the desire of the Zionists to emigrate, with the fact that the international police have stopped up every mousehole of escape for the Russian revolutionary to get aid from abroad. No doubt international capitalism disapproves of State communism, but it has no intentions of letting it be overthrown by the libertarian variety.

The position in which our Irish comrades find themselves at the moment as a result of the Eire Special Branch frame-up is serious. We urge all comrades to make a strong protest against the fabricated charge of robbery and conspiracy facing the Dublin 7 to the nearest representative of the Irish Government and Aer Lingus offices, by cancelling their holidays to Ireland.

The situation at present:

On Wed. 17th April the comrades made an escape attempt from Mountjoy jail to the magistrates court in Dublin. The prisoners, as pre-arranged, started making a racket and the police opened the rear door of the compartment to discover what was happening. Columba Longmore and Bob Cullen jumped on the cop while the other prisoners attempted to keep the door open and escape. Columba managed to open the rear door of the van and escape into the street but the policeman managed to hang onto Bob and use him to block the escape attempt of the others.

The guards in the front of the van were alerted by the noise and also it seems from seeing Columba escape in their rear mirror. They stopped the van and gave chase eventually catching up with Columba and knocking him out. Unfortunately no one escaped.

At the magistrates court all journalists were barred from entering, but on the request of our comrades this has been lifted since their appearance on the 22nd. Further charges were brought on the 17th making a total of 56 counts on their indictment. The prosecution claim that all the necessary evidence will be ready within a matter of weeks and it is almost certain the trial will be rushed through as soon as possible to prevent the build up of any campaign of solidarity.

Two days later, at 6.30.p.m. on the 19th the five comrades were dragged out of their cells without any prior notice and taken under tight security to the military Detention Centre at Curragh, thirty miles from Dublin. When they appeared again at court on the 22nd the "Justice", Mr. Herman Good, on the instruction of the State Counsel, remanded them into military custody. Mr. Herman Good commented that this was unique in his experience but as he had received a direct order from Paddy Cooney. The Irish Minister of Justice, he had no option but comply.

We must not remain passive and indifferent to the fate of our Irish comrades. Make your protest now. A co-ordinating committee has been set up to assist these comrades and can be contacted through the International Libertarian Centre, 83A, Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3.

PORTUGAL - A BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

For decade after decade Portugal has presented a dreary picture of social and political stagnation. There has been superstition and enslavement at home and aggression and enslavement abroad. The serfs of Portugal had to shed their blood to make slaves of the Africans. Because the reaction was so thorough the workers organisations were wiped out, and while in such circumstances the only inspiration the people can receive comes from individual action against the nominal heads of the regime, the wily Dr. Salazar could never be located. He buried himself in a monastery and governed, even before his death, as if from the tomb. Few rulers can manage to do this; Caetano has given up the ghost.

There have always been endeavours to break the deadlock. The Iberian revolutionary movement, from its Peninsular Committee in Seville, always endeavoured to arouse the people of Portugal until Seville itself fell to the bloody Queipo de

Llano. Now, at last, there has been a bloodless revolution in Portugal — one there could never be in Spain, which went beyond fascism to genocide, and where the victorious Army and the Falangists killed far too many and imprisoned too many for too long for scores to be forgotten in a night of dance and carnations.

Portugal, too, suffered enough from the dictatorship; and one's heart must rejoice to see the special Political Police chased down like the marauding animals they have always been, and delivered to the hands of the people... no more sinister, brutal figures who bash their way into houses in the early hours of the morning, but frightened little men who cry "Mercy for the love of God..." phrases they have heard for so long from victims.

The overthrow of the dictatorship by the Army junta is not the less a step forward because the workers have had no part in it. It was they and not (despite the Press) the journalists and professors who suffered under the old regime; but, when it came to the last struggle against the dictatorship their blood was not shed. It makes a pleasant change. Because the Army was involved in the takeover — and not, like Spain, Greece and in the normal way, on the other side — there was no bloody confrontation. It was not democratic, but it was sufficient to rouse the nation to come out cheering, dancing and singing, bedecking the soldiers with flowers.

The Army officers may well have wondered what they had unleashed — especially when they saw black flags among the red, the symbols of Anarchy with those of Labour but the politicians of all brands were there to reassure them. They would organise, they would take positions in the junta, they would keep the people under control at home and preserve some sort of orderly withdrawal, settlement or agreed stay in Africa.

The generals, who had distinguished themselves by their savage repression of the African people and their massacre of the guerrillas overseas, now found themselves lauded by the people of Portugal who remembered only that it was the political police who had repressed them. The generals are the heroes of the hour, for on the other side the capitalists, home and foreign, welcome them as a breakthrough to the era of the Common Market and workable capitalism. All this is part and parcel of a bloodless revolution. A military junta can guarantee that there need be no struggle unless the regime (like Franco's, or Hitler's) has long since burned its bridges; it can never guarantee freedom, which does not come as the gift of a smiling general waving from a balcony.

What counts now is the re-building of the workers' organisations. Will they be libertarian and revolutionary as before, or will they be imitations of the authoritarian and reformist bodies of Europe? The generals turn for help in this to the Communist Party which — despite its military commitment to the Russian power — can still produce instant labour movements, like instant coffee, to the taste of the ruling class.

The Portuguese coup has drawn the curtains on a long, painful entr'acte, during which the actors really grew old and died off behind the scenes. The first act showed a major struggle between feudalism and superstition on the one hand, and the libertarian social revolution on the other. The curtains were drawn for 25 years until they re-opened on the massacre of Guinea, and the Portuguese Army fully engaged in trying to force on Africans what the living corpse in the monastery had decided was good for the Portuguese. Now the curtains have opened on what looks for the moment like a musical comedy with garlands around the necks of the troops. Sixty political leaders each with his own party lumber on as a male chorus that introduces a note of high farce.

INTERNATIONALIST.

Dusseldorf 9th April

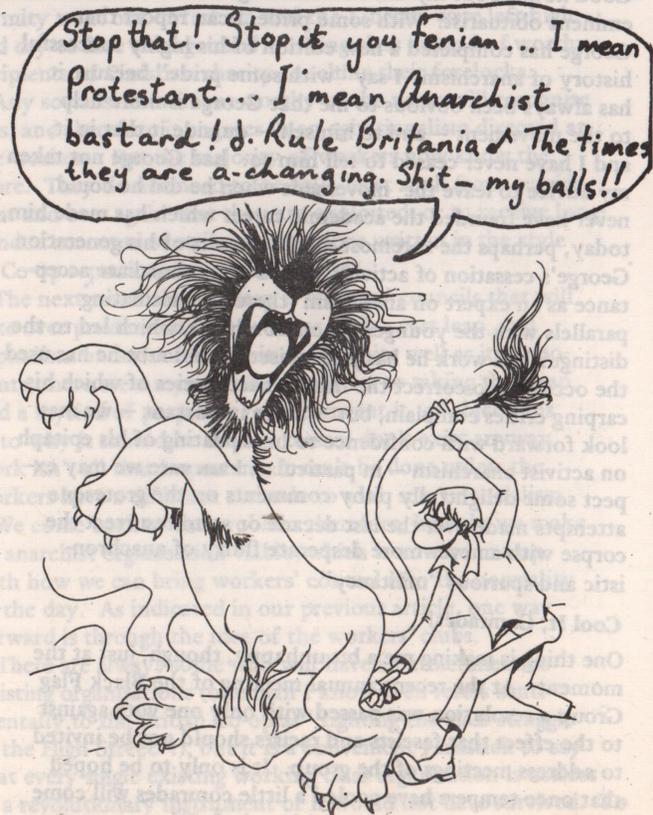
140 people (German and others) sent an open letter to Dieter Posner, Social-Democratic Minister of Justice of Rhineland-Westphalia, protesting against the tortures inflicted on political prisoners in West Germany.

The petitioners, including Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, demanded the immediate transfer of Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ausslin from their solitary confinement in Cologne prison.

During a press conference in Dusseldorf, a spokesman for the Committee Against the Torture of Political Prisoners announced that a group of ten relatives of the imprisoned comrades would begin a hunger strike, in which Gudrun's father and mother would join.

Gudrun is 34 years old and has one son. She was accused of taking part in an attempt to burn a department store in Frankfurt in 1968, and was sentenced to three years imprisonment with Andreas Baader in October 1969 — in absentia, as she did not turn up for her trial. She was re-arrested in 1972 and has been in custody ever since.

Manfred Grashof - a German political prisoner, accused under the blanket "anti-Baader-Meinhof" actions of the German police, who has moved to anarchism since his imprisonment - has translated into German "Franco's Prisoner" by Miguel Garcia. It will be published by the Karin Kramer Verlag of Berlin, who are currently issuing a number of books on anarchism and related subjects including Fritz Brupbacher on Marx and Bakunin; Max Nettlau on the Revolutionary Action of the Italian workers and the role of Errico Malatesta; a book by Ulrich Linse on Gustav Landauer and the revolution of 1918/19; Arthur Lehning on Marxism and Anarchism in the Russian Revolution by Barwich, Gerlach, Lehning, Rocker and Rüdiger; Arshinov's History of the Makhno Movement; Arnold Roller's Direct Action; and reprints of works by Bakunin and Kropotkin.



ARMS & THE MOON

Recently the BBC took us on a conducted tour of the latest weapons of repression and asked us to approve their use in putting down rebellion. The route followed an imaginary "situation" of street rioting and guerrilla kidnapping, in which the rebels were attempting to provoke the authorities into greater and greater violence to the point where the whole population joined a general insurrection out of sheer sympathy and exasperation. (The BBC takes this theory seriously, it seems.)

We were invited to identify with the authorities via a small studio audience who discussed briefly each stage in the conflict and the weapons available to deal with it, and then voted for or against their deployment.

Compared by James Burke, the programme was screened in two parts, in his regular popular-science-and-technology series. Burke is an hysteric, who twitters and twitches throughout his shows. It is said that when he was in America reporting the moon landings he got so excited he wet himself; whether this is true or not, he always wears dark clothes, including what appears on ordinary TV to be a black shirt.

Burke told us what was "happening" in the "situation", then suggestively handled various types of yummy weaponry, in confident Top-of-the-Science-Sixth familiarity. The injurious nature of devices such as CS gas and rubber bullets (both maim easily) were played well down by subtle sleight-of-tongue ("X-thousand uses, only two fatalities") or simply not mentioned at all. He also described sundry kinds of oh-so butch uniformed thugs which we (in our imaginary role as the authorities) had available at our immediate command to operate the hardware. (They were instantly obedient, naturally: armies — or police — never mutiny). Near the end he asked whether Britain needed a CRS. A member of the audience replied that he had been clubbed and gassed by the CRS in Paris in May 1968, even though he was a mere bystander. At this the audience voted against; obviously, so long as we have no CRS here, friends, the innocent will have nothing to fear!

At suitable intervals throughout, the camera and microphone were turned to a Professor of Saloon Bar Majoring for advice on strategy and tactics against Johnny Guerrilla and Johnny Revolutionary. At other times a well-fed lady advised us of the law (English); during one of her later discourses the interesting opinion merged that the Army almost always breaks the law when it puts down a riot, since it seldom bothers to obtain the requisite authority from a magistrate.

There was no attempt to attribute any political motives to the rebels, apart from the overthrow of the existing structure of British Society. That the BBC evidently considers this a potentially popular cause in itself does not say a lot for the self-respect of our rulers. The nearest thing to a "revolutionary" statement was a brief exposition of the "revolution by provocation" theory excerpted from the ravings of a coffee-bar Guevara; it is obviously the contempt for the intelligence of ordinary people implied by this theory which makes it so attractive to those responsible for TV shows like the "Burke Special".

As the State's violence increases, we may expect more such attempts to get us to accept it, by trivialising its consequences and inviting us to identify with the authorities. However, if all are as crude as this one we are in for some hilarious evenings.

## FASCISM IN PERSPECTIVE

The package-deal Left has its pre-processed gods and devils; high on its demon list is Fascism. It is, of course, a lot easier to fight the already-decided battles of the thirties than to face up to the realities of the present. The student movement, which sets so much of the stage setting for the new left, is agitated on the issue of whether "fascists and racists" should be allowed to speak. It would be a little pathetic to think that they are still worrying about this issue (a vital one in the twenties) if it were not for the fact that only too clearly the meaning of the word totally escapes them.

Their ideology is a mixture of liberalism and the scraps of Communist Party and a bit of fascism thrown in: and for them "fascism" simply signifies the enemy. They do not want to specify Capitalism and the State, which on occasion needs a fascist party as a counter-blast to authoritarian revolution, which may - as in Germany - steal the thunder of authoritarian socialism by a melange of the exaltation of patriotism with the slogans of authoritarian socialism.

It is reassuring to the package-deal left not to refer to patriotism and nationalism as enemies (for they support it themselves nowadays, in country after country); nor to the totalitarian State as an enemy (for worship of some totalitarian States comes in the package deal too). It is much more reassuring to inveigh against "fascism" - "we fought it in the last war", the comforting Liberal lie that suggests that the national enemy's ideology was (on that occasion only) the national enemy itself and that there was a tacit promise it would disappear afterwards, so that we are ready on the side of the law as well as the angels.

For ruthless suppression of the workers' organisations, Spain and Portugal outbid the Hitler State; but they were never properly speaking, fascism. In Portugal the workers were so cowed by the rifles of the army that there was no need for the ruling-class to go through the pretence that it was yielding to a "patriotic revolutionary" party: until the regime fell (and then as autocratically as it lived) there was no need to let the people think they participated in their own destiny as a "nation" even though as individuals and as a class they were suppressed.

In Spain there was indeed a fascist party, the Falange, but to this day it has not taken full power. What rules under Franco is the Opus Dei, the Christian-type freemasonry that united the reactionary forces in the Army and the Church with their opposite numbers in big business. The Falange, though there to give the illusion of fascist "revolutionism", has never been used for more than the sale of illusion. One could not compare the situation with fascism triumphant in Italy and Germany.

To say this is not to excuse Franco. The genocide against the Spanish people exceeded that practised in Germany against the Jews; Hitler only outbid Franco because he had the rest of Europe to draw on. But while all fascists in power are tyrants it does not follow that all tyrants are fascists. One cannot say that Franco was a fascist in the same way that Peron undoubtedly is.

To give false names is merely to inflate fascism beyond its importance. And to equate it with the exploitation of racialism by Right Wing groupings is again to exaggerate the importance of fascism and even to help its propagation; for while many fascist groupings seek power by the exploitation on unpopular minorities, especially racial, not all of them do, nor are all who attack minorities necessarily activated by fascism in the true sense. Certainly in Britain that working-class minority to which the National Front and Powellites appeal, on the immigration issue, is not moved by

a liking for dictatorship but a dislike for slum conditions in which immigration is part of the scene, and is thought comprehensible as the cause easier than Marxism metaphysics can clarify.

It does no harm to understand fascism as it really is. If one accepts the package-deal left view of it, one finishes glorifying men like Allende - and overlooking the fact that it was our comrades who went to jail under him for trying to organise unionism. One can fall into the trap set by the Communist Party, whose only acceptable face is to denounce fascism here, fascism there - all is fascism that is not themselves, or is at any rate "being used unconsciously" by fascism. Yet some of the regimes they denounce as fascist are less authoritarian and totalitarian than the communist ones. That is not to say they are not authoritarian. But if we understand that the enemy is Capitalism and the State, and not merely the form in which capitalism tried to save itself from bolshevik state power in the '20's and '30's, we shall be on the road to liberty, and not on a sidetrack which calls for laws to protect us from a manifestation which is otherwise inevitably on the way out. For fascism ceases when the workers take the offensive.

These thoughts were occasioned by a meeting in Manchester to which we were invited to send a speaker on Spain. Spain, though its resistance gets bugger-all help, is part of a package-deal of the left. We have never made any bones about the fact that we are for the armed overthrow of Gen Franco. But we don't have to accept the leftwing package; neither do we. The struggle for freedom must not be only a defensive one to support that which is, and is imperfect.

## Gleanings

### Departure and Arrival

Good news about my old friend George Woodcock, the eminent obituarist. With some pride, I can report that George has completed a new edition of his highly successful history of anarchism. I say "with some pride" because it has always been obvious to me that George is more help to the movement - and to himself - outside it than in it, and I have never ceased to tell him so: had George not taken my advice to leave the movement when he did he could never have founded the academic career which has made him, today, perhaps the foremost man of letters of his generation. George's cessation of activity earned him immediate acceptance as an expert on anarchism (there are fascinating parallels with the younger generation here), which led to the distinguished work he has just revised. No doubt he has used the occasion to correct the minor inaccuracies of which his carping critics complain, but - more important - we may look forward with confidence to his updating of his epitaph on activist anarchism - in particular, I am sure we may expect some delightfully pithy comments on the grotesque attempts made over the last decade or so to resurrect the corpse with an ever more desperate flurry of anachronistic and spurious "militancy".

### Cool It, Comrades!

One thing is making me a bit unhappy, though, just at the moment. At the recent annual meeting of the Black Flag Group a resolution was passed with only one vote against to the effect that fascists and racists should not be invited to address meetings of the group. It is only to be hoped that once tempers have cooled a little comrades will come to realise that such decisions only gain for the movement a



Whatever happened to Richard Neville since he left these shores, "Oz" falling on hard times, and returned to Godzone? He has been running a large colourful mag in Melbourne called "The Living Daylights". The issue 10th December 73 - 7th January 74 was devoted to ANARCHY! BREAK THE CHAINS - FREE THE SPIRIT. Most of the articles were from anarchists, many of the graphics coming from the Western Australian Anarchist Federation; and the Anarchist Black Cross contributed a page. It is a first-rate special issue.

There are some interesting bits about early (1892) Australian anarchism, though no mention of Australian anarchism is complete without a reference to "Chummy" (J.W.) Fleming who spoke week after week on the Yarra Bank on Anarchism and year after year had a lone May Day march - welcomed by the workers for his doggedness as he joined the official march with his own banner. There is a reproduction of an Australian Broadcasting Corp three-way interview between Noam Chomsky, Colin Ward, marxist Pat Flanagan and compere Pat Long.

And there is a fascinating picture by John Christmass of his great aunt Violetta "the last true anarchist in our family" . . . "She died during one of the terms when she was a guest of the state. I could never find out what her last words were in her prison cell; but I remember vividly what her final declaration to the world was when they arrested her that last time.... The wallopers had grabbed her and were escorting her that last time to the paddywagon - a process which attracted a fairly large and appreciative crowd since though Violetta was essentially a woman of peace she never believed in going quietly. Just as they got her on the steps, she wrenched herself free a second and shouted in that superb shrill, apostolic voice of hers: 'I tell you comrades there will be no peace on earth and no justice until THE LAST KING is strangled with the bowels of the LAST POPE and . . . They grabbed her again at this point and hurled her in, but she broke free once more and raised her triumphant voice to complete her glorious message . . . AND HE'S SHOVED UP THE ARSE OF THE LAST PRIME MINISTER!' Vive Violette! She knew what anarchy was really about

Among the articles in The Living Daylights is one by Colin Talbot - What's all this about Anarchy? He comes out with what he admits is "pretentious bullshit" and asks "Is it anarchistic, when asked to write something connected with anarchism, not to?" and dismisses the subject with flippancy. "Anarchy seems to be as good a subject as any to talk about when it's cold and there's a log fire burning. Like Utopia and everyone loving each other and everyone going to the beach and stuff, Anarchy of man is bullshit. Anarchy of nature is what's going to happen, and when it does, words won't be much help."

But for the fact that Talbot represents a frequent objection to anarchism he would not be worth discussing: "If every one woke up one morning and decided what a fine day it would be . . . to go to the beach . . . several things would happen. One: the beaches would be severely crowded. There would probably be a lot of drownings. The rivers would be full of people. The parks would be crowded. The streets would be empty. A lot of people in hospitals and institutions would die. By the end of the day there would be a lot of hungry people. The TV wouldn't be on, the trams wouldn't be working. A lot of people would have had a good time."

This is seeing a free society in terms of a Woodstock day out. It is not an argument against freedom but against any form of prosperity. The problem that on certain holidays everyone wants to go to the beach and nobody wants to work is with us at the moment; it is solved by incentives such as poverty (not by repression on the whole . . . even in the dictatorships).

Does that mean a free society could not exist? A people can choose whether to lead a primitive life "on the beach" that is free; but in a more sophisticated society are likely to opt for a more sophisticated way of life. It can overthrow the problem that there needs always to be someone working if others do not (this problem reached maximum proportions in the State of Israel, in regard to Sabbath observance, and was overcome as all such difficulties can be).

It is noticeable that, trying to criticise anarchism, Colin Talbot runs away from his subject - there can be no freedom in society but what is dangerous there can be "in nature" (whatever that means). "Nature" is certainly not subject to constitutional laws.

There ought to be a reasonable criticism of anarchism. We have yet to find it. The trots bring out personal criticisms of the actions of particular anarchists (usually falsified; but they have never the wit to see that it would not matter if they were true). The authoritarians rant as if anarchism was identical with criminality simple because there is no logical philosophical defence of authoritarianism against anarchism. The journalists use deliberate misleading tactics (a recent gem from The Times: certain Arabs came to London suspected of wanting to engage in "anarchist actions"! The Talbots of this world are more frequent. They bring up casual objections as to what would happen, in an authoritarian society, if the brakes it introduces for its own working were removed. Obviously, it would go downhill fast. But this has no relevance to the libertarian society.

Delays!

What's happening? Well... we're glad you asked that. Paper's hard to get. Money's hard to get, & solid news from comrades in other countries is hard to get... However, next issue should be on time

Love

In memoriam Robert P. Stover B-38341 San Quentin Prison.

Our comrade Ed Stover was murdered in San Quentin Prison on April 24th. He was stabbed in the back with a sharpened screwdriver and died in hospital a few hours later. The authorities claim that there is no knowledge of who did the job but they admit that Ed was not part of any of the gangs or factions in the jail. He was, however, a declared anarchist; he said so over and over again, both to the inmates, the authorities and in correspondence.

Ed was serving life but there were hopes of getting him a parole. In many ways he was typical of the new generation of "politicised prisoners" as distinct from political prisoners: his experience of deprivation and imprisonment led him to revolutionary thought and anarchism. Nobody knows who killed him. It occurs immediately that the San Quentin prison authorities would not be above doing it themselves. But a system such as the present, which locks up every psycho aggressive in conditions which accelerate their condition and throws other people in their cages as Rome threw them to the lions, is criminal whichever way you look at it.

Ed joined the IWW; he was an anarchist, he identified himself with the work of the Anarchist Black Cross and wrote hopefully to us of the fighters for freedom in Germany and in Spain. He falls a victim to State or State-managed viciousness.

letter from Ed Stover, serving a life sentence at San Quentin for allegedly expropriating a chemical warehouse, assault on peace officers, and receiving stolen weapons.

June 12

The first appeal in the robbery/bomb factory appeal has fallen down, after the California Appellate Court dredged up 26 pages of reasons why i should be guilty of crimes against the State, even if it cannot be proven that

#### THE MID-EAST SITUATION

In our last issue the article Anarchism and the Mideast Situation was by Jim Bennett (Arizona) occasioned by our "Oil and Allah" article. We regret byline was omitted. This continues the discussion.

The basic problem of the Arab-Israel conflict is that the normal social situation of war is reversed. In most conflicts of this nature, the workers have no interest in the clash; the middle-classes have every interest - the richer, the more reason for wanting war, the poorer, the less reason. But so far as the State of Israel is concerned, a large part of the working population went there because they had nowhere else to go and were driven from other countries to which they could never return (and in which they would surrender working-class status), or their immediate relatives did. The middle-classes know full well they could trade comfortably with or without national status (and the bulk of anti-Zionist feeling comes from those who wish to attain middle-class status elsewhere).

So far as the Arabs are concerned, the oil-rich sheikhs, the bureaucrats of Egypt and Syria, the kingdoms and the trading classes know that war can imperil their position, but peace talks bring the whole State into peril, for the lower classes have (or feel they have) nothing whatever to lose and usually everything to gain from war.

at least one of the felonies was even committed. Things like perjury and false identification, illegal arrests and unwarranted searches, all seem to be permissible if they are aimed against the left, particularly the section of the left which doesn't have rich liberal donors to line the pockets of legal aides and judges. So much for the bourgeois parody of justice. Also along the same line, the parole board met to consider my case and downed me for another year, leaving my term set at life. I suppose San Quentin just needs its resident anarchist or two to keep its awesome reputation up. It might all be depressing, but somehow a few words from a Spanish comrade quoted in the May Industrial Worker stick in my mind and give hope: The bosses have to win again and again, day after day. We need win but once. Surely that day cannot be too far off.

Word of Pat Murfin reached me through a friend with contacts at Sandstone, who says that a 'very political former GS/T of the Wobblies' arrived and set up shop. They'll not have much luck in trying to suppress the irrepressible revolutionary soul of fellow worker Pat. As i know your in contact with him, tell him i send my best regards and hope he likes the food and accomodations there (ha!). Has any word been heard from Baader or Meinhof yet?

Neither of the back issues of the Bulletin you mailed, nor the Solidarity Catalog have arrived. I fear they have permanently gone astray somewhere between your address and my own little cubbyhole, so could you send me duplicates, hoping for better luck this time? Alas, it is time for count, so i've got to run.

Solidarity,

*Ed Stover*

With the continuance of a war condition, the politics of 'revolution' has passed into the hands of a privileged student class in the Arab countries which plays at "revolution" while espousing nationalism - exalting patriotism as much as any fascist while using phrases obligingly supplied by the Marxist-Leninists. In Israel democracy exists. J.B. minimises the facts of the workers being armed, while workers' organisations are existing, which is the criterion of democracy. It is true the white population of Rhodesia and South Africa carry arms, but this is not synonymous with the working population, nor are the workers' organisations, even as they exist, armed in any way.

That 'democracy' exists does not imply either a perfect condition, or approval, and democracy on a lesser scale than that, is compatible with the repression of national minorities in many capitalist countries. Though democracy in this sense exists in no Arab countries, and in any sense in a few, the fear of revolution if any State seems to be negotiating is a powerful factor in the situation.

The pseudo-revolutionaries on the Arab side use Marxist phrases but their collaboration with anti-Zionists in Israel is no solution to the problem, since the latter represent, as they do, a bourgeois or an elitist trend. At the most this seeming rapprochement merely opens the door to the infiltration of Arab political movements by the Israeli secret service Shin Beit, which is now the most powerful force

in the Middle East, which the Arab governments are not above using themselves to suppress revolution when a deal on the side can be made.

So far as the Israeli side is concerned, there are bound to be many attitudes to the conflicts while democracy exists in the form of freedom of press and so on, but the fact that there may be many Jews who see the Arab point of view does not help the Arabs in the slightest.

The whole issue has been obscured by the intervention of America on the one side and Russia on the other; but it is clear since the Kissinger negotiations that the Arab governments are just as ready to sell out to America and have more to offer than Israel. Meantime the left package-dealers put aristocratic, slave-owning States, Army juntas and capitalist dictatorships as part of "the revolution"!

Is one then "to roundly curse both sides" as J.B. puts it? How, he asks, can we "inject an anarchist presence"? As anarchism pre-supposes above all else the end of State and nationality, and as almost any credible political group on either side has at least to pay lip service to the existence of its own nation State, it is not hard to see why Anarchists have found it hard to develop their movement (though J.B. is incorrect in saying there have been "no active groups or individuals" there). The effect of the situation has been for the most part - with honourable exceptions - that Jewish libertarians have given up the struggle within Israel (or emigrated); Arab libertarians have been murdered precisely because of their activities in the labour movement and, as in the case of the Hussein brothers, by those pretending to be "revolutionary" and "transforming the national struggle into armed revolution". The Trotskyite 'guerrillas' have all the arms they need, and some of the richest cities in the world behind them; but they persuade the impoverished Arabs to face the foreign enemy. Thus real revolutionaries are anathema.

The situation is very like Northern Ireland; for the doctrine of revolutionary defeatism is comparatively easy to preach when the national adversary is some distance away and not indiscriminately ruthless, when the physical possibility of its application is remote. Viewed from this angle the situation appears hopeless; but for one fact, and that is that in the Middle East, as in Ireland, the politicians are as never before, in any case that comes readily to mind, subject almost entirely to the will of the people. That will is now nationalist and so reactionary. But when before has the will of the people for good or ill ever been so powerful! It is not conceivable that this will can forever be to shed their own blood, in a game that benefits only the great powers and in which the rules are re-drawn according to the changing interests of those powers.

A.M.



#### PORTUGAL

(The following is an extract from a letter received from Spanish comrades visiting Portugal following the recent coup).

Dear Comrades,

Yesterday we arrived from Lisbon after passing what was a historic and unforgettable day for us. After forty-eight years of oppression it was so impressive and at the same time very difficult to explain what was happening there. An entire people were in the streets - shouting, singing, dancing, embracing one another. Tears of happiness flowed down their faces - they were free!

Our own happiness overflowed in tears when, as a major demonstration was about to get under way, we saw a red and black banner raised and begin to flutter in the breeze. Time had left its mark on this banner - it had not seen the light of day for over half a century. On it was the inscription A.I.T. and the date 8.5.1919. We could hardly believe our eyes! Behind the banner was a group of twelve or so elderly men and as they filed past we could not find words to articulate our feelings - it was them, it could not have been anyone else. We turned and shouted to them "We are comrades from Madrid!" They turned to us, equally surprised and we embraced with unimaginable feelings of joy. The Portuguese comrades had not expected to meet other comrades, least of all Spanish comrades and young ones at that . . .

We discussed many subjects at length. Some spoke about their old comrades in the F.A.I. Some had fought in the war, Q.... spoke about the founding of the F.A.I., others of the Zaragoza Congress, B.... of his life, J.... of his forty years in prison and, as he put it, "Here I am". Everyone spoke of the 'Confederacao'.....

Although we could not join in the march with them because of the numerous T.V. cameras, photographers and the Brigada Politico Social from Spain who were undoubtedly present we remained close by the flag which was ours and was carried by our comrades.

Before long many more people had swelled the numbers behind the anarchist flag. The metal-workers joined us in force as did the printers - all the time more and more people were falling in behind our banner until it became the most heterogeneous. A band of gypsies joined us as well.....

The entrance into the stadium was unforgettable. Our numbers were such that we believed that no more anarchists would join us - but we were wrong, all the time more black flags would appear through the crowds and placards bearing the words "Federacion Iberica" and anarchist slogans . . .

We have formed a support committee to assist the Portuguese comrades because, although their situation is favourable it is also critical. The other parties have sufficient funds and means to carry out their propaganda whereas our comrades resources are limited. We must assist them in this historic moment of the development of the libertarian movement in Portugal. They need books, pamphlets, leaflets and money so try to get as many comrades and groups to support them. We shall send you addresses where you can send parcels.

Fraternally,

## THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ANARCHISM

General Sir Walter Walker KCB CBE DSO was Commander-in-Chief Allied Forces Northern Europe 1969-72 and before that GOC of Northern Command. He is in close touch with Military Intelligence.

In "The Times" (May 17) General Walker makes the positive statement that "in Ireland we are fighting Communist anarchy" and "we should thank our lucky stars the battle is in Belfast and not in London." The idea that anarchist-communism is the enemy in Belfast would be staggering were it not for the implication that it could also be in London - and therefore what Gen. Walker has in mind is the battle against the workers. He is unlikely to admit that Christianity, nationalism and professional violence are at fault in Ireland.

It can be seen in context of his statement that the extract from the London "Evening News" style book (given in our last issue) by which journalists were ordered deliberately to misrepresent the issue, is part of a concerted campaign.

States Sir Walter: "The official IRA are a Marxist party whose aim is to subvert Ireland and convulse Britain," - THEREFORE they should be referred to as Anarchists! ("Their members are International Republican Anarchists and should be referred to as such"). This accords with the method now used in Greece and Turkey - if rebels are Marxists, pro-Moscow or Peking, they are to be referred to as Anarchists; if they are Anarchists, they are called Marxists. Note that in Spain, actions taken by Anarchists are usually ascribed either to "Marxist-Leninists" or to "separatists" (even in Catalonia).

There is - one assumes - a reasoning behind this which says that in this way solidarity can be broken: it is supposed Anarchists will not want to come to the support of those who want to instal the dictatorship of the proletariat or a new nationalist government - Marxist-Leninists will always oppose a libertarian revolution. It is clever military tactics.

PR

Yet another Japanese soldier, Hiroo Onoda, has surrendered - 29 years after the 1939-45 war ended. Second Lieutenant Onoda was ordered to stay put in 1944. Stay put he did. Fifty-two year old Onoda stayed in the jungle, with another soldier, until 1972 when they were sighted by a Philippine police patrol. The other soldier was killed (27 years after the war), Onoda stayed on - until one day he met a Japanese tourist who convinced him the war was over.

Even so, true to the faith in which he had been reared, Onoda would only surrender to his commander. They found him and persuaded him to hand over his sword, and go home to his family.

There are many Spaniards still fighting on 35 years after their war was over. But there is a big difference between their idea of freedom, for which they still struggle, and Onoda's blind obedience to orders. The code for which Onoda fought was based on subservience to the will of the State, which was personified by the Emperor as God. This code of State worship was always absurd in itself. In modern Japan the Western methods of State worship - more disguised, subtle and sophisticated though with the same ends - have taken over. The remnants of its victims - who were also its executioners - survive in pockets of the jungle, laughed at by the world.

Young Japan is burning those idols. And it is rejecting out of hand those carefully put in their place by the Western world.

## A SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE

For the first time (as we go to press) we have a social general strike in a part of the British Isles!

History must surely have played its bitterest joke this century on British Socialism when a social general strike swept Ulster, with clearly defined political motives at transforming the life of the community and defending what at any rate were thought to be workers' interests, and the Ulster Workers' Council found itself in direct confrontation with the State - not over minor pay cuts or rises, but in a direct challenge to an imposed authority. This general strike did not, however, take place under the influence of any of the socialist, communist or "revolutionary" parties. The party which had most influence upon the strikers, at any rate in the past, was the Conservative Party. Years of Protestant Loyalty in a working class have not prevented the workers becoming socially conscious and forming councils to take over if the British State resists them . . . while in mainland Britain the Labour Party in the seat of Imperial Power prepares to suppress it, and the so-called left resents the struggle since it has firmly placed itself on the side of nationalism and Catholicism personified in the I.R.A.

It may be that the years of Orange Toryism have protected the revolutionary will of the Ulster workers like a shell, guarding against the infiltration of social-democratic or Marxist humbug . . . now that the Ulster workers come into conflict with Westminster, loyalty will be thrown off and the shell discarded. If only they would dump Christianity of either hat, or nationalism of either badge, into Loughs Neagh or Foyle . . . is there more the Ulster workers need to do, to achieve a social revolution, than they have already seen possible in the social general strike called this week by the Ulster Workers' Council? \*

What madness to throw away the achievable gain of seizing economic control for the workers by the workers, merely for the empty decision as to which religion should give us the horrors or which colour passport should be issued by our rulers.

\* The next step to bringing the Province to a standstill should logically be to take over and start it running again.

## PRIZEWINNER

The Templeton prize of £34,000 for "progress in religion" was handed over to Prior Roger Schutz of the Taize Community of Burgundy, who said he would devote part of it to "progress of religion" among the youth of Northern Ireland. Dear God if there was one place the Catholic and Protestant religions needed to be persuaded to regress a little . . . . Prior Roger, who needs to get his priorities right, can have the Maudling Prize of Idiot of the Month too.

We greatly regret the death of two old comrades. One was Lillian Wolfe who died at 99, incredibly still active in a variety of libertarian causes and we believe, the last survivor of the Anarchist prisoners of conscience of 1914-18. The other was Fausto Garcia, the "doyen" of the Spanish exiles in London, at 86 still sprightly, an old member of the CNT in Spain and a founder member of the Centro Iberico in London.

\* \* \*

## ANARCHIST ORGANISATION AND THE WORKERS CLUB MOVEMENT (second part)

It is certain that there is something that we can refer to as "the anarchist movement"; it is equally certain that is not the amorphous aimless and structureless body that consists of those who happen for the time being to want to apply the name to themselves. To say there is "no other criterion" to judge what an anarchist is, than the willingness to use the name, is an affront to semantic credibility as much as it is to revolutionary consciousness.

To form an anarchist organisation is a difficult thing in any repressive society however democratic; if it is to be viable as an organisation it must have reformist structures and apparently reformist aims, or it will be suppressed; and if to be anarchistic it must circumvent the leadership cult it affords only a "meeting place" for anarchists (which is however not to be deprecated). The position of anarchist organisation has become more difficult in countries where there has been a growing libertarian movement; liberal but claiming to be revolutionary and yet divorced from the possibility of a change in society, (the "alternative society" is liberalism in any normal sense of the word).

The degeneration of trade unions has also made it difficult to see what trade unions have to do with liberation or anything more than a means of fitting into capitalism. Their growth and power have made it seem as if they were immutable factors of society and could never be by-passed or rendered obsolete. In some countries of the West they have obtained almost complete identification with the organised working class to the point of appearing from outside, synonymously, yet the individuals within them do not regard the two as synonymous, but hostile.

The libertarian movement is slipping into a grass-roots involvement which the Liberal Party has found suits them very nicely. Minorities are eagerly sought in order that they be championed; the competition to "do good" (and sometimes do well out of it) was never so keen since Nonconformity went out of fashion and the Liberals were left high and dry to face an organised working-class instead of worthy recipients of Christian charity touching their forelocks.

Any socialist movement worthy of the name will recognise this, and therefore it engages in an agitation directed at the workers. But the majority of workers now know the score. They do not need to be told, least at all from outside, over and over again that they are exploited; or to receive long-winded accounts of strike negotiations written in the style of Co-op reports to have them to rise.

The next revolutionary step is workers' councils that will take over production; but as it has such a vast leap, and capitalism understands the situation quite well as its opponents, there are a myriad of alternatives to taking that leap, and a myriad of proposals to circumvent it, or objections as to why it should be done - classes don't exist anyway, work isn't all that important, it can't be done unless the workers have a different attitude to soul, sex, or socialism . . .

We come back to the problem therefore, how do we make an anarchist organisation viable; which is now bound up with how we can bring workers' control into the normality of the day. As indicated in our previous article, one way forward is through the idea of the workers' clubs.

There are always some who will have an attachment to existing organisations (one man I know even refers sentimentally to the British Co-op as "fighting the class struggle in the High Street"!), but it is a convenient yardstick to say that every single existing working class organisation is useless as a revolutionary instrument or it would not have survived. To

admit this is not (despite the tradition set by De Leon) to denounce them; they are what they are, reform within the State. Many of the fondly-supposed libertarian groups are far more reformist, of course; indeed many claimants' unions work on the supposition that the State must always be there or they must disappear (no State, no claims); and some avowedly seek, by direct action, to obtain inferior accommodation scheduled for demolition, to squat in or urge "never work again" precisely what the reformists of the '30s fought against.

But one can accept this reformism as a liberalising concept, provided one is not bemused in supposing that it has anything whatever to do with changing society, which will never be radically altered unless the economic base is altered (which will only be done in the factories; and it is no answer, as the liberationists suppose, to object that everyone isn't in them - that only makes it harder but it doesn't alter the fact) and the money system smashed; and the State is circumvented or destroyed.

Once such clubs were of paramount importance in the working class movement and played a part in one revolution after another, the French Revolution being perhaps the supreme example. They grew to meet the needs of the 19th century worker, as clubs for self-improvement, for education, for trade education, for amusement. The institutes prospered to such an extent that ultimately they became taken over either by the show business industry on the one hand or the cultural organisations of the other; they lost their attraction when they ceased to be political, but it must be recalled that without them the political parties and trade unions would never have grown to supplant them.

All revolutionary movements of the working class have been based on regional committees, and these have invariably found that the driving force comes from a regional organism - sometimes called the trades hall or the labour club, sometimes the "local" or the Municipal Defence or the Regional Committee. In practice these are hubs of the workers committee movements or industrial unions. Such centres come about naturally when a revolutionary movement exists; the creation of such centres is highly possible now.

In fact, women and men coming to anarchism, hive off into libertarian movements of limited aims only because they do not see the possibility of the immediate creation of a revolutionary movement. But the creation of a movement of workers' clubs - whether these are based purely on entertainment, or for that matter on sport or education or anything else *providing it does become a genuine workers' centre* is the first step to the workers' committee movement which depends solely - and it is as simple as that - on the fact that sufficient people in sufficient places of work know sufficient other people with whom to work together for the principle of workers' control.

As we have often said in these columns, the creation of groups of only five in industry by industry - breaking down until it becomes five in each factory or ultimately each department - is a major revolutionary achievement. For the problem now (in this country at least) is neither the knowledge of how to bring about workers' control nor in many cases the will - it is the divorce of revolutionary thought from revolutionary action.

An anarchist is one who understands what anarchism is and works to bring it about. There may be some side-uses in organising anarchists, but it is not in itself a revolutionary task. The task for anarchists as individuals is to be building up a new workers' movement. The old lakes have dried up and revolutionary thought and action needs a new one to swim in. With these articles, therefore, we introduce a discussion on WORKERS' CLUBS.

Are they practical? How would they operate? How can they by-pass the State? - (next issue).

## BOOK REVIEW

John Maclean - Nan Milton (Pluto Press, £2 paperback, hardback £4.35).

Recently, when a Maoist group wanted a name to convey traditionally their mixture of communism and nationalism they chose the name John Maclean Society. When arrested on bank robbery-urban guerrilla charges the Scottish press referred to their taking the name of a "well-known anarchist". Such are the ironies of life. Maclean would have been shocked at the "adventurism" of the Maoists - he was nothing if not a puritan - and as for "anarchism" - he was nothing if not a Marxist. One of a small band of Marxists round the world who made their mark in an upsurge of working class militancy, (Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, James Connolly in Ireland, Eugene Debs in the U.S.A.), and though for the most part now "adopted" by Marxist/Leninists all (except Connolly who was executed too soon) explicitly rejecting Leninism and Moscow domination.

Maclean was for "wage-earners' dictatorship" but he rejected bureaucratic control - he was not really a Scottish nationalist by he was opposed to control from London and even more from Moscow. Though he denounced anarcho-syndicalism he was for a Scottish industrial workers' republic uniting the shop stewards' councils. It was unfortunate that his Marxism split him from the Anarchists because it brought him, via the Marxist organisations, into a shifting relationship with the reformists and the opportunists who were, for the time being, revolutionaries but worked their way into the establishment via the Labour Party and the Communist Party (once again - in the words of Burns - "oh what a parcel of rogues in a nation").

Because of his single-minded devotion to the cause of the working class - told with filial respect by his daughter Nan Milton in "John Maclean" - he became one of the most-hated men in Glasgow so far as the ruling-class was concerned; when he went to prison, William Gallacher and other Communist Party "comrades" spread the kindly lie that the capitalist class had driven him mad.

For years the story of Maclean's "madness" persisted: and it consisted solely of the fact that he refused to accept Moscow domination, even though Lenin had recognised in him an authentic expression of the "Red Clyde" of the time. One of the few who kept alive the image of the true Maclean was Guy Aldred; Mrs. Milton would have done better, incidentally, to have relied more on him than on academics like Walter Kendall who played no part in the class struggle, but merely tried to re-write its history.

The book is worth reading as a chapter in the history of the Scottish working class. Maclean was never as great as his admirers thought him and sometimes he was on the periphery of the struggle; but he stood for something solid in the Scottish revolutionary struggle. It is curious to note now that he felt Lenin was "telling us to unite with elements who are Anarchists" and his reply was that the Bolsheviks "should unite with the Mensheviks or Social Revolutionaries. We stand for the Marxist method applied to British conditions. The less Russians interfere in the internal affairs of other countries at this juncture the better for the cause of Revolution in those countries... A real Revolutionary Party can only be established here on Marx, not on Bakunin, by fully avowed Marxians of long years standing."

There is a mixture of all Maclean's contradictions in this. It can be seen he was not, despite his Scottish Republicanism, a Scottish Nationalist (he refers to British, not Scottish conditions); there is something of his sectarianism since he is getting at some of the Clydeside socialists who deserted revolutionary syndicalism for the glamour value of the Russian Revolution (the Party has to be based on Marxian "of long

years of standing"). It is not certain whether he is seriously telling Lenin to unite with the Mensheviks or Social Revolutionaries (to some extent Maclean did this himself, in British terms and it was more often they rejected him than the reverse) or whether this is sarcastic. But finally, why did he reject unity with the Anarchists? Not because of his sectarianism so much as he knew what Lenin was getting at.

The dictator wanted the C.P. in Scotland, as elsewhere, to pose as revolutionary, to seize the spearhead into the working class made by years of syndicalist and IWW agitation, and to utilise the anarchist working class to establish over them a party based on Moscow control. Maclean worked for years with Anarchists. But he would not pretend to be an Anarchist, or use the Anarchist slogans, merely to impose a Marxian party; his idea of a Marxian party was something perhaps authoritarian in its own way, but indubitably more honest than Lenin's; it was this honesty that divided Luxembourg and Liebknecht from Moscow too.

This book gives a good insight into one of the last of the honest revolutionary Marxians before the shadow of Leninism. All that generation came into conflict with Moscow. Many were wiped out by victorious reaction, some were taken over by Moscow and settled down to becoming trained hacks - like Gallacher - or like most of the "Red Clydeside" MPs made a steady path to selling out. A few remained, increasingly more isolated as revolutionary socialism was phased out, scorned as "eccentric" or downrightly denounced as "mad" by the careerists, yet true to their principles but - like Maclean, Aldred and others in Glasgow and how many more elsewhere - doomed to poverty and obscurity. But they were, and remain, part of their class - despite differences, harbingers of the future, part of a common heritage of class struggle.

Daughter of a Revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin/Nechayev Circle, ed. Michael Confino. (Alcove Press £4.50.)

It is hard to know what to make of a book like this. Prof. Confino is a Professor of Russian History who parades his achievements and puts together a book (at a high price) which is nothing more, nothing less, than a "collection of documents by or about Natalie Herzen". Who was she? "The daughter of a revolutionary". So what is so exciting? Look up from the chair in which you're reading this (average-reader) and there is your little daughter - does *she* merit a book? Probably she does, and a darned good one it will be, but you can bet your last shekel it won't come from Prof. Confino.

Natalie was the daughter of Alexander Herzen, who is reckoned to be one of the first Russian anti-Tsarists to carry on an active propaganda from abroad; in his circle many of the next generation of anti-Tsarists mixed - like Bakunin and Nechayev. He was not exactly a revolutionary himself. Nothing important emerges from a revolutionary point of view.

Where the literary con trick comes in is to distinguish the "revolutionary" who is recognised in the college curriculum from the revolutionary worker. The "revolutionary" is to be a man apart, something extraordinary (and far beyond what you or me might be) ... compare Roel van Duyn's unintentional joke about the comet flashing across the sky when a "revolutionary" died. In a pejorative manner the writer of a romance about Sidney Street will show the "revolutionary" as something extraordinary and absurd, removed into the veins of fantasy.

But revolutions are caused neither by intellectuals not (necessarily) by those who are recognised by the intellectuals as suitable candidates for the university curriculum. It is the individual as he comes into contact with history, as part and parcel of humanity, who makes history of any kind - "great men" are only its bookmarkers.

For what it is worth Natalie's diary and letters cast some light on the life of Herzen in London, when Bakunin came round to tea. It also takes considerable time to explain from correspondence, Bakunin's break from Nechayev. Poor old Nechayev always gets the fire of the academics. There is no doubt he was a considerable revolutionary in his own right, as Bakunin clearly saw. That he might have conned his friends and robbed his enemies is something the academics can never forgive, as they rely on public grants themselves. But it remains true that his uncompromising and much abused "Catechism" was the *only* way in which, ultimately, any revolutionary could work actively in Russia at the time and it is still true 100 years later (as many Siberian convicts could ruefully assure the academics).

The moral of the book seems to be that if you're going to be more than normally militant, discourage your daughter from keeping a diary, or you'll have that quarrel with the neighbours recorded for posterity, just in case you make the history books.

Late news on the eleven comrades in Paris.

The first of the arrested comrades was interrogated by the examining magistrate dealing with the case on Monday, June 10th. The chosen person was Jean Weir. Her interrogation lasted from five in the evening until nine and her barrister was present throughout the interview. Jean confirmed the statement she had made earlier to the police that she knew absolutely nothing about the entire affair.

According to the latest reports we have, Octavio Alberola has written to the Magistrate explaining that neither Jean nor Ariane (who were in the car with him) knew anything about the money found in the car. It seems so far as this money is concerned, Octavio was set up by someone posing as a comrade in order to trap him and thus, with the likelihood of a long prison sentence in front of him, remove of of the most outspoken and respected anti-Francoist activists from a position where he could do most harm to the Francoist regime. The reasons they have for hating him are multitudinous, as we have explained elsewhere, but not least is the desire to prevent him being granted asylum in France and to prevent the publication of the book which both he and Ariane were working on until the moment of their arrest. This dealt in great detail with the struggles of the anti-Francoist resistance movement in Spain since the Liberation of France in 1945.

Octavio was officially expelled from France by the same governmental order which expelled Cohn-Bendit in 1968. In view of the recent declarations by the new President, Giscard D'Estaing, to the effect that he wishes to throw open the borders of France to all political refugees, we suggest that *all* comrades and sympathisers write a letter to the President of the French Republic asking that the expulsion order against Octavio be lifted, and that he be allowed to remain in France - and until the case is heard he be granted bail - as should all the others! All of them it seems are victims of the same fascist provocation similar to that which ended with the murder of Pinelli and the protracted imprisonment of Pietro Valpreda.

The comrades are not allowed to receive food parcels but money can be sent to them, directly, or to us at Haverstock Hill. The address to send the money to for the men is:-

1, Avenue de la Division Leclerc,  
94260 - Fresnes,  
Paris.

and for the women to:-  
Fleury Merogis,  
(Prison des Femmes)  
Paris.

## LITERARY WHORES!

The "Mail's" Richard Shears echoed the propaganda of drunken lout Kennedy that Alberola was wanted for "questioning about IRA bomb outrages". Knowing perfectly well that it was absolute nonsense, Shears referred to Alberola belonging to "a Spanish anarchist movement" (as if there were several including the IRA one presumes!)

That this is part of a planned campaign is shown by the fact that when, in Genoa, Marxist-Leninists - in the Red Brigades - kidnapped Sgr. Sossi, and released him, they were referred to by the "Times" (May 24th) as "an anarchist group" who demanded the release of "eight anarchists" (in fact they demanded the release of eight Maoists in the 22nd March movement; excluding the one anarchist). Did the "Times" know it was lying?

In its report it says, "The guerrillas had demanded that officials... give them asylum in the Cuban Embassy". Did not the "Cuban Embassy", "Red Brigade" etc., alert the sub-editors of the "Times" to the fact that this was clearly a Marxist-Leninist grouping and not an anarchist one? Even the casual reader of its book reviews and not those of its literary supplement would know that. Yet the journalists either did not; or were deliberately lying.

It fits into a pattern that began in Greece and Turkey - anarchists are Marxists and IRA; Marxists are anarchists and (for the Evening News) Catholics are anarchists and Protestants are Marxists. Cold war tactics... a journalism of lies that was begun by Goebbels. Journalists are turning themselves into supplementary policemen in their capacity as literary whores.

Comrades,

We have just finished the 7th trial of our I.W.W., members arrested here in Toronto during the Artistic Woodwork strike. Except for the two appeals on jail sentences, our major defence costs are past, including contributions to other arrested picketers. We find money still remaining in the defence fund built up during the strike from contributions sent by workers in Sweden, England, Canada, U.S.A. Hawaii, Guam and Australia.

The IWW Toronto branch has already voted aid for the defence of Martin Sostre (a Black anarchist imprisoned in New York) and for two black IWW organisers arrested in Portugal, Oregon.

By vote of the GDC, Toronto Local, we have decided to send \$10 to each of the following:

Spanish Resistance Fund (c/o ABC)  
Giovanni Marini Defence  
Goliardo Fiaschi Defence.

Please find attached an international money order Canadian funds for \$10. POR UNA ESPANA LIBRE Y REVOLUCIONARIA!

In solidarity  
Jewell.

**SECTARIAN! SECTARIAN!**

On the 23rd June the Spanish Communist Party is holding a meeting in Geneva, which will be addressed by Dolores Ibarruri - "the Passion Flower", now Moscow's "Pension Flower", and Santiago Carrillo, President and General Secretary of the officially-recognised Moscow-line C.P. of Spain, who has recently announced he is waiting for the "Portugal"-type call from patriots in the Spanish Army. "Spanish democrats" resident in this country have sent an appeal to anti-Francoists to attend in their thousands, and the Trade Union Group Tours Department of Progressive Tours Ltd., have sent out a circular announcing a cheap return fare under their tour booking. Entprising they sent one to the Centro Iberico, understanding that many anti-Francoists from Spain have come to it since its inception and it could afford a doorway into the anti-Franco movement of Spain today. The doorway, however, is not likely to be opened. Thanks for the offer of the free tour, though.

**CENTRO IBERICO**

**JUMBLE:** In a recent issue we asked for jumble. Not many readers took us seriously. But we did receive a large number of broken down photocopiers. They have all been capable of renovation and have been distributed by us round a number of community workshops as we couldn't use them ourselves. Still one or two available for the asking - free and carry. We could do with clothes for sending to Spanish prisoners or for sale to defray some of the legal expenses. And we need clean rags for our printshop. Any L.P.s you don't want for a disco evening (or can you lend some?)

**LETTERS**

Comrades,  
Please find £5 enclosed for the defence of our comrades of the MIL. - By the way, sorry to hear you're up to your neck in correspondence, but a journal as good as Black Flag should expect such a wide response from its readership! Every issue is well worth reading from cover to cover, which is more than can be said of the "Daily Whatsit".

Fraternally,  
L.D.  
Surrey.

Dear people,  
Keep on pushing - I don't agree with everything you say, but if I did I wouldn't subscribe.

Yours in brotherhood,  
M.E.  
Essex.

**CHARACTER IN SEARCH OF A LIFE**

Blush blush blush... A comrade points out that it's a long time since I read the book but I seem to remember that Leblanc created the character Arsene Lupin and not the other way round...  
... Wrong that time, but another points to a review of "The Good Soldier Schweik" in an I.S. paper which describes the author Jaroslav Hasek as having indeed been an Anarchist, but at the time of writing that anti-militarist classic being a Soviet commissar. The review refers to Hasek at one time being a "drinker" as well as an anarchist. The reader of "Schweik" can see he was still both. Like some Anarchists of the time, he did think it possible to fight for the (original conception) of Soviets; and died too soon to realise the fatal mistake.

**Gleanings (cont. from page 6)**

reputation for intolerance and bigotry which ill accords with the traditional Anarchist support of free speech and fair play. One comrade at the meeting went so far as to say that he didn't mind fascists and racists addressing our meetings so long as the meetings were held in dark alleys or on the banks of disused canals. If only the moderate members of the group would attend our meetings more regularly we should not get ourselves into this sort of muddle.

**Quite Comfy, Thanks!**

But to end on a sunnier note, my old friend Alex Comfort writes to me from California of an unexpected and gratifying fruit of his own recent literary endeavours. Thanks to a happy error, sales of his stimulating and liberating manual "The Joy of Sex" were recently boosted from an unexpected quarter. (It is to be hoped that Alex's elevation to public eminence in this particular sphere does not stem, as George Woodcock's does, from inactivity!) Apparently, twenty-five copies of his book were ordered in error by the authorities of a Roman Catholic girls' school in St. Louis, Missouri. This was actually in mistake for another book, by somebody quite different, called "The Joy of Cooking". But all has ended happily, I can report: the school has paid for Alex's books without a murmur.

*Plan of the Movement*

*Pithy folk wisdom begins here:*

"A change of rulers is the joy of fools"  
-Rumanian proverb.

Deliverance (Alternative title: Nor saviours from below)  
A sheep was once carried off by a lion. Reaching a river bank, the lion paused. Deftly, a wily crocodile leaped up and snatched the sheep from the lion's jaws.

"Phew, thanks!" said the sheep, as they submerged, "I thought I was a goner then."

† \* † \*

**Answers to Quiz**

1. It was transformed by Gen. Franco, in a typical and resented gesture, into a victory column, the statue being removed from the plinth. It thus became one of the most bombed monuments in Catalonia.
2. "To expiate the crimes of the Communards" of 1871/2. It holds a photograph of Jesus, not surprisingly, "the only one in existence" (said to be taken from the lineaments on the burial shroud).
3. The Wobblies made a breakthrough at Singer's Sewing Machine factory in Clydebank (near Glasgow) where 3,000 women came out, with all the men not held back by their trade unions (which blacklegged on the women). This women's strike - coming at a time of strong syndicalist agitation - exposed orthodox trade unionism and helped swell the wave that might have led to a British revolution.
4. They sent the bills for the execution of the "traitors" to the wives or mothers of the condemned, even distraining upon the furniture in default of payment.
5. Ex-Inspector Syme, victimised by Home Secretary Winston Churchill for his part in trying to build a policeman's union, became the idol of the Left of the '20's and '30's - but even the Anarchists, who were not believers in unionising the police, respected him for his long, single-handed, courageous stand against the authorities and in defence of his confiscated pension rights.

**Riddle-Me-Revo**

Q. What have Peter Cadogan and the Queen's bra got in common?  
A. They both support the national front.

Anarchy magazine has been appearing regularly again. Subs are available from Anarchy Collective, 29, Grosvenor Avenue, London N.5 at £2.25 for twelve issues or £1.15 for six. Single copies 20p plus 5p postage. Back issues available are No. 4 Polish Food Riots, No. 5 Anarchism in Japan, No. 6 Ireland, No. 7 Workers' Councils, No. 9 Urban Guerrilla Warfare, No. 10 Craigavon New City, No. 11 Prisons. The two current issues are No. 12 on The Labour Movement in Spain by Albert Meltzer, with other articles on Power and the Miners and Freedom Press. No. 12 has been described as magnificent, splendid, entertaining, petty and malicious. The Collective think Albert's article one of the best things he written. Anarchy No. 13 concentrates on Women and the children with outstanding articles on the Politics of Pregnancy by Charlotte Baggins and the Battered Wives Syndrome by Kathy Perlo. Taken as a whole it must be about the best issue of Anarchy so far.

Can any readers of Black Flag take several copies of Anarchy to sell locally or for bookshops in their area? Help with the production of Anarchy, especially distribution is needed. Anyone interested can write for details of Thursday evening meetings, held alternate Thursdays. We want people who will work not just talkers... we've had enough of them.

It has been reported that members of Inside Story, which folded recently, were entering the Anarchy Collective. This has not happened due to the article on Freedom in Anarchy 12. Likewise Nicholas Walter has withdrawn from tentative involvement with Anarchy due to the criticisms of Freedom Press.

Jerry Westall  
for Anarchy Collective.

