



anarchist black cross



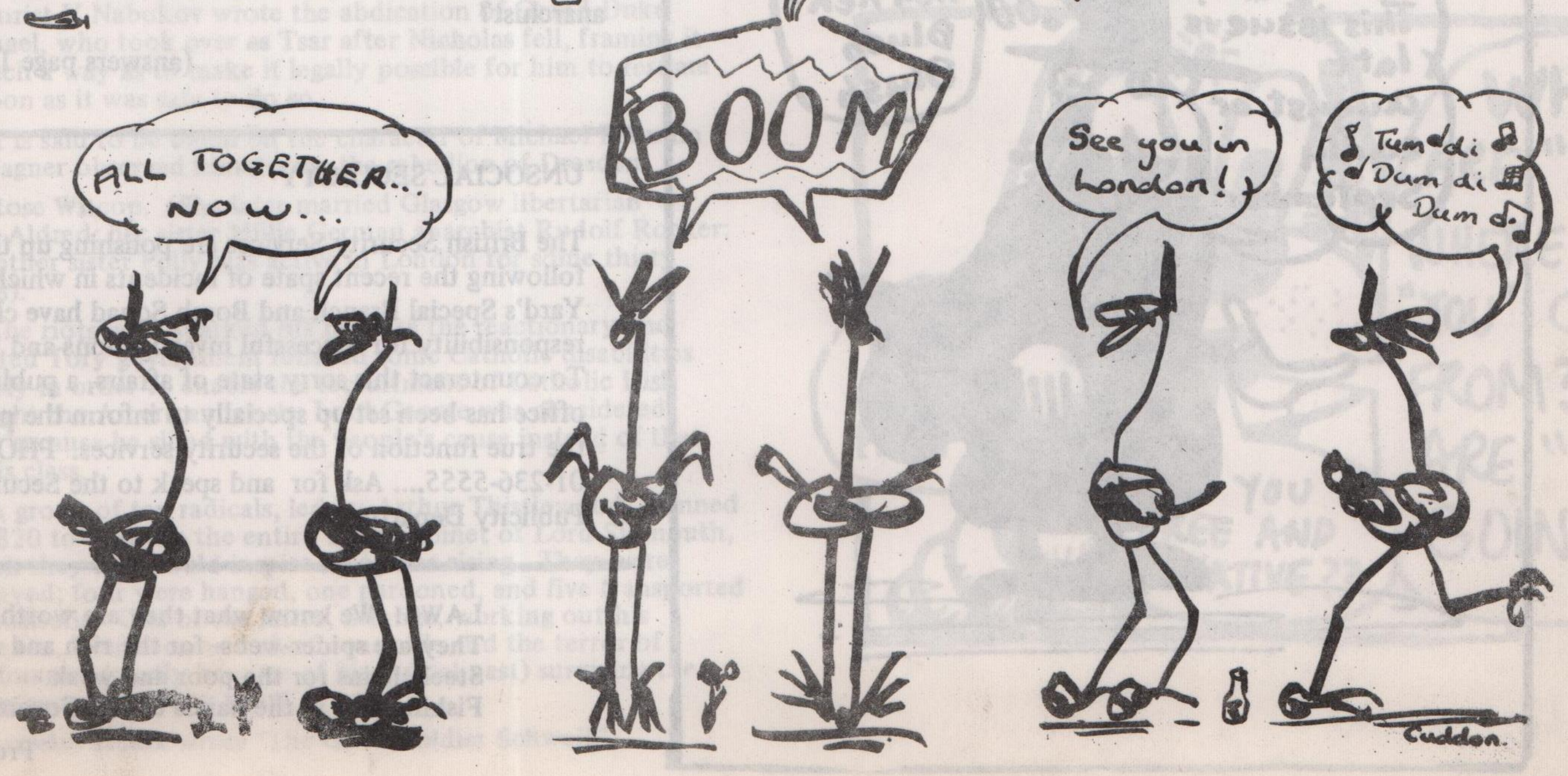
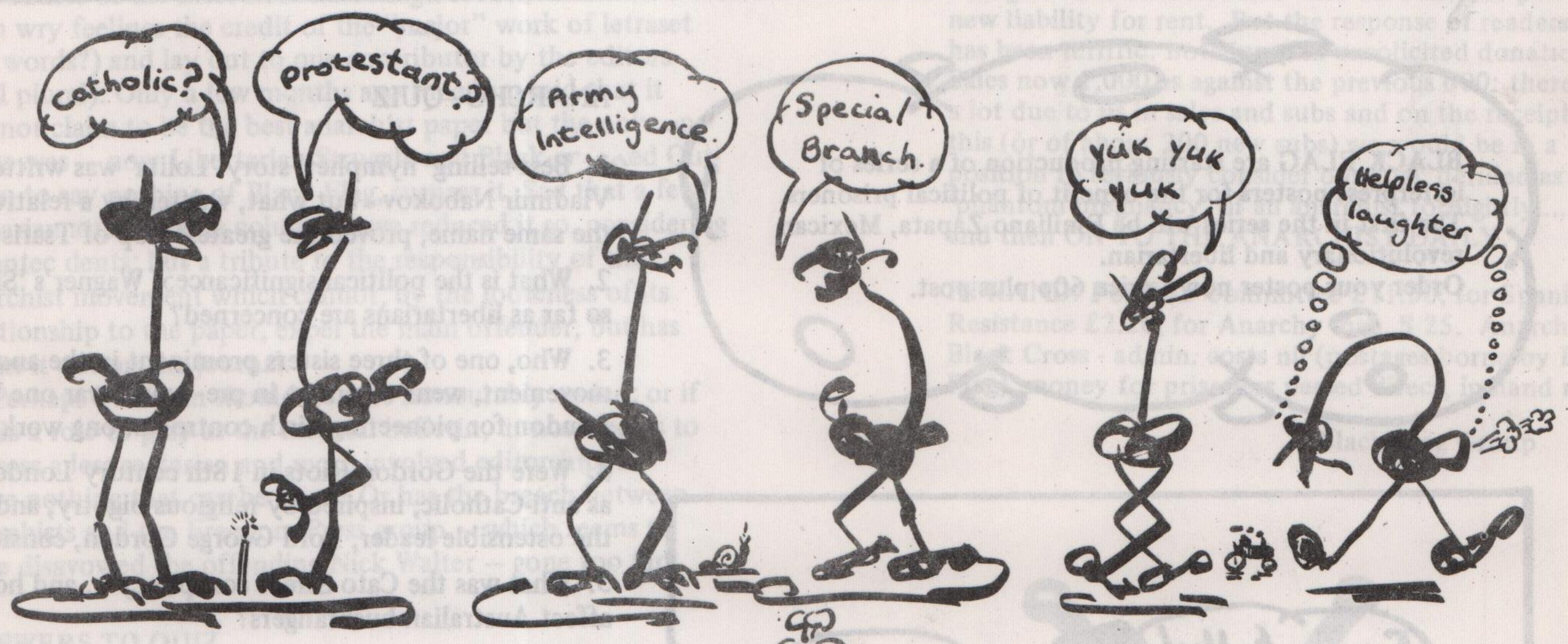
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 AN ANARCHIST BULLETIN DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION

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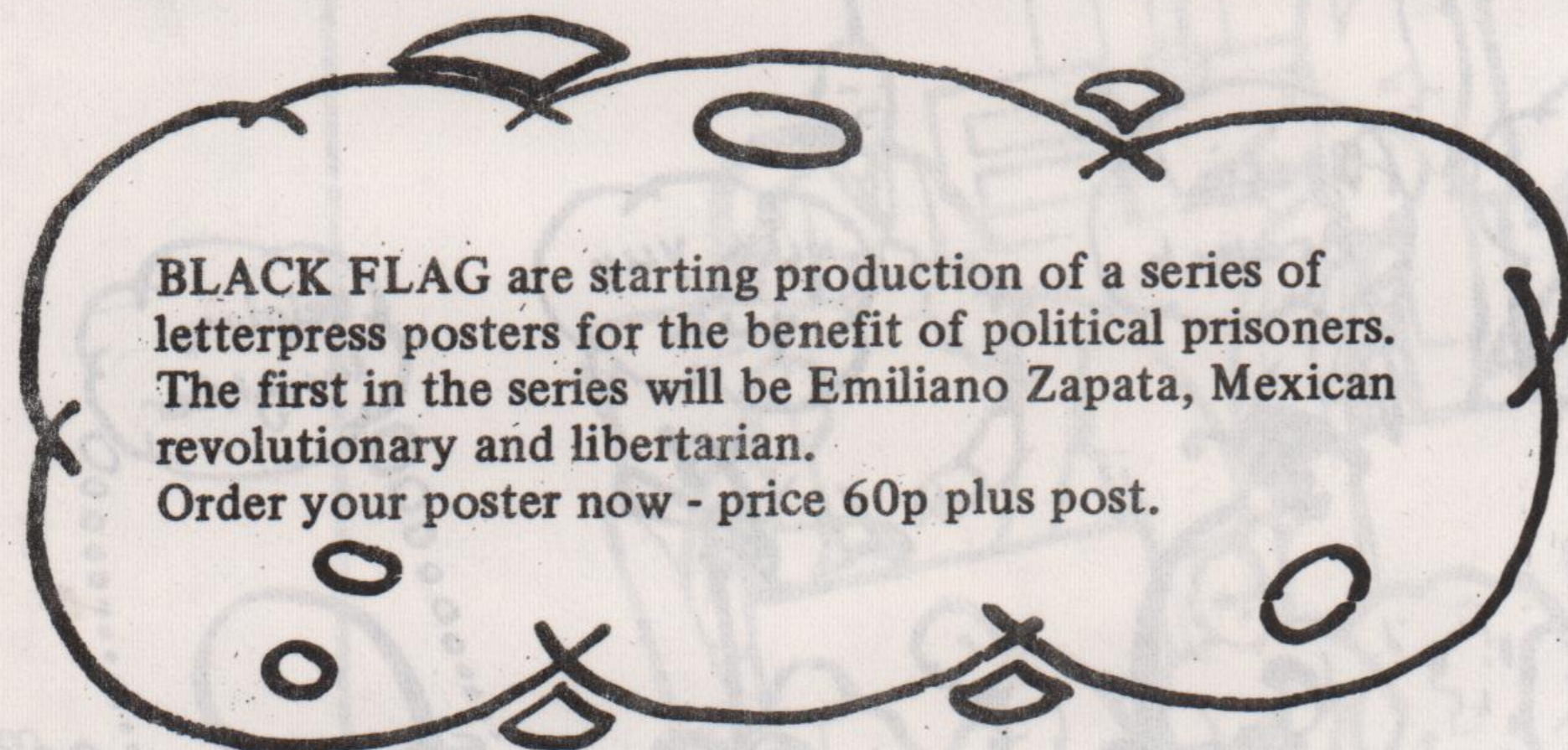
BLACK FLAG - as seen by nine million people on television - the highest viewing figure for any libertarian journal. If only one in every ten subsequently buy the paper, our circulation will be larger than that of the Times.

There is a 'grain of truth' in the statement that 'industrial disruption, motivated by greed and politics, will bring anarchy by the autumn', states Kenneth Fleet (*City Comment*, *Daily Telegraph*, July 9th).

If you want to be able to recognise it when it comes, read Black Flag, the monthly that wants anarchy by the autumn... or even sooner.

12 issues £1.50

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ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Best-selling 'nymphet' story 'Lolita' was written by Vladimir Nabokov - but what, written by a relative of the same name, proved the greatest flop of Tsarist Russia?
2. What is the political significance of Wagner's 'Siegfried' so far as libertarians are concerned?
3. Who, one of three sisters prominent in the anarchist movement, went to prison in pre-world war one West London for pioneering birth control among working women?
4. Were the Gordon Riots in 18th century London, described as anti-Catholic, inspired by religious bigotry; and why was the ostensible leader, Lord George Gordon, considered mad?
5. What was the Cato Street conspiracy ... and how did it affect Australian bushrangers?
6. What anti-militarist satirical classic was written by a Czech anarchist?

(answers page 15)

UNSOCIAL SECURITY

The British Security Services are polishing up their image following the recent spate of incidents in which Scotland Yard's Special Branch and Bomb Squad have claimed full responsibility for successful investigations and 'frame ups'. To counteract this sorry state of affairs, a public relations office has been set up specially to inform the public as to the true function of the security services. PHONE 01-236-5555.... Ask for and speak to the Security Service Publicity Department.

LAWS! We know what they are worth!
 They are spider-webs for the rich and mighty -
 Steel chains for the poor and weak -
 Fishing nets in the hands of the Government.

Proudhon



THE FIRST BLAST OF THE CIVIL WAR?

Casually, in the course of a TV programme (on the Angry Brigade - referred to elsewhere in these pages) a dramatic announcement was made by a high ranking police officer, which has been ignored by the national press, yet the implications of which are of historic importance. It indicates a clear acceptance of the Police State. It is a declaration almost of civil war in that it threatens that treatment, now commonplace in Belfast, will be accorded those citizens of the mainland who happen to disagree with the government of the day, and does not conceal the recognition that they may choose to respond.

Chief Superintendent Habershon is known for his verbal indiscretions but they reflect sincerely-held police opinion (his notorious remark about judge's rules was that he had no time for 'legal niceties'). He was questioned about the fact that a large number of people (hundreds of them) had been harassed during the Angry Brigade investigations and they felt it was because of their 'left wing opinions'. It was shown quite clearly (nor did he dissent from the fact) that this was the tip of the iceberg and their number could run into thousands, and that the treatment, under greater pressures, might reach pogrom level.

Supt. Habershon stated forcibly that if people were going to 'preach violence and revolution' and outrages occurred within this context they must expect such treatment in the future.

But who is to decide that particular views are the 'preaching of violence and revolution?' Not the courts. The treatment that is to be meted out to offenders will happen long before the courts come into it. Views on what constitutes such preaching differ drastically: in a famous case (June 1945) the *Newark Advertiser* held that the then Chairman of the Labour Party had, in those very words, 'preached violence and revolution' locally, and in defence to a libel action, it maintained he had done so all his life. Professor Laski was unable to convince the court otherwise and faced disastrous costs. Yet, if, aided by the finest legal brains in the land, this middle-aged, middle-class, respectable, internationally-known, mild professor - chairman of a great national party on the verge of electoral victory - could not establish that he had not 'preached violence and revolution' who among the ordinary citizens of the country could possibly stand a change against the personal decision of a Commander Bond or a Supt. Habershon?

Supt Habershon's dictum that those whom the police thought were preaching 'violence and revolution' may expect the treatment meted out in the Angry Brigade investigations - which in more serious circumstances might reach pogrom level - has a sinister sound, since every dictatorship begins by stating it is merely rounding up known enemies of the State.

Who Decides?

Lenin made it clear that freedom of speech, press and association was 'only denied' in Russia to those who were enemies of the 'young Soviet State' fighting for its life against foreign intervention - but who was to decide who were 'enemies'? Obviously, all who were not with the Communist Party were against it. By establishing the police state first, Lenin moved on to 'soviet' dictatorship. Hitler and Amin both said they were only acting against minorities which (they decided themselves) acted against the national interest.

If people are to 'preach violence and revolution' - and the *Newark Advertiser* journalist who said this of Professor Laski was as much entitled to his opinion as Mr Palmer Hall of the

Special Branch - Supt. Habershon does not say that they will be prevented from doing so. He cannot say this because there is no law whatsoever he can appeal to. (When Enoch Powell threatens 'rivers of blood' he is preaching violence, but he is not breaking any law; Supt Habershon is careful to exclude him by saying 'violence and revolution'). But what he does say is that if they hold 'left wing opinions' (he made no attempt at denying that it was precisely such opinions that came into question) they would be subject to the kind of treatment that was meted out - not to the Angry Brigade - but to those who 'preached' the theories in which the Angry Brigade was able to flourish. In other words, he would take political hostages (this was why the film closed with Christie's remarks that States which take political hostages must expect political hostages to be taken).

Do as You Like - And Get Done

You can believe what you like and say what you like, but if you do so, and something illegal is said (not proved) to occur within that context, you will be bullied, and harassed by armed police, your mail will be opened, your phone tapped, your car stripped, you may be denounced to employers and barred from jobs, your landlords will be informed, you may be subject to humiliating strip searches - including the raid of lone women in their beds, forced to dress in front of laughing male officers playing patsy with their underclothing, or, ultimately, you may be committed for long periods of imprisonment, the police opposing bail, until the courts ultimately release you without trial, or after trial.

We are not talking of Moscow, Belfast, Kampala or Istanbul, but of Greater London Boroughs such as Islington, Camden, Haringey, Kilburn and Kensington. All this happened on an unprecedented scale, hundreds of people being involved. Not all of them were young or necessarily of left wing opinions. One elderly lady, for instance, had always steadfastly refused to listen to any sort of radical talk in front of the Queen's picture on her tea caddy, but she was the aunt of a friend of a person subsequently cleared. She was raised in her bedroom by six huge gorrilla-like detectives who searched through her clothes (no woman PC being present as there was no time for 'legal niceties') and when she hysterically demanded to be allowed to go to collect her friend's drugs - a naive remark which acted as a red rag to the bulls - she was escorted through the streets (not technically arrested) to the 'pusher' - a chemist's shop from which she collected the drugs prescribed for a bedridden old woman dying of cancer. Not only did she suffer a mental breakdown but she lost her entire income outside her pension since she had been getting assistance from the nephew (which led to her 'discovery' in an address book) which she henceforward declined as he was obviously 'up to something - they don't act like that because of your views'.

Up against the Wall

They do not, in the mainland of these islands, as you are walking along at random, shove your face up against the wall, covering you with a gun, or go in to smash your house up. Not yet. But there is no reason why such 'legal niceties' should continue to be observed if people are 'preaching revolution and violence'. To establish a dictatorship, all they have to do is to find it imperative to suppress them, in the judgement of a few select people controlling the police (this is why Goering took control of the Prussian police; how Lenin, able to pay Lethish mercenaries as police with Helpland's German money, seized power).

The courts will be there, at that juncture, to protect you; but opinion rapidly sways, as it did in Germany, when faced with the fact of sackings, raidings, beatings-up, press propaganda, the blaring of victory (the gangs have been wiped out)... The control of the German police by the Nazis in the early days, while all this was going on, was still incapable of making the courts agree that people could be intimidated, bullied and even murdered by the police or the legalised Nazis. For this reason, the Nazis set up concen-

tration camps in warehouses as their victims had infringed no law but that of disagreeing with them. An alternative would have been to commit them for long periods and oppose bail, but there were legal safeguards against that in Germany which do not exist here. So the climate had to be created in which the courts became a mere farce anyway; they capitulated when everyone else did.

Does this appear exaggerated? Nobody in Belfast would think so. A couple of years ago it was regarded as an ordinary British city. Now we speak of sending 'British troops' there and the press records 'British casualties' which do not include civilians.

Can we do anything about it? When thousands of workers turned out to march on Pentonville Prison in support of the dockers, and great national industries were closed down, 'legal niceties' were soon discovered and observed to get them out.

FOOTNOTE

Opposing a proposed bailee, Supt. Habershon at one point remarked that many people of the same opinion as the accused lived in the N1 district (Islington) and he objected to the London postal address!



THE FILM ITSELF

By our TV critic

The BBC TV film on Friday 20th October on 'The Angry Brigade' produced by Gordon Carr was the subject of a brilliant review by David May in 'Time Out' in the same date, with which we cannot possibly compete.

The film employed a number of dishonest tricks. It interviewed Octavio Alberola and suggested that he, considered by the Spanish regime the natural heir to the title of Franco's public enemy No 1, was behind not only the Angry Brigade but the whole tendency to urban guerrilla warfare. It glided carefully over the overt statement, made if you take the Radio Times and the Listener article together but omitted in the film, that Christie was the link between Alberola and the four who were convicted. It could not say this because he was acquitted.

It interviewed Miguel Garcia with Spanish resistance workers in Brussels at a dinner (suggesting they were eating and drinking while Rome burned?). Mr Carr quoted the dissatisfaction with the older exiles and said that 'Garcia's generation' was finished since the death of Sabater - which might be true of a 'generation' but as he happens to be at 65 about ten times as active in the struggle as all the flower people in Haight-Ashbury put together will ever be, it was hard to see why we went over to them as the 'new generation'.

Most of the sympathisers came over somewhat inarticulate - (most people *are* inarticulate; it is curious how we notice that on the goggle-box when they have to compete with professionals) though Stuart Christie gave what is called in the trade a polished performance and even managed to plug Black Flag at them (the mind boggles as to what this would have cost as a commercial).

With the exception of a vicious jab at Jake Prescott, the relationship of the other accused to the anarchist movement was given in a fair and sympathetic way: oddly, this contrasted very favourably with some of the rubbish that has been written

in some allegedly left and libertarian papers. A workmate told me that the only one whom he thought looked thoroughly villainous and sounded ominously evasive was (I had to explain) Det. Sgt. Creamer - in the famous interview at 'Time Out' (where the 'bust' was turned on him: he was confronted by the staff with cameras and told he was on live television - only a fraction of this hilarious episode was shown).

The film finished on a dishonest note. The haul at Amhurst Road was shown and the announcer incredulously said how the allegation against the plice was that they had planted it . . . and still the jury wavered, and a majority view had to be taken, two being against conviction at all costs, and the rest arguing for clemency. He did not add that Christie's defence was also a plant and that the jury agreed by 12 to none that this was so.

But the film could have been a lot worse. It was trying to prove a political point under a pretext of impartiality, but even so it was less unfair to the anarchists than many of the academic journals which go to the other point of censorship - mentioning every last duplicated journal that can be included in the canon to the last dot and comma, but omitting to make any mention that anarchist militancy exists at all or passing it off as an offshoot of the new left or the peace movement. There was one notorious broadcast where a series of peace-lovers gave a cosy chat about what nice people anarchists really were, and all the commentators loved it. As the man said, when they talk nice about you, watch it.

The Christie Propaganda Machine Strikes Again

The Radio Times (14-20 July 73) going into the usual millions of homes, carried a full page on: "Christie, the quiet anarchist" by Anne Chisholm, in connection with the TV film showing that week. Miss Chisholm was evidently unaware she was contravening the strict BBC dictum about political impartiality (just imagine an article on, say, "Butler, the honest Conservative", with the obvious implications): but then the film itself gave rise to an interesting thought on how party political broadcasts would be vastly improved if, instead of being made by party hacks, they were made by highly critical and hostile producers probing the real facts about the parties and their relationship to unlawful acts.

Stuart "comes across as a rather respectable anarchist" Miss Chisholm states generously, adding however, that "appearances can be deceptive; there is no doubting the strength of his political convictions and, according to the film, Christie is in close touch with European revolutionary anarchists." It is the last phrase that baffles: does one lose one's respectability by mixing with foreigners? Come, come Miss Chisholm, none of that 1911 White Paper stuff, we're all Europeans since January (remember?)

Meanwhile, at the Listener . . .

The Listener ran its article on the same theme stressing the "Spanish Connections" of the Angry Brigade, concentrating on Octavio Alberola and bringing in Christie to make the connection. The Listener took the trouble to phone *Black Flag* to check on the spelling of Sabater or Sabate (he preferred the second; journalists the former); while they were about it they could have checked on the rest of the article, but no doubt they bore in mind the dictum of Sarah Bernhardt that it doesn't matter what you say about people as long as you spell the name right. Briefly, First of May good, Angry Brigade bad (first sincere, second load of drug addicts). The reason for Mr Gordon Carr's dictum here is not hard to find. (Note: "Drug addicts" are people who take occasional trips with whom you disagree, or who are not likely to take legal action. Lord Lambton, for instance, is not a drug addict). First of May are not convicted, Angry Brigade may be presumed to be and were nearer home. Good old principle - Latin "vae victis" (wo to the conquered), English "kick 'em in the balls when they're lying on the ground".

Mr Carr introduces a good old hoary myth, that while

the Angry Brigade attracted some people who used violence to achieve certain ends, others were attracted by violence as a means in itself. Can one imagine that someone attracted by violence *in itself*, with the opportunity to join the Army and get paid for it, or the police or prison services, or on a lower level, Hell's Angels, skinheads etc., would ever be found in the anarchist movement? Nobody with the briefest knowledge of the anarchist movement would consider it feasible: it is part and parcel of fascist and non-violent-fascist lore, but completely untenable. How many times did Mr Robert Carr's house get blown up? In some of the gangs mentioned in this paragraph you can indulge in your sadism nightly, with matinees on Saturdays and Sundays. Mr Gordon Carr (no relation) has no excuse. He met anarchists and knew he was lying.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE

As the Stoke Newington Four, as well as Jake, are now broken up, correspondence and anything you can spare for them should be sent not to the jails but to the defence committee - write to Mike Cohen, 54 Harcombe Road, Stoke Newington, London N16.

We hear that Jim Greenfield arrived at top security Wakefield Jail to find that pictures of all the 'eight' including Stuart and Chris, had been pasted up in the cells - the accusations against the 'Angry Brigade' were not exactly such as to prejudice fellow-prisoners against them. Jim is reported to be fit - and was last heard of sparring in the gym with one of the well known Tibbs brothers, now doing ten years. (Is there anyone living in or near Wakefield who can offer hospitality occasionally to Jim's visitors?) Jim is classed an 'A' prisoner - that is, he can only be visited by someone on an approved list, who needs passport-type photos on the sort of identity card that was generally abolished as being incompatible with British liberty in peace-time. Non-relatives who have been in prison are not allowed to visit.

Hilary Creek, however, is far from fit. Suffering from a serious complaint, only the fact of being taken from prison and being given the assurance she will not go back will save her life. Unfortunately, in her case the accusations at the trial are precisely such as will prejudice the Home Office against her. Protests directed at British embassies and consulates made by comrades overseas may help.



ANOTHER ANARCHIST PLOT

It people from another planet, or even another country, looked to our newspapers to find the fundamental truth about what is happening, they would look in vain. At the moment there is a gigantic squeeze on London. Families are being forced out. It is becoming increasingly difficult to live there. Rents soar beyond not what one can afford, but beyond what one could reasonably earn. Major capitalists are grabbing huge blocks and districts and tearing them down. The Tories gloat over this huge destruction solely in the name of profit, thought at times, in the rich districts, they complain that they can no longer find workers.

In vain one seeks headlines in the press. From the *Evening News* (July 9) one sees the startling headline over Peter O'Kill's signature, "ANARCHISTS PLOT TO STOP £13M HOMES". A "£13 million scheme to rebuild one of London's worst slum districts is the target of anarchists". . . Who would have guessed indeed that it was not the begin Tories, but the wicked anarchists, who were causing the housing shortage?

Sir Malby Crofton, leader of Kensington & Chelsea Council (so well known for its schemes to "rebuild"!) said he would go ahead not being put off rehousing the slum dwellers "by threats or intimidation of any kind" by the anarchists who were trying to stop rebuilding. "They want to overthrow authority, and we represent the Establishment." That is why the council would not be deterred at providing "better homes". For whom?

Commented the Notting Hill People's Association Housing Group, labelled or libelled by Sir Mouldy as "anarchist": "There is nothing for us to destroy. I don't know what he means by intimidation. There was a demonstration by a few homeless people outside the home of the planning committee chairman." But they did not want to stop themselves getting houses.

What these unreasonable folk did not like to see was their only chance of a home being pulled down, and "better homes" indeed - but for the wealthy - being erected in place.

There was a demonstration by 300 or 400 people that shut in the councillors for a night. But they were not trying to wreck a housing scheme. What housing scheme? A Joe Levy takeover?

PRINCE GIVES ADVICE ABOUT ANARCHY

This time it was Charlie-Boy, speaking in an appeal to the young of Bahamas. The headline came from the *Times* (July 12) - who the hell does Charlie think he is . . . Kropotkin?

He was speaking to thousands of students in a youth rally in Nassau. They could afford to cheer. They were seeing the last of the royal family. His advice: "build on civilisation, don't pull it to peices to see if anarcy works." But "civilisation" as we know it doesn't work.

TARIQ ALI

"Tariq Ali, that pillar of revolutionary protest, is back," cries the *Daily Mirror* (July 17th). "But he is not the Grand Old Man as yet. Amazingly, he is only 29" and "he protests now as a member of the (Internatinnal Marxist) Group, rather than as a leader." Which, of course, is all he ever was. Only the *Mirror*, when it bought articles from him described Tariq Ali as a "leader of the English revolutionary movement."

Rentacrowd

After all the mutterings of "rentacrowd" at leftwing demonstrations, consisting of unpaid volunteers, Fleet Street was at last able to find a case of rentacrowd. The Alfred Marks Bureau - on the instructions of a fan of Dr Caetano - paid teenagers to hand out leaflets welcoming the Premier of Portugal, the wiser one among them taking the cash and dumping the leaflets. So "rentacrowd" existed after all, exulted the media. But who would ever rent a crowd in protest? The idea was absurd. But those who follow the right wing press and the statements by police on demonstrations will agree that despite the fallback "it is only a joke" it was taken seriously.

PERFECT MASTER — PERFECT WORKERS'

Fifteen year old new Jesus is in town, the Guru Puja - known to his followers as the Perfect Master. As if that wasn't enough to make you throw up right away, the Divine Light Mission, which exists to boost the pudgy Guru, has got hold of a £10,000 printing press. 'They offer alternative publications better rates than they can get elsewhere, because they say, 'we don't pay wages!', the Mission states, adding helpfully that they are doing the new Oz mail order catalogue, says 'Book of Visions'.

With £10,000 to spare to buy a printing press, they can afford to pay wages. The pudge is riding around in a luxurious new car. We understand he's been born before, and hope he gets born next time as an out-of-work printer with a family to keep. Meantime, boycott the Divine Light. Tell 'em they're scabs. It is one thing to print and publish your own stuff for free - all sincere organistaions do that as far as they can. It is another thing to collect huge sums by exploitation and then undercut others.

RISING FREE

When Agitprop closed early this year, there was a need to continue and develop their radical literature distribution. A new collective, of four people with some help from our friends, started Rising Free - a non-sectarian bookshop, mail order and radical information service.

The decision only to sell pamphlets and books produced by political publishers, and thereby excluding commercial publishers such as Penguin, was made because we believe that such organisations already have a well organised and efficient distribution. Because of book company monopolies and copyright laws, the less rich groups and organisations are handicapped in their ability to print and publish their ideas, and although this has been alleviated to some extent by the recent growth of community presses the distribution is often based on friendship networks. For this reason we have started a circuit distribution of a variety of pamphlets to about 25 London bookshops, which is growing successfully. A wider regional distribution has also been started and regional centres are at Coventry (The Midlands) and Southampton (the South Coast).

In the same building as the bookshop is the Guy Fawkes Memorial Library. The task of sorting, classifying and indexing the 75,000 items of world wide left literature has taken many months but soon the library should be ready for researchers and browsers. There is also cheap photo-copying available on the premises.

By abolishing any difference between owners and workers and by minimising the division of labour, we are beginning to break down the usual imposed and expected social relations in the collective and between us and the various groups who we come in contact with. This enables us to expand the dissemination of ideas and helps the growing nearer of theory and practice which we consider essential for the social revolution.

A member of Rising Free Collective

Send SAE for literature list to:-

Rising Free, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1
Tel. 01 837 0182



ANARCHISM AS SEEN BY MAOISTS

Why did Franco win the civil war? Was it because the republic was deprived of arms from abroad? Was it because the socialist-communist coalition had allowed the generals to continue, but denied arms to the workers? Was it because the Stalinists sabotaged the struggle by their intrigues for power and their fight against collectivisation?

Not according to Maoist organ in New Zealand, the *People's Voice*. The struggle was lost because workers controlled the trams. "In at least one city in the country, the Anarchist union controlled the trams. They decided they would not collect any fares — a great contribution to the war effort. Is it surprising that fascism has ruled for forty years in Spain?" (April 25 1973).

Can it be that "the Few" who saved London were the clippies? Even at the height of the blitz, with bombs falling, they never failed to collect the fares . . . indeed I recall one formidable bus lady who tried to turf off a couple of soldiers going home, battle and brine soaked, after the Dunkirk evacuation, until the other passengers got up a collection to pay their fares. She got her own back by sending them upstairs to smoke when somebody gave them cigarettes.

Now I understand her look of triumph: she thought she was winning the war by collecting bus fares.

After this send-up of workers' control, *People's Voice* sums up anarchism: "the anarchist finds himself in the position of the beatnik . . . who 'cuts himself off' from industrial society — but insists on having his L.P. records, which can only exist as the result of sophisticated social organisation. . . It is significant that the only countries where Anarchism has appeared as a political force were . . . Spain and Russia." (Any records possessed by Spanish anarchists prior to 1936 were '78s; the Russian anarchists under Tsarism were still on cylinders).

How do you run a union that can take over the tramways yet at the same time cut yourself off from industrial society? So anxious was the writer to tar the anarchists with the beatnik brush he forgot what he had written.

A typical Maoist remark: "During the Spanish War the Anarchists had their own military units run on their own lines. All decisions were made by discussion by the whole unit. Battle after battle was lost as a result." This sounds plausible — poor idiots, deprived of the god-chairman Mao, they sat and discussed and lost battles as a result. But *what* battles? Unlike the German Marxists, they won at first. In the British Army too discussion were organised on a regular scale, though they did not affect military control. But nobody has ever suggested that battles were lost as a result.

In fact, the Stalinists — for whom the Maoists apologise — managed to win control and militarise all the fighting units. They insisted that decisions be made from the top. But when the decisions went against them from top and bottom, when Casado agreed that further Army resistance was not possible, they rebelled. Yet they took no part in popular resistance thereafter, which they termed banditry.

Typical of comments on the Spanish war, this statement asserts, without naming any one battle, that battles were lost as the result of democratic discussion in the unit. While the battle was taking place? Why did the lengthy propaganda speeches of communist and political commissars never affect the battle? Or is the statement merely saying that common people cannot decide matters for themselves? And how many battles, in how many wars, have been lost because of central command?



THE MARCH TO DEATH

It is some years now since the dazed realisation of what was meant by the atom bomb burst upon the world, and the movement against nuclear armament was born. Its adherents were scornful, for the most part, of those who took a long-term point of view and said that the only answer to nuclear warfare was social revolution. We could not take a long-term point of view: we had months, days, in which to 'ban the bomb'. At one point Bertrand Russell, with the intelligent idiocy that marked his declining years, gave us all a year in which to live. Nevertheless, despite their feelings of urgency, the nuclear disarmers in CND and Committee of 100 felt that the whole campaign must be 'non-violent': one could not help feeling that if it were all that urgent, something more desperate than sitting down in Trafalgar Square was called for.

The official leaders of the movement were sold on the idealisation of non-violence as a cult. They felt that if enough people sat down and would not move even when pushed around by the police, some mystic power of Non-Violence would be generated that would in some way 'ban the bomb', a myopic attitude that later went sour (when the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign idealised precisely the opposite, that if enough people did not move from Berkeley Square, and did not let themselves be pushed around by the police, the Americans would withdraw their troops from Vietnam).

But the years have gone by and the nuclear disarmers no longer sit down. They were too impatient for revolution which could not come soon enough, and instead appealed to governments to 'ban the bomb' but as they did not ban the bomb, and in the meantime, lives had to be led and careers pursued, the disarmers got married and settled down and became integrated into the system which they once felt could not last beyond a year but now would see them out ... by now they are shaking their heads at the excesses of the young who have inherited the world ... In its essence it was a middle-class movement with a sniff of the lecture room and the church hall about it; it left behind in its wake a revived militant liberalism which has given birth to some strange parodies of the philosophies for which the impatient pacifists could not wait.

But the terrifying thing is that they had hold of the truth: that in fact the States of the world had been provided with ultimate weapons that could destroy the whole planet, and these weapons were in the hands of mentally unstable and socially irresponsible individuals who could not be restrained from using them; and that the statesmen of the world had provided themselves with funk holes deep in the ground where they reckoned they might be able themselves to sit out world destruction. This truth has been obscured to the world. A telephone hoax call about a bomb can scare the lives out of people; small bombs are intelligible, the power of death available in massive nuclear wars are unintelligible. Factory committees have been pressing for security

measures against non-existent bombing attacks because of an intensity of hoax calls; when the TUC called for a strike against the French nuclear tests, few thought it worth the sacrifice of an hour's wages.

The people serves the Destruction State which steadily, inexorably, takes the world on the path to annihilation. The weapons mount up and must inevitably be used; it requires only one madman, and they proliferate among the statesmen. The world prefers not to think about it. Even the nuclear disarmers of yesteryear have settled for protests about the conditions in mental hospitals, or the pollution of the rivers. They march to their deaths talking of ecology and civil rights.

'SECTARIAN' WHO, US?

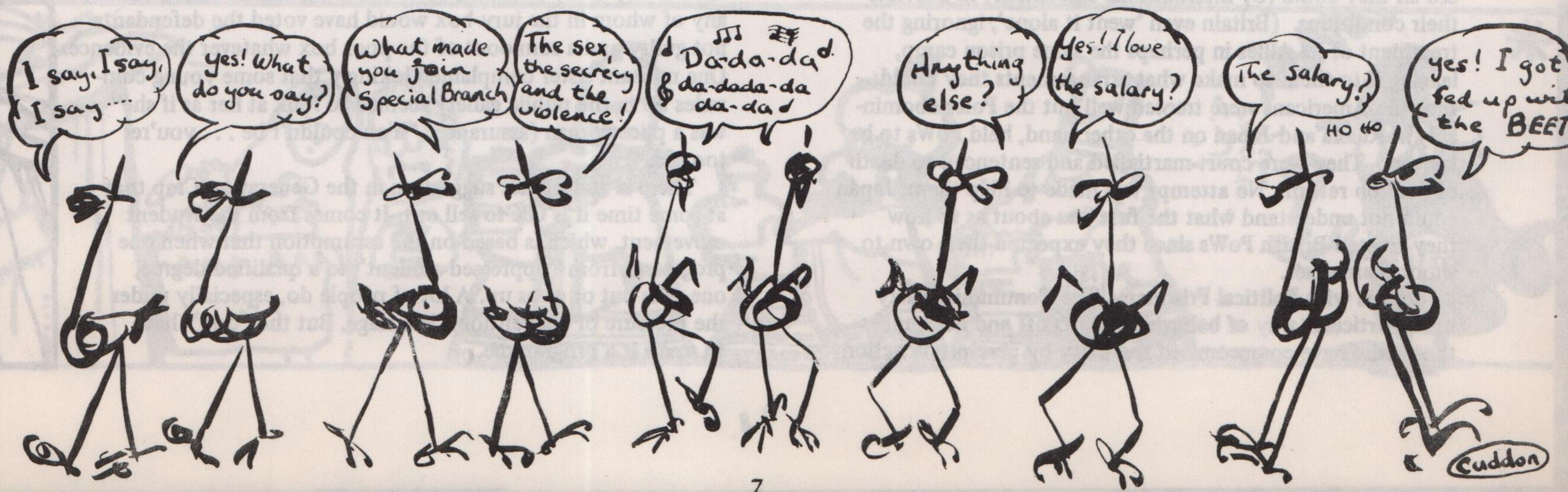
Nothing upsets other sectarians more than the disarming tactic of admitting being sectarian - and why not? Ever since De Leon (master of sectarianism and inventor of most of the left-wing 'swear words') made it into a dirty word, nobody likes to admit they are 'sectarian'. Yet all the battles of the English working class were fought under sectarian banners. Grandiose schemes of unity all lead to class betrayal. Before using the word 'sectarian' - or, for that matter, 'reformist' - as a swear word, it should be examined. What is wrong with taking a position and sticking to it? One ought not, of course, refuse to consider any other position and any other point of view - but this is by no means peculiar to the 'sectarian' - indeed, by taking a minority position, one accepts that there are other minority positions, and, defining one's own position takes part in a wider struggle. The 'catholic' - which is the opposite term - seeking a wide embracing unity, is obliged to make one overall position which all are expected to take (on pain of being regarded as schismatic). The council-communists were sectarians, the Bolsheviks were 'catholic'. The diggers and levellers were sectarians, the Parliamentarians and Roundheads were 'catholic'.

A new twist has been given to the word 'sectarian' by the press. Journalists refer to 'sectarian murders' and 'sectarian violence' in the news from Belfast. Are no 'catholics' involved? It is not *that* they mean. They simply do not want to refer to *religious* murders and *religious* violence any more than to *patriotic* murders and *patriotic* violence.

On another page our friends of Rising Free make the point that their bookshop is not sectarian. This is a fair enough position to take. But it does not mean that it is automatically better than if it were. Being 'unsectarian' means including under 'Founding Fathers' such a variety as 'Marx, Lenin, Mao, Bakunin, Kim Il Sung, Lin Piao' (which is the odd man out?), as they mention elsewhere.

This is not to criticise them for their choice of literature which ranges from Nationalist to Socialist. But if they were a journal or an organisation they would need to be more 'sectarian'. There is more than one point of view on the virtues or otherwise of 'sectarianism'.

THE BUTTER STORKS.



PROP

A new pamphlet by a member of PROP (Political Prisoners and Prisoners' Unions: Conflict or Co-operation) is a well-meaning attempt by one man at examining what he thinks is an apparent conflict in the 'Left' - should we support political prisoners or *all* prisoners. He naturally comes down on the side of the latter. It is somewhat naive so far as we are concerned and we must admit an interest, since *Black Flag* is mentioned several times with the comment that the quote is all right as far as it goes ... but we can't leave it there ... which is just about true of every piece of written propaganda that ever existed, including that remark.

It is natural that one feels concerned with one's own. There is nothing really surprising that when Steve McCarthy was murdered by the cops his family rushed to his support and maybe they had not thought of defending Hanratty. Surely this is part and parcel of life. In regard to political prisoner there is an attitude largely adopted by the Irish movement, with which we would differ but which we accept is normal (but *le* doesn't): which summed up is that they regard their prisoners as prisoners-of-war, therefore they want special status, and this is quite in conformity with their ideology, which is national not class (and that some Irish bodies with class understanding accept this position is understandable, too, since they follow an Irish tradition).

We regard the separation of political prisoners as a class apart within prison as disastrous. In Russia, China, Nazi Germany, Turkey and Germany today, Spain and some South American countries, such labelling is highly to their detriment. (I recall a German comrade who saved his life by explaining to a stupid commandant that though he was an 'anarchist' this was not a political offence but a criminal one and that anarchist meant 'brigand' - which transferred him to a criminal section of the KZ and thus to release instead of death). But of course it does not follow that there are therefore *no* political prisoners. Perhaps we should not send an occasional five pounds to an Anarchist political prisoner serving 15 years for helping to fight tyranny, but wait until we have £5 million and can send a fiver to a million prisoners equally? But we fear this is the same as saying do nothing at all.

Even if we had the £5 million, someone would say 'what about people who are fined how about those in hospital ... what about the under-developed countries,' and if anyone thinks this is exaggerated, our postbag yesterday contained no cash of any kind, six bills, and a letter from one of our kindest constant critics berating us for doing nothing about both the Jewish would-be emigrants in the Soviet Union and the Palestinian Arab refugees, as our simultaneous help would be a major contribution to world peace after that we borrowed the bus fare and went home.

PoWs and PPs

There are different attitudes taken by different countries to Prisoners of War. It cuts across ideologies. Both Britain and Germany considered PoWs to be making a high contribution to the war effort, esteemed them as patriots and heroes, and did all they could (by international agreement) to alleviate their conditions. (Britain even 'went it alone', ignoring the treatment of its Allies in perhaps the same prison camp, leaving it to them to make what arrangements they could: thus the Americans were treated well but the Poles abominably). Russia and Japan on the other hand, held PoWs to be traitors. They were court-martialled and sentenced to death or mail on return. No attempt was made to help them; Japan could not understand what the fuss was about as to how they treated British PoWs since they expected their own to shoot themselves.

So it is with Political Prisoners. The Communist Party has a particular way of behaving: it cuts off and denounces those who have compromised the party by precipitate action -

such as Douglas Springhall in Britain, convicted of war-time espionage, though glorifying other such as the Rosenbergs, or Thaelmann, whose actions have forwarded the interests of the party, or from whose defence major publicity can be obtained. The action of the genuine Anarchist seems perfectly clear, namely, that of solidarity to his comrades who fall in the class struggle. The Anarchist Black Cross has acted as a (perfectly legitimate) method of helping people who have played a major part in revolutionary struggle. It is a sort of non-combatant corps in which anyone can help, and we certainly see nothing inconsistent - quite the contrary - in being opposed to all prisons and punishment, and helping those who become imprisoned as the result of these convictions. This does not hinder other prisoners in any way - on the contrary, who is better able to bring solidarity and expression to the average prisoners' struggle than the class-war prisoner, the 'political'?

So far as the Black Cross is concerned, if all we had done was to break the stranglehold of the Communist Party on Spanish prisons - by enabling libertarian prisoner to know that they had support outside - we would have done a good job. But it has gone a long way past that. Support for prisoners has proved a springboard to further political action in a great many countries.

From a reformist point of view, it has been said we are inconsistent in forming an organisation to help political prisoners, and going on to the sort of positive revolutionary programme outlined in *Black Flag*. This, however, is said in total ignorance of the anarchist position. We are not out, like the liberal, to 'help the fallen' from a patronising point of view. The Black Cross has never been a charity: we have encouraged solidarity with political prisoners not only to help them but as a two-way gesture of solidarity because the most militant groups of all are those who are in touch with someone who has fallen in the struggle.

GENERATION CRAP

A first-rate guide to what to do when confronted with the machinery of class justice is contained in the pamphlet "Up Against the Law". But as the guy said to Jesus when he published his book - "I hope we aren't expected to take it all as gospel."

One passage, written very much under the influence of the counter-culture, advises on the choice of jurors: "On no account get anyone over fifty". And miss out anyone who remembers the hungry thirties, especially in a political trial? Hard for those who weren't there to appreciate the full pressure of the days of unemployment and depression and fascist movements used against the workers, and how the police and social service (Means Test) operated in those days

This isn't to advocate getting people over fifty - it very clearly depends on who you get, and at the moment the courts of law are a bit of a lucky dip on judge, jury and lawyers (hitting a jackboot-pot if you happen to get Melford Stevenson).

But at a recent trial (about which we've commented fairly heavily) we noticed that while some "veterans" of the CND days emerging from the chrysalis of their youth culture took a very dicey position, quite a few old-timers rallied round, any of whom in the jury box would have voted the defendants not guilty and a sum out of the poor box whatever the evidence. One militant sister complained jokingly that some young comrades up in the public gallery seemed to look at her as if she was a plicewoman (assurance: "You couldn't be ... you're too old.")

There is an implicit suggestion in the Generation Crap that at some time it is OK to sell out. It comes from the student movement, which is based on the assumption that when one progresses from "oppressed student" to a qualified degree, one sells out or gives up. A lot of people do, especially under the pressure of conventional marriage. But they don't have to make it a programme.



Don't Change

Generation Crap shows up in quite another incident. At the Portuguese demo a Marxist girl confronted a friend of ours with the hysterical cry, "I know you! You were at the same University with me! You were a fascist!"

It was true. That was five years ago. He was then a Right-Winger, repelled by the Marxists he saw around. He invited a Monday Club speaker down to talk on Rhodesia, who spoke on black immigration instead. Since then he changed his views drastically; left university, became a worker, became an anarchist.

"No, no! You were a fascist. You must still be! You've even grown your hair long!"

This was the crowning denunciation — suggesting he was spying. She vehemently refused to believe anyone genuinely could go from right to left. IMG'ers gathered round to support her.

The package-deal generation crap insists that one should go from left to right as an inevitability ("don't trust anyone over thirty/forty/fifty/sixty/seventy or whatever", means they themselves intend to sell out at that point of time.)

One draws from this the conclusion that many on the "New" Left, the student movement in particular, do not take their propaganda seriously. They issue it not to convince others, but as part of the ritual of being trendy-left. Only by giving out propaganda can they show their "activity": but they do not want anyone to be convinced by it. What was the point of the demonstration over Portugal if not to convince right-wingers? To convince Dr Caetano himself to "go home"?

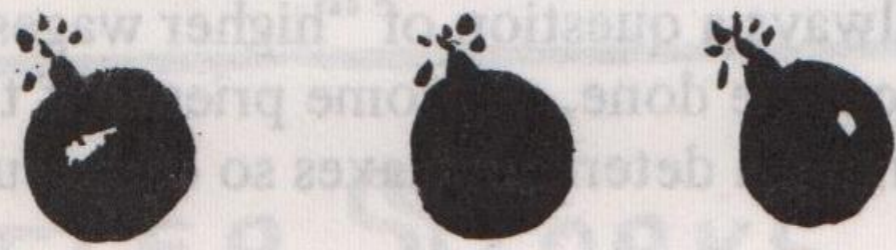
BOMB TRAIN SABOTAGED?

A train bound for South-East Asia via Port Chicago, Calif. — loaded with bombs and flammable material — exploded while sitting in the main Union Pacific switching yards on the outskirts of Roseville, California, we understand from a local paper.

There were several attempts to explain the cause of the explosion — for instance, the fact that the bombs rubbing against each other might cause friction — but they have not been plausible. The switching yards were heavily damaged in the resultant explosion, but nobody was killed. Had the bombs been safely delivered to their destination, many hundreds of people would, of course, have been ("lawfully") killed.

A possible reason for this humane intervention is given by the fact that soon after, Straight Creek Journal received a communication allegedly from the Weathermen, stating: "The revolution lives . . . bombs against warmakers . . . Remember Roseville — the weather people live".

The Weathermen are often accused of "violence". But they only claim to have ignited the spark, they did not load the train. Should the train of death have gone to its destination?



DON'T SHOOT THE PIANIST

A saying going round the US since Watergate: "If you seen my mom, don't tell her I'm a White House aide — she thinks I've got a job as piano-player in a whorehouse".

Thinking about it, only codified prejudices prevents us from seeing that we are all playing piano in the whorehouse. We try to push the more unpleasant jobs on to somebody else and sit back pounding the keys that earn us the money to live, trying to justify our position. . . It is part and parcel of the degradation involved in being a worker in capitalist society. Rich male and female whores write for the press and we print their rubbish instead of sticking it on the spike. We make the arms or (if we draw the line at that) the uniforms and the cars and the planes and the equipment for the armies that blow us to smithereens — sometimes for the opposing army. We build the prisons and the luxury mansions for the rich and the council blocks and help pour effluent in our own rivers even when we avoid the disgraceful tasks of hangman or policeman.

Yet there is no point in being hypocritical about it. It is still better to be a worker and fight the system from within than be a bourgeois ponce who imagines his or his father's money has bought him a clear conscience . . . who thinks that if he is not actually in an arms factory he is clear of all responsibility while he helps to administer the law or business in a "learned profession" . . . the journalist who thinks that as he writes for liberal papers (perhaps because he can't get in with the nationals) that he is more liberal than the printworkers (whose occasional efforts at resisting printing the lies are denounced as interfering with the freedom of the press) . . . or the vast army of social workers now being created by the State as a means of instant social do-goodism and a way of harnessing revolutionary ideas to practical, that is to say capitalist and State, aims. What a joke now to find a respectable side to the squatting movement where there is even such a thing as municipally-approved squatting . . . in other words, the reconciliation of the otherwise homeless by social workers to what is admittedly inferior housing.

Perhaps one day the campaign for gypsy rights will end not merely in a recognition of the gypsies' rights to travel around the countryside in caravans . . . an officially approved gypsy campaigners' movement will be getting the rest of us, diddekoys and gachos alike, to solve our house and job problems by travelling round in a beat out old lorry and camp in a lay-by nearest the local chance of work . . . Stranger things than that have been imposed by authority! If it does happen, let us hope that at least it is not accompanied by praise for the open way of life as against the old restricting house and a job.

Don't get us wrong, social workers: You're just doing a job like the rest of us. Some of you think that you can use it "to do some good" but you're just as mistaken as the piano-layer in the whorehouse who thinks that he can at least improve the punters' taste in music.

Don't glamourise the jobs you do: smash the rotten fabric of State-dominated society.



Northcliffe Award for Press Paranoia

The Sunday Telegraph is running a "special inquiry" into "Black September". In the part by Christopher Hobson

(15.7.73) it is stated that George Habash, leader of the (more or less Trotskyite) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine "convened a secret meeting of international terrorists at Baddawi refugee camp just outside Tripoli, Lebanon." This was "to pool the talent for violence, the cunning and fanaticism of revolutionaries from all over the world, irrespective of political shadings, in the common cause of helping one another destroy what they did not like".

It was another meeting of the Elders of Zion (or the Elders of Anti-Zion). The IRA was invited (but what of the Ulster Protestant terrorists?); a forerunner of the story had appeared in the London *Evening News* to say the company included them and the "Stern Gang" (Zionist terrorists).

For Mr Dodson there were merely "emissaries from the IRA, from the Baader-Meinhof anarchist gang of West Germany, from the Japanese "Red Army", from the "Liberation Front" of Iraq, and from the Turkish "People's Liberation Army".

Some intricate "cross-hatchings" resulted by which it was "even suggested" that the Japanese (so difficult to detect going about their business in Germany) should "carry out the operations of the Baader-Meinhof group" and vice versa.

Yet in May, after a period of inactivity, the Baader-Meinhof 'anarchist' gang was active in Germany. Is it likely they would be gallivanting at conferences in Lebanon while blowing up government targets in Germany? But for "international conspirators" all things are possible. "No doubt they had private planes . . . probably they could touch down at private airports . . ."

Special Branch

Commenting on the Caetano Visit protests, the Times (July 12th) stated that members of Portuguese organisations in this country "accused the police Special Branch of using information secretly supplied by security officials in Lisbon." This is, of course, a two-way traffic, and makes nonsense of the protests against Portuguese massacres and dictatorship by members of the Labour Party, who helped to maintain the Portuguese regime, when they were in power, just as they did the Spanish, by failing to supervise the activities of Special Branch in defiance of the ruling that applies in the Foreign Office about passing information to foreign powers.

"Scotland Yard was unable to comment on the allegation that Special Branch was closely co-operating with Portuguese security officials. Their activities are never officially discussed but it is known that the Special Branch does liaise with their equivalent organisations during such visits."

When one hears Labour Party politicians denouncing South Africa, or Conservatives denouncing Russia, they would like you to think that they have no responsibility for these regimes, which are maintained in power by their secret police. Yet secret police can only act on an international basis. The still unadmitted support by security forces all over the world, including the almost legendary CIA, has helped to maintain the Soviet regime in power. Not because they like State communism, but because they dislike revolution. What turned the American security forces against the late Senator Joe McCarthy was when he began to ferret out the "support" given Russian communism by US Government officials. He was too ignorant of sophisticated politics to understand that this was not a communist bias: it was the highest refinement of anti-communism. The Kremlin might be the Devil incarnate. But only the Devil kept hell in order, and as long as no angels liked the climate, the devil would have to be maintained in power . . .

CRASH HELMETS

A favourite debating-society theme is to ask if anarchism is possible and to fire off questions at an anarchist speaker based on what would happen in a State-dominated society if the State was abolished (which is not, of course, the same as anarchism) . . . suppose you were knocked down by a car, who would keep your dependants (avoid this question, they might try to follow it up by trying to sell you insurance) . . . who would do the dirty work (a problem of affluence that could equally be asked of the authoritarian socialist, except that they know he would solve such problems by force — and that is only solved in our present society by immigration).

Now one such question has popped into the news . . . should a kindly, fatherly State force motor cyclists to wear crash helmets? Once they have made those traditional, we shall be asked what would happen if there were no State to make people wear crash helmets, as they have been failing to do for fifty years . . . Up to the present, the penalty, one presumes, for not wearing crash helmets was to have your skull bashed in. Now you are to get a £50 fine.

Only the Sikhs have protested: their faith requires them to wear a turban. Such symbols of religion are always bitterly protected: men and women will fight to the last to retain their religious symbols and preserve their divinely ordained diets — but where does one find the religious martyrs who will risk jail to give all they have to the poor? Such precepts are rarely, though sometimes, legally forbidden. But even more unusual is it to find them heeded.

Utopianism

The verdict of the debating-societies on anarchism is that it is too "utopian". Discussed in an abstract way, any theory that has not been tested must appear "utopian"; the question is whether it is good or bad, an advance or a reaction. Of late, the Tory press has been discussing the question of wages. Nothing proves more airy-fairy than capitalism discussed in the abstract.

How does one determine what wages people should have? The classic Tory-laisser-faire-Liberal answer is that wages should be determined by the free market. Yet (as economists such as Lord Brown have pointed out) no such thing as the free market exists any longer. Wages are determined by power. They are upset that some trade unions have "power"; that some workers can get more by the "big stick". When the wages of the professional and managerial class are determined, by themselves and for themselves, this is quite compatible with the free market; but the rise of trade unionism has outdated it.

What is the answer? Here the capitalist-individualists plunge into the wildest of notions. One is that since the free market has been killed, we should appoint a "fair wage". Determine what each group of workers is "fairly" entitled to; so that it is not always a question of "higher wages" but of "fair wages". It can be done, say some priests of the economic system: just as one can determine taxes so one could determine fair wages . . .

With the exception that we all know that we are entitled to a lot more than *them* . . . None of the MPs and economists dreaming up the scheme envisage for one second that *their* "fair wage" should be lower than anyone else's . . . Nor that non-middle-class prejudices might prevail in fixing them . . .



Makhno

There is certainly a grim humour in the way the liars against Makhno unleashed by Trotsky continue, as you remark in your article. For example, you point out that you got *Everyman's Encyclopaedia* to withdraw . . . but back in April this year, one Hector Macneil was quoting the dated edition in an attack on Makhno, in New Zealand. "My reference to Makhno's anti-Semitism was based on Non-Trotskyist sources," he says. Macneil is a middle aged lawyer noted for his court-room timidity (though known to be able to use his fists against Stalinist opponents). Writing to a local paper, he first of all says that "Makhno's atrocities against the Jews require some explanation" but later retracts this to say that he agrees "Makhno was not personally anti-semitic". How strange that the Russian-Jewish Anarchists in Paris, with people such as Schwarzbart, never required an explanation!

But the keener irony is with the Stalinists who carry over the Trotskyist lies against Makhno. In the French language journal of the Soviet Embassy published in Paris, *USSR*, this pogrom charge against Makhno was reiterated five times in two years — in order to discredit the anarchists. But meanwhile *USSR* was echoing the most violent anti-semitic stories, taken direct from Tsarist writings. Finally, the League against Racism and anti-Semitism took *USSR* to court for some disgusting anti-Jewish libels published by this lavishly produced journal (nothing to do with Zionism, incidentally) and it was proved that *USSR* had taken them word for word — including spelling errors — from a 1902 pamphlet of the anti-semitic "Black Hundreds" who organised the Russian pogroms. *USSR* was found guilty of defamation and fined . . . but this will not stop it publishing the defamations of Makhno begun by the (since equally defamed) Trotsky. . .

I. Spick

So much of Black Flag seems to be about one specific part of the struggle — state repression as practised on an international scale — why nothing about the many aspects of class war in its totality — what's going on in factories, schools, mental hospitals, dole queues, squatting, media and so on. . .

Noticed in a letter (in the second offset Black Flag) that tired old argument that the Angry Brigade could not/did not start a dialogue about what they were doing — surely the guy who wrote that must realise it's up to him and others like him to do such things . . . or do all those people always wait for others to do things for them? As for those who did not like what the defence group was doing — why did they not do it their own way in their locality?

for the future

Greg
Plymouth

(Re para 1 — we want to include it all in Black Flag. Send reports. As far as Anarchist Black Cross is concerned prisoners is our particular thing. But it is a springboard to the revolutionary struggle)

New group here want to avoid the pitfall of parochialism which can result in such an involvement in immediate local struggles that one eventually becomes little more than a social worker in revolutionist's clothing. One of the ways suggested was by 'adopting' say a couple of political prisoners which would go some way to proving an understanding of the prisoner's context. I'm not too sure if our aims and those of Black Cross are exactly similar. We see such an activity to exchange ideas and information about struggles with the prisoner as well as giving whatever material and emotional support we can . . .

MB
Lancs

(That's how we see it too).

BIT information service is quite incredible — a grant-aided operation servicing the alternative society — whatever that is.

Its latest fantastic achievement was to ask around 'How would you spend £1,250?'. The judges included some variously trendy characters such as Richard Neville, Germaine Greer and Nicholas Saunders whose 'Alternative London' was one way of earning a living: they decided which entries would help to 'change or revolutionise British society in some way . . . help people fight their oppressions' and all sorts of other things.

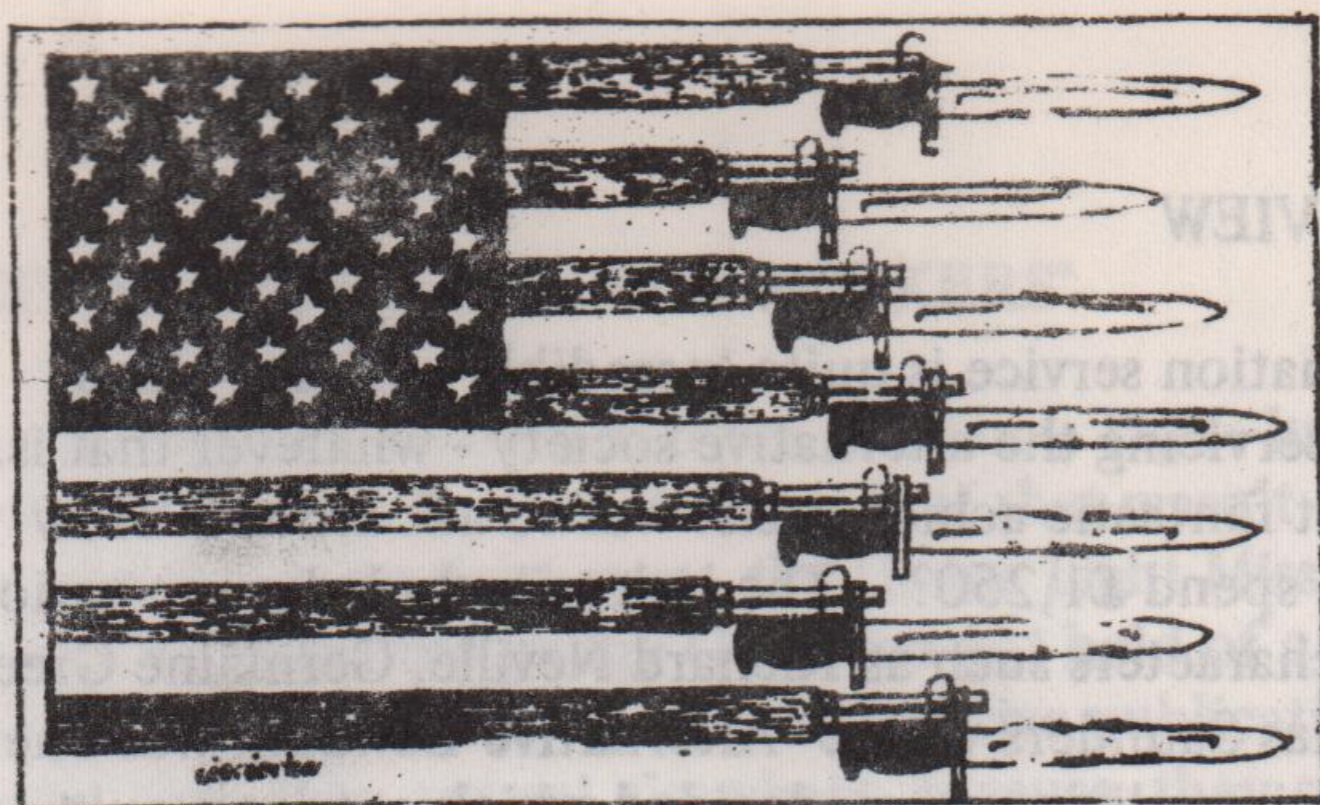
The main prize £350 was well awarded, to set up an 'alternative' offset litho press in Aberdeen where there was little in that way. Every idea sent in was recorded, and BIT presents the entries in a 'directory'. All one can say is WOW ZAPP BANGG!!!! There is everything from crash pads in Glastonbury to 'investing' the money on roulette at Monte Carlo. Political bookshops and presses vie with innumerable plans for plain and simple liberalism and do-goodism. From Helping the Unfortunate (in its modern trendy garb) to free schools, growing fungi, writers' co-ops, helping old people, and making money by selling pot.

Some 'freaks' found it unnecessary to explain themselves: for instance, the Trogwell Commune suggested the construction of a 'cheap floating island outside territorial waters' while outlining how, it doesn't bother to say what the hell for, and 'someone called Brown' improved on this with 'live-in-the-sky balloon-sausages'. It's all there, side by side with militant miners' international conferences, electing more left councillors, issuing paperbacks, starting pop groups and running communes.

What it has to do with changing or revolutionising society let alone helping people fight oppression is another matter, though the publishers confidently assert it is the way to 'prepare for the imminent collapse of central government', which will probably die laughing. Order a copy from your library anyway — they've done an enormous job on what they obviously think is of importance and one must admit that there are lots of things in it that are worth looking at closely — that Aberdeen offset litho press, to begin with — though the idea of revolution coming through 'daddy's money' (it is all based on well-to-do 'freaks' getting legacies) is a bit sick.

A Book of Visions, a Directory of Alternative Society Projects 1973; 250 pp, £1. (If you order the library edition it's in the sociology classification and the standard book number is ISBN 0950292303, published by the Alternative Society Ideas Pool, c/o BIT, 146 Great Western Road, London W11).





RAPE IS NOT AN ACT OF LOVE

This January 16th, I was acquitted of charges of battery. The charge was battery because in Illinois rape is defined legally as 'the penetration of a woman by a man over 14 years of age'. I had attempted to rape William Chester, a 34 year old man with two other women last April.

William Chester had written an article in the Chicago ILLINI, the student newspaper at the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle Campus. In this article, Chester stated - supposedly in a parody - that he thought women enjoyed being raped; that rape was a pleasurable thing and that he wanted to be raped; Any woman knows that to say rape is something to be enjoyed is perpetuating the male mythology about rape. The other two women and myself reacted in an anarcho-feminist manner; we attempted to comply with Chester's wish to be raped.

William Chester came to us of his own free will. We had written notes and told him we were going to rape him. He reacted like an overaged adolescent who thought he was going to get some nookie. When the roles were reversed and we lowered him to the floor, trying to remove his pants, he became hysterical, screaming and crying, trying to fight us off. We held him still (we stopped trying to rape him because it would be too traumatic) and we tried to explain to him that rape was not enjoyable, that it was a hostile act against women usually forced upon them.

We did not attempt to beat the shit out of him. We held him to keep him from hurting us. We let him go when several of his friends appeared and it looked like it was going to turn into a brawl.

Chester went to the police and swore warrants against us. I had a name warrant and turned myself in. The other two women Chester did not know. Eventually one of the other women was caught.

Chester said if we would apologise, he would drop the charges. As the trial dragged on through months (with continuances) the other woman did apologise.

Finally, we came before a judge. It was a bench trial. Because I had an extremely competent woman lawyer, I was acquitted on a directed verdict. The judge agreed with my lawyer that the complaint sworn out against me was insufficient and garbled. Legally, battery is defined as 'touching in an insulting or provoking manner or causing bodily harm'. My charges stated that I had 'leapt upon and beat William Chester.'

Chester and his lawyer, outraged at having been beaten by a woman, tried to have me re-tried and re-arrested. Again we went to court, and against the motion for re-trial was defeated. Now Chester has stated to the press that my lawyer gave the judge a bribe. The judge is trying to get Chester on contempt of court.

The press took this whole incident as a cutesy, human interest story and gave it a lot of coverage. It is unfortunate that so many actual rapes receive no coverage at all, and that when a man is threatened, the media leaps upon it.

Fredrika Baer

* From the anarcho-feminist Siren Newsletter - Chicago)

In our last issue we referred to anarchist Martin Sostre now serving a 31-41 year prison term. He was charged on 7th June, in Clinton County Court in Plattsburgh, New York, on three counts of alleged 2nd Degree Assault against Clinton Prison guards. Sostre refused to enter a plea, protesting that he was not allowed to testify in front of the Grand Jury which indicted him and was given no opportunity to obtain a lawyer.

This indictment stems from an incident on May 19th when Martin himself was attacked and brutally beaten in solitary (where he has been held for the past 10 months), by seven guards prior to being brought to Buffalo for a hearing in Federal Court, when witness Arto Williams recanted his 1968 testimony and admitted that he helped Buffalo police arrest and frame Sostre for his political views and activities.

This latest attempt of prison officials to intimidate Martin and break his incredible spirit and courage has failed completely, as evidenced by the letter written to his Defence Committee:

'I guess you heard about my being indicted in connection with my resistance to the assault upon me on May 19th by the 7-man goon squad. This is their defensive reaction to my Civil Rights law-suit. But it won't work and will in fact backfire because too many have been assaulted in forcibly being subjected to the degrading and dehumanizing rectal examination. I see this as a chance to expose their entire oppressive system. They've provided us with a forum to air all the barbarity and savagery that's covertly taking place in this box. Since the people already know that it is the *modus operandi* of cops to charge the victim of their assault with the assault, not too many people will buy the story that I assaulted 7 guards - as evidenced by the laughs in the courtroom when Notaro got up and made that stupid statement. Things are not always what they seem and the sun usually burns through rain clouds. The enemy is a master at creating illusions which create negativeness and cloud the mind to weaken and break spirits. We must not co-operate with the enemy's trickery. We must seize it and steadfastly use it against their own interests. So don't worry about it or let it get you down or distract you from the struggle.'

Martin Sostre Defence
Committee
Box 839, Ellicott Station,
Buffalo, New York 14205
U.S.A.



Right on
Sisters!

Turkey

In the days of the Sultan, before the First World War, Constantinople was a great international centre for the Anarchist movement, especially for those fighting tyranny in Russia and the Balkans. However there is little record of Turkish anarchism, though as one of its main centres was among dockers and dock labourers, it would have been passed over by historians. An account of this movement was given by Emma Goldman in London in the thirties, based upon contacts she and Berkman had made.

No contact existed with the Turkish anarchist movement since then until recent times. It is probable that the old international and dock labour movement did not survive the storms of the first world war and the years between the wars. But it has suddenly become the major focus of Turkish politics.

In reality the anarchist movement is confined to a small section of the youth movement of today (part student and part working class) but it arouses the greatest hostility in the military government. Like many other right-wing elements, it views anarchism as the major enemy and tars all its opponents with the anarchist brush (just as left-wing politicians tend to describe their opponents as fascists or tar them with the fascist brush).

A huge array of new laws now face both those advocating Marxist-Leninism and those advocating Anarchism (and as we have noted before there is a curious tendency of the Turkish Government, too regular to be coincidental, to charge anarchists with advocating marxism and a foreign power, and Marxist-Leninists with being anarchists). The sentences meted out by court-martials have been massive and repressive: martial law is now in its 27th month in the leading cities, and yet the Minister of the Interior, Mukadder Oztekin, said that it 'is not possible to say that the danger which is directed at our territorial integrity and democratic regime has been totally eliminated'. Nevertheless 1,700 have been tried and sentenced out of 4,000 arrested.

One noticeable feature, however, has been that repression has come down the most severely on those who have resisted the least. Sentences of between six and 15 years in jail have been passed on the leaders of the Labour Party, by a military tribunal, after severe torture to get them to 'confess'. Yet three anarchists have been allowed to go free, probably because of the threat of reprisals.

CAPE TOWN

(Africa) - 21st June 1973

The Supreme Court in Pretoria yesterday found Alexandre Moumbaris, 34, (an Australian), guilty on nine charges of helping Africans in a conspiracy to overthrow the South African government by violent subversion. He has been sentenced to 12 years isolation in the special maximum security wing of Pretoria prison where he will be isolated from all other prisoners. He will have no radio or newspapers and will be allowed only one letter and one visitor a month. Mr Justice Boshoff refused Moumbaris leave to appeal and rule he would get no remission for good behaviour. Boshoff said Moumbaris had worked for the banned African National Congress since 1967.

AUSTRALIA

Rupert Garritsen - to whom we referred in a previous issue - has been arrested in New Zealand and extradited (despite the political nature of his offence) 5000 miles back to Perth (Australia).

Julian Apley - serving five years on a related charge - has been transferred from a maximum security prison to an 'open' one.

Argentina

PERON RETURNS

After 18 years of exile, Peron returns. He claims it is a great sacrifice for him. After all, at the age of 77 he cannot be that strong physically. He claims it is a great sacrifice as he was always one to exploit emotions. His megalomania leads him to it. He will be the Saviour, the big Father Figure the Argentines apparently want. He makes no mention of giving back the 50 million dollars he has stashed away in a Swiss bank, besides other riches in the form of jewels or whatever he has been careful to accumulate. Nor does he mention he will stamp out the rich landowners, the property speculators, the foreign capital which sucks the country dry. He is with them.

The strange thing about Peron is that he is followed by the young. They were children when he was in power as a dictator. They came into adolescence seeing the military as the useless parasites they always are. They never saw Peron as one of the army. Peron was the ultra-demagogue, the one who, retaining his military rank, payed lip service to the grievances of the people. Though some ranches were expropriated, they were few, and no agrarian reform happened during Peron's time. The landowners thrived during his term of power, and will still thrive in his new term. Their grudge against him was one of status. He did not belong to them, especially his dead wife Evita, who went all out to insult Argentine high society. They did it over the radio, in speeches in Plaza Mayo, but no big landowner saw his land turned over to the peasants.

When Peron left, foreign capital came in. The Argentine builds its own cars, industry increased tenfold. But only for the benefit of the big foreign corporations: US, French, English, Italian. The generals ruled, after Frondizi was thrown out, and none of the generals was a demagogue like Peron. It was going back to the time before Peron rose to power. The country in the hands of the military, rich landowners, the so called aristocracy, the foreign capital exploiting the raw materials. But the real rulers were not the generals, but a group of colonels. They still are. They are young, they hide and wait in the wings.

The young do not see this. They see Yankee imperialism, they see the old bugs their fathers had to bear; the army, the police, the priesthood, and so on. So, while Peron was away, he became a myth. After all, much of what Peron put down on paper, laws and all that, smacked of socialism. Perhaps, the young fell into the Reichian theory of children who follow their fathers' footsteps because it is a way of feeling loved.

The other factor is maleness. The Argentine has always had the reputation of being a physical coward. As the military armed the police with sub-machine guns, the underworld in turn made the cities of the country Chicagos. From there to have young men suffering from maleness complexes, there was only one step. Not all of them of course. The way the rich live, the injustices witnessed every day did produce the nihilist spirit. The Tupamaros of Uruguay set the example. A reaction of disgust and loathing.

Peron today is a moderate. He cannot annihilate the Army, nor can he annihilate the rich landowners. He can make fine speeches, none better than he for his Machievalli role, but he cannot be draconian. If he were to be, a civil war would erupt immediately. He is not stupid, but he has returned. Megalomania makes men stupid. So did Napoleon return for 100 days. It is to be doubted if Peron will have 100 days all to himself. One hopes he can have more. In that way, the myth he created will effectively be destroyed and the people will think twice about Saviours.

Juan Novedades

JAPAN

Fifty years ago, soon after the great Tokyo earthquake, hundreds of Japanese anarchists and socialists were arrested on charges of high treason. In general, public feeling was high against them, it being felt by many that their "blasphemies" against the Emperor had caused the disaster, a charge rationalised in some quarters by allegations that they had committed arson. (It was a reproduction of the anti-Catholic feeling in London after the Great Fire). One of the great hopes of the reactionaries was Crown Prince Hirohito (who has since succeeded). His criminal tendencies were internationally recognised during the world war, but conveniently forgotten when world politics dictated otherwise afterwards.

Against the terrible police pogroms against the revolutionaries which succeeded the earthquake, only the anarchists fought back. One of them, Daisuke Namba, tried to shoot Hirohito, but failed and was executed. The Emperor himself, sitting immobile in his palace unwilling to cast his godlike shadow anywhere lest it bring disaster to the wrong place, was of course fairly immune from being shot at in the streets. Nevertheless, two anarchists worked out a plan to bomb him out of his divinity. One was Korean anarchist Pock Ryoll. The other was anarchist Fumiko Kaneko, a Japanese girl.

They were arrested in the course of plans in 1923, and brought before the courts. But there was no real evidence against them after three years of investigation. However, they scorned to take the advice of lawyers and plead innocence and determined to die together.

It is of course extremely unlikely that even if they had gone free the political police would have left them unmolested. One of the lawyers commented that he felt the lovers wanted to die together sooner than be parted. The court sentenced them to life imprisonment in view of the lack of evidence, but Fumiko tore the letter of amnesty in two and killed herself.

Bearing in mind the sexual taboos both of Japan and of the twenties, Fumiko's love as well as her anarchism horrified her neighbours, and for fifty years her family were shunned for the action of this shameless, unpatriotic girl. But now, with the revolution in thought that is sweeping Japan and elsewhere, the rebel girl is understood. In April this year — fifty years after the 22 year old Fumiko killed herself — the family built her a tomb in her home town (we learn from the Japanese *Libertaire* April 73). The perpetrators of "high treason" against the regime that was preparing for aggressive war have long since been forgiven; they are a light for the generation of today who have swept aside the State religion and are honouring the pioneers.

NOTE Black Flag does not consist of rehashes from the press. The press consistently borrows from us. That is why more and more journalists are reading it, even if they do not always reproduce it correctly.

Latest Example: In the same week that BBC/TV borrows heavily from our pages, *La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno* - Bari daily - on 22nd July, publishes an article 'from our Lecce correspondent' on Goliardo Fiaschi.

Learning of the case of Goliardo Fiaschi (see our March issue) three young lawyers in Lecce have taken up his case: they are Pietro Quinto, Fabio Valente and Giuseppe Terragno. They are convinced from a reading of the documents that he has been unjustly convicted on a trial held in his absence, while in a Spanish jail, on 'evidence' obtained by torture in Spain. In a long article, on the case the daily '*La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno*' reveals that the commandant of the partisan brigade in which Fiaschi fought has stated that he rendered 'important service'.

The Goliardo Fiaschi Defence Committee:
c/o Franco Leggio,
Via S. Francesco 238,
Ragusa, Catania,
Sicily.

SPANISH PRISONERS

Julio Millan Hernandez, now serving 18 years in Soria after confirmation of his sentence, has written to us asking us to send thanks to comrades in Wales and in York who have shown solidarity with him, as well as those in London. His six years in custody counts towards his sentence, but though he has been working all that time, remission by work (which amounts to a quarter of the sentence - one day for every four worked) only begins after sentence. The real reason for Hernandez's imprisonment is his work to rebuild the trade union movement. The 'confession' to terrorist activity obtained by torture has been criticised by international lawyers.

Following the capture of the famous 'El Lute', the itinerant tinker (quinqui) whose prison escapes have obtained considerable public sympathy in Spain and abroad, and have attracted the attention of the press, he has been sent to the escapers' prison of Cartagena. Our comrade Floreal Rodriguez de la Paz was concerned in the last escape of 'el Lute' (and was left in the lurch by him). Floreal was also sent to Cartagena but as the authorities did not want the two together, he has now been sent to the political prison of Soria, notorious for its hunger strikes.

Jaime Pozas, who was one of the key figures of the acratistas and a link between the students and the workers' organisation, remains in jail awaiting trial on a trumped-up charge of drugs smuggling, in which 2,000 people are concerned! The drugs traffic provides a new excuse for the Spanish police to make arbitrary arrests: they are a form of blackmail, whereby the rich are expected to pay privately and the workers to give information on their organisations. If they do not agree they will be in prison for months, or even years, until their trial comes up even though, as in the case of Pozas, there is nothing whatever to present in evidence against them.

Our comrade Maldonado is a veteran of the FAI from before the civil war. He has already spent 27 years in jail under Franco. In July he came up on trial once more: he told the court martial judges exactly what he thought of them in good honest language. He was sentenced in Madrid to four years two months and a day for contempt of court. He has now been transferred from Carabanchel prison to Seville (on the 6th August). Maldonado is one of a family of libertarians. He is now 67 years of age and he remains unconquered: a symbol of working class resistance.

Student Juan Tejeiro Conde was accused of setting fire to the damp, unhygienic old University of San Bernardo and imprisoned in Ocana. Now Conde, of the 'acratistas' has been transferred to El Dues (near Santander).

Meantime in England, Andres Martinez, a young libertarian, lies in Pentonville Prison after months of detention. His crime: nothing. He is accused of nothing. He spent two years legally working quietly in England. If he goes back to Spain he will be imprisoned for refusing to serve in the Army and for illegal association abroad. He decided to go to Sweden but a technical hitch prevented his entry: on returning to London he was refused entry and held for deportation, no reason being given. The Home Office now insist, before he can leave the country, that the country to which he goes (Sweden will now admit him) must give such guarantees that he will not return that no government will give unless it intends to put him in prison.

The Labour Party was 'interested' in the case. But it seems they did not want to put pressure on the Home Office to let Martinez stay - or allow him to go elsewhere other than to Spain. They wanted to let the Home Office deport him to Spain and then expose the Tory Home Secretary. They saw no political capital to be obtained in pressurising the Home Secretary for a humane solution.

INTERNAL BULLETIN

Readers who were puzzled as to what exactly the front page of last month's Flack Flag was all about (a beautiful colour print failed to respond to loving treatment) may like to know it was Det Supt Habershon posing with a sub machine gun for the benefit of the TV camera. We always felt he would get the last word . . .

The July issue was riddled with misprints, but we feel encouraged by the many readers who have told us how much they think it has improved, especially with the "new look" given the paper by our wonderful typesetters . . . From now on we are doing our darndest to improve the paper, though some are good enough to say the contents could *never* be improved . . . Last month our print order was put up to 1,200 (which is double what it was for the duplicated format). Yet with the saving in postage our costs are down, and it is proving economically viable . . . just . . . It depends on how well we sell. And how much cash comes in from sales.

We have had strong moral (and practical) support from veteran Anarchist Marcus Graham (formerly editor of the American journal *Man!* — which may be shortly reproduced in book form), and a great many others representing a whole continuity of generations — our readership ranging in age, so far as we know, from 15 to 86. At our opening socials at our new premises we welcomed comrades from all parts of these islands, including embattled Belfast, and France, New Zealand, Germany, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Russia, South African, USA, and Australia . . .

Readers of the incredible shrinking Freedom will note with wry feelings the credit of the "major" work of letraset (20 words?) and lay out to one contributor by the editors (still plural). Only a few months ago Freedom said that it did not claim to be the best anarchist paper but the only one there was — now Libertarian Struggle and Black-anarchist Outlook, to say nothing of Black Flag, surpass it. Sad that a few sectarian attacks in its columns have reduced it so, considering its antecedents; but a tribute to the responsibility of the anarchist movement which cannot, by the looseness of its relationship to the paper, expel the main offender, but has taken it out on the journal.

Perhaps Freedom should now be honourably ended; or if it has a role to play as the internal bulletin, it now seems to possess a less sectarian and more involved editorship. Is there nothing that can be done? Or has the breach between anarchists and the Freedom Press group — which seems to have disavowed the offending Nick Walter — gone too far?

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. Jurist V Nabokov wrote the abdication of Grand Duke Michael, who took over as Tsar after Nicholas fell, framing it in such a way as to make it legally possible for him to resume as soon as it was safe to do so.
2. It is said to be based on the character of Michael Bakunin as Wagner observed him during the rebellion of Dresden.
3. Rose Witcop. (She later married Glasgow libertarian Guy Aldred; her sister Millie German anarchist Rudolf Rocker; her other sister Polly was active in London for some thirty years).
4. The riots were sparked off because the reactionary and bigoted Tory government relieved some Catholic disabilities merely in order to enable the recruitment of Catholic Irish to fight the American rebels; Lord George was considered mad because he sided with the people's cause instead of that of his class.
5. A group of ten radicals, led by Arthur Thistlewood, planned in 1820 to blow up the entire Tory Cabinet of Lord Sidmouth, which they felt would inspire a popular rising. They were betrayed; four were hanged, one pardoned, and five transported to Australia. One of the latter, Strange, working out his sentence, later became a chief constable and the terror of bushrangers (partly because of his radical past) surviving the conspiracy some fifty years.
6. Jaroslav Hasek wrote 'The Good Soldier Schweik'.

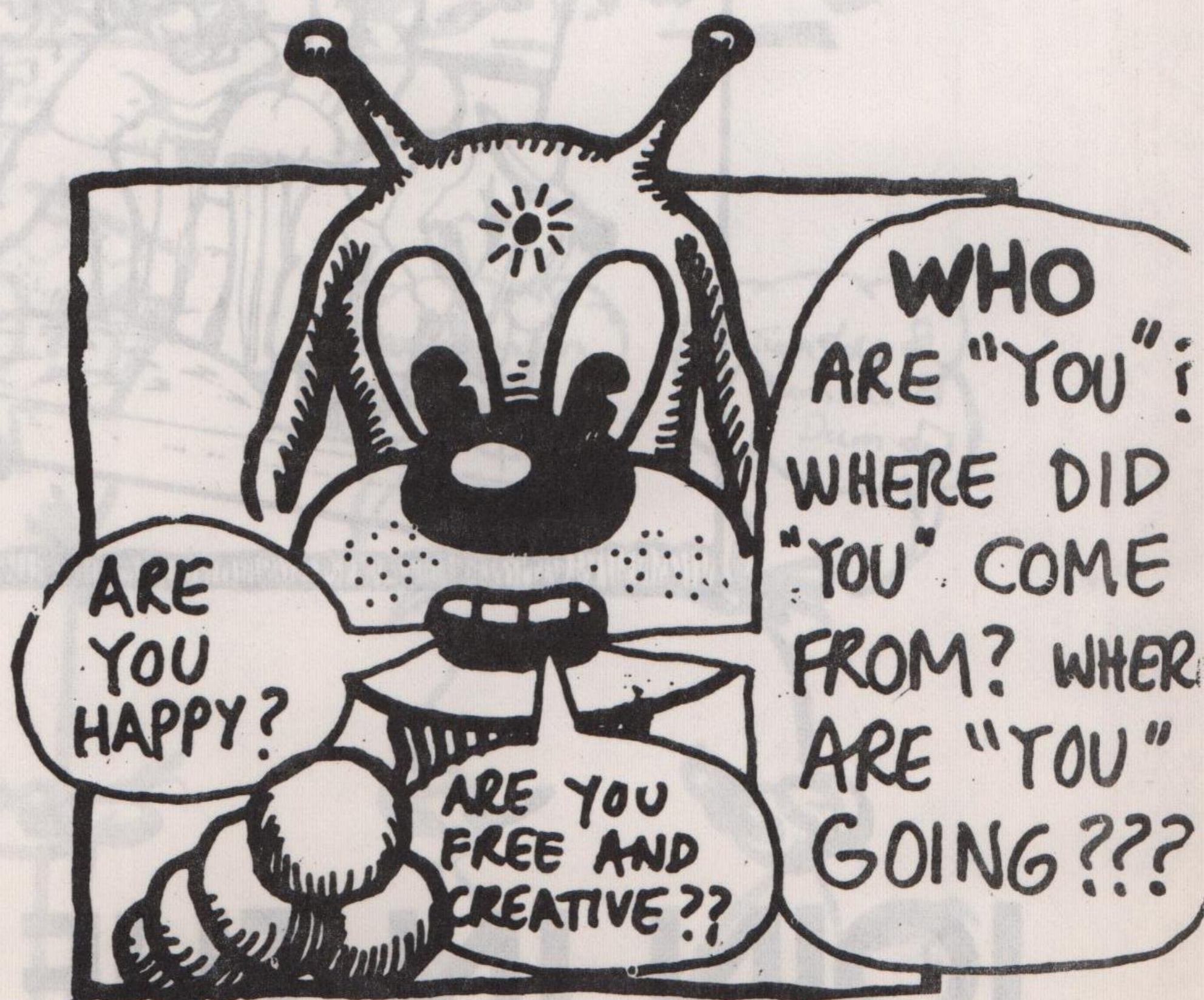
STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT

Deficit from statement shown Vol. 2 No. 10	£104.16
Subsequent sales (vol 2)	176.41
Subscriptions	34.44
Donations, various	10.00
	220.85
Paper, Ink, etc	139.94
Postage	91.60
Duplic., repairs	9.00
Literature bt.	18.75
Stationery	10.50
	269.79
	deficit 48.94
	total deficit 153.10
Sales (Vol.3 No.1-3)	55.80
Subs ditto	38.95
Donations	95.03
	189.78
Printing (nos 1-4)	83.00
Postage ditto	50.45
Stationery	4.00
	137.45
	Surplus 52.33
	present deficit 100.77

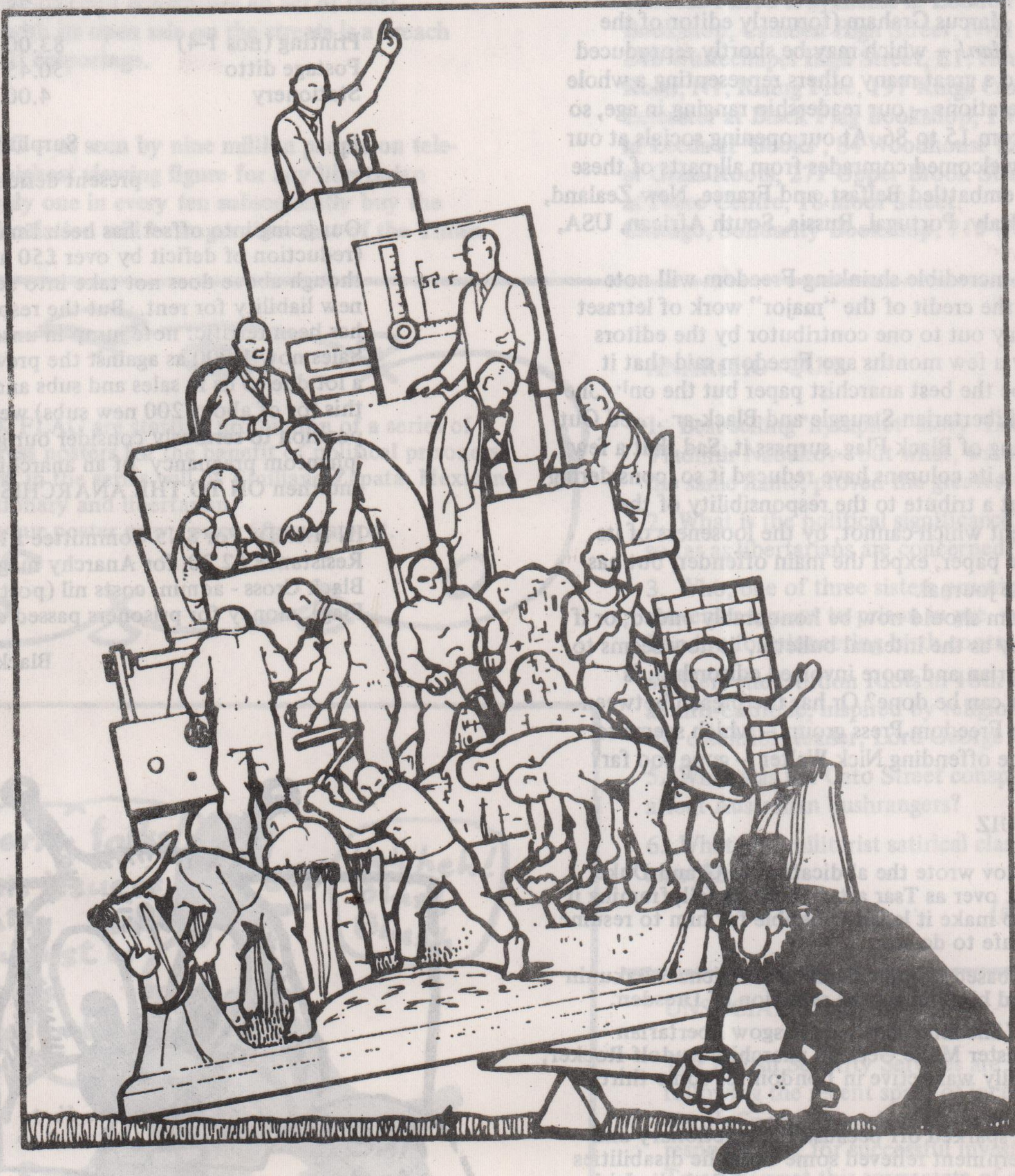
Our going into offset has been financially successful (reduction of deficit by over £50 and stock in hand) though above does not take into account our present new liability for rent. But the response of readers has been terrific: note jump in unsolicited donations. Sales now 1,000 as against the previous 600: there is a lot due to us in sales and subs and on the receipt of this (or of about 200 new subs) we would be in a position to seriously consider our goal, derided as a 'phantom pregnancy' of an anarchist fortnightly . . . and then ON TO THE ANARCHIST DAILY.

IN HAND: For SN5 Committee £11.50, for Spanish Resistance £2.20, for Anarchy mag. \$ 25. Anarchist Black Cross - admin. costs nil (postages borne by Black Flag), money for prisoners passed direct, in hand nil.

Black Flag Group



black flag



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REVOLUTION**