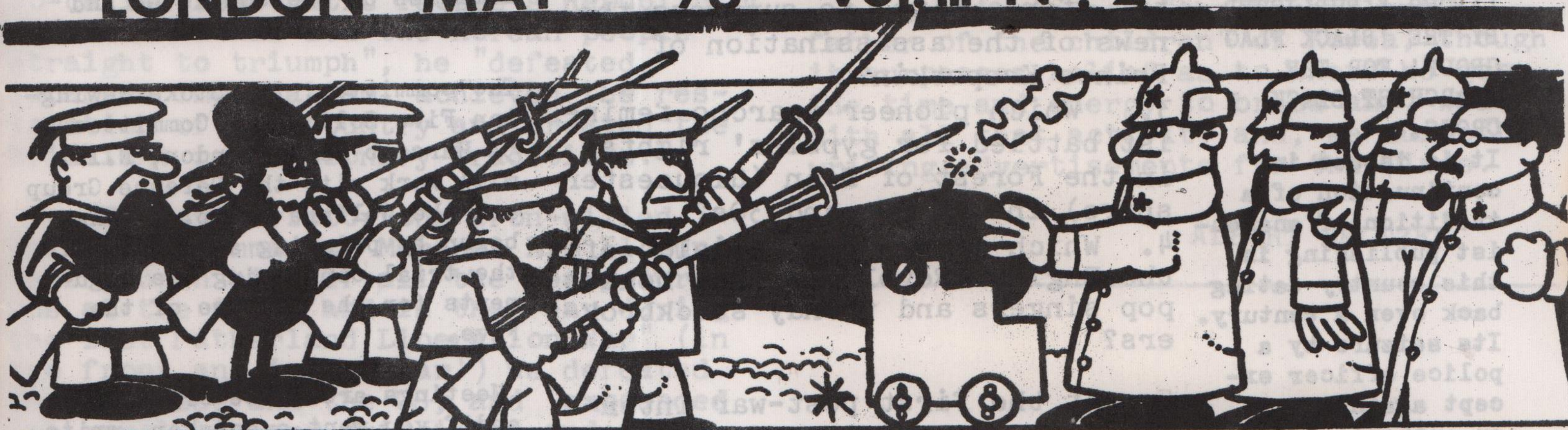


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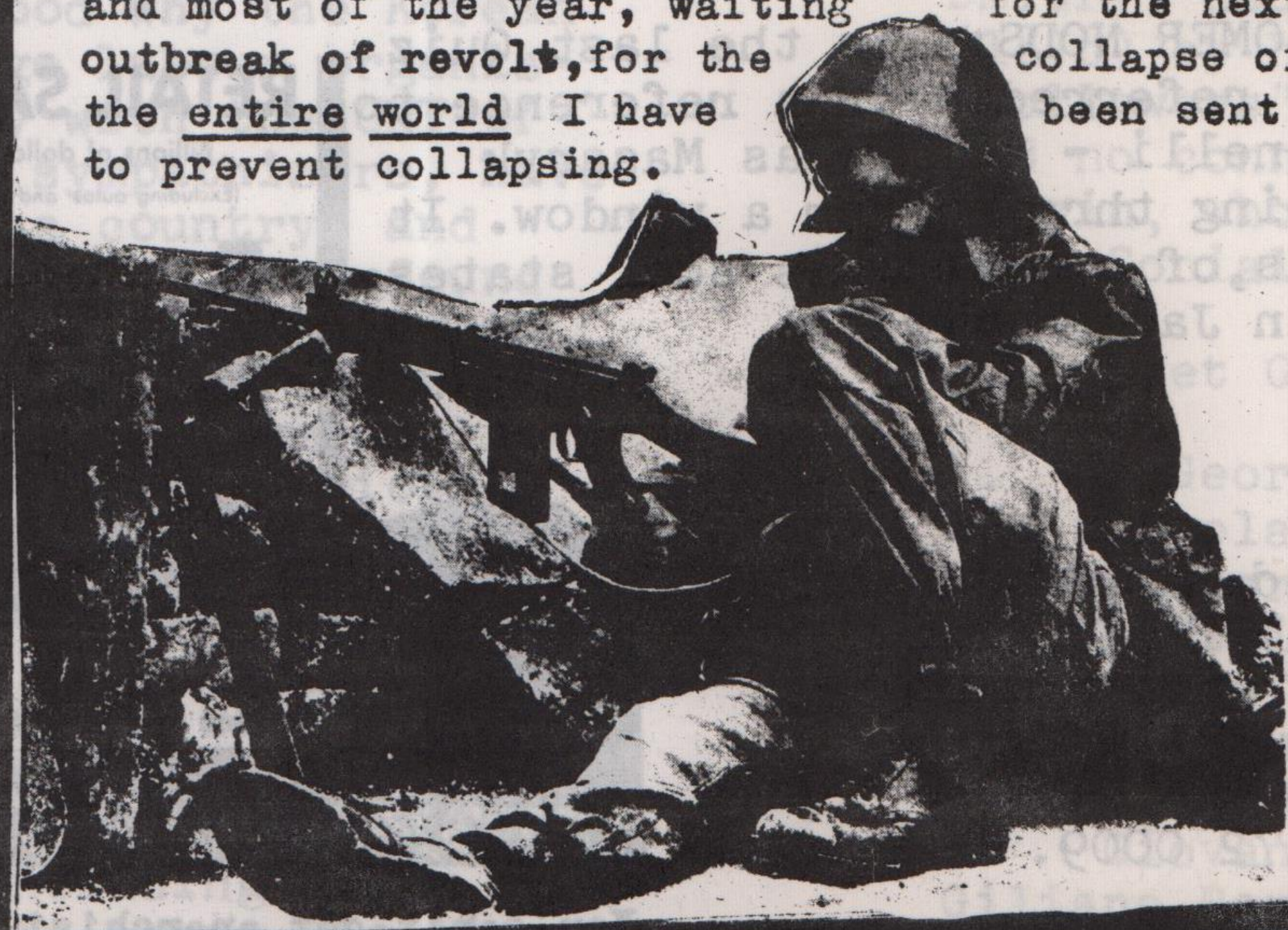
BLACK anarhist FLAG black ORGAN OF THE cross



LONDON MAY 73 vol. III No. 2 10p



Even in my role as hired thug for the upper classes, I find no satisfaction. Some say I am only doing my job, but don't make me laugh. This society cannot be policed, and I am weary of it. I have been awake all night and most of the year, waiting for the next outbreak of revolt, for the collapse of the entire world I have been sent to prevent collapsing.



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

Vol. III. No. II. MAY 1973 10p



COMMUNICATIONS TO:
Black Flag,
10 Gilbert Place,
London, W.C.1.
(Postal address
only)

THIS PAPER IS PRODUCED BY VOLUNTARY LABOUR & PUBLISHED BY THE 'BLACK FLAG GROUP' FOR THE ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS. It is issued in continuation of a tradition of anarchist publishing in this country dating back over a century. Its seizure by a police officer except against an authorised warrant or other receipt, constitutes an act of theft.

anarcho-quiz

1. According to Mark Twain, due to "the goodness of God", the USA possessed "three unspeakably precious things", two of them being freedom of speech and freedom of conscience. What was the third?
2. Why did the Russian police try, for a time, to suppress the news of the assassination of Prince Kropotkin?
3. Which pioneer anarcho-remin-ist battled for gypsies' rights in the Forest of Dean (Gloucestershire) in the 20s and 30s?
4. Which early "battlefield" of the English Revolution now houses pop singers and trendy stockbrokers?
5. At the first post-war international anarchist conference in Paris (1948) it was found that, quite coincidentally, the Italian British and French delegations each contained one member of the same family. Who were they?

A New Committee is to campaign for the release of the Stoke Newington Five, who must not be forgotten. It has been initiated by two of the acquitted defendants, and has the support of the other two, as well as of the families of the convicted and the Five themselves.

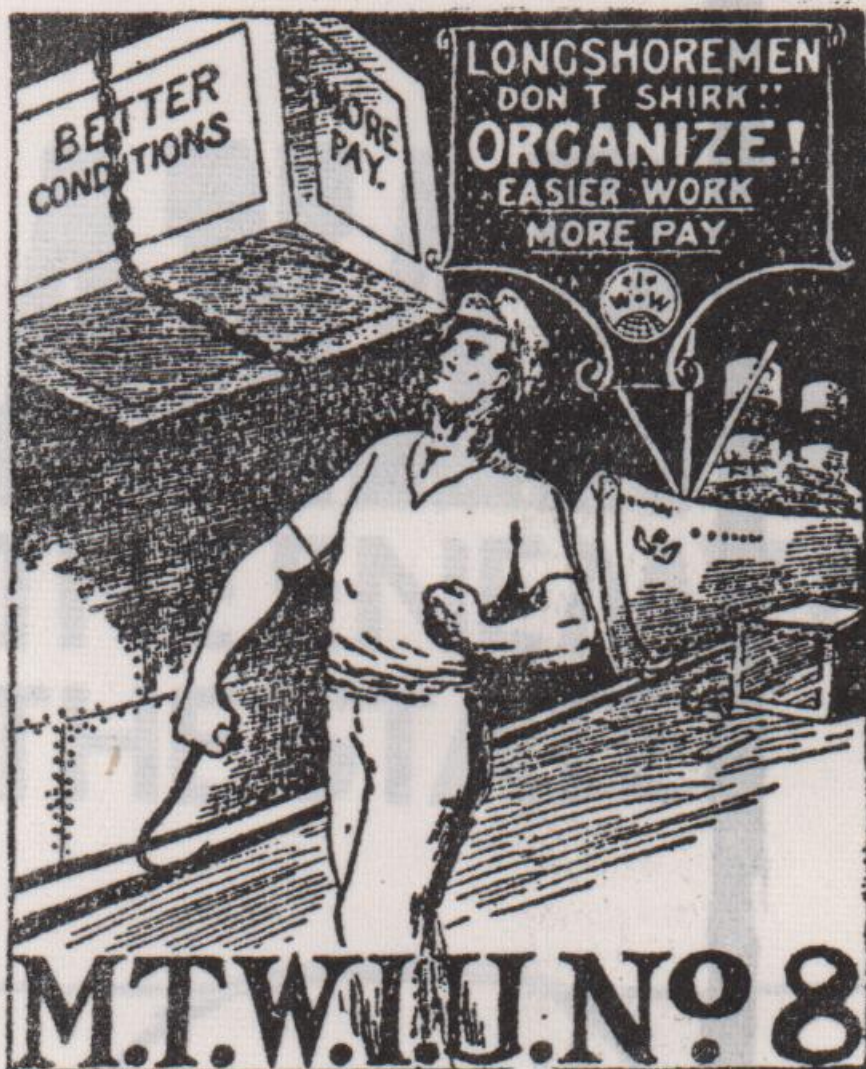
The committee, the Stoke Newington Five Solidarity Committee, 54 Harcomb Road, London, N.16. will work with the Defence Group and the Welfare Group. It has begun by printing a summary of the trial containing the arguments for the release of the Five.

Meetings are to be organised, and if you want a speaker, write in. They need cash, too.

Befreiung (Cologne Anarchist paper) new address :
5 KOLN I, MOLTKESTR. 27.

(This is also the address for the Schwarzkreis - Black Cross)

Answers on page 15.

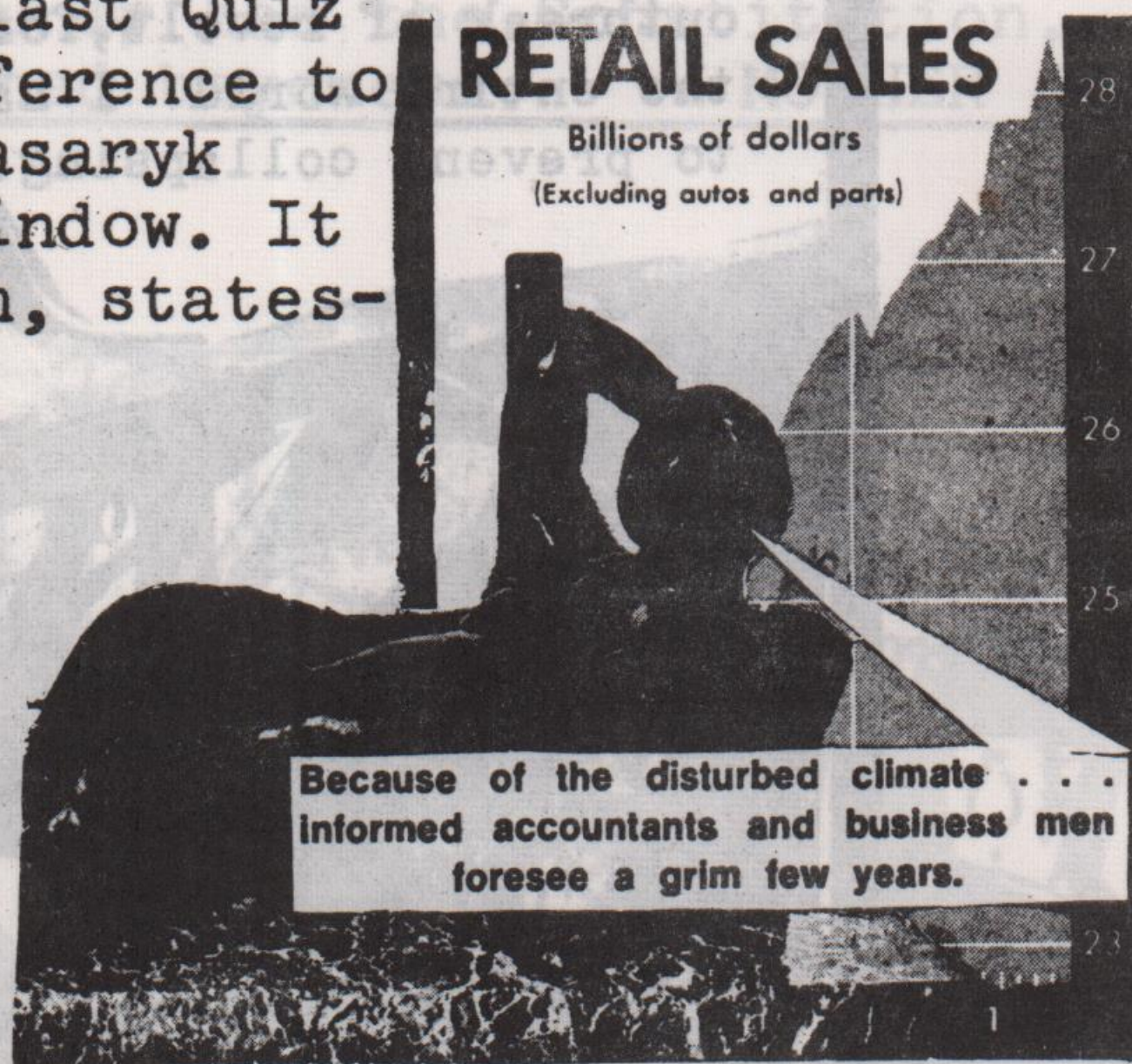


Far Oot

(HOMER NODS: In the last Quiz we referred - in a reference to Pinelli - to Thomas Masaryk being thrown from a window. It was, of course, his son, statesman Jan Masaryk.)

RETAIL SALES

Billions of dollars
(Excluding autos and parts)



CHEQUES & POs should be made payable to ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS or to SIMIAN. Payments can be made through GIRO to Anarchist Black Cross, account number 51 172 0009.

OUR LAST ISSUE was March 1973. We had been waiting for responses, but since the issue had already appeared in mid-March, we decided to bring this issue out in MAY. From now on we will come out MONTHLY.

You can't get anarchist papers on every station bookstall as the Daily Telegraph imagines.....
subscribe to BLACK FLAG
12 issues, £1.50



Editorial

For the past century it has been possible to look forward to the new society that would supersede capitalism and all forms of exploitation. Millions (but unfortunately not all at the one time) have over this period come to realise the nature of the con trick of capitalism and to see the vision of a new society. The State has persecuted those who fought for such a vision by execution, torture, imprisonment and privation; or has sought to deflect the struggle by reforms and concessions and above all by yielding to the alleviation of poverty by better standards.

Above all the struggle has been deflected by those who have given up in despair, to follow their own private concerns, yet well knowing that the State leads to a way of death and that ultimately, if not in one generation then in the next, it catches up with its victims. Some too have used the struggle itself to assure themselves places of privilege in the hierarchy of the State and the ranks of the rich.

It is this which reflects what May Day is all about - the continual hope and struggle, the latent knowledge of defections, but the sure knowledge that workers' power can lead to the breaking down of the State and capitalism and the breakthrough to a new society. The powerful no longer show themselves in direct opposition, all too often they clothe themselves in the ideals of the future. This too is a feature of May Day - the mockery of tanks and the march-Past in Red Square, Moscow, talking in terms of the international solidarity of the working class...the mockery of the Imperialist Allies talking of democracy... the mockery of the fascist powers parading their "socialism".

That is why May Day, too, is the symbol of the forlorn hope, the individual attacks upon capitalism that are the rearguard action against oppression and the assurance that the mightiest dictators are only human, and without their armed guards and tanks are just powerless old men.

FOR REMEMBER THIS: THE
STRUGGLE IS NEVER FINALLY
DEFEATED, NEVER FINALLY
DIVERTED. IT RENEWS IT-
SELF WITH EVERY GENERATION.

Whatever the bribes, whatever the repression, the woman or man next to you may be part and parcel of the resistance to the unjust society.

Today there is every chance that the workers could use their power and build up a free society. In the Western world, workers' powers and know-how could in fact achieve the breakthrough to a free technology and a stateless way of life without any serious problems, but what is lacking is the WILL. The capitalist powers have bought off the revolution with concessions to living standards so that even those who find themselves left out in the cold by the acquisitive society find their niche in "social benefits" and State care. In the "developing countries" the WILL is there all right, and the attempts at revolution are numerous, but the serious problem is the breakthrough.

The guerrilla forces that stand for revolution have emerged wherever the old ramshackle dictatorships of the "Third World" or the imperial owners have been unable to grant the concession of improved living standards and revolutions have gone through to fail only because of the know-how to transform society. Where there has been an educated elite, it has become the master.

Finally, in the communist countries, so-called, years of powerlessness is beginning to convince the workers that they have not the ability, and they are ceasing to have the will, to transform society: indeed, in despair they think that the State itself was a transformation of society and feel that revolution is - if this is what it means - hardly worth the effort. In such countries only individual blows against the State can make it appear that a totalitarian State is not all-powerful and that men and women of determination may challenge it once they have a mind to do so.

The change over of BLACK FLAG from stencil to offset has been widely welcomed. Oddly enough this long-delayed change has proved a financial success, due to increased sales. We have not yet been able to get down to our auditing but it appears that not only have we so far covered costs, but our overall deficit is down by about £5. Thanks to everyone concerned, and especially sub renewers...reminder that the work of Black Cross is entirely dependent on sales of our publications covering the heavy postages incurred.

MAUDLING PRIZE Idiot of the Month

Following in this wave of calls for the return of capital punishment, the Rev. F. J. Lanham, of Burwash Weald, Sussex, takes the Maudling Prize when, saying that "horrible crimes" are committed "which were almost unheard of 40 or 50 years ago" (an amazing reversal of the truth, unless he refers to the atomic bomb), he attacks those who would "appeal to theology".

"Jesus Christ said that anyone who injures a child would be better off at the bottom of the sea with a millstone round his neck," says the reverend gentleman. Jesus Christ also said that one should return good for evil, tear one's cloak in two and give it away, offer the robber more than he stole, sell all one had and give it to the poor and also defraud one's creditors (parable of the unjust steward). Of all this "theology" Mr Lanham, rejecting especially that one should sell one's wealth and give it to the poor, is only able to select the passage in which Jesus is reported to have said that anyone who injured a child should be thrown in the sea with a millstone round his neck. But is he seriously advocating that this be done? Is he suggested drowning those who harm children? Does he look to the law to be changed to do it, or - as a Christian - will he follow Christ, not Caesar, and murder child offenders by drowning?

Or is he just another ass like the one who wants to leave razor blades around the cell, or the one who wants a compound to put people in to have offal thrown at them? Saying something that sounds good and is not intended seriously. Braying. MAUDLING PRIZE OF IDIOT OF THE MONTH (a text saying "The greatest of these is charity").

THE MOTIVE?

English journalist Miss Ann Chapman (26), who was murdered in Greece, was believed to have been investigating opposition to the Greek regime.

Her father stated that he himself thought the police had murdered her, because she was on to something. It was known that she was trying to contact Lady Fleming (in prison at the time, who however says she does not think the police killed Miss Chapman).

Mr Moundis, convicted of murdering and raping her, looks completely innocent. The evidence against him appears to have been drummed up quick to avoid a scandal. He appears to have been framed solely because of a past conviction that made him an ideal fall guy.

We can only contribute one small point. Miss Chapman was most certainly investigating opposition to the Greek regime. Before leaving for Greece, she tried to obtain some addresses of Greek Anarchists from us, which we (not knowing her) were unable to give. She insisted that she wished only to expose Greek police tyranny.

The Camacho Comedy

British trade unionists are rallying to the defence of Spanish trade unionists. Mr Will Paynter, veteran trade union leader (and old Stalinist hack) has visited Madrid to help pour in aid to the "Carabanchel Ten". The trade unions should help Marcelino Camacho, "working class leader"..... Pardon us if we laugh a little. The great dramatists knew that in the grimmest tragedies you had to introduce a little light comedy.

Allow us to introduce the GREAT CAMACHO COMEDY as played in the Spanish theatre with no cost spared in the production.....

The Communist Party lacked a leader. Its old guard had grown stale in Moscow. "La Pasionaria" was now mockingly known as "La Pensionaria"; Lister with his military record had been brought in, but was too identified with the twists and turns of Moscow policy. First they tried to put

forward Carrillo, even staging a mock battle between Carrillo and Lister. But few other than the faithful were deceived. And the Party lacked prestige. It could not live for ever on fooling "world trade unionism" to support non-existent unions in Spain.

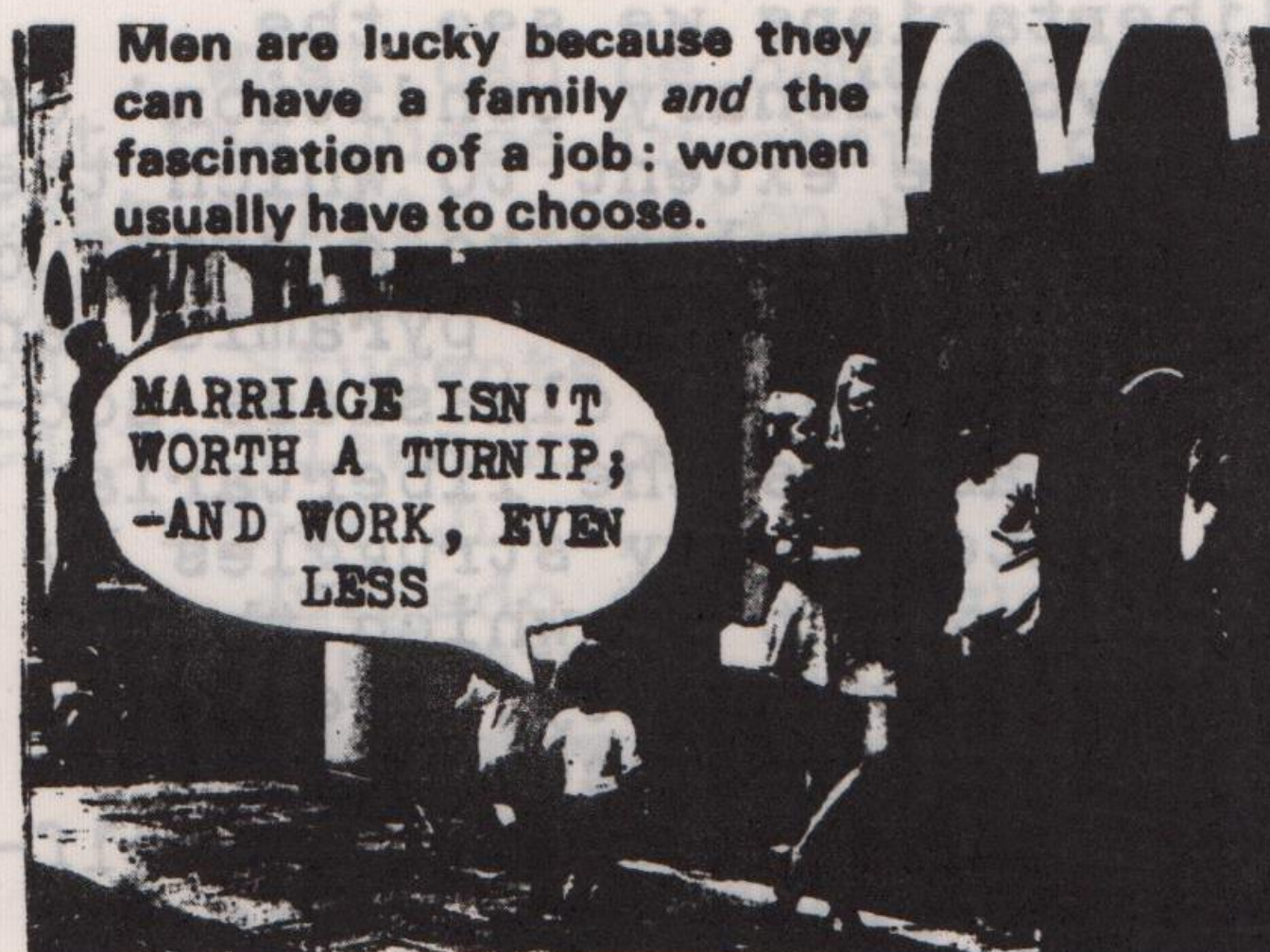
Where could it find a real "working class" leader? They hit on Marcelino Camacho - a tough, fanatical Communist - illiterate, true, but that did not matter - from Algeria. The Spanish police who have arrested so many trade union organisers of the CNT, let him come in without demur.

British trade union leaders, now swindling their union funds to support "independent" trade unionists like Camacho, pretend he is not a Communist just a worker at the Barclay Perkins works. Send money to help his family! His wife lives like a marquise, with a salon to receive Christian Democratic politicians. The Spanish police, which has persecuted and tortured the real unionists, the CNT militants, sent them to jail for years, shot and garrotted them, allowed Senor Camacho to build up the "Comisiones Obreras", an Opposition trade union movement (which sent delegates into the fascist unions) in alliance with the Left Wing Catholics. For if Franco went suddenly, capitalism could not permit a vacuum. Only the Communist Party could provide an instant trade union movement as quick as instant coffee.

Yet it was still not enough. The Comisiones Obreras were provided with funds (from Communists in the free trade unions of the world - Russia does not like to waste its own money without quick returns), but though the Party used every means it could to increase membership, it did not grow too fast. One such means: workers in prison for trade union offences could always get help for their families and for themselves if they joined the Comisiones Obreras. Camacho, when he was in prison, was particularly insistent that nobody who was not "in the fold" would receive so much as a piece of bread if they were starving. The other politicals shared in a "commune"; the anarchists as a whole gave to all whatever they had, including the non-political prisoners. But not the C.P. Not Camacho. His salary, when outside prison, as a worker would not keep him in postage stamps. He was the paid Party functionary to take the leadership.

One day the "Comisiones Obreras" leadership met in a monastery at Pozuelo. The police had done their best to ignore them, since they had been tipped off to leave them alone. But the meeting was denounced to the police who therefore had to act. It was the culmination of a series of meetings, in which the C.P. had pretended to have the collaboration of all anti-Franco factions. In came the police and arrested the "Ten" including (says Mr Paynter) "men like Marcelino Camacho, already known to some trade union leaders in Britain as a union representative".... but known to trade unionists in Spain as a CP member who never belonged to any trade union but the fascist syndicate and his own phoney outfit.

Whereas the militants of the CNT had gone in for ten, twenty, thirty years and had died in jail, without raising so much as a squeak from official British trade unionism one may add (they weren't affiliated to the right international, after all), Camacho's spells in jail, designed to groom him for the leadership, have been invariably of what (by Spanish standards of today) is a light nature, so as to enable him to resume his place as an organiser. Compare his career with that of Sabate shot down in the streets by the Guardia Civil! Mr Michael Foot and Mr Paynter can go to Madrid and visit him, even in jail.... and incidentally another Labour MP (Albert Roberts) seems to think this is a sign of the leniency of the Franco Government. It has not occurred to him either that the whole Camacho comedy is one well known to the police, but that only the urgent need for capitalism to find something to fill the gap if the Caudillo dies has forced the regime to tolerate a semi-legal Opposition. It does not behave like that with its real opponents, the resistance of the anarcho-syndicalist militants.



Letters



Dear Black Flag,

The Anarchist movement would not be the same without Black Flag. Its unique mixture of international news on defence and aid, sardonic bits and pieces and pig-headed factionalism would be much missed. I suppose it's too much to ask that the pig-headed factionalism should be left out.

I am writing with particular reference to the continuing skirmish round the SN8 Defence Committee, the Angry Brigade etc. Anarchists- because of their lack of theoretical background and their (correct) stress on immediate activity, tend to have little concept of strategy. As militants in struggle they can be magnificent - tactically. It is to be hoped that from our practical experience a true theory of praxis can emerge. Without it, Anarchists may win battles but they'll lose wars, and another million liberals will spit on the graves of dead comrades as they praise them for being the 'conscience of the revolution.'

My objections and the objections of both 'Solidarity' and 'Libertarian Struggle' to Angry Brigade and SN8 Defence Group activity stem from this concern for strategy. It is a concern for underlying analysis and general direction in the struggle. None of us are concerned to make a fetish of violence one way or the other. All of us are concerned to ask for what purpose a violent or non-violent tactic is being used. Does it work in a Libertarian direction? Was that its intention? Are there contradictions within the activity that make a successful outcome, even in its own terms, unlikely?

As libertarians we see the relative 'revolutionary condition' of the people as the extent to which their struggles appear to lead to a destruction of the authoritarian 'pyramid' and the establishment of a classless society. We can assess the libertarian content of contemporary struggles by assessing the extent to which they increase 'the spontaneity, the autonomy, the self-confidence, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the masses' to quote Solidarity.

The role of libertarian revolutionaries is to increase the spontaneity the autonomy etc of the dispossessed in those struggles in which they are mutually involved. This role can well involve armed struggle, but it is armed struggle with and not on behalf of the masses. It is armed struggle to protect or advance the revolutionary self-management the masses have achieved.

Now let us look at the Angry Brigade and the SN8 Defence Group in the light of this. The Angry Brigade could be said to have 'linked the struggles' of Women's Liberation (the Miss World car bombing), Ford Workers (the Carr bombing) and anti-Police State activity (the Police computer bombing), but were discussions opened up with militants in each of these struggles on a wide ranging basis around the topic of armed struggle? For 'reasons of security', no, they were not. Can any of these struggles be said to have moved to a higher level in the struggle for self-management as a result of these bombings? No. Were militants from different struggles brought together as a result of the bombings? If anything the opposite happened. The bombings have shown that bombings are possible but I knew that already. The net result as far as I can see is that the authorities had the shifts put up them. This can have its uses: the assassination of the Spanish bastard whose name I forget who was responsible for the tortures in Montjuich prison around the turn of the century, that resulted in the release of the prisoners. But nothing like that happened here.

Now the Defence Committee: it seems to be merely inefficient to rap on about 'armed struggle' being the only way when the people you are claiming to defend are asserting with all their might that guns and explosives were planted on them by the police. Further, the defendants were claiming to differ with the Angry Brigade on precisely that matter of armed struggle now. Further, the proprietorial and conspiratorial attitudes of the Defence Group made it more, rather than less difficult for comrades outside their immediate circle to propagandise for the release of the defendants. The Trial as a potential focus for the struggle for freedom and self-management just didn't happen that way because

of the Defence Group. It was a difficult situation to change at the time because comrades like myself had no desire to make a bad situation worse by attacking the Committee while the Trial proceeded.

The SN8 Defence Group and Black Flag should understand this complete sense of frustration on the part of comrades like myself and understand the part in plays in criticisms by Solidarity and Libertarian Struggle. It doesn't help clear thinking or positive discussion for Black Flag to slag Solidarity as an objective ally of the National Front and Libertarian Struggle as a bunch of Christian pacifists.

There are a thousand struggles to get involved in or instigate. They all need clear assessment. The Revolution when it comes is unlikely to be a pacific affair. The extent to which we discuss these matters now - with perhaps passion but certainly with clear heads - is the extent to which we avoid a number of mistakes then. In the meantime, I object strongly to your less than covert suggestions that a refusal to pick up the gun immediately is a variety of cowardice or political hypocrisy.

Yours fraternally,

John Quail.

Leeds.



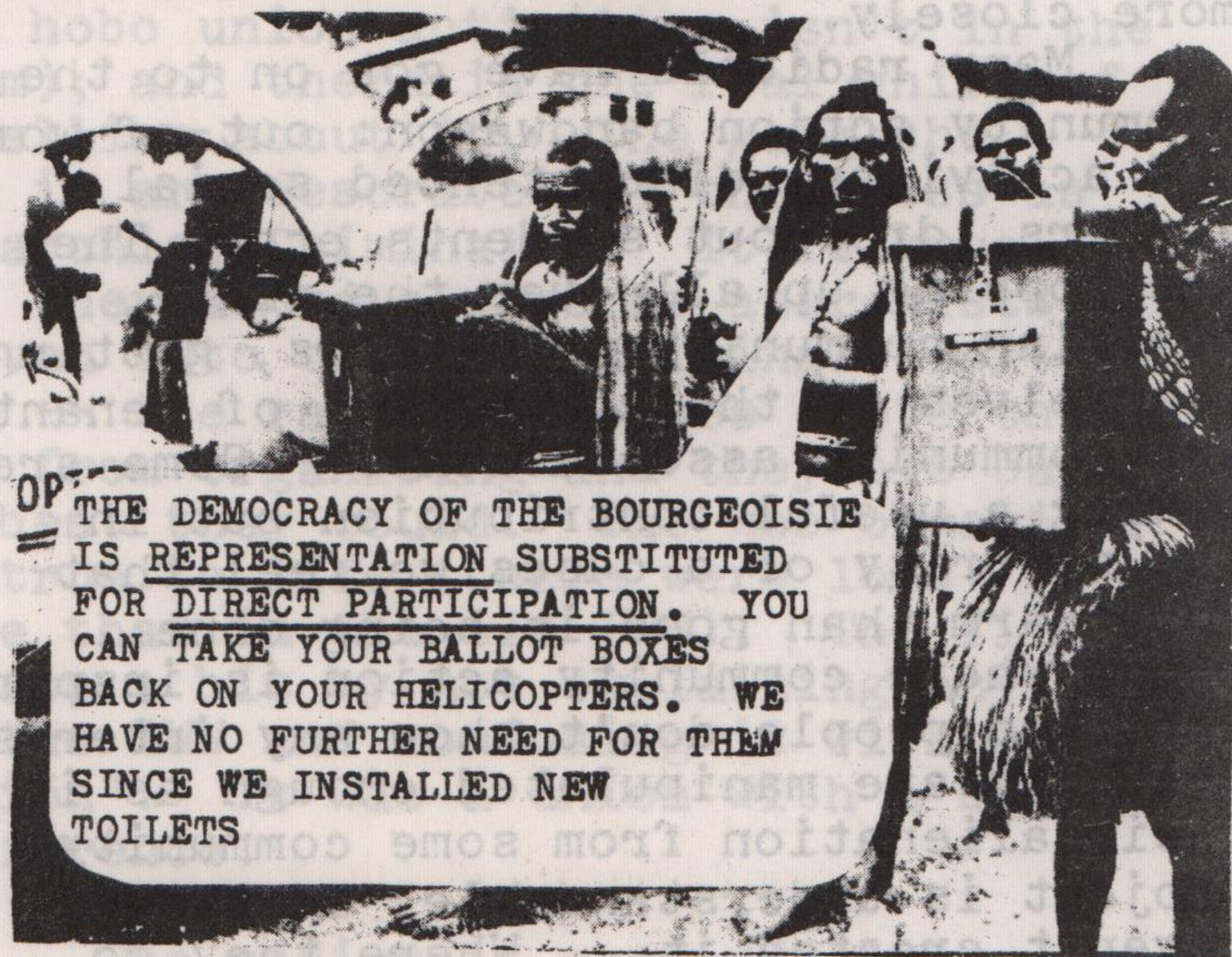
REPLY: It is too much to expect we should continue to maintain an international fight and yet cease to be firm (first person declension; "pig-headed" is the third person declension) in our factionalism. John is no less putting forward the point of view of a different faction whose lack of consistency or analysis or courage he tries to explain away - e.g. by over-stating as in the last paragraph. Have we asked anyone to "pick up a gun" immediately? Has anyone done so? Or is this metaphorical?

We do not agree with all that the SN8 Defence Committee has said, but we recognise the work it did for the accused (themselves not necessarily in total agreement with them). We have criticised their publications even during the trial; but while they might fall into the trap of romanticising, it is better than falling into the trap of rationalising the struggle out of existence.

Agreeing with John that one ought not to make a fetish of violent action one way or another, he does not ask of Nationalist organisations if

they are "advancing spontaneity", nor would he ask it of revolutionary ones overseas. "Spontaneity", as we have said in our last issue, is the excuse of social-democracy in hard times. In Russia today, for instance, the social democrat can hardly expect legal transition. But he falls back on a clockwork, magical, all-embracing spontaneity as a substitute for legality which will itself legalise.

The only way to stop a violent response to repression is to serve the State, in the manner of the takeover pacifist "anarchists" of Freedom; or by dodging the issue like ORA (pretending to be "revolutionary anarchist") and reproducing plagiarisms of a Stalinist's attack on the French working-class Resistance of the 90s as its reply to charges of "terrorism". But what the eight were in the dock for was precisely for doing what John says was not carried out - linking such attacks with the general struggle. (All were acquitted of carrying out the attacks).



OP THE DEMOCRACY OF THE BOURGEOISIE IS REPRESENTATION SUBSTITUTED FOR DIRECT PARTICIPATION. YOU CAN TAKE YOUR BALLOT BOXES BACK ON YOUR HELICOPTERS. WE HAVE NO FURTHER NEED FOR THEM SINCE WE INSTALLED NEW TOILETS

ABSENT FRIENDS. Don't forget the traditional toast if you're meeting in a pub. The cost of a round of drinks makes a hell of a difference to some comrade in jail somewhere. If he or she came out you'd stand a round but it's more important now. GET AN ADDRESS: ANARCHIST & OTHER PRISONERS IN MANY COUNTRIES. Write to the Black Cross for someone to "adopt".

I don't believe in women's rights or men's rights but human rights. But whatever your fight don't be ladylike! God Almighty made women, the Rockefeller gang of thieves made ladies. MOTHER JONES



Community Work

An increasing number of people are refusing to participate in the charade of boring work relieved only by the possession of useless things, but for many this leaves a void and a glaring contradiction in everyday life - a natural desire for activity in a society where all activity is becoming increasingly meaningless.

One possible, but unfortunate, alternative is "community work". Here the desire "to do something useful" manifests itself, and although it does not entail producing or consuming in the accepted sense, it does measure up to all the requirements of sacrifice and "good work" that is so much a part of the work ethic. It also provides a useful service to the system in the form of a corps of amateur social workers whose function we will look at more closely.

Many radicals have got on to the community action bandwagon: out-of-work CND activists, discontented social workers, drop-out students etc. They are popping up all over the place, starting community newspapers, getting themselves on the committees of tenants and community associations. Some are making a useful contribution but in the majority of cases we feel that more harm than good is being done. Often where community action is inspired imported people don't show any interest --- they are manipulated enough as it is. Their alienation from some community project is understandable, as they haven't created it. Where they do accept it, it is often just to use it or to tolerate it.

Community activists (or self-appointed community organisers, which they often are) usually have a more radical distrust of authority than officially appointed people dealing with community problems, thus they are often more acceptable to working-class communities who have no love of the Town Hall. But they act as go-betweens for the community. The community learns nothing how to solve its own problem, nor does it come into conflict with the power structure. It is isolated from these problems by the people who come into the area "wanting to do something to help". Community action should be the community doing things for itself, it should be the negation of the expert. If people were, in a collective way, to tackle the problems that face them, it would soon dispel apathy.

And it would soon be condemned as "anarchy" and revolution.

The new sympathetic activist who moves into a deprived or problem area is a new breed of expert. Well-intentioned, radical, less hamstrung by bureaucracy. But he is still the expert, still letting people feel they need others to tell them what to do.

It has not taken the government and academic institutions long to find this out. Ready-made "community workers" are being churned out. Students are given a chance "to get their hands dirty" so they can be more effective in their roles as leaders of the community. Leaders of this kind can soon forget the people they are supposedly leading. They can easily go over to the other side, no matter how radical they appear to be just now.

We are not rejecting community action out of hand. Nor are we saying that community groups shouldn't fight for minor concessions and reforms. No one gets anywhere by adopting a pure analysis and doing nothing about it. But if community action is to have any real meaning it must NOT create a new role for middle class experts or working class leaders who are not concerned with changing the total condition of everyday life.

Nor should it serve as a retreat for those who have seen through the sham of work-produce-consume but have not been able to combat the very real alienation we all suffer from as a result of living in a world that is dominated by work-produce-consume. Where fighting for concessions seems the most expedient thing to do (for instance, where the choice is between fighting an eviction order or the martyrdom of being made homeless to the cries of "Property is theft!") let there be no illusions about the real worth of the concessions.

There is a simple political fact: reforms are never won, only granted from above. This country has, in effect, avoided revolution for over two centuries by having a programme of reform just adequate to dispel protest without fundamentally altering those relationships in society which cause the discontent in the first place.

The whole mechanism of the Welfare State isolates people into categories. Problem families, problem areas, all contained by an army of social workers to stop the rot spreading. Today's radicals, if they have a view of society not centred on themselves, should not join this army of patchers-up of the old world, but start fighting to create a new world that will make all social workers redundant and obsolete.

From FIRE of Plymouth.

Militarism is that by which the strong sacrifice the lives and money of others in order to preserve their own power and that of the State. Thus it is unfair and should be eliminated. Revolutionary assassination, on the other hand, is the sacrifice of the individual to eliminate the enemy of humanity, thereby extending the common rights of the world. These two, militarism, and revolutionary assassination, are as different as two things can be.

LI SHIH TSENG

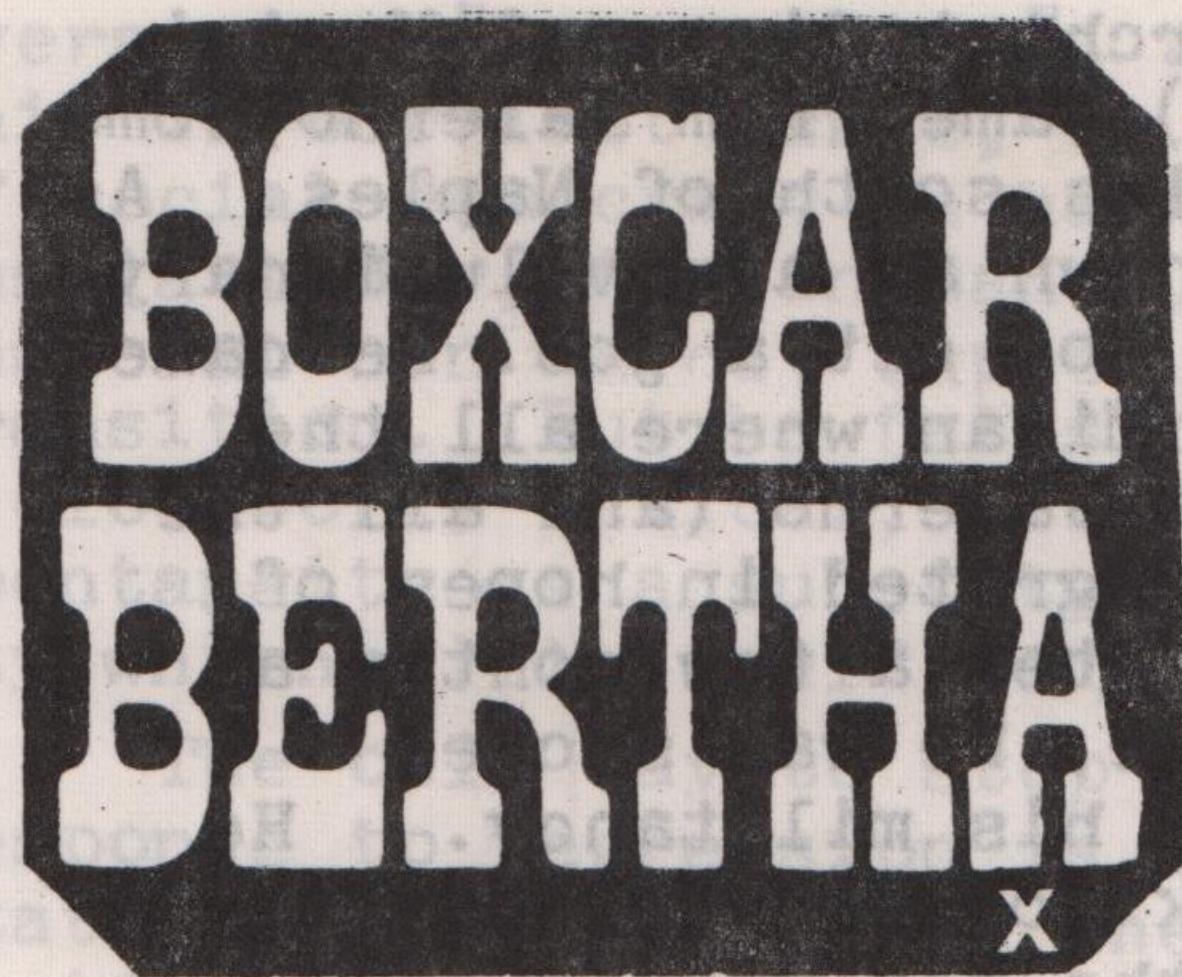
Robert Carr Prize for Bravery



Home Secretary Robert Carr, better known as Carr the Coward, has ordered a special bullet-proof Rolls Royce limousine for Scotland Yard to drive round heavily guarded VIPs.

For the Queen? No, the Royal Family will continue to appear in public and in open carriages. They retain the courage in physical matters which one must grant to the upper class. It is for foreign potentates and dictators who have to be met by the Home Secretary.

The first to use the coward's car will be dictator Rowan of Nigeria, accompanied by the Home Secretary. The Queen will appear at flower shows as usual accompanied by a lady in waiting and a bored ape.



When we mentioned the film BOXCAR BERTHA in our last issue we had absolutely no idea it was slipping into London for as a B feature movie supporting "Slaughter". Ignore "Slaughter". GO AND SEE BOXCAR BERTHA. Nag your manager into showing it. It's better than Joe Hill.

A bit fictionalised but probably the way she told it. Bertha was a great character (the full extent of her hobo union activities isn't in the film); and there is the real whiff of rebellion about it. The gang she was in are described by the press as "Anarchist Criminals". It is true. But they acted always as anarchists, driven into crime by criminal capitalism -- the railroad bosses drove them out from organising and they hit back as best they could. The wob organiser is true to life (there were lots like that in the old IWW). The film cheats a bit by not explaining anything of the IWW and confusing it with any "union". It was a union with a big difference.

The ending is over-dramatised. The US labour police practised torture and there is record of vicious killing but "Shelly" is shown crucified on a boxcar, in the physically impossible manner of his hands being nailed. This is religious fiction designed as an allegory, and in fact the body could not support such a nailing. But there is not much doubt that many wob organisers met their deaths in vicious fashion, as capitalism hit back. In addition to the violence there are flashes of humour and good humour (and for your information - it doesn't come in the film - when we sang "You can't fuck me, I'm part of the union", it was Bertha's song... now cleaned up and traded as a pop song).

ITALY

Anarchist Giovanni Marini (aged 30) came from Salerno, some fifty miles south of Naples. As he was known as a revolutionary, he could not get a job. He came north to Milan where all the poor from Salerno (and all the South) emigrated in hopes of work. After a few months at work there, he was sacked again for his militancy. He went back to Salerno and took part in the activity of the local anarchist group.

He was looking into an inquiry being made by the comrades on the "strange" accident on the motorway, where five comrades were killed (their car completely destroyed) on the way back from Rome with the results of an enquiry into a Fascist bombing attempt. He was thus hated by the local Fascisti in addition to his double crime in their eyes of anarchist activity and labour organisation.

They tried to frighten him away. Then, last summer, a fascist squad assaulted him and another comrade Francesco Mastrogiovanni. When Marini saw Mastrogiovanni lying on the ground being given the boot, he ran to help him and in the subsequent fight with a well-known young fascist Carlo Falvella, he killed Falvella.

Naturally, the fascist aggressors were allowed to go off free, confident of police protection as in the old days. Marini and Mastrogiovanni were arrested and thrown in jail.

Ultimately, Mastrogiovanni was set free - though his face must have damaged the fascist's boot. But Giovanni Marini has been kept in jail ever since that evening, the 7th July 1972.

There is still no indication when the trial will take place but Marini is in danger of spending years in prison, as "justice" finds it inexpedient to consider the "atmosphere" of that period with the continuous and criminal aggression of the fascist squads in Salerno. It is known that the fascists will organise a big anti-anarchist activity in connection with the trial - whenever it takes place.

The Communist Party has shown itself in its true colours by daring to declare its solidarity with "the young victim of violence" - the fascist aggressor Carlo Falvella! It states that anarchists can only create confusion and help the right wing parties!

Giovanni, awaiting trial, has been transferred from prison to prison.

His latest address:

Giovanni MARINI,
Carcere Guidiziario,
75100 Matera,
Italy.

Inundate him with messages of solidarity on May Day!

Germany

GERMAN prisons, following a tradition of brutality and indifference that was well taken advantage of by the Nazis, are among the worst in Europe. There are no laws to which the prisoner can appeal, and each prison has its own rules for the treatment of inmates.

Normally there are visitors only once a fortnight; mail can be stopped at will (this is frequent in the case of political prisoners, especially libertarians; our comrade Karl-Heinz Kuhn is not allowed to read or translate "leftist" literature or papers) as can books and papers. This is particularly the case with "preventive" prisoners but often the case with "condemned" ones too.

Political prisoners are rarely given a chance to communicate with their lawyers when arrested. The Security Police (political squad) of Bonn controls their letters, and is often present during visits.

In order to visit political prisoners (especially Anarchists and members of the "RAF") it is necessary to inform the political police in advance so that they can be present. The mere permission of a judge is insufficient. It is still necessary to get that permission, and in these cases from the Federal Court, the highest court in the land apart from the Constitutional Court, which is only invoked in matters affecting the constitution itself.

Some of the prisoners who get NO POST AT ALL among our comrades are Klaus Junschke, Manfred Grashof, in Zweibrucken. The same applies to sisters Vereina Becker and Inge Viet in the Berlin women's Prison.

Franco's prisons

The Pozas Affair

Jaime Pozas de Villena, a student from Madrid University, condemned to six years imprisonment for "subversive" activities within the University in 1968, was released after four years in March 1972. As soon as he was out, despite the fact that he was barred forever from the University, he made contact with his former fellow-students some of whom had also been imprisoned, though not for such a long time, who had not been banned from the university.

They talked about past struggles and discussed their demands - so important to them - such as the abolition of examinations, free association within the university (at the time only one union was authorised, the National Socialist Syndicate, the official one) etc. These harmless activities soon awoke the suspicion of the police, who saw in Jaime a potential leader; they were, however, at a loss to find a way of cutting this young eagle's wings, as he had not so far done anything which would permit an "official" intervention.

On January 22 1973 the police arrested two young students in a bar in Barcelona. One of them was in possession of LSD tablets, the other, Miguel Angel Perez Fernandez was a close friend of Pozas whose address was found in Miguel's notebook. As Miguel came from Madrid, the Barcelona police contacted their colleagues in Madrid for further investigations. When the latter saw the name of Pozas linked with this drug affair they saw the opportunity they had been waiting for.

On January 28th, as he was coming out of his house with another student David Urbano (who had come to follow the trial of Millan Hernandez which took place on 31st January), Pozas and his friend were arrested. Jaime's flat was thoroughly searched -- even the tea was examined for traces of

cannabis. At Pozas' first interrogation he was told that his friend Miguel Angel had "given" his name as the "dealer", source of the LSD. Doubting this, Pozas asked to confront him and hear it directly from him. In "answer" to this request the police searched Pozas' flat for the second time, but still found nothing.

Jaime Pozas was then formally charged and locked up. His friend David was released after 72 hours, but by that time it was too late for him to follow Millan's trial, which was the purpose of his visit to Madrid. A few days later, in the presence of a magistrate, Jaime was allowed to meet his friend Miguel who had been transferred to Madrid. The latter explained that his testimony was the result of torture to which he had been submitted in Barcelona, and he retracted it in front of the judge, denying that Pozas had procured his friend the LSD and explaining how the police wanted to suggest that Jaime was involved in a ring of international drug trafficking. The judge reluctantly advised Jaime Pozas that the results of the analysis of the herbs found in his flat were negative, i.e. it was indeed tea.

However, Pozas is still in prison in Madrid, detained under the jurisdiction of the "Juzgado Especial de Delitos contra la Salud Publica de Madrid" (Special tribunal for offences against public health).

SUMMARY

Jorge (the student found in possession of LSD) and Miguel Angel were officially charged with drug trafficking on March 4 and now await trial in prison, their names entered in a special dossier, "Sumario No. 152/71" which contains over two thousand names of people, most of whom are out on bail but restricted politically. It is this new form of blackmail the police dearly wish to use against Pozas.

What can be done to help him? Let the Judge in charge of the case know that public opinion has been alerted and informed of the dealing which has gone on. Students in particular should make their views known. Please write to:

señor Juez,
Juzgado de Instruccion No. 12,
MADRID, España.

Next month's issue will contain an article on Revolutionary Anarchist Activism by Octavio Alberola.

FLOREAL

In our last issue we mentioned Floreal Rodriguez de la Paz who, with six other libertarian comrades, was tried in Valencia six years ago and sentenced to eighteen years imprisonment in the penitentiary of Puerto de Santa Maria. His attempt to escape failed, and he was sent to the top security prison of Cartagena where he was subjected to such brainwashing that he had a total nervous breakdown, and had to be transferred to the psychiatric penitentiary hospital of Madrid.

When we heard of this we feared that Floreal may well become genuinely insane, but we knew him to be a man of considerable strength of mind. Three weeks later he was sent back to Cartagena, which under the circumstances is to be seen as the lesser of two evils (at least as far as his health of mind is concerned).

Floreal is the father of a little girl. Mother and child are living in very poor conditions, with her parents.

If you would like to send her a message of sympathy, or some money, her address is: Magdalena Martinez Navarro, 48 Ruperto Chapi, Novelda (Alicante), Spain.

JULIO MILLAN HERNANDEZ

After five and a half years of preventive detention, Julio Millan Hernandez was tried for the second time by a Military Tribunal on the 31st January this year, and condemned to ten years imprisonment. He was first tried a year ago and condemned to 23 years but the Captain General of Madrid annulled the judgment. Will he do the same this time? The last news we had of our comrade is that he is in the seventh wing of the Madrid prison awaiting the decision of the Captain General. Will those who wish to help him financially, to improve his condition in prison, please write to the Black Cross directly.



Remember Goliardo Fiaschi in prison for fifteen years, send food, postcards, international money orders direct to him in prison. His address is:-

Villa Bobo No.1,
Lecce 73100,
Italy.

WHITLAM'S PRISONS

The new Labour Government of Australia may replace God Save the Queen by Waltzing Matilda but repression has not altered. Before, the police all over the country were chasing "draft-dodgers", i.e. those who would not sacrifice their lives to support the war in Vietnam, backed by the previous Government purely to appease the Americans.

One of the first acts of the new Government was to appease the Yugoslavs to build up a new trading ally. They invited the Yugoslav Premier. So they had the pigs all over the country now chasing "Croat terrorists". But since there were only a few Croats and a lot of police, they decided to harass the libertarian left instead, and all over Australia busts were made, houses broken into, people placed under arrest -- all concerning those at the farthest extreme from Croat nationalism, which (unlike the Palestinian or Irish variety) is not even trendy left.

Amongst those who have fallen foul of the authorities during the Australian political pogroms were Rupert Gerritsen and Julian Ripley. They were arrested on explosives charges which had nothing whatever to do with Croat nationalism. Insofar as there was anything in the charges, Rupert Gerritsen made a full statement and cleared Julian of any involvement whatsoever.

Julian was thus, however, left without his defence witness. Nor for that matter did the State have a prosecution witness. They relied on a "confession" Julian made while being beaten up by the police. In reality, Julian Ripley had been one of the most active opponents of the draft in Australia, and the police were gunning for him. Had they got him before, there would have been protests from the anti-draft Labour Party. Now, with the Labour Party in office and wanting "terrorist" heads to dangle in front of the delighted Croat Commie, was the chance to get him.

The trial took place in an atmosphere of hysteria, as 300 police raided 80 buildings and eventually arrested ten people. Julian was sentenced to five years, with a minimum of one year. A long range, and purely incidental, victim of Tito.... a man victimised for opposing conscription and sentenced after torture.... surely an ideal candidate for Amnesty to take up?

DIRTY WORK

IT USED TO BE THOUGHT a criticism of Anarchism merely to ask "WHO WILL DO THE DIRTY WORK?" Originally a criticism of socialism (who would do anything uncongenial if there was no poverty?) it became a criticism of anarchism specifically after it was found, by bitter experience, that "socialism" had within itself the means to force anyone to do anything, by State compulsion, when economic compulsion failed.

But of course, the difficulty of getting people to "do the dirty work" is an argument against any increase of prosperity and any degree of freedom, since people will prefer less money and more status to certain jobs, against all logic. Today, in the whole of the capitalist world, the answer to the question is "Immigrants". Every country in the capitalist world brings in immigrant labour, sometimes at cheap rate, sometimes at what would be normal rates, in order to do the jobs its citizens refuse to do. And so far from being welcomed for doing such jobs, they are hated, harassed and despised.

When Enoch Powell says they should be repatriated, it is because he would like to have white coolies instead.

Anarchism implies a completely different approach to job evaluation.

Liberty without socialism is privilege, injustice; socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality. BAKUNIN.

There are sermons in stones; but it depends how well and at whom you throw them. MAT KAVANAGH

Let us delay no longer, Josef. In the face of what we stand to lose should the proletariat revolt, our petty differences seem like the most profound agreements. We are compelled by the logic of Hierarchy to march on together. What do you say, young man?



Advances of the 20th Century

"The storm grows" over the sentence of 20 years passed on a 16 year old boy, said the papers on March 20, but by April 20 all the storm will have blown over. Only for the boy himself will it last.

Because it was a crime of violence (mugging) there is no sympathy for him. The hang-em-beat-em-flog-em law-and-order brigade are in full cry... "serves him right", "what sympathy does any one have for the victim" etc. This hue and cry rises in proportion not to the crime but the sentence. Had the boy got a year they would have said he richly deserved it. Had he got five years they would have shouted their imprecations at his villainy. Had it been ten years they would say that hardened characters of that type deserved all they got, that he deserved every one of the ten years. But it is twenty. The voices of savagery rise even higher adding frenzy upon frenzy according to the viciousness of the sentence.

We have heard from Goliardo Fiaschi (see our last issue) who thanks us and British comrades for drawing attention to his case. He has already received two parcels full of good things and several letters which he appreciates - above all, knowing he is not forgotten after 16 years. He is very different from a few months ago when he was very despondent - now he feels full of morale, new hope and optimism.

HE AND OTHERS MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN.

Tell me something I don't know. The only difference between us is in our manner of suppression of the working classes ... I shoot them, you buy them off. But our tricks won't work, I tell you it is already too late.





According to Kenneth Robinson, British Steel Corporation, writing in Management in Action, there has been research into the "underlying causes of strikes and general unrest among workers" and it has been "fully established" (as usual with people saying this, he does not say by whom) that "behind the tendency to strike lies a severe mental illness, to be treated by psychiatric techniques".

He recommends "psychiatric units in every major corporation, where the workers could be screened for mental illness". A recent film too suggests that dissent of the type of the Angry Brigade is also psychiatric in origin.

This is precisely what the rulers of the Soviet Union believe, and dissenters in Russia are also treated by 'psychiatric techniques' i.e. shut away in madhouses. In China, dictator Mao has anticipated this latest capitalistic idea by 'psychiatric units' at every factory to deal with labour unrest. These he actually equates with "workers councils" (they are described as workers guidance councils).

THE MENTAL ILLNESS THAT IS REALLY PREVALENT IS AGREEING TO BE RULED. But, of course, deviance from the imposed norm can be treated by psychiatric means. It is called brainwashing.

FOOTNOTE: Tax evasion is not, and never has been, psychiatric in origin. Even a psychiatrist would fiddle his tax returns but there is no way for him to go on strike.

Writing in the Spectator, Feb 24 73, yet another pretentious writer on terrorism Mr Joel Cohen says that "British practice," which he wishes changed, on asylum "was firmly established in the nineteenth century in favour of anyone including the assassins of Heads of States. The only political offenders refused asylum were anarchists, who were excepted because they were the enemy of all government."

Anarchists oppose all government, but the allegation that they were refused asylum in London is an absurd lie. To mention only a few well-known Anarchists (each from a different country) - Peter Kropotkin, Malatesta, Louise Michel, del Marmol, Most, Nettelau - is to overlook hundreds, and perhaps over the years even thousands, of ordinary working-class Anarchists who obtained asylum from tyrannies everywhere in Europe.

There has been a trial in Genoa of members of the 22nd October Group, comprising Maoists, Trotskyists and some Anarchists. They have received sentences ranging up to life. Full report in our next issue.

MIGUEL GARCIA recently visited Belgium, Germany and France on behalf of the Black Cross. In many towns the Black Cross is helping not only political prisoners but all prisoners. A full report on the situation will appear in our next issue.

THANKS to the comrades in Frankfurt who gave 50 DM for the Spanish prisoners; and to Ilmar (Sweden) and Antonio (Spain) who gave £6 and £5 respectively for the Stoke Newington "Five", which we are passing to the Solidarity Committee.

A satirical poem was written on the occasion King Charles I sent a present of books to Oxford and a troop of soldiers to Cambridge (one "wanting learning" as the other "wanted loyalty"). Can anyone write a satirical poem on the fact that Mao Tse Tung, having entered diplomatic relations with Franco, has at the same time sent 10,000 leaflets bearing his portrait to underground Spanish Maoists?

GRIM KIM

The "Great Leader of revolution" who "set up a powerful socialist state" and is "indeed the saviour of the Korean people" is Kim Il Sung, according to two eight-page paid advertisement supplements in top businessman's paper The Times (April 11 and 12), an interesting revelation of what is meant today by "Communism".

Korea has built a "socialist paradise" it says "under the wise leadership of President Kim Il Sung" (a phrase repeated several times) who "honourably defended the country with its great national prosperity and genuine people's power". The "respected and beloved Kim Il Sung" emerged as "the Leader of the Korean Revolution" in happy Chollima Korea, the so-called Democratic People's Republic of Korea. "He has led the Korean people straight to triumph", he "defeated Japanese imperialism, achieved the restoration of the country and created the brilliant revolutionary traditions."

"The ever-victorious iron-willed brilliant commander Marshal Kim Il Sung, taking upon himself all the heavy burdens at the front and in the rear during the last Fatherland Liberation War" (in the front and in the rear!) he defeated the Japanese and the US, and "expounded the revolutionary principles and ways... he is not only the great Leader of revolution but also the benevolent father of the Korean people, possessed of lofty virtues and the popular method and style of work... he cares for them with warm parental affection, and, sitting knee to knee with them, consults state affairs, mobilizes their strength and wisdom and leads them..."

It can be understood why the Korean Anarchists, their large labour organisation (comparable only with the CNT of Spain) and their many sympathisers, have been hounded out of the country, and when not caught and killed, have found refuge all over China. Disbelieving in leadership, they incurred the wrath of the "iron-willed brilliant commander... benevolent father... peerless patriot... national hero... great leader of the international communist and working-class movements."

You go too far, Kim Il Sung. You don't think you lead the international working-class? There are so many other communist contenders including Mousy Tongue next door. But in happy Chollima Korea "the people have the power..." and to show it "they pay the highest tribute to the respected and beloved Leader President Kim Il Sung who has given them the genuine freedom, rights and happiness".

Surely the Times should be proceeded against under the Trades Description Act. This paid advertisement gives credit to Kim for his achievements in art, literature, town planning, war, orchards, rising wages, combatting imperialism, falling prices, industry, embroidery, medical care, longevity, opera, revolution and song and dance routines. But the real "kings of the country" are the children, who are taught "the utmost love" for Kim Il Sung and learn "from their childhood the glorious struggle of Marshal Kim Il Sung so that they are "well-conducted... disciplined and take good care of the public establishments".

Learning Kim's Fairy Tales, perhaps, they find he not only "treasures children" but is indeed "the benevolent father of the children" of Korea, though it surpasses belief as to where he gets the time and energy to breed any, what with all that activity and, we suspect, writing advertisements for the Times.

ALBERT MELTZER

ANSWERS

1. "The prudence to practise neither".
2. The Tsarist police thought the Anarchist Peter Kropotkin would be amenable to blackmail if they could show Governor General Kropotkin (Prince Dmitry) had been assassinated (1878) by his cousin's "followers". But Kropotkin had no connections with his cousin, who was in fact shot by a Social-Revolutionary.
3. Janet Grove.
4. St George's Hill, Weybridge was the place where, in 1649, the "Diggers" took over the land on which now stand the mansions of trendy capitalism. Cromwell suppressed them.
5. Giovanna Berneri (Italy); Giliane Berneri (France) and Marie-Louise Berneri (Britain) were a mother and two daughters all active in their respective movements. Camilo Berneri had been killed in Spain.

Cienfuegos Press

PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS

123 Upper Tollington Park London N4

CIENTFUEGOS PRESS (a new publishing house) will be bringing out a number of books on Anarchism, its history and struggles, as well as on general labour history and ecology. Scheduled for early publication are lives of such Spanish Resistance fighters as Sabate and Facerias, and it will also bring out some of the former Coptic Press publications now out of print, as well as some of those promised for a long time (e.g. The Anarchists in London 1935/55.)

It is also undertaking the distribution to bookshops and individuals of books already in print, e.g. Miguel Garcia's "Franco's Prisoner" and Meltzer & Christie's "Floodgates of Anarchy" which are proving difficult to obtain in many places.

FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY has sold 2,000 copies in hardback; to the 31st December it sold 1141 in the home market and 3167 in the export market, in paperback. But many people in this country are complaining they cannot find it on sale. Start asking at your bookseller now!

IN HOLLAND the "Repressie-Revue" tries to support the work of the "Black Help" (in Holland and Germany); it has contacts too with the Dutch "Red Help" and the "Black Cross" in various countries. It is hoped that all these organisations may in Holland be able to work together.

The paper covers repression all over the world.

ANARCHIK THE ENEMY OF THE STATE

The miners lost (the Colorado coal strike in the Rockefeller mines, 1913) because they only had the Constitution. The other side had bayonets. MOTHER JONES

