

UNITY THEATRE: THE JUMP - ALFIO BERNABEI.

(April 5th - 27th
Fri, Sat, & Sun.)

It was certainly a watermark in the history of Unity Theatre that it should show a play so intimately connected with the anarchist movement as this one, concerned with the murder by police of anarchist railwayman Pinelli, secretary of the Milan Anarchist Black Cross.

Unity went out of their way to get co-operation in the staging from anarchist sources, which they acknowledge; the cloven hoof of Marxism comes out clearly, but that is entirely the author's fault. Perhaps the better to build up the innocence of Pinelli, which needs no such bush, he brings in Tolstoy among the anarchist philosophers and shows Pinelli an idealist under his influence — who deplores attacks on the Establishment, and is concerned only to help political prisoners. Our readers will know this is not exactly the Black Cross line.

It is shown clearly how the plot against Pinelli was built up, and how his deliberate murder by the Fascist and police collaboration helped the plot for a Fascist-Army coup d'etat. But it is shameful hypocrisy on the part of the Marxist author to put into Pinelli's mouth the belief that the anarchists were being "used" and the entirely Stalinist-inspired belief that *because* of this impending coup d'etat, "We should cease anarchist activities". The German communists — the Italians too for that matter — suspended their revolutionary actions when they found that reaction was brewing: but it is more than ever at such time "anarchist activities" (and the author is specifically referring to attacks on the State) are necessary. It is significant that such activities did *not* cease and the coup d'etat did *not* come off.

Mr. Bernabei should go crawling back to Milan in penitence for putting that remark into Pinelli's mouth. He could at least have given it to another character.

It is a pity he ruined the play that way, for as a presentation of the manner in which the State massacre at Milan was planned, and the Calabresi plot against the workers, in which Pinelli fell, it was a first-class piece of work. Aside from the pedantic way in which Anarchism was shown as emanating from a few philosophers, and the travesty of Pinelli's background at home and work, the incidents that led to Pinelli's death are set out in clear relief.

The actors, of course, knocked a West End cast for six, as is often the case at Unity. The actor who played Pinelli was especially convincing, even to an audience that included an anarchist railwayman and the secretary of the Black Cross, though not in this instance the same person.

TYPESETTING :-

Black Flag's typesetter is available for work (justified or unjustified), at reasonable rates. Speedy, very nice person and needs work to pay rent on machine!!!! So please contact "Typesetter", c/o, 83A, Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3.

CORRECTION TO LAST ISSUE: It should have been made clear that the publications available from us - Ruta and Presencia (Libertarian Tribune) are in Spanish - Revista A is in Italian. The supplement to Cuadernos - The Spanish Libertarian Movement - is also in Spanish and is £3.50 (not £4.00)

SHAPELESS ANARCHISM

In a book review in the Sunday Times (of Alternative Realities, a study of 'communes' and their members) the reviewer, Jeremy Brooks, says one can see "anarcho-pacifism" as "the dominant thought of a generation", though thrown "out of focus by individual commitments — to macrobiotics, mysticism, radical action". What Jeremy Brooks refers to as "anarcho-pacifism" is (as we have mentioned many times) pure liberalism — in fact, such pure liberalism that its political connotations were overlooked by the political liberals.

A new generation of political liberals is, in fact, picking up the pieces. This liberalism, with its inevitable structurelessness, is sometimes referred to, either by way of denunciation or enunciation, as "anarchism" but more often qualified with a negating adjective such as "pacifist anarchism" to denote it is not the real thing. Brooks grants this: "It may not have a shape that Herbert Read or other thoughtful anarchists of the past would recognise". It does indeed not have a shape any thoughtful anarchist of the past or present would recognise — but the juxtaposition of Herbert Read in that context makes one wonder what leading place Jeremy Brooks gives to Herbert Read in the exposition of anarchism. He was a brilliant critic, art historian and so forth: but, while he was an anarchist for a few years (by a few, one means a few) this hardly qualified him for this kind of reverential reference.

Jeremy needs to do his homework before he writes in public again. But his entry does not qualify him for the award of Idiot of the Month. For that we must go to G.L.C., leader, Mr. Iltydd Harrington, who — deploring the theft of the Vermeer painting — said it was a dreadful thing if the threat to burn it was carried out. "It is such an anarchistic thing to do," said pseudo-socialist Harrington (who knows as much about such things as he does of Vermeer).

If Brooks and Harrington ever got together there would be considerable concern as to what happened to the art treasures of the Victoria and Albert Museum when they were under the control of an anarchist curator, Herbert Read.

Prize for Idiot of the Month to Iltydd Harrington G.L.C: The ashes of Labour Party socialism as an ideology. Not originally a masterpiece.

The second part of the article on Anarchist Organisation and the Workers Clubs has been held over until next issue.

* ANARCHIST CINEMA
Saturday 27th & Sunday 28th of APRIL.

NAZARIN by Luis Bunuel (Mexico 1958 - Spanish dialogue - English sub-titles.)

Saturday 4th & Sunday 5th of MAY.

PRAISE MARX AND PASS THE AMMUNITION by Maurice Hatton (U.K. 1969).

Saturday 11th & Sunday 12th of MAY.

VIRIDIANA by Luis Bunuel (Spain/Mexico 1961 — Spanish dialogue - English sub-titles).

At CENTRO IBERICO at 7.30.PM

83A Haverstock Hill, London NW.3. — side entrance by Steele's Road - tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Park - Buses 31 & 68 (Chalk Farm stop).

BLACK FLAG

organ of the

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(SP) ... Presencia ... "Libertarian Tribune" 15p

(SP) ... Ruta ... Anarchist Theoretical/Historical quarterly 15p

(IT) ... Revista A ... News/Theoretical/Historical articles on Anarchism and the class struggle. Journal of Italian Black Cross 15p

SABATE

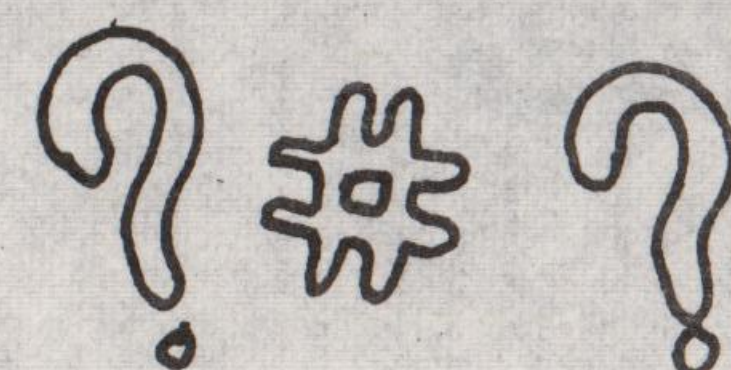
The book "Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary" by Antonio Tellez, was translated by Stuart Christie during his sixteen months imprisonment in Brixton Jail awaiting trial: it has now gone to the printers and publication date has been fixed for July 29th. It is published by Davis-Poynter Ltd., and will cost £3.50.

There will be a special limited edition published by Cienfuegos Press Bookclub (1000) available only to individuals so if you want to make sure you get your copy order it now.

Illustrated Bookclub Edition: Narrow demy 8vo/192pp/illustrated Sabate in perspective, by Octavio Alberola/ special cover illustration by Flavio Costantini/ £2.35. + p.p. to Cienfuegos Press, 83a, Haverstock Hill, London N.W. 3. NOW.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

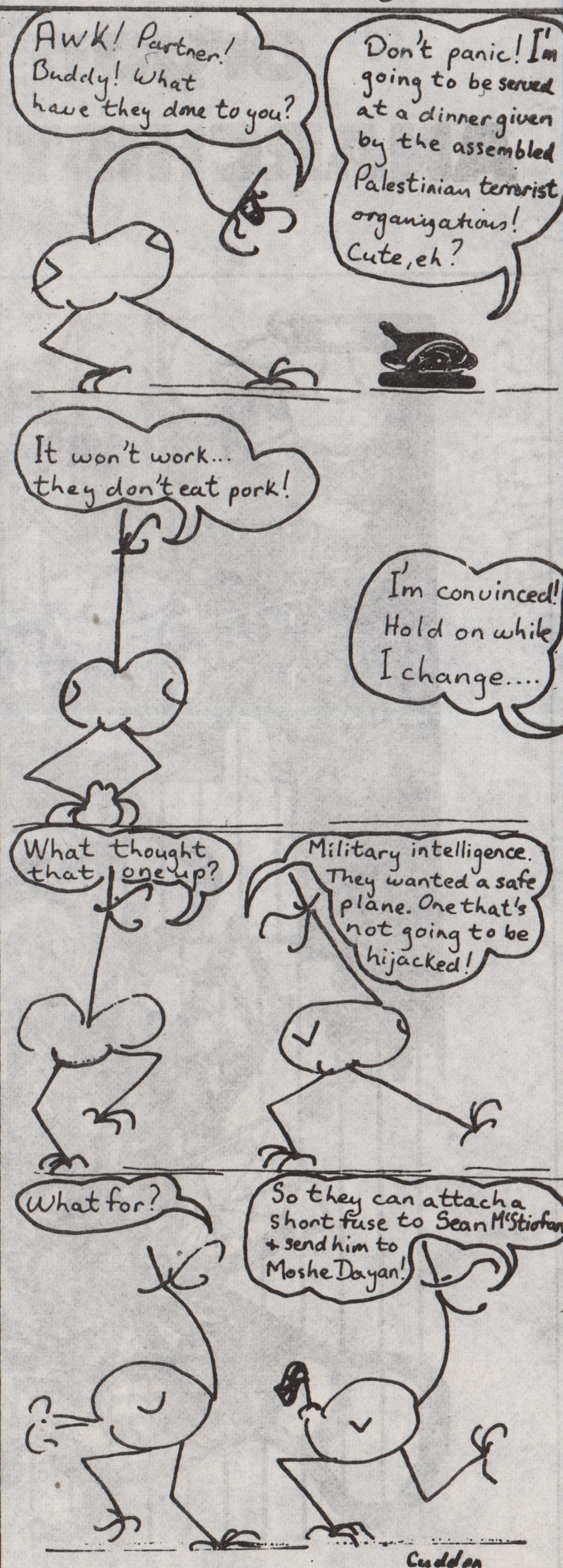
1. What was it Jim Connell was "inspired to write by the Paris Commune, the heroism of the Russian nihilists, the firmness and self-sacrifice of the Land Leaguers and the devotion unto death of the Chicago Anarchists"?
2. There are plenty of ex-kings and reluctant peers. Are there are ex-gods or reluctant gods alive at the present time?
3. Which Irishwoman became, for a time, Liberal Dictator (in her own right) of Bavaria and which, consort of the Dictator of Paraguay?
4. Who are - or were recently - the Oehlerites; and in what way are they represented in the present Government?
5. It is often stated that comedian Charles Chaplin is Jewish; that he has called himself an Anarchist; and that he was born in South London. Which (if any) of these statements are true?



Answers on
page 15

The Butterstorks...

Creatures of duplicity



IRELAND

THE FREE PRESS (JOKE)
ANARCHISTS (CATHOLICS) v MARXIST (PROTESTANTS)
IN ULSTER!!

SECRET INSTRUCTIONS in the shape of a "Style" memo has been sent by the Editor of the London Evening News to journalists pointing out that in NO CIRCUMSTANCES may persons arrested for bomb offences in England relating to Ireland be referred to as Catholics. "It is acceptable that in Northern Ireland coverage, Irishmen may be distinguished as Protestants and Catholics. But for security reasons we are instructed that we will not give such a description in England."

Security reasons? It sounds like political censorship. But the memo goes on further:— "The term *Irishmen* may be used if appropriate. But if it is not certain that Irishmen are involved in attacks by the Provisional I.R.A., or other groups the term *Anarchist* will be used in preference to the word *Catholic*." THIS BECOMES DELIBERATE POLITICAL SLANTING OF THE NEWS IN ORDER TO TELL LIES TO THE PUBLIC. What will the Press Council say? (Nothing, in terms of great pomposity). But it becomes even stranger. A journalist asked the News Editor what description to use if the terrorist group was, in fact, Protestant? "The term *Irish extremist* or if necessary, *Marxist*, may be used", it was stated in an office memo.

This beats Northcliffe at his worst. Catholics are to be regarded as Anarchists, Protestants as Marxists and it is not certain if the Provos consist of Irishmen.

But there is method in the madness. Having denounced Anarchists and Marxists for what is done by Nationalists they will be able to convince their readers as to what it is that needs to be banned. It was the Evening News that ran a previous sensational story of a "conference" with terrorists representing the Irish Protestants, I.R.A., men Arab Nationalists Anarchists Marxists, the Zionist Stern gang, Basque Nationalists and others all took their "orders" ... they left it to another paper to say the orders came from Gaddafi!

It is fair to say the document caused some serision among the journalists. The news editor explained it was to be "read sensibly."

The Anarchist movement surprisingly never got off the ground in the Irish Republic in the past — largely because of what our late comrade Matt Kavanagh used to call "the only contraceptive allowed there — emigration, the prophylactic against revolution." But of course with the present wave of interest in libertarian ideas it was bound to grow. The group in Dublin was interested in building up a movement and in supporting the work initiated by the Anarchist Black Cross.

On 22nd March three comrades were arrested in Clanskeagh Road, Dublin and charged with a number of offences. They were Noel Murray, (24), Marie McPhillips (charged under the name of Murray), (25), Des Keane (28) and Bobby Cullen (23). They had all "been through republican and socialist stages and now saw anarchy as the only hope", as Marie put it. They were about to start a libertarian monthly, but the police have taken away the duplicator and paper (it was to be called New Earth/Resistance).

Marie commented, "We are facing up to ten years for 'criminal offences!' — I wonder how much more for having anarchist tendencies? At least we're a change from the Republicans and Nationalists of the I.R.A!"

We then heard another good anarchist comrade, Columba

Longmore, had also been arrested and was in Mountjoy Prison. So apparently are all the others, except Marie, who got bail. A further arrest was Pete Stephens, who seems specifically to have been charged with the bombing of the Spanish Institute as a reprisal for the execution of Salvador Puig. There seems no indication at the moment, however, as to whether the authorities are charging the anarchist group with different offences or cooking up a blanket charge against them all, enabling them to use the conspiracy laws.

There is no doubt at all that "guilt by association" and politically assumed guilt will be coming out when the trials open. Meantime we must get ready to defend these imprisoned comrades: many in our ranks have done a great deal to defend authoritarian socialists in Southern Ireland who equally deserve support, and especially from libertarians.

Developments are awaited: Bobby Cullen, writing from Mountjoy, says the charges include armed robbery and "a few explosives charges" coming along. ... the dicks wanted to make it an ordinary criminal case but after the report in the "Herald" about the Gardai swooping on Anarchists they couldn't do so." He concludes — with a spirit you can't help but admire — "see you in ten years". But it mustn't come to that.

Stop Press — Ireland

We have just received direct word from our imprisoned comrades in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin. Bail has been set at £4,000, but so far only Marie has been released. Colomba has been refused bail and the sureties offered by the others have been turned down. "... Save your money for the Spanish comrades, but we would like to hear from comrades who would care to write to us. Regards to Miguel and tell him that his book is a great comfort to one starting a long stretch for the first time."

The charges are:

DES KEANE (28), a seaman and an ex-member of the Republican Movement with a long record of militant activity over the past ten years. He faces 11 charges of "armed robbery"

EDWARD JONES (28), a truck driver who has long been active in the defence of political prisoners. He is charged with armed robbery and a conspiracy charge.

BOB CULLEN (23), an office clerk. He is charged with planting a bomb in the offices of Iberian Airlines, Dublin. Bob is also charged with four other bombing incidents and eight armed robberies.

NOEL MURRAY (24), a boilermaker and a former member of the Republican Movement. At the time of his arrest he was preparing the first issue of a new Irish Anarchist paper. Noel is charged with armed robbery and fourteen charges of possessing firearms.

MARIE MURRAY (25), a clerk. Marie is an ex-member of the Republican Movement, now active in the Irish Anarchist Movement. Released on bail after being charged with receiving proceeds of bank robberies.

COLUMA LONGMORE (25), secretary of Dublin Anarchist Group. He is charged with a bank robbery and possession of firearms.

All these comrades face prison sentences of ten years or more. It is up to us, their comrades of the international anarchist movement, to prevent this savage sentence being passed on them. Picket, write, complain, protest and demonstrate our solidarity with these comrades to the foreign based officials of the Eire Government in your area. Further news of Defence Committee arrangements in next issue of the Flag.

THE M.I.L.

Who are they? — Where are they going?
What will become of them?

The original group of the M.I.L. - G.A.C. (Spanish Libertarian Movement — autonomous combat groups) was formed after a period of political gestation in France, in which not only political exiles but immigrant Spanish workers participated actively. The most outstanding feature of this period, about which we have little written information, was the co-operation, for a short time, of several future M.I.L., militants in the activities of the E.T.A.

The original M.I.L., was from the outset strongly influenced by current theories on urban guerilla warfare. In February 1971, for example, there appeared an issue of a pamphlet dedicated to the "Tupamaros" guerillas which announced future publication on the Black Panthers, the Quebec Libertarian Front, and so on. At the same time, members of the M.I.L., were aligning themselves both politically and organisationally with the revolutionary syndicalist groups within the Barcelona workers' movement.

The result of this collaboration was the internationalisation of several workers' struggles which took place at the time, particularly in the case of the long Harry Walker strike (December 1970 - January 1971). Contact between representatives of the Harry Walker Unity Committee and the workers on strike in Batignolles led to a joint declaration, and through contacts in the Solex factories in France and Italy the various manoeuvres on the part of the management were thwarted, and stocks successfully immobilised.

Politically, the influence of the revolutionary syndicalists was demonstrated in a pamphlet, produced by the M.I.L., on the trade union elections of 1971. In this pamphlet the M.I.L., maintained the position of boycott initiated by the revolutionary syndicalists of Barcelona.

A further indication of this collaboration was seen, firstly in the setting up of a means of propaganda for the strikers which was independent of any organisation, including political parties, and secondly in the clandestine publication of the full texts of books which had been censored by the Stalinists — (Savage Europe; Organisation and the Proletariat; by P. Cardan. The Struggle Against Repression; The Working Class and Parties; by A. Pannekoek; Notes Towards an Analysis of the Russian Revolution, by Barrot . . .)

From various documents in our possession it seems clear that, with the arrest at the Franco-Spanish border of two M.I.L., militants (Vicente Sanchez & Oriol Sole), syndicalists deteriorated. At the same time a long text concerned with political definition appeared, entitled "Revolution to the End" (known under the name "Mamotreto") The first part of the text concentrates on the criticism of ideology as the embodiment of revolutionary theory, and on the criticism of all aspects of capitalism, whether State or monopolistic. The second part explores the alternatives open to the international workers' movements, and the text ends with a third section devoted to an education and criticism of various experiments in workers' councils throughout the world. Treated historically and politically, it concludes with an exposition of revolutionary communist aims.

Previously, another text published in commemoration of the Paris Commune (1871) the Kronstadt Commune (1921),

and of Poland (1970), had attracted the attention of M.I.L., militants towards theories of revolutionary communism, and at the same time taken their interest away from "guerilleros", and third world concepts. "Economic Analysis of Spain" and "On Armed Agitation" (April and October 1972) acted as catalysts in the setting up of the "May '37" publications started by the M.I.L. — G.A.C., in 1972-73.

The choice of this title for their clandestine publications was deeply significant, indicating a fundamental rupture both with Stalinism and with the anti-fascist "republican" front. For in May 1937 the Spanish republic had conclusively secured its own power, by crushing the revolutionary proletarian movement with the use of arms and the support of the Stalinists. Following May '37 and the last armed backlash of the revolutionary movement, the Spanish lost all revolutionary content and became no more than a general rehearsal of the second World War. May '37 marked the final breaking of the revolutionary spirit. The working classes were to continue to spill their blood generously but without any longer knowing why. Franco's victory remained but a question of time.

The activity at the centre of the M.I.L. — G.A.C., and amongst the revolutionary Marxists and anarchists who produced "May '37", showed itself in numerous publications: the first issue of "C.I.A." ("International Anarchist Conspiracy" — the mouthpiece of various autonomous combat groups, subtitled, "For a Spanish Libertarian Movement..") contained a series of articles of plainly anarchist tendency (On the 50 years of the F.A.I., "The Anarchist Resistance Movement in Catalonia" "The Legend of Quico Sabater" "The Stoke Newington 8" By the second issue of C.I.A., this type of article had been replaced by critical writing of a more Marxist slant ("Against the National Socialism of the I.R.A.", by J-Yves Berion; a special article on Ireland and the reproduction of texts coming from overtly Marxist groups — "Italy and the Red Brigades" or, for example, the appendix to the first issue of "C.I.A." entitled "Revolutionary Violence" — a translation of the preface by Emile Marensin



SALVADOR PUIG ANTICH

to the book, "The Baader Gang", from prehistory to history". We can find the same mixture of revolutionary Marxist and anarchist writing in the books published by "May '37", which first came out in June '73. In an editors' note to Camilo Berneri's book, "Between the Revolution and the Trenches" the May '37 group defined themselves in the following manner:—

"May '37 publications propose to present and explain the cause, and the execution of the struggles — past, present and future — fought by the Communist proletariat. We seek to destroy all the mystification of capitalism, whether it comes from the State, the Communist Party or the New Left. Both in our words and in our actions, we consider that we are a form of communism, answering the needs of each particular movement and every situation. Participating in the struggles and in the unification of different movements is also a way of practising communism. In its own way, communism has already gone into the attack."

ACTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE PRISONERS OF THE EX — M.I.L.

In Spain:

Two demonstrations following the announcement of the death penalty for Salvador Puig Antich, in El Paseo de Gracia and La Plaza Catalunya, Barcelona.
Explosions in three police stations in the Barcelona Region.
Three monuments to dead Francoists completely destroyed, (Masaro, Badalona, Pedralbes.)
Explosions in the branches of two banks (Banco Popular and Banco de Vizcaya) and at the Air France travel agency in Barcelona.
A campaign of bill-posting, bombing and distributing information (leaflets and pamphlets under the name "M.I.L. file").
Several demonstrations in working class areas to demand that the death penalty be commuted (San Andres, San del Beros, Santa Coloma de Gramanet, Cornelia, etc.)
Pressure groups formed demanding both that Puig Antich be saved from the death penalty and that despotic repression of all M.I.L., prisoners be fought.

IN FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE

Paris: — Occupation of Iberia Airlines by Young Socialists, Occupation of the Spanish Tourist Office by the P.S.U., with the M.P. Yves le Folt, several Molotoff cocktails thrown at the Banco Atlantico, and demonstrations.
Grenoble: — Occupation of a church.
Valencia: — Halting and bombing of Talgo train.
Toulouse: — Three explosions, police station, Tourism office and Banco Espagnol in Paris. Occupation of Spanish Centre and two violent demonstrations which paralysed the town.
Barcelona: — Demonstration of 2000.
Toulouse: — Demonstration with several arrests.
Villa Franca: — Sending of telegrams on a huge scale leading to long queues at the Post Office.
In Germany: Campaign for petitions and signatures in Frankfurt and elsewhere. A large campaign distributing information (posters, leaflets, etc.) in England, Norway, Denmark etc.
Demonstrations were held in New York, Toronto and Boston.
Montpellier: — Occupation of town hall.
Strasbourg: — Occupation of consul's residence.
Marseille: — Sacking of the Spanish Tourism Office.
Perpignan: — Paint hurled at the Consul and his daughter, and occupation of the Spanish emigration centre.
Bayonne: — Demonstration.

Brussels: — Occupation of the hall of the Iberian Embassy, and occupation by hunger-strikers at the Church of Notre Dame de la Chapelle.
Geneva: — Demonstration and attack against Iberia.
Turin: — Attack against the Spanish consulate.
Dublin: — Attack on Spanish Institute by fire-bomb.
Paris: — Arrests of J.C. Jones and Miguel Mareno who, according to the press, were preparing to give an alert about the bombs at the Iberia Company.

Though Revolutionaries have taken risks in awareness of the cause they are fighting there is no need for them to be the victims of the terrorism of the Spanish State which because of international reaction recoiled the moment the Burgos trial began. We must not betray these comrades in their struggle — our support is essential.

COMMITTEE OF SUPPORT,
CENTRO IBERICO
83a, HAVERSTOCK HILL,
LONDON N.W.3.



BRUSSELS

SECOND TRIAL OF THE M.I.L. April 1974

Following the execution of Salvador Puig Antich, two other comrades of the MIL face trial. They are Oriol Sole Sugranyas (aged 26) and Jose Luis Pons Llobet (18). They are to be tried by court martial, and it seems that the prosecutor will ask for the death sentence for Sole Sugranyas.

They were arrested on 16th September 1973 following a brief gun battle between them and the Guardia Civil at the time when they were trying to cross the Franco-Spanish border after they had taken part in an armed expropriation in Bellver de Cerdanya. They were taken to prison in Gerona where they were tortured, and subsequently removed to the prison in Lerida. From there they went to the 'Model Prison' in Barcelona where they are to the present time, in the Fifth Gallery (special treatment).

Between 18th and 24th September 1973 there were a series of raids in Barcelona by the police in the course of which they arrested Puig Antich.

On January 8th 1974 a court martial was held for Salvador Puig Antich (26), Pons Llobet and Maria Angustias Mateos Fernandez (17). They were all accused of an armed bank raid in the course of which they had a gun battle with the police; Puig Antich was further accused of the death of a policeman in the course of a later street incident. After arrest he had been beaten almost uncon-



JOSE LUIS PONS LLOBET

scious, and while reeling under the blows, pulled the fatal trigger.

Maria received 6 years imprisonment and Pons Llobet, on that occasion 30 years. Puig Antich also received 30 years, and two sentences of death.

A committee of lawyers denounced the flagrant injustices that marked the trial.

Among these was the undoubted fact that Puig Antich was suffering from severe cerebral damage from the beating he had received, when he fired the gun; and that of the five bullets in the policeman, only two had been shot by him. Nevertheless, he was executed on 2nd March.

The position of the rest of those arrested in September are as follows:-

Emilio Parinas (30) is on provisional liberty, waiting trial by a Tribunal of Public Order; Maria Luisa Piguillem (25) has been cleared; Santiago Soler Amigo (30) is awaiting trial by the Tribunal in the Model Prison of Barcelona; Javier Garriga Paituvi (24) is in the same position.

Maria Mateos Fernandez is at present serving five years in the Women's Prison in Barcelona; Pons Llobet is serving 20 years in the Model Prison and also awaiting trials both by the Tribunal and by another court martial; while Oriol Sole Sugranyas is also in the Model awaiting different trials as well as having been sentenced by another Army court.

The State is almost certain to ask for 30 years more for Pons Llobet and the death penalty for Sole Sugranyas.

It recognises full well that this is no ordinary criminal trial. The bank raid was for the purpose of funding the revolutionary attempts of the MIL against the fascist dictatorship. As such it has struck terror into the heart of the regime.

Because of the stupefying and terrifying effect the regime of dictatorship has had for so long on the workers of Spain it is only actions striking at its very heart that are able to break the terror. Puig had already become admirably known as "el Quico the Second" — a jocular but affectionate reference to Sabater — among the workers of Bar-

celona. The groups of the MIL were one part of the anarchist Resistance that had carried over the struggle in Spain against the tyranny. The fight they put up is inseparable from that of the industrial re-organisation of the workers. In helping their prisoners in any way we can we are making a major contribution to the overthrow of Franco.

All the funds obtained from the raids on banks have gone to armed resistance inside Spain. The prisoners have held nothing back financially with which to defend themselves and others charged with them. They do not have a well-heeled international or nationalistic organisation behind them, like the Nationalist movements of other countries of the Communist Party. They are very literally inside for us; we must, outside, be for them.



ORIOLE SOLE SUGRANYAS

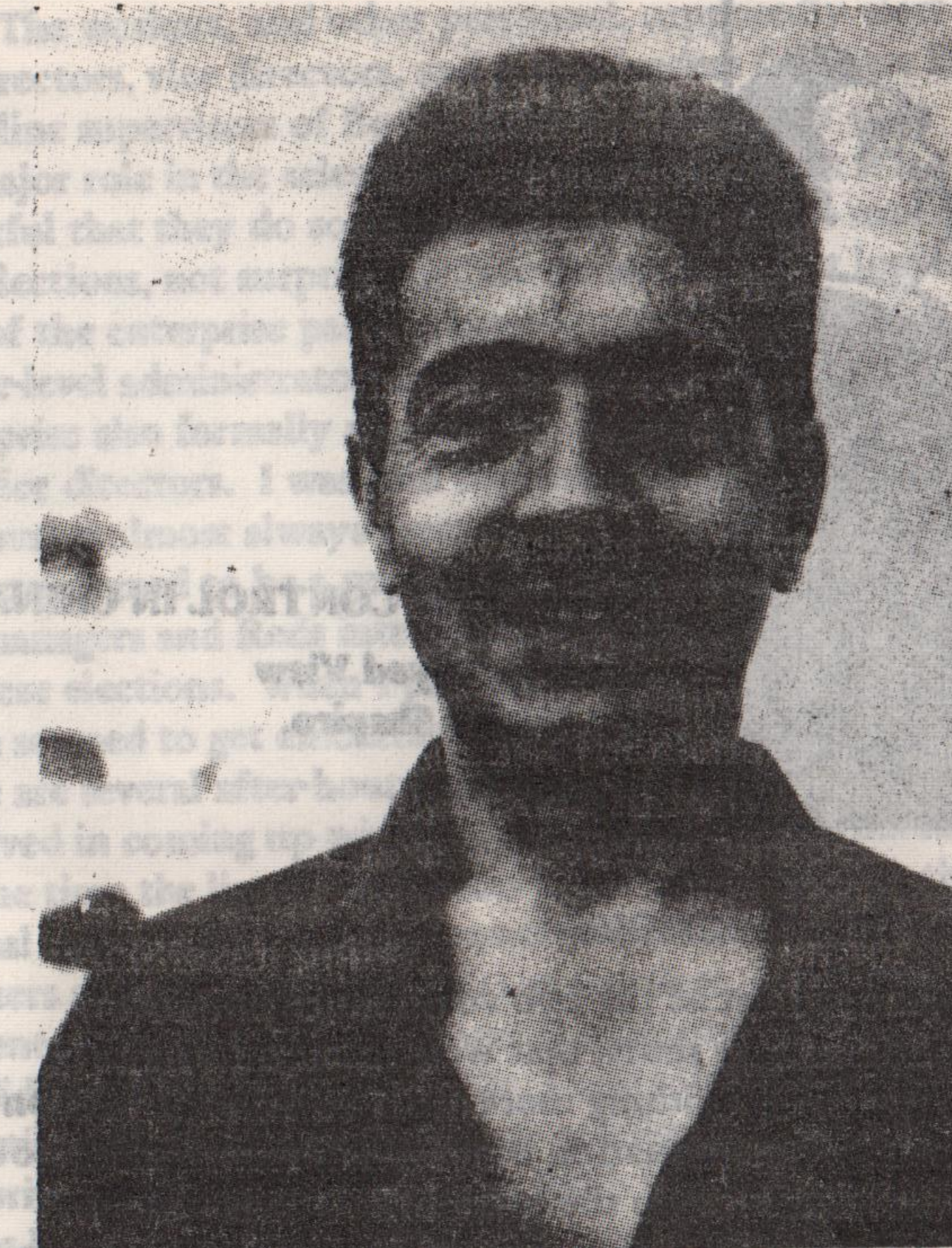
The Wheels of Justice

On March 20th, eighteen days after his execution, Comrade Salvador Puig Antich was summoned to appear before the Perpignan Correctional Tribunal to face charges of "abuse of confidence".

As the French authorities had received no 'official' communication from their Spanish colleagues as to the fate of the militant of the Iberian Liberation Movement the case was adjourned until May 22nd, hoping in the meantime official news of his execution would be passed on regarding the execution of the wanted man.

Salvador had hired a car in Perpignan in October 1972 which was never returned and the Juge d'Instruction DELUBAC, Perpignan district judge issued an arrest warrant for Salvador on January 26th, 1973.

A.T.



GOLIARDO FIASCHI HAS BEEN RELEASED!

(March 30th)

That is a message of hope for us all. In Black Flag we reported on the fantastic case of Fiaschi — forgotten for 17 years — sentenced in Spain for resistance activities, in jail in two countries for 17 years, "released" from Spain only to be transferred to an Italian court which had determined on his guilt in his absence upon a "confession" extracted by torture in a fascist police state.

For many reasons, Fiaschi had been ignored by "respectable" groups even those claiming to be libertarian. He refused to ask for clemency stating he had been falsely condemned in Italy.

At no time did he lose his courage and determination. The case was totally indefensible, for even had Fiaschi been guilty, to convict him on tortured confession by a court held in his absence, after so many years in prison in Spain, was contrary to any notions of justice.

When the Anarchist Black Cross began I stated that if it only led to the release of 'one' prisoner it would have justified its existence. We are entitled to a little pride in another one coming out, and this without any sacrifice of our principles or giving up our role in the class struggle as individuals, a group or a press. In the case of Fiaschi special tribute must be paid to the work of comrades Franco Leggio, Miguel Garcia and Stuart Christie. But all those who have made Black Flag a viable proposition and kept the Black Cross going are equally responsible.

GOOD LUCK GOLIARDO FROM ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMRADES:

A.M.

N.B. It will take some time for Goliardo to get on his feet, so we suggest that comrades extend their solidarity to cover this difficult period:

Goliardo
Nella Fiaschi,
Via S. Maria 1,
54033 Carrara,
Italy.

KATHARINA AND HILARY

Our comrade Katharina Hammerschmidt has been lying in jail for a year in the Women's Prison of West Berlin, suffering from a tumour in the neck which needs immediate surgery which she has been unable to have. Since September she has been suffering severely, but the restrictions on her movements have not been lifted sufficiently for her to be able to go to hospital. Such restrictions are not imposed on ordinary criminals, but are the result of special "political prisoner" classification.

In London's Holloway jail Hilary Creek is still suffering from anorexia nervosa, the disease of self-induced starvation, and while no political prisoner classification exists here, she is the victim of the political pressure that would be brought to bear if she were taken to hospital. Katharina, however, is not even allowed into the prison hospital.

If "liberal opinion" is sincere in wanting to de-escalate the present scale of "political violence", there is a simple gesture that can be made. The Establishment grants no mercy. Meanwhile in classrooms both in England and Germany scholars will be reciting that the quality of mercy is not strained.

If I'd realized what a mess I was to make in Russia, I'd have given the railway ticket back to Helphand and stayed in Switzerland for the ski-ing season!





WORKERS' CONTROL IN CHINA:

An Open Eyed View
By Shelby Shapiro.

PART TWO.

DECISION-MAKING IN THE FACTORIES

Looking at the available sources, it is obvious that "workers' control" in China is strictly on a consultative and technical level. Workers may suggest new forms of doing old jobs, better allocation of resources - but *never may they run the factories on their own*. As Richman stated: "It is similar in many respects to the philosophy of 'consultative direction' 'participative management,' 'bottom-up management,' or 'grass-roots budgeting,' under a balanced system of centralisation and decentralisation of authority, found in a growing number of American companies."²⁷ And further: "It seemed clear during my visit to China that the regime was not willing at that time to have the workers actually play dominant roles in the management of their enterprises..."²⁸

Goldwasser and Dowty go on and on about the marvellous workers' participation in management; but participation is still just participation - it is not a substitute for the "real thing" - collective management. They cite examples of workers' participation - most of which concern workers' suggestions for increasing productivity. They also cite the activities of the Workers Representative Congresses as further proof of worker control (see below),²⁹ and also that workers discuss wage increases.³⁰ Louis Kraar likewise talks about workers participation in increasing productivity and technical innovations. But when you read the fine print, one thing becomes clear: workers can talk, suggest and "participate" all they want (within CCP limits, of course) - but when it comes to the actual making of decisions - that is up to the Party Committees and other Party authorities. Only if a suggestion is ratified by Party superiors can it be instituted.

In the early 60's it was "qualified managers and experts making the final decisions."³¹ In the mid-60's authority was switched upwards to the State planners with the Party Committees at the factories retaining some control.³² As to the determination of wages - the results of the discussions must be approved by the Revolutionary Committees - or they are sent back for further talk.³³

If anyone thinks that this form of workers' participation is "revolutionary" just take a look at the March 26, 1973 issue of *Newsweek* magazine, "The Job Blahs: Who Wants to Work?" wherein various experiments on the assembly line are discussed. The Chinese system is no more revolutionary than the experiments of such prominent Reds as General Motors, Ford Motor Co., Monsanto Chemical and the Travellers Insurance Company: once again the dichotomy between "workers' control" and "workers management" is emphasised.

COMMITTEE ELECTIONS

We have seen that of the two committees, the Party Committee calls the shots; that workers' participation is limited to actually nothing more than an extended version of the Bosses' old Suggestion Box, with about as much power as the slips dropped into the box have. That the Maoist system is a dictatorship over the proletariat becomes absolutely conclusive when we examine the so-called "elections" to the Party Committees and the (powerless) Revolutionary Committees. Goldwasser and Dowty write that the representatives are chosen on the basis of being good workers, having close relationships with the masses of the workers in the factory, and being diligent in the study of Marxist-Leninism and the thoughts of Chairman Mao. The workers have discussions in their shop groups and make nominations. The names are then discussed by everyone, including the Party organisation in the factory... After the discussions representatives are chosen by an election among the masses of workers.

In Tangshan, we visited a Rolling Stock Plant which manufactures locomotives and railroad coaches. They have a slightly different method of choosing representatives which is called the 'two times up, two times down' process. First, workers in each section of the factory have discussions and put forward names of people for the revolutionary committee. The names are sent up to the leading body, which holds its own discussions and sends its opinions back down. This process takes place twice; thus the 'two ups and downs'. (In some places this is done three times.) After the final discussion, they agree on a group of people for the committee, but *no vote is taken* - it is all handled by discussion. They said it does occasionally happen that some names are put forward by the workers but not approved by the leading body. In such cases they come to agreement through further discussions. They said they judge people according to 'how they fit into the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines' and whether they are 'continuing the revolution'. *Here the PLA members are also discussed by the workers but the PLA has the final say on who their representatives are.*³⁴

This is a workers democracy, where workers representatives have to be thoroughly indoctrinated in the ruler's ideology, and further must first be approved by others than the workers themselves?

Goldwasser and Dowty further state that members of the Party Committee are chosen in the same way,³⁵ and that "The Party committee is often chosen at a congress of all Party members in a factory, involving extensive discussions and elections."³⁶

Richman writes that:

... The workers, and other personnel, supposedly elect the directors, vice directors, and group leaders (who are like front-line supervisors of floor foremen). They may play the major role in the selection of group leaders, but it is doubtful that they do so, regarding the higher-level managers. The elections, not surprisingly, are under the direct leadership of the enterprise party committee, and appropriate higher-level administrators and party committees above the enterprise also formally approve the election of directors and vice directors. I was told that such formal higher approval is almost always given.

There seemed to be a general reluctance on the part of the managers and Reds interviewed to discuss the mechanics of these elections. When I pushed for more details, some of them seemed to get embarrassed or upset. It seems that there are several after-hours meetings and screening sessions involved in coming up with a slate of managerial candidates. By the time the list of candidates is processed through the formal worker and staff representative conferences of workers and staff party committee meetings, and then is presented to the electorate, there is typically only one candidate for each position. But, I was told, "employees can still vote 'yes' or 'no' for each candidate. What if the majority vote in a specific case is 'no'? I asked. This has never happened, I was told, and if it ever did a new candidate would be proposed for the job, and a new election would take place. A British diplomat who had been stationed in Red China for several years told me that employees wishing to vote 'no' for a candidate in an election of this type would probably have to ask for a special pencil to mark his ballot and would become very conspicuous. It was implied that all candidates at the enterprises surveyed which had elections are elected with a 99 or 100% majority."³⁷ And later:

At virtually all of the firms their directors and all their vice-directors - even where the enterprise had 'elections' to choose their high-level managers - had to be approved by superior authorities. In a number of cases they had to be approved by higher bodies two or three levels above the enterprise, and at a few large firms final approval came from as high up as the state council. The same was true for party secretaries and vice secretaries at some of the enterprises. Their appointments has to be approved by higher party committees, and in a few cases formal approval came from as high up as the Central Party Committee in Peking.³⁸

And this is what passes for workers' control! The only 'control' is by the Party bosses, who control the workers. Such a system almost guarantees that any decisions made will be - like the ones who make the decisions - approved by the Party hierarchy. And if there's any question, there is a PLA man always ready to answer. Just as the class interest of a private capitalist is to raise productivity and make increased profits, so is the interest of the Chinese State Capitalists - the CCP. Read any contemporary writings on China - increased productivity is loudly lauded as a major achievement of the Regime. And then we look at the foreign trade deals - with the fledgling fascist Marcos regime in the Philippines, with the U.S., and all of the others that the Maoists used to deride as 'paper tigers' and general no-goodniks. And these elections are the basis of Chinese workers' control - and our two proud Americans Goldwasser and Dowty, see nothing wrong. If American unions ran elections in the same manner, these unions would be rightfully accused of election-fixing, pressure tactics, and the cry would be long and loud about how such 'elections' were in fact the exact negation of workers' democracy.

But Goldwasser and Dowty blithely ignore all this, contentedly wallowing in the quotations of Chairman Mao. In their study of Marxism-Leninism they have conveniently overlooked the one about "the emancipation of the working class being the job of the working class itself!" Private capitalism is no worse than State capitalism - in both, workers' labour power is expropriated by the Boss Class. In both, those daring to do something about it are brutally suppressed. And in both, the apologists continue with their pantywaist explanations. Their rationalisations boil down to nothing more than "Mussolini made the trains run on time." The brutality of the regimes are ignored by concentrating on advances in health care, free housing etc. Of course what these people forget is that if such social welfare measures were not introduced wages would necessarily have to rise in order to cover increased living expenses. A wage system is a wage system, no matter who the paymaster is; and wage slavery is wage slavery, no matter who the Master is.

Thus we have seen that the decision-making parties are firmly in the hands of the Party; the decisions must be ratified by the Party; and the members of the Party-controlled committees must be approved by the Party before being allowed to make their powerless decisions. This is not workers' freedom, workers' democracy or workers' anything else-except workers' exploitation.

THE WORKERS' REPRESENTATIVE CONGRESSES

Goldwasser and Dowty talk about a new organisation that has sprung up since the "Cultural Revolution" - the workers' representative congresses. They cite this as another example of Chinese workers controlling their factories.³⁹ The activities of this outfit include the following:

... to organise workers' study and education, to mobilise workers to fulfill the production plan of the factory, to save waste materials, and to promote technical innovation and technical revolution. It is part of the tasks of the workers' representative congress to listen to the needs and demands of the workers, collect opinions and transmit them to the Party committee and revolutionary committee. They also organise sports and other recreational activities and arrange for cultural performances...⁴⁰

Not all workers may belong, only "revolutionaries"⁴¹ - and we can readily guess who decides that.

The workers representative congresses have no power at all and have nothing to do with controlling the factories - that's in the hands of the Party committee. The revolutionary Committees merely carry out Party Committee orders. Thus the workers' representative congresses are nothing more than Maoist social clubs.

WORKERS CONTROLLED - WORKERS RESPOND

It is beyond the scope of this article to go into the disgraceful history of the CCP in regimenting and dominating the Chinese working class to its own (State Capitalist) interests. I am purposely confining myself to the present (that is, post-Cultural Revolution) situation. Suffice it to say that ever since the 1949 "Liberation" the CCP has consistently fought any independent working class initiatives and movements, branding them as "economist," "syndicalist," "Ultra Left," "Trotskyite" and other epithets of the Stalinist lexicon. Suffice it to say that the history of the CCP has been one of collaboration, not struggle, against capitalists, naturally at the expense of the workers.⁴² Suffice it to say that, in conjunction with the Chinese State Capitalist regime (in 1956, the CCP's Congress "declared China to be 'state capitalist'..."⁴³), private

capitalists continue to prosper, either in their old role as private capitalists or else as the managers of state firms.⁴⁴

Let us once again note the basically boss role of the cadres; that all "workers' participation" must be approved by Party personnel, who — unless it is a trivial decision — must clear it with their Party superiors; that through the Party and Revolutionary Committee method of administration, the system becomes one of class collaboration, not class struggle.

Reading Goldwasser, and Dowty, Tuchman, and yea! even Joseph Alsop, it would appear that Chinese workers are behind the Maoists body and soul. In fact, the only criticisms that appear in Goldwasser and Dowty's 24-page pamphlet are that job safety is not up to snuff, and concerning the necessity for close relations between workers and cadres.⁴⁵ If Chinese workers are so enamoured of Big Brother, then how is a letter to the editor of the American anarchist journal *The Match!* (2/73 issue) explained, wherein Ying Yi-shi of the English Section of Peking's Foreign Languages Press writes:

We have received your note in which you request some literature and materials. We will be very glad to send you what we have on the subjects you mention, though we must make clear our position on the question of "anarchy". We are against it, for the reason that now, when imperialism (headed by the USA) is going to its doom and bright socialism is winning world-wide victory, anarchy does not accord with the interests of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, to which class struggle inevitably leads. Chairman Mao says "... deprive the reactionaries of the right to speak ..."⁴⁶

Why is Mao so afraid to hear ideas other than his own spread? Let us give one small example. In 1957 Mao (who supported the Russians in crushing the Hungarian workers' uprising of 1956) decided that he would allow criticism of the regime. Response was immediate. Workers and intellectuals were quick to point out that the State Capitalist nature of Mao's China, the exploitation of the Regime, and the class nature of the Chinese State.

This unmasked for eruption of opposition and censure prompted Mao and the Party to adopt immediate reprisals. A large number of outspoken intellectuals were either liquidated or sent to Sinkiang province, China's Siberia, to undergo thought-reform through hard labour and personal sufferings. From then on, any criticism of government or Party was considered high treason. At the present moment, deviations or abstinence from practising Maoist doctrines and policies constituted disloyalty to the regime and the nation.⁴⁷

This was the "Hundred Flowers Movement". The name was adopted from a Quotation of Chairman Mao that he and others have never again repeated: "Let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend." And now we have a professor at Nanking University saying that "We believe in constant criticism and re-education ... Chairman Mao teaches us that if you wash your body, there is nothing wrong with washing your brains."⁴⁸

But not all are so subservient and brain-washed! During the so-called Cultural Revolution, workers did not stand still and submit to Maoist outrages:

... In the course of the Maoist terror mass opposition surfaced. Somehow the "handful" of anti-Maoists had managed to "dupe" so many that the ruling clique admitted that "perhaps we are temporarily in a minority." Even more important, the opposition had roots directly in production, in the factories and the fields. They were, in fact, the proletarian and peasant masses. They wore no red arm-bands, waved no books of quotations from Mao but they went out on unprecedented strikes and fought pitched battles with the

Red Guard "seize control committees" that invaded their factories.⁴⁹

The continued existence of thought-control, "re-education" camps, and the presence of the PLA in factory committees is living proof that "something is rotten in the State of China", that workers are not just taking things lying down. J. Walker outlines six main groups of immigrants to Hong Kong, setting aside one group as:

Those genuine communists who do not sympathise with the bureaucratic Maoist regime. They are usually ex-Red Guards who used to be ardent followers of Mao, Chou and other members of the Chinese establishment red capitalists, red aristocrats or red bureaucrats. They fled to Hong Kong in order to prepare themselves for a genuine socialist revolution in China because the present regime is not, in their eyes, socialist to the least extent.⁵⁰

The existence of an immigrant group large enough for definition indicates that Chinese workers are not so brain-washed as Goldwasser and Dowty would have us believe.

Chinese factories may be exciting for goggle-eyed new leftist rubber-neckers and devotees of Stakhanovism. But for those of us who believe in workers' management of the means of production, who believe that "the working class and the employing class have nothing in common," who believe that it is not an amelioration of the present system that is needed, but a new system altogether, a system of workers' freedom, in short of a new libertarian society — Chinese factories are not exciting places. They are simply Variations on a Theme by the Boss. That two supposedly intelligent workers should see in the Maoist system a panacea is surely a bad sign: it shows that they are still hung-up in the slave-ideology of elitism that began with Lenin and continued through Trotsky, Stalin and Mao. Elitism is of the very essence of capitalism, dividing into leaders and led, workers and bosses, Masters and Slaves. Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin all believed that essentially workers were too dumb and not to be trusted in running society themselves and for themselves; similarly with Mao. The elitists are afraid of the masses. As politicians, their interest is power — and they cannot see beyond the tips of their gun-barrels. The idea of real freedom scares them; so we are treated to maxim-ridden rationalisations for mass-murder, exploitation and oppression. It is high time to start looking at China — and everything else for that matter — with both eyes open.

FOOTNOTES:

- 27 Richman, op.cit.p.249. 28 Ibid.,p.256. 29 Goldwasser, op.cit.p.7. 30 Ibid.,p.8. 31 Richman,op.cit.,p.252. 32 Ibid. 33 Goldwasser,op.cit.p.8. 34 Ibid.,p.4. 35Ibid. 36 Ibid,p.4f. 37 Richman,op.cit.,p.255f. 38Ibid.,p.797. 39 Goldwasser,op.cit., p.7. 40. Ibid.,p.6f. 41 Ibid. 42 See Ygael Gluckstein, *Mao's China: Economic & Political Survey* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957), pp.187-209. 43 Dunayevskaya,op.cit.,p.25. 44 See Richman, op.cit., Chap. 12, "Communist China's Capitalists," pp.894-912. 45 Goldwasser,op.cit.p.24. 46 *The Match!* (Tucson Feb.1973) p.1. 47 Waung,op.cit.,p.121. 48 Edward Klein (Foreign Ed.), "China—Symbol and Substance," *Newsweek* (March 26th,1973),p.12. 49 Dunayevskaya,op.cit., p.29. 50 J. Walker, *Under the Whitewash* (Hong Kong,1972)p.5.

Imagine!!



DEATH OF A DISSIDENT

'Was it in the interest of the working class to take part in production, to work, to compete, to bear the burden of all industrial shortcomings and to see the fruits of their labours transformed into unsaleable products? Was it in the interest of the working class for the trade unions to stop being their own specific organisations and to become part of the state machinery? ... Every day we hear that the workers are dissatisfied, that they will only have one third representation on the planned works councils, they say that that is not enough, has anybody ever listened to their opinions? Do they control the enterprises or the management itself?' ... This was part of a speech given by Josef Smrkovsky to the central committee of the communist party of Czechoslovakia, 1968. He died seven minutes before midnight on Monday, January 14th 1974.

His death has gone completely unreported in both East and West Europe. He was not an anarchist by any means, but he was a determined fighter against Stalinism, and he proved this by spending several years in a Stalinist jail, during the 1950's. As soon as he was released he plunged back into the political arena and in the new situation that was appearing in Czechoslovakia he soon began to be effective. He was a leading exponent of the Dubcek theory of

socialism with a human face, and in 1968 he became chairman of the Czech parliament. His influence was such that after the Russian invasion workers threatened a general strike if reprisals were taken against him. Four years ago he contracted cancer.

The important thing about his death is that it could have provided a focus for the Czech people to show their true feelings about Husak's "Stalinism with a Human face." For this reason the regime, acting like frightened mice rushed his funeral through with indecent haste. A state of emergency was declared and the Prague police were heavily reinforced by outside units. Telephones were cut and some people had mysterious calls from the Czech equivalent of a Mr. Smith. The whole atmosphere of repression was stepped up. In fear of a national shrine being created the regime would not allow Smrkovsky to be buried, and instead he had to be cremated against his express wishes. The regime would not allow the funeral to be postponed for just a week, so that his daughter might attend. (She was in hospital expecting a baby.) The trams were stopped 3 kilometres from the crematorium, due to "road works" and the police were stopping cars on the road to the crematorium for "mechanical" checks.

This manifestation of paranoia on the part of the regime is quite remarkable. Even though Smrkovsky was a dissident he was a member of the "Loyal opposition." He always maintained that the Communist Party could lead the country to socialism. Normally, distinguished communists are laid to rest with some sort of official protocol. The Regime's reaction clearly demonstrates how frightened they are of any show of opposition, no matter how loyal.

Over a thousand people finally attended the funeral, in spite of a total news blackout and only one day's circulation of the private funeral notices. The fact that so many people are prepared to put themselves in risk, knowing for sure that the police will have detailed knowledge of everyone who attended, is sufficient testimony to the "success" of the regime's attempted normalisation programme, and to Smrkovsky himself.

Petr Cerny.



ANARCHISM AND THE MIDEAST SITUATION

It is somewhat difficult for an anarchist in Britain or America to make a truly informed comment on the situation in the Middle East, as almost all the information available on that situation comes from sources that we as anarchists should hold with suspicion. I have never seen any word from either Jewish or Arab anarchists active in the Middle East; as far as I know, there are no active groups or individuals there. Therefore the information we must base our opinions on is drawn from reports in the bourgeois press, the equally mendacious left-wing press, official Israeli and Arab State sources, various dissident and leftist, but not anarchist groups in Israel and the Arab states, and, finally, whatever firsthand or secondhand knowledge we might have of the area.

In theory, our position is simple. As Anarchists, we call for the overthrow of the State of Israel by its inhabitants, Jewish, Arab, Druse, as well as the overthrow of all existing Arab states, establishing workers' self-management and a spontaneous federation of free communities, allowing the free return of the Palestinian refugees to their homes, establishing free and equal access to the resources of the area, and ending the hold of religious superstition and feudal domination over the Jewish and Arab peoples alike. Now, if there were forces in the Mideast currently struggling to achieve just that, our situation would not be difficult to determine - we would face the problems only of supporting our comrades there and working against Western intervention.

However, as we all know, the situation is more complex than that. In view of the fact that none of the groups or positions in the Mideast conflict are close to our own sentiments, there is a great temptation to say "The hell with it", roundly curse both sides, and go back to issues where we already have a clear and (hopefully) relevant position. This is tempting but to my way of thinking we cannot afford to duck this issue. Anarchism, as an idea, a force, a movement, is nothing unless we as anarchists begin to have an effect upon society. The situation in the Middle East is one of the most significant aspects of the world crisis, and the way in which it moves to resolution will have wide-reaching effects upon each country of the West, if not the whole world. During the Yom Kippur war we in America came very close to facing the fact of an armed American intervention in Israel; it is not likely that we will have to face this in the future. During the Vietnam war we had to take the unsatisfactory position of supporting the withdrawal of U.S. troops and termination of aid to the Saigon regime, knowing that this was, in effect, supporting the N.L.F., for which I have little enthusiasm. However, it was not possible to either ignore the situation or to come up with a coherent alternative position. What I am hoping for in the case of the Mideast situation is that we can begin to establish a clear anarchist position now, so that when the situation begins to hit home even more, we can more effectively inject an anarchist presence into the situation.

To accomplish this, then, we must look at the real situation: the groups, peoples and powers that today have a bearing on the situation. Our estimate of the situation must be made on the reality that exists in the clear, harsh light of Jerusalem and Damascus, and not the pale shadows of reality that flicker in the editorial offices of Trotskyite papers in London and New York: The first question we must face is the root of the question; "What is the nature of the State of Israel?" The State of Israel is the culmination of a deliberate plan that has been carried out by the Zionist movement since the turn of the century; a plan to immigrate and to seize a territory in the Mideast, and there

to create a nation-State. In the process they seized the land of the people already living there, expelled many of them by force of arms, and now subject the remainder of them to discriminatory treatment. Those who were expelled still remain, twenty-five years later, in refugee camps, unwilling to resettle in the other Arab nations, and determined to return to Palestine. They are willing to use the same means to return that the Zionists originally used to seize the land; guerilla warfare, indiscriminate terrorism, and alliance with whatever powers will support them. The "Arab World" can be divided into several groups, ranging from the reactionary monarchies such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan, which generally drag their feet in the anti-Israeli fight and would be glad to reach a status-quo truce, to the nationalist states such as Egypt and Syria, which support the anti-Israeli struggle partly out of pan-Arab nationalism and partly to distract the domestic working class from the many problems at home. Finally there are the greatest victims, the Palestinians, who are at such a point of desperation that even the Lod Airport Massacre must have brought hope to them. As long as there is one Palestinian left alive, and a bomb to plant, I do not think they will let the world forget their existence - and this is what all the liberal editorial writers will never understand, when they write their editorials condemning terrorism. Terrorism is often the last resort of a desperate people. Within the Palestinian people there are several divisions, with different attitudes towards the different Arab states, often reflected in the different organisations of the Palestinian movement. The large umbrella organisation, Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) is conservative and generally in alliance with the nationalist Arab states - generally claiming to act as a Palestinian government in exile. Then there are the guerilla-oriented movements, the Peking oriented Al-Fatah, which relies more on its own efforts than on the armies of the Arab states, the aeroplane-hijacking Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, generally favoured by the Trotskyites here, the smaller and more libertarian Popular Democratic Front, which was very hard hit by Hussein's forces in the "Black September massacre" of 1970, due to their call for opposition to all existing Arab states.

There are also the new and shadowy terrorist groups such as Black September, and other mini-groupings that appear from time to time, and whose programmes and positions are not always made clear.

Israel, being both more homogeneous and having fewer options than the Arab world, has fewer internal differentiations. The entire spectrum of Israeli politics, with very minor exceptions, is dedicated to the Zionist idea; that is to say, the existence of the State of Israel as a Jewish state. The only disagreements are as to the tactics to be used to perpetuate the existence of the State as such.

Thus the mainstream of Israeli politics divides itself on the question of how little the Arab states can be bought off with, and how much terrorism can be used to keep the internal Arab population in line. On the fringes there are groups such as Matzpen (Israeli Socialist Organisation), which seem to realise that the Jewish population of Palestine stands a better long term chance of survival through active co-operation with the Arab people on terms of equality, and who seem to be the only Israelis who have taken any steps at all to communicate with the Palestinian revolutionaries.

There is also the still-unknown quantity of the "Black Panther" civil rights movement, which began as a protest against the racist treatment of Oriental Jews by the European Jewish power structure, and which seems to be realising the

community of interest between Oriental Jews and Palestinian Arabs in the State of Israel.

At this point in time, I feel that the existence of the State of Israel in its present Zionist conception is the stumbling block in the path of social revolution in the Middle East, and the entry point for massive intervention by the major powers, both Western and "Eastern Bloc", an intervention which may yet lead to atomic warfare.

Most of the arguments in favour of the virtues of Israeli society ignore Israel's nature as a settler state maintained only by day-to-day use of armed force against the original population. The fact that the Jewish population is generally armed means nothing; after all, the white population of South Africa and Rhodesia is generally armed, too. However, if an Arab in Israeli territory is found armed, I do not think it is looked on too kindly. Similarly, Israeli "Socialism" is for Jews only.

If the Zionist state can be destroyed by social revolution made by both Jews and Arabs, and some equitable solution found to the problems of resource allocation and immigration, then I believe we can look forward to an extended process of social revolution in all the Arab countries, as the Israel question fades and class problems become the principal concern of the Arab working class. The people will also be more open to anarchist principles as they come to confront their own national ruling classes as their principal enemy. If Israel is defeated by the Arab armies, the outcome will be harder to predict, but there will surely be struggle by the Jewish people to maintain civil rights in the bourgeoisie Palestine State that would probably set up by the Arab States, possibly a class struggle within Palestine, and a struggle by all Palestinians against domination by other Arab states. There is also the possibility that if the Israeli State continues to exist in its present form much longer, backed up perhaps by the presence of U.S. troops, a wave of popular revolution could sweep out many of the current Arab governments and bring more military zealots like Khaddafi to power, resulting in a catastrophic Mideast war involving the major powers, and perhaps the limited or general use of atomic weapons.

TIME TO EXORCISE

WARNING: If you don't pay you exorcist you're liable to be dispossessed.

The furore over the showing of horror movie "The Exorcist" has one useful result. It reveals depths of ignorance, credulity and superstition that were unsuspected in the midst of modern society. The story is about a girl possessed by the Devil, whom a priest drives out by holy rites. The modern Church has been for some time putting on a respectable front pretending it does not believe in such hocus-pocus; but suddenly we find, amid the protests at the film, that there are, indeed, Church of England exorcists in receipt of public money going around pulling the Devil out of people; the Roman Church literally believing in a personal Devil, and his active intervention in human affairs, and hard-headed journalists, who think fit to lecture us on public matters, falling for the crude rubbish associated with the Christian belief in the literal Lord of Hell.

The London Evening News, for instance, has been prominent in pushing the phrase "Mindless Militants," suggesting that those who fight for their rights must be pushed by some outside force. It couldn't be the Devil, by any chance? If the stories about demoniac possession now appearing in the columns are not admitted garbage, why not? And need their political reportage be taken as any more serious than their theological beliefs? Perhaps the "terrorist conspiracies" are not directed by Gaddafi or some international cabal but by Satan?

How the Slandering of Makhno Began

by Marcus Graham.

In the 1920's the Jewish-language press in the United States unleashed a series of attacks against Nestor Makhno and the Makhno movement of the Ukraine - where they were valiantly fighting every White Guard Counter-revolutionary movement that rose - accusing the first-named of carrying out pogroms against the Jewish people.

In the forefront of these attacks was the daily morning *Freiheit* (Freedom), financed by the Bolshevik government (which considered the anarchist Makhno movement a thorn in its flesh). The Jewish daily *Forwer* (Forward), although vehemently opposed to the Bolshevik government, nevertheless joined in the anti-Makhno movement, as did also the supposedly "liberal" daily *Der Tug* (The Day)

The supposedly anarchist *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* (Free Workers Voice) edited at that time by Sh. Yanovsky kept a cowardly silence. Yanovsky ended his anarchist career by becoming a paid writer in the socialist *Forwer*.

I penned a reply to the dastardly attacks against the Makhno movement and sent it to the *Der Tug*, and received the following reply:

"The Day" March 29, 1926.

"Sh. Marcus, 17 E 107th St., New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir,

Regretfully we cannot use your article for the "Day". We therefore returning it back to you.

With respect,

R. Etkin, editorial secretary.

I thereupon forwarded the article to the monthly *Zukunft* (Future), edited by the poet A. Liesen, in the hope that his poetic conscience would out weight the fact that the magazine was financed by the *Forwer*s.

Liesen's poetic conscience evidently did not bother him as the following reply shows:

"Dear Sh. Marcus,

No, the *Zukunft* cannot come out with a justification of Makhno. He was not at all the conscientious anarchist as you picture him, and it would be much better if you did not identify Makhno's movement with the anarchist movement of the world.

Makhno certainly allowed the slaughter of Jews under the name of "Capitalists". His followers slaughtered a mass of Jewish colonists in Ekaterinislov as one of my acquaintances wrote me. It is of no consequence that with him were Grshun, Slovke and other Bialistoker anarchists. They were blinded and refused to hear and see, and didn't know. Liesen the editor of *Zukunft* is very angry with you declaring that it is indeed a shame that a Jew should nevertheless defend a pogrom-maker. I personally would like to discuss the matter with you. Come over to the office of *Zukunft*.

P.S. Your article is included herewith.

With respect,
Kreplitch"

The letter carried no date, but it was penned no doubt in 1926, soon after the article was returned to me from the *Der Tug*. I presume that Kreplitch was Liesen's secretary.

I accepted the invitation but it was Liesen himself, and not Kreplitch, that I met. In defence of his refusal to print my article, he was ready to bring Abba Gordin, the anarchist to testify as to the pogroms carried out by the Makhno movement. I declined to meet him for the

principal reason that he at no time went to the Ukraine and therefore could only speak of hearsay, and his having become a paid writer in the *Zukunft*, a socialist monthly would also make his hearsay testimony most questionable.

The following is a translation of the article that *Der Tug* and the *Zukunft* refused to print:

The Accusations against the Makhno Movement: What the Other Side Has To Say About It.

In every court of "justice", it is customary that the accused not only has a right to self-defence, but the State even appoints a defender for the poor. Many know that in all court-houses two kinds of justices are dispensed: one for the rich, and a different sort for the poor. For appearances sake, the poor man is thus given a chance to be heard before being meted a portion of "justice".

Nestor Makhno has less luck than a poor man in a court-house. This is especially true in relation to the entire Jewish press. In the *Forverts* Nestor Makhno and the Makhno movement have been described in the blackest colours of a pogrom-maker by a special correspondent who gathered his information sitting in Warsaw - and from Warsaw the pogroms that the Makhnovtzes are supposed to have carried out in the Ukraine... in the *Freiheit*, M. Olgin wrote about "the thousands of stomachs of Jewish women", that Makhno himself had cut open in the Ukraine... and the information he had received from the "holy" great rulers of Moscow... If this was not enough, David Markiewitch comes along and tells in his "Those Days" how he was told about stories concerning what the Makhnovtzes have carried out...

D. Tcharney, in the 28th, 1926 of *Der Tug* speaks about a biography of Makhno, without naming it, stating that:

"Makhno himself liked the title "batko" (fatherly) and has totally forgotten that he was a plain bandit supposedly an anarchist that deals with all passing powers, he placed himself on the side of the Reds in the struggle with the Whites, and then on the side of the Whites against the Reds."

Further on D. Tcharney brings the following "extraordinary fact" that is intended to tighten the rope around Makhno's name:

"In Navazlatofel, as said, something very good had taken place, because it had a splendid self-defence of 200 men, and ammunition this self-defence obtained... imagine - from Makhno himself. Thus Makhno's 200 guns protected the colony against the same Makhnovtzes."

I have quoted at length from D. Tcharney - since he embodies the main accusations and self-contradictions that are being made against Makhno and the Makhno movement in the Jewish press.

It is only necessary to add that D. Tcharney declared himself that his "information" he has obtained from a "just published book: 'The Jewish community in the Revolution'."

I have not seen one friendly word for Makhno in the Jewish daily press of the United States - from any Jewish writer.

I expect that *Der Tug* will at least give space to one who desires to answer all these attacks against Makhno and the Makhno movement, proving thereby that in one part of the Jewish press someone condemned can obtain at least as much justice that is given to a poor man in a court-house.

It is not my purpose to go into a polemic with all those who have made attacks on Makhno and the movement around him. My main reason for not doing this lies in the fact that all these writers have based their attacks upon

information from other people's assertions. Not one of them supports the assertions by their own experiences.

Consequently, my reply can only be a general one. I do not expect that after reading it, all those who hold Makhno and the Makhnovtzes as pogrom perpetrators will change their opinion. I only hope they will meditate a bit upon what I am about to express, and then ask themselves: Can there not be a spark of truth on the part of the other side, although the accused has been painted with the blackest of colours...?

No one has, I believe, dared to accuse the world's anarchist movement of antisemitism. Consequently the question that must arise in the mind of any impartial thinking person how it happens that during the entire times of Nestor Makhno's activity there should co-operate with him such well known Jewish anarchists as D. Volin, A. Baron, Fania Baron and tens of other Jewish-speaking anarchists? How can it be that not one of these should raise their voice to support the accusations against the Makhno movement? Could it be that they all became Jewish antisemites?... Or, how is it possible that Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, A. Souchy of Germany and Vilkins of France who were in the Ukraine where the Makhno movement was active, have, on the contrary, written about it with love, enthusiasm and admiration? Can one imagine that these spokesmen of International anarchism - some obtaining their information, not from other sources - thousands of miles away from the Ukraine, but direct on the spot - have seen everything just the opposite from that of the traducers - and therefore became anarchist antisemites?... Or, how does it happen, that now - four or five years after the Makhnovtzes were driven out of the Ukraine by the Russian Government, and Makhno with some of his co-workers were "tried" in Bolshevik controlled Poland, that the entire anarchist press of the world should feel proud about the activity of Nestor Makhno and the Makhno movement in the Ukraine? Is it because the entire anarchist world press has become antisemitic?

Ridiculous!



The hatred with which the Bolsheviks regarded Makhno (a compliment to his revolutionary libertarianism) is shown in this Soviet poster showing Makhno with tsarist and right-wing generals Wrangel and Piliura (later shot in Paris by Schwarzbart) and another Ukrainian partisan leader Batko Angel, in conspiracy with the Church as an enemy of the State.

For anyone who wants to learn the truth, it is only necessary to read Arshinov's "The Story of the Makhno Movement", a well known Russian anarchist who worked with the Makhno movement, and is at present an exile living in France, where he edits a monthly anarchist journal, in order to readily understand what has really happened there where the Makhno movement was active.

In this book the reader will find facts and documents that will astound one. From it one learns that one of the infamous pogrom bandits in the Ukraine - Grigoriev - was

shot to death by none other than Nestor Makhno himself... From this book the reader will also learn as to how Makhno and his comrades felt and acted upon entering in a Jewish populated town and found walls pasted with calls to pogroms against the Jews in the name of the Makhno movement... Death was the threat and sentence by the Makhnovtzes upon anyone who dares to incite to pogroms under any name against anyone.

One learns also from this book that not more than once had the bolshevik "revolutionary" government placed in jeopardy the entire revolution - by withholding ammunition and provisions - from the 70,000 Makhnovtzes that were in daily combat with the White Guardist hordes of the Denikins, the Koltchaks and the Wrangels... Also one will see from the documents that prove how Bela Kun, representing the Bolshevist government and Popov representing the Makhno movement signed an agreement how to fight in unison every counter-revolutionary movement, and also to tolerate one another (as anarchists and bolsheviks) on the economic field. (This document will remain forever an exemplary act of tolerance and mutual aid - upon which basis every future revolution will only be able to succeed.) And, likewise, one will learn from Arshinov's book how the Bolshevist government spat upon its own agreement with the Makhnovtzes as soon as the last of Wrangel's counter-revolutionary hordes were driven out of the Ukraine. And it immediately instituted the most despicable reign of persecutions and even murder against the active anarchists in the Ukraine!

If Nestor Makhno and the Makhnovtzes are to be held guilty of the pogroms that real pogrom-hordes carried out - hiding under the name of the Makhno movement - but at no time with the knowledge of the Makhno movement, then one has to hold responsible the Bolshevist government for the pogroms that were carried out under the name of Bolshevism. In either instance it would be not only ridiculous, but also slanderous to do so.

The anarchist movement and press of the world has not become antisemitic nor has it ever been, and never could become - as long as its ideal is anarchism. It is therefore not at all ashamed to be proud of the activity of Nestor Makhno and the Makhno movement.

In the heat of the revolution some rush to pen "history" - as in the slanderous attacks against Makhno and its movement. But such "histories" will sooner or later be forgotten because of the falsehood that they embodied.

The true history, the role that the anarchists in general, and the Makhno movement in particular have played in the Russian revolution has as yet not been written by impartial observers and seekers of the true facts. When such a history is penned the present slanders that have been cast upon the Makhno movement will be transformed into flowers.

Sh. Marcus*

*(Sh. Marcus - In later years used the name Marcus Graham).

Martin Sostre is quite literally fighting for his life - he is in immediate danger of being subjected to a behavior modification program, the new, modern way of dealing with those whose spirits will not be crushed by the 'old fashioned' methods of beatings and solitary confinement. He is faced with the prospect of drug treatments and/or brain surgery.

We once again urge that letters be sent to Commissioner Peter Preiser, Albany, New York, 12226. Letters from abroad are extremely effective. And we appeal for the much needed funds to continue the legal battle. Send all contributions and requests for further information to the Martin Sostre Defence Committee P.O. Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York, 14205.

LETTERS

Dear Black Flag,

A gentleman with one leg who once worked for the corporation advised me to get in touch with you.

I worked it out that with 9p off my National Health stamp and a 1p off a pint of milk, it should balance out the 20p on a bottle of whisky so all round I was safe, but now I see that my income tax goes up so that in the end I shall still lose out.

For god's sake why wasn't I told. Haven't you any responsibility in these matters?

Heartsick,
Bradford.

Dear B.F.,

It's amusing to watch the journalists tying themselves in knots trying to prove that every terrorist action is part of some great master-plan. After the recent spectacular act of justice in Madrid, the Guardian printed an eye-catching article devoted to a story in the newspaper ABC that the ETA had obtained the explosives from the IRA; the subsequent report that laboratory analyses had shown the explosives to have originated in Spain got a bare mention at the foot of a column. Why the Catholic and authoritarian Provisionals should want to kill such an obviously kindred spirit remains unexplained. I confidently await reports that Gaddafi was behind the whole thing.

C.C.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. "The Red Flag" (it has nothing to do with the Russian Communist Party, as suggested by Tories - it was written in 1889 - nor is it appropriately sung at Labour rallies.)
2. The Mikado of Japan was a god until he resigned his divinity in 1945. Krishnamurti was another god - discovered as a boy to be the reincarnate godhead by Annie Besant. As a man he rejected the idea and became a philosopher instead. The Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie (formerly Ras Tafari), is worshipped against his will (he is a Coptic Christian) by the Rastafarian sect in the West Indies.
3. Lola Montez (Eliza Gilbert), the dancer, formed the anti-clerical "Lola Ministry" under King Ludwig, until deposed by the 1848 Revolution. Madame Lynch was consort of the Paraguayan "monkey tiger" Dictator Lopez.
4. The Oehlerites were a U.S., breakaway from the Trotskyites which held that the "bureaucratization" of the USSR had commenced with Trotsky, not with Stalin, and made a division between Trotsky and Lenin. They had a few supporters in this country; an ex-follower was Eric Heffer, now Labour MP for Walton (Liverpool).
5. It is not certain, but possibly none. Neither his father nor mother were Jewish either by race or religion; it has been alleged his real father was a Jewish actor-manager in whose company Mrs. Chaplin worked. He himself denies this, for obvious reasons. He has always been a liberal and for years a Communist fellow-traveller; accused of being a party member, he said, jokingly, "I am more of an anarchist". His earliest days were spent in South London, but there are also suggestions that he may have actually been born in Paris.

We urge comrades and friends to take action in support of Martin Sostre. He is in prison for us - we are outside for him.