

While the Left is busy denouncing Israeli aggression as imperialism, based on an assumption that democratic forms of government cannot be combined with aggression and oppression abroad, that American and British example (to start with) hardly warrants — Arabs are coming to London and investing their huge oil investments.

Property developers J. Sanders & Sons (Holdings) plans to sell a £15 million slice of residential London to the Arabs, touting them round the sheikhs and ruling families. Those dispossessed by property development will not be down to the level of impoverished Arabs dispossessed by government action; on the other hand there will be no United Nations relief for them.

The huge sums that are coming the way of these desert rulers — merely by virtue of the accident of finding oil beneath the land their ancestors occupied — means they can take over huge chunks of bankrupted Western capitalist economy. With no pretence of working for it. Yet there is no outcry over this type of immigration. Working people seem ready enough to accept an Arab boss: they reserve their energies for denouncing the fellow working man who comes in to earn his living by work.

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The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) claims that 200 South African troops were killed or wounded in recent clashes between April 9 and July 24, either in the north of Namibia (South West Africa) or in the Caprivi strip. The only information as regards this important development was to be found in the September issue of Anti-Apartheid News where a photograph of captured South African equipment was shown.

South African forces have invaded Angola during August. They occupied a zone 25 miles deep along Angola's southern border and sent a column 250 miles to the north. It seems likely that South Africa was either seeking to find SWAPO bases or has intentions of seizing part of Southern Angola when Angola becomes independent of Portugal on November 11. I am told that the Financial Times was the sole newspaper to carry a report of the invasion of South African troops, and subsequently the Guardian weeks later. The South African Government has confirmed the action.

A military camp in South Africa was attacked during August by rockets. South African Defence Minister, Pieter Botha, told the ruling National Party congress that the camp, which was not identified, was on South Africa's border. This information was noted in Workers Press in their issue of September 5, but not seen elsewhere. Your correspondent might lie by saying he wonders why the media have given such scant regard to reporting the above information. Kali

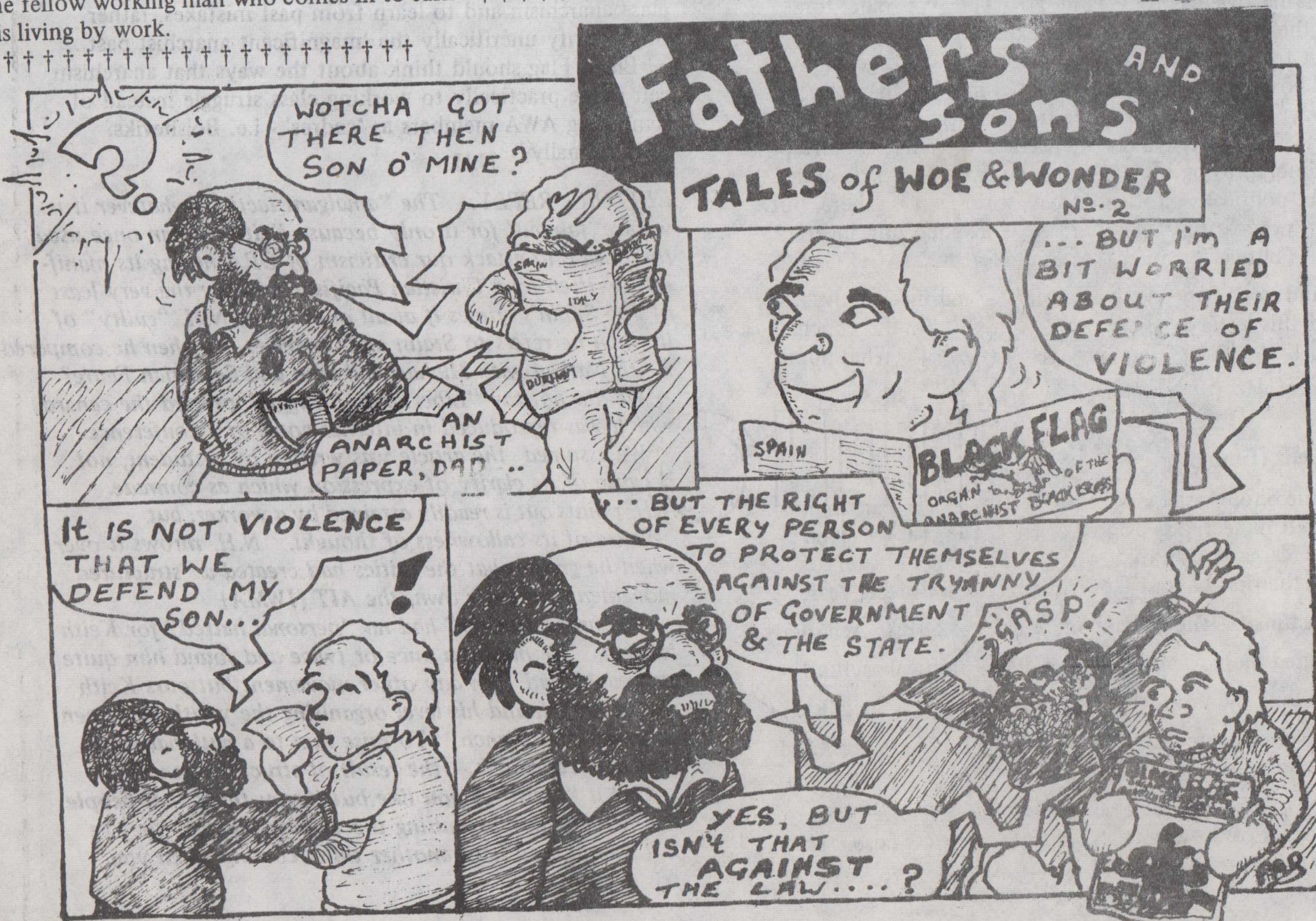
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Some would persuade us that the fighting in Northern Ireland is between "Left Wing" Catholics and "Right Wing" Protestants. We have always taken a dim view of that. We prefer a working-class analysis. Now we hear of "Right Wing" Christians fighting "Left Wing" Moslems in the Lebanon. The idea of being Left Wing in the Moslem religion — which glorifies setting a slave free and so perpetuates slavery — is no more, no less as difficult to give credence to than the idea that the Roman Church is the pillar of freedom and justice. The struggle taking place in the Lebanon is between two power groups. They have nothing to do with socialism as such. But possibly "Left" or "Right" denotes attitudes to Russian imperialism? If so, the terms are more misleading than normally is the case.

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#### BEFORE YOU GO!

What have you done this month to make life more difficult for Francoism?



# BLACK FLAG

## organ of the

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOLUME IV No. 4 SEPT./OCT. 1975 15p



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ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What anarchist action helped Margaret Bondfield become the first British woman Cabinet Minister?
2. What Russian painter (associated with the Moscow Ballet) emigrated to Germany, becoming a surrealist (and being exhibited in the "Decadent Art" exhibition); being saved from the Nazis by marriage to an Indian Anarchist? Later in Bombay she became famous for her paintings of Indian peasants.
3. Eyre Crowe, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs was knighted in 1911 for his work at the Hague Tribunal. What was his achievement in the international court?

We are compelled to increase our price to 15p, and our subscription price to £2.50 per 12 issues (£5.00 airmail). We don't think we need to apologise (after all with the militancy we ought to produce with our paper our readers should be able to fend for themselves to a greater extent than 15p!). The postage is going up so rapidly that the stamp on an issue of Black Flag will cost more than the paper itself, and we doubt if we have allowed enough margin and may have to increase our prices yet again. We are also cutting out drastically a lot of unresponding freeloaders on our mailing list. We do send the paper free where people can't afford it or where we have a suspicion they're backing our friends in prison by sending money direct.

We hate taking people off the subscription list when they don't renew (in fact, we seldom do and as a result get indignant letters from landlords saying they will complain to the police if we continue to send them our paper...as if we like sending the paper to a dead end!). We have got to increase the price of a lot of publications too. But we will try and keep the old ones down a bit. Sorry folks...But that's how the cookie crumbles....

Subscribe to The Industrial Defense Bulletin! Issued by the IWW General Defense Local 2, P.O. Box 306, Stn E Toronto 4, Canada, \$ 1.00 (or more). This issue (September '75) contains an interesting break down on the strength of the various Communist Parties throughout the world, plus news on political prisoners. The Industrial Unionist is available from Graham Moss, 116 Chadderton Way, Oldham, Lancs., price 50p for 5 issues.

Direct Action, Organ of the Syndicalist Workers Federation, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU.  
Dublin Anarchists, Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Send letters and magazines to: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

Ralf Stein:—German police have arrested another two comrades in connection with the Stein case. Postcards and statements of solidarity to Ralf Stein, JVA, 5 Koln, 30 Rochustrs, 350 Germany. Contributions to A. McGowan, c/o B.F. 10, Meltham Rd., Lockwood, Huddersfield. Giovanni Marini Defence Committee c/o Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 Milano, Italia.

Stoke Newington Five Welfare Committee, Box 252, 240 Camden High St., London NW1. Money is still badly needed for books and visits. Letters and books to: John Barker, HMP Long Lartin, Worcs. Jim Greenfield, HMP Wakefield, Yorks. Anna and Hilary are both in Holloway Prison, London, N7. Cienfuegos Press Bookservice will be pleased to supply your books post free. Send us a crossed cheque payable to C.P. for the amount required and we shall try to get your book to you within 14 days. The Art of Anarchy is now available. Of the original edition of 1000 copies only 250 are left. If you want to make sure of your copy then it is advisable to order now before this edition is sold out completely (£3.00 post free). You can help us by ordering Cienfuegos and Freedom Press publications through your local library. At most it will cost you the price of a stamp, but it will help us keep our heads above water. Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary, Antonio Tellez, £2.35 (inc. p+p). Man! An anthology of anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries, edited by Marcus Graham, £3.25 (inc p+p).

Irish Political Prisoners produce bags, belts and wallets (£15.00, & £3.50 respectively). All enquiries together with crossed cheque payable to Black Flag at above address (+50p p+p).

4. When French Prime Minister Aristide Briant suppressed the French Railway Strike in 1910 by force he was reminded of his exhortation to the CGT at its Nantes Conference in 1894: "In an emergency the capitalists will have the workers shot down". What was his answer?
5. Which internationally known Communist starred at a performance in London in aid of the CNT-FAI during the Spanish Civil War, totally disregarding the party line on such matters?
6. The workers during a rising demanded a show of hands. Those who could not show a pair of calloused hands were shot, as it was assumed they were aristocrats — thus killing many innocent sailors and clerks. Is the story true or false?

# THE BRIDGE OF ASSES

The Bridge of Asses — "Alludes to the difficulty of getting asses to cross a bridge; hence to the difficulty of getting student to apprehend what is simple enough if attempted. (Applied to the fifth proposition of the first book of Euclid)."

There is a gulf today between the working-class and what passes for a revolutionary movement as profound as that which exists between the working-class and any of the bourgeois parties. There is no sympathy between them, no co-operation, not even a real common interest. This is a fact that disturbs and perplexes many sincere radicals. It worries many workers who find they have no alternative but to accept the propaganda influence of the media. They are 'displaced' from their own principles.

How do the so-called "revolutionaries", the rebels of present day society regard the working class? If they are authoritarians they regard them as cannon fodder. Leadership must come from the students. They are the 'natural leaders' of the proletariat. Formerly it was the "intellectuals" that were to provide the "leadership". Now it is not even that, but the young intellectuals who are considered to be the "natural leaders". The workers are "only capable of themselves in achieving a trade union consciousness". They are spoken down to in the agitational journals which nobody reads but the agitators; it is only the students who are capable of "theorising".

But if the "revolutionaries" and "rebels" consider themselves "libertarians" then it is worse! The working class are not even worth the powder and shot of agitation! They are "only interested in material things" which any middle class drop-out knows are useless because he has always had them and rejects them for the time being! The workers are incapable of organizing! Any organization they create "must be" authoritarian and sell-out because the poor devils know no better! The trade unions are rubbish because at the best they could only consist of the workers!

The "authoritarians" see the solution as a party based upon intellectual leaders steeped in the study of Marxist Leninism now part and parcel of University curricula. The "libertarians" may grant the need for workers councils but reject syndicalism - i.e. the making of councils into a permanent organization. They visualise hippy communes sustained by councils keeping the workers' noses to the grindstones while the former students ponce on them, as an alternative to the authoritarians, who visualise the glorification of the intellectual with Marxist — Leninism replacing Keynesian economics as its passport to success.

In the Labour Party today we see an interesting reflection of this as the old Party activists are left high and dry by the workers — who want nothing to do with it — and in come the Trotskyist students in maturity to take over all the positions...to fill up all the positions nobody else will take...and so have challenged — to everyone's surprise — the divine right of Members of Parliament to be elected by their constituency for ever after they've wangled past a selection committee once. For the moment this is causing consternation...mild Trots who have never caused a flutter of anxiety to the State — like the Militant group — are headlines for the journalists in biting exposures of what we knew for years. But they too will find their place...look around the Labour Party — it is littered with dead Trotskyists still living...there is even one (at least) who has applied the entry tactic so successfully that he has gone through the Labour Party and emerged a Tory Party candidate.

In the hippy movement we see the other side of the coin: they contemplate dropping out and laud as a principle "never work again" and envisage living upon the State as a "revolution". They despise the "work ethic" but even more those who do work. But they are helpful; they carefully explain to the mugs how they, too, must "liberate their minds" and get to such a high degree of libertarian consciousness that they aspire to being State pensioners for ever

Small wonder that the demonstrations of the Left — authoritarian or libertarian — become parodies of the past. Pity is a gentle form of contempt, and the demonstrations are basically compassionate they call it liberation — for repression in Chile or Vietnam or for some lost cause or minority or other. They are never for something positive. Often they manage to be out-manoeuvred by the National Front which wants to repress workers organisations but picks on issues which are bound to get it a certain sympathy, because they are issues affecting the working people which all the other parties choose to ignore.

There is nothing surprising in all this. We need not even look for a CIA plot. It has been going on for a long time. Only now it has come to a head. The working class pioneers theories of social organisation, ways of alternative living, methods of association. The theorists of the middle class come along and try to formulate them and set them down. Some — but very few — are honest: like Kropotkin, they acknowledge their debt to the masses. They go no further than those who initiated the idea.

Others, and this is the majority, take the ideas up but devise ways to leave the working class out of it.

Examples abound. The Fabian theorists came along to find a working class socialist movement. They gave it a Statist direction. Socialism for them was telling people what to do: giving the do-gooders a leading place in society — "abolishing the working classes and replacing them by sensible people" said Shaw.

Fabianism was taken over by Bolshevism and Fascism, the glorification of the State.

But on the libertarian side, the idea of the middle class achieving 'liberation' from the State and never paying tax again — but keeping a bit of government around the place for the plebs — has been touted in the States. The hippy-idea is perhaps a less obnoxious version of this.

This may explain the need for constant criticism and that apparent "pig-headedness" which some of our "libertarian" contemporaries find so objectionable in Black Flag. We do not need to "win over" the masses. They are perfectly capable of action on their own behalf and do not need "vanguards". We need to break down the barrier that exists between them and revolutionary libertarian thought which exists only because of imposters and humbugs.

We do not "idealise" the workers. But the most reactionary class existing are the intellectual pretenders who take hold of their ideas and try to write them out of it. They have succeeded in alienating them from their natural heritage, and one has only to evoke the past — in this country and elsewhere — to see that this is so. (That is why we dwell on the "glorious past" — another criticism!).

We do not entirely write off students. They have a part to play in the struggle. But not as students: if they prepare ahead to enter into mature life as conscious revolutionary workers they can play a useful role in changing society. As "students" they are condemned only to noisy protest and at most go on strike against themselves.

The hardest task of all is to build an anarchist movement. Perhaps it is easy to build one among artists — who are born individualists — or leisured people — or young people who want a fighting protest before settling down to humdrum wage-earning or bourgeois life! But to build it in the place where people work and create and go about their daily lives is a truly hard task because there it comes into practical application. That is the bridge of asses at which all who would build a revolutionary movement are stumbling. Once they manage to cross that bridge the gulf will exist no longer. At that bridge every single one of the parties and groups stumble and to justify themselves they pretend they do not want to cross it.



# Roon 'n' Aboot



## IF THAT WERE ALL!

The delight of wartime propagandists was to spread the story that Hitler had a grandfather who was, at birth, "illegitimate" and who only became 'legitimised' by his mother's subsequent marriage, but for which he would have been named Schicklgruber, makes one realise how little they really had against him. With so much to complain of, was not this the least — and hardly to his discredit?

Now the story dug up by some American professor is that he was really a Rothschild. (How pleasing to those who blame the Jews for everything to find that "they were responsible for their own extermination!"). The "evidence" for this is somewhat thinner. One of his distant relations probably was in service with Baron Rothschild and was sent home in disgrace. If the master of the house was responsible, this would account for the stroke of genius in the otherwise undistinguished Hitlers. Where have we heard this argument before? Ah yes — the Baconians. Shakespeare was 'really' written by Lord Bacon — because how could the son of a Stratford-on-Avon petty tradesman have that genius? Genius is with the aristocracy — even when it is only a generation or two from the back streets of Frankfurt (nevertheless ennobled).

Looking around the aristocracy, we still find that Heine's dictum generally applies: *Asses talking about horses.*

## LIBERATION?

On the Windsor Free Festival the hippies have managed to take the authorities for a ride, if not exactly a "trip". Bill Dwyer's determination to go ahead with Windsor panicked them into laying on Watchfield, with thousands of pounds subsidy, anything to keep them away from distressing Her Majesty with them sprawled out over 'her' park. They were perfectly in the right legally, but the police weren't having it, and the Home Office produced its plans.

But what plans! Sid Rawle the "hippy" leader (king?) elevated to the status of a great national figure, collaborated in a perfect set up from the point of view of the State. A site well set off from the local villagers, policed and patrolled. Watchtowers set up. Onlookers fenced out. Parties of conducted tourists and do-gooders (including the inevitable Bishop). The infiltration of discreet Drug Squad officers. A low profile on the police so that everyone can be free and eliminate confrontation — chant Hare Krishna and count beads — go round naked, make love in public, smoke joints "if it is not too blatant" — but all on the site and under control. The villagers are impressed: no trouble, "these chaps worked damned hard" confesses a farmer who used them to chop up wood...

Sarcastic comment: They only needed ARBEIT MACHT FREI instead of Make Love Not War over the portals and Beethoven instead of rock and it could have been a concentration camp. The stricture is too severe. But a Red Indian reservation certainly.

Sid Rawle's dream: this site could be a perfect commune to remain in existence all the year round. A "native" and drop-out reservation (only occasionally disturbed by marauding Hells Angels) which is seen in Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, existing on natural macrobiotic foods (presumably the hot dog concessionaires would go).

Those who think of it as "anarchy" have a pipe dream. Anarchy under State control is liberalism. A liberalism based in this case upon "toleration" and contempt.

After the resignation of Peter Cadogan ("libertarian" to some, champion of the "active non-violence of the Centre" in his own words) from the Conway Hall, he was re-appointed by the annual general meeting — stuffed with right wing entrists, but of only a tiny number of the members. His letting out of the centre of liberal humanism and pioneer base of anti-fascism to the Fascists was approved, and in another meeting Kingsley Read handed out 39 medals "for valour" to members of the National Front who "defended the hall" when anti-fascist student Kevin Gately got killed. The 40th should have gone to Mr Cadogan, but in French — for "valeur". Not valour but value.

## A pointer to the times

It may or may not have escaped your notice that coverage of the libertarian movement, the "Far-Left" and even the activities of all "Left" of the Labour Party are now reported, in general, not by the political correspondents of newspapers but by the crime correspondents. The motive behind this is stated generally to be the need for liaison with Special Branch since the political police now represent the major fact of power in this country. The activities of private armies and so on, in which the "Far Right" are involved, are not only treated as a general fact about which no eyebrows need be raised, they are handled by general reporters according to the story — if there is one, since the existence of a private army in itself is one no longer.

## General Amin

Normally how the British Press would have loved this nice, jolly, large, but essentially reactionary dictator — as a sort of cleaned-up right-wing version of Pancho Villa! The following of independence by left-wing authoritarianism in the form of President Obote was too much to bear. An Army coup and out he went: in came the bouncing ex-corporal with his extrovert mannerisms that made him a perfect set-up to be patronised by the English Sahibs who trained him and the bouncy upstart who would have had an ideal love-hate relationship with the Americans . . . .

Only it didn't work out that way because when he had power he took it seriously. Once again the big financial interests were fooled. Used to wielding power because of the purse — something engrained in capitalism and indeed confirmed as scientific by Marxism — they put up a monkey, as in the case of Hitler, to chase out the sheep. And it's chased them out too.

The rich Asians loved the idea of a law-and-order President. He turned on them as alien capitalists and condemned them as a community. Then he bit the hand that fed him in the case of the English capitalists. The playing about with the life of author Denis Hills has finally brought home to the latter that they put up the wrong monkey. He now shops around for Russian or Chinese support so that he can stand out against them by dipping into another purse.

Fifteen years is a long time after production to notice a film but having picked up "The Siege of Sidney Street" on late night TV it is a shame not to mention it for posterity as an example of cinematic rubbish. Trying to base itself on an actual incident it failed dismally with its "anarchists" talking vaguely of "The Cause" but never explaining it lest cinema-goers be contaminated with libertarian ideas, but behaving like cinema thugs. Best of all the actual Anarchist Club in Jubilee Street is brought in. But it is entirely Russian. All Jewish associations removed for fear of upsetting modern susceptibilities. Yet the image of "anarchism" will be built up as much by such films as by years of propaganda!

# OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM

IN OUR LAST two issues we discussed the *Objections to Anarchism from a Bolshevik — Leninist and a Social — Democratic point of view.* Phil Ruff here expands on the objections from the point of view of Bolshevism. In the next issue our original contributor resumes his series with the objections from other points of view.

**ON THE STATE.** Marx and Engels saw the State as being "...an organisation, the main object of which has ever been to secure by armed force, the economic subjection of the working majority to the wealthy minority". With the 'disappearance' of that ruling minority, they held, so the 'necessity' for the State disappears, too. Lenin described the State (in 1918) as "...an organ for oppression and robbery of the people." It has been this in the past he said, but in the future it would change; since those who controlled it had changed. He and his party would then be in control!

But this 'revolutionary' State was only to be a transitional thing — "We need revolutionary government, we need (for a certain transitional period) a State. This is what distinguishes us from the anarchists" — and would be different from a "bourgeois" State: "...in accordance with Marx and the lessons of the Paris Commune, I advocate not the usual parliamentary bourgeois State, but a State without a standing army, without a police force opposed to the people, without an officialdom placed above the people" (April 1917). So convinced was he of his own words that he created the Cheka, the Red Army and fathered the vast bureaucracy of the Comintern! He overthrew not the Czar, but the workers' councils. Lettish mercenaries acting as police put the Bolsheviks in a superior position from the start, and the Party's "revolutionary" appeal to the people was made more persuasive by removing their critics on the left (anarchists, Mensheviks, SR's) by the use of armed force. The only answer possible came from an SR, Dora Kaplan — she attempted to assassinate Lenin.

Forgetting that his 'revolutionary' State would have neither police nor army, Lenin devoted his next book, *State and Revolution*, to attacking the anarchist demands for immediate abolition of the State machine. State and Revolution, wrongly tagged as being "anarchistic", attacked the anarchists in exactly the same way as Marx had done by claiming that because we demand the immediate abolition of the State we are therefore "laying down our arms" (Marx and Engels). On this basis we are accused of allying ourselves with counter-revolution; because, they say we will refuse to defend the revolution against attack. Nowhere will you see them admit that the anarchist detachments of Makhno stopped Wrangel capturing Moscow, or that it was the anarchist workers in Spain who denied victory to Franco for three years during the Civil War and have borne the brunt of the resistance ever since.

We are criticised for attacking the Marxist "dictatorship of the proletariat" "...the proletariat armed and organised as the ruling class" (Lenin) and our reply that it is a dictatorship of the Party over the workers, and the leaders over that Party, is countered by the Trotskyists with the argument that all blame lies with Stalin and Zinoviev: even after their own Guru wrote:



"Stalin took possession of power, not with the aid of personal qualities, but with the aid of an impersonal machine. And it was not he who created the machine, but the machine that created him". The creators of the machine which created Stalin were Lenin and Trotsky!

**UTOPIAN?** Marx and Engels, themselves, agreed with the anarchists that "anarchy" — the condition of society — "...once the aim of the proletarian movement, the abolition of classes has been attained..." was the goal of the revolution. But for them freedom was a vague abstraction only realisable somewhere in the distant future. Until that time an iron dictatorship was necessary to protect the socialist reconstruction of society. The actions of Lenin were tailored to the circumstances of the First World War — not Utopia. His theoretical conclusions were geared to the conquest of power by his party. In applying Marx's conception of reality, Lenin, Trotsky and Co., only substituted themselves as rulers. The end — anarchy — was lost in the means — dictatorship.

Classical Marxism saw no further than workers' control of industry, even when it realised that part control and the existence of the State machine was destructive to this. Our belief in Utopia is called a "petty — bourgeois" illusion — because for them freedom is an illusion in which they have no faith. But without an understanding of what the struggle is about, without the vision of Utopia, the struggle is lost. "By reaching for the impossible, man discovers the possible, and those who limit themselves to what seems possible will never advance a single step" (Bakunin). To condemn Utopia for the mere fact that it is Utopian is rightist, conservative and an obstacle to bringing a Utopia any nearer.

**PERSONAL ATTACK** The article which began this series mentioned that Marxism "...concentrates its attack not on anarchism, but on anarchists", and it is a point worth expanding upon. All the more so because of its hypocrisy.

Godwin and Proudhon, the first anarchists (and precursors of the anarchist movement) were also the first to come under the rain of abuse slung by Marx and Engels at revolutionary ideas. They also provide a good example of the Marxist forked tongue. When Engels wrote *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, in 1845, he proudly reported that "...Proudhon's Property also circulates among working men..." and later ended a letter to Proudhon with the words "May I say that your writings have left me with the greatest respect for you". And Godwin, too, received warm praise in the same volume as one of "...the two great practical philosophers of latest date...almost exclusively the property of the proletariat..." Yet only two years later both Marx and Engels were locked in a savage battle to rid themselves of their anarchist critics.

Marx devoted a whole book, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, to condemning Proudhon as "...a holy man, a pope" who "...sings the glories of the petty bourgeoisie", "a conservative" and a "sublimely naive doctrinaire" who "foams at the mouth" a characterisation with which Engels fully agreed. Seeing power slip from his grasp, Engels moaned in 1873, "...I express regret that for twenty years the workers speaking Romance languages have had no other mental pabulum than the works of Proudhon..."

But while Godwin and Proudhon may have been the first to have their praises withdrawn by Marx and Engels, it was Bakunin who bore the full brunt of their wrath for his role in fathering the anarchist movement. Bakunin had been praised by Engels for his part in the Dresden revolt of 1848-49. The German workers, wrote Engels, found in Bakunin a "...capable



# IGNACIO PEREZ BEOTAGUI

Now, while you are reading this article, Ignacio Perez Beotagui is being tortured in a Spanish prison. He made many friends in London, where his family live. He is 24 years old, a student and an active member of the Basque Liberation Movement. He is not a Nationalist, and certainly not a Marxist-Leninist; he worked with Libertarians. He went back to Spain in order to further the struggle and fell into the hands of the police. He is now accused of complicity in the murder of Carrero Blanco and various other acts. He is being tortured until he "confesses" and this, in the twentieth century, will be taken as an admission of guilt.

As the police cannot break him they are spreading lies about him. The Spanish press refers to him as a "common criminal"; but at the same time, sufficiently political to have "betrayed his companions"! It is said that innumerable arrests made since his capture are due to his talking: an old and tried way of dividing a person accused from his comrades outside.

Perhaps, indeed, it will be too late and by the time this article is printed he will have faced the "vile garrotte" — like Salvador Puig Antich. If he does not, it will be because the government dare not risk the same outbreak of popular indignation throughout the world that Puig's murder caused in its time. The Franco Government will have nothing to do with clemency.

When Ignacio entered the prison infirmary, his face was distorted. He was barely recognisable by his lawyer. His mother was not allowed to visit him. Only a few months before he was travelling around British Universities speaking on political trials in Burgos and the tortures in Spain. Did his audiences think what he said was exaggerated? Now he faces the same tortures himself.

## Objections to Anarchism

and cool leader..” Yet he too soon became a “charlatan”, “I ignoramus” and “a man devoid of all theoretical knowledge..” For inheriting Proudhon's anarchist ideas, Bakunin also received confirmation by Marx and Engels as “Pope Bakunin”.

Strangely enough, Marx's copy of Bakunin's book, Statism and Anarchism, later revealed, through Marx's marginal notes, that many of Bakunin's ideas exerted a deep and lasting influence on his later work. So ignorant this “Pope” that even his lord God Marx is influenced!

Marx and Engels were both fond of taunting the anarchists to put their ideas into practise and see what would happen. “Go and run one of the big Barcelona factories without authority!” “Go and abolish all authority, even with consent among the sailors on a ship!” Engels challenged. When it was put to the test in Spain — one of the places bemoaned by Marx and Engels for their adherence to anarchism not Marxism — that is exactly what the anarchists did! The workers in Barcelona their “big factories” without the authority of bosses, the peasants did collectivise their farms, and the sailors did manage to carry out Engels' taunt and run their ships on libertarian principles (see “Anarchy in the Navy” by P.E. Newell - Anarchy 15).

Spain also brings us on to the attacks of Marx's inheritors, Lenin and Trotsky, who perfected the tactic of personal attack.

**BETRAYERS OF ANARCHISM?** The Marxists have never ceased predicting (or hoping?) that anarchism in Spain would soon breathe its last. The same Trotsky who boasted of finally ridding Russia of anarchism “with an iron broom” predicted in 1933 that “No matter how the Spanish revolution develops, it will at least put an end to anarchism once and for all”. Then again, in 1939, Trotsky maintained that anarchism died with the entry of individual anarchists into the Republican Government. Amazingly, what he is attacking Garcia Oliver and Federica Montseny for here is not their being anarchists, but their betrayal of anarchism! “...it is no exaggeration to say that the leaders of Spanish anarcho-sindicalism did everything to repudiate their doctrine and virtually reduced its significance to zero”. He attacks anarchists for ignoring political participation, and he attacks them for making use of it!

This is a method of attack not unfamiliar to Trotsky. In criticising Kropotkin's brief support for France at the start of World War I — for which Kropotkin was also rightly criticised by the bulk of the anarchist movement — what he is implying is

that Kropotkin is not wrong for being an anarchist, but for not being sufficiently anarchistic.

“The superannuated anarchist Kropotkin made use of the war to disavow everything he had been teaching for almost a century”. And again when Kropotkin spoke at the Moscow state conference in 1918, “Kropotkin insisted upon a confederative republic: We need a federation such as they have in the United States”. This is what Bakunin's federation of free communes had come down to! But search as you may (I have) you will not find a single instance in Trotsky's voluminous writings where he answers the case for anarchism.

Was Lenin any better? Trotsky, the butcher of Kronstadt and betrayer of Makhno, made no pretence of his hatred for anarchism, but Lenin usually remained concealed behind a screen of diplomatic silence. Nevertheless, Lenin could be equally vicious, both verbally and physically, towards the Russian anarchists.

It was Lenin who ordered the systematic arrest and extermination of his revolutionary opposition, particularly the growing anarchist movement of the period. At the time he excused this to foreign visitors by saying that “only bandits were being arrested by the Cheka. Real anarchists, Soviet anarchists, were at liberty to expound their ideals and conduct their meetings without fear of repression.” To support this claim Lenin praised Kropotkin's The Great French Revolution and Mutual Aid, and offered to print his entire works by the thousand; he welcomed Makhno in Moscow with real “affection” (Serge) when he needed the Ukrainian peasants of the anarchist guerrilla detachments to defeat the Czarist generals in the South; and Trotsky recalled that he and Lenin had “...seriously considered at one time allotting certain territories to the Anarchists...and letting them carry on their experiment of a stateless social order there..” In reality the mineral rich Ukraine occupied by Makhno was too valuable to the hoped for expansion of Soviet industry, and if successful the “experiment” would have provided the Russian people with a dangerously practical example of stateless socialism. But as history's irony would have it, Lenin did finally allot the anarchists an area in which to live - Siberia!

Stalin at this juncture was still lurking in the shadows. The ‘betrayal’ of the revolution of which Trotsky was so fond of consoling himself with in Mexican exile was merely a quarrel between rival gangsters in the Kremlin after the revolution had long since been suppressed.

Phil Ruff

# Germany

Margit Czenki and Bettina Vake have been on hunger strike in Aichach prison, near Munich, since July 9. They tried to organise a petition to present to the Bavarian Parliament demanding:

- 1) An end to slave labour: they were made to wear alienating and oppressive work, e.g. sewing stripes onto uniforms, which they refused to do, and demanded an end to this kind of work for all prisoners.
- 2) Equal treatment for all prisoners; they petitioned for an end to different categories of prisoners, e.g. privileges like watching TV were denied to some prisoners.
- 3) Opportunities for vocational training.
- 4) To be allowed to form discussion groups about the problems of women in prison.

They were discovered attempting to smuggle the petition out of prison (signed by a group of prisoners). As a result Margit

was placed in isolation, which meant total isolation from the other inmates, and only half an hour's exercise each day. In solidarity with her Bettina also started a hunger strike, and she was also placed in an isolation unit. Margit has stated that they will continue the hunger strike until they are released from isolation.

On the night of July 28, 1975, the 2nd June Movement (anarchist guerrillas) sprayed the prison walls with luminous paint, calling for the arrest and imprisonment by the people of the prison governor, Erwin Schroeber, the release of Margit, Bettina and all prisoners. They added that if either of the women died, or fell seriously ill as a result of the hunger strike, then the prison governor would also die. (This group successfully kidnapped CDU politician Peter Lorenz in exchange for another group of prisoners).

Margit Czenke has been in prison since 1971, when she was sentenced to 6½ years imprisonment for attempting to rob a bank to raise money for childrens playgrounds (the robbery was successful and the money never recovered).

Venceremos, SPECIAL KOMMANDO AICHACH, Movement June 2.

## David May acquitted

**Congratulations to David May on striking a blow for press freedom—financially onerous as it has been for him to get acquitted (we have the finest justice money can buy). He must pay his costs — the judge begrudged them to him — but the jury cleared him.**

He was charged with dishonestly handling a stolen document — the identity card of banker Suarez, kidnapped by the Spanish Resistance. His informant gave it to him in London to establish his credentials, and to inform him of the demands made by the kidnapers. Had he informed the police who it was who gave him the document, he would not have been prosecuted. Everyone else who handled the document — the Fleet Street news agency to whom he sold the story — were not accused. Only in his hands did it become “stolen” property as the police Chief Superintendent candidly admitted. It seems there is a thin dividing line between what constitutes blackmail and what does not.

David May as a journalist, would not divulge the identity of his informant. The prosecution threw it at him that the man's life was in danger by “bloodthirsty” ruffians. The Spanish Resistance is no more “bloodthirsty” than the men who kidnapped Eichmann. They did not do it to release one or two of their number (as stated in court) — they tried to get the Spanish Government to obey its own laws and apply conditional liberty as

guaranteed by its own constitution. This, it is true, would mean a hundred political prisoners would go free. They also asked for the return of the CNT's union funds — and these were returned — though the French police have seized them.

The prosecutor Mr Michael Worsley made a surprising attack upon this paper though he gave none of the people advice of his intention to name them in court or of the accusations to be made. He alleged Black Flag had published a list of the kidnapper's demands and implied that it was in close touch with them. He cited Octavio Alberola as responsible for the kidnapping (though he is on bail now — curious for such a serious charge?) together with the two women, one French and one British, arrested and charged with him (but not for kidnapping). He constantly named Stuart Christie as the mysterious Mr. X, the “go-between”; and asked David May if he had seen Christie or “a man named Meltzer”. (In point of fact the latter has never even met David May). Yet the police have never come round and asked us directly. In the course of raids carried out by the French police in this country (accompanied by a Scotland Yard Superintendent to give them some cover of legality) Stuart Christie's flat was “visited” in his absence. But that is all.

Why was David May silent? Was there not another reason apart from the desire to protect his sources of information? We suggest there was. He knew full well that the British police and French police have co-operated in this matter with the Spanish police. The French examining magistrate has given names of Spaniards to the Spanish police and they have been arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment inside Spain (Edo, Ferrer and Urbano, etc.). The amount of correspondence he has received from all over the world (organised by the Black Cross) has shaken him to the core.

David May was asked by Worsley to “write down” the name of his informant and just hand it over in court. When he refused to do so he asked if he were afraid. No he was not personally afraid. But he was too smart to fall for a despicable con trick like that. He would have been writing down a sentence of torture or death on someone in Spain. He preferred to go to an English jail himself than send someone to a Spanish one for “illegal association”. Was a man's life in danger as Worsley said? It was, but not in the way he meant.





# SLA: THE BACKGROUND

On January 10, 1974, Joseph Remiro, a 28 year old Vietnam War veteran, founder of the East Bay Chapter of Vietnam Veterans against War, and ex- San Francisco Sacred Heart High School graduate, was arrested together with Russel Little, a 25 year old ex-philosophy student at the University of California, and charged with having conspired together in the killing of Marcus Foster, the Oakland Superintendent of Public Schools, and the wounding of his assistant, Robert Blackburn. The information which led to these arrests and charges came from a spy infiltrated into the Symbionese Liberation Army.

The trial began in April 1975 and ended in June. The jury brought in a guilty verdict after deliberating for eleven days, during which time they asked for the re-reading of testimony on a number of occasions, and clarification of the Judge's instructions. On June 26, 1975, Judge E.S. Sheeby sentenced both men to life imprisonment.

In an interview after the trial, Judge Sheeby stated: "...it was such an involved case...if they had brought in an acquittal I wouldn't have been shaken at all." In another interview one juror, A.E. Gilding, also stated: "What they heard...was Little and Remiro asking questions that revealed a sophisticated knowledge of the Oakland School Board and its security problems." These two statements pose the question that had Little and Remiro remained silent might they have been acquitted?

## LITTLE AND REMIRO'S REASONS FOR NOT REMAINING SILENT

Kathie Stroom of the Berkeley Barb gave a full and extensive report of the development of the trial in the columns of her weekly newspaper. It was through her that the following statement by Little and Remiro was made public in its issue of April 25, 1975

*In our first statement concerning this so-called trial, we made it clear that we have nothing but contempt for these hysterically staged proceedings and everything the Amerikkan empire stands for. We refused to play the part of circus attractions because our participation will in no way change the script of "guilty by circumstantial evidence" that the government has put together with lies, to ensure our conviction.*

*Our feelings about the impossibility of fair or impartial trials have in no way changed or modified. If anything, our views on the deliberate nature of fascist courts have again been confirmed by the process of jury selection, which allowed the DA to pick a jury composed mainly of persons financially dependent on government jobs — with only one young person and no non-White or poor people.*

*Originally, we stated that we did not want to be present in the courtroom during this government action against our freedom. The DA, for the first time in 15 months, sat quietly without objection. He actually hoped that we would sit silently, in the basement, while he freely spouted his perverted reactionary politics in this circus, which he assured each juror would not be a political trial.*

*For three days he has been parading around the courtroom, running his mouth, thinking that he was going to be allowed to go on indefinitely with his fascist distortions.*

*Knowing that we are not guilty of these charges, he assumed that we would be too worried about jeopardizing ourselves in the minds of already prejudiced jurors to defend revolutionary politics.*

*On Thursday, we moved — we entered the courtroom and demanded that we be allowed to speak in defence of ourselves and our politics by personally questioning certain witnesses. The judge, in a feeble attempt to cloud the blatant injustice of Amerikkan courts, admitted that we did have the right to speak in our own behalf.*

*This concession again exposes the State's mad-dog racist actions against Ruchell Magee who has for years been denied the right to act as his own counsel.*

*Since the State's star witness, Robert Blackburn, was forced by our attorneys to admit that he could not identify either his or Foster's assailants, the DA has decided to open up the full spectrum of the politics surrounding this case.*

*In an attempt to further prejudice the jurors against us, and propagate the ideology of corporate fascism, the DA is presenting bastardised accounts of the political controversy preceding Foster's assassination, and of our personal backgrounds as political activists.*

*We intend to confront this bullshit head-on by questioning his witnesses and pointing out the contradictions between their testimony and objective reality. We are motivated by our political understanding and revolutionary commitment to deal, on all levels with the realities of this fascist dictatorship.*

**Life and Freedom to the People.**

## THE REALITY OF THE FOSTER PLAN

In the same issue of the Berkeley Barb Kathie Stroom gave the following report of the information brought to light by Little and Remiro in their cross-examination of the chief prosecution witness:

*The murder trial of Russell Little and Joseph Remiro raises many more complicated questions than merely: who killed Marcus Foster? While the District Attorney is presenting a case designed to convict Little and Remiro of guilt-by-association, the defendants are bringing into focus the situation in the Oakland School System that led to the murder of Foster.*

*Two weeks ago, the prosecutor called John Lenser, a high-ranking official with the California Council on Crime Justice (CCCJ), to the stand. The DA told the court he intended to use Lenser's testimony to prove that the Symbionese Liberation Army mis-interpreted the CCCJ's proposal for security measures within the Oakland schools. Lenser was the author of that proposal which was supposedly aimed at combatting violence, vandalism and truancy in the schools.*

*Lenser squirmed in his seat throughout the cross-examination. He is a man whose life is devoted to enforcing the law, with most of his experience in the field of probation. He is currently executive director of the Alameda Regional Criminal Justice Planning Board, one of 21 planning boards under the direction of the CCCJ in the state. He did not enjoy being interrogated by a suspected SLA member.*

*Remiro's voice was calm as he questioned the witness about the various measures stated in the proposal.*

## THE FOSTER PLAN

*On August 31, 1973, Dr. Marcus Foster submitted an application to the CCCJ for a grant under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. Under the terms of the application, the Oakland Schools would receive federal funding for instituting a programme called Reduction of Truancy, Vandalism and Violence in Urban Schools.*

*The programme called for the co-operative effort of the Oakland Unified School District, the Oakland Police Department, the Alameda County Probation Department, the California Youth Department and the Alameda County Juvenile Courts to maintain security on the campuses.*

*The programme called for the hiring of 150 additional people to create a spy network in seven secondary schools. The project established a safety director with at least three years of police experience at the rank of Lieutenant to oversee the entire programme. The safety director would be assisted by a "safety and security team," headed by a person with a strong background in police work at the rank of Sergeant.*

# TO THE FOSTER KILLING

*The third level of command, the "truancy reduction team, would act as an effective cadre to maintain order, prohibit violence vandalism and loitering and enforce school rules."*

*A parole officer would be assigned to each school to provide "technical assistance." A list of truant students would be formulated by each school on a daily basis. The school would site all truants to the Probation Department.*

*Every student would be issued with an identification card that must be carried whenever he or she is on the campus. Students who don't carry their cards could be detained by security officers if stopped for an ID check.*

*Security officers would also have the authority to arrest a student who breaks the rules, including those found smoking in school bathrooms or talking to friends (loitering) in the hallways. Even if a student is not formally arrested for breaking the rules, security officers would write up a report on every student who was stopped for questioning. Those reports would be filed with the Oakland Police Department for the rest of the student's life.*

*Although Marcus Foster originally denied that security officers on campus would be armed, Lenser admitted under cross-examination that funds had been allocated to purchase shotguns for some of the officers patrolling the more troublesome areas.*

## SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

*When the plans for this project reached the public, the school board became the target of a storm of protest from community groups. The coalition to Save Our Schools, an organisation of parents, students and some teachers from throughout Oakland, was the first group to oppose the proposal. At a school board meeting two weeks before Foster was murdered, a co-ordinator of that group told the board: "I am outraged. Why don't you give the instructional assistants a decent pay hike instead of putting police in the schools?"*

*The Coalition turned in the petitions with over 1900 signatures opposing the project to the Oakland Board of Education. The Coalition says that 95% of all students questioned were opposed to the project.*

*Lenser said that Foster complained to him about the way the proposal was worded — calling it "ammunition for radicals." The proposal was subsequently revised three times, although Remiro forced Lenser to admit that only the wording was changed; the actual plans remained the same*

## DISCARDING THE FOSTER PLAN

*Following the failure of the Coalition to prevent the introduction of the Foster Plan into Oakland schools the Symbionese Liberation Army acted. The Oakland School Board which had ignored the pleas of the Coalition immediately discarded the Foster Plan. The revolutionary action of the SLA achieved what all the pleas of the children's parents had failed to achieve.*

*It was Little and Remiro's cross-examination of John Lenser which exposed the insidious Foster Plan for what it was. Before we denounce the action of the SLA we must first of all ask what was of more importance — the life of a conniving police informer whose scheme was intended to degrade hundreds of thousands of children by branding them as criminals, or to prevent this very thing?*

*We can only admire the unique and courageous revolutionary act of Little and Remiro in cross-examining witnesses, knowing full well that they were thereby jeopardising their chances of acquittal. To that point the only evidence against them was purely circumstantial as admitted by the trial judge and juryman. The evidence as adduced by Little and Remiro has fully vindicated the action of the SLA in assassinating Foster.*

## LITTLE AND REMIRO'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE

The following extracts from Little and Remiro's statements in court, with their backs to the judge and facing the public gallery, prior to sentence appeared in the Berkeley Barb of July 18-24.

*"This is supposed to be a big deal," Remiro said smiling, "but I can't really get excited about it. Revolution excites me. I'm supposed to throw myself at the mercy of this court and promise never to be bad again, but I can't do that.*

*"The lowest charge they can give me is a life sentence, and if you have any politics at all, you don't get out of prison. They call me a terrorist and I'm proud of it. They called the SLA terrorists and killed those people in Los Angeles."*

*"We've got 11 charges to go and it's all the same show." Remiro continued. "It's really good to see you all here anyway. I hope you have a nice day. I will."*

*The spectators applauded and Judge Sheeby read the life sentence. Next, Russell Little took a seat on the defence table, also with his back to the judge. Little read from a five page statement he prepared while in the hole at the Oakland jail.*

*"When this racist DA makes such a big deal out of a black man's execution, people should ask themselves why," Little began. "He didn't care when Oakland pigs murdered Bobby Hutton back in 1968! Was he concerned when three Emeryville pigs shot an unarmed black man-child named Tyrone Guyton, and left him to die in the gutter? No, this DA subverted three grand jury investigations into Tyrone Guyton's death!*

*"When all the 'Great White Fathers' of this city — like Mayor Reading, the late William Knowland, the chief of police and this scummy DA — lament the death of a black man, it's obviously because that man was useful to them and not because he made great advances for black people!"*

*Little said the verdict was reached by a jury of the "DA's peers" and neither he nor Remiro expected justice from the courts.*

*"We hope that the guerrilla forces will remember Comrade George's statements about combatting state terrorism with revolutionary counter-terrorism," Little continued.*

*The spectators cheered Little's speech, and he sat down while the sentence was read.*

*A communique from the Black Liberation Army appeared at the sentencing in support of Little and Remiro. In part, that communique says:*

*"We say to you, comrades, rage on; rage on like the raging wind of the world-wide people's revolution. Our rage is your rage. It is that raging torch of freedom and revolution passed from one hand to another. That same torch has passed through the hands of Comrades George and Johnathan Jackson, Comrades Sostre, Shakur, the San Quentin Six, the Attica brothers, the six comrades in L.A. and the countless nameless, faceless, anonymous soldiers of the people's army."*

*The San Francisco Examiner gave this brief extract from Little and Remiro's statement in its issue of June 27:*

*"Our conviction is nothing. We do not recognise it. It only confirms our beliefs.*

*"A lot of people out on the street wonder why college student white folks join urban guerrilla groups. In school they are told that this great country of ours is based on freedom and justice for all when actually these lofty ideals form a smoke-screen to hide a reactionary system."*

Continued overleaf







# Complaints Department

We have received a letter of four closely typed pages (amounting to about three pages of our space) from one Seamas Cain of Minnesota. He complains of an article by Marcus Graham in an internal bulletin published in the States, which we don't receive, and expects us to publish it all.

He complains that "though we acknowledged many Anarchists in America had written objections to Graham's SLA article" (many also expressed support) we did not print these letters but gave a summary of the contents. The letters all said more or less the same thing. Had we published those for and against we would have filled a book. "This seems to be a characteristic of one-man directed publications" he complains. We are not one-man, or one-woman, directed. But it is a characteristic of publications full stop. We reproduce however some of his letter.

He starts by saying "The Black Flag group have sent me their publication free of their own volition since beginning. I assume therefore they think I exist". Here speaks the complete free-loader. He assumes we send him the paper free out of some tribute to his personality. We suppose we got his name originally from his writing in and asking for it. We hate taking people off lists when we think they are active. He isn't in sympathy with us but takes the paper and never pays and never responds. No wonder we've got a deficit. Later he says "I regard the Black Flag as an informative, at times entertaining and often helpful publication." (Then why don't you cough up, you tight fisted git?). He is only antagonised by our "rejection of the State capitalist critique" and the "retrogressionist rantings" by Marcus Graham, and presumably Martin Sostre, on the SLA.

"It is curious that the Black Flag group, who normally express such an interest in the "darker side" of Anarchism, should favour a man like Graham who (having cut himself off from the living libertarian movement in America) has nothing left but to attach himself to the fringe of hot worshippers of assorted Stalinist terrorist movements. Neither Graham nor Black Flag have ever presented a summary of the true Anarchist "terrorism" in America during the last ten years.

I find it strange and curious that the Black Flag group, who when meddling in the Spanish movement, usually "support" young militants against old or tired militants...yet, when meddling in the American movement, Black Flag invariably does the exact opposite.

It should be pointed out that there are anarchists who oppose political-abduction for some of the same reasons Kropotkin gave in criticizing Lenin for the taking of hostages. It should also be pointed out that the majoritarian elements in the armies of Makhno and Zapata and the libertarian militias in the Spanish Revolution

did not take prisoners (by which I do not mean that they killed prisoners) but that they disarmed the enemy and let them go. This was seen as an aspect of libertarian principle as well as procedure. And in spite of constant attacks (because of this) by Trotsky in the Russian Revolution and the Stalinists in the Spanish Revolution.

Camilla Hall worked for the Welfare Department in Duluth for a time. Between Welfare Liberalism and a-grocery-bag-to-the-poor-at-the-point-of-a-gun there is not much of a leap in terms of ideas. I know second graders who could think of better demands than did the SLA.

The statements and proclamations of the SLA stink of gentry attitudes...condescending, paternalistic, "love" to "the poor", the noble obligations, just the sort of thing you would expect out of the dry mouth of the Queen of England (or her relatives) I suggest that if the SLA had issued such proclamations or statements in England...that comrade Meltzer et al would have been among the first to ridicule them as a type of social elitism. Why then does comrade Meltzer allow a double standard or a lower standard for the living Movement in America? The statements of the SLA also plainly reveal the gentry social-origin of the bulk of their partisans".

Seamas Cain has a good point in attacking the language used by the SLA. He is correct. It should also be stated that the same criticism applies to many movements. The SLA uses "gentry" language; the Baader Meinhof "Marxist" language; a lot of the resistance in Spain falls into the trap of either "democratic anti-fascist" or "che-guevarist" language. Anarchists should be able to teach them better. But what sort of language does Cain use? Not only does he refer to the "darker side of Anarchism", but MEDDLING IN THE AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY! It is the pure language of chauvinism, nationalism, patriotic prejudice and oppression.

We never attack those who are "old and tired". It is understandable, especially when you consider this is what you have to put up with in the course of your life. We attack in Spain the reformist elements who sold out. In the Cain language they are "old" (but they did so 40 years ago). Equally old are those who have never compromised and go on struggling (among many others we cite the example of Miguel Garcia who is 67). There are young compromisers too. (Some are students). In Cain's beloved proud America there are some old people like Graham (and many others) who have not sold out just as there are young people who keep the faith...and vice versa. It is not "old and young" that divides, notwithstanding the cant of commercial hippies.

# Idiot of the Month

Ex-Panther Eldridge Cleaver has renounced the Panthers and Marxism and turned to commercial ventures not a million miles from the hippy scene. He advertises a "pair of leather pants with a pouch for the penis and testicles". A "sexual revolution" he says (familiar words) a "negotiated settlement between man and woman.. it'll make all other men's pants look like girl's clothes".

But the Duchess of Bedford has already made her negotiated settle-

ment with "man" in her bestseller Nicole Nobody in which she describes how she was "raped" 29 years ago. An "awakening every woman should experience". He came in "pushed her gently" on the bed and "we stayed together three days". Rape? That was all he thought of, every day we were together. The Duchess makes our first female Idiot of the Month. She takes the Maudling Prize — a weekend in Woburn Abbey with a Duke and much good may it do her.



# We The People

The following is a text of a communication by Anarchists Anonymous: (in US occupied North America):—

From our popular tradition of State and Democratic rights, nullification and succession, rebellion and revolution, WE THE PEOPLE propose to secede from the government of the United States of America. The government of the United States of America has not been a good neighbour, to the native peoples of this continent or to the people of other countries of the world, preferring to meddle in their internal affairs (i.e. Native America Tribal Nations, Canada, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Venezuela, Hawaii, Nicaragua, Colombia, Panama, Mexico, Chile, Vietnam, Korea, Spain, Congo, Dominican Republic, and Cyprus, to mention but a few). The government of the United States of America has promoted vast distinctions of wealth and power among the people. The government of the United States has failed to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty (and community) to ourselves and our posterity. Since no living person has ratified the constitution of the United States of America we are not bound to follow any of the laws, pay any of the taxes or levies, or contribute to the defence of the government of the United States of America. And, to help relieve us of one source of misery, and to help relieve politicians of their illusions and their jobs, we propose the following: AMMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA :— The preamble, Articles 1 through XXIV inclusive, and any and all amendments to the constitution and government of the United States of America are declared NULL AND VOID.

Bearing in mind the danger that we might be landed with it again, we propose the following:— Repatriation of the Royal Family; Dissolution of Magna Carta and the Act of Union, and the dissolution of the Houses of Parliament; Revocation of the Norman Conquest and the Act of Succession; Getting the constitution finally written down, and then tearing it up. This will at least mean there will be nowhere for the American capitalists to go back to. And it'll do for starters.

GET THE UNITED KINGDOM OUT OF GREAT BRITAIN Anarchists anonymous on offshore Europe

# Mexico

(The authenticity of the following information cannot be confirmed or refuted by our correspondent. He does feel, however, that it is sufficiently likely to warrant publication in B.F.).

An American of Mexican parentage who lived most of his early life in South Texas, but ultimately returned to Mexico and who emphatically wished to remain anonymous told me there is a more than business-like relationship between the organised narcotics smugglers in the Northern Mexican states and the wide-spread revolutionary movements on the borders and in the southern mountains of Guerrero.

A bit of background is needed to understand the significance of this. For years, the narcotics smuggling trade has been the sole property of the police and Federales along the border.

Nothing moved across the border without the express permission of the Federales, obtained by bribing them. The big deals were all handled direct, with the assistance of the Mexican officials in avoiding their American counterparts (a false ambush ten miles to the east perhaps so as to miss the actual smuggling party when it came ashore).

About ten to twelve years ago, the dope pedlars in Texas went "amateur". The Syndicate eventually lost control of the marijuana business because it simply wasn't profitable to attempt to control the scores of smugglers and dealers in the large Gulf Coast cities.

The price per pound dropped dramatically, but the price per ounce stayed about the same. Small dealers took over.

Correspondingly, since they neither had the money nor the connections to bribe the Mexican Federales, the Texas dealers began to go direct to the Central Mexico ranches that supplied most of the product and cut the "middlemen" — the Federales — out. The risk was greater, but in Texas firearms are available to any citizen, whereas in Mexico only the authorities have easy access to arms. The poor have almost no access at all. Eventually, the Mexican side of the "run" was handled by students or peasants who were willing to risk a lot for what they saw as a fantastic return. An all or nothing proposition. If one got caught, well, a few years in prison was not completely unavoidable — but just part of the job.

The authorities, of course, began to suffer financially. In effect, the Federales began to patrol the border for real for the first time in years. And they weren't taking prisoners when they caught a "run". It took only a few shooting incidents for two things to happen. One, the faint-hearted got out of the smuggling business and into something a little less dangerous. Two, the demand for guns across the border skyrocketed.

In 1973 a high police official was assassinated on the streets of Juarez by several men in a red Mustang with an M-16 automatic rifle. Things began to get serious. Running guns south became as lucrative as running marijuana north.

As a result of the common battle with the government and the mutual need for clandestine security there is a certain amount of support for revolutionary groups in Mexico. For a fee the underworld can supply any make or design of weapon. For a fee the underground will at least attempt to hit any police official in Mexico. The question is, to what degree are the revolutionaries mercenaries for the Mexican "Mafia" and how much influence does the wishes of the revolutionary groups influence the criminal organization? Or rather, organizations, because there are several most of which are urban, and only have rural contacts for the smuggling operation.

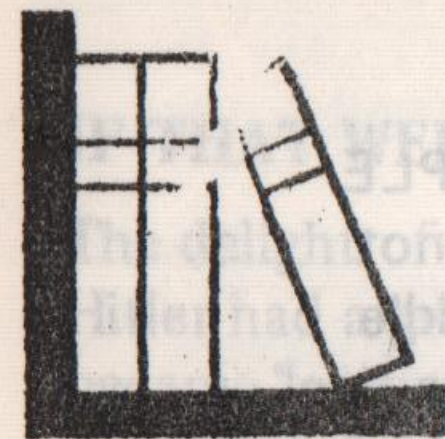
There is quite a tradition of bandito/guerrilla Robin Hood types in the southern states. It's almost a vocation: One son for the Army, one son for the Church, one son for the Revolution.. In any case, according to this man, there are hundreds of rural guerrillas, mostly peasants and artisans with a smattering of students on the run from the 60's who control virtually all the more inaccessible mountain areas and who operate unmolested at night in most of the more accessible farming areas. They are armed by the organised criminal groups (for a fee) and widely supported by the poorer farmers and farmworkers. In return for weapons they tolerate the cultivation of marijuana and the transport of cocaine and heroin through their sectors.

There are a few weak spots in this story. The most glaring is the dearth of hard news coming out of Mexico about all these guerrillas. The second is if the Mexican Mafia arms a guerrilla movement and assists them in occupying the mountains outside Acapulco they are in effect abandoning any claim to be controlling Mexico's second largest tourist industry. Unlikely, don't you think? Third, heroin moves by air. It's far too dear to be trucking around on burros or some such thing. Cocaine only slightly less so. That scotches that part of the story.

Like I said, I can neither affirm nor deny it.



## BOOK REVIEWS



**COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION**,  
Gaston Leval, trans. V. Richards, Freedom Press, 368pp,  
Paperback £2.00/ Cloth £4.00.

The significance of Collectivisation during the Spanish Civil War was the fact that it came into being more by necessity than by will. The trade-union movement had been organised in Spain, particularly Catalonia, on a decentralised basis, the unit being the locality, and control had rested with the membership, not the delegates — subject to instant recall and only one of whom (in 1936, with a million and a half members) was a paid official. When the fascist revolt took place the people rallied to the union halls, they were determined to resist a naked revolt of the capitalist class against progress.

It was natural that they should seize the factories which had been abandoned. This fitted in with the anarcho-sindicalist ideology of the unions. Government had abdicated. Behind the barricades there was a revolution going on.

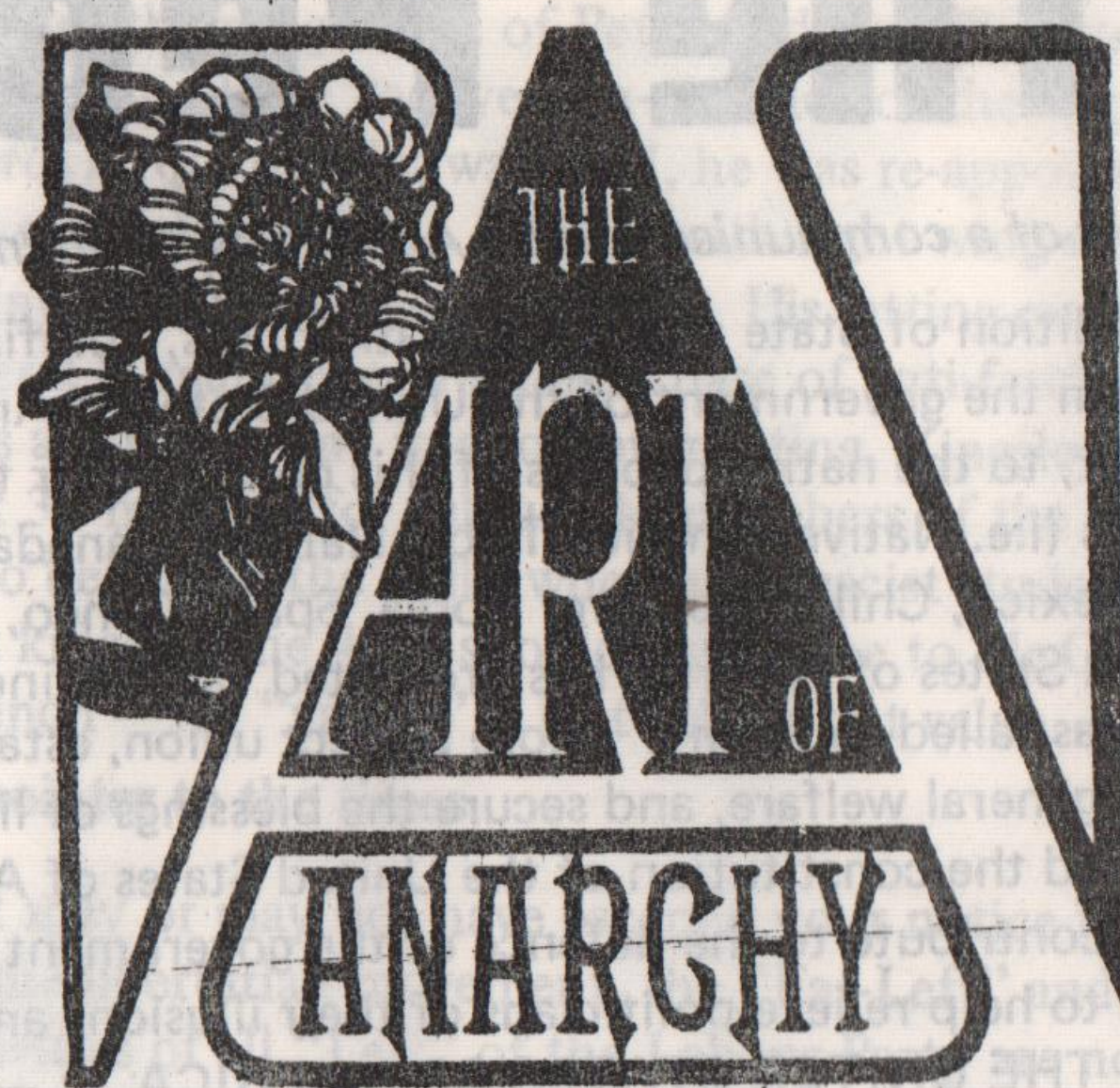
Strange that the Communist Party was so implacably opposed to the collectivisation that it preferred sending in an army to crush them rather than fighting fascism. Not so strange when one considers not merely the alarm of capitalism (at a time when the CP was wooing the French and British democracies) but the implicit threat to State communism. The whole excuse for proletarian dictatorship was undermined.

Gaston Leval tells the story of a few of the collectives. It is a formidable achievement out of the four hundred agricultural collectives in Aragon, nine hundred in the Levante and three hundred in Castile. In addition the WHOLE OF INDUSTRY in Catalonia and 70% of the Levante was under workers' control. The malicious, amused anecdotes about workers' control in Spain need not be accepted any longer. Gaston Leval gives the whole picture, warts and all. For those in Britain who dabble in the ideas of workers' control it is a salutary lesson. Not only was production maintained, but it proved that the State was not necessary at all. This book is certainly one of the most important contributions to the ideas of workers' control yet published in English. It is the story of the alternative socialism to nationalisation and workers' participation. Not in theory, but how it worked out in practice.

**ETHICS — ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT**,  
Peter Kropotkin, Prism Press, 349 pp, £1.95 p/back.

Although Kropotkin maintained his propagandist output in the final years of his life, his main concern was to resolve finally the question of ethics — the relationship of man to man — by removing it from the realm of metaphysics and establishing it as a science. The product of Kropotkin's energies first appeared in English translation in 1924, and are here reprinted in a facsimile of the First English edition as the final part of his ethical trilogy — MUTUAL AID, MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM, and the unfinished ETHICS, ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

In spite of the books' unfinished conclusion it is an excellent introduction to and anarchist analysis of moral principles in nature and in primitive peoples, the morality of Ancient Greece, Christianity, the enlightenment, and the ideas of the 19th century



### THE ART OF FLAVIO COSTANTINI

*The Art of Anarchy*, Cienfuegos Press, London, 52 pp, h/b £3.00

Flavio Costantini's illustrations of anarchism in action — direct action — are of quite exceptional interest, over and above their documentary value. The power of Costantini's meticulously delineated *tableaux* to jolt us into instant awareness resides in their purity: they avoid entirely the sentimental bombast and stylistic conformism that vitiates the work of most would-be revolutionary artists of modern times. Here, these anarchists meting out *class justice*, these expiring political and dynastic tyrants, these posturing policemen and soldiers, are caught, emotionless, in an inexorable moment of time: the moment of truth. No glorification or embellishment. But a sureness and subtlety of interpretation that is continually astonishing, an artistry that fixes its images firmly in our memory: at random — the fine unity of composition underlying the drawing of Ravachol with his companion Madeleine, momentarily relaxed in their rented room; the complex yet absolutely convincing perspective of the scene depicting Ravachol's excavation (fruitless, alas!) of the Baroness Rochetaille's tomb; the strong sensitive portraits of Sacco and Vanzetti... Documentary evidence at the level of true art.

Simon Watson Taylor

**THE AGE OF EXPANSION 1848-1917**, Weidenfeld & Nicolson,  
Marcus Cunliffe, h/b 336 pp, £4.95

A beautifully produced and — by present day prices — reasonably priced history outlining the rapid economic, social and political development of Western society and its cataclysmic effect on the rest of the world. Of particular interest to readers of *Black Flag* is the chapter on revolution which, despite the nast aspersions on the character of Nechaev (based entirely on Dostoevsky's description of him in *The Devils*), is quite sympathetic to the ideas of anarchism, and the author gives more space and credit to the importance of libertarian movements and ideas than is to be found in most other general histories of the same period. *The Age of Expansion* has 90 black and white illustrations, 16 pages of full colour illustrations (including two by Flavio Costantini — one of them in colour) and 8 maps. Although not very expensive compared to the price of most books today, it is not the sort of book one would rush out and buy on the spur of the moment. It would, however, make a nice present and a useful addition to anyone's library.

**THE ANGRY BRIGADE** by Gordon Carr is priced at £4.20p — not £3.50 as previously announced.

All books reviewed in *Black Flag* can be obtained through the Cienfuegos Press Book Service. Please send cash with order.

We shall also be pleased to obtain any other books required by our readers.

## LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

I have just read the letter from Ronan Bennett and I find his desire to correspond with comrades in Britain and elsewhere very commendable. The fact that he wants a woman correspondent is an additional healthy sign! But, I must now speak in defence of myself and my Irish sisters. Comrade Ronan states, and I quote, "Irish women are still too much under the thumb of the Church, the State, their parents, their husbands and each other..." Too much under the thumb for what, may I ask?! He suggests, (no, he states!) that we (Irish women) "don't seem interested in the struggle". I take offence at his generalisation. Possibly some Irish women are not interested in the struggle, perhaps even the majority are not, just as the vast majority of British women have no interest in any struggle, just as the majority of American, German, Italian, etc., women are not interested in the struggle, just as the majority of people of either sex are not interested in the struggle!!

On the whole Irish women have more than played their part in the revolutionary struggle — history bears that out — and our present state as political prisoners speaks for itself. We have played our part outside and we shall continue to struggle against the system even while incarcerated. Does comrade Ronan forget our women lying in Milltown Cemetery? Does he class them as being "not interested in the struggle"? To die for the struggle requires more than "interest" in my book!! So we (Irish women) think that (again I quote) "daft Irish lads should pick up spades instead of M 18's," for my part and that of my sisters here the only possible reason we would want our "lads" to have spades instead of Armalites is that as there are not enough Armalites to go round we would want those weapons! Many of the women here in Armagh Gaol are serving sentences of equal length to Comrade Ronan's, and some are serving twice as long as he is. This, comrade, for our part in the struggle. For this reason I would ask the comrade not to be such an arrogant sexist, to avoid generalisations and to remember we exist — his comrades, his sisters.

By the way, we women also produce leather work of the first quality. However, I wish the comrade joy in his correspondence although, to be honest, I feel his interest to be more sexually than politically motivated. Nothing wrong there, but had he been more truthful he could have avoided our anger!

Yours — Political Prisoner (sex: female), ARMAGH GAOL

P.S. I find your paper very stimulating and informative.

P.P.S. If this letter is not printed I must draw the conclusion that "Black Flag" is sexist! (Never!) (What about racist?!) VENCEREMOS COMRADES!

### Answers to Quiz (from p.2)

1. In 1923 the Shop Assistants Union was due for a Parliamentary seat, but its secretary John Turner declined it (as an anarchist) and Margaret Bondfield got it, becoming Minister of Labour in the first Labour Government the following year.
2. Magda Nachman. The Indian Anarchist was M.P.T. Acharya.
3. He persuaded them to abolish the right of political asylum.
4. "I am fulfilling the prophecy I made when I was a Socialist."
5. Paul Robeson appeared at a Victoria Palace concert organised by Emma Goldman.
6. Sometimes ascribed to the French Revolution, more often to one or another of the Spanish risings, the story is false. It originates in a novel by Vicente Blasco Ibanez.

Dear Comrades,

I feel pretty sickened by your attack on the "AWA" in the last issue of *Black Flag*.

To begin with we are treated to the old amalgam tactic that *Black Flag* is so famous for — equating Keith Nathan with the Stirnerite Parker — something that Uncle Joe would have admired immensely.

We are then treated to ancient history about comrade Nathan's past record (as I wasn't around then I can't say one way or the other whether it was true or not). Comparing what Keith Nathan may or may not have advocated in the old AFB days is like saying that Bakunin's later anarchism can't have amounted to much because he was previously a Slav nationalist, or saying the same about Sebastian Faure because he happened to have been a Jesuit!

As 'Struggle' pushing a story that *Black Flag* parted from Freedom after a lawsuit between them, well I've never seen it in our paper, and I know of no AWA member who has spread such a story.

Comrade Meltzer, despite protestations to the contrary, can't control his deep personal hatred of Keith Nathan, implying that he was a Trot before he left the organisation, and that the ORA was led by Trotskyites, a complete and utter lie!

So somehow only students can use words of more than two syllables — that's carrying workerism a bit far, and also implies that workers can't attain theoretical clarity.

There must have been something drastically wrong with the 'structured' organisation that comrade Meltzer talks about created by Rucker, etc., that in fact bolstered their positions as celebrities. We talk about a structured organisation where all comrades have equal status, and the development of a 'star system' is fought against.

The 'Platform' is relevant because it was a courageous attempt by Russian and Ukrainian anarchists to define class anarchism and to learn from past mistakes, rather than glorify uncritically the 'magnificent anarchist past'.

*Black Flag* should think about the ways that anarchism can relate practically to working class struggle instead of slandering AWA members as 'cadres' — i.e. Bolsheviks,

Fraternally, N.H.

**EDITOR'S REPLY:** The "amalgam tactic" (whatever it is: we are 'famous' for it only because Keith Nathan once used the phrase to attack our criticism of ORA having its manifesto written by a Christian Pacifist) is surely the very least of Joe Stalin's crimes if at all one: is not N.H. "guilty" of it when he refers to Stalin and ourselves, or when he compared Keith Nathan with Michael Bakunin and Sebastian Faure?

We did not say "Libertarian Struggle" printed the canard, which was reproduced in internal notes of a conference.

We assumed the article was written by a student, not because of its clarity of expression which as comrade N.H. points out is readily attained by a worker, but because of its callowness of thought. N.H. throws it over when he grants that the critics had created a "structured movement" of their own, the AIT (IWMA).

"Comrade Meltzer" had no "personal hatred" for Keith Nathan. He met him once or twice and found him quite an amiable lad. In any other movement but ours Keith would have found his level organising the youth movement at some local branch. To raise him to a national figure is totally ridiculous — the result of structurelessness.

Call it "ageist" if you like but if you think that people can be actually "organising the workers" before they've left school, you have another think coming when you try to do it.