

# INTERNATIONAL



## BULLETIN

### CONTENTS INCLUDE:

Franco's Last Speech

Background information on six items relating to the Pinelli/Valpreda case and the bombings in Rome and Milan on 12th December 1969.

Repression in Madrid

Organization of the First International by M. Bakunin.

Anti-Copyright



## A CURE FOR CANDID OPTIMISM

### FRANCO'S LAST SPEECH

Both inside and outside of Spain, there are still many thousands of optimists who keep thinking that Franco's regime could evolve towards democracy and freedom. Franco's speech at the last opening of the Cortes ( the Spanish so-called Parliament ) can be seen as a powerful antidote to those persistent dreams. I shall underline here some of his most definitive statements.

I shall quote directly from the abridgment of the speech published in "YA" (Nov 21st 71), the reactionary but moderately-moderated Madrid daily paper, which usually (and prudently) professes some of this optimism. The abridgment starts by explaining that the speech constitutes "THE FINAL RESULY OF A LONG PROCESS OF(POLITICAL) RESEARCH" (L)

#### On Political Parties -and the like.

Spaniards have always been aware that the hatred for even the mere concept of political parties has always been one of the basic political superstitions of Franc's "political system". Spanish optimists, however, have tried to smuggle some hint of the concept into Spanish "politics": for some years they have been talking about certain possible "political associations"; Franco seemed to tolerate benevolently this conversation - up until now: these are his words on the subject now:



"THE PEOPLE WHO THINK THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR INSTITUTIONS (2) COULD LEAD? SOONER OR LATER, TO POLITICAL PARTIES, ARE SIMPLY WRONG".

And, to dispell any possible remaining doubts:

"THERE IS ROOM IN OUR SYSTEM FOR ASSOCIATIONS (...) WHICH WOULD TRY TO PROMOTE COMMON WEALFARE, BUT ONLY SO FAR AS THEY WILL BE INTEGRATED INTO OUR 'MOVIMENTO NACIONAL' (3). THE ONLY THING FOR WHICH THERE IS NO ROOM AT ALL IN OUR SYSTEM IS THE POLITICAL PARTIES- OR ANYTHING WHICH COULD POSSIBLY IN ANY WAY LEAD TO THEM. ANY INITIATIVE TOWARDS ASSOCIATIONS WHICH, ASIDE FROM OUR 'MOVIMENTO NACIONAL' ORGANIZATION, WOULD CHERISH THE HOPE TO RETURN, SOONER OR LATER, TO THE FORMATION OF IDEOLOGICAL GROUPS WHICH COULD DRIVE US BACK TO POLITICAL PARTIES WILL NEVER BE POSSIBLE".

On Parliament, and parliamentary functions.

"THE ROLE OF THE CORTES IS TO GIVE A CONCRETE FORM TO THE LEGISLATIVE WILL OF THE STATE" (4)

I can easily imagine that any civilized reader would assume, while reading this last statement, that it's last word would be, of course, "people": political cynicism usually respects the holiest democratic cliches. I confess that I myself was astonished as well, when I read instead the word "State". What an open confession of totalitarian faith, greater than any political cynicism. Speaking of their equally fictitious Parliaments, would not even Hitler or Stalin have used at that point the words "German Nation" or "Proletariat", for instance? - Too bad for the optimists' possibilities of interpretation.



The chief of the present State of Spain finishes off this professorial definition of Parliament by adding immediately that, in any case, no kind of vote of censure, which could possibly aim for the resignation of even one minister, could ever be considered as a right of the Cortes (5).

On Public Opinion, Freedom to Dissent, Opposition — and "Constitutional Flexibility".

The speech goes on: We must not confound "LEGITIMATE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION" with the delivery of statements made by groups who might resemble POLITICAL PARTIES; we accept PUBLIC OPINION on the condition that all differing points of view arrive at the same ("correct") conclusion (6):

"TRUE CIVIC VIRTUES HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH ANY SYSTEMATIC OPPOSITION".

Later on the speech gives this original definition of "SUBVERSION": Any attitude tending towards any (dissenting) political "SOLUTIONS WHICH, EVEN IF THEY PROVE TO BE VALID, WOULD BREAK DOWN AND FALSIFY OUR SYSTEM, THEY COULD NOT THUS BE CONSIDERED REAL SOLUTIONS" (7).

(Should I emphasize the implicit affirmation that such heterodox solutions would not BE "real solutions" even if they were "VALID SOLUTIONS"?)

And here is another paragraph which seems as if it had been particularly addresses to our optimists:

"VAIN AND STERILE WILL ALWAYS BE THE DREAMS OF SOME GROUPS WHO HOPE THAT THE MERE PASSING OF TIME WILL



BRING THE CHANCE TO INTRODUCE INTO OUR SYSTEM ANY DOCTRINAL OR IDEOLOGICAL ELEMENTS FOREIGN TO IT".

Nobody like this diminutive Generalissimo would ever dictate their destiny (with such majesty!) to the centuries to come.

### Some Strange Jokes?

If Franco could ever be suspected, even by the most optimistic optimists, of possessing even the tiniest sense of humour, there would be a few points in the official report of his speech which could be interpreted as rather strange jokes.

The first joke would be the statement already quoted that all his series of unequivocal dogmas are the fruit of "A LONG PROCESS OF POLITICAL RESEARCH". Or, if it is not a joke, maybe we can relate it to the paradox of wisdom which makes the longest way lead back to the point of origin! Franco's "long process" of political meditation has finally taken him back, in effect, to all and each of the political convictions he professed at the end of the Spanish Civil War, - and nobody can say that history has been able to modify at all even the way of expressing such convictions since then.

Second joke - a joke without a single superfluous word, and which needs no commentaries at all:

"WE KNOW HOW TO DISTINGUISH WHAT IS POSSIBLE FROM WHAT IS IMPOSSIBLE, WHAT CAN BE DONE FROM WHAT CAN NOT BE DONE. WE HAVE MADE THE EFFORT TO MAINTAIN AN OPEN, COMPREHENSIVE AND GENEROUS ATTITUDE, WHICH



HAS ALLOWED US TO REALISE THAT MANY SO-CALLED PROBLEMS ARE NOTHING BUT UNNECESSARY IMPATIENCE OR INACCEPTABLE MOTIONLESSNESS, OBSTINACY AND BLINDNESS OF PERSONS OR GROUPS, RATHER THAN REAL CONFLICTS".

(Only one commentary, anyway: What a lesson in optimism for all possible optimists.)

And still one more joke - just to close this little anthology:

"ON YOUTH: THE NEW GENERATIONS MUST UNDERSTAND(...) AND KNOW THAT OUR SYSTEM IS BASED ON (...) THE COLLABORATION OF ALL SPANIARDS" (8).

(A first comment on this last joke would be to underline again the words "all Spaniards".)

Viva Franco! - Viva siempre!

Jokes apart, let us return to the profound general meaning of the speech, - a rather sinister certificate of Franco's qualifications as a "most obedient servant" of the reactionary powers in Spain.

This speech, which is the most up-to-date, overwhelming catastrophe for any kind of illusions about democratic possibilities of the Spanish regime, was delivered by exactly the same ferocious young General who provoked, and then won (32 years ago) the last Spanish civil war. The optimists will certainly have the greatest difficulty fishing for "sensible interpretations" on this occasion, amongst such a brutally unequivocal collection of words.



It would be a poor reply to say that the speech has not been written, or even really understood, by Franco himself; that by now he is just able to stand on his feet while reading like a parrot the speeches that the men of his closest team prepare for him and put under his old eyes; -etc. For this could mean, even worse, that the young ferocious General of 1939 is, in fact, overliving himself, towards an indefinite future, in the persons of his indefinitely younger accomplices: - who, the more completely they keep up this inheritance of ferocity, the more easily they will be able to retain the power in their hands.

Franco's regime is where it has always been. The relative economic liberalisation that started in 1959, the encouragement of the tourist boom, and the pathetic flirtation with the common market, have been, and are, purely economical attitudes without any real impact on Franco's definitely anti-liberal politics - (even if the Spanish people, and especially certain sectors of the working classes, made in fact their first effective steps to liberate themselves some day).

The speech on which I am commenting can be taken as a proof that the sporadic, coquetish hints of political liberalisation made by Franco's government during the last decade were nothing but microscopic movements inside the very safe and rigid limits of a narrow zone of actuation from which the real border of any political freedom has always been at an astronomical distance. If those histrionic little hints have fooled as many people as they appear to have, it is only because there are that many people wanting to be fooled. Others, such as the technocrats of



the Common Market for instance, have never been really as candid as that....up to the present moment at least.

Much more drastically than in previous occasions during the last decade, Franco's last speech puts the optimists before a rather drastic alternative: either they give up once and for all their optimism, or they cry out once and for all the old howl of the enthusiastic Spanish post-war slavery: Viva Franco! - viva siempre! - Long live Franco - Live for ever!

Jose Martin-Artajo

---

#### NOTES

(1) Literally: "the end of a long road of search".

(2) Literally: "...that the institutional process or development..."

(3) The official rhetorical cliché for the official so-called ideology. (In strictly technical terms, to speak of Franco's 'ideology' would be as absurd as to call the present Cortes "Parliament".)

(4) Literally: "The Cortes: They are the organ whose role is to make concrete the legislative will of the State."

(5) As if trying to disguise the directness of the words themselves, "Ya" reports parts of the speech in a sort of "baroque" style that reads even worse than the usual Spanish "official style". For my readers sake, I am simplifying and shortening such "style" in the text of this article. But I shall also keep reproducing literally and entirely



the quoted paragraphs, in these footnotes, for those who would like to check my fidelity toward the original. Also I am doing my best to turn into English the grammatical quality, so to speak, of the Spanish text. Here is the whole paragraph of the quotation corresponding to this note. (The Cortes:)... "It is not their mission to issue any political judgements which would have the interpretation of being a cause of separating from his post any high functionary of the State".

(6) "It must not be confounded what there is of legitimate (attitude) in the different opinions with the possibility of dogmatic framings which are pre-conceived inside ideological groups which, in one way or another, would be political parties. The system accepts public opinion as a (sort of) river-bed for the contrast of the (private) opinions, but only with the aim of getting to the concurrency of criteria".

(7) "Subversion: Attitude that pretends to create insoluble problems in order to demonstrate the inefficiency of the system, and to pose problems that would lead to solutions which, in case they would thrive, would not be such, but would break down and falsify the already obtained political and social system".

The paragraph strictly necessary for my quotation would finish here, but this time I cannot resist the temptation of translating a little bit more.

"Public disorders happen in sucession, cleverly promoted by international organizations in front



which the whole mankind must make an effort to maintain the peace. The systematic purpose of keeping an account, with preference, of which is lacking plus what we have already obtained, pretends an indubitable eagerness to confound. Such attitude is the substance of subversion and demagogry".

(8) "Youngsters: The new generations, it is necessary that they understand our effort, and that they know that our system is based in exaltation of discipline, of laboriousness, of study, and of the collaboration among all Spaniards".

(I should like to insist on the fact that the linguistic horrors of the English versions in these footnotes correspond exactly, so far as my translators honesty and abilities are concerned, to the identical linguistic atrocities in the Spanish original - which is a rather normal example of the usual "official style".)

J.M.-A.

(London, November 29th, 1971.)



## THE ITALIAN STATE MASSACRE

"PINELLI ASSASSINATO.....VALPREDA INNOCENTE"

The trial of Pietro Valpreda and the others accused of the state massacre of Dec '69 is scheduled to begin on Feb 23rd in the Great Hall of the Palace of Justice, Rome. "Great Hall" is a misnomer since, once all the court staff and the legal personnel have been crammed in, there will be room for no more than 18 journalists. The 'public' will be lucky if they get in at all.

A further imponderable arises over Valpreda's health. After more than two years in the damp and fetid atmosphere of Regina Coeli prison (the prison infirmary is just above the kitchens), the circulatory disease from which he was suffering in an "atypical" and quiescent form when he went in, has flared up to a dangerous extent. His left hand is shrunk and paralysed, and he suffers from excruciating pain in the left shoulder, arm and leg. After the usual bureaucratic humming and hawing, his transfer to the University Hospital has at least been authorized. The main evidence against Valpreda is the story of the (now deceased) taxi-driver Rolandi who "recognized" him as the passenger he drove 200yds through the centre of Milan on the afternoon of 12th Dec. To have a cripple in the dock might make the ridiculous story sound a little more plausible. REPRINTED FROM 7 Days No 13.

\*\*\*\*\*



(Introduction: The following articles provide background information about the situation in Italy with regard to the attentats of 12th December 1969, and the continuing repression. For fuller details, a brief but concise run-down of the events has been published in issue no 6 of the paper Black and Red OUTLOOK, (.07 $\frac{1}{2}$ p), and a fuller account is the pamphlet 'Italian State Massacre' (.20p). Prices include postage from our address.)

Another "final" date has been given for the trial of the six accused - 23rd Feb. Give us a ring for confirmation: 01-800-9508.

#### ORDINE NUOVO

Ordine Nouvo is the largest new, fascist, extreme right-wing, para-military group active in Italy over the past few years. It was controlled by the Roman Prince Yunio Valerio Borghese, a member of one of Italy's most ancient and important noble families. During Mussolini's regime he collaborated with the fascists and after 1943 collaborated with the Republican Government of Salo. In January 1971 he was involved in an attempted coup d'etat.

This coup d'etst failed and was carefully ignored by the Italian police and press. However in March, three monthes later, it was reported in the 'London Observor' forcing the Italian police to recognize it and place Borghese in prison on a charge of attempted coup d'etat. He has however absconded. To enable him to escape, some relatively unimportant fascists were arrested. This pretext of an anti-fascist campaign was used by the bougeoise state in an attempt to hide it's repression of working class struggles.



The official investigation of Borghese's attempted coup d'etat does not relate 'Ordine Nuovo' to the 12th Dec '69 bombs. However it is well known that Merlino, (the fascist who, pretending to be an anarchist, founded the 22nd March group) was still connected with Ordine Nuovo, (through the notorious fascist Stefano Della Chiaie) before the 12th Dec bombs exploded. Mario Merlino declared to the police that he saw Stefano Della Chiaie the night before the bombs exploded; his alibi for the afternoon of the 12th Dec '69 is provided by Della Chiaie's lover, (the fascist Signora Paglivca Minetti).

The comrades of the State Massacres Alternative Investigation brought to the attention of the Rome Magistrate, Ernesto Cudillo, information regarding the connection between Ordine Nuovo and Della Chiaie, and then between Della Chiaie and Merlino. This forced the magistrate to call Della Chiaie to his office in the Palace of Justice to interrogate him. However when Della Chiaie arrived at the door of Cudillo's office, he mysteriously disappeared.... He is now in hiding. Everytime the Alternative Investigation comrades discover his whereabouts and pass the information on to the police, Della Chiaie immediately changes his hiding place and disappears again, thus the police never find him to arrest him. This didn't hinder Italy's most important conservative newspaper, the 'Corriere Della Sera' from publishing on the 19th Nov '71, an interview with Della Chiaie from his hiding place. It is also important to note the relationship between Borghese and Ordine Nuovo, on the one hand, and the Treviso printer and bookseller Ventura (a notorious new fascist) on the other.

On the 18th Jan '71, Ventura's friend, Guido Lorenzon (a Christian Democratic Party Politician) related the following to the magistrate Pietro Calogero in Treviso.



"Concerning the crimes on the 12th Jan'69 in Milan, I know that Ventura departed by plane to Rome at approximately 6pm on the 8th or the 9th Dec. I saw Ventura again on the 13th Dec. When I met him I knew that he had just come back from Milan. Ventura said that he didn't approve of the bombing because of its terrible effect (i.e. the massacre), but he added that the life of a Revolutionary is worth more than the lives of twelve people. He spoke of the papers reaction to the Rome bombs as a 'foiled massacre', but pointed out that if the positions of the bombs were taken into consideration it would seem obvious that the terrorists deliberately placed them so that nobody would be killed or injured.

On the 3rd Jan'70, Ventura drew for me a plan of the subterranean passage connecting the two buildings of the Rome bank where the 12th Dec bomb exploded. He said that whoever had placed the bomb in the vault had run a great risk as the place was often frequented. He described exactly how the briefcase containing the bomb had been put in a high position on a water pipe. The same day I had a discussion with Ventura and the Earl Barnabo Jr. of Venice. Ventura said that someone had told him of the bombing plans before the 12th Dec. The Earl exclaimed "Then you knew the bombs were going to explode! In fact I remember you saying some time ago that the banks would explode first of all".

Towards the end of September '69, I went with Ventura to a flat that he was renting in via Danielle Manin in Treviso. I saw ammunition and weapons in a room there. As far as I can remember the ammunition was 9 calibre bullets, they were in two small boxes coloured grey and deep green. The labels on the boxes were written in English. Ventura said they were N.A.T.O. munitions. The weapons were some automatic



guns and a revolver. The same night Ventura showed me a clock gear or rather a time gear. When he showed it to me he said that it was similar to time gears used in washing machines. He told me that he had taken part in a complex economical-financial activity and had received in the preceding few days a 30 million lira loan from a bank in Castle Franco. He could only obtain such a loan through the support of the Earl Lorianò Di Volpago del Montello (member of the right-wing of the Christian Democratic Party) a well known fascist associated with Prince Borghese. Ventura told me that to obtain this loan he had had to contact Senator Caron. A meeting took place in September '69, in the Continental. I was with Ventura there, and found him with Senator Caron and three other people who, Ventura told me, had come from Rome."

He continues by enumerating all the important business contacts Ventura has which connect him with Italian Banks and American Publishers.

"Ventura told me that he was one of the three people who financed the train attempts during August '69. He told me that the cost of each bomb involved in the train bombings had been (including the cost of travel involved in the operation) a hundred thousand lira (£67). (The police arrested and accused Pinelli of these attempts) Ventura also told me that he had accompanied the person who had placed the bomb found in Torino April '69, (this bomb did not explode). He told me several times that he had reliable alibi's for the days of these attempts. Ventura also said that his mother was in touch with a friend of hers, Signora Tina Anselmi, a member of Parliament, and through her could obtain the support of Treviso's



police chief. This was necessary due to certain difficulties Ventura had resulting from my previous declarations about him relating to the lawyer Steccanella. Ventura also confided in me that he had spontaneously gone to the Treviso police headquarters, some days after Epiphany, to protest his innocence about what I had declared. He said that the police chief himself said that he had not believed what I had said, and that on the contrary he had judged everything that I had said as a fantasy. Ventura added that at the police head-quarters he had been considered a C.I.A. agent. He had also been informed by someone at the police head-quarters that some days before his interrogation, incredible telephone calls had been received about him on the telephone lines Treviso-Rome and Treviso-Milan. He said that the same person was going to give him the name of the person who had been giving such precise information about him. The Earl Barnabo was present during these last two confidences.

It has been discovered that the Treviso-Milan telephone call was made by Venice's highest magistrate Luigi Bianchi D'Espinosa, and was received by Ventura's police informer. Luigi Bianchi had decided to restart Pinelli's trial after it had been stopped by Judge Boitti's interdiction. He is still investigating New Fascist activity in Italy. His house was bombed on Tuesday Dec 7th '71, but he was not injured. New Fascist leaflets were found in the vicinity of the attempt. On the 20th Jan '70 Giorgio Freda (notorious fascist and friend of Ventura) informed me, and I had also known previously from Ventura, that on the 13th or the 29th Dec '69, Doctor Bianchi D'Espinosa had rung the Milan police head-quarters, and that during the conversation



Ventura had been discussed. Freda added that he was sure that this information was correct."

Lorenzon's declaration continues by saying that Ventura knew everything about the Judges private meetings held to discuss his activities and his fascist subversive publications.

"Ventura also told me that he met a Senator in Rome who expressed his satisfaction with the recent Rome and Milan attempts saying: "This is it! Things are beginning to go well here". Ventura also told me what party this Senator belonged to, but I can't remember. During July last year, I went to Ventura's bookshop. There he showed me, and let me read what he called a 'secret information report' dated 6.5.69. This report stated that the U.S.A. had been aware of the secret plans that the Christian Democrats and the Communist Party had for a government coalition, and had intervened to prevent them. The report foresaw that Flaminio Piccoli (Right-wing Christian Democrat) would become the new president of the Christian Democratic Party. The Socialist Party split was also foreseen. The collapse of the government was predicted, and it stated that economic aid would be sent to the extreme right. (Piccoli was elected president on the 30th June '69, and the Socialist Party split took place on the 5th July '69).

Lorenzon's declaration continues with everything Ventura told him about the structure of the Right-Wing Terrorist organization of which he was a member. He also mentions what Ventura knew about a lot of less important attempts.

Ventura had been arrested several times, but always released. On the 23rd Feb '70 the magistrate Vittorio



Occorsio (the same magistrate who is investigating Valpreda's case) interrogated Ventura. After the interrogation he spoke to press reporters: "Ventura is a good fellow" he said, "He is a gentleman".

Ventura and his friend Giorgio Freda were finally arrested in early Dec '71, their arrest resulted from the discovery of munitions in a house, belonging to a Socialist, near Treviso. The magistrates and the plice have kept the investigations about this case completly secret. This has resulted in the bourgeoisie press not relating this case to the 12th Dec attempts.

The investigation into the Pinelli case, discovered that the ambulance had been called by the police some minutes before Pinelli fell from the window of the police head-quarters. During the trial, Calabresi vs Lotta Continua, the magistrature were not interested in this information, on the contrary they wasted their their time looking for minute proofs.

The Italian law establishes that after a legal autopsy, the doctor does not, (as in England) present a written report as evidence for the court, but must only answer the magistrates questions from the witness box, which is what happened at Pinelli's autopsy. The magistrate was Giovanni Caizzi, the doctors/professors were Raineri Luvoni, Guglielmo Falzi and Franco Mangili. However the two famous doctors/professors, Benedetto Terracini and Enrico Turolla have published a book entitled "Noi Accusiamo" (we accuse) It was printed by Jaca Book publishers. They exposed the tendentiousness of magistrate Caizzi's questions, and the superficiality and inaccuracy of the official autopsy report.



## MARIO MERLINO

Mario Merlino is a notorious fascist. He took part in the '68 struggles at Rome University. After the Greek coup d'etat he went to Greece with other fascists and was received by the Greek Colonels. He was connected with Ordino Nuovo, and several times participated in para-military meetings. These meetings were organized by Ordino Nuovo and were held on weekends and on important holidays. He was also in touch with German New Fascist groups. Everything about his fascist activities and relationships, has been reported in the book "la Strage Di Stato" (The State Massacre), published by Samona and Savelli published and written by the comrades of the Alternative Investigation. Merlino used to frequent the Marxist-Leninist and Anarchist meetings in Rome to obtain information that he then related to his fascist friends. Discovered by some members of the 'Bakunin Circle', he was sent away from the Anarchist movement. He declared himself to be an Anarchist, and formed a new group called 'The 22nd March' group.

The group consisted of some very young people, Valpreda (who was convinced that Merlino had really become a comrade), a police agent (Ippolito) and a S.I.D. agent. (The S.I.D. is the Defence Ministry Secret Service). From its birth the '22nd March' group had been chosen to be charged with the responsibility of the 12th Dec bombs. During the short time that the '22nd March' was in existence, Merlino kept in touch with the extreme right, mainly through his friend Steffano Della Chiaie. Arrested three hours after the Rome explosions, Merlino testified immediately to the police about Valpreda's terrorist activities. His alibi is given by Della Chiaie's



lover. Presumably against his wishes, Merlino is still in prison. He didn't realize before, that by including him among the accused, the police were able to support their theses of two opposite extremists in the '22nd March' united to conspire against the Democratic State and the public security.

Always coherent to himself, Merlino chose two lawyers, one socialist, the other a fascist from the M.S.I. (Italian Social Movement). All the others from the '22nd March' who are accused recently sent a letter to the socialist daily paper, 'L'Avanti', declaring that their defence would be completely separate from Merlino's, and that they had nothing to do with Merlino's actions.

#### NINO SOTTOSANTI

Nino Sottosanti is a fascist, he was working in Milan's "fiera", when the 25th April '69 bombs exploded. He was also in Milan on the 12th Dec '69. His alibi does not cover the time, before, during and immediately after, the explosions. The description given by Rolandi of the man he drove to the Piazza Fontana, exactly fits Sottosanti, and on the contrary it does not fit Valpreda at all. In fact Rolandi explicitly said....."I recognized Valpreda as the man that Guida (Milan police chief) told me I had to recognize"..... Sottosanti's alibi was not checked by the magistrature or the police until later. He has never been placed in custody, thus after the 12th Dec massacre he was free to go to Sicily. The magistrate flew there to interrogate him. He is still free.



### TAXI DRIVER ROLANDI

The Socialist daily paper 'L'Avanti' reported that a M.S.I. card (New Fascist Party) and a Communist Party card, had been found in Rolandi's pocket. In the official report released by the police, Rolandi says that he didn't contact the police until the 15th Dec '71. However he released interviews to several papers saying that he had gone to the police on the night of the 12th Dec, to testify about his suspicious customer. The official investigation into the No 1 witness Rolandi ignores this point. The Communist Party have refused to renew Rolandi's membership card for 1971.

### ERMANNA UGHETTO

Changing her original testimony, she said she saw Valpreda in Rome on the 12th or 13th Dec '69, thus becoming one of the most important witnesses against Valpreda. Valpreda testified that during this time he was in Milan, and that he was in bed with the flu. His evidence is supported by several members of his family. Ughetto originally stated that the last time she had seen Valpreda was at the end of November. On the 12th Dec '69 Ermanno Urghetto was in hospital recovering from an abortion. Abortion in Italy is strictly forbidden, nevertheless she has not been arrested. After her release from hospital she suddenly changed her evidence concerning her last meeting with Valpreda.

### PIETRO ARDAU

Ardaud was one of the first Anarchists arrested in Milan on the evening of the 12th Dec. He saw Pinelli



in the police headquarters, and said that he was in a good mood just before his last interrogation. He also said that during an interrogation in the police headquarters, Commissioner Zagari asked him to hand him a small cellophane bag. This bag contained pieces of the bomb found and then exploded by the police in the Commercial Bank in Milan. He refused to touch it because he realized that they were trying to get him to place his fingerprints on it. He could easily see that there were no pieces of glass among the remains of the bomb. Perhaps if he had not refused the police would not have had to find a piece of glass similar to the ones that Valpreda used for making lamps. After his release Ardaud received threats from strangers, who wrote to him and approached him in the street. He became frightened, asked Sweden for political asylum and obtained it.

Three of the five Anarchists who died in the accident on the 28th Sept '70 were witnesses for Valpreda. They were Gianni Arico, Angelo Casile and Annalisa Borth. The accident occurred outside Prince Borghese's property. Eight years previously in the same place, and in the same way, Prince Borghese's wife died. The five anarchists were coming back from Sicily, where they had gone to investigate the fascists, denounced by Udo Lemke to the police investigating the Altere Della Patria bombing in Rome. During the journey they were followed by a white car that exactly corresponds to the car used by the terrorists who placed the bombs in the Altere Della Patria in Rome.

It is well known that Achille Stuardi (ex member of parliament for the communist party), informed the Communist Party leaders of information he received from the lawyer Ambrosini, about the Ordine Nuovo



meeting in which he (Ambrosini) had taken part. However the Communist Party have kept very quiet about it. They have denounced their complicity to the official bourgeoise investigation into the State Massacre. However we must not forget that even though the Socialist papers have followed the Valpreda and Pinelli cases, denouncing the fascist character of the attempts and the investigation, and trying to discover the truth, the Communist Party have never made a definite stand nor made their position clear on the issues of the 12th Dec massacre.

\*\*\*\*\*



## REPRESSION IN MADRID

Material supplied by 'Frente Libertario'.

Translated by Tony Levene.

### Young workers and students tortured.

Without being in any way complete, the following information gives an idea of the brutal repression of young workers and students now taking place in Madrid. Much the same has happened in other parts of this police state, the repression of these anti-fascists being the only answer the regime has to the popular discontent which has followed the Burgos trial of the Basque Nationalists.

The following seven men were arrested on 16.12.70 in the Vallecas district. They remained at the D.G.S. (Direccion General de Seguridad(security)) for 10 days and then sent to the Carabanchel prison. Appeared before a T.O.P.(Tribunal de Orden Publico) judge on 13th of January, were released on bail, but immediatly rearrested by the D.G.S.

#### 1) PEDRO GONZALEZ RUBIO

Metal worker. Age 16.

From the first moments of his detention, he was tortured by the B.P.S.(Brigada Politico-Social). Then in the Commissariat, he was again beaten with truncheons, suffering severe blows all over his body. He was interrogated by the D.G.S. five times, each questioning lasted over three hours. During these interrogations he was clubbed in the face, forced to kneel so that his captors could beat his arms, ribs, legs and back. He was also kicked in his testicles.



2) FRUTOS GARCIA MONTEERRUBIO

.. Metal worker.

Brutally tortured, he was interrogated for 30 hours during his first three days of rearrest.

3) RICARDO JOSE OLMOS MATA

Student. Age 17.

Tortured and interrogated over long periods. During one interrogation in the Vallecas Commissariat, he was made to sit with his hands and feet tied to a chair, he was beaten on his neck, shoulders, arms, arms, hands, feet and testicles. Every time he collapsed to the ground he was picked up by his hair, had water thrown over him to revive him, and tortured again. He was also punched several times in the stomach, which gave him the feeling of being strangled.

4) MIGUEL ANGEL CONDADO BUENO

Student. Age 18.

Interrogated 7 times, during his first 5 days of detention at the D.G.S., each interrogation lasting from three to four hours. Tortured at the D.G.S and the Vallecas Commissariat, upon rearrest he arrived at Carabanchel prison with his eyes severely bruised and was subjected to further interrogation. During these interrogations he was tied by his hands and feet to a table and beaten all over his body, he was also made to lie on the ground with his arms stretched forward and his legs open, and beaten several more times including some five or six times in the testicles. He was then made to stand against a wall on tiptoe and again beaten severely. All this was accompanied by insults and threats to his further safety.



5) JUAN ALIX TRUEBA

Student Age 18.

At the Vallecas Commisserat he was dragged by his hair to a room full of police to see a 'pro-government' demonstration televised from Burgos. Upon entering the room a member of the B.P.S. said "Here comes the clever one", he was dragged to the ground and immediatly kicked by almost all the police in the room. He was then dragged by his hair to another department, where there were other prisoners, and forced to tell them what he had seen on television. Once in the D.G.S. he was threatened with being handed over to the so-called "warriors of Jesus Christ the King. He was interrogated six times in his first six days, each interrogation lasting four hours.

6) JOSE RAMON PEREZ ARAIS

Severely tortured by the D.G.S. Interrogated 8 times during his first 5 days, each interrogation lasting 6 hours and mostly taking place in the middle of the night. He suffered similar tortures to the others and on one occasion they tried to make him eat the table. Due to the tortures he has suffered from an inability to breathe properly in spite of the "treatment" given to him by the prison doctor.

7) VINCENTE FERNANDEZ VILLAVARDE

Has been subjected to long interrogations and tortures from the D.G.S. His jawbone was broken and he was forced to swallow his own blood. The soles of his feet were beaten with iron bars. He still refused to sign a "confession" and so was thrown to the ground and kicked, after which he was made to sign.

\*\*\*\*\*



The following eight men were arrested at different times and in different places. (In their homes on the streets etc)

1) RAMIRO CALVO JIMENEZ

Arrested Dec 9th, 11pm, at home.

Kept for 8 days at the D.G.S., he then appeared before the military tribunal, and is now being kept in Carabanchel at the request of the military tribunal.

He was interrogated six times at the D.G.S. each time for three to four hours. He was beaten so severely across the throat during one of these interrogations that it had to be stopped. After receiving medical aid the savage police told him "they were going to kill him" or that "they would throw him out of the window".

2) ANTONIO ROMAN ORTIZ

Arrested Dec 9th, 7.30pm in the Plaza de Quevedo.

Accused of belonging to a commando group, he remained 8 days at the D.G.S.. He was interrogated 6 times, then appeared before a military tribunal and was sent to Carabanchel. He was tortured and beaten at the D.G.S. and also at the Dos de Mayo Commissariat by the B.I.C. (Brigada de Investigacion Criminal).

3) ERNESTO JANVIER TORCAL LORENTE

Arrested 19th Dec, 12 days at D.G.S. then sent to Carabanchel. Appeared before a judge of the T.O.P. (Tribunal de Orden Publico) on Jan 22nd who "freed" him. He is still in prison. During an interrogation session he had his jaw broken.



4) JANVIER DIMINGUEZ MINGUEZ

Secondary school student. Arrested at pistol point in the street on the 14th Dec, by B.P.S. agents and taken to the foyer of a cinema and beaten with two planks of wood before being taken to the D.G.S.

At the D.G.S. he was beaten, punched and kicked for almost an hour and then put into solitary confinement for 7 days. He was then tortured again and threatened with 6 months of this treatment if he did not "confess". He was then made to sign a statement saying that the incident with the planks was a "brush with hooligans". Given provisional liberty on 23rd Dec, he is still in Carabanchel.

5) ENRIQUE ELORRIAGE PLANES

Law student. Arrested Dec 14th at pistol point. Immediately tortured and threatened with execution. He was tortured and interrogated until he "confessed". Sent to Carabanchel on Dec 21st, given provisional freedom two days later but is still there.

(Arrested at the same time, tortured, given provisional freedom, but still in Carabanchel are:

Rogelio Alonso Rodriguez

Juan Manuel Gonzalez Berzosa      all law students

Pedro Jose Martinez Garcia

Vicente Hernandez Gutierrez)

6) LUIS COLL de la VEGA

Law student. Arrested 19th Dec, 7pm at home. His house was searched by the police. He was tortured at the D.G.S. by the B.P.S. one of whom justified his actions saying "If you're a red, I am a



a right winger; I am not punishing you as a policeman but as a warrior" He remained incommunicado for 19 days. Sent to Carabanchel on 7th Jan he is still there though not yet having appeared before a judge.

7) JUAN RUIZ MANERO

Law student. Arrested at pistol point in the street on 7th Dec. Tortured and insulted at the D.G.S. "Your mother is a whore" said one. Further torturing broke his nose. Sent to Carabanchel on Christmas day where he remains.

8) FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ QUINTEIRO

Arrested 23rd Dec, 2am, at home. Detained 23 days at D.G.S. transferred to Carabanchal. Appeared before a T.O.P. judge on 20th Jan who sentenced him to provisional detention.

He was interrogated 40 times by the D.G.S., two to five hours each time. The soles of his feet were beaten with leather whips so that he could barely walk afterwards.

\*\*\*\*\*

The following were also arrested in the month of December. They have been tortured and are still being held by the D.G.S. in Carabanchel despite the fact that many have been granted provisional liberty by the judges.

Dimingo Sanz Pardo

Politics student

Lorenzo Jiminez Romano

" "

Antonio Gomez Temprano

" "

Vincente Garnero Gallego

Printer

Gregorio Garcia Pimentel

" all work at

Fernando Alonso Gil

" Hausen y

Menet printers.



Julio Chaves Lopez	printer
Antonio Sama Delgado	"
Vicente Munoz Blanco	glass worker
Benito Laiz Castro	chemical worker
Jose Ignacio Castao de Benito	law student
Arturo Morax Lainez	student
Victor Pablo Bellon Alonso	student
Luis Maria Bro Rodriguez	student
Carlos Moreno Santos	student
Francisco Tovar Santos	student
Juan Irogoyen Sanchez Robles	Politics student
Fernando Molla Fernandez	" "
Gonzalo Moure Trenor	
Enrique Olivos Cabanillas	Law student
Antonio Suarez Martin	metal worker age 17

\*\*\*\*\*



Newspapers in French, Italian and Spanish.

French

Front Libertaire. Published by 'Germinal'  
19, rue des Suisses, 13 - ARLES

Le Monde Libertaire, 3, rue Ternaux,  
PARIS 11<sup>e</sup>

Le Combat Syndicaliste, 33 rue Vignoles  
PARIS 20 (in French & Spanish)

Italian

A.- Revista Anarchica, Piazzale Lugano  
31, 20158 MILANO

Umanita Nova. Via dei Taurini 27,  
00185, ROMA

SPANISH

Frente Libertario, Amador Alvarez, 87,  
r. de Patay, PARIS 13

Mujeres Libres (de Espana en Exilio)  
S. Portales, 84 Ilex Rd, London, N.W.10 ENGLAND

\*\*\*\*\*

BOOKS IN SPANISH : available from LIBERTARIA,  
95 West Green Rd, N15 LONDON

Que Es La Propiedad? P.J. Proudhon

Dios Y El Estado. M. Bakunin

Evolucion, Revolucion Y Anarquismo.

E. Reclus

Espana, Crisol Politico. H. Rabasseire

El Anarquismo D. Guerin

Marxismo y Socialismo Libertario" "

Problematica de la Autoridad en Proudhon

P. Heintz



THE ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
1814 - 1876

by Michael Bakunin

Translated by Freda Cohen from a Yiddish edition. First published by the Bakunin Press, Shepherds Bush, 1919.

The masses are the social power, or, at least, the essence of that power. But they lack two things in order to free themselves from the hateful conditions which oppress them: education and organisation. These two things represent, today, the real foundations of power of all government.

To abolish the military and governing power of the State, the proletarian must organise. But since organisation cannot exist without knowledge, it is necessary to spread among the masses real social education.

To spread this real social education is the aim of the International. Consequently, the day on which the International succeeds in uniting in its ranks a half, a fourth, or even a tenth part of the workers of Europe, the State or States will cease to exist. The organisation of the International will be altogether different from the organisation of the State, since its aim is not to create new States but to destroy all existing government systems. The more artificial, brutal, and authoritarian is the power of the State, the more indifferent and hostile it is to the natural developments, interests and desires of the people, the freer and more natural must be the organisation of the International. It must try all the more to accommodate itself to the natural instincts and ideals of the people.

But what do we mean by the natural organisation of the masses? We mean the organisation which is founded upon the experience and results of their everyday life



and the difference of their occupations, i.e., their industrial organisation. The moment all branches of industry are represented in their International, the organisation of the masses will be complete.

It might be said that, since we exercise, through the International, organised influence over the masses, we are aiming at new power equally with the politicians of the old State systems. This charge is a great mistake. The influence of the International over the masses differs from all government power in that it is no more than a natural, unofficial influence of ordinary ideas, without authority.

The State is the authority, the rule, and organised power of the possessing class, and the make-believe experts over the life and liberty of masses. The State does not want anything other than the servility of the masses. Hence it demands their submission.

The International, on the other hand, has no other object than the absolute freedom of the masses. Consequently, it appeals to the rebel instinct. In order that this rebel instinct should be strong and powerful enough to overthrow the rule of the State and the privileged class, the International must organise.

To reach this goal, it has to employ two quite just weapons:

- 1) The propagation of its ideas.
- 2) The natural organisation of its power or authority through the influence of its adherents on the masses.

A person who can assert that such organised activity is an attack on the freedom of the masses, or an attempt to create a new rule, is either a sophist or a fool. It is sad enough for those who don't know the rules of human solidarity, to think that complete individual independ-



ence is possible, or desirable. Such a condition would mean the dissolution of all human society, since the entire social existence of man depends on the interdependence of individuals and the masses. Every person, even the cleverest and strongest - nay, especially the clever and strong - are at all times, the creatures as well as the creators of this influence. The freedom of each individual is the direct outcome of those material, mental and moral influences of all individuals surrounding him in that society in which he lives, develops, and dies. A person who seeks to free himself from that influence in the name of a metaphysical, superhuman, and perfectly egotistical "freedom" aims at his own extermination as a human being. And those who refuse to use that influence on others, withdraw from all activity of social life, and by not passing on their thoughts and feelings, work only for their own destruction. Therefore, this so-called "independence", which is preached so often by the idealists and metaphysicians, this so-called individual liberty, is only the destruction of existence.

In nature, as well as in human society, which is never anything else than part of that same nature, every creature exists on condition that he tries, as much as his individuality will permit, to influence the lives of others. The destruction of that indirect influence would mean death. And when we desire the freedom of the masses, we by no means want to destroy this natural influence, which individuals or groups of individuals, create through their own contract.

What we seek is the abolition of the artificial, privileged, lawful, and official influence. If the Church and the State were private institutions, we should be, even then I suppose, their opponents. But we should not have protested against their right to exist. True, in a sense they are, today, private institutions, as they exist exclusively to conserve



the interests of the privileged classes. Still, we oppose them, because they use all the power of the masses to force their rule upon the latter in an authoritarian, official, and brutal manner. If the International could have organised itself in the State manner, we, its most enthusiastic friends, would have become its bitterest enemies. But it cannot possibly organise itself in such a form. The International cannot recognise limits to human fellowship and equality, whilst the State cannot exist unless it limits, by territorial pretensions, such fellowship and equality. History has shown us that the realisation of a league of all the States of the world, about which all the despots have dreamt, is impossible. Hence those who speak of the State, necessarily think and speak of a world divided into different States, who are internally oppressors and outwardly despoilers, i.e., enemies to each other. The State, since it involves this division, oppression, and despoilation of humanity, must represent the negation of humanity and the destruction of human society.

There would not have been any sense in the organisation of the workers at all, if they had not aimed at the overthrow of the State. It organises the masses with this object in view, to the end that they might reach this goal. And how does it organise them?

Not from the top to the bottom, by imposing a seeming unity and order on human society, as the State attempts, without regard to the differences of interest arising from differences of occupation. On the contrary, the International organises the masses from the bottom upwards, taking the social life of the masses, their real aspirations as a starting point, and encouraging them to unite in groups according to their real interests in society. The International evolves a unity of purpose and creates a real equilibrium of aim and well-being out of their natural difference in life and occupation.



Just because the International is organised in this way, it develops a real power. Hence it is essential that every member of every group should be acquainted thoroughly with all its principles. Only by these means will he make a good propagandist in time of peace and a real revolutionist in time of war.

We all know that our program is just. It expresses in a few noble words the just and humane demands of the proletariat. Just because it is an absolutely humane program, it contains all the symptoms of the social revolution. It proclaims the destruction of the old and the creation of the new world.

This is the main point which we must explain to all members of the International. This program substitutes a new science, a new philosophy, for the old religion. And it defines a new international policy, in place of the old diplomacy. It has no other object than the overthrow of the States.

In order that the members of the International scientifically fill their posts, as revolutionary propagandists, it is necessary for every one to be imbued with the new science, philosophy, and policy: the new spirit of the International. It is not enough to declare that we want the economic freedom of the workers, a full return for our labour, the abolition of classes, the end of political slavery, the realisation of all human rights, equal duties and justice for all: in a phrase, the unity of humanity. All this, is, without a doubt, very good and just. But when the workers of the International simply go on repeating these phrases, without grasping their truth and meaning, they have to face the danger of reducing their just claims to empty words, cant which is mouthed without understanding.

It might be answered that not all workers, even when they are members of the International, can be ed-



ucated. It is not enough then, that there are in the organisation, a group of people, who - as far as possible - are acquainted with the science, philosophy, and policy of Socialism? Cannot the wide mass follow their "brotherly advice" not to turn from the right path, that leads ultimately to the freedom of the proletariat?

The authoritarian Communists in the International often make use of these arguments, although they have wanted for the courage to state them so freely and so clearly. They have sought to hide their real opinion under demagogic compliments about the cleaverness and all powerfulness of the people. We were always the bitterest enemies of this opinion. And we are convinced that, if the International split into two groups - a big majority, and a small minority of ten, twenty, or more people - in such a way that the majority were convinced blindly of the theoretical and practical sense of the minority, the result would be the reduction of the International to an oligarchy - the worst form of State. The educated and capable minority would, together with its responsibilities, demand the rights of a governing body. And this governing body would prove more despotic than an avowed autocracy, because it would be hidden beneath a show of servile respect for the will of the people. The minority would rule through the medium of resolutions, imposed upon the people, and afterwards called "the will of the people". In this way, the educated minority would develop into a government, which, like all governments, would grow every day more despotic and reactionary.

The International only then can become a weapon for liberating the people, when it frees itself; when it does not permit itself to be divided into two groups - a big majority, the blind tool of an educated minority. That is why its first duty is to imprint upon the minds of its members the science, philosophy, and policy of Socialism.

\*\*\*\*\*



'To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of

the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged, condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed, and finally mocked, ridiculed, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is justice, such is morality.'

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

## ANARCHY Magazine 20p

95 WEST GREEN ROAD, LONDON N.15

In Support of the international Libertarian struggle. This bulletin is published when the information received demands it. Translators are always needed and welcome, but a large degree of commitment is required.

Published by LIBERTARIA 95 West Green Rd LONDON N15 ENGLAND. phone 01-800-9508

\*\*\*\*\*

N.B. The dates under the title 'Organization of the International' refer to the birth and death of Bakunin rather than to the period under discussion. ....Christ knows how they got there!!!!