

BLACK FLAG

organ of the



ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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MEINS

Torture and murder of German militants
see: **International Notes**
(Cover illustration Columba Longmore, Curragh Detention Centre)

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TWO COMRADES AWAIT DEATH SENTENCE IN IRELAND.

Our two young comrades Marie McPhillips (Murray) and Noel Murray have been sentenced to death by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin. This is a face-saving device by the Irish Government to show England it is taking stern measures against the IRA, without taking it on. The "Court" is a political appointment similar to the Nazi People's Courts. There is no jury. Were such a "Court" to be used by the British against the IRA, there would be protests about tyranny all over Ireland. This tyranny exists in the Irish Republic. The hangman would have to be imported from England. Protests must be made to the Home Secretary not to allow a hired mercenary for this task.

Permission to appeal has been refused our comrades, and immediate protest action must be taken by all comrades. Send letters or telegrams of protest to Premier Cosgrave, Government Buildings, Dublin, Eire, or to the Justice Minister(?) at the same address. The Irish Embassy is at 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1. A flood of our letters and protests should also go immediately to the Minister of Justice, at the International Court of Appeal in Strasbourg. Get your trade union to send a formal letter of protest. But act NOW.

The death sentence on Noel and Marie has been deferred to the 29th July. Ronan Stenson is still awaiting sentence. There is no time to lose show solidarity and **MAKE OUR PROTESTS EFFECTIVE.**

New Attack by CNT on Comisiones Obreros

Luis Andres Edo, the veteran and prominent militant of the CNT has declared of Marcelino Camacho's recent statement that: "It is lamentable Camacho should share the same interest as capitalism in 'regimenting' the labour movement". (Edo was a colleague of Camacho while in prison). On the subject of the Co-ordination of Union Forces Edo went on to say that the "CNT is against unity by decree. The unity which is eulogised at the moment is organised from the top down and does not take into consideration the interests of the rank and file. Only a workers congress can decide finally on this matter.

For its part, the Badalona Local Federation of the CNT has accused the Comisiones Obreros of similar highhandedness: "The manoeuvre of the Comisiones Obreros presupposes a unitarianism imposed from above which can only serve the needs of certain political parties, even though these may be in direct conflict with the needs and interests of the workers and peasants", according to a communique issued yesterday.

Problems, problems. The Deficit is going up UP UP. State of play as at 25th June 1976:

Black Flag	£	p
Deficit carried fwd.	1275.	27
Printing & production	185.	00
Postage	87.	25
Rent	48.	00
Stationery	2.	50
	£1598.	02

Subs & sales	£129.	05
Donations*	46.	70
	175.	75

Deficit carried fwd. £1422. 27

*Glasgow A.Mc. £6; Essex M.E. £1.90; London L.S. £1.80; J.T. 50p; Swansea D.W. £3.50; Chicago R.C. £30; H.M. Prison, M.S. £3.

The administration costs of running Black Flag would be nil but for the fact that it is sustaining Anarchist Black CROSS which swells the postage bill to an incredible height... we urgently need a rally round.

Prisoners Resistance Fund

Balance carried fwd.	£10.04
Guam S.S.	£9.37; Cosham (Hants) S.B. £6; US M.H. £5; London JT £1.20;
Raffle organised Newcastle-u-Lyne per MT £20	— Total £51.61
Veterans concert	— £11.00
	£40.00

Not a big turn out, saved by some "old faithfuls" and magnificent showing by Staffs comrades. However more than atoned by having been able to direct lots of direct aid to Spanish comrades in new situation — in particular IWW Defence Fund, organised from Toronto which has been doing a grand job for some CNT prisoners, latest of them Carballo Blanco.

Consternation has raged in Detroit over the past few days as a result of a fake ad which appeared in our sister paper, **Fifth Estate**. The ad, supposedly placed by General Motors, urged criminals or crazed leftists not to kidnap any one of 15 senior management officials whose names, addresses (all top secret in Detroit) and weak points in their security were listed in the advert. The reason for this passionate appeal was that despite a recorded profit of \$800 million dollars (net) in the first quarter (!) of 1976 it was not a civilised thing to do. Some people have no sense of humour!

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What did Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart (British 'man in Moscow during the Revolution') describe as Trotsky's 'first great operation as Commissar of War'; and what personal motivation did he suggest impelled Trotsky?
2. For what "atrocious" was General Butler, commanding the US troops occupying Confederate New Orleans in the Civil War, known as 'Butler the Beast'?
3. What sensational kidnapping of political hostages had far-reaching consequences (though it ended farcically) because of the leniency shown its perpetrators — who became world famous statesmen?

BALLADE IN A BAD TEMPER

Louise MacNeice

Gentlemen who boss the age—
Magistrate, magnate, editor,
Greasy priest and crooked sage,
Field Marshal and Prime Minister—
I have no liking to defer
To capitalist or bureaucrat;
As for your Social Register
You know what you can do with that!

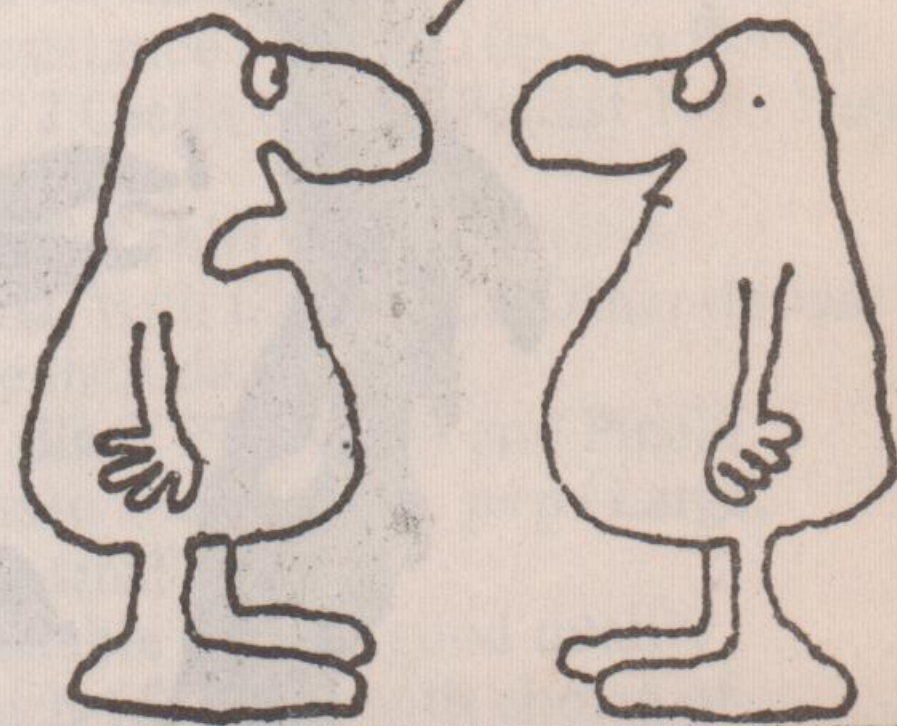
And all you hacks who line the stage
To lick their boots and call them 'Sir',
Your only habitat a cage,
Your only business to concur,
Excuse me if I must demur
At holding anybody's hat
(You say that it is de rigueur?)—
You know what you can do with that!

And you, the Moderates, who assuage
Their anger with a gentle purr
And lying low attempt to gauge
The way the weathercock will stir,
Your brains a mere barometer,
Who sold your birthright for a fat
Mess of pottage — I infer
You know what you can do with that!

Envoi

You too, my philanthropic sir,
Ready to skin the alley cat
If anyone would buy the fur —
You know what you can do with that!

I'M HAVING A
DIFFICULT TIME
DETERMINING IF
I'M PARANOID OR
PERCEPTIVE!



The CNT communique from Badalona concluded with a protest concerning a militant of their organisation who, in spite of having already served 25 years in prison still has another 18 years to serve, and a call for the release of all political prisoners

EL PAIS 25

4. How was it that the first woman elected to the House of Commons did not know about it for a week?
5. After an attempted assassination of a foreign Head of State involving a Birmingham-made bomb, the Prime Minister was warned by the Government concerned of 'assassination elevated into doctrine' and introduced a Bill to curb it. How was this received by the House of Commons?
6. Many old buccaneers of the Spanish Main were hanged at the yardarm though others were pardoned if they switched to serving the Crown. What happened to the notorious swashbuckler Blackbourne? — the stickiest, most appropriate end of all?

(Answers on p 5)

A STRUGGLE FOR THE SLUMS

The clashes over Asian immigration are said to stem from Mr. Enoch Powell's speeches, say many worthy Establishment liberals. Strange that no heads are broken demanding free monetarism; there are no stabbings as a result of his cry for more police power; and nobody, not even in Ulster, is roused to angry demonstration in favour of his theory that Loyalism means loyalty to the Crown in Parliament! Only, on the subject of immigration, it seems, does his eloquence convince people into fury, which rather underlines the falsity of the "great man" theory once again and suggests that it merely happens that his utterances happen to run parallel to prevailing opinion.

Easy to court cheap popularity among the Asian youth by protesting that all who object to immigration are "fascists" and racists. We do not need to follow the IS, IMG, old unclear Trot cobblers and all by demands to "ban the National Front," like the "revolutionaries" so infatuated with the State they even expect it to make the revolution for them given sufficient resolutions backed up by chanting demonstrators.

The fact is that there is strong working class resistance to the present policy on immigration and to racial policies generally. Why be an ostrich? There is far less middle class resistance because it does not affect them in the same way. The Establishment is liberal because it lives in leafy suburbs with ample space and wide lawns and where one can't hear one's neighbours. They chat with the Indian doctor of philosophy on the way to the local shop and pride themselves on achieving racial harmony. Only when they are politicians on the make do they play the Numbers Game (which the liberals play exactly the opposite way). But if there were no issues there would be no votes to gain. The fascists do not invent the problem any more than revolutionaries do class issues. They are a product of it.

The importance of the fascist victory on the racial front is seen in one important issue. The whole basis of the State is to parcel off the world into partitions, and declare that it owns the whole of one territory. It purports to control the individual by right from birth unless swearing allegiance to another State. It controls and restricts his or her movements; as if it owned the earth, sea and air by natural right. Nobody could possibly justify this in this day and age, the whole idea has taken a bashing with modern transport, modern ideas, the lapse of superstition. Suddenly, in a relatively free society, a majority of the people most exploited in this way turn round not merely to defend such a system, but to advocate *even greater controls* by the State. What a victory for Statism! "Long live our chains!"

Yet it is impossible to go along with all the zany ideas of the Establishment liberals. The African States weren't being "racist" when they kicked out the Asians; they were simply trying to dispose of a middle-class which was notoriously exploitative. They didn't want to take out local citizenship because it would have brought them down to the level of the Africans.

The racial squealing of the fascists trying to exploit the "poor white" mentality ("If only I were black . . ." they significantly whine) balances the welfare statism of the liberal establishment who see (and this is not cynical) a fertile field for their talents in the do-good field. Social workers, find the arrival of ready-made "minorities" with their problems an ideal field of endeavour; they swarm around the ghettos like old time missionaries.

A lot of the working class resentment is not so much against colour, it is against this middle-class liberal patronising, and also for it, because it wants to join in the something-for-nothing auction market which is the basis of social-democracy today, the Welfare State and the "claims" on State compassion in which somebody must be at the end of the queue and anyone who lengthens the queue causes hardship.

Because militancy and independence (they are the same thing in the working-class though alternatives in the middle-class) have been jettisoned, there is a claims rush — a copper rush more than a gold one! — for handouts from the Welfare State, the do-gooder principle demands naturally, logically and compassionately that the harder the case the higher the position in the queue. Scales of immigration always cause some problems in society and colour causes others; but this is behind the bitterness and the tension on the white side.

This is the attitude that must be overcome and it is not overcome by telling those who hold it that they are really fascists

did they but know it — or one creates the very situation one was trying to avoid.

Then too immigration flows naturally from emigration; the one causes the other. For two centuries the British people have been sold the line that all their problems are to be solved by emigration, now they are told that all their problems are caused by immigration or that immigration poses no problems.

Capitalism deliberately depopulated the land to get a reservoir of labour more or less at the bottom of industrial society. Even since 1945, when all the economic hens have come home to roost, emigration has continued at a steady pace — not to one country but into huge sub-continent and territories.

The result, with a falling birth-rate, would be depopulation on a grand scale like that of the Highlands; it is perfectly obvious the industrialists had two choices — either to persuade the Government to stop emigration — and this would have been and still is a highly unpopular course, not could it have been enforced without a "Berlin Wall" (which is precisely why the Berlin Wall was built) — or to encourage immigration. It cannot be supposed they could have adopted the only possible alternative to wind up their industries the way the Scottish landlords wound up the economy of the country so that they could hunt pheasants on it.

What has been the result? There has always been a steady reserve at the bottom of the rung of industrial society, a submerged section from which it is sometimes impossible to escape and one is caught by social pressures. This surrounds and entraps in turn the lower paid worker, and the higher paid worker has to fight to get out of it and incidentally come into economic conflict with differently paid workers as a result. As if with a wand, or a stroke of modern technology (and no doubt they would have planned it that way if they could) the ruling class of this country has *changed the colour* of their adversaries: has brought in African and Asian workers to fill up the slums (and get the blame for the slums existing), or to find their way on to the social services and urban housing (and get the blame for jumping the queue, and because of the steady rate of emigration (which was planned) coupled with the rate of immigration (which was not).

So far from this causing the capitalists embarrassment, on the contrary, the white workers are rallying round the State as never before — demanding more restrictions on liberty! They are abandoning internationalist ideas which were rocking capitalism and at any rate forming a pool for the right wing to swim in. The most bitter of all, of course, are those who are left behind in the submerged bottom of society, along with the immigrants: the poorest in society — always reckoned to be the most dangerous from the point of revolution — are transformed into the most reactionary along with the unemployed and unemployable young blacks! Too much to say that the whole thing was a planned trick of the reactionary forces; but it couldn't have been better for them if it had been.

It is no good pretending there is a facile answer, producing a few liberal or socialistic slogans.

But one may note the classic element of immigration tension is missing because of the existence of a labour movement. Say what one will about the trade union leadership, while free workers organisations exist fascism cannot triumph. The sharpest divisions that have come over the use of immigration has been the use of the pauper alien as sweated labour in order to undercut wages. The trade union movement has, by and large, prevented this. Maybe it exists to some degree among Pakistanis and Cypriots as the result of ignorance and swindling. But it is a minimal cause of the tension which exists: it is social and cultural, not economic.

So often one must stand aside from what seem to be the major problems of the day, which are well trailed red herrings.

That some racial tension must exist is an inevitable product of the capitalist system as it exists and endless debates on racialism and tolerance and so on are pointless while problems undoubtedly *do* exist. If there were such a thing as a revolutionary movement, and not the shadow of one, the immigration issue would become supremely irrelevant, which it is not at the moment. If people were thinking about seizing the means of life and taking everything, they would welcome allies. If they are thinking in terms of what benefits can be doled out by a paternal state, they object to competitors.

(Cont. over)

ROON'n'ABOUT

YOUTH BASHING

At the National Association of Head Teachers in Worthing, concern was expressed lest the dole queue for school leavers become a "breeding ground for revolution." Mr. Stanley Dixon, one headmaster, said we shall "finish up with an army of the least able, least articulate and most vulnerable members of our society, many of them from working class homes and many of them immigrants they may not be as organised as the National Union of Students but I assure you they are a far more fertile breeding ground for revolution than all the sociology departments of universities rolled into one."

This is no doubt true enough; though Dixon meant it as a threat rather than a promise, saying that occupations of universities "will seem chickenfeed to what this unemployment situation can bring." What is the remedy proposed? "We must talk frankly about the 250,000 young people who are in serious difficulty this summer in finding jobs," said Mr. John Swallow, another headmaster, to applause, adding this significant rider: the West Indies, aware of the dangers unemployment can bring, have introduced a form of national service for school leavers which conscripts them into directed community work.

First of all they are considered to be in "serious difficulty" for something which could not possibly be of their making. But as their "serious difficulty" will make them a "breeding ground for revolution" — that is to say, prone to do something which they haven't yet done — they are to be condemned for a crime they haven't committed, and, as an admitted means of prevention rather than punishment, conscripted into labour camps. We must talk frankly, must we? Brother, you spilled a mouthful.

LOCAL RADIO

The London phone-in programmes on the radio offer one of the cheapest methods of influencing opinion available to the average citizen.

The running comment by the chat-jockey is usually either fatuous or prejudiced, but the point is not what he replies, but what points are made by the person phoning in. They didn't really mind being caught out — or even forced to lose their temper. It all makes for human image so far as they are concerned. And anyone with a reasoned point of view can run rings round them.

All you need to do is to phone in and either ask some questions or make some points, and who knows what response you evoke in the breasts of those listening? Strangely, so far as London is concerned, the ones who take most advantage of this facility are the closet fascists of the National Front. Do not look for a conspiracy.

But others aren't doing it, they only have one theme: Immigration — sometimes trying to vary it a bit with abuse of social security, or mugging, or council housing, but always coming back to the same whine.

In contrast, libertarians, — if they only phoned in more often — have so many topics on which to discuss to which they bring unusual — sometimes, outrageous ideas, from the point of view of their interlocutor, but never dull. What are clichés to us, appear to be bright, fresh and novel in the world of phone-in programmes. It need not be anarchism itself you talk about — give a point of view on education, management, Government, anything. Try it on more often, London libertarians. Perhaps this also applies to other places, where — with more community spirit than exists in London — it would make a greater effect. (Let us know).

REMEMBER THE LYNKEY TRIBUNAL?

For connoisseurs of post-war labour history, or old-timers with good memories, Sir Harold Wilson's notorious retiring Honours List, with city slickers from Gannex to Goldsmith, will evoke a stir of regret . . . not even a lousy OBE for Sidney Stanley?

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY

The Scottish Labour Party has made its debut on the Scottish scene, under the auspices of Mr. James Millar, for years (and elected as) reformist, orthodox Labour MP for Ayrshire South, who has helped to form the party as a counterbalance both to the orthodox Labour Party and to the growing Scottish National

Party. It "intervened" for the first time in an election at Darnley, capturing 30 per cent of the total Labour vote, for whatever one can make of election results. (It comes, after all, to only 627 heads). The Scottish Labour Party says frankly it is aiming at the traditional nationalist and socialist vote; but when it comes to tradition, why is it using the name SLP? The traditions of the old SLP are strong in Glasgow and Edinburgh; the Socialist Labour Party was highly respected by workers and many of the best Scottish militants of years gone by were in it. The SLP was the party of John Maclean (now referred to as "an anarchist" by the "Scottish" Press!); it had revolutionary syndicalist leanings and its parliamentarianism was at least propagandistic rather than reformistic. It's not Mr. Millar's fault if "S" happens to stand for both Scottish and Socialist; but we would take a bet it is more than a happy coincidence. We even have a sneaking suspicion that some time the "SLP" is going to go back to the Labour Party having succeeded in garnering the people dissatisfied with it. It wouldn't be the first time *that* happened.

JACK THE RIPPER

A new book on Jack the Ripper (which we shall no doubt review in due course) is being summarised in a serial in the London Evening News. It takes the facts as they are now beyond doubt proven to be: that the whole job was a cover-up by the Establishment. The Government, including the Royal Family (and it even seems Queen Victoria herself was privy to the scheme, incredible as this may appear to those brainwashed by the media), was determined to remove all witnesses to the fact that the heir to the throne has privately married an Irish Catholic. These were political murders, disguised as random maniacal killings.

In the course of the serialisation the Evening News mentions among the wilder theories prevalent over the years, that it was thought the Russian Government might have used a "mad doctor" to discredit the Anarchist movement. The Russian Government (whose police then as now have not altered their methods nor their tyranny) undoubtedly did such things. But the interesting thing is how would it have discredited the Anarchist movement even if the "mad doctor" had really been an Anarchist? Yet we know it would then and now, over the years, be held out and reproduced now as somehow proving the undesirability of stateless socialism. It is not suggested however that the fact of it being political assassinations for understandable political motives by the Royal Family and the Conservative Party under Lord Salisbury (the author suggests only Freemasons, which came into it as well) prove the undesirability of capitalism or the State.

URUGUAY

Our comrade Gerardo Gatti, who has played a vital role in the labour and revolutionary movements in Uruguay, was forced to flee to Argentina, where he has been detained.

Gatti, who is 45 (and has three children) was a member of the Bookworkers' Union and helped to form, in 1964, the National Convention of Workers (CNT, Uruguay). He also published *Lucha Libertaria*, *Rojo y Negro* (both anarchist papers) and edited the independent daily *Epoca*. In 1956 he was one of those who helped found the FAU (Uruguayan Anarchist Federation). He was sent to prison in 1970 — without trial — when he wrote his "Letters to a colonel in the Uruguayan army" published in the weekly *Companero*, which caused a tremendous stir.

He was released, and fought against repression, being forced to flee Uruguay in 1973, for Argentina. There he tried to carry on the struggle until his arrest on June 10th this year. Trade union protests should be sent to the Minister of the Interior of the Argentine Republic, Gen. Harguindeguy; demanding free speech in the Argentine and the release of Gerardo Gatti.

A Struggle for the Slums (cont.)

If someone in the back-streets of Birmingham wins the pools they make for Barbados. If there were freedom and prosperity in Barbados, why would anyone come here from there in any numbers to live in Birmingham? If there were freedom and prosperity here, who would mind? When we fight, not for freedom and prosperity, but over who should occupy the back-streets of Birmingham, who benefits?

EXTREMISM OF THE CENTRE

No longer has parliamentary democracy any connotations of participation or control by the people as we remarked in our last issue. Most accept that they have no control whatever; the only gauge they have as to what constitutes a "democracy" is the extent to which the repressive forces of the State are used against them. If "they" leave us alone, do not knock us on the head (too often), do not raid us in the early morning (without a warrant), do not send us to prison camps (without a judicial sentence) it is a democracy; if they do, it isn't — though some of the ones that practise it like to call themselves a "people's democracy" just to distinguish.

The tendency now in the ascendant in many countries of Western Europe is the Centre, once discredited, once unable to impose its extremism or totalitarianism in the way the Right or Left could to the extent it was thought that by definition it could not be so. Yet the Centre exists as a viable and ruling political force; it has its package deals as do the Right and Left; while it poses as being moderate, its "moderation" consists in the way in which it administers capitalism but has nothing to do with the "moderation" that suggests calmness and reason — any more than "liberals" are "liberal" or "communists" have anything to do with communes.

Too often the extremism of the Centre is labelled "fascism". This is fair enough rhetorically; but it is not the same thing. The Centre can also be totalitarian, aggressive and dictatorial.

In Britain we do not as yet have a police state — though in Northern Ireland we are moving towards it. Political power is in the grasping hands of the lawyers who traditionally dominate Centre politics — indeed, part of the propaganda of the Centre Establishment is that "parliamentary democracy" owes its existence to the lawyers, that they are the guardians of its liberties (not the people) and that any attempt to by-pass rule by lawyers means a plunge into "anarchy" or into tyranny. The idea of lawyers as guardians of liberty, of anything except guineas, has been a fantastic one throughout the ages! What they thrive on are legal cases and the accumulation of money by trickery. In such an atmosphere liberty does not thrive. What thrives are *deals* and the so-called parliamentary democracy is a series of deals . . . how to settle problems of labour, immigration, Ireland . . . formulae, formal agreements, legalistic argument and phraseology . . . but nobody's liberty is safeguarded. At most they build hedges round the fields of liberty.

In pre-Hitler Germany, when the Centre reigned supreme, the judiciary tended to be a faltering one, because it was up against

an aggressive Right and an apparently overwhelming Left (which ultimately ran away from the struggle); it was preoccupied with its own problems, since it was not comfortably economically cushioned as in England, salaries were at the mercy of financial fluctuations, the old men of the Bench were worried about getting their quotas of black market meat and what would happen to their pensions. They were in no position to make a firm stand. The first moves of the successful Right were totally illegal and could still be challenged in the courts. But just as the Left collapsed when its leaders were (illegally) arrested, the Centre collapsed when these unconstitutional moves by the Right went unchallenged and they found they had yielded their power.

Today, in this country and many others, the judiciary is powerful — which is never realised by people who think usually in terms of "jackboots" and cannot understand that the physically decrepit — for the most part — can be "strong men!" It shapes political decisions, and lawyers — who dominate the Commons — even make the laws the lawyers administer. The essential thing about British politics is that the police are subordinate to it. This can change — many would welcome it if it did — but there is now a growing totalitarianism of the Centre run by the lawyers who look on liberty as legal loopholes, and the exercise of civil rights as "driving a coach and horses" through their carefully devised acts. They are more than holding their own in the drive to totalitarianism; they do not need "fascism."

The most trite slogans of the Centre are passing into popular imagination as accepted "truths" in particular the idea that they are both somehow an embattled minority and at the same time the vast majority. It is suggested that politicians who run the State are self-seeking but at the same time that they are representative, their decisions sacrosanct and unchallengeable; it is agreed — it scarcely could be otherwise — that lawyers are greedy but that by ignoring their decisions one is guilty of anti-social behaviour.

The State is a parasite on society. When it is run by lawyers there is a particular dimension in that one naturally prefers a lawyer, who rules by garnishees, to a soldier who rules by bullets. But that is to estimate the degree to which they oppress, to formulate the type of oppression. They themselves have no words in which to justify their rule except by saying that somebody else would be worse — and it may well be so. There is no reason, however, for anyone to feel there is some natural justification for them being there other than they once had the chance of power and took it.

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(For a full and up-to-date account of books and pamphlets on anarchism read The Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature, 1976 30p + 10p p&p).

Latest title "Hungary '56" 138pp £1.00 also "The Essential Kropotkin" by Capouya £2.95 p/b.

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INTERNATIONAL

GERMANY

Reaction to the murder of Ulrike Meinhof.

Ulrike Meinhof was "found hanged" after extra-sensory deprivation.



Ulrike Meinhof

May 9th

Paris offices of Klockner — INA & Thyssen Steel Co. bombed.

Goethe Institute in Toulouse destroyed by firebomb.

West German travel agency in Rome destroyed by a bomb planted by the "Holger Meins anti-imperialist centre."

May 10th

Street battles in Frankfurt between 1000 demonstrators and police when the authorities attempted to break up a protest meeting with batons and water cannon. The marchers retaliated with molotov cocktails and smashed windows at the offices of American Express and the American Haus (US cultural centre) then went on to block the main thoroughfare with parked cars, building material and furniture from nearby street cafes. Seven policemen were injured, one with 60% burns when a well-aimed molotov cocktail was thrown through the open window of a police car. Many demonstrators were arrested.

May 11th

Naples office of Lufthansa Airlines and a German supermarket firebombed. State courthouse in Wuppertal firebombed.

Bombs explode in Munich and Zurich.

West German Ambassador's residence in Copenhagen smeared with paint.

Barcelona offices of West German chemical firm, Hoechst Chemical Co., attacked by demonstrators using home-made explosives.

May 12th

Second night of violent demonstrations in West Berlin.

Security guards placed on France/Germany rail routes to check out numerous bomb threats to rail links.

May 15th

Following Ulrike Meinhof's funeral in West Berlin thirty two people arrested by German police. RAF defence lawyer, Klaus Croissant, excluded from trial, declares at Ulrike's graveside: "... the murder of Ulrike, which has been put down as suicide, is the direct consequence of prison conditions and the war of destruction being waged by the authorities against the ultra-leftist movement."

More than 4,500 mourners left the cemetery chanting, "The fight goes on!"

Bomb explodes outside Hamm courthouse near Dortmund.

Fourteen writers and intellectuals, including Simone de Beauvoir and Jean Paul Satre sign statements in Paris expressing "abhorrence of the tragic end of Ulrike Meinhof," and demanding an end to "the barbaric treatment of the remaining accused."

May 22nd

"The Committee Against Repression in West Germany" picket Lufthansa office in London.

day as his release was refused K.H. Roth collapsed while being transported to prison and his blood pressure sank to an alarmingly low rate. On arrival at the prison hospital in Dusseldorf it was necessary to put him on a drip since then his condition has remained unchanged.

The diagnosis that Dr. Roth did not require further treatment was the ill-informed opinion of Cologne's prison doctor, Bechtel, on January 22nd, 1976, but **neither on that day nor for the previous three weeks had he examined Karl-Heinz.** The last occasion on which Bechtel spoke to Karl Heinz was at the beginning of January and in fact Karl requires urgent comprehensive medical treatment which the prison authorities cannot supply.

As a result of gunshot wounds in the stomach and intestines, which has caused internal bleeding and clots, there is every likelihood that K.H.'s intestines may be tied up permanently. On an earlier occasion Karl-Heinz almost died because of an intestinal lock due to internal deformations and again on that occasion doctors refused to believe him (K.H. Roth is a surgeon) and accused him of malingering, but an emergency operation was soon needed to remove the lock.

As the tying up of the intestines periodically leads to severe colic pains Karl-Heinz is permanently dependent upon strong laxatives (which weaken the intestines further and also damage other organs) as his intestines cannot transport anything naturally. Since his arrest he has lost over four stones in weight and his blood pressure has dropped rapidly to a dangerously low level. It is clear from the lack of recovery symptoms since his arrest that Karl-Heinz will be unable to re-build himself physically nor will he be able to build up any reserves due to the strict regime of solitary confinement under which he is being held. It is well known to the medical authorities — including the German prison staff that the recovery rate of cases of serious stomach and intestinal illnesses depend to a great extent on environmental factors and psychological influences surrounding the patient. The death rate for normal post-operative intestinal lock is between 30 and 70%. With his weak constitution the odds against Karl-Heinz surviving are extremely high. The only way he can be saved is by immediate and comprehensive medical attention which the prison authorities are unable to give him. In spite of his condition the Cologne district court didn't even bother to call in expert medical specialists for their opinion. The prison doctor, Bechtel, "may be a professional doctor but he knows nothing about the intricacies of the stomach and intestines — he is a neurologist!"

In addition the court responsible for Karl-Heinz seems totally disinterested in the legal care order for his health. On the contrary, in the legal decision passed down refusing his release from custody it says "Karl-Heinz Roth's state of health is leading back to his own behaviour before his arrest." It is difficult for anyone not to see punishment in the court's refusal to grant him the urgent medical treatment he requires, a punishment to which no court could legally condemn him. It is an accepted legal principle that no person is obliged to sacrifice his or her life or health for the purposes of imprisonment while on remand. Article two of Basic-



Prevent the legal murder of Karl Heinz Roth

Cologne district court has refused to release the political author Dr. Karl-Heinz Roth who at present is seriously ill in prison. The decision was made on the basis that there was no need to increase the amount of treatment Karl-Heinz was receiving. On the same

NOTES

Law states: "Everybody has the right to life and to be free from physical injuries." It is obvious that only by international public pressure being brought to bear on the German Government and its emissaries will Karl-Heinz Roth receive the medical treatment he requires.

How you can help save Karl-Heinz Roth's life.

Signed letters of protest with the following text to the addresses below:

An den Justizminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen Dieter Posser Justizministerium 4 Dusseldorf.	and E. Kanzow Stolbergerstr. 17, 28 Bremen.
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The text is as follows:

Sehr geehrter Herr Posser!

Durch Pressemitteilungen und Informationen von Freunden bin ich auf die lebensbedrohliche Situation des Untersuchungshaftlings Karl-Heinz Roth, zur Zeit im Krankenhaus der Justizvollzugsanstalt Dusseldorf, aufmerksam gemacht worden.

Ein Haftverschonungsantrag seiner Anwalte wurde ohne stichhaltige Begrundung abgelehnt. Um zu gewährleisten das weiterer Schaden an Leib und Leben von Karl Heinz Roth abgewendet wird, muss die Haft ausgesetzt werden. Ich bitte Sie, zu überprüfen, ob die Justiz ihres Landes der öffentlich und rechtlich gebotenen Fürsorgepflicht für Untersuchungshaftlinge im Fall von Karl-Heinz Roth nachkommt.

Signed

For further information write to:

Lawyer Hartmann, Heusweg 35, 2 Hamburg 19 or Angelika Ebbinghaus, Dillstr. 3, 2 Hamburg 13.

Wolfgang Grundmann

Our imprisoned comrade Wolfgang Grundmann is still in danger of his life. The trial of Manfred Grashof, Wolfgang Grundmann and Klaus Junschke is now taking place in which all are accused of having committed various robberies with their comrades of the Red Army Fraction.

Since his arrest in March 1972 Wolfgang Grundmann has been in solitary confinement. The conditions of his imprisonment have led to a severe deterioration in his health. At the end of March this year he had an intestinal infection which put him in great danger of his life which was only saved by transferring him to the university hospital in Mainz for treatment. When he was no longer on the danger list he was returned to prison. Can Wolfgang Grundmann now regain his health under the same conditions of imprisonment that made him ill? The court refuses to allow Wolfgang out of prison so that he can be given the necessary medicines and treatments. The court is in effect sending him to his death.

Karl Heinz Roth is in the same position, as are other prisoners. In the case of Katharina Hammerschmidt the delay in giving treatment and her delayed release from prison led to her death. Holger Meins and Siegfried Hausner had a similar experience, and although it was clear that the conditions of their imprisonment endangered their lives, they were given no respite.

The deaths of our comrades whilst in captivity and the denial of simple justice (by order of the state authorities), prison sickness and the disregard for comrades who are seriously ill are not simply regrettable errors, but the outcome of the system. The death sentence for revolutionaries is being re-introduced by the back door, the basic right of life and physical safety is denied to certain prisoners. With the decision of the court all other considerations are set aside in favour of the overriding interest of state security and the legal system. Once imprisoned an opponent of the system must remain behind bars as the price of his life. The fact that solitary confinement over a number of years leads to severe damage to a person's health and to the gradual destruction of personal political identity is currently undisputed and has been demonstrated by numerous experts.

The strategy of slow execution, of gradual putting to death through solitary confinement, is something before which the subject is more or less helpless. Worse still it keeps out of

(cont. on p11)

FRANCE

Sometime around 2am on 8/9th March a bomb exploded in the grounds of the Toulouse-Rangueil Science Faculty killing two anarchists: Robert TOUATI (24) and Juan Durran ESCRIBANO (23). But it was not until 2pm on March 10th that a gardener at the university discovered the corpses. Immediately the French press began to scream about an attentat against the Minister of the Interior, Poniatoski, by the "GARI."

As the press and police did not know what had happened they fell back on invention. Poniatoski had attended the funeral of a local CRS colonel (Joel Le Goff), killed a few days earlier in a clash with wine-growers, at CRD 27 barracks adjoining the campus later in the morning of the explosion. According to the press reports Touati and Escribano had planned to lower their device over the wall of the CRS barracks and detonate it during the funeral service. Somehow, whilst apparently setting the timer, it had exploded prematurely killing both comrades.

According to the French police Touati was a member of the GARI. To him they attributed a whole series of explosions and attacks on public buildings in the Toulouse area, even claiming that he was suspected of involvement in the May 1974 kidnapping of M. Angel Balthazar Suarez (director of the Bank of Bilbao in Paris). Later the papers had to admit that it was more likely that Touati and Escribano had acted alone on their own initiative — though not discounting that others may have been involved but had managed to escape. For none of their claims could the French press (acting on "information" from the police) provide any evidence.

Neither were the police, in raids throughout the area, able to find anything related to the explosion. Twenty-three people were arrested for questioning but all later released. One of those questioned Daniel GELIN, an anarchist whose car registration licence had been found by police near the site of the explosion. Gelin had set up a support committee for Jean-Claude Driant and Dominique Monti, two comrades injured whilst attempting to place a bomb in front of the Palais de Justice in Albi. He was not held by the police.

"France Soir" (15/3/76) published a statement from Me. Marie-Christine Etelin, the lawyer for local political groups in Toulouse:

"I am firmly convinced that Touati or "Bebert" (Robby) as he liked to be known, certainly did not wish to blow up Mr.

Poniatoski. He acted alone with Juan Escribano. They were killed probably while attempting to demolish a wall or a bus . . ."

Me. Etelin had met both of the dead comrades. Juan Escribano (Diego) a student from Madrid University, had been forced to leave Madrid 18 months before after being identified during an attack on an armoury.

"These were certainly no idiots, they knew that the Minister was absolutely invulnerable."

Having failed to construct another conspiracy against the GARI (although the press, even after saying Robert and Diego had acted on their own initiative, still linked news on the affair with chronologies of GARI actions) the police arrested Sylvie Porte, a friend of Robert Touati, in Paris in the hope that they could widen the net to inculcate more people and make more arrests. Sylvie was held in Paris for seven days of questioning, then transferred to Toulouse. She is at the time of writing still in jail, in the Prison St. Michel Toulouse awaiting the whims of the French police and examining judge Bensoussan. So far all visits — even from members of her own family — have been refused. **For the "crime" of losing a friend Sylvie Porte has been imprisoned and is being used as a political hostage by the French authorities.** It is up to all of us to see that she does not remain in prison. Write letters of solidarity to her addressed to:—

Sylvie PORTE no. 25 - 72
Prison St. Michel,
31000 — Toulouse
France.

and protest to your local representatives of the French Government and to Judge Bensoussan

Palais de justice de Toulouse,
Toulouse,
France.

*See stop press

NB. *Le Monde Libertaire* (organ of the French Anarchist Federa-

THE MAFIA, THE C.I.A., AND

by ALFREDO BONANNO

(from Anarchismo No. 7)

The situation in Italy has greatly deteriorated over the last few months. The underlying economic crisis has, in spite of the collaboration of the trade unions, determined the present political crisis. In turn this has shown the North American guardians of our Atlantic virginity the possibility of unpleasant developments, such as the fall of the lira, an operation comparable in certain aspects to that of the arrival of the Russian tanks in Budapest, Prague and Warsaw.

Without government, with tens of thousands of people out of work, thousands of firms bankrupt, a bureaucracy which is devouring itself, with a totally negative international economic perspective, the country is consoling itself with the results of the last elections and the success of the communists, seeing in this a partial solution to all its problems.

Apart from the fact that the communists have no solution, that they certainly do not want to take on the burden of managing a State in a state of bankruptcy without at least the benefit of the balance, apart from the fact that the strength of the Christian Democrats is not altogether spent, there remains the problem of international equilibrium which cannot be disturbed by the pressing and continuing events of the last few months.

The State is vacillating and for this reason is rallying servants of every shape and colour, while at the same time it is being called to order by another greater State. This is a complicated affair with important implications, particularly for the weakest links in the chain. The Americans are accusing our notable politicians of not having known how to manage the State and who now find themselves with the communists at the door, accusing the trade unionists (in their pay) of having made bad use of the money, and accusing all the *pezzi grossi* who pocketed money from the CIA of having squandered it without knowing how to construct the barrier which the Atlantic agreements foresaw. The ear-pulling of the lira is not only a "punishment" necessary to get our international accounts straightened out, but also a warning.

Those who have taken money from the CIA have been many, but that is not the most important problem; the "affairs" with our omnipresent protectors are many and of a different nature. The USA have military bases in our country, their criminal organisations do flourishing business with ours, their unions finance our unions (or at least a part of them). Promises and money have been given to fascists, support and material (explosives etc) have been given to the groups of the extreme right operating in Italy and in the rest of Europe. All this has not prevented the deterioration of the basic economic situation and the advance of progressive forces. Now the Italian state, along with the American one, is trying to make repairs. Let us examine how this affects the present situation in Sicily.

Underdevelopment and patronage management.

When we speak of patronage management in an underdeveloped area we mean the complexity of relations which revolve around peripheral power centres with very precise interests in themselves but which also condition the central administration of power to a way of being, which we could define as feudal.

Whoever holds the power calculates his situation not so much in money as in relations, people he knows and friendships which at the right moment and by the required means, can bear fruit in the most incredible ways. It could be said that in Sicily almost the whole electoral mechanism is based on this feudal patronage. The *Democrazia Cristiana* has worked for some time within this mafia type mentality, emerging as a mass party at a superficial level, while substantially acting as a mafia group. Other parties with a minor following (often not for ideological reasons) have acted in the same way. The republicans have points in common with the Palermo mafia, and even the central committee of the party has looked into this and the socialists are proposing people who are patrons of wealth of doubtful origins. To an extent even the communists do not escape this market logic, particularly during the last elections when they used patronage-type manoeuvres to

win over the catholic electorate by personal prestige. This leaves the fascists, but we shall speak of them further on.

To study the origins of patronage in Sicily would require us to go far back in history. A land of minor kingdoms and temporary reigns, Sicily has almost always lived under the heel of figures of minor importance who looked upon their stay there as an opportunity to increase their personal wealth. From Verre onwards the fate of the island has not changed much.

In this context the Mafia in the strict sense of the word is nothing but a mafia among mafias. Mafia is a pedagogic organisation where it is possible to get on in defiance of whatever authority provided you know the right President or supervisor. Mafia are the hospitals, the professional organisations, the universities. The incredible affairs of the Sicilian universities would fill a book in itself: chairs are occupied and posts held on the basis of the same system. Mafia is the judiciary, and mafia the very anti-mafia commission.

But the mafia, although it is so much a part of Sicilian custom and the result of Sicilian underdevelopment, it is not an absolute power. This, especially if considered in the strict sense, as an organisation, is one of many instruments of power. Indeed, to be clear about it, it is one of the instruments which does not mean to act in a way that is too closely co-ordinated with the central administration. The mafia does business all over the world, with all States and under all flags, not wanting to assume a precise political position, not to be militant (politically) in the current meaning of the term, except when it is obliged to. Now let us see when these conditions arise.

The fascist perspective in Sicily

Fascism has good bases in Sicily. Not the electoral ones which are quite illusory, but underground ones, made up of interests which unite fascism, mafia and USA, Italian political parties in power and capitalists. In Sicily fascism finds a good natural base for development in the patronage concept of which we have spoken. Often, in one area it is enough to find the right person for a large number of votes to be placed at the disposal of the fascists. This is an unimportant disposal but it gives the fascists credibility at the level of rank and file in order to make another move, that of taking power in Italy.

The right *Constituent*, the latest publicity invention of the fascists, has been officially inaugurated in Catania. The personages who were present, apart from the fascist parliamentarians, were all minor figures, but we know with certainty that there were other links at unofficial levels, links with big names in the capitalist world who are willing to support the enterprise but not willing to come out into the open.

In Sicily the right wing *Constituent* has used the Arab peoples' conferences where the Palestinians also participated, having as a theme "the right to one's native land." Confusion reigns everywhere. The journeys of Almirante to Sicily are becoming more and more frequent.

There are clear links between the Mafia and the MSI in Sicily. The mafia chief, Liggio, stayed at the house of one of their deputies before being arrested. The same deputy is at present the defence lawyer of Liggio's sister, while another is defending a family who bought a house in Liggio's name. This second lawyer has a brother who is well known in the criminal world and who has acted as Liggio's chauffeur.

But things are even more complicated. The same deputy has been accused of organising a kidnapping in Catania where Mafia members have actually been sentenced, and a magistrate has been accused of trying to cover up the case. The judiciary in this case, as usual, have given reason to their own kind.

Certainly the mafia does not have any well-defined political colour, but they know how to choose their allies. If they are working with the fascists it is not by chance, it means that those fascists are helpful in certain circumstances and can be a road to certain contacts. They can also cover up certain actions. In turn

THE FASCISTS IN SICILY

the fascists do not regard their relationship with the mafia to be a long-term one. They well know that if things went badly they could only find an enemy in the organisation or, in the best of cases, a stranger. These relations exist and develop because alongside there are (not identical) other interests. If Italian politicians are using money from the CIA, the Mafia is using contacts in the drug line. Now payments are no longer made in cash, but through the banks. At this level Verzotto, Sindona and company would have much to say.

The two deaths at Alcamo marina

Two *carabinieri* were murdered in their sleep at Alcamo marina. A communique signed by the *Brigate Rosse* (Red Brigades) claimed responsibility for the terrorist action but the *Brigate Rosse* immediately denied this. The police, however, in spite of a clear evidence to the contrary, began hundreds of raids throughout the island, throwing comrades' houses into confusion. The communique was signed by *Nucleo Armato Sicilia III* (Sicilian Armed Cell no. III) and it is clear that this was the first "serious" terrorist attack against the State on the part of the fascists with separatist tendencies. Some time before at Messina a tract was circulated signed by the *Nucleo Armato Sicilia* declaring the formation of an armed cell for Sicilian independence. What has not been published in the national press is that this tract was written with the same type-writer as that which was used to claim the *Italicus* massacre.

The confessed culprits of this murder have been arrested and turn out to be a heterogenous group of very young delinquents, led by an infamous half-mad mafia member, who talks wildly of armed struggle and religion in a mixture so confused that whoever has devised the plot couldn't have chosen better.

The killing of two *carabinieri* occurred after a series of bombings which have been going on in Sicily for at least three years. These bombings have never been claimed and have clearly been directed at creating a state of tension among the populace. But between these bombs and the two deaths there is an abyss — a qualitative leap which gives one the right to make certain reflections.

First we are sure that there are groups working in Sicily who are financed by the CIA through Persian agents, directed at putting into action guerrilla warfare with separatist tendencies.

The money has come through the Persians and has been doing so for some time. It is not possible to indicate precisely the extent of this financing, but we can point out a few things. A luxurious villa in Taormina has been bought for over a billion lira by a Catanese family a member of which belongs to the republican party. In this villa expensive parties have been thrown, with fireworks displays over the sea, for such exotic guests as Princess Margaret of England and the Persian Ambassador in Italy. The family in question also own a private school subsidised by the region and have received official help and money from Persia.

In Sicily there is a Sicilo-Arab league which acts officially, with let us say, cultural intentions. In a recent public encounter during a conference on cultural Sicilo-Arab problems, organised by a *sottobosco* of the island who, to say the least, would arouse suspicion among the most unsuspecting, some openly separatist and fascist speeches were made and this in the presence of figures such as Milazzo, who participated in the '*Costituente di destra*.' A few elements of this cultural organisation have taken part in meetings with representatives of the Arab world and also with an American "trade unionist" who is very probably allied to the CIA.

Underground dealings which are more or less legal, personages officially used for their well-known idiocy and their stupid ideological motivations, but even more worrying presences, very dangerous names are being mentioned and which indicate that a far more serious game is developing. This game could implicate interests of the Mafia and of weak Italian capitalism, the latter being represented by a certain nostalgic part of the "*Democrazia Cristiana*" and the fascist party.

This is clearly a mafiosa type operation, carried out by local elements, with the help of other local elements. Beyond the immediate significance of this deduction there is the far more important warning of an entry of the Mafia in the Sicilian conflict, at the flanks of the separatist forces of a fascist kind.

The new Sicilian separatism and its fascist matrix

As is known fascism does not have a clear ideology and this is not changing. Reasons gathered more or less haphazardly constitute the fundamental elements of corporatism and nationalism. New

fascism, in a specific way, has partly refused a certain mythology and, trying to adapt itself to the times, has adopted an organisational structure capable of satisfying the needs of the purchasing class.

In Sicily clients of fascism are; in the first place local bosses, an obscure class of old agrarian families and new speculator families, builders and such like. This class's affairs are hardly ever very clean. The swindles, the private interests, the corruption, constitute the foundations of so many fortunes which at the present moment in the face of the urgency of internal and external difficulties must be defended by recourse to fascist force.

Another great client is the United States, anxious not to loose their military bases and needing to carry ever more frequent punishments to the *Democrazia Cristiana's* politics. At this level the interests of the American state finish by confusing themselves with those of the Mafia. There is no reason to be amazed: the mafia of today, after the great change in 1957 in which they decided to enter into drugs and the Sicilian and American Mafia chiefs met in the Palme Hotel in Palermo to accept this, has changed a great deal. Within the organisation top-level brains are working, who have reported reciprocal tolerance and collaboration with the American espionage organisations and with a good part of the world.

In the face of the tottering Italian situation a few interests of a clear separatist matrix are emerging. First the Americans are interested in saving at least their military bases in Sicily. Then the Sicilian Mafia who see their lucrative activities in the Italian peninsula and in the whole of Europe. Lastly the fascists, who understand that they can draw benefits from American and mafioso interests to put into effect a State departing from a "separate Sicilian state," as a pre-event to a future Italian fascist state.

The theoretical basis of all this is quite rudimentary: struggle against the "foreigner" who is exploiting the whole of the Sicilian people; but a different evaluation of the Sicilian exploiter who as such, for purely racial reasons, cannot be guilty as the foreign exploiter is. A separate Sicilian state would be the panacea of all the ills which are striking Sicily today, it would give work, make the emigrants return home, would eliminate the danger of communism, would put an end to the bombings, and there would be no more carabinieri dead for nothing.

Those who use this argument are generally the stupid representatives of a reactionary intellectual class, tied to a view of the Sicilian phenomenon which fits into the dimensions of the fascist twenty years. At a personal level they are not very important: Milazzo for example no longer represents anything and is nothing but a stupid pawn in the hands of Almirante. The adhesion of a few professionals and a few university professors, also of secondary importance, do not give this Sicilian neo-separatism any valid cultural varnish.

There are other adhesions to worry about, underground ones. On this point in Sicily names of various land owners and industrialists are mentioned. The right constituent has not yet been theorised in relation to separatism, but during meetings where fascists were present, clearly separatist discourses have been made and tracts have been distributed praising Sicily. In these last few days it has been possible to note a certain coming and going between the lines of the extreme right while the police do not seem to have realised the various manoeuvres going on around the attributing of the double homicide of Alcamo Marina to the Red Brigades.

Like the old separatism, the new has the same limitations and the same ignorance. The interests have widened and have become more complicated but they always reflect the same origins: guaranteeing the continuation of exploitation which has been put in danger (not so much by its essence as by the choice of men who are putting it into effect) by a crisis in Italian capitalism, among the most serious since the war. A few (trite and old fashioned) cultural instruments are being *rispolverati* with great complacency. Old university slippers are finding hospitality again in conferences and debates arranged to give credibility to an operation which has as its exclusive clients the United States and their Mediterranean interests.

(translated by J. Weir)

The second part of this article — Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle — has been published in pamphlet form by the *Bratach Dubh Collective, Glasgow*.

INTERNATIONAL

tion), seeking to dissociate itself from the events in Toulouse, printed (no. 221, April 1976) a statement saying that the deaths of Touati and Escribano only helped the police and had nothing to do with the anarchist movement. Not only did they denounce the action of our dead comrades (accepting, incidentally, that they were members of the GARI as claimed by the police, but which is in some dispute as the GARI have denied this) as "terrorists" but also attempted to claim that they were not anarchists. This attack on our comrades is bitterly resented and totally false in its content. Robert Touati and Juan Escribano were both anarchists totally dedicated to the class struggle. Their tragic deaths are bitterly regretted. That they died fighting for their ideals deserves more from those of us still alive than such pathetic utterances from the FAF.

THE SEGOVIA ESCAPERS

After their persecution in Spain the Basques who escaped into France are now being persecuted by the French Government.

Jose Eleno and Eloy Uriarte are being held in Bayona prison; eleven Basque refugees and one Catalan have arbitrarily been assigned to the Isle of Yeu, against their will, and a blatant violation of French law and basic human rights. Amongst them are the four Segovia escapers who have asked for political asylum in France.

THE SEGOVIA FUGITIVES IN YEU

After crossing the frontier at the end of April a press conference was arranged in Paris for 3rd May. Fearing repressive actions from the French Government, the escapers (together with their lawyer) decided to take the necessary steps needed to benefit from the "Refugee's Statute." On 30th April they presented themselves in the OFPRA (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and "apatridas") accompanied by a lawyer, with whom they later went to the Police Prefecture to apply for a residence permit. There, the lawyer was asked to return later, as there was no Spanish interpreter available in the Prefecture at that time. Without suspecting any trap, the escapers returned to the Prefecture where they were interrogated for three hours by the police. Lawyers were not allowed to remain during the interrogations, after which the four escapers were taken to a cell, where they had to wait for an hour to hear the decision of M. Poniowski (Minister of the Interior) concerning the destiny of these 'dangerous' criminals who had escaped from the prison of his friend, Fraga.

Not knowing what had been decided about the ex-prisoners, the lawyers phoned the Ministry of the Interior, who informed them that according to the decree of 18th March 1946, relating to the conditions of entry and residence in France, Poniowski simply prohibited the four escapers residence in France outside the province of La Vendee.

The prisoners, under strong police escort, were taken to the Police station in Rochesur-Yon, the following afternoon and then transferred to Fromentine and shipped to the Isle of Yeu. They found themselves together with six escapers sent there weeks before.

The four Segovia escapers had made no political declarations on French territory, unlike Alexander Solzhenitsyn and the Portuguese Secret Police granted asylum, who never experienced the charm of confinement on the Isle of Yeu, at the expense of the French Government.

An appeal against extradition made on behalf of the Segovia escapers by lawyer Henri Leclerc has not stopped Poniowski proceeding with his efforts to return them to Spain.

Liberto Miguel

SPAIN

Prison transfers and releases.

Jose Luis Pons Llovet, the young comrade who escaped from Segovia Prison and was re-arrested near Pamplona, has been transferred to the Penitenciarario de Cartagena.

Luis Andres Edo, arrested in Barcelona on information supplied to Spanish police by the French security services following the kidnapping of Balthazar Suarez in Paris two years ago and whose release we believed to be imminent, has been transferred from the Carcel Modelo de Barcelona to Jaen Prison. *See stop press Luis Alonso Perez, and Angel Munoz Lopez have both been released from Palencia prison leaving only one comrade in that establishment, Salvador Soriano.

SPANISH PRISONERS FUND

With the re-construction of the C.N.T., now well under way we would urge all comrades to channel their financial aid direct c/o **Comite Pro-presos**, 87 rue de Patay, 75013, Paris.

RADIO LIBERACION

For reasons of security the clandestine anarchist radio station, Radio Liberacion, has been obliged to suspend temporarily its weekly half hour broadcasts in Spain. Let us hope the group running the transmitter manage to get on the air (33.8 metres/8860 kilocycles) again at the earliest opportunity as they are providing a unique service with the anarchist broadcasts being heard throughout the length and breadth of Spain.

THE RE-ORGANISATION OF THE C.N.T. IN THE INTERIOR

Representatives of local federations of the C.N.T., have been meeting recently in different parts of Spain to discuss the re-construction of the organisation on a national level. Reports coming in from the different regions such as the Basque country, the Levante, Madrid, Catalonia, Galicia, the Canaries, etc., all point towards an early move in the re-building of a national organisation. Also the sheer number of *delegates* from the C.N.T. branches in many different industries (Print, Banks, Telecommunications, Metal, Sanitation, Building, General Workers, Glass and Ceramic, Commerce, Transport and Teaching to name but a few) indicates that anarcho-syndicalism will once again be a major force in the Spanish labour movement and provide an example and impetus to revolutionaries elsewhere in the world.

AS A MATTER OF FACT

Although the guerrilla struggle against the Francoist regime started in 1939 practically nothing has been written on the subject, apart from the works of Antonio Tellez. Even during the most active period of the struggle (1946/47) very little was put down on paper. Referring to the period 1943-1952 the following official statistics are given:

guerrillas killed	2,166
captured or surrendered	3,382
arrested for alleged complicity or connections with guerrillas	19,407

Though these figures are assumed to be correct, any historian expecting to find the word 'guerrilla' in the official archives would be very naive. The official word for Spanish freedom-fighter is "bandit."

frente libertario

For up to date information on the reconstruction of the C.N.T., read **Frente Libertario** 20 Francs for 12 issues: Amador Alvarez, 87 rue de Patay, 75013 Paris.



(Anarchist banners in Barcelona May Day Demonstration)

NOTES

MALAWI

Dr. Hastings Banda of Malawi is an absolute dictator who treats the country as if it belonged to him — as is done, not infrequently, by rulers, whether dictators or not, and is incurring some of the odium that next-door neighbour Amin has acquired through the expulsion of Asians (which happens to conflict with British interests).

His Special Branch was trained by Britain. What he is doing there, he was taught. What his police have been taught, their teachers could do. States the *Sunday Times* (23rd May):—

“His insistence on total personal control lies behind his nation’s sinister side. His Special Branch police, trained by the British, have infiltrated every level of society. Students and intellectuals in particular are closely watched, in London as well as at home. The local Press avoids topics which might offend the president; coups, revolutions and ferment in other less ordered countries are rarely mentioned.

Throughout the country, it is conservatively estimated there are between 2,000 and 3,000 “political” detainees. Hundreds of people have fled into exile.”

(Germany cont/.)

Sight of the general public what goes on in prisons, only becoming generally known when it is too late, when a death occurs — Holger Meins. In view of the continuing danger to the life of Wolfgang Grundmann we are not prepared to wait until it is too late. We intend to do all we can to prevent the death of Wolfgang Grundmann. We propose to set up a committee with the purpose of both publicising the prison conditions under which Wolfgang is suffering and to campaign for his immediate release for proper medical treatment to be given, and also to work in the long term for the abandonment of the destruction of prisoners through solitary confinement. All who wish to work with the committee contact:—

Jutta Werth
Reichenberger Str. 63a,
1000 West Berlin 36
West Germany.

Rote Hilfe (West Berlin)

(In the next issue of Black Flag we hope to publicise the case of our comrade P.P. Zahl, the German anarchist writer, who was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment in 1974 on his first trial, but who has since been condemned to another 15 years because — according to the sentence — “Zahl is an enemy of the state and because of general prevention.” (Judge, March 12, 1976). Comrade Zahl has been in prison now for 3½ years. Letters of support should be sent to him at: Rochusstr. 350, 5000 Koln 30, West Germany.

IT MAKES YER BLIND

THE “LEFT” ON SEX

The following are quotations from a variety of “leftist” politicians and organisations:

On Pre-Marital Sex and Marriage

“Any romantic attachment that goes beyond the distance, outside the marriage bed, is actually a statutory offence, worth six months in jail for the over-eager young man . . .”

From WOMEN IN CHINA by
Helen Snow

“The heart of the question that the comrades are asking is this: Is it anti-communist to have sexual relations with other than husband or wife; is it anti-communist to have sexual relations before marriage?”

PROLETARIAT organ of the
Communist Labour Party

Homosexuality

“We would never come to believe that a homosexual could embody the conditions and requirements of conduct that could enable us to consider him a true Revolutionary, a true Communist militant.”

Fidel Castro quoted in CASTRO’S
CUBA; CUBA’S CASTRO by
Lee Lockwood, 1969.

“While gay people can be anti-imperialists, we feel that they cannot be Communists.” . . . (H)omosexuality is an ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, and must be clearly distinguished from proletarian ideology.”

Revolutionary Union: Position
Paper on Homosexuality.

Masturbation

“If a person did that (masturbates) it would be against the Revolution and he couldn’t be a Revolutionary.”

Paula Diaz, Cuban Centennial
Youth Column leader.

THE VATICAN ON SEX

The following is taken from a declaration on sexual ethics published by the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith. It was issued in January of this year and is considered church doctrine by Catholics.

On Pre-Marital Sex and Marriage

“Experience teaches us that love must find its safeguard in the stability of marriage if sexual intercourse is truly to respond to the requirements of its own finality and to those of human dignity. Those requirements call for a conjugal contract sanctioned and guaranteed by society.”

Homosexuality

“In sacred Scripture (homosexuals) are condemned as a serious depravity and even presented as the sad consequence of rejecting God . . . (H)omosexual acts are intrinsically disordered and can in no way be approved of.”

Masturbation

“ . . . The faithful have declared without hesitation that masturbation is an intrinsically and seriously disordered act. . . (T)he tradition of the Church has rightly understood it to be condemned in the New Testament when the latter speaks of “impurity”, “unchasteness,” and other vices contrary to chastity and continence.”

(From Fifth Estate)



UNKNOWN HEROES

When I was still awaiting trial in 1951 and expecting the death sentence, the news came into jail that Cesar Saborit Carretero had been ambushed by a police agent and shot in the back while leaving the bus at Santa Coloma. It was the 19th July 1951 — just fifteen years after our great victory in Barcelona.

It seemed as if the world had collapsed. He was not only one of the toughest fighters in the Resistance. He was our last hope. We were sure he would try to spring us from the trap, as he has attempted with his best friend Perez Pedrero (el Tragapanes — see previous in this series). In that he had only been foiled because when “el Tragapanes” came before the criminal court it was surrounded by cordons of armed police as if for a military action. Otherwise nothing would have been too audacious for him to attempt.

Though he never joined any group, all could count on him for real action — he was probably closest to the militant Los Manos group, who sustained actions in Catalonia over many years. In 1947 he became secretary of the Committee of Defence of Barcelona (formed by “el Quico”) which fought against terrible odds to mitigate the ferocity of the fascist terror.

Cesar Saborit was born in 1915, into a family who, like all Catalan weavers, were members of the CNT and was from boyhood dedicated to the libertarian cause. In 1935 there was great repression carried against the anarchist movement by the Catalan autonomist government (which now is presented by the media as almost libertarian itself! and the Libertarian Youth decided to make an example of the two gangster brothers Badia, one of whom was chief of police. He was killed. In the ensuing wave of arrests a cache of arms was found at Cesar’s — but he escaped until the civil war when he came out of hiding, and joined Durruti’s column on the Aragon front.

When the war was over he could not, like many of us, accept Hitler’s victory over the working class. But he could not live in France, where he despaired. Barcelona for him, as for many others, was a magnet. It was *our city* as none other. Its industry had been run by us; its buildings had flown our colours; we had defended it in the name of our idea. Cesar’s hatred of the fascists was particularly directed against the maggots who prospered on the victory of the Army, who did not come swaggering in uniform themselves but profited from the misery. The loan sharks with their ramifications both in the police and crime battered on the weavers who were down to starvation wages and fell into the abyss of debt.

Cesar was not a weaver, though his folk were. He earned good wages as a brickmaker, and always made enough to keep himself, his companera Magdalena, and their son (born in 1942). But in defence of the weavers, and to sustain the Resistance, he stepped up actions against the loan sharks and took forced contributions from them to the CNT. It must be confessed there was a double purpose: to raise funds and to wipe them out. They gave no mercy — they got none from him. Yet he was the type of man who, though hard as steel, would never be noticed in a crowd. There was no swagger about him.

I recall some comrades coming from over the Pyrennes escorting a group in, that was what they did, ferrying some out to escape from Franco, some in to escape from Hitler . . . (what a world!) sometimes there were wealthy Jews who paid



Cesar Saboret Carretero

up handsomely, or British airmen (paid for via the Consul, out of his secret funds). But this was a batch of Jewish and socialist resistance workers whom we did not charge. “A bad business” I said jokingly. “Now we must find the money to keep them!” Immediately Cesar Saborit went out and held up one of the fascist usurers, shooting him and taking his loot. He handed over the money saying laconically, “It was too early in the day to be much . . . but anyway I burned his records.”

With a man of such quick reflexes, the police did not dare to approach him directly. He was spotted on a bus travelling to see his brother, living openly on the outskirts of Barcelona, Santa Coloma. It seems incredible that he should have been careless enough to go to that district, but in Resistance work one slip is enough. The agent followed him out of the bus and shot him in the back.

Many of the “respectable” libertarians in Toulouse, blamed Facerias for having led Cesar Saborit on. I can vouch that is false, the usual formula of attacking the living militant and eulogising the dead one, sometimes with faint praise that is even more condemnatory. Saborit was not one to lead or be led. But if anything he must have induced Facerias more than once to re-enter Spain.

It would have surprised Saborit to be termed one of the “unknown heroes” of the Spanish resistance. That was not how he regarded himself. What could not be borne by him was the savagery of the conquerors and above all their meanness and rapacity.

He was far from being unusual. Is it to be thought that people like him will accept another dictatorship in place of Franco’s?

Miguel Garcia

ANSWERS TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. At 3am on April 12th 1918 the Bolsheviki launched an attack with armoured cars on 26 anarchist centres, which had been occupied during the revolution and seized rifles and ammunition. According to Sir Robert (‘My Europe’ 1952) Trotsky’s car had been ‘stolen’ by the Anarchists.
2. He issued a proclamation that if females, who had been treated with ‘great courtesy’, continued to insult the United States flag they should be regarded as women of the town plying their vocation and treated accordingly. Indignant World (pro-slavery) opinion assumed this was an invitation to the soldiery to rape

them though Butler protested all that was involved was being taken to the local jail and fined a few dollars.
3. The Munich beer hall putsch 1923 — when Hitler, Goering and others invited Bavarian Ministers to address them in the name of anti-Communist unity; then barricaded them in and made them take under duress the Nordic oath to lead a nationalist march on Berlin. When the Ministers got out, they had the Nazis arrested — to their great surprise.
4. Countess Markievicz (Constance Gore-Booth) was elected Sinn Féin candidate for the St. Patrick’s Division of Dublin in 1919; but she was in jail, in solitary confinement, and was not ‘entitled’ to be told. She did not take her seat when

released.
5. With indignation; the Government fell. An Italian nationalist had tried to assassinate Napoleon III, Emperor of France. It was felt humiliating that this shady dictator should cause Palmerston’s Conspiracy Bill to be introduced in 1858, concern for individual liberties was real; general opinion was ‘Serves him right’. (As a result, Napoleon III ‘redeemed his promises’ to the pan-Italians).
6. Blackbourne, who had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford, before he turned pirate, obtained patronage in the Church of England; with his particular talents he rose to become, in 1724, Archbishop of York.

Reviews

"THE POLITICAL POLICE IN BRITAIN"
by Tony Bunyan (Julian Friedmann) h/b
£4.95p.

In some countries the political police takes pride in its role and wears a uniform: a frank admission of the political role of the State expressed in one political party, or two or three effectively recognising their unity of interest. Britain pays lip service to multilateral political democracy, hence the Special Branch hides in a special suite in Scotland Yard and goes on duty in trendy clothes like social workers, or sober suits like middle-aged bank managers, and occasionally in jeans and frayed jackets like freaky student activists; but it is not to say it does not play exactly the same role as the uniformed political police. What Watergate was about was not the "dirty tricks" employed by Nixon — there is nothing there that has not been done a thousand times in the USA or Britain (bugging political opponents, break-ins, etc are small-change for anarchists and others!) — but because he used them against the alternative recognised political party, and even against members of his own party. When one considers what methods were used by the US police against the IWW and the anarchists one may (ingenuously) wonder what the fuss over Watergate was all about.

The British press delights in shock-horror revelations about the antics of the CIA, KGB, or BOSS but rarely are we allowed a truthful look at the Special Branch, MI5, or DIS. Usually it comes in the form of an early-morning knock on the door that is not the milkman. We can thank Tony Bunyan for sharpening the focus a little in what his publishers claim as "... the first socialist account of the historical development and current practices of ... the police, the Special Branch, MI5 and the Military."

Dossiers exist in all regimes and the fate of the Special Branch exists as a potential threat against the Establishment itself, just as the army does in some other countries. In France, the police handed over the dossiers of politicians to the Nazis, and also a couple of Prime Ministers. Whilst the anti-anarchist archives amassed by the Gestapo were shared out with the other spoils of war between Russia and the Western allies to pave the way for the growth of international secret police collaboration which has marked more recent years. Yet the urge to go one better over their partners has occasionally backfired on the British Secret Service, as in the case of Ian MacLeod shot dead by German police (June 1972) in Stuttgart after infiltrating the Red Army Fraction in search of connections with activists here.

The classical method of police repression is not the same as that of the army viz mass slaughter. That is what the serving officer knows and appreciates (Spain is a typical modern example). Find the most disaffected elements and shoot them: if need be where there is a strike take out every one in ten and place them in front of a firing squad. That is

what Sultan Abdul Hamid II perfected, he did not even trouble to find out the actual perpetrators of revolutionary action; enough that the example is made, the rest are terrorised.

This is worse than, but not necessarily more insidious or more effective than, nor does it 'absolve' except by degree of comparison, the police method of repression which is to single out the perpetrators or if need be someone who is clearly guilty in their eyes but cannot be found guilty, therefore the evidence may be planted or the laws of conspiracy evoked. For example, Peter Hain did not commit a bank robbery but was certainly guilty of political actions which, in South Africa would have rated higher in the crime scale. While the police are still subject to 'legal niceties' the Hain case had the end result it did, this because we still have lawyers in command. Under a police state, one would dispense with juries (Sir Robert Mark advocates this) and Hain would have got what he "deserved" for daring to challenge, however effectively, the State and its wisdom.

The Special Branch not only permeates but fashions politics, since raids and searches and occasional arrests create a climate of intimidation: for one who is affected, a dozen get the message. Habershon actually boasted during the "Angry Brigade" raids that he did not raid the Communist Party and singled out for mass 'fishing expeditions' those in sympathy with the political aims of the A.B. However it is nonsense to say that every activity causes repression (as it is so often said by leftists seeking an excuse for inactivity); if the repression was not there the activity would not cause it. It merely deflects upon itself the repression that already exists.

Army take-overs in other countries are such commonplace news that we tend to assume that any move closer to totalitarianism here would necessarily put the military in command. This is certainly what officers of the Kitson ilk would relish. But any ex-soldier will tell you that the biggest crime that can be committed in the British Army is 'talking politics' in the barracks. A more likely assumption of political power would be assumed from within the police. The strongest dictatorship is the one which is not seen.

Himmler's Gestapo (toppled only by military conquest from without) or Andropov's KGB are the hallmarks of the authoritarian state.

The growing influence of the political police in our daily lives already carries with it a likeness to Orwell's "1984". Tony Bunyan at least shows us a little of what is in store for us in the future, all the more effectively since he reveals the monsters' weaknesses as well as its strengths. A timely warning to hit back while we still can.

AM & PAR.

THE SPANISH LABYRINTH, Gerald Brenan, C.U.P. £2.40p.

Reading this book one ought not to forget it first appeared in 1943. However we also know that six years later, in 1949, Brenan published his "The Face of Spain" and had he wanted to he could quite easily have incorporated at

least some of the voluminous material which had appeared in the meantime in numerous books on the subject. The fact that he did not rectify his previous errors meant, above all in relation to Spanish anarchism, a gross conservation of errors.

Reviewing this book in 1944, Marie Louise Berneri wrote: "He has dealt with his subject not only as a scholar but also as an artist and a psychologist." However, although she appreciated the value of the work she did not hesitate to underline three main failures of Brenan in his judgement of the anarchists: firstly that the author accepted and maintains, "It may be thought I have stressed too much the religious element because Spanish anarchism is after all a political doctrine. But the aims of the anarchists were always much wider and their teachings more personal than anything which can be included under the word 'politics'." The other point which M.L. Berneri underlined very justifiably: "Brenan has emphasised too much the agrarian nature of anarchism. This is probably due to the fact that he lived in Andalusia, a completely agricultural region." (Now of course, it is different); and lastly, a total lack of understanding of the meaning of self-management, something which even H.N. Brainsford, the "New Statesman" correspondent noted and reported: "I witnessed their (the anarchists') astonishing success during the civil war in running factories with high principles as their chief equipment, and I was deeply moved by the schools they established for the sorely tried children of Madrid."

So far as the last point is concerned Brenan obstinately insists on putting down self-management to simple Spanish traditionalism — when he is not harping on about the medieval agricultural communities and quoting Saint Augustin in Latin to make the point that the origin of all things Spanish is to be found in Spain itself. If that were the case then Spanish fascists — defenders of the traditions of the Catholic Kings of Spain, One and Indivisible, 1490-1500 — would be the most ardent upholder of self-management.

Brenan doesn't hesitate with his affirmation that occasionally the *pistoleros* of the *Falange* were members of the CNT, *cenetistas*, he considers this to be quite normal: "... they had the same enemies and the same belief in violence." (Chapter XIII, The Popular Front). What is clear is that Brenan navigates uncertainly between religious and leninist interpretations (with the use of slogans such as "anarcho-Hitlerites" or "anarcho-fascist" which were so common from 1936 to 1968).

However, leaving the medieval and literary allusions to one side (an English equivalent would be liberally interspersing a history of Great Britain with commentary on the role of plum-pudding, Sherlock Holmes, tea etc). Brenan's work remains an important contribution to the preliminary period of the civil war.

The strongest point of the book is its study of the geography of Spain together with the region by region implantation

of socialism and anarchism which, although not totally exact, is valid in general terms.

Brenan manages his interpretations and statements on the basis of a limited personal knowledge through a stay of fifteen years in Andalucia prior to the war and never on a basis of clear overall perspective. He makes no mention of the historical events which contradict his hypothesis and the self-management practised during the civil war makes nonsense of his concept of anarchist medievalism (this, by the way, is also a Bolshevik idea and appears thus in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia under Kropotkin: "Small communes are impossible in heavy industry which employs thousands of people. And without the machinery of heavy industry humanity would return to a semi-barbarous situation"); neither is it correct that religion played a popular part before the Civil War.

Severino Aznar, a catholic sociologist, gives figures for seminarists who abandoned their courses between 1930 and 1934. His figures cover the whole of Spain with the exception of Catalonia and the Atlantic coast: 35.3% in Granada (where Brenan stayed); 36.3% in Seville; 47% in Valencia; 51.6% in Santiago (despite the fact that officially Santiago is Spain's patron saint and where his body according to the Catholics, miraculously appeared); 41.3% in Toledo. Such a point did the loss of clerical interest reach that Cardinal Goma, who in 1936 became notorious for writing a pastoral letter supporting Franco, declared in 1935: "We hitherto believed that we lived among a people who were profoundly religious, although distracted, as it were, from the completion of their duties to God and the Church. However the cases of phobia for things divine in recent times have multiplied so much, together with the abandonment of religious feeling, that we are forced to change the idea we held as historical truths. . ."

Brenan ends by being more Papist than the Pope, but the book is interesting.

Frank Mintz.

"CIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW OF ANARCHIST LITERATURE 1976"

Resistance against the authority of the State has always been the hallmark of the Anarchist movement. Its willingness to proclaim "the idea" along the way — even amidst the harshest conditions of repression — has added a profound and lasting dimension to the struggle. In demonstrating the possibility of a libertarian alternative to the State anarchists have used any and every weapon at hand. The educator, propagandist or urban guerrilla are not necessarily conflicting people, and the use of one tactic does not preclude the use of any other. There comes a time when even the most gentle of libertarian writers is forced to employ more practical weapons to defend his ideals in the face of extinction, just as those who find themselves in the front line of the class war have often exchanged their rifles for pen and print when the struggle demands it. For those who refuse to accept the terms of surrender dictated by the State no form

of resistance is "good" or "bad" — they are simply "different." Whether or not it is true that the pen is always mightier than the sword, the literature thrown up by the revolutionary struggle has always stood the test of time and at its best inspired new generations to carry on afresh.

The REVIEW OF ANARCHIST LITERATURE, published by Cienfuegos Press, brings together reviews on some of the best examples of current (and future) publishing by, or of interest to, the revolutionary anarchist activist. Most of the reviews included originally appeared in *Black Flag* and *Freedom*, though other sources are represented and some of the pieces — like the new prologue to Frank Mintz's book "L'autogestion dans l'Espagne Revolutionnaire" which is due to be published by Cienfuegos Press (in English) sometime in 1977 ("funds willing!") appear here for the first time.

Mintz also contributes three other articles dealing with books on the Spanish Revolution and Resistance: "The Anarchist Collectives" (ed. by Sam Dolgoff), Antonio Tellez's "Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary" (published by Cienfuegos Press), and what is now the standard source of material on anarchism in the Spanish labour movement "La CNT en la Revolucion Espanola" by Jose Peirats. Completing the section on Spain is an all too short note on another book to be published in English by Cienfuegos Press (already available in French and Spanish) "Spanish Anarchism and Revolutionary Action (1961-1975)" by Octavio Alberola and Ariane Gransac. It is hoped that the next issue of C.P. Review will be able to devote more space to this important book.

Appropriately enough, the first article in this 28 page pamphlet, "Who Is Bruno Traven?" (by L. Kraft, MAN! Aug. 1939) deals with one of the most gifted and elusive figures in anarchist literature — Ret Marut — a man equally at home on the streets of Munich during the short lived German Revolution or anonymously giving the world a dozen or more brilliant anarchist novels from exile in Mexico.

Russian anarchism is represented by reviews of some of the more recent works of Bakunin and Kropotkin, together with the *Black Flag* reviews by "Internationalist" of two works by Paul Avrich — "Bakunin and Nechaev" and "The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution" — which demonstrate how stimulating book reviews can be at their best. Avrich himself also contributes a review of Voline's "The Unknown Revolution" (easily the best account of the Russian chapter yet written) and Arshinov's "History of the Makhnovist Movement." Stuart Christie's (*Time Out*) review of "Bakunin: The Father of Anarchism" by Anthony Masters gives us a taste for what is probably the only intelligent (as opposed to "intellectual") book on Bakunin since Guy Aldred.

Of more contemporary interest are reviews of "The Angry Brigade" by Gordon Carr. "Post-Scarcity Anarchism" by Murray Bookchin, and "Anarchy and Order" by Herbert Read (all reviewed by Stuart Christie); together with Sidney Lens's "The Military Industrial Complex", "The State" by F. Oppenheimer, "A

Primer of Libertarian Education" by Joel Spring, and the full range of books published (and projected) by Cienfuegos Press. "Internationalist/Albert Meltzer gives two more useful contributions on Pietro Valpreda's "The Valpreda Papers" and the yet unpublished "The Christie File" which should ideally be read together. Both are auto-biographical works written by anarchists active in the revolutionary struggle which should not be missed.

Altogether, this is an informative and thought-provoking first installment of Cienfuegos Press's twice-yearly round-up of anarchist publishing. A useful thing to own for anyone who has tried to keep track of the original book reviews, like I have, and lost them. To borrow the words of Terry Perlin (reviewing "MAN!"): "It reminds us that anarchists, in the worst and best times, have a critical distance that grants their resistance to the orthodoxies of the day a purity that it unsurpassed."

Fassbinder's "Tenderness of the Wolves."

The classic German film "M" was a reconstruction of the case of Fritz Haarman, the Cologne murderer who (in the decaying atmosphere of the Weimar Republic) trapped boys into seduction and death; as Fritz Lang showed it, it was a glimpse into the Nationalist hysteria of occupied Germany where youth was at a dead end, with nowhere to go; there was another side to the Weimar Republic, that of sexual liberation, but while women were shaking off taboos and becoming emancipated, the old problem of the "fallen maiden" had (as von Ossietzky put it) simply changed sex, and the "fallen" boys who could be hired for "killing or a bed" were exploited by the Nazis — and by Haarman among others.

"M" showed this explicitly; "Tenderness of the Wolves" implicitly (for some reason he has updated it to post World War II when this background simply wasn't there). Some German homosexuals have, for this reason, misinterpreted the film, which is about exploitation, and could as well be heterosexual. The theme is underlined by the importance since obtained by the closet fascist; the armed Bohemian can, in alliance with puritans, moralists, and with a potent racist myth to exploit, actually get supremacy in a society. None of Haarman's neighbours worry about where he gets his supplies of meat — the flesh of his victims.

Fassbinder has made Haarman into a vampire, who picks up the boys, seduces them, and then sucks their jugular vein (they do not seem to resist). Afterwards he eats them. This in a way was exactly what the Nazis did, and the bourgeoisie were happy to get their (literal) pound of flesh.

The neurotic obsession with the State which is still the basis of German society is shown vividly; Haarman has only to flash a police identity card (which he picks up as a police informer, which makes him immediately into one of "The State") to establish his dominance. "M" made the point even more telling: it was the underworld who had to get together to eliminate the man who was bringing them into odium.

Letters

Comrades,

I don't normally bother to write to Black Flag about their ludicrous comments on Ulster — I gave up years ago, just as I gave up writing for Freedom. I get, and enjoy Black Flag for its information on Spain, France, Italy, and Germany. However the latest issue I've seen Vol. IV No. 6, May, indicates to me that they are still labouring under total misapprehension vis-a-vis what the various groups in Ireland stand for. With limited space could I outline briefly the facts.

Republicans

- 1) The Provisionals. Nationalist AND anti-imperialist. Although they have their reactionaries the same as any other group most of the younger members are left wing, anti-authoritarian socialists. They are also fighting a determined guerrilla war against British Imperialism. (I know its a cliché, but it just happens to be true). Capitalist exploiters and fascist 'law and order' forces. The police continue to torture and beat up people and they must be opposed.
- 2) The Officials. A regression to Stalinism in its more social democratic reformist line — Bill of Rights etc. Reactionary would-be lefties.
- 3) The IRSP. A breakaway from the Officials of the more progressive left-wing elements. At present however they have suffered the usual splits and are bogged down.
- 4) The PD. Virtually defunct.

The Loyalists

- 5) The UVF (& their flag of convenience murder gang the Protestant Action Force). Main activities no warning pub bombs designed to kill Catholics. No politics apart from naked sectarianism and the usual bully-boy mentality — "fenian scum etc deserve to die."
- 6) The UDA. Same as UVF except much larger and led by ambitious would-be politician Andy Tyrie who is smarter. Equally sectarian however — latest action, blowing up Club Bar by the University, no warning, killing 2 and maiming 7. UDA uses the title UFF when carrying out more gruesome sectarian killings.
- 7) The Loyalist politicians — Paisley — opportunist, powerful and, some would say, insane. Is under psychiatric attention which doesn't seem to do much good since he clearly 'believes' that God gives him his own private hotline.
- 7) William Craig — has been bought off by the British government who hope he can sell coalition government to the Loyalists. He can't.

Now given the situation here in N. Ireland with a virtual civil war going on what should an anarchist do? Nothing? Or bleat about 'getting across the sectarian divide and establishing councils of workers of Loyalists and Republicans. Look, that's just not on. Loyalism represents crypto-fascism. A bully boy mentality fostered for years by the Orange Order and big business interests.

The so-called 'silent revolution' you refer to is a pipe dream. The Ulster Workers Council strike of '74 was not a 'great step for the working people', it was won by naked intimidation with the collaboration of the RUC and the British Army. Sure street councils are important, but first we have to smash the state and their torture machine, and, like it or not, that is what the Provos are trying to do. In the last 3 weeks for example they've shot 8 RUC men and a SB torturer Ronnie McAdams. If that happened in Madrid Black Flag would be crowing. Be consistent. You know that the state can only be smashed by the armed force of the working class. That's what we're trying to do here. It's a pity it's only one section of the working class that's doing it while the Loyalists are intent on pogroms — doing their masters work. Still, to support the Loyalist worker is to carry ouvrim too far comrades. Up the revolution.

Slan,

John Belfast.

Not exactly an unbiased account.

Though he talks of anti-imperialism, John Belfast uses the apology designed for leftist support of patriotic war: the only conceivable alternative is to do nothing and therefore revolution should be postponed until after the enemy is defeated — when it can be peacefully discussed?

The Provos make no such claim to anti-authoritarianism as John makes for them. Rather they endeavour to establish themselves as a credible authority, not only by military formation but (in the unavoidable absence of IRA prisons) by such punishments as shooting off the kneecaps for drugs and sex offences.

He spells out UDA and UVF interpretations of 'guerrilla action' but leaves the IRA's in the abstract.

We still haven't learned what it is that British Imperialism is supposed to get, financially, strategically or politically out of Ulster, which can't be obtained without hassle from its EEC partner the hanging republic. John apparently sees no "Protestant" workers in the province at all (classical nationalist myopia) — it is not clear if they are all supposed to be fascists (in which case the term has no meaning but rhetoric) or subject to intimidation by the State but for which they would all declare for the Provisionals.

Fascism is the suppression of the workers' organisations. If they exist (and they do in Ulster, subject to no more legislation than exists in England) fascism has not conquered. (Fascism means repression but repression especially of a national character does not necessarily mean fascism). Otherwise one is saying that the workers' organisations have no meaning at all (studentism can go too far). While they exist there is at least (to say no more) the possibility of anti-authoritarian feeling. True there are left wing and anti-authoritarian elements among the Provos, also among the Officials, also among the Orangemen (also wherever the elements of working class solidarity exists) but the worst part about Ulster is that nobody is talking across the barriers . . . except in jail, by the way.

National Liberation Struggles

The reprint from 'Internationalism' by C.D. Ward in 'Black Flag' (Vol. IV No.8) makes some worthwhile points which are generally accepted by anarchists. However Ward's contribution is more destructive than positive. Granted the value in destroying a myth, but we are left with very little for the opponents of oppression in the Third World to get hold of. If ever there was a liberal aim it is to help construct the "world human community."

In Southern Africa where the only meaningful opposition to apartheid takes the form of an underground or war against racial tyranny this sort of objective is inadequate. Yet Ward maintains that "the greatest assault that the national liberation fronts can mount on the working class is precisely the national liberation war itself." This is a negative approach — rather the revolutionary should seek to incite the war of liberation into a revolutionary class struggle — a fight against the incipient bourgeoisie and against the oppressors at the same time. To complain that workers have been killed in wars of national liberation is to state the obvious — people get killed in wars. But people also get killed in mind, body and spirit by not resisting tyranny. Is one to condemn the Spanish people for resisting fascism because workers were killed? Or Makhno for fighting Bolshevik rule because workers were killed. Is this some form of non-violence Ward is asking for?

I've noticed libertarians of their favourite nationalism. It is Basque nationalism, on of the 'Black Flag' you mention, many people are fighting with Euzkadi because it gives a chance to fight the regime, others support Catalan nationalism or Welsh nationalism or Scottish nationalism, usually in a half-hearted way. My own inclination is towards African nationalism — I'm glad the Portuguese were driven from Mozambique when incidentally Frelimo killed very few working people. I'm pleased to see the combined forces of South Africa and the CIA defeated by the MPLA in Angola and dread to think of the destruction to life that would have ensued had the MPLA lost the fight. Whilst acknowledging that black elites are replacing white elites and that they are helping to run the capitalist system. I rejoice in the limited advance that has been made in Southern Africa bringing the struggle closer to Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself.

Anyone who wants to see the collapse of capitalism in the world cannot exclude a key area for capitalism — South Africa. Of course, Kissinger has shown that it is the colour of gold not the colour of skin that is the American interest in South Africa, but the daily brutalisation of apartheid will require more than that to be overthrown. It requires, in short, a war of liberation and the same applies to Namibia and Zimbabwe. The clearest answer to non-violence has come in Southern Africa — the area was taken by force and it will be liberated similarly. Our qualified support is required in this operation whilst constantly engendering

an attitude which turns a national war into a revolutionary one.

J.W.

The reference to "many fighting with ETA" does not imply that they are nationalists; or imply "favouring" Basque nationalism. The media have (as usual) confused the issue by implying all Basques or Catalans are Nationalists when in the case of the first, the Nationalist leaders are discredited and in the case of the second never have struggled or had influence among the workers.

Ward is saying surely that in national liberation wars workers are killed, but the bourgeois leaders triumph, and this must inevitably and by definition be so since the only deaths are national or racial, and therefore indiscriminate, and the only victory one for the emergent nation State.

Does the Western conception of Nationalism even exist in Africa (except as an artificial and unacceptable import?).

Comrades,

As an Amerikan reader I find your infatuation with the SLA beyond my comprehension. The SLA was a flash in the pan — a conglomeration of lumpen-proletarians and lumpen-bourgeois youth. They had no coherent politics to speak of and what politics they did have was of the most vulgar authoritarian kind. They were liberals with guns bent upon saving the masses because they did not believe that the masses are capable of liberating themselves. This is the sole significance of their actions. The killing of Foster revealed that they had no confidence in the ability of the people and youth of Oakland to organise themselves to defeat these police-state schemes. Their kidnapping of Hearst and the food give-away were great media spectacles but did not result in any long-term gains for the poor working people of Oakland in terms of organisation. Even the alleged conversion of Patty Hearst has proven to be illusory. Finding herself in the clutches of the Rockefeller Liberation Army (come now!) she has been spilling her guts all over the place, using her white skin and Hearst privileges, and denouncing here "comrades" in trying to get off. Her conviction in the first trial (for the Hibernia bank robbery) I take as a moment of class justice — a working class jury getting back at a spoiled rich kid, I think, for betraying her comrades.

I say all this just to indicate that the SLA — and the other so-called underground organisations — are not a true expression of the revolutionary movement in the United States. The wildcat strikes, rank and file job actions, radical shop newspapers and the development of independent rank-and-file shop organisations of women and blacks are of much more significance and more worthy of support than the guerrilleros who do nobody any good.

The primary issue here however is not "armed struggle" the problem is one of politics. All of these underground groups are avowed Marxist-Leninist Mao-tse-tung thought outfits who would not hesitate to liquidate anarchists if they ever achieved power! Whose side are you on anyway? Supporting the SLA prisoners

who are in jail for their political ideas after all, is one thing, but the political support you are apparently giving the SLA in unwarranted and completely in opposition to the real revolutionary workers' movement that is slowly developing in the shops and mines of this country — the only movement capable of overthrowing this barbaric capitalist society.

En lucha y solidaridad,

Mike Hargis

pour solidarite

Robin L. Pye.

We would have thought our position was made reasonably clear and did not permit of misinterpretation. But repeat as often as one may, someone is sure to misinterpret. Are we to condemn people who are fighting against the class enemy — and in no way, incidentally, supporting Marxist dictatorship except sometimes perhaps, by the empty phraseology current in 'the movement' — solely because they don't call themselves anarchists (even if the media attacks them as such)? Have people to accept libertarian ideas before they merit solidarity? — that is not solidarity, even fascists defend their own!

SCOTTISH POLITICAL PRISONERS

How many people know that four years ago four Scottish Maoists were sentenced to a total of 81 years for their participation in armed robberies?

The almost total silence at the time of the trial and subsequent lack of support for these people, even from their own comrades and fellow-party members, is an implicit condonation of the State's brutality in meting out sentences which bear no relationship to other similar "crimes" and a great deal to the political opinions and activities of the defendants.

WHERE IS OUR CLASS SOLIDARITY?

The Workers' Party of Scotland (M-L) has washed its hands of its former leading members now they are in jail. We are not Maoists, but we are in solidarity with the three in jail (one who retracted is now out).

Solidarity means: First and foremost, getting accurate information about the case and the present situation of the prisoners. The focal point for this is Matthew Lygate's parents: Mr & Mrs John Lygate, 35 Langside Road, Govanhill, Glasgow. Sending money now to above address to help in preparing information bulletins. Publishing information at a local and international level (the more the prison authorities are being watched, the less risk for the prisoners). Contacting lawyers and other people who might take an interest in the case and finally, expressing solidarity with the prisoners themselves: Matt Lygate, C159/73, H.M. Prison, Peterhead (Scotland) (24 years); William McPherson, H.M. Prison, Peterhead; Ian Doran, H.M. Prison, Isle of Wight.

NOTICEBOARD

SALUT!

The international anarchist camp will take place this year at "St. Mitre les Ramparts" from July 15th to August 15th (on highway D50 between Istres and Martigues — 50km west of Marseille. Bouches du Rhone. 13)

For further information please apply to: —

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Transport workers: an attempt to organise. Contact Adam (01) 247 - 4829.

What is the difference between Belfast's Resistance Comix and the Encyclopedia Britanica? The Encyclopedia Britanica is only 6 ft. thick . . . find out for yourself: Resistance Comix, 10p, c/o Plough Books, 72 Castle Street, Belfast 1, N. Ireland.

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Anarchists in New Zealand or visiting the country contact P.O. Box 22607 Christchurch or P.O. Box 2042 Auckland.

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STOP PRESS

We have just been informed that Sylvie Porte Luis Andres Edo have both been released. We have no details yet on Edo, but Sylvie was sentenced to 10 months 7 of which were suspended and as she had served the other 3 months awaiting trial she was released on June 21.