

BLACK FLAG

organ  of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL. V. No.2 1977 15p

FOURTH REICH VICTIMS



ANDREAS BAADER
Shot



PETRA SCHELM
Shot



BENNO OHNESORG
Shot



ULRIKE MEINHOF
Hanged



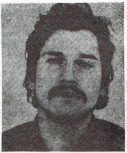
HÖLGER MEINS
Died on Hunger Strike



TOMMY WEISSBECKER
Shot



GUDRUN ENSSLIN
Hanged



GEORG VON RAUCH
Shot



INGRID SCHUBERT
Hanged



JAN-CARL RASPE
Shot

Vol. V. No.2, 1977, 15p

Black Flag, Vol. V., No.2, 1977, 15p

Published by Black Flag Group

Printed by Anarchy Collective

Subs. £3.25 per 12 issues (home)

Canada / Australia / N.Z., etc. (airmail)

£6.50 (U.S. \$13.00).

Black Flag, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL, U.K.

State of Play as at 27th Oct. '77

Sales & subs to date	304.05	
Royalties	6.09	
Donations*	140.47	450.61

Printing & typesetting costs to date	275.00	
Postage	45.50	320.50

A profit! (Ye gods!) 130.11

Overall deficit	1476.25	brought fwd
Less	130.11	
Deficit	£1346.14	

People really read these screeds! Since last issue enough subs have been renewed to help pay off a lot of old debts and even to make a dent into our deficit. Some hefty donations have helped considerably. 'Black Flag' really will be stable one of these days! Pity we had to miss out the odd issue. Thanks a lot. But keep it up. Subscriptions are the lifeblood of our bulletin.

*Donations: Belfast PS £7; "Welsh Friend of Durruti" £1; Dublin N & M £5; Newcastle JN £1; Clackmannanshire NS £2; Cosham SB £1; London JT £5; Stirlingshire JW £2; Farnborough LD £3.25; Calif. Sacramento, Italian comrades at picnic per J.W. \$50 - £28.25; Picnic per J.B. £28.25; Will of Antonio di Benedetto \$100 - £56.72.

Total: £140.47.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. In 1847 a famine swept Ireland; people were starving and in despair when the potato failed; thousands were evicted because they could no longer pay the rent. Of what, in the House of Lords, did the Marquis of Westmeath accuse the Irish who were fleeing from death.
2. By what feat of religious stamina did Oliver Cromwell make sure that Charles I got executed?
3. What was the cryptic answer of Spanish Anarchist Salvochea, pioneer of the working class movement, when invited by Paul Lafargue (Marx's son-in-law) to meet Frederick Engels?
4. In 1945 an English anarchist daily had a circulation of over three million copies; in 1972 anarchist books, pamphlets and newspapers could be found on every station bookstall, available from W.H. Smith. What is the source of this information?
5. In which language was the only revolutionary industrial unionist daily paper in the U.S.A.?

answers on page 19

The Fifth Issue of *The Industrial Unionist* is now available from: I.W.W. (Midlands), 226 Emmscot Road, Warwick. (three 7p stamps).

Now available: *How it All Began - The Personal Account of a West German Urban Guerrilla*, Bommi Baumann, £2.35 (inc. p/p). *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution*, Jose Peirats, £2.35 (+ 25p p/p). *The Ego and His Own*, Max Stirner, £3.75 (25p p/p) (h/b). *Fanshen - The Magic Bear*, Becky Sarah, 75p (inc. p/p) (A story for young anarchists).

All these and other titles are available from your friendly local anarchist book-seller: Cienfuegos Press Books Service, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL, U.K. (After all we are only a 9p stamp away from you. Just think how much you're saving on bus and tube fares!!)

Dear comrades,
Our comrade Antonio Di Benedetto, who died in Peekskill, N.Y. on May 10, 1977, made me the beneficiary of an insurance policy for which the sum of \$2,074 was received. This money was to be used for the benefit of the anarchist movement. So, after consultation with comrades, it was agreed the \$500 should be sent to Italy for the assistance of political prisoners and the remainder divided among a number of newspapers and reviews being published in Italy and elsewhere. \$100 is sent for the benefit of *Black Flag*.

Fraternally,
Joe. S.

CENTRO IBERICO

address: 421 Harrow Road, London W9. (near Portobello Road: Tube Westbourne Park).

Saturdays & Sundays: 3 - 11 p.m.

(POST: Miguel Garcia, 123 Upper TOLLINGTON Park, London N.4).

SATURDAY DECEMBER 10
Demo against repression
in Germany. Starts 2 p.m.
London Embankment.

STUART CHRISTIE &
ALBERT WEITZER

THE FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY

THE SOCIALIST LIE

Reading through the so-called left-wing papers, such as pass for that today, one is struck by the sameness of the lie and the identity of the parts that make up the whole package deal of today's socialism, give or take one or two causes added or subtracted to suit particular tastes. The struggling peoples in some countries, the national oppressors (comprising whole peoples) in others, the cult of nationalism glorified in one place and debunked in another (usually according to Russian foreign policy). None of it has reality outside these journals, which give one entirely false impression of events to offset another false impression given by the media.

The Russian lie continues to dominate left-wing politics; none care to admit that there the progress of humanity stopped still, that the sleeping giant only stirred in its sleep for a few years. There is no overt sign of resistance that could be espied until recently and it is still confined to a few. The media have their own brand of lie, suggesting that only among those who are doing particularly well out of the regime, the intellectuals, showbiz people, party hacks, scientists, are those who are showing dissidence: but where such dissidents appear, they are not in resistance. It is not they who are attacking the regime: it is the regime which is persecuting a few amongst them. For years in Russia the brute force of the State has cowed, humiliated and silenced the majority of people into submission, ready to queue up for their own destruction, frightened to protest, with rebels regarded as lunatics and criminals a dissatisfied minority, half-hoping for a major catastrophe to break the dead-lock. In only one other country can the same phenomenon be seen.

In this country too the progress of humanity has stopped still, stifled by the State with no overt sign of resistance, except among the few. The media have their own lie, suggesting that a revolutionary movement exists made up by the students whose programmes are fashioned out of university set books. But the majority of people have long been cowed, humiliated and silenced not by brute force, but by persuasion and ridicule, until they too are ready to queue up for their own destruction, not frightened but diffident, with rebels regarded as lunatics and criminals, and a dissatisfied minority looking to a catastrophe, not war but fascism, to break the dead-lock.

This is the reality of both brands of state socialism as seen in Russia and in Britain, the totalitarian and the democratic. No longer does either brand speak of socialism, except as occasional rhetoric: there is talk of progressive causes, national liberation, achieving fairer shares or



Franco Lived in Vain

The Spanish ruling class have manoeuvred themselves out of a difficult position by the skin of their teeth in the transformation from a military-conquered State to an accepted democracy, a difficult thing to do at the best of times but most of all when the working class within living memory stormed the heavens and took everything. The ruling class had to use genocide to destroy collectivisation and the anarchist movement. Now they want to find their way back to capitalist normality. They had hoped to build the country nearer to their desires in the form of recognisable capitalist normality. They had hoped that the past was buried beneath the lies and neglect of the media, and the false history of the politicians. If they haven't quite succeeded, it wasn't for want of bloodshed in the past or campaigning in the present.

For Franco betrayed and murdered the people in vain. Once more the anarchist movement is to be found openly in Spain. Walk down the Ramblas in Barcelona and from every bookstall and kiosk you will see books and reviews on the anarchist phenomenon that he tried so hard to suppress, every wall will echo its messages, people you pass in the street will talk to you about it joyfully. This is the spring-time of anarchy and, especially as it won't last, it's a pleasure we hope many libertarians from many countries will grab in the coming year, to take a package tour and see what it is like, before the serious business begins.

Though the Government has been forced to accept the fact that legalisation of parties and unions in Spain must entail the legalisation of what was the majority union and in most parts the majority opinion, it isn't happy about it; it hoped that the erosion of time would have its effect, that the years of silence and repression would have ended what to them is the anomaly of a revolutionary workers movement.

It was hoped that the Communist Party could be used to form an instant workers movement, but this has succeeded only too well, and the Communist Party has been transformed into a vast bureaucratic machine, a well-tailored official party with its branches and unions all ready to switch behind the capitalist line and all of which will vanish like the wind face to face with the opposing realities of revolution or fascism. It faces — as it did in Portugal — the problem unforeseen by Lenin that for every vanguard party leading the workers and having the "right and duty" to suppress all other parties, there are about six dozen other vanguard parties all quoting the same sacred texts and all having the same rights and duties, and all short-changing and underestimating each other. The Maoists stand out in this motley crowd for they are determined to carry on the armed struggle though it has ceased for the moment to have much relevance; they see it as something that built the Anarchists into a mass force and they wish to do the same, without realising that the Anarchists were a working class movement and they are not, and their whole position dictates that they never can be one for they wish to be "the leaders", the vanguard.

The anarchist movement in Spain is now proving all the academics wrong. They presented it in terms of the Russian experience, or social democracy elsewhere, completely false; there is a spontaneous anarchism which bubbles up to the top everywhere, it is not a closed-shop of conspirators. The conspiracies — necessary in nearly a century of repression — certainly existed, but flourishing because there were so many working class suburbs in which they could exist. The CNT is not the "mass organisation" influenced by the anarchists; it is part and parcel of the anarchist movement, those who are organised industrially. It contains others than anarchists. The old story about "illiteracy" and "peasant origins" becomes manifestly absurd today.

As ever, the CNT lacks any bureaucracy, its faults are those of structurelessness; its actual office administration down to almost nothing. The exile movement has been officially wound up; what is overall important is the new movement that has come out into the open rather than been reconstructed. And it is great to stroll around the streets and meet comrades one knew through decades of struggle, formerly in privation in exile, or members of the old action groups, or the new core of militants who came through the Centro Iberico in London and are now amongst the most active.

This could be a lyrical paean of homage, especially to Catalonia but also all Spain. There are reservations however. The CNT has many bitter enemies.

The gravest dangers in Spain are:

1. The fascist groups, such as The Warriors of Christ the King, pretending to be a type of Ku Klux Klan, in reality being the secret police off duty; and similar groups tolerated by the army or police, pretending to be Nazi or Catholic; such as those who bombed the paper "El Papus"; their continued existence will mean civil war.

2. The indifference of many workers to the new industries now springing up, who have achieved something they never had before, and want to get integrated in the new society; who will go to the Socialist Party, or even the Communist Party provided it is on French rather than Moscow lines; and who will only move to militant action in the case of fascist reaction and Socialist-Communist treachery over the social contract etc.

Also, it must be said that the CNT carries the whole drugs and gay liberation scene, etc., around its neck like an albatross; it is maintained that as part of a libertarian movement this ambience cannot be denounced, but do not think it no drawback, especially in Spain. The women's movement, contrariwise, has been one of the great sources of inspiration for the future; nor has it been afraid to go into the industrial struggle. It is because of them such one-time "unlikely" unions as the Bank Employees and the Teachers have become bulwarks of the CNT, especially in Madrid.

It has been hoped by authoritarians that an anarchist movement in the modern world is an anachronism; and that present modes of exploitation inhibit an anarcho-syndicalist union built on the basis of horizontal control and not control from the top downwards. The authoritarian parties are trying to build unions, too, seeing in the CNT the great stumbling block to their hopes for domination. But every worker in Spain must question why any union must have a dominating bureaucracy sustaining a privileged class of politicians, or an elite group of leaders. It's high time that workers elsewhere began to question it too; that's why it's necessary to go and have a look at what is happening in Spain.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

POLAND

Although the Government has implemented its amnesty to all those convicted of offences arising out of the 1976 food riots, many people (usually convicted on criminal offences) still remain in jail. Consequently, the Warsaw based Workers Defence Committee (KOR) has formally disbanded, but has reconstituted itself as the Committee for Social Defence.

In Krakow, a second student has been found dead. He was Stanislaw Pietraszko, a friend of Stanislaw Pyjas who was murdered by right-wing elements in the Krakow police because of his connections with the Workers Defence Committee. Pietraszko, whose body was found in an artificial lake, had been missing since the time of Pyjas murder. He spoke to Pyjas shortly before his death in hospital, and before his disappearance had informed friends of the police involvement in the murder.

In England, left-wing Polish militant Edmund Baluka has been subjected to police harassment for his continued involvement in support of the Polish workers. Baluka, who was forced to seek political asylum in the west for his part in the 1970-71 insurrection, was interrogated for seven hours by Dover police, when he landed there, on his way to speak at the Marxism 77 festival at North London polytechnic last June. The harassment, which began last April, culminated in August, when he was refused permission to return to England to collect personal belongings from his Manchester flat, so that he could settle permanently in Paris.

USA

Decajewiah (John Hill) was 19, and in Attica jail by a fluke (he should have been in a young offenders' camp) when the rebellion broke out in 1971. He was convicted of the murder of a guard during the uprising on the flimsiest of evidence (someone said the killer has "oriental eyes"). He is now the only prisoner still in custody on charges resulting from the rebellion. Because actions by prison guards have blocked previous attempts at parole, he now languishes in the notorious Sing Sing, but defence lawyers are now optimistic that they can force the board to grant parole or get the conviction overturned. Further info from Attica Committee to Free Decajewiah, c/o Fink & Myers, 350 Broadway, Suite 609, New York, N.Y. 10013, U.S.A. Or write direct to Decajewiah as follows: John Hill (157-429), Ossining Correctional Institution, 345, Hunter St., Ossining, N.Y., U.S.A.

Iris Rivera worked in the Chicago Public Defender's Office (a state agency that provides legal aid to people who can't afford it). When ordered to make the coffee she refused, saying that she didn't drink coffee, and that she was hired to do office work. Her supervisor sacked her, but she fought the case and was re-instated.

Santa Cruz I.W.W., members have been working on the case of Eva Kutas, who was imprisoned in Oregon several years ago for allegedly hiding an escaped convict. She did not do so however, and even though evidence shows that the main witness perjured herself, the Federal government has attempted to isolate her from outside support by moving her from jail to jail.

Other I.W.W., members in Detroit and Ann Arbor have been collecting medical supplies for the Texas Farm Workers Union members who are on strike, and for former strikers, now black-listed. TFW members issued an appeal for food, clothing and medical supplies, and have already been sent a load of childrens' clothes, by the Wobblies.

Wobblies have also been active in a number of industrial disputes and strikes. Santa Cruz bus workers working for the Santa Cruz Transit District have demanded that employers recognise the IWW as a legitimate labour union. Coupled with this has been a demand for immediate improvement in working conditions. Workers at the Mid-America Machinery plant in Virden, Illinois, the majority of whom are I.W.W., members, have also been pressing their employer to recognise the I.W.W., although their company has been more intransigent.

SCOTLAND

Parents have taken over the teaching and running of Barrowfield Community School in Glasgow. Four years ago the school was set up as an alternative to State schooling and was run on the lines of a "free school" by several people who were originally at Jordanhill Teacher Training College.

Strathclyde Regional authority refused to continue financing the school, so the teachers continued at the school, working and drawing dole at the same time. This summer matters came to a head, and parents were forced into the position of taking over the teachers jobs or see the school close.

(source: Glasgow Peoples Press)

SPAIN

The anarchist 'New Neighbour Collective' in Barcelona took direct action to deactivate an asphalt factory that was polluting the local atmosphere and have squatted in some former slums, which they have now renovated and turned into a People's Neighbourhood Centre.

ISRAEL

Without comment. Amichai Paglin has been appointed "anti-terrorist" advisor to the new government of Menachem Begin (one-time leader of the terrorist group Irgun Zvei Leumi). During the period of the British mandate in Palestine, Paglin was leader of the Etze organisation which was responsible for bombing the King David Hotel, when nearly 100 people were killed.

ARGENTINA

Brazilian bookseller, Flavio Koutzli left Brazil in 1970, persecuted for his politics activities at the University of Rio Grande do Sul. As a philosophy and economics student he was active in the National Union of Students (UNE of Brazil, an organisation suppressed for its opposition to the Brazilian military government. He spent one year in Paris before moving to Argentina in 1972.

On May 11, 1975, Flavio was arrested in Buenos Aires, by plain clothes police, without a warrant, who hooded him and took him to a station of the Superintendencia de Seguridad Federal (political police). For 15 days he was held in secret and subjected to a variety of tortures, including denial of liquids and other nourishment, beatings and electric shocks, sexual attacks and simulated executions. Eventually he was accused of "international conspiracy", together with his Argentinian wife and eight people he had never met.

Flavio provided the ideal scapegoat for government publicity. A Brazilian exile of Jewish origin, he incarnated the "international sycarchy" supposedly behind "subversion." The press responded warmly to these themes.

Koutzli and his co-defendants were put on trial but the police frame-up was so shaky that the Judge acquitted ten of the accused, criticising the inconsistency in the "conspiracy" charges. Flavio himself was left in a legal limbo for a year, without acquittal being pronounced or preventive imprisonment confirmed, until the military seized power in 1976, when a new Judge took up his case. Without following due legal process and disregarding statements made to the court and without troubling to see or hear from Flavio, he pronounced a period of preventive imprisonment.

Flavio's life is now in danger, as he

A PROD IN THE RIBS

At the funeral of Nazi industrialist leader, Dr. Hans Martin Schleyer, the Federal President of Germany, Dr. Walter Scheel, said "a new awareness" of the problem of "terrorism" had begun to spread.

"That much was clear to us when the Russian and East German governments offered their help to us in those difficult days."

This frank testimony of co-operation with the GPU should be read in conjunction with a previous statement by the Berlin chief of police some two years ago: "How can people take the word of these people—anarchists—against officers who have been thirty years and more in the force"—clear nostalgia for Himmler.

What is it that the Nazi State, the West Germans, the East Germans and the Soviet Union have in common? A hatred of terrorism? No one could be more terroristic than they. A neurotic obsession with the State and a fear of freedom, only muted in the case of the West Germans to fit in with the requirements of capitalism.

No one can believe that the triple deaths in the cases of Gudrun Esslin, Jan Carl Raspe and Andreas Baader were suicides. True to the solid German State tradition, the Republic insists that the victims were to blame; that they took advantage of the "kindness" of the State to smuggle into their cells weapons, arms, electronic equipment, telephonic communication, explosives—everything apparently bar their own printin: press and television station!—and synchronised the time of their "suicides", shooting themselves in the back of the neck and so on. Such explanations were given time and again

by the Nazis who tried to make the most flagrant actions of their gangs sound "legal" even when they knew no one could possibly believe them.

None of those thus killed had ever been found guilty of anything. They are accused by the press, but have not been so accused in a court of law, of organising the resistance in Germany and the hijacking of the plane. Commonsense says they cannot possibly have had anything to do with any acts of resistance during their close confinement which has been of such a nature as to turn any less determined people into vegetables; this was the process used against Ulrike Meinhof prior to her murder. When she could not be reduced by vegetation processes she was murdered.

Yet though these hostages to the State have died, they have in death as in life symbolised the whole spirit of resistance in Germany today.

The thousands of young people who attended the funeral were a better indication of German liberty than the solemn-clad dignitaries who air their platitudes to the waiting pressmen. They were not "bewailing their leaders" as one idiot put it. Those who died were not "leaders". Some of them had authoritarian socialist leanings and would have wanted to be "leaders", but there were no led; some had libertarian ideas and neither wanted to lead nor be led. That which is represented by the words "Baader-Meinhof" as a blanket description is a coalition brought into being not by desire of unity but solely by having one pervasive enemy—in this respect it can be compared with the anti-Franco forces in the Spanish civil war. Those who are authoritarian socialists tend to have associated themselves with "third world" countries, particularly Arab

nationalist movements, which has helped their penetration by the secret police of many countries. Those who are libertarians have resisted that penetration and cannot ultimately be crushed except one by one at the pistols of the political police.

This distinction between the authoritarian-nationalist and Marxist fighters, and the Anarchist fighters, is something we must note for it is the key to the situation in Germany. Like many such situations, it has come into being without being asked, passed and accepted; it exists, like the anti-fascist struggle in Spain did. We must recognise in all honesty that in Germany today—whatever we might think of the ultimate end, if victorious, of all who accept the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat and the path of nationalism, that the authoritarians as well as the anarchists have played a valiant part in the struggle which it would be ungenerous to begrudge. And at least in this case the authoritarian socialists have chosen their principles not out of a belief that they could possibly attain power—they were well aware what odds were stacked against them—but solely because anarchists were unable to persuade them that voluntarism is superior to militarism every time.

It is no accident that all who have fought and fallen in this struggle, whatever their viewpoints, have been attacked by the State as "anarchists", as having challenged the State in its essentials. Heine said that the only way to stir the German people was to give them a prod in the ribs with a lamp post. It was an optimistic expectation, there or anywhere else, but the deaths of our three comrades has once more been a prod in the ribs with a lamp post, to a generation which has been bruised insensible by the buffeting of oppression.

SOCIALIST LIE fr. p. 2

greater prosperity or something equally meaningless. They do not propose to change anything. They are the new conservative parties, the parties with the vested interest in not changing the world. The response is sullen indifference and the perverse choices implicit in either war or fascism.

In Britain there is an apparent choice, a party system offering the chance of a self-styled conservative party that preaches capitalism and in practice does very well out of state socialism, and here, as in Russia, there is the clutching at straws of local nationalism. But this is not an alternative to the slave state, only a variation to it.



ROON'n'ABOUT

NATIONAL ORACLE

You would have thought H.R.H. Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Consort of the House of Windsor, was doing very nicely out of the nation state, with all his wants provided for by the State, married to the Head of State and between the two titular heads of most of the State institutions — with one exception, at least (Her Majesty's Government, Her Majesty's armed forces, the Royal tithes, the Royal that and the Royal We, but when it comes to paying for them, the National Debt and most definitely not the Royal Debt). If it were not for the State where would he be? Philip Glucksburg, demobbed sailor seeking position as polo player.

Yet Philip has been deprecating the State. The day may come, he says, when we will all be dependent upon it, and we must be more self-dependent, more individualistic.

It is the dream of every conforming civil servant in identical bowler hats and umbrellas that they are Individualists and their folk hero is the small businessman. They never seem to see the incongruity of calling for stronger police, tougher law enforcement, bigger armed forces, more legislation against the workers, censorship, and yet insisting that the State is the enemy quite as if they were libertarians.

A curious example of telling the truth like it was a lie. Or as the bard had it, the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.

THE BLACK PHARAOH

Black American scholars, and militants, seeing the treasures of King Tutankhamen — previously shown in London — are claiming that the collection is falsely presented as "the fountainhead of the rich stream of white Western culture", states a press.

It is, of course, ludicrous, and pressing a false imprint on the past, to show the collection as if it had something to do with the modern Egypt which occupies its landscape, or with white Europe. Looking at the features of King Tutankhamen, he has plainly Negroid features. His skin is always shown as black, where it has not been glided over in a golden mask.

One Black museum official said the "supreme irony" came for him when a "white woman pointed to one of the dark-skinned Tut statues and said they must be slaves who guarded the tomb".

The scholars have retorted in force, quoting genealogies. But note the genealogies they use, basing themselves on conventional usage, are almost certainly wrong. There is a strong case for serious consideration of Immanuel Velikovsky's work in archeological research — once

harassed by official science, still condemned in universities — to which the new *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review* gives an introduction which we need not repeat here.

If one follows the conventional dating of archeology, the Blacks are wrong. The plain evidence of their eyes is refuted. But if one takes Velikovsky's revised chronology, Tutankhamen, who was Akhnaton's son-in-law, proves in a line from Hapshut — identified in the revised chronology as the (Black) Queen of Sheba — and connected with Ethiopia.

Black Americans have been so alienated from their background and know so little of their heritage that some considered it an essential part of Black consciousness of culture to claim Tutankhamen as the Black which his depiction in statuary undoubtedly shows. The (white) scholars who oppose them do not do so out of a desire to claim him as a Caucasian (he obviously isn't) but out of a desire to protect academic interest in conventional chronology which, if upset, means a revolution in Egyptology which renders many existing books, collections and curricula obsolete.

The fact that he is a dissident does not, of course, by itself make Velikovsky right (though it is odd how details such as this, which form no part of his thesis, confirm his chronology). But vested interest must always be recognised for what it is, even with the trappings of academia.

However, the reported statements of Mr. Jules Taylor, of the Brooklyn Museum, cannot be allowed to pass. Speaking as a Black, Mr. Taylor says "we don't have a Pantheon of heroes to choose from or not choose from and it is vital to our survival that young Blacks should be able to study positive images of ourselves" — Tutankhamen and "his" achievements are, he feels, the only way to establish "in a scholarly way our cultural ancestry so that blacks can take pride in their colour."

This is to accept standards set by conquering nations which now form the basis of White dominated society. The achievements attributed to Tutankhamen were the work of slaves, like all those of Ancient Egypt. The glory of Africa is that it did not build the modern State, and greater cultural achievements can be found in the "lost" civilisations for instance of Nigeria (see Benin art) than in the imperial glories of Ethiopia or Egypt.

U.K. — NAFF OFF

Antony Flew, philosopher and lecturer at Reading University is a member of the editorial board of the new, *American*

Journal of Libertarian Studies, showcase of the "free-market" anarcho-capitalism of Murray Rothbard, and the "minimal-statist" ideas of people like Nock and Nozick. Mr. Flew is a busy person, as not only has he contributed to *Encounter* (a magazine that once received finance from the CIA), but he contributed to a report on left wing "subversion" recently published by the Institute for the Study of Conflict, (also linked to the CIA). Directors of the ISC include Robert Moss, who is Margaret Thatcher's speech writer. (Moss is also Director of the so-called National Association for Freedom, where he rubs shoulders with Franco biographer and apologist Brian Crozier, who was associated with the ill-fated CIA backed Forum World Feature news agency, exposed in the *Guardian* and *Time Out* last Autumn, and our Antony, who are both members of the council of NAFF. Other members of NAFF include Tory MP Rhodes Boyson (who has been candidate for the Maudslayi Prize for idiot of the month on numerous occasions, but has been ruled out each time as having an unfair advantage of permanent lunacy), and a bunch of ex-army officers, company chairmen and paid newspaper hacks. Rum company for a "libertarian?"

BLOOD TAX

One evil institution missing in Britain today is the blood tax for males, referred to generally as conscription. It was part resistance to it when the Labour Party tried to continue it after the war that prevented it from becoming an institution it was also more particularly the objections of the generals, who knew that from a military point of view it was useless. Having no particular political axe to grind as officers (it is the police who in this country aspire to political power as a class, not the military), they saw no purpose in being lumbered with an ineffective armed service solely for the thrill it gave to civilian politicians whom they despised, who liked nothing better than to stand up there on a dias receiving and returning salutes from a disciplined force! How the male ego was boosted, how the adrenalin worked overtime!

It is time that conscription was ended in other countries, where it is equally militarily useless, but serves as a glorification to politicians. Where the Government is prepared to let the whole people have arms, it can have military usefulness, but what European Government does that? — and it can only increase aggression.

In Spain, although General Franco insisted on retaining conscription "like everyone else" he made sure that conscripted no arms training. The conscript was kept totally ineffective and untrained. It was a form of punishment for being

THE OTHER REICH

Some Impressions of the German Democratic Republic

This summer I went on a two week visit to the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.). I am not going to disclose the purpose or duration of my stay or the name of the town where I spent most of my time. There are various reasons for not doing so and it doesn't take much imagination to figure them out. Many false impressions are created about Eastern Europe; by the Governments of these countries, by Western media men and generally by any group with a vested interest and I am including Anarchists here. I don't pretend to be able to give a totally accurate picture of the G.D.R., but I've been there more than once and I'll tell you the way I see it and what I found. The article is subdivided under various headings because I feel the particular subjects dealt with therein are fundamental towards any Anarchist analysis of the G.D.R.

*"Say, fear is a man's best friend!"
J. John Cale.*

Transport in the G.D.R.

The most important forms of transport in the G.D.R., are the buses and trams. They provide a very frequent (if bumpy, in the case of the trams) service. In fact, in a country where you have to wait two years for a driving lesson and five to eight years for a new car they're pretty well essential. Even more so when you consider that almost 20% of the workforce works round the clock shift pattern. Thus, most bus and tram rates run from 4a.m. until 2a.m.

You don't pay a cash fare to the driver or a conductor (more on the reasons why later), instead before boarding the bus or tram, you buy a ticket or a book of tickets depending on how much you want to spend. There are three types of ticket; red, green and brown. One colour is for short journeys, one for medium and one for long, consequently there are three corresponding price bands. On entering the vehicle you place the ticket into a machine which punches it full of holes. The holes are in fact a code which is changed daily and only the ticket inspectors know that code. So, if you hand him yesterday's ticket, tough luck. If an inspector catches a fare dodger (and I never saw any inspectors) the "criminal" is fined 20m on the spot. If the "criminal" doesn't have 20m on him the inspector confiscates the "criminal's" internal passport and then the "criminal" must claim it back from the Police with his 20m within 48 hours. If you don't have

your internal passport on you, you're fined an additional 50m by the Police, receive an endorsement and are asked a lot of nasty questions. Although throughout the G.D.R., each State employs the same ticket system, tickets are not interchangeable between States. The buses and trams come from Hungary and Czechoslovakia respectively and the fares are really cheap.

Not quite as important as public road transport is the railway service. Berlin has a small and cheap underground railway ("U-Bahn"), which together with its wall makes Berlin a unique city within the G.D.R. All large towns and cities have an "S-Bahn" (literally 'quick-train') which serves the populace in the same way as the London Underground is supposed to. Again the costs for travellers are low, 20pf* for a journey of around 15 minutes duration. The fine for not having a ticket is only 5m, so for a regular S-Bahn user it really does not pay not to pay.

As for the "German National Railways" they're probably run by the same sort of faceless bureaucrats who run British Rail. The connections between the cities are poor, e.g. only four trains a day from the second city Leipzig, to Berlin and vice versa. Apart from that the carriages are filthy, there are toilets on all trains which are often blocked with crap (and there's no shortage of that), there is a new type of tap on railway sinks which when turned on showers out rust and to round it all off the trains are often later and there no-one tells you why. Unlike on the S and U-Bahn, where if you can find a machine that's working you punch the ticket yourself, on the National Railways an inspector comes round to check on you. The trains are often driven by steam locomotives which the Government says will be in use until 1990 and do those engines spread dirt! There is also a special Railway Police Force which wears a highly decorative uniform (royal blue) which includes a large and prominent gun. Finally, needless to say train fares are cheap; in the main around 20% cheaper than in Britain.

Accommodation

Inevitably the vast majority of all accommodation in the G.D.R., is State owned. However, there are two types of non-State owned housing. The first is a small and decaying private sector. Landlords who owned property before World War 2 are allowed to keep that property and charge a rent for it. It's a sector which is dying out for two reasons, there is no right of inheritance or private transfer and private landlords are only allowed to

charge the same rent that the State charges. The second type of non-State housing is the owner-occupier. If you have the money and the will it is quite possible to build your own house and then own it. Again there is no right of inheritance or of private transfer, so when the person or persons whose name the house is in die, any dependants automatically become tenants of the State.

Rents are worked out on the following basis: The State reckons it costs 3m a month to maintain one square metre of living space. The State pays the first two marks, the tenant the rest, in theory anyway. In practice rents range from 80pf to 1.25m per sq. metre due to a system of subsidies which benefit those families whose total income is under 2,000m. (Manual workers earn around 1,450m per annum). Also for these families heating charges have been gradually reduced over the last five years.

The main centres for new flats and houses are Berlin, Dresden and Halle, you all know the sort of places they build. They obviously have learnt nothing from New York or Glasgow and they are beginning to reap the same rewards. Most of the pre-war accommodation looks in a terrible condition from the outside. However, external appearances are usually deceptive and with regard to pre-war housing the dictum applies. I have yet to enter a flat in the G.D.R., which on the inside even remotely resembled the condition of the exterior brickwork and plaster.

The two groups of people given priority are Socialist Unity Party members and married couples with preferably three children. Due to the constantly falling population of the G.D.R., young married couples are constantly being enticed away from contraception and abortion until they have fulfilled their social obligations and had three kids. Cheap housing and a place at the head of the queue is one such benefit. As for single people it's virtually impossible to get somewhere to live, presumably the State wishes to promote collective living and besides single people are not so easily watched as is a family group. Finally, despite a massive and confusing barrage of statistics the hard fact is there is a housing shortage and it's getting worse.

Sport

We all know about the "achievements" of the G.D.R., in the Athletics field, their male athletes have just won the first World Cup albeit in an extremely lucky manner and their female athletes second in an equivalent competition. The reasons for their amazing successes are two-fold; first

unlike most European countries athletics has always been the major spectator participant sport in Germany as a whole and in the G.D.R., they carry on that tradition to a greater extent than in the Federal Republic. Secondly being a track or field hero is the only way people can receive the same sort of adulation that is reserved for film and pop stars and footballers in the rest of Europe in general and the West in particular.

The Government has realised this and harnessed the two factors for its own propaganda devices. The State provides the best facilities for those young people who either want to pursue their sport or become famous. In return athletes are expected, but not forced, to join the Socialist Unity Party. The leaders of that Party probably feel that by promoting an image of a "nation" full of almost-Supermen it produces a wealth of admirers. Among white liberals and poor blacks maybe...

Athletics is not the only sport which is encouraged; swimming, (where East German women dominate the field), boxing, gymnastics and handball are among the most popular and lastly there is Football.

Football is an anomaly. It is not as actively encouraged as other sports and there are plenty of reasons why. First of all it's not too popular, the Cup Final draws a crowd of only 60,000 and First Division attendances are rarely over the 25,000 mark. It is also the only genuinely working-class sport and a lot of violence accompanies it. For example, last year in Halle, when the Lok Leipzig fans arrived at Halle main station they proceeded to set the station alight. Since then whenever a trainload of football supporters arrive at the home teams' station they are escorted from the train, outside the station and into the army of home fans, by policemen with dogs. On the journey to the ground there is usually sporadic fighting as there is inside the ground. Bottles are the favourite weapon and what do the police do? Nothing, unless the fighting, (as in Halle), gets really out of hand. From the kids point of view there is safety, (from the Police) in numbers and the Police know it's safer for kids to beat the shit out of each other than out of them. Incidentally this summer the Soviet Union played an International against the G.D.R., and lost. They also had a player sent off to a chorus of "Kill him, kill him."

All professional sportsmen in the G.D.R., have full-time jobs. Funny thing is though, they're usually only seen on pay day, unless of course production is down.

Crime

No statistics on crime rates are published. However, this was not the case up until the late 1960s. Until the mid-60s the published statistics showed a constantly falling crime rate, excluding escapes

and attempted escapes to the Federal Republic. Then after steady increases over a four or five year period no more statistics were published. The general impression seems to be that crime is on the increase, especially violent crime committed by youths, usually drunk. In Halle apparently some husbands refuse to allow their wives (or the women refuse) to go into certain districts after 9-p.m for fear of being raped. Those certain districts happen to be the newest, tallest housing estates.

Earlier I mentioned the ticket system employed on public road transport. The reasons for its introduction are fairly simple. Up to a couple of years ago all buses and trams had ticket machines fitted with a handle. In order to obtain a ticket you merely had to pull the handle, there was no need to put the money in the slot first. So by the early seventies the number of people riding for free had become so large the Government decided to change the system.

A couple of fairly extreme examples of crime in the G.D.R., are a bank robbery in June of this year in Dresden, the alleged culprits were caught within a fortnight. Also last year in Leipzig a young man went berserk with a knife and killed one person and wounded several more before being subdued.

The population also seems to believe that the G.D.R., has the highest suicide rate in the world although how they arrive at this calculation I couldn't quite figure out. Although people I met were able to recount up to five suicide stories to me. There are also around 340,000 registered alcoholics in the G.D.R., however no-one knows whether this is the real figure or not; the era of falsifying statistics appears to be over for the present at least, instead the Government seems to have a policy of publishing statistics which they hope will either impress or frighten. This figure of 340,000 translated to a U.K. equivalent of 1,025,000, you can make your own comparisons.

One final point though, although crime in the G.D.R., is increasing, it is nowhere near the level of some parts of Britain, or indeed other Warsaw Pact countries. The one area where it does compare is in the football vandalism area. In fact here I would say that on a pro-rata basis the crowd violence is more widespread.

Entertainment

If you like a drink, or several drinks even, you won't find the equivalent of the Pub. Mind you all the cafes, restaurants and snack bars sell beer and there are open air beer counters in all large towns, and the licensing hours are more liberal than about 9 a.m. until 10 p.m. but generally the flasher establishment the longer the extension so that you'll find four

and five star hotels with round-the-clock bars. There are very few nightclubs, if you're interested in seeing the red hot boys grooving their tails. A typical joke is "Comrade, what are we going to do about this problem?" "I don't know, ask him he knows all the answers." Yeah...

Restaurants are about three times as expensive as their U.K. counterparts, though no-one refuses to serve you because of the clothes you wear etc. After all it is a socialist country. Don't ever ask an "East" German waiter for a curry. I did and got cut in butter sauce. There are very few theatres and appear a tight political watch is kept over them. Not so with the cinema. The plentiful, and of course, cheap cinemas are full of "radical" American films, "progressive" East European films and "socially aware" West European films.

If you're under 21 and like Western records there are loads of discos, they seem to be imitations of the West German imitations of the British imitation of the American disco, still cheap, crass culture is popular all over the world.

There are three radio stations; Radio Berlin has anything from Mick Jagger to Beethoven and political discussion to recipes. Radio G.D.R., is full of political propaganda and seems to be mainly for foreign consumption and the third station is mainly for culture fanatics. The G.D.R. has two T.V. stations which are basically really boring, the average East German like his counterpart in the West, wants to watch "Kojak" and "Columbo". "Columbo" in German! Their T.V. news broadcasts are mainly concerned with the economic performance of the G.D.R., e.g. "Good evening ladies and gentlemen. Production at the V.E.B.⁴ steel mill in Dessau hit new heights today. This was due to volunteers from the Peoples Army coming in to help in essential duties."

Finally, no-one seems to read anything over there, maybe because of the heavy censorship, maybe because of the generally prohibitive prices of books. As for the kids, well they want all the Western records they can get and are bored because its hard to get them (100% for a black-market album). Over here we got them and are bored because of them.

Industry

Industry is approximately 99% state-owned, ostensibly it is in the hands of the workers through the V.E.B. The retail trade is either V.E.B. or Co-op run. The Co-op unlike the V.E.B. is not run by a Government department, but is inevitably responsible to the State for its actions and any differences in organisation between the V.E.B. and the Co-op do not seem apparent at street level. If anything the possibly autonomous Co-op is less efficient than the V.E.B. Agriculture is organised into communes or collective farms, however as in industry there is some private ownership.

The private sector in industry mainly consists of self-employed craftsmen, who are allowed to employ up to five others. The main criterion for the State when considering whether to allow someone a licence is whether he can produce the goods more efficiently than as part of the State combine.

Self-employed craftsmen are among the richest people in the G.D.R., although the prices they charge are fixed by the State, most people prefer the personal touch, it inevitably adds to status. Farmers although they must work on the collective farms are also allowed to own their own land. The size of their private holdings can be no larger than a little over six acres and work on it must be done in the owner's spare time. Handing back the land is a fairly new policy which was started around six years ago in an effort to entice farmers into producing more, the results are unknown, but most farmers jumped at the chance of owning land which before 1949 had been theirs or at least in their family. There are also privately owned shops, again mainly selling handmade or specialised products, however "competition" in the capitalist sense is non-existent.

Most non-shift workers work a 40-hour week. There is a minimum wage in force of 400 marks a month which on comparative levels would entitle the wage earner for Social Security. The G.D.R., has no Social Security. About one worker in five works in shifts. There are usually three shifts and most shift workers work a 43% hour. The Government has been claiming for the past eighteen months that a 42 hour week is on the way, but so far its implementation has only been seen in a few factories. The third type of worker is the "journeyman" (my phrase). Many skilled workers especially engineers move from job to job, rather like bricklayers in the U.K. Pay levels are about 20% higher than for factory based workers in the same trade and although you must work a 43% hour week, you are normally allowed to complete your hours in four days. This enables the worker to lie flat on his back for an entire morning to recover from exhaustion prior to returning home. Pay levels in general seem to be only slightly lower than in the U.K., but

personal taxation and insurance contributions are less.

This leads me on to the National economy. Inflation is controlled in five main ways; subsidies on basic goods which in turn create "artificially" highly-priced consumer goods, a low-level of imports from the West, the control of consumption by closing shops on one or more days of the week, a planned, rather than Free-Market economy and a large supply of poor Poles and hungry Hungarians to do the sort of jobs reserved for West Indians in this country.⁶ There are around 500,000 Poles and Hungarians working in the G.D.R. They go there because they have no work at home and because even if they have work at home they can earn more in the G.D.R. Of course, they save most of their money and send it back home, again curtailing consumption. Most foreign workers stay in the G.D.R., for less than a year mainly because they dislike Germans in general and rich Germans in particular. German-Slav rivalries weren't invented in 1933. Anyway, here's an example of how the Government deals with a potentially tricky economic situation. We all know about the massive rise in the price of coffee. The capitalist force us to pay more, unless of course we do the sensible thing and stop drinking the stuff. The State Capitalists put an announcement in the press saying that: "as from (say) next Wednesday these brands of coffee will be unavailable." Cut supply to cut demand.

The G.D.R.'s economy is pretty sound for a number of reasons. Good labour relations (in reality cowed workers), an iron will to succeed in both boss and worker and a craving to be even more powerful and prosperous than the "West" Germans. If you look beneath the driven spread by the State propagandists what you seem to find is a process of red-bourgeoisification. The one aim of most "East" Germans is to have more material possessions and it plays straight into the Government's hands. Workers who have a purely bourgeois outlook and no political or social aspirations are like puppets. Work harder! Build socialism! Get more! How about Get Fucked!?

Welfare Provisions and Education

Unfortunately I can't say too much about these simply because after a few months

all the statistics carried in my head have blurred with one another, and anyway in most cases its real and not cash comparisons that count. Apart from anything else the aim of all welfare provision in the G.D.R., is to make sure no-one falls below a certain standard of living and I think they fulfill that aim pretty well.

Of course in a land of 500,000 job vacancies there is no unemployment benefit and in the G.D.R., as in most Warsaw Pact countries you don't have any choice between working and not working. Quite simply if a person refuses to work they go to prison and once there if you don't work you die. The overall strategy seems to be to turn the G.D.R., into the manufacturing industry powerhouse of the Warsaw Pact. So much for unemployment.

Every child must attend school between the ages of six and sixteen. Apart from the three R's most children learn English or French and to a very high standard, receive basic training in the sciences and have to learn Russian between the ages of seven and thirteen. At the age of fourteen all children are assessed to see which jobs they will be best suited to. After the assessment is completed the pupil is presented with a list of possible jobs from which he must select one. Over the final two years of school the pupil as well as continuing with normal studies receives a basic training in their allocated trade, job or profession. (As for university and higher education, I'll deal with this later).

Old Age Pensions have increased by nearly 100% over the past five years, however as I can't discover at what base they started from I imagine it must have been a pretty low one and only now are pensioners receiving a pension which is big enough to enable them not to have to work. Certainly, unlike previous visits, on the latest visit I saw no pensioners working. So maybe it speaks for itself.

What about young, bouncing baby "East" Germans? I can't tell you much about them, but their mothers do alright. Maternity leave is 26 weeks on average net wages, once they go back to work they work a maximum 40 hour week and on the birth of each child the mother is handed a cheque for 1,000m. It's much more useful than a medal and more seriously, gives something to be thankful for.

THEY STILL RESIST



JULIANE PLAMBECK



INGE VIETT



SUSANNE ALBRECHT

To round off, the National Front (as the Government is known) is constantly increasing and widening social benefits e.g. there are annual increases in most cash benefits. Their reasons for doing so are obvious. From a straight Leninist analysis they are, by providing wider services, "building the elements of Communism" (their phrase, not mine). From a non-Leninist viewpoint they are trying either to gain the peoples' confidence or to ensure against any serious movement against the National Front. In a country as politically repressive as the G.D.R., the State must provide material benefits. They have learnt the lesson of 1953 and learnt it well.

Political Control.

How do you relate overt political control to someone who has never experienced it? How does it effect an outsider? How does the outsider keep his or her mouth shut? And why do millions upon millions of people tolerate it? Perhaps it is because it is instilled at a very early age.

It starts inevitably at school. The reading books that the young children (of eight or nine upwards) get have stories about kind Erich Honecker who always has time for the kids problems. Of course this sort of stuff wears thin, but then there is the "Free German Youth." (F.D.J.). No child has to join the F.D.J., but I have only ever heard of one who didn't: no child suffers if he or she is not a good member as long as he keeps his mouth shut. The F.D.J. is the breeding ground for the Socialist Unity Party, it is from the F.D.J., that the future Party functionaries and eventual leaders are selected. All members of the F.D.J., once they join stay in there until the age of 24, unless of course they are expelled. Meetings are supposed to be monthly and all members should attend at least six a year to avoid suspicion, however I know of one branch which haven't held a meeting for over a year and as yet no-one is in trouble over it. So what happens when you reach 24?

People go their own separate ways, most drop out of "politics" altogether, some enter the Socialist Unity Party, a few others join one of the other Parties. What of the Parties? The Socialist Unity Party was formed in 1948 by an

amalgamation between the Communist and Socialist parties. Its policies are virtually identical to those of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union but the phrase Socialist Unity creates an illusion of left unity, and the government is adept at raising facades and creating illusions. The Party has around 2,000,000 members, around one half are reckoned to be dedicated communists, the others — ?

The other million are there for various reasons. It would be easy to dismiss them as a bunch of opportunists although there is probably an opportunist streak in most of them. Young people who wish to go to University are usually told to join the Party, the only exceptions being the exceptionally gifted and those who wish to study in a field where there is a shortage of students. The rest must join if they wish to study. Again once you enter employment, if you want to reach middle-class stability you must join the Party otherwise in the years to come you constantly find yourself losing out in the promotion stakes because you once turned down the passport. The main benefit of membership apart from a secure future is a place at the top of the housing list with a chance of getting a place in the choicest flat. If you join the Party not too much is expected of you. "Just attend a few meetings, go on a few parades, pay your sub regularly." After all, they don't want disinterested people to become interested, they may start thinking for themselves.

One group of "workers" which must by law constitute only Socialist Unity members is the Police. No-one knows how many policemen there are in the G.D.R., but there certainly seem to be a lot more than here. What could be more secure than being a policeman in the G.D.R.? Not much to do except at football matches, good pay, good holidays, a place at the top of the housing list and the respect of all those citizens who don't wear a uniform. Generally it is believed that many coppers are not communists and what is certain is that they are short of practice. Most "East" Germans fear the law to a ridiculous extent, but just how effective is a police force that rarely has to stretch itself to its full potential? How effective would a group of people used to constant police pressure of an overt nature be against a

law enforcement force that hasn't had to use its full powers since 1953, except for a brief period in 1970? I wonder?

The border police are all members of the "Peoples' Police" just the same as ordinary coppers, however, they are specially selected. "Nuff said I think. As for the Secret Police, who the hell bar the top few people knows their strength both in manpower and capability? They don't wear uniforms and its just as well because the busier the street the worse the stink of shit would be. However who helps the Socialist Unity Party run the country, what non-party forces are there?

Well, there is the "Peoples' Army". All men must serve either 18 months in the army or 3 years in the Navy or Air Force. The pay, in the latter two services, is better, but the conscripts are placed under a much stricter regime. The service must be completed between the ages of 18 and 26 and there is a very good reason for the wide age gap. At 18 potential officers are informed by the Army of their potential qualities as officers. If the unfortunate guy says "No deal", the Army turns round and says 'Okay we'll call you up when you're 25'. Straight away any marriage prospects go up in smoke, because a conscripts pay doesn't even keep a conscript, job prospects are shattered because you must interrupt your career for 18 months at a critical period and you're regarded as unreliable. However if you do accept the deal among the benefits you get are a posting at the camp nearest your home, the right to go home to sleep, good pay and you only work from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. five days a week (Monday to Friday). Not only that, unless you want to rise above the rank of Lieutenant you don't even have to join the Party. Butlins must be modelled on the "Peoples' Army" of the G.D.R. Finally, conscientious objection is allowed, the conditions being that you are a practising member of a recognised church and that you agree to serve in a non-combatant unit. Otherwise it's prison.

The Churches especially the Lutheran Church are worthy of all the abuse they can get. At least the reactionary catholic bishops refuse to co-operate with the State at any level. The catholic bishops in the G.D.R., don't even recognise the sovereignty of the Government. They



FRIEDERIKE KRABBE



ELISABETH VAN DYCK



ADELHEID SCHULZ



BRIGITTE MONNHAUPT

tell people not to vote and to refuse to join political parties. Whereas the Lutherans have their own Party the "Christian Democrats" dedicated to building a Christian Communist country. It's a good thing Karl Marx is dead, at the very least I hope he was right and doesn't know anything of this. What do the Lutherans get from the State for their co-operation? Their pastors can travel West, their flocks (of sheep presumably) go unmolested and for the first time in 29 years they can now build new churches. Martin Luther, prophet of Marxist-Leninism? The non-conformist churches function in a sort of half-light between the Catholics and Lutherans and even the Jehovah's Witnesses have an "East" German congregation, but more of them later.

So as you can see here is another method by which the State gains a subtle control over its citizens, a coalition between those who wish to build heaven on earth and those who believe you may reach it when you die. The State accommodates the Lutherans because they are the majority (in name) Church, the Lutherans co-operate with the State out of fear and for concessions, such as political parties.

Perhaps it is a relatively unknown fact, but there are a number of political parties in the G.D.R. They are:— the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Democratic Farmers Party of Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germans and the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany. Together with various other groups in the G.D.R., Parliament they constitute the "National Front." At a local level the parties organise separately and each party has its own manifesto and organisational rules. Unfortunately I am unable to find any data on the membership of these parties, except of course the Socialist Unity Party (S.E.D.). All of the parties basically have the same aims and platform, they all wish to see the existing policies continue, to one degree or another and they all put their faith into the concept of the "National Front." There are some known differences between the parties e.g. the Farmers' Party is known to favour a larger private sector in agriculture, the Christian Democrats are for a larger private sector in industry and

are anti-abortion. In fact they are so anti-abortion that when the final vote was taken to make the Bill law a couple of years ago the entire C.D.U. block voted against the measure. As far as is known this was the first occasion since the formation of the "National Front" that a party had refused to tow the common line en masse.

As I have stated, all of these parties are allowed to function in "free" conditions. Why? Two possibilities lend themselves. The first is that the other parties (bar the S.E.D. that is) would fit in nicely among those people who believe that all Warsaw Pact countries are really ruled by the Soviet Union. However consider how unwieldy and inefficient such a massive bureaucracy would be, the sheer logistical and organisational problems tend to lead to a conclusion that the puppet theory is false. Therefore if the puppet theory cannot be applied to countries neither can it be applied to organisations within those countries. I believe that all parties (bar the S.E.D.) do function independently, but only because of their leadership. The officials all ascribe to the "National Front" system of government, they are pathetically sympathetic towards the S.E.D. Why do the other parties follow the S.E.D.? 1) Their leaders are careerists and opportunists who crave political power. 2) Their members crave for respectability and some way of slapping each other on the back and congratulating one another for their "stand" against the S.E.D. "Perhaps one day we can have an effective Liberal Democratic party." You won't believe this, but yesterday I saw this pig, it had wings. The S.E.D., creates an illusion of multi-party, but not pluralistic democracy and although the people in their heart of hearts know it is only an illusion, they still participate just in case. There is no possibility of an alternative structure unless there is a revolution and what price a revolution against the "National Front."

The "National Front" is a coalition of all political parties (represented by Parliament), the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, the Free German Youth, Womens Democratic Federation of Germany, and the League of Culture of the G.D.R. The Front is in theory the coalition that rules the G.D.R., but

of course the real power is with the S.E.D. Each year the Front adopts as its policies virtually the entire programme passed at the latest S.E.D. National congress. The other organisations agree to continue to place their trust in the policies of the S.E.D. which have proved so successful over the past 30 years. In return for the co-operation, the S.E.D., allows the functionaries of the various other organisations to hold various minor parts. More important than this though, the leaders of the other parties realise that if they ever break they will be first in line for the firing squad. As a matter of interest the composition of the Parliament of the G.D.R. is:—

	Seats	%
Socialist Unity	127	25.4
Democratic Farmers	52	10.4
National Democrats	52	10.4
Christian Democrats	52	10.4
Liberal Democrats	52	10.4
Trade Unions	68	13.6
Free German Youth	40	8
Womens' Federation	35	7
League of Culture	22	4.4

Elections are held every four years and before every election the organisations listed above gather round and agree to continue with the same allocation of seats as before. So a single list of candidates under the heading of "National Front" appears and you can vote yes or no. The candidates are all chosen by profession not by party so how the hell does anyone know what his local candidate stands for? The answer is glaringly obvious, it is assumed that only communists stand whether they are S.E.D., members or not. About 40% of the electorate votes at "National" elections and around 85% vote yes. Why bother to vote no and change a system which if nothing else keeps you fed on a more regular basis than any other regime that your parents relations or you yourself have ever known. If you don't like the Front why bother to vote no? The Police then have your name and you become a marked man or woman.

I don't subscribe to the view that there is massive police repression in the G.D.R., or in other Warsaw Pact countries. The Government doesn't need it any more and has also had 30 years to perfect a more subtle form of rule, rule by fear. Fear that Stalinism will return if you step out of line, fear that will



WILLY PETER STOLL



JUERG LANG



SILKE MAIER-WITT



ANGELIKA SPIEHL

lead to Siberia, fear, fear, fear. That's not all as the State has subtle means of persuasion at its disposal, not because (as it knows) they are needed, but out of fear that one day if the strings are loosened there will be an almighty revolution. Both views are totally stupid because after 30 (and for the older people 50+) years of continual dictatorship of the most effective nature, what is left inside both ruler and ruled? Just a desire for peace no matter the price. A people going insane through fear.

Attitudes Within the G.D.R.

What attitude do citizens of the G.D.R., take toward the "other" Germans? To the West? To other Warsaw Pact countries? To the Soviet Union? Toward anything?

Let's start with the Federal Republic. In the G.D.R. people seem to view it with a mixture of envy, pride and despair. Envy in so much as whatever the G.D.R., does the Federal Republic does it better. They see that although the G.D.R., is the richest State capitalist State, the Federal Republic is even richer. Possibly the richest country in the world, whatever that is supposed to mean. They see that the Federal Republic has a bourgeois democracy and "freedom of speech" and "movement" nad yet though they envy these things they pride themselves on the fact that the Federal Republic is also German. Despair creeps in when they see the bastardised Americanism that has raced into the West and has overturned traditional German culture, they fail to see the relationship between increased consumerism and an instantly disposable consumer culture. Despair enters again when they see the R.A.F., 2nd of June and now the Red Dawn taking on the Federal State. They know that if the Peoples' Police moved in they wouldn't bother with trials and prison sentences. How are people who live in a society where ignorance is encouraged capable of making or forming any other conclusion. "The R.A.F. are Anarchists and Anarchists have no politics," I was told.

As for the West in general people seem to laugh at inflation, without having any idea as to what causes it and their attitude to strikers is really pathetic. Apparently the British worker is just out to wreck for no real reason except possibly greed. None of us has to go to

the G.D.R., to hear this, it can be read in any newspaper most days of the week. The West is regarded as being in really poor shape and incapable of defending itself against the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union and its people are generally disliked. The Red Army is much in evidence, although only officers are allowed off the camps. Fancy spending 18 months in the army and having no contact with the people you are "protecting." I don't think there is any antagonism against the Soviets because they are Russians, Ukrainians etc., it's simply a resentment against what is essentially an army of occupation. I reckon that the presence of the Red Army is not really justifiable even from a Soviet point of view. The Peoples' Army is quite capable of withstanding an attack by NATO forces and even if the Red Army went home does anyone honestly think that there would be an anti-Government uprising? Those people are conditioned and conditioning takes a long time to wear off.

The attitude towards other Warsaw Pact states, excluding the Soviet Union, seems to be one of friendliness and in some cases puzzlement. The people in the G.D.R., want the past dead and buried however the same cannot be said for certain elements from other countries, particularly Hungary. Apparently Hungarians are responsible for a number of assaults on Germans which far exceeds the rate per person of German assaulting German. There could be a lot of reasons for this, the Germans possibly as a whole think its racial. The Germans have a particular attitude to Poles and Hungarians. Both of the latter named countries are in pretty dire economic straits and both Governments admit to having an "employment problem." One way of solving it is to induce workers to go and work for a few months in the G.D.R., and many do so. Another way is to allow emigration to the West either on work permits or on a permanent basis and there's the catch. The Government (of the G.D.R.) is constantly telling the people that as soon as the G.D.R., exports more than it imports from the West and hard cash starts entering the country the borders will be opened and everyone will be allowed to travel or emigrate to any country that will have them, so in the G.D.R., they work harder. They achieve

next to nothing in this field. They see Poles and Hungarians who have a totally different attitude than they with virtually all the rights that will be theirs when they start exporting. The result; confusion and what could be better from the State's point of view?

There you have it, they're a pretty easy going bunch in many respects. Proud of their economic achievements and their standard of living. As for their lack of "human rights" put it this way, if you were born and raised in prison what chance would you have of thinking of breaking out? Why bother to change the only world you've ever known?

An Anarchist Attitude Towards the G.D.R.

The G.D.R., poses a special problem for Anarchists because of the fact that it is a state and not a nation, moreover it is not a state by common consent of the populace it is a state designed by the Allies at the end of World War Two, designed to ensure that the German nation could never pose such a threat to the stability of their systems as it did between 1914-18 and 1939-45.

The G.D.R., is the creation of the vilest form of totalitarianism ever. On the one hand it is the inevitable product of National Socialism and on the other it is the consequence of enjoying both Capitalism and State Capitalism at the same moment. Before applying an Anarchist critique or arriving at an Anarchist viewpoint the points above must be taken into account, because they in turn account for the morale of the people in the G.D.R., today.

Any person with any fight in them left the G.D.R., between 1948-61, or stayed and paid the price. For thirteen years the G.D.R., was sucked of its lifeblood i.e. skilled manpower by the Federal Republic and its newly acquired allies. By 1961 the G.D.R., was probably even more crippled than in 1945. So they built a wall in Berlin and built a prison wall around the country. I don't see any point in saying much about the border, its history is written in blood and speaks for itself. So in 1961 a state with a population which comprised 30% pensioners in order to preserve its existence took the ultimate step and took its own people hostage.

Since 1933 those people had known nothing but hardship and sorrow.



SIGRID STERNBECK



ROLF HEISLER



ROLF WAGNER



CHRISTIAN KLAR

admittedly much of it by their own making, but now this. You re-adjust, swallow your pride and get on with the job. You keep your mouth shut and I mean really shut. Then you hope.

So 16 years later you're in 1977, have the highest standard of living in any Warsaw Pact country, have no problem with inflation or unemployment and a few more "rights" than in 1961. This is where you and I come in. Somehow the message must be got across not just to the G.D.R., but to Poland, Hungary, all the Warsaw Pact States and to the Soviet Union itself. The dissidents speak for no-one but themselves, the era of massive Police repression is under suspension and we must take advantage of the dissident movement and use the breathing space provided to force our way back.

The Anarchists are regarded as killers in the G.D.R. The "West" German media says the R.A.F., are "Anarchist criminals" as does the media in the G.D.R. You and I are generally thought of as scum, killers. So what do we do? Well we could ignore this and say "Scuse me comrade, but we really do have a constructive theory" or do we just bomb our way out of trouble? The first alternative, although laudable, is doomed to failure. Anarchists go to prison in the G.D.R., period. The second would probably get the Red Army out on the streets and I don't see much point in tangling with that lot. However there is one organisation that has remained illegal but intact in Eastern Germany since 1933: the Jehovah's Witnesses. Yeah, I can hear you, but listen.

The Jehovah's Witnesses, obnoxious though they are, have been illegal for (as far as I know) 44 years, they have certainly always been illegal in the G.D.R. They are also the only banned organisation in the G.D.R., which attracts any sort of regular attention from the Government. Over the years they have established a network of cells in the G.D.R., and are active. It is thought that the "East" German Witnesses have by and large been converted by "West" German Witnesses sent over on what are presumably "missions of redemption." When a Jehovah's Witness wishes to make his/her presence known the technique is supposed to go something like this: a public place is selected, the place must not be too public i.e. there must be room for escape, but there must be some prominent place where attention can be attracted. Once the site has been chosen the person moves in, harangues the passers-by for a couple of minutes, dumps the "literature" and legs it. Of course, the area must be investigated properly to make sure that plenty of public transport is on hand and that Government buildings aren't in the immediate area. If that mob can do it, I don't see why we can't.

Ethical problems apart, the one main argument against this is: "Yes, but we want a revolution." Okay, but if the time ever came in the G.D.R., would we the Anarchists really want to be on the tail-end of it? No-one wants to form a vanguard, but at the same time why be stuck in the starting stalls? Any revolutionary has to make sacrifices and as we are so few I suppose we've all got to take higher risks than we would have to if we had a mass organisation.

So that's about it really. I can't deny it, there are quite a few good things about the G.D.R. I don't see the gross ostentation that I do here and I've never seen the same poverty in the G.D.R., as I do here. The trouble is though and this is something we all must consider: In the G.D.R., the workers have security, they don't lack much in economic rights. As Anarchists we value also "human rights" we want Anarchy. If you look at non-political people and examine their attitudes what do you find? Disinterest and, dare I say it, ignorance. We have problems in the West when we fight against the concerted attack of consumer Capitalism. Consumer-control is not quite as effective, yet anyway, as total social and political control directed by the State solely and in our press and through our actions we usually relate only to one another through written and performed jargon and ritual. What I am trying to say is that in 1961 they didn't just start constructing a wall in Berlin, they began a more complex wall that is intended to encompass the mind. The mind of every person in the G.D.R. Before they get us we must get them. "Comrade! Think about it, who are you with and who are you against?" "Don't be a slave — be a man." — Insurgent Makhnovists June 1920. "There are people wearing frowns Who screw you up But they would rather Screw you down." — Arthur Lee.

Notes:

1. On official exchange rates the G.D.R. mark is the same as the Federal Republic's mark i.e. at present you will receive 4m for every pound exchanged. A "fairer" exchange would be 6m = one pound.
2. pf = pfennig. One hundredth of a mark.
3. Likes to watch "Kojak" and does "West" German T.V. can be picked up throughout virtually the whole of the G.D.R., it's not illegal and only half-heartedly discouraged.
4. V.E.B. = Peoples owned combine is the best translation.
5. It is quite legal to listen to rock music, in fact the G.D.R., now manufactures "Best of" compilations, using the original tracks.
6. The unskilled, semi-skilled and poorly paid jobs.

Michael Chruszezenwski.



Some of the CNT papers being published in the region of Castile.

THESE STILL RESIST:

All the comrades in these photographs are still being hunted in a concerted West-East police action.

NATIONAL RAT WEEK

The actions of the Red Army Fraction may or may not be accepted by all: though to be judged, the background and their position must be taken into account, and journalists who cannot even get the name right let alone the ideology are hardly to be relied on. They cover in fact many aspects of political thought, namely, all those who accept the fact of armed struggle, from those who believe armed struggle is all that matters to those who believe that it is one essential aspect.

They are not, as Marxists would have it, "too impatient to participate in the struggle to educate the class"; (words taken literally from a trotskyst manifesto and rendition of bourgeois 'chauvinism'; with its suggestion that the 'workers' need education from an elite). Impatience is no bad thing in a revolutionary struggle. 'The revolution' cannot be relegated to distant time — like the 'withering away of the State' afterwards!

The presence among them of those who believe in "third world" struggles has put on the spot those leftists — in Germany and everywhere else — who will glorify such actions as long as they take place elsewhere. When confronted with 'power from the barrel of a gun' in their own backyard they take fright and shout aloud their respectability.

There is in Germany (as elsewhere, alas) no lack of "vanguard" parties all eager to "educate the masses," all ready to "assume their historic role". There is the Pekingese KPD (Communist Party of Germany) which views with the Moscowboy DKP (German Communist Party) in an attack on the RAF which the Springer press is hard to beat. *Rote Fahne* (organ of the KPD) made a comparison with Al Capone and the whole RAF episode "an affair of the bourgeoisie" the participants "the spoiled, bored sons and daughters of the rich."

The "leftist" SB (Socialdemocratic Bureau) said the RAF "has destroyed much for which we have laboriously fought for years." How? By challenging the bourgeoisie?

The Pekingese rival faction, the KBW (Communist League of West Germany) concurred on the strangest grounds: it was "counter-revolutionary" because "one part of the bourgeoisie wanted to make the other aware that something had to be done."

Thus the RAF was formally read out of the left by those who advocated such action elsewhere including supporting Arab terrorists in Germany. The Maoist KB (Communist Bureau) however would not take part in this witch hunt, it said. They were trying to woo the bourgeoisie. It therefore merely deplored the situation because of the "impatience" of those however heroic fighters who could not wait for patient Marxist-

Leninism with its peaceful solutions.

This was in effect the line of the Trotskyists, especially the Spartacist League which supported the prisoners but denounced their actions thus making sure they got the maximum of sympathy deflected to themselves, postulated their superior wisdom, and evaded all possible implication — the best of all worlds — unlike the International Marxist Group (of Germany) which committed itself to the hit on anti-RAF slander, though supporting guerrilla attacks everywhere else but Germany, declaring 'Individual Terror Only Aids The Right!' (*Was Tun?*)

They announced their "programme against terror" was better than that of the Government. When the quite meaningless massacre of Israeli athletes took place at Munich, the IMG said it must be "unconditionally supported" — because it was nationalist. But the kidnapping of a top industrialist and former Nazi was enough to push the IMG to announce its own programme against terror.

Had the events in Germany recently been on an incomparably larger scale, had the "impatient" rebels numbered not hundreds — with the passive support of thousands (which is the reason for the mock sympathy and "conditional support") or even a majority of the younger generation, — but thousands, and their passive support run into millions, as it might well have done (and as the massive

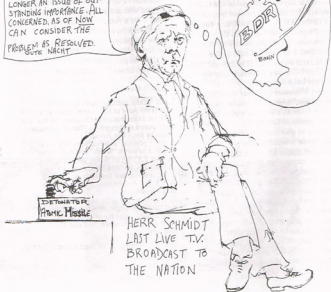
"security" precautions of the liberalised Nazi State would suggest that it did — and who knows, they might be wiser in their generation that the children of light) what would have been the use of the "vanguard parties", the "trained disciplined leadership and their cadres"; the "patient educators" who can explain to us workers what to do as we are "incapable of more than a trade union consciousness"? Only schism and division. For that they have a purpose. As long as they only divide and schizo each other, long may they flourish.



CHRISTOPH WACKERNAGEL

Arrested by the Dutch police during the Interpol drive to round up German resisters; shot while telephoning and now in an Amsterdam hospital awaiting extradition.

HAVING GIVEN THE MATTER A GREAT DEAL OF THOUGHT, I CAN SAFELY SAY THAT THE PROBLEM OF TERRORISM IN THE STATE IS NO LONGER AN ISSUE OF OUTSTANDING IMPORTANCE. ALL CONCERNED, AS OF NOW CAN CONSIDER THE PROBLEM AS RESOLVED.
GUTE NACHT



SPAIN

It was a delight to return to Barcelona for a short visit, and to see that once more the city is returning to its old allegiances, able to speak its mind. I took back a car full of anarchist literature; we passed the Customs easily thanks to Albert's British passport (and perhaps to his bench hat) but anyway times have changed — earlier in the year, during the *Jornadas Libertarias*, comrades from Toulouse were stopped and deprived of their literature. Later, following protests in Barcelona, the Customs took it by car apologising!

In Barcelona Cipriano Damiano, Luis Andres Edo and David Urbano all sent personal greetings and thanks to British comrades and Spanish comrades in England who supported them while in prison. David has now opened what is probably the best anarchist bookshop in Spain and is selling *Floodgates of Anarchy*, in its Spanish translation, like the proverbial hot cakes — every batch sent has been sold out, as fast as we could print. It has been well received by the younger generation. An unexpected bonus was to meet, in the Barcelona Federation in the Plaza Real, Sam and Esther Dolgoff, veteran anarcho-syndicalists from New York, having a look at the effects of their work among others in enabling the movement to survive the dark years.

I attended the CNT regional plenum,

when the new regional committee for Catalonia was appointed. Cipriano Damiano will be the new editor of *Solidaridad Obrera* which continues its struggle to regain its daily printing press stolen by the Falangists.

Truth to tell, the plenum was very much like the old days: the same heated arguments, the same exchanges — revealing some of the old faction fighting but nevertheless tremendous enthusiasm. 80% of the membership of the CNT is young; some of the veterans feel too proud of themselves for my liking, but it was good to see that there was no according of respect for age, reputation or experience — no leaders, no led.

The CNT locals are mostly open all day, but particularly frequented in the evenings. Each union is producing its own bulletins, in addition to which some produce newspapers, as well as the national and regional newspapers. Then too there are numerous local publications of the grassroots type — for this purpose as many offset lithos and especially duplicating machines as possible are needed. There are many comrades who learned to use a litho thanks to the Centro Iberico in London: supplying lithos and duplicators will help preserve that traditional diversity of publication that always characterised our movement in Spain — and keep alive our many years of international co-operation.

Miguel Garcia.

leftist organisation, was sentenced to 2 years, and Stavroula Lagadinou to 18 months for disturbing the peace. Before the verdict was brought in the defence counsels resigned and issued a statement claiming that the court had already decided on severe terms of imprisonment. This claim by the lawyers was borne out by the court's decision. It must be emphasized that the accused Christos Constantinides was unable to put up a defence on account of the torture to which he was subjected whilst held in preventive detention. His petition that the case be postponed, argued on health grounds, was dismissed out of hand by a court that stated, through the mouth of the Republic's attorney that "— swift steps must be taken against those who participate in rowdy actions, for such actions strike at the very foundations of our Society".

On Tuesday, 25 October, another 11 anarchists were sentenced in Athens and in Salonika to terms of between 22 and 28 months' imprisonment, whilst a further 6 were held without trial, accused of having been ring leaders in the disturbances of the state Order. To be specific, the following militants have been held: Nikos Asimos, composer of subversive, anti-authoritarian music, Kyriacos Vasilades, editor of the libertarian review *"Edokeyora: here and for ever"*, Michel Protopostatis, editor of an anarchist review *"The cock that crows in the night"*, Nikos Balis, editor of the anarchist paper *"OTANGUANT"*, Erdo Baljojeannis, editor of the anarchist paper *"Socialism and Barbarism"*, and Yannis Felexis, editor of the Trotskyite paper *"To ODOFRAGMA: the barricade"*.

In contrast to the democratic image associated in the West and in the Orient with the political regime prevailing in Greece since 1974, terror and oppression reign inside the country with a brutality that is ever on the increase. The colonel's dictatorship has given way to the politicians'. Prior to 1974 the colonels were cast in the role of dictator and the politicians as extras. Today, the reverse is the case. A cruel repression fastens upon the workers of town and countryside. Oppression and exploitation persist. The workers' fight and the fight of libertarian militants shall continue with firmness until ultimate, total victory: the demolition of all authority.

GREECE

in the wake of the announcement that three German militants of the Baader group had been cold bloodedly done to death, the Greek anarchists especially and other groups of the extraparlimentary marxist persuasion, took to the streets in Greece's major cities to demonstrate their outrage in no uncertain terms. Greece's leaders, slavishly obedient, — as tradition would have it, — to directives from abroad ordered German diplomatic and commercial buildings, as well as German firms, to be cordoned off and placed under guard. Simultaneously, significant numbers of police patrolled the streets. Despite these imposing precautions, violent clashes could not be averted and there were brushes with the armed forces and attacks on public buildings. In Piraeus a band of

far left marxist militants exchanged shots with the police. A member of the group, one Christos Casimis, was shot dead, but the others managed to escape. Parallel to the repression of the demonstrations, a

wave of state terrorism erupted throughout Greece with the arrest of about 25 anarchist militants in Athens and another 16 in Salonika. Daily the police made searches of the homes of known militants. Hardest hit by this repression were those in charge of papers and publishing houses.

On Monday, 24 October the anarchist publisher, Christos Constantinides was sentenced to three and a half years on a charge — a phoney charge, as was proven before the court — of resisting the authorities and of having insulted them. E' Muthiondukis, a member of an extreme



Prisoners

FINLAND
HAPOTOC, the anarchist organisation devoted to prison relief work, based in Amsterdam, reports that several of its workers in Finland have been harassed by police and all HAPOTOC literature has been banned from prisons. The police have launched an investigation into HAPOTOC activities following its exposure of a large narcotic smuggling organisation, headed by Torsti Koskinen, chief of the Dept. of narcotics in the Helsinki police; Jorma Seise, a State Prosecutor; and Unto Vuono, chief of the Administrative Dept. of the Helsinki police.

54-year old Kosti Lakus is HAPOTOC co-ordinator in Finland, and as such has been singled out for special police attention, and HAPOTOC suspects that the attack and subsequent arrest have been engineered by the police. As Kosti, who served 5 years for smuggling soft drugs, is on parole until 1980, any conviction is extremely serious because his previous period of imprisonment broke his health.

As we go to press we have just heard that Kosti Lakus has been sentenced to one year and two months.

54-year old Kosti Lakus was attacked by three unknown men last August outside the main Helsinki railway station, beating him and stealing his glasses and watch before running off, leaving him laying on the pavement. When the police arrived, the arrested Kosti for causing an "affray", and later charged him with stabbing one of his attackers (although they refuse to name the victim, or mark the scene of the alleged incident).

You can write to Kosti Lakus at: P.O. Box 40, 00551 Helsinki 55, Finland.

WEST GERMANY

Klaus Zehelein, 19, has been in Bayreuth prison for over 3 years. The authorities have said they will release him if he gets a steady job, but of course he can't find this from his cell, so he's got another 14 months to do.

As a protest against the conditions of strict isolation being imposed upon him (no letters or visitors), Emil-Rainer Beck, who is in Nuremberg jail, went on a 10-day hunger strike. In a crude attempt to break this strike, the authorities refused all liquids, and for nearly three and a half days kept him in a special cell with temperatures of between 40 and 50°C. Prior to this he had been attacked by nine policemen who used mace gas, and 155 letters sent to him were seized by the authorities. His sentence lasts until 1988.

LOST FOUND

In the last issue of the Flag, we suggested in an article ("Out of Sight") that prisoners Michael Tristram and Dafydd Ladd had vanished and nothing was known of them. This conclusion was the natural consequence of letters and visits being refused — but we are glad to say we were misled. In fact, their sentence having been reduced by two years some three years ago, they have now, recently, completed their sentences.

Dafydd Ladd tells us that his letters and literature were confiscated. Since coming out, in February of this year, he has been working for political prisoners in Germany and as a result was deported on the 19th October for being an "international anarchist terrorist". (Is there, he asks wryly, such a thing as a national anarchist?)

Our comrades in Ireland are also deprived of visits and letters. Marie Murray in particular was allowed only to write to three people — one her mother-in-law, the other a sympathetic priest (after a long battle as to whether he could be allowed to write to her as she stated she was a non-believer) and the third a woman friend in Dublin. But the latter was visited by the police at work and warned off writing to Marie! — It was OK by the prison officers for Marie to receive letters, but wrong for the friend in Dublin to send them. A somewhat sour "Irish joke" only topped by the fact that the letters to and from the priest were confiscated, because they were written in Irish and no official in the Irish jail could read them for censorship. It was OK for Marie however, a fluent Gaelic speaker, to write in a foreign language! — so much for the Gaelic policy of the Dail Eireann. Can this be bettered in any country in the world? ("T" shirts sent to Marie by us have been sent back along with parcels of books from Cienfuegos Press Bookservice stamped "Refused".)

News About Prisoners Worldwide

Carl Harp and Ed. Mead, two of the Walla Walla Brothers have been taken out of the "hole," following the appointment of a new governor at the jail.

Leonard Peltier is now in the Marion (Illinois) Federal Prison, a privilege he shares with black militant Herman Bell, and Puerto Rican nationalist Rafael Cancel Miranda (now one of the longest serving political prisoners in the US).

Frank Blackhorse has now been released from his Canadian prison after winning his fight against deportation to the United States, where he faced charges arising out of the Wounded Knee occupation.

In Australia, Bill O'Meally has been transferred back to Pentridge, his new address: "A" Division, H.M. Prison, Pentridge, Coburg, Victoria, Australia 3058.

The U.S. Federal Bureau of Prisons has banned all gay newspapers from going into prisons claiming that receipt of gay papers identifies homosexuals, and in doing so, places them in danger. Four gay publications are challenging this ruling: John Hands, P.O. Box 42242, San Francisco, Calif. 94142, U.S.A.

The Greek anarchists (see last issue) who were being retried on charges for which they had previously been found not guilty have been convicted, but their sentences are only nominal suspended terms of 20 and 40 days.

Eddie Sanchez has been transferred back to the Springfield Behaviour Modification Centre, barely a month after getting out to a 'normal' penitentiary. He is also on a hunger strike in protest. New address: Eddie Sanchez, 18827-175, P.O. Box 4000, Springfield, Missouri, 65802, U.S.A.

Stop Press: Our good friend and comrade Lorenzo Kombo Ervin, is "in the hole" in Atlanta jail, having been arrested for an attempted escape. He states that he feels "every slave of the State has a moral right and responsibility to escape, where that is possible".

• ANOTHER DESIGN FOR A TORY - ER, SO RAY - NATIONAL POSTER



VICKY's Weekend Fantasia.

News Chronicle 16th June 1945

In a communique published on 25 October, Tuesday Evangelos Yanopoulos, president of the Athens Lawyers' Association has denounced and accused the authorities for having proceeded with the arrest of anarchist militants, and holding them for more than 24 hours without the slightest regard for the law and the powers set out by the bourgeois constitution. He has declared that the house searches, arrests and detentions of these militants are utterly illegal and constitute a flagrant violation of basic human rights.

PREPARE

QUI DESIDERAT PACEM...

"Let him who desires peace, prepare for war"

Vegitius

For many years now there has been much debate within the anarchist movement and on the libertarian left over the validity and appropriate attitude anarchists might take in regard to armed struggle. Inasmuch as "armed struggle" is a euphemism for physical force, the argument is sure to last as long as anarchists draw breath. There is, undoubtedly, a great deal to be said for both sides, and we may thank whatever lucky star which shines on us for this continuing debate, as it gives anarchists on both sides of the question the tools we need to forge the society to be.

There is no question that a society born of the coercive measures of armed revolution labours under a burden of authoritarianism which is inevitable with the use of violence to attain an end. We are all very much aware that the means we use dictate to a great extent the nature of the eventual outcome. We are also aware that each and every state will not hesitate for one moment to bring the might forces of violence at its disposal down on us at the first sign of a bloodless victory. It is difficult even to imagine a scenario of mass civil disobedience without the sinister sight of riot shields, truncheons, tear gas, snatch squads and even armed police somewhere in the background. With this in mind, I ask the advocates of both "pacifist revolution" and their more pragmatic comrades to consider the reality of spontaneous insurrection, be it pacifist or in a more militant mood.

Armed soldiers, by the very nature of their training, are able to totally objectify any person or group upon command. The weak and passive appearance of a mass sit-down affects the charge no more than the sight of stone-throwing youths in leather jackets and black berets. It is all the same. One may go quietly, one may disperse under a volley of tear gas and rubber bullets, or one may resist the inevitable rush. The effect will be the same: unarmed, disorganised civilians will lose to a much smaller force of trained motivated, and determined soldiers. Good soldiers do not allow fears, feelings or sympathies to affect the "reduction of the stated objective." Nor should we.

If we ever intend to "reduce" the state (in the event of it falling to the enemy within/without, of course), we had better be ready to apply whatever option that end requires. In the unlikely event that the fascist social democracy of West Germany or the totalitarian

fold after a series of candlelight processions and protest poetry readings we may all congratulate one another on our level headed restraint, but should the struggle develop on the more likely plane of clandestine resistance it would behoove us to be prepared for that possibility.

It is an unfortunate trait among a large section of the left either to condemn the whetting of military skills as premature (or adventurist, antiquated, authoritarian, etc) or to cast oneself into a blind fury of bank expropriations, kidnappings, bombings and (eventually) attacks on prisons. Too much cannot be said about the disastrous tactic of aeroplane hijacking. It touches people "where they live" and can be compared to the bombing of schools and decimation (the practice of shooting one out of every ten) in its ability to inspire horror and loathing among the mass of ordinary people. If I didn't know better I would swear it was the result of cunning provocateurs.

I advocate the accumulation of martial expertise among anarchists for the same reasons I advocate the accumulation of printing and publishing skills. When the time comes to use those skills spontaneity will not suffice. The romantic impression of the tired and huddled masses suddenly surging to life, pitchfork, scythe or flail in hand, rushing to the Despot's castle to rout the oppressor is a lot of old cobblers. In real life the Despot turns out the Guard and slaughters the serfs in the road with the efficacious result of long hours of sword drill.

It is no easy matter for someone who does not belong to a crack military unit to develop the skills necessary to carry out partisan warfare. In fact there are military men in the U.K., who served in more than one war and never fired a pistol more than a dozen times. In the U.S., development of military skill is somewhat simpler, as arms and ammunition are more widely available. Even then, a simple ability to place a shot where one aims the weapon isn't enough. A thorough understanding of marksmanship, simple gunsmithing, ammunition fabrication (do you think the sporting goods shops will be open during a revolution?), demolition and weapons fabrication is minimal for everyone. In addition, the study of manoeuvre, combat communications, combat logistics, first aid pertaining to the rather traumatic injuries sustained from gunfire and explosives, operation of all types of petrol and diesel transport, combat tactics for the small group, combat strategy for the region or nation and, probably the most important of all, combat intelligence.

The subject of the conduct of warfare

the ability of anarchist militants to learn — but in their motivation for doing so. The state is already thoroughly prepared. The fascists are getting there as rapidly as possible. Do we sit and debate the appropriateness of military preparation? I suggest not. I advocate the immediate formation of defence skills study groups, under the guise of Survival Clubs or Countryside Appreciation Societies if need be. In the United States, purchase, collection, republication and dissemination of military manuals, gunsmithing textbooks, explosive and demolition manuals, Government technical manuals pertaining to the subject, pirated editions of expensive right-wing publications on the subject, and the cultivation of intelligence networks to collect information on the rapidly growing fascist and totalitarian racist organisations, the secret police, and on any and every subject that could possibly be of use to us in the coming struggle.

One aspect of clandestine warfare which certainly pertains to Canada, Britain and Europe is the cultivation of machine tool technology necessary to produce our own weapons. It is logical to assume that the arms situation will soon be so tight as to make firearms virtually unobtainable except through an expensive black market. Anyone who has been in the army recently will know what exceptional measures have been taken to fortify and secure armouries and ammunition dumps. The capture or theft of government weapons (again should the country fall to the enemy within/without) is a remote possibility. Such an action should only be attempted if the external conditions are so extreme as to make the risk preferable to being captured unarmed.

In Britain and the rest of Europe, I suggest local fabrication to be the least risky. Perfectly adequate firearms may be produced using a minimum of machine tools, providing the individual is willing to do the necessary studying and preparation.

A third course lies in comrades joining the armies of their respective countries to obtain training and skill in the military arts, and then passing these skills on to other comrades.

I do not suggest that 1977 can be compared with 1934 or '36, but I do suggest that in the light of the burgeoning fascist and extreme right-wing movements and the attacks upon anarchists in various countries that we begin to prepare ourselves for the inevitable struggle building up in the wings.

It is not enough to know a little about these subjects. Contained within our philosophy is the concept of everyone-a-leader and no-one-is-indispensable. These are not idle ideas to be touted about when someone is getting pushy at a meeting. These are the very bread of life to anarchist military conduct and discipline.

masters of all trades, and plenty of them. Let us begin now, today, as soon as you finish reading this paper, and keep in mind that next week or next month may be too late. Speed is of the essence, for you may believe with conviction that our enemies are well ahead of us. For a fact, many fascists join the army at an early age. Many prepare for and practice violence on a regular basis, store weapons and ammunition as a matter of course, and often with the connivance of the police.

For a fact, anarchists tend towards loosely organised propaganda groups that have little cohesion and less inclination to work as a unit than your average clubs of model aeroplane builders. Few anarchists outside of Spain or Germany know anything about weapons, radio communications or demolition. We do have a fair to middling abilities in publishing newspapers and magazines, but severe shortcomings in distribution and marketing. We need "public" anarchist radio programmes. We need HAM radio communication between anarchists in various parts of the world. We need trained anarchist pilots, navigators, and mass communicators. We lack nearly all of these. The task is before us, let us begin.

F.K.

(The subject covered in the above article will be given an in-depth examination in future issues of the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review - please let us hear your comments.)

Dear comrades,

I found Black Flag interesting and stimulating as usual. Apart from the longer topics, my mind was particularly caught by the little article a few issues back entitled "A Modern Parable". It's in line with what, in recent months, I have been thinking, rather disgustedly, about myself.

But it still leaves a problem. How can a middle-aged woman in a quiet country town "train for the game"? It's a bit like saying how can a cripple play football?

So if you could follow up that article with another giving a few hints on what to do about it, this would be very much appreciated. I know helping the funds is always necessary, but I've no income at all at the moment, so it's difficult.

Sincerely, S.B.

Parables are notoriously capable of misinterpretation, and ours was clearly aimed at those who cherish their total legality - to the point of vilifying and calumniating militants in the language of the capitalist press for fear they might be found guilty by association, by the enemy be it noted.

Clearly the parable was not having a go at someone like our comrade whose letter appears above. Armed defence is only one aspect of the revolution, but it can't

be pushed aside as something that appears at the right moment like a flash of inspiration on the road to Damascus; it has to be prepared for and will come out of the struggle of some (that was the point of our parable). It is something which will clearly only ever be part of the struggle, but it is part of the struggle, and without its rearguard action the people will be doormats for fascism when they try to overthrow capitalism. (Could it be that this is why it receives the worst possible denunciation?)

But only in the attacks on "Black Flag" by pacifists who don't seem to read it is it suggested that this is the whole of the struggle. On the contrary, as shown by the Spanish Revolution (since its most tremendous and exciting feature was collectivisation and self-management - something almost wholly carried out by women and older men).

The whole purpose of the Anarchist Black Cross has been to try to harness the energies of those who are not taking part in attacks upon the various States to give solidarity (in the real meaning of the word) to those who are, who have fallen in the struggle and who need help to carry on. Its aim has been to be a springboard for further action - uniting genuine anarchists on the basis of mutual aid, from which could arise a live, and not a paper, international, and whose participants will some day in the definable future be those who will form the embryonic workers' councils - which will spring from groups in each place of work - which will ultimately be able to take over production and transform the economic system.

Though the left "package deal" includes, among other doubtful propositions, the view that only youth (and sadly in practice, only the gilded-educational youth) represent struggle, which has some truth though not all, the "middle-aged" who usually have more roots in the community and are therefore less vulnerable, have the advantage every time when it comes to solidarity work, and the famous Mother Jones carried on well into her 90's her struggle for American miners very largely based upon the psychological advantage given her (one sheriff saying "We ought to string the old woman on a tree" was invited by her "Here's the old woman and there's the tree").

Isolation is a more serious problem: the lone voice in the town becoming the modern equivalent of the "village radical" (but there are some good precedents, M.P.T. Acharya as a lone voice on the Indian continent, "Chummy" Fleming - for years the lone voice in Australia). Yet the chances for propaganda are seldom taken by libertarians. It is authoritarians who hog the phone-in programmes and the local papers' correspondence columns with their boring racialism. Perhaps libertarians feel (correctly) that they would stand little chance with the odds stacked against

them. But they stand some chance (as the writer has proved personally). And nothing can match the real joy that comes when you run across people who say what you've been thinking for a long time.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

fr. p. 4

La Plata, where many prisoners have been tortured and then killed - their deaths being presented as attempted escapes or "suicides." These include Rafael La Sala, Dardo Cabo, Horacio Luis Rappaport, Angel Giorgiadi and Rufino Ruiz.

Since May 1975 there has been a decree of expulsion in effect against Flavio and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees accorded him status of refugee in June 1976. Subsequently the French government has given in to pressure to agree to give him a safe conduct out of Argentina and a visa for residence in France.

Flavio Koutzli's wife has appealed for help, asking people to write to the "fiscal" (public) prosecutor in the case to demand his acquittal and immediate application of the decree for his expulsion from Argentina. The prosecutor is Dr. Carlos A. Machado, Juzgado Federal No. 3, Calle 47 entre 10 y 11, La Plata - Prov. de Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Messages of support to Flavio Koutzli, Unidad No.9, Casilla de Correos No. 65, La Plata, Prov. de Buenos Aires, Argentina, and to Flavio's wife: - Norma Beatriz Espindola, c/o Clara Koutzli, Gal. Jao Telles 120/Apt. 31, 90,000 Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil.

(source: *Freepeace*)

ROON n' ABOUT

fr. p. 6

young and male. No one was allowed to escape "serving" - the very term used.

In Rumania today, we learn, 95,000 conscripts serve for 16 months, spending only three or four months learning "basic training" which they will never be able to use in a country where the army was never more than a comic opera one; "rarely does a gunner actually fire a round or a tankman drive outside the barrack square" writes a Press correspondent. What do they do? They take part in labour projects, such as conscripts all over the world are doing. Tote that barge, lift that bale, and above all, salute that flag.

If only the world's young men were wakening up as the young women are! How long would this chauvinist oppression continue?

The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book, illustrated with cartoons and containing all the brainteasers we've been tormenting you with for years, is available from Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney for only £1.00 (+ 10p p.p.).

RUSS AND BILL

In recognition of his two years of non-violent behaviour in the maximum security Adjustment Centre at San Quentin prison, promises were made to Russ Little that he would be transferred to a less restricted unit in another prison. These promises were made by counselors at San Quentin as well as various administrators in Sacramento (California Department of Corrections) over a period of five months. Instead, on July 12 he was forcibly moved to the most repressive unit (Death Row) in San Quentin, if not the entire prison system. This occurred simultaneously with the banishment of his two legal investigators from San Quentin, thus denying him access to legal representation.

This arbitrary, cruel and illegal treatment was justified on the grounds that his crime partner, Joe Remiro, had been locked down in maximum security a month earlier at Folsom prison for allegedly planning an escape attempt. Since the same legal investigators visit Joe, S.Q. staff said there *must* have been a conspiracy involving both of them and Russ as well as Joe. Of course none of them are being tried in the "official" courts because there is not even any evidence to link Joe to the alleged escape attempt (except for the word of a prison snitch named Bobby Davis) much less to implicate either of the legal workers or Russ. This same paranoid reasoning was used to justify moving Bill Harris to a more restricted floor within the Adjustment Centre even though he does not visit either of the two legal investigators in question.

This was the excuse San Quentin officials had been searching for to justify keeping Russ un the hole and separating him and Bill Harris while keeping them both under maximum security conditions. Their lawyer contacted the warden of Folsom prison, the prosecuting attorney (should the case ever go to court), and the director of the state prison system and they all said that neither of the legal investigators nor Bill Harris nor Russ were under investigation for involvement in the incident at Folsom Prison. These same investigators have continued to visit with Joe at Folsom. Although San Quentin officials had originally said their information stemmed from the investigation being conducted by Folsom staff, they have refused to move Russ or Bill back to their original housing units or to reinstate the privileges that they have lost.

This is the latest in a continuing effort on the part of prison officials to isolate and alienate Joe, Russ and Bill from the general prison population. Officials have even gone so far as to tell other

class war prisoners held in the same units as the two at San Quentin that they should "stay away from the SLA and their friends on the streets" if they ever want to get out of the maximum security holes.

After three months on Death Row the San Quentin staff has informed Russ that they will continue to hold him there while at San Quentin because he and Bill are escape risks and must be kept apart for institutional security. Bill remains in the Adjustment Centre — the other maximum security "hole" at S.Q. They have recommended to the state director of prisons that Russ be transferred to the hole of another prison to completely isolate Joe, Bill and Russ by holding each of them in maximum security in three separate prisons.

The prison administrators also told Russ and Bill that neither of them would be allowed out of the hole while at S.Q. because of the probability of retaliation against them in response to a published statement about the incident at Folsom prison. In that article, state prison officials are quoted as telling members of the media that Joe Remiro and the other convicts accused of allegedly smuggling in a gun to Folsom prison intended not only to kill a number of prison guards in an escape attempt but also to execute members of different prison gangs. That was contained in the statement of the prison rat who gave the gun to Folsom guards before the alleged "plan" could be carried out. Publicising (as well as inventing) that "theory" was an obvious attempt to create a dangerous situation for Joe, Bill and Russ — an attempt that state officials now assert was successful and will provide further justification for their isolation and repression. There have been a number of stabbing deaths in the racial fighting among prisoners at San Quentin during the last few months, as well as one white prisoner shot and killed while allegedly stabbing a black convict.

California prison officials are notorious for intensifying racial antagonisms among prisoners and manipulating the resulting rage and violence of politically backward and reactionary convicts of all races against prisoners who they consider "troublemakers". This manipulative technique has been developed and perfected over many years as the primary method for murdering revolutionary captives and eliminating their potential influence on the general prison population as well as the possibility of their eventual release — very few revolutionaries leave California prisons alive.

Prison manoeuvres against Joe and Russ will probably intensify because of a

recent California Supreme Court decision that will result in their retrial on the Foster assassination. The court ruled that an instruction often given to deadlocked juries is coercive and that all cases with appeals pending which it (the "Allen charge") was given are subject to automatic reversals of conviction. The State Attorney General has already started a political campaign to get a rehearing of the decision by publicizing the fact that the "SLA assassins" and other "sinister killers" will get costly retrials if the decision remains as it is now written. The State is well aware that if Russ and Joe get acquitted in the retrial, they will be eligible for parole on March 1, 1979 because they will have beaten their original seven charges and will only be in prison on the two assault convictions that stemmed from their attempted escape from jail on March 1, 1975.

Since the present phase of political persecution is allegedly based on confidential sources, it is now necessary for Russ and Bill to file federal civil suits to try to force the prison administration to reveal the "evidence" linking each of them to the gun/escape plan at Folsom prison. Money is needed to help defray the living expenses of the lawyer and legal investigators working on the suits and can be sent to: Jack Little, P.O. Box 4344, Sather Gate Station, Berkeley, California 94704, U.S.A.

Answers to Quiz:

1. It showed "great dishonesty of principle", said the Marquis, for the people fleeing from their land to do so holding possession, to regain which threw "a great deal of trouble on the injured party".
2. At the meeting of the Council of State, on the morning of the execution, Cromwell prayed aloud for three hours begging for God's guidance, by which time the execution had been carried out — which he then declared was God's wish.
3. Salvochea, who had escaped to Paris from a convict prison in Spanish Africa following the fall of Cadiz in 1872 due to German intervention, is supposed to have said "I'm able to drink a glass of beer."
4. According to the Manchester Guardian, the "Daily Express" was owned by the "anarchist" Lord Beaverbrook; the second piece of misinformation came from the "Daily Telegraph".
5. "Industrialist", organ of the I.L.W., and published in Duluth, was in the Finnish language.

SCOTLAND

C.P. ANARCHIST REVIEW No. 3

On leaving the SNP

Like a good many people in Scotland I voted SNP in 1974. Although I had been eligible to vote since 1915 in national elections and by-elections this was the first time I had done so in either because this was the first time that the old three-some of liberal, labour and conservative had been broken by the appearance of a nationalist candidate; and though (despite my vote) he didn't succeed in reaching Westminster, the nationalists' success in winning eleven seats – winning them for Scotland – was a cause of great rejoicing in our part of the world. We walked about for several days with that skip-step lightness of heart men have when they believe they are on the eve of great events. Inevitable of course that morning-after-the-night-before feeling should set in. The little clan at Westminster weren't able to be kingmakers after all; they produced no charismatic leader who could conjure up "The Nation" as a cause we working people could lose ourselves in. In short, nothing changed.

Well then! – don't expect miracles overnight! – Rome wasn't built in a day! – One swallow doesn't make a spring! (etc., etc.). We waited. I waited. I don't really know what for. Oh of course my initial enthusiasm had imagined some sort of cinema-like consumption, a national awakening in glorious technicolour as in the American films; but underneath that froth there were other things, more important and lasting if less spectacular, which we hoped for from the SNP. There had long been a feeling that Scottish politics was marking time, had somehow become dissociated from the Scottish people. The liberals, the best of the Scottish parties till then, held a couple of rural seats with a couple of good men immersed in local interests, but then the liberals always aimed low and missed: the Tories had always been hampered by being simply the party of the union and too obviously aligned with the still powerful grousemoor aristocracy; and the labour party had long been the traditional party of power in many areas of the west, and there their corruption was like the joke that was actually funny the first time your grandfather told it. I hoped that the SNP would change all this, that they would genuinely bring politics nearer to the people as they said they would, break down the power of the distant state machinery in Westminster as they promised to do and purge St. Andrews House of its oligarchy of toadying bureaucrats. And when the full meaning of the regionalisation policy became clear, when I saw that it had little to do with decentralisation or democracy and much to do with

consolidating the growing bureaucratic class, I looked to the SNP as a great fist of populism raised to shatter this edifice before it grew too strong.

But the SNP is slowly forgetting the promises it made in the days when it had no taste of power. Nationalist councillors who enter district and regional government on the ticket of independence for Scotland, find that it is not the issue which is debated there, that their little lapel badges proclaiming Scotland's uniqueness are irrelevant, whereas the power wielded by the planning committee, the power to demolish people's houses and build shopping centres instead whether the people wish it or not, that power wielded for its own sake is, oh, very relevant indeed! The SNP intended to fight for the abolition of the Strathclyde region. It still does – verbally – but I doubt if it will do so. I imagine the SNP member bureaucrats who are now drawing their large salaries and exercising their little bits of power in Strathclyde region are rather embarrassed when workers who voted them in ask what they are doing to abolish it: I imagine they scarp their feet and cough and make promises about next year – when they will "look into it" – or the year after that – when they will definitely "get something done" – rather like those burning issues which are assigned to parliamentary sub-committees down in Westminster, and thereafter disappear into oblivion.

The reason is simple. A bureaucrat is a bureaucrat is a bureaucrat, be he SNP, Tory, socialist, liberal or whatever. It is no coincidence that the more oppressive the regime, the more fantastic its claims over its subjected citizens, the greater the number of bureaucrats it employs – for a bureaucrat has a vested interest in the continuance of the state power which pays him, and without which his own little particle of power would be dissolved. Furthermore, as a ruthless criminal will seek to implicate others in his crime and spread his guilt onto their shoulders, so the state, the mammoth exploiter, implicates its subjects in the act of exploitation by drawing them into its service. The bureaucrat is the exploited exploiter, the bicycle rider who peddles down hard on those below him, and whose arse is loyally raised for the boot of those above.

What does it matter if he claims nationalistic or patriotic inspiration? The hearts of all governments bleed for the people which they soak: of course they do, for if the people were not there, where would the governments be without them?

As Bakunin put it: A worker who becomes a bureaucrat ceases to be a worker. The choice for the people is not between the Scot and the Englishman; not between

This is supposed to be an objective appreciation of the latest Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review (Vol. I, No. 3, £2.00 + 30p p/p, A4, 136pp, perfect bound with spine), but you probably won't think so. I find that the development of this publication is incredible. In the course of three issues it has probably become the most important forum of Anarchist thought and criticism in the world. The range of subjects it covers and the quality of their treatment is excellent. In fact there is even more in this issue to get your teeth into and set your mind ticking over (to scramble a metaphor or two), than there was in the last (more than twice as much, in fact). Also the improvement in layout is a big step forward, and this is very important considering the vast wealth of material it contains. The contents include Chomsky's *Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship*, *Arms and the Woman*, a major look at Ferrer's life and work, a history of Anarchism in Bulgaria, Anarcho-Feminism, Ricardo Flores Magon, the Missnikov Memorandum, Objections to Anarchism, Anarchism and Freemasonry... I could go on and on, but it's up to you to get your order in now and see for yourself how important and essential this review is for libertarian thought. And it will continue getting better and better with your help. As you will understand, the production costs are very high, and keeping the cost down to £2.00 leaves very little to develop it, so its future can only be secure if a major effort is made by libertarians to get support and subscriptions from everyone who will be interested in its contribution. Just to underline the international importance of its work I will leave you with a couple of unsolicited "testimonials".

"The last issue of the Cienfuegos Press Review as excellent. I'm looking forward very much to the next. I'm really impressed with the way the journal and the press are operating." Noam Chomsky

"I have just read issue No. 2 of the C.P. A.R. and found it simply stupendous. It is in fact the best international anarchist publication I have seen – far superior to all the others circulating at the moment. I really must congratulate you for presenting us with this treasury which carries with it a feeling of urgency and resistance." Victor Garcia (Editor, *Ruta*, Caracas).

Anthony Beevor

the labour, tory and liberal parties in Westminster and the labour – tory – and liberal-minded men who sit in the ranks of the SNP; but between the worker and the bureaucrat – because ultimately the only important distinction to be made amongst men has nothing to do with skin, creed or nation, but with those who are power-hungry and those who are not.

Colin Mackay