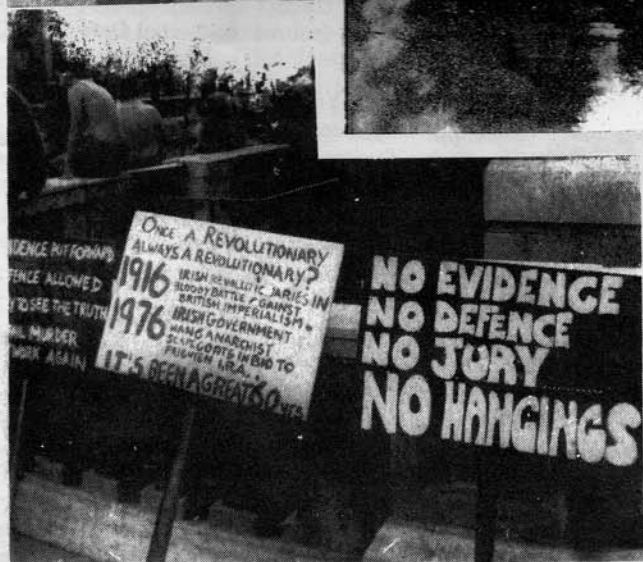
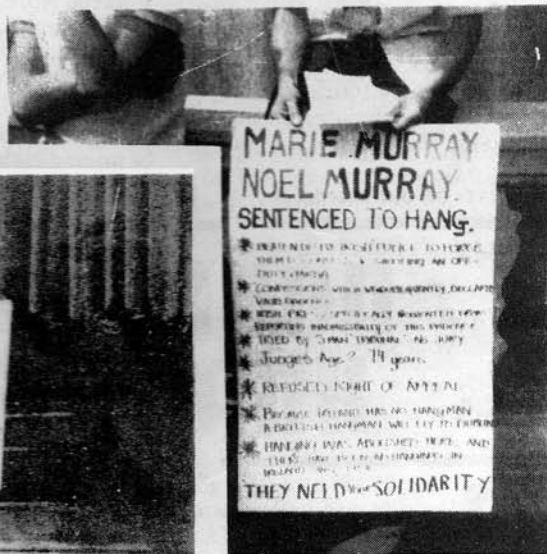


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PLEASE! NOTE THAT OUR ADDRESS is now c/o Cienfuegos Press, Box A, Over the Water, Sunday, Orkney Islands.

Our London centre at 83a Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3., is now permanently closed. We hope to open a new London centre soon.

As sporadic letters still get sent to 10 Gilbert Place, and are lost, we hope that the occasional letters and persistent libertarian newspapers that never revise their addresses will take heed that "83a" has passed us and now houses a swish gambling club unlikely to be interested. Letters for the Centro Iberico can be sent to Miguel Garcia, 123 Upper TOLLINGTON Park, London N.4.

**LONDON CENTRE:** There is supposed to be a libertarian presence in London other than ourselves. Maybe it ought to emerge a bit more noticeably than it has done. For four years we have borne the expense and problems of a "centre" without any support providing not only a meeting place but an international centre. Rising costs beyond any hope of meeting them, with the total absence of contributions towards the upkeep, have forced us to give up the International Libertarian Centre.

Ideally such a centre demands far wider support than that of one or two people, who are already fully occupied with other matters — and on whom descend like locusts "revolutionary tourists" from the Continent wanting a "holiday on the cheap" which to say the least, is discouraging.

We will however do our best to get another London centre within the next six weeks... But don't leave it all to us friends.

#### MOST IMPORTANT!

Have you renewed your subscription?

#### ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What 'scandal' ruined the career of Theodor Duestenberg (1875-1950), leader of the Stahlhelm (the German Nationalist and militarist movement of the Centre)?
2. In what conspiracy against Hitler did Sir Oswald Mosley's sister-in-law lose her life?
3. Jennie Patrick and Ethel Macdonald went to Barcelona during the civil war in support of the struggle against Franco. How were they rewarded by the Scottish Typographical Association on their return?
4. When George IV wished to buy back Hyde Park for his own private estate, how much did Lord Chancellor Brougham reckon it would cost?
5. Many headhunting tribes have been persuaded by Christian missionaries to give up cannibalism, but on which occasion was one persuaded to do so by a well known Anarchist and anti-clerical?
6. Which tireless propagandist of the libertarian and labour cause was born into slavery?

(answers on p.15)

Robert Frost

*I advocate a semi-revolution.*

*The trouble with a total revolution*

*(Ask any reputable Rosicrucian)*

*Is that it brings the same class up on top.*

*Executive or skillful execution*

*Will therefore plan to go half-way and stop.*

*Yes, revolutions are the only salves,*

*But they're one thing that should be done by halves.*

#### A TOTAL REVOLUTION

Oscar Williams

(A reply to the foregoing by

Robert Frost)

*I advocate a total revolution,*

*The trouble with a semi-revolution,*

*It's likely to be slow as evolution.*

*Who wants to spend the ages in collusion*

*With Compromise, Complacency and Confusion?*

*As for the same class coming up on top*

*That's wholecloth from the propaganda shop;*

*The old saw says there's loads of room on top,*

*That's where the poor should really plan to stop.*

*And speaking of those people called the "haves",*

*Who own the whole cow and must have the calves*

*(And plant the wounds so they can sell the salves)*

*They won't be stopped by doing things by halves.*

*I say that for a permanent solution*

*There's nothing like a total revolution!*

*P.S. And need I add by way of a conclusion  
I wouldn't dream to ask a Rosicrucian.*

**Z Revue No. 3** is currently available from 41 Norman Street, Leicester. The editors will be "happy and interested to receive any further offerings that our slightly talented readership might wish to send." So dig out your poems, graphics, articles or unsung Nobel Peace Prize hopefuls and help No. 4 see the light of publication!

**SLA Sentences:** Emily and William Harris were convicted in Los Angeles on 9 August on five counts of kidnapping and robbery.

**Photographs:** Would any comrades either having or knowing the whereabouts of old photographs relating to the history of the anarchist movement in Britain or elsewhere please contact us with the information. We are particularly interested in anything to do with any of the London Anarchist Clubs. All material loaned to us will be returned at the earliest possible moment.

**Urgent, Urgent!** We owe over £200 back-payments on our typesetting machine. If this sum is not paid by the end of September Black Flag will have to revert to its earlier duplicated format and our output of books and pamphlets will be brought to a standstill. If you or anyone you know requires typesetting at reasonable rates or can assist financially please contact us as soon as possible. Anything set — books, pamphlets, mags, letterheads etc. Please help!

#### GLOSSARY OF POLITICAL SWEARWORDS

**Adventurist:** a person taking action without permission of a real or alleged leadership, thus compromising it.

**Romantic:** Allowing principles to govern conduct; pejorative way of saying Idealist.

**Sectarian (Left wing):** refusing to compromise; (Press usage, esp. Belfast) euphemism for religious ("sectarian killings").

# WORLD NEWS

## MEXICO — Repression continues

In the Mexican province of Queretara, libertarian militant Salvador Cervantes was arrested and tortured before being imprisoned on trumped up charges, in an attempt to prevent the publication of *Voz Critica*, of which he is an editor.

The Mexican Anarchist movement and the Mexican Federation are fighting for his release, and ask people to intervene on his behalf. Letters of protest to:—

Antonio Calzada, Gobierno del Estado, Queretara, Mexico

Meanwhile throughout the country the struggles of thousands of peasants illegally occupying land continues. More than 300 peasants are imprisoned in the region of Guerrero, about 100 in Vera Cruz, Sonora and Sinaloa. Last month six peasants were murdered by the army in the Jalisco region.

(source: Le Monde Libertaire)

## ITALY — Roberto Mander released

Young anarchist railway worker, Roberto Mander has been acquitted of train bombing charges due to insufficient evidence against him. This is the second time that Roberto has been released after a police frame up. In 1969 he was arrested with Pietro Valpreda and charged with bomb massacres in Milan and Rome, which were eventually proved to be the work of neo-fascists.

(source: Industrial Defence Bulletin Totonto).

## USA

David Fine, accused of a part in the bombing of a US army computer (used in connection with the Vietnam war) as a result of which one person accidentally died, has agreed to plead guilty to 3rd degree murder (instead of 1st degree) in return for a reduced sentence. His companion Karl Armstrong was sentenced to 25 years a while back.

(source: Industrial Defence Bulletin Toronto).

New York's General Defence Committee has been rebuilt, complete with English and foreign language sections. One section, the Spanish language section, the Local Internacional de Nueva York, has already launched a campaign to raise support for the Spanish CNT, and is playing an active part in the widening squatter movement, as well as undertaking a wall-newspaper campaign against the deportation of workers with immigration irregularities.

Rafael Buno has been elected secretary of the Local Internacional, which can be contacted at 111 West 106th Street, New York, N.Y. 10025.

The address for the General Defence Committee is Box 733 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

(source: Industrial Worker)

(continued on back page)



# SAVE THE MURRAYS!

The case of Marie McPhillips and Noel Murray has been deliberately played down by all sections of Irish opinion. They are to be sacrificed to the electoral needs of the Coalition which wishes to pose as the champion of law and order before the electorate, yet preserve its tattered image as Irish patriots; which wishes to reassure Whitehall that it is taking action against the I.R.A., and yet not appear to be taking action against the hard republicans; it wishes to show its EEC 'partners' (in economic terms, its masters) that notwithstanding 'terrorist attacks' it is still the most tranquil industrial country for investment and labour free relations that they can find to exploit.

In a country where the indigenous Government and popular Church was long suppressed in favour of an alien Church and State, great sentiment is represented by the terms Church and Republic or State 'our own' Church, 'our own' State — and for this reason the term 'anarchist' creates automatic prejudice. That too condemns the Murrays.

Neither Marie nor Noel have vast family connections, which counts for much in the Free State; no lengthy lists of cousins and second cousins who would be horrified at the idea of a hanging in the family. Their politics are those of rebellion and freedom; and that in the Free State has always spelled emigration. Noel has been the exception. He was urged by English friends after the trial of the others, when he jumped bail, to leave the country with

them. It would have been easy. But he felt that a revolutionary should not leave the country — that was for the oppressors to do. But this attitude has not been that of many Irish people, and that is why the Murrays are isolated today — though not as isolated as the Dail seems to imagine, and it may be that Dublin Castle is by its inexorable attitude stirring up a new hornets' nest. It is a long time since Irish people stood up in the Free State and fought for Freedom — every battle has been expended in the cause of national liberation and hoisting the flag of the Republic.

"Haul down the flag, Irish traitors, you have brought to it nothing but shame!" — the song may well make ears burn in the Government. Mr. Cooney, Justice Minister in a Government which suppresses the most elementary women's rights (divorce, abortion choice, contraception, even civil marriage) says cynically in defence of hanging women that he understands "this is what equality of the sexes is about;" Mr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, world renowned 'liberal' Labour Party minister, referred to the Murrays as 'murderers' even before the farce of a trial had taken place — pointing out that it could not prejudice the jury, as they were dispensing with one.

Ronan Stenson, arrested with them — a perfectly healthy and normal young man of 20 at the time of arrest — was in so bad a physical and mental state that he could not stand trial after police torture. It is on the evidence presented by the torture of Noel and on a 'confession' by Marie

who could not bear hearing Noel getting the 'water treatment' — that the Murrays are to hang.

From all over Europe, however, — and from America, New Zealand and Australia — there are protests. Most significantly, even from Spain recalling protests against garroting of Salvador Puig Antich — a similar case arising out of a similar struggle — which has experienced military tribunals on the lines of the Irish 'special court' for so long.

What a disgrace to the Irish Republic that widespread opinion in Spain regards it as a disgrace to go forward and hang the Murrays — not only opinion among rebels, but even among ordinary democrats basing themselves on local experience. The Free Staters have one consolation. They can look to the 'Communist' countries for similar methods and similar courts and similar justice, where they must be wondering what all the fuss is about. But was it for *this* that so many Irish people suffered and struggled and even now go on fighting? Haul down the flag if you cannot save the Murrays!

For it is not just a question of sentiment: to hang or not to hang. What is important is that these young people are pioneers of a movement which looks to freedom, and rejects tyranny, but, at last, stands or falls in Ireland which for so long has driven its people out to seek a better life elsewhere freed from its stale politics. Their rebellion has failed, for the moment, — but is the rope all that can be offered?

## MPLA ATTACKS POLITICAL DISSENT

Now that the 'liberation' of Angola by the MPLA has been completed, the Luanda government of Agostinho Neto has begun a vicious crackdown on political dissidents to secure its one party rule over Angolan capitalism.

"The Washington Post" has reported the formation of underground groups after the arrest of over 100 of what Lucio Lara, the general secretary of the MPLA characterised as "the partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin."

One underground paper, *Jornal de Operario* has charged the MPLA with making concessions to US imperialism by inviting Gulf Oil to resume its drilling operations in Cabinda Province (Gulf willingly paid the MPLA over \$100 million in royalties up until December 1975 when stopped by the State Department) and for having sold out to Moscow.

Many US and English newspapers report widespread frustration and discontent among the Angolan population resulting from months of bloody civil war and the following economic dislocation. The response of the MPLA has been to demand even higher productivity from

workers, forbid strikes, disarm self-defence groups and to ban all political opposition.

In the April 1 "Washington Post" MPLA general secretary Lara charged that the "enemy groups" were CIA creations, had "crazy and incoherent language" and, apparently in the greatest sin of all, had taken to "insulting the MPLA point by point."

The penalty for these infractions was stated by Angolan Interior Minister (police head) Nito Alves in the Lisbon daily, *Jornal Novo*. He said some may be "re-educated" in camps, "but the intransigent ones, the most hard-headed, the most obstinate, will have to be eliminated." Death for insulting the MPLA.

That these anti-working class criminals should be exalted by the US left gives us an insight into what would be in store for this country if any of the squabbling sects ever gained power here. The pro-capitalist MPLA is securing a totalitarian police state that will co-operate with competing world imperialisms of the Soviet Union and the US. (depending on which is convenient) and crush the Angolan working class in the process.

## MOON BANK

Jumping right into the adventure world of high finance, Rev. Sun Myung Moon, spiritual head of the Unification Church, has recently gained control of the Diplomat National, a newly chartered national bank, in Washington. Interestingly enough, among the bank founders and directors are investigative columnist Jack Anderson, and former Treasury Secretary Joseph W. Bar who has now resigned from the Bank's board.

Binding together the mystifications of religion and capital, Moon and his associates now lord over a multi-million dollar empire that stretches from South Korea to across the US with the ultimate intention of global domination.

Asked for a comment on the situation, a distinguished non-associate of the Moon organisation said: "I'm a specialist in exotic religions and finance, and Rev. Moon is only a dildo holding the two temporarily together."

From: Fifth Estate, Detroit.

# ROON'n'ABOUT

In the heart of London, in a Kentish Town swimming pool at the height of an exceptionally hot summer when it was crowded to capacity, a boy was drowned deliberately by two or three others while a thousand people looked on. He was held under the water and stood on, and nobody interfered.

One of the reasons it is said we need the State is "because you can't do without a police force." We pay a third of our incomes to the State, and we have a police force.

Nobody thought, as a result, it was their business to interfere. They did not want to be involved at the time; they still did not want to be involved afterwards.

While a police force exists it is "their job". Everyone wants to know why they weren't there, uniformed and at the ready, in the middle of the swimmers at the lido at the time it happened. Nobody else thought it was their responsibility. Didn't they pay a third of their incomes to the State and (they are convinced) it is only in the absence of a State that people can be murdered, at random, in the swimming pool for no other reason than their slight oddity and physical weakness?

(Objection to anarchism: who could you provide instead of the police to provide the same service?)

## The Unhappy Hypocrite

After the sale of the Dorchester Hotel, Park Lane, to an Arab oil consortium, the Central City Hotel, in the centre of London and the Central Park Hotel, in the West End, also came up for sale. Like many other hotels, they were built in the gold rush boom a few years ago when the Government was encouraging the construction of hotels by offering grants for every room completed. This was provided by the taxpayer. But they are not earning enough money for the capitalists who took them over. Mr. Leonard Curtis asked for British buyers to come forward (surprising, none of our readers interested?). He thought these hotels should not go to oil sheikhs. "The future of this country should be in our own hands. I realise this means I shall be accused of racialism but that is how I feel," said Mr. Curtis the receiver. "But I must realise the most money I can get."

No, Mr. Curtis, you're not a racist — you're clearly more interested in the colour of the money than the colour of the skin.

## Unzip a Banana

Mrs. Jean Merritt of Boston, U.S.A., is running the "Return to Personal Freedom" movement to try to unzip people who have escaped from religious cults like the "Rev" Sun Myong Moon's Unification Church. They are carefully brainwashed when they come under the influence of the big business gurus: "They are told to whom they may speak, whether or not they may go home, and whether or not they may remain in touch with their friends. They get little sleep and the food tends to be bad," says Mrs. Merritt — which seems exactly the way all closed orders have always worked, not just in the way out cults.

What makes them "freak cults" rather than religious? The absence of identification with State interest. Nobody would raise a voice over the appalling purdah system among Pakistanis, about Catholic monasteries, about the way in which orthodoxy breaks up Jewish families . . . these religions, though not always identified with the State, nevertheless forms part of an established religious mystique that makes up the State as such. If Scientology, or Moon's worshippers — or moon worshippers — could achieve that status, Mrs. Merritt would not be getting the backing of the press, psychiatrists, psychologists, clergymen . . . she would be told not to interfere with religious observance, and to let "every-one worship as they wish."

Perhaps she is doing a good job, for all that. Though one rather suspects that as "most of those involved come from middle class or upper middle class families" they are dehydrated of religious dependence and re-processed good churchgoing and creditworthy citizens.

## The Happy Hypocrite

Tom Driberg was a Member of Parliament for many years, and an influential journalist on the Daily Express. He belonged to the High Church political Left, and followed it into the Moscow-line when younger, to leave for more profitable and privileged "democratic socialism." He was also a member of a homosexual cabal that helped rule England and make its repressive laws which had no mercy on homosexuals outside the charmed circle who fell foul of the laws.

The contemptible Press covered up for years, because as Beaverbrook's protege "William Hickey" he was immune from being libelled by the whole of the press. (Though it is said, once when he narrowly escaped conviction after a closet encounter, one lone rag-trade paper which was in conflict with Beaverbrook reported it under the heading "These Names Make News"). Two days after his death the Beaverbrook Press was referring to him as "homosexual".

Never once did Driberg stand in Parliament, or in the Press, for the relaxation of laws against that way of life to which he individually was wholly committed; neither did any of his circle. They supported those laws, and enforced them by their prestige. Powerful in their freemasonry, they left it to others to change the law. Driberg, in his last days, was, out of pure malice it seems, writing a book to expose all his circle — Bevan, Churchill and all. If Churchill and Aneurin Bevan had combined to end the persecution, would it not have been done years ago?

Driberg died in the gracious surroundings in which he lived — in his newfound title of Lord Bradwell. Whatever happened to those numerous young men who — one sometimes read — stole from his house after being befriended, whom he "never hesitated to prosecute in the interests of justice?" Like another distinguished politician turned peer, he could never be blackmailed. The poor chaps

never stood a chance with Westminster, Fleet Street and the High Church personified. With that background he could have given a rattlesnake the first bite and still win.

## "Goldenballs Fund"

Sir James Goldsmith pierced Private Eye with as many wits as St. Sebastian had arrows, and the Eye is calling for support for its Goldenballs Fund to pay its way through the courts . . . though one may mention, by the bye, that while its proprietors and staff may not live quite as well as the legendary Lord Gnome, they are not quite ready for the bread-line yet and there wouldn't be any wits against them if they were (the legal jargon is "treat these people as beneath contempt" for "they wouldn't be able to pay our costs").

No doubt natural libertarian sympathy is towards the hard-hitting satirical lone mag struggling against the wily financier — and indeed in my day I've appeared as a witness in support of the Eye — but is it quite as simple as that?

One can't get away from the fact that the Eye's targets seem sometimes a bit selective — one has the sneaky feeling that some escape the lashing because they have a pull with the executioner. Goldsmith may be the slickest con-man who ever protected a runaway friend but I'm not sure the latter is to his discredit, if true, and as to the former, so long as the wolves devour each other it keeps them off the sheep.

However, some of the stories may be lies, and some innuendo and association, and for sure no one can say there has not been a vendetta, and in that case what do the contributors to the Goldenballs Fund expect the man to do? As he's a rich man he's using his wealth to protect himself.

Workers who are grossly libelled by journalists have no such recourse, and are unlikely to be able to bring an action for libel; nor would they receive damages if they did, (only the wealthy get libel damages, receiving more for one reflection on their character than anyone else gets for a lifetime of insults).

I suspect most of those sympathising with Private Eye in this case are journalists who find the bringing of an action for criminal libel (only a rich man could have had that brought up for him) imperils them personally.

How the journalists twist and squirm when it is suggested by printworkers that they should act as arbiters of what goes in the paper or does not! Remember the offensive racist cartoon the Glasgow printers deleted from an edition?

We can't help but feel that it's not inconsistent with — is perhaps essential to — dislike and contempt for the legal process to say "No we don't like people suing for libel" without condoning libel itself. Truth is never (except in law) libellous — but the gross libels in the press on rebels and militants are written by the very people squealing about Goldsmith's arbitrariness. Sometimes they use the Mirror-Sun twist of

(continued on page 11)



# HOW DID ULRIKE DIE?

On May 9th, 1976 the world learnt that Ulrike Meinhof, one of the leaders of the Baader-Meinhof group, had 'committed suicide' in the specially-built maximum security prison in Stuttgart in which she had been held for many months, both before and during her trial.

Since then a number of facts have come to light which throw serious doubt on the official version of events. These facts raise important questions not only for political dissenters but for all concerned with civil liberties.

Was Ulrike Meinhof's death really due to suicide by hanging? Or was it due to reflex cardiac arrest, as a result of pressure applied to her neck by another person? Was there a sexual assault or attempted sexual assault on Ulrike Meinhof before her death? The implications of a positive answer to either of these questions will be obvious to all.

Two post-mortems were carried out on Ulrike Meinhof's corpse. The first was the official one, conducted in the presence of a judge and public prosecutor, on May 9th 1976. It was performed by medical experts called in by the authorities. Lawyers and medical representatives of the dead woman were denied the right to attend. A report of the findings was issued by the Stuttgart Health Office (Department of Forensic Medicine) and was signed by Professors Rauschke and Mallach. The second was undertaken two days later, at the request of the family, by Professors Werner Jansen and Jurgen Schroder, of the Institute of Forensic Medicine of Hamburg University. They did not have access to all the tissues available to those who had carried out the initial autopsy, not to the clothing or other relevant material (such as photographs depicting the position in which the body was found, etc.).

Both reports have come into our hands. We feel it is essential that the findings be publicised as widely as possible. Both in what they say — and in what they don't say — the documents are deeply disturbing.

In raising these matters we wish to avoid the usual manipulatory (and ultimately self-defeating) distortions of evidence and the ghoulish wallowing 'in the blood of martyrs' that characterise so many churches and political group. Ulrike Meinhof's politics were not ours. But we are not concerned with this. The fundamental issues are much greater than any individual or group.

The official post-mortem report mentions that Ulrike Meinhof's body was found with her left heel still on the chair on which she had allegedly climbed to hang herself. In other words there had been no substantial 'drop'. If this was suicide, the mode of death would most probably have been death from asphyxia, rather than from the more customary dislocation of the upper cervical spine, such as occurs in judicial hanging. One of the most important features of strangulation asphyxia is obstruction to the return of blood from the head. The hallmark of such obstruction is the presence of haemorrhages in the conjunctivae of the eyes. Both post-mortem reports specifically mention that no such haemorrhages were found. Nor was there any evidence of protrusion of the eyes or of the tongue, or of cyanosis (blue discolouration) of the face, such as is commonly seen in asphyxial deaths. Although the hyoid bone at the root of the tongue was fractured, there was no bruising in the neck, at the site of the indentation made by the 'towel-ropes' with which the prisoner allegedly hanged herself. These negative findings are unusual, to say the least, in anyone who has died from asphyxia. They are however compatible with death from vagal inhibition, i.e. with death from pressure

on the carotid sinuses in the neck which may result in reflex stopping of the heart.

There are other disturbing facts, of a positive kind. Both necropsy reports mention severe congestion of the external genitals and bruises on both calves. Both mention an abrasion covered with blood clot, on the left buttock. The Jansen-Schroder report also mentions a bruise on the right thigh. Examination of the prisoner's underwear at the time of the initial examination revealed suspicious stains. Tests for seminal fluid were officially described as positive although no sperms were found (Official Report of the State Prosecutor, Criminal-Technical Laboratory — Kriminaltechnische Untersuchungsstelle — May 11, 1975).

Deeply disturbed by these findings, by the arrest of Ulrike Meinhof's defending Counsel (just as he had got on to some of these facts) as well as by a number of discrepancies and contradictions in the official evidence, which will be gone into elsewhere, a sub-committee (the Justiz-kritische Ausschuss) of the German Writers' Union is planning a conference in Stuttgart, on August 26, at which it is hoped to air these issues and to ask for an international investigation (in order to avoid possible pressure on German citizens, willing to give evidence of a technical nature).

We call on all concerned with elementary human rights to disseminate these facts as widely as possible and to help break the conspiracy of silence which has so far surrounded them. We call on all those who are disturbed by these reports to unite in helping to establish what really happened.

If such things can happen in Germany, couldn't they happen here? If it can happen to Ulrike Meinhof, could it happen to any of us?

Solidarity, London.

# LIAR OF THE MONTH!

The Northcliffe Award for Liar of the Month goes to Franklin Jordan of the Guardian.

It is understandable that statists wish to build up prejudice and dislike against Anarchists. There is no way they can make the State loved (except by discredited patriotism). Nevertheless, journalists' deliberate lies have come to a crescendo with the campaign by the German State against Anarchism, which includes the labelling of all activity that embarrasses the German State as "anarchist" regardless of what it is.

The world journalists are slavishly following the German State. Is this the standard one should expect from British journalists? It very clearly is, but it is not usually so clearly spelled out. Commenting on the decision by the Athens court not to extradite Rolf Pohle since his "crimes" in West Germany were political,

Mr. Jordan, writing from Bonn, says (Guardian, 21st Aug. 76) "German police suspect Herr Pohle — who is the German anarchist movement's chief weapon procurer — was involved in at least organising the Entebbe hijacking last month."

This is, no doubt, a statement from the notorious German political police, but it is presented in such a way as to try to convince the reader of its plausibility. Could there be a "chief weapons procurer" for an openly existing movement not made illegal, despite considerable police oppression and political hostility? What possible connection existed between General Amin and the anarchist movement — or is it being stated that the Israelis were wrong, and that Amin had nothing to do with the hijacking? (Here Mr. Franklin deliberately hedges: "in at least organising").

This is police propaganda given out as news, which was often done by journalists in the Nazi period. And the Guardian is considered one of the fairest newspapers! As a result of the deliberate lies by people like Mr. Franklin, when the press comes to deal with anarchists, they must introduce a criterion otherwise unknown in politics — "self-confessed" or "self-styled" anarchists, as if there were something criminal or confessedly anti-social to which they admitted. Yet the journalists have only to read book reviews appearing in their own newspapers (they do not even need to read the books) to find out about political theory. It stands to reason they are either political ignoramuses or deliberate liars. Can Franklin Jordan be so politically naive? Or is he accepting the directives of the German Government in slanting his news for more sinister reasons?



# APPROACHING CRIMINALITY

Because the term "criminal," especially in State obsessed Germany, has become synonymous with "anarchist" as a term of abuse thrown at political dissidence, it has prompted a reflex action amongst those who call themselves Anarchist in the form of immediate disclaimers of any action that steps over the letter of the law. This explains the shameful denunciations of the armed resistance issued by some Anarchists, aspiring to organisational existence, seeking to preserve their own untroubled legality.

Essentially, a "criminal" is someone who goes against the limits of action imposed by the State. We are discussing a confusion of two distinctly separate concepts. First, actions which are *anti-social*, which go against the well-being of the community (or against the individuals from which the community is composed); and secondly, actions which are *against the law*. That there is a certain overlap is incidental; they are recognisably quite separate.

To confuse the State with Society in this way has always been how those in power seek to excuse their privileged position in society. Only in totalitarian regimes like Russia or Spain is the reality of the situation shown unmasked, for with complete State dominance there is no need for pretence. A show of "democracy" requires deception. Law is firmly geared to the protection of power (manifested in the protection of property). No amount of laws can ensure real social harmony or the absence of violence. It is property relations not social relations which benefit from 'the rule of law.'

"The ultimate expression of law," as George Jackson wrote before being murdered, "is not order — it's prison." (See "Blood in my Eye"). The contradiction between what is legally permitted and what is socially useful has presented every facet of human existence. Psychologists have made "character" synonymous with compulsive behaviour and disordered obsessional longings (the former to ensure rule, the latter to ensure that the rulers profit from their position — hence the "consumer society"). To rebel against the first is the act of a "criminal" and is punished with prison. To rebel against the second is the act of a "psychotic" and is punished with lunatic asylums. If the rebellion takes the form of direct assaults on the State it is labelled the act of "criminal-psychopaths." The decision to operate on Ulrike Meinhof's brain whilst in prison is a case in point. If living an economically exploited and psychologically alienated existence is defined as "sane" and "just" by the State then to struggle for a more rational and libertarian humane society is automatically "criminal" and "insane."

There are tyrants amongst those who break the law (Al Capone, the Krays) just as there are amongst those who obey (or invent) the law. Crime is not deterred by the law, it is defined. For revolutionaries to accept the State's definitions as unchallengeable by proclaiming illegality as "premature," "adventurous," or "elitist," is merely to play into the hands of our rulers. Acceptance of the law by revolutionaries should never be based on anything more than *tactical* considerations.

Clearly, there are illegal actions which are anti-social (rape, being a particularly ugly example) but this is not to brand all "illegal" acts as anti-social. How is the community harmed if some of its members recover what has been legally stolen from them (by the State) through bank robberies? It is not "making the revolution" but only the naive would claim that.

Package-deal revolutionaries who view the class struggle in terms of refusing to work, living in unoccupied slums, and queuing for social security, might well afford to reflect on how exchanging the role of wage slaves (who are at least in a position to fight back) for one of total dependence on the State aids the revolution (or themselves). If an individual does not want to be exploited as a number on the factory floor surely a more principled alternative is offered by the example set in France by the "Bonnot Gang": **Take from the State, don't ask!**

Not all "criminals" are, or indeed will become, revolutionaries. The National Front is proud to assure sympathetic ears (off the record boys) that it can call on thugs, safe-breakers, gun-runners and bank robbers whenever the need to defend Hitler's memory arises. The majority of those in prison (just as outside) may not even take an interest in "politics" one way or the other. Crime is business — or politics, or reform, or revolution — carried on by another means than that permitted by those in power. Ingrained preconceptions fostered by the State need to be re-thought if we are to be better prepared for the coming confrontation. **Henry Black**

## SCIENTOLOGIST PLOT?

The Anarchist Black Cross has no connection with Marxist nationalism, the type of caricature which the press likes to make. It was, therefore, with some surprise that we received a letter, written in the somewhat hysterical manner of the Trotskyists, and suitably vaguely "Left" to cover a wide front, as follows:—

Black Cross,  
Comrades,

The FASCISTS are sucking our blood and playing us for stooges with their infiltrations. We've been giving the Front all the heat while the other Nazis flourish with the fascist establishment. A book advertised in Time Out — I picked up a copy — lays out the fu-cking game. The WFMH are Nazis. Here are the documents to prove it. What a set up.

This is a call to action. We must join together and protest against the FASCISTS organising on our soil. I have my own work to carry on so I turn it over to you. What do you think. This is the only information I've got, but it seems pretty sound to me. Schrieber works for our cause

in Germany so I hear.

Let's show these FASCISTS that we are wise to their little conspiracies. Let's make a noise. Let's FUCK UP the FASCIST get together so they cannot carry out their little conspiracies.

In faith,

Simon.

P.S. The WFMH are holding a conference in this country at the University of Bradford 28-31 July 1976. Maybe we could make some noise here.

Enclosed was a pamphlet "The Men Behind Hitler" by Bernard Schrieber. The author, like the letter writer, makes the occasional mistake on the "ei" and writes in a similar tone. The letter had no address and the name was typed. It appeared to be a new type of review note issued by the publisher (whose name and address was not given, unusual in a 160 page booklet, the only clue to its origin being "Printed in France, L.H.M.").

The book consists of a number of statements, documents, photographed letters and apparently well-researched documentation on the Nazis, none of which is particularly unknown — with the emphasis on the elimination of the "radically unfit." Interspersed with these

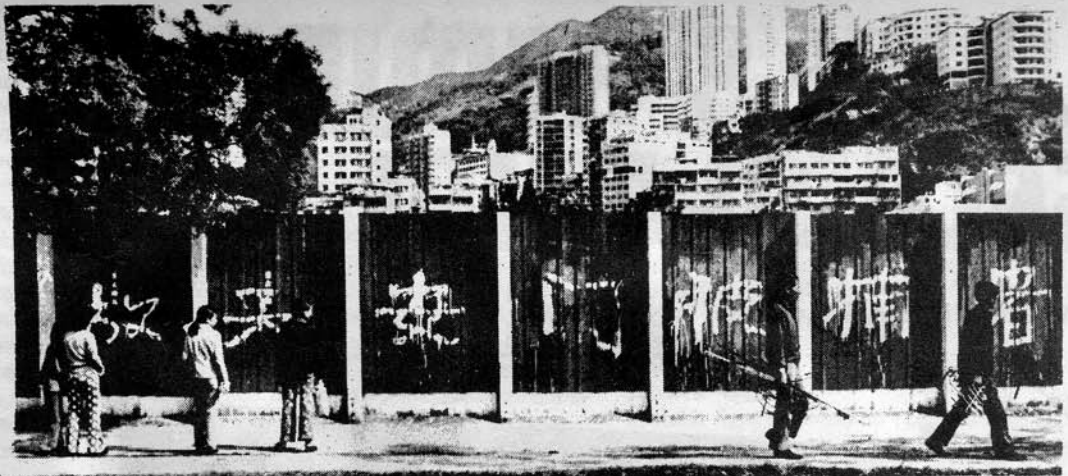
are statements and documents of the Euthanasia Society and the Birth Control Campaign, with the lists of sponsors — very often leading Humanists, the suggestion being that the one equals the other, though there is absolutely no similarity between what the sponsors of voluntary euthanasia, birth control and legalised abortion are saying, and that which the Nazis are saying. It is a deliberately planned slander attack, with the emphasis on the abuse of psychiatry, leading up to the attack on the WFMH. It is not spelled out that this is the World Federation of Mental Health, and the interesting "I have my own work to carry on" but "maybe we could make some noise here" suggests an attempt at provocation.

The author had clearly not read Black Flag (which rather derides the conception of "giving the Front the heat"); he had heard perhaps of its reputation.

It seemed to us that somebody wanted to use us — the Scientology people? It sounds like them.

As an ironic footnote one may mention that some of the signatories to the euthanasia and birth control movements, thus "associated" in the Nazis' guilt, were on the Nazi death list in the event of invasion.





## TIANANMEN — A NEW BEGINNING?

(slogans protesting the arrests following Peking's Tienanmen Square demonstration)

On April 5, massive demonstrations and riots rocked Peking's Tienanmen Square, which led, two days later, to the dismissal of Teng Hsiao-peng from his posts as vice-premier and vice-chairman of the Chinese Communist Party. This caused further riots, which spread beyond Peking (in Chengchow, at least one person was killed). The significance of these events is a matter of debate among Sinologists. One thing is clear: the riot at Tienanmen Square was spontaneous, as were the pro-Teng demonstrations that occurred afterwards. The demonstrations were not Party-organised power-plays — as was the Cultural Revolution (at least in its initial stages) — but expressions of deep-seated social unrest.

The Tienanmen Square riot took place on Ching Ming, a traditional Chinese holiday in which family dead are honoured. Instead of just honouring family ancestors, however, homage was paid to the late Chou En-lai who, like Teng, was considered a "pragmatists". Gradually the crowds formed around the Martyr's Monument — and voices in the crowd started to chant anti-government slogans — and the riot began. Two days later more rioting broke out when Teng was sacked. Since then, posters and wreaths supporting Chou and Teng were removed, and all access to the monument forbidden. Arrests of pro-Teng elements have been widespread.

In Hong Kong, leaders of the Maoist unions — along with the pro-Peking businessmen of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce (that's right — businessmen in a Chamber of Commerce cowering to Peking!), and other Maoist fronts obediently followed the Party line with expressions of support for the CCP. This was expected. What was not were the small demonstrations protesting against the Mainland arrests and the appearance in six different places, of slogans protesting the arrests ("long live socialist democracy!" "Down with government oppression" "Release the people arrested at Tienanmen"). Who was behind the slogan-painting is not known. Hong Kong Trotskyists disclaimed responsibility. One reliable source seems to think that former Red Guards may have been involved.

One of the more logical explanations of the Tienanmen events and their aftermath is offered by Hong Kong's Seventies Front, an anarchist-oriented group comprised mainly of young factory workers. They interpret these events against the backdrop of the long drive to modernise China. How, and at what tempo, China's economy is to be modernised is seen by them as the root

of the struggle within CCP ranks between "pragmatists" (Chou En-lai, Liu Shao-chi, Teng, etc.), and "radicals" (Mao, Chiang Ching, etc.). The "radicals" push for intensified heavy industrialisation; the "pragmatists" would slow the heavy industry tempo, and increase consumer goods production. Naturally, the "radical" line represents increased "labour discipline" and Stakhanovism. It must be remembered that this struggle has taken place within the ranks of the Party, and the differences between the two lines are more a matter of degree than anything else. The vast majority of the Chinese people have not been consulted — but ordered. In events such as the Tienanmen Square riots, the repressed feelings and resentments of an exploited class ordered, abused, and manipulated are bared.

In this context, the Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s became more than just an inter-Party struggle. The Cultural Revolution began as a "revolution from above" to force the "pragmatists" out. As the campaign developed, a certain segment (how many is not known) of those who were supposed to do the dirty work for the "radicals" — namely, the Red Guards — began to draw conclusions of their own (a dangerous thing in any authoritarian society) about the nature of Chinese class society. Among the conclusions reached was that Liu the pragmatist was basically the same as Mao the radical. At the same time (and more important, in this writer's view) the pawns in this ideological chess-game — the millions of non-Party workers and peasants — started to fight back, tired of being manipulated, oppressed, disciplined, abused. It was at this point — with the economy disrupted, certain groups of Red Guards beginning to think and act upon their own, and large groups of non-Party workers and peasants beginning to resist — that Mao called off the Cultural Revolution. With the "aid" of the army, normalcy in the guise of "pragmatism" returned. And Chou and Teng were rehabilitated.

Popular resentment continued, however even during this period of "pragmatism". In 1974, for example, workers at the Wuhan Bicycle Factory in central China took over their factory. Their "pragmatic" political bosses had decreed that the factory would be moved into the countryside, despite the workers' objections to the move. The workers pointed out that the new location would mean great hardships, because of the new site's distance from their city homes.

The bosses' solution was to build a so-called "workers' village" around the new plant. This "solution" was likewise rejected — now it would be their children who would have problems commuting to schools in the city. The upshot was that the workers occupied the old factory. To force them out, the ever-so-pragmatic bosses stopped payments on the workers' salaries. To raise money the Wuhan bicycle workers did the same thing that the LIP workers in Bescanon did — sell their products at significantly lower prices. So low, in fact, that people from other provinces travelled to Wuhan to buy them. Thus the same conclusion that the minority Red Guards had reached (that there was no difference between the two lines) was brought home.

Hoping to start a fresh offensive against the "pragmatists", Mao began the anti-Confucius campaign aimed at discrediting Chou — who conveniently died. The events at Tienanmen Square, then, symbolised popular opposition against more labour discipline, more sacrifice, more oppression. They opposed the radical Mao by "revering" the pragmatist Chou. To avoid the problems of armed Red Guards coming to anti-Mao conclusions during the anti-Teng campaign, the establishment of ties and the formation of fighting units was prohibited.

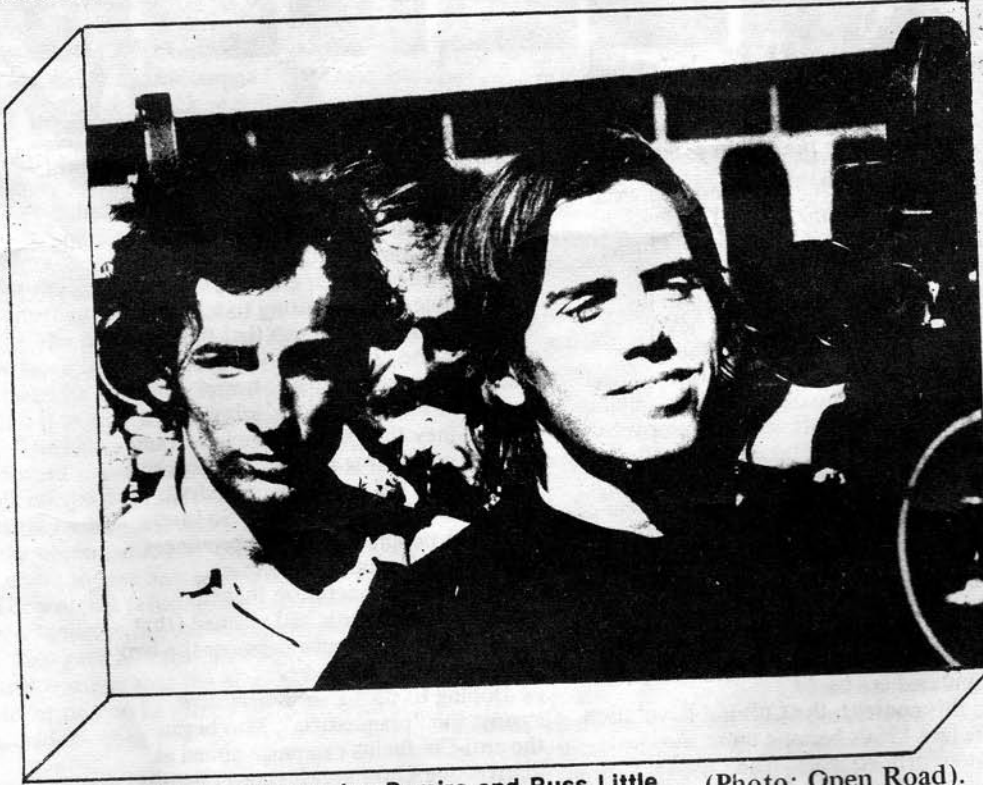
What distinguishes Tienanmen from the Cultural Revolution was its spontaneity. The 70s Frontiers caution would be Sinologists to look beyond the labels, the philosophical/ideological obfuscation, and the language used, to the issues involved. When the Chinese State accuses groups of workers of "anarcho-syndicalist deviationism" it does not necessarily mean that the workers involved are anarchists — but only that they have tried to do something without State approval. Similarly, "revering" Chou and Teng is not so much support for a "pragmatist" line as opposition to the Maoist "radical" line. The 70s Frontiers also point out that the fact that opposition is clothed in the language of the class enemy (the Party) is a sign that the people have not yet freed themselves from complete allegiance to the system; they have not yet drawn the ultimate conclusion — a complete repudiation of authoritarian ideology and society. This will take time — but it is already beginning. The events of Tienanmen show this.

Shelby Shapiro.



# LITTLE & REMIRO'S SECOND TRIAL

MARCUS GRAHAM



Captured SLA members Joe Remiro and Russ Little. (Photo: Open Road).

The article "SLA: The Background to the Foster Killing" which appeared in the September/October 1975 issue of *Black Flag* fully outlined the case against Russ Little, the 25 year old ex-philosophy student, and Joseph Remiro the ex-San Francisco Sacred Heart High School graduate, both of whom were sentenced to life imprisonment for conspiracy to murder the Oakland Superintendent of Schools, Marcus Foster, and the wounding of his assistant, Robert Blackburn.

Their life sentences are being appealed against on a number of grounds. As the Judge who sentenced them admitted after the trial "it was such an involved case . . . if they (the jury) had brought in an acquittal I wouldn't have been shaken at all."

The second trial of Little and Remiro related to charges of "attempted escape" "assault on two guards" and "the attempted robbery of prison keys." The trial lasted about four weeks and after four days deliberation the jury brought in a verdict of guilty on the escape and assault charges, but not guilty of robbery. Both Little and Remiro were given permission to call three fellow prisoners as witnesses, two from San Quentin and one from Los Angeles County Jail. One local daily newspaper, The San Jose News reported the testimony of the defence witnesses in the following manner under the banner headline "Con's Arrival Causes Tight San

Jose Security":

An unprecedented net of security surrounded Civil Center today as three of the state's most hard-core convicts arrived to testify. Bomb Squad members from both San Jose Police and the sheriff's office were part of intense security measures which saw rifle-toting officers atop most buildings in the Civic Center complex which includes courts and County Jail . . . Other heavily armed officers guarded doorways and parking-lot entrances, checking identities of persons, including Judges, entering facilities . . . lawmen feared a prisoner break-out of some kind involving the three convict defence witnesses. Arriving today were James Holliday, Lloyd LaMar Mims and Elmer Pratt . . . A portion of San Jose Municipal Airport was sealed off briefly for this morning's arrival of Holliday from Los Angeles. The van travelled in a convoy of vehicles manned by heavily armed members of San Jose's crack MERGE (Emergency Mobile Response Group and Equipment) Squad. One MERGE unit led the trek to County Jail, with five other units following the prisoner's van . . . Mims and Pratt arrived . . . in a convoy from San Quentin Prison."

## The Three Witnesses Testimony

The Mercury the morning counter-part of the News, carried an account of the three witnesses testimony by staff writer Joe Frein, complete with photographs of the van, Pratt with guards, and a life-size photograph of a guard with a rifle in hand over Mims

and Pratt.

"Surrounded by the largest security force ever massed . . . three high-risk convicts testified quietly and without incident. . . In the courtroom of Judge James A. Wright, nine uniformed bailiffs and four plain-clothes officers watched the convicts . . . The convicts wore handcuffs attached to chains around their waists and leg-manacles and were dressed in overalls as they testified from a witness stand that had been bolted to the floor.

Mims told the jury a black guard named Jefferson asked him and another prisoner, Forest Jordan, to "hit" Remiro and Little in February 1974 while they were being held in San Quentin Death Row. Jeff promised "he would give us a knife, the doors of the cell would be opened and we should kill them" . . . Jefferson encouraged them by saying Remiro and Little "had gunned down blacks on the streets and this was our chance to get even."

Emphasising that great pressure has been placed on Remiro, Little and other persons believed . . . to have been associated with the SLA, Pratt told of being approached by two FBI agents . . . "They offered me \$500,000 and free tickets to Algeria or any place I wanted to go if I would tell them where Patty Hearst was."

Holliday testified that after Little and Remiro were brought to Death Row following their capture on January 10, 1974 . . . he and other convicts gave them books, cigarettes and other articles . . . Holliday said the purpose of the guard and other prison officials was to "create hostility between black militants and white." Judge Wright denied a motion for a mistrial by advisory attorneys for Remiro and Little, who argued that the unusual security measures prejudiced their right to a fair trial."

## Remiro's Story of Prison Horrors

It was under this headline that the same reporter, Joe Frein, described Remiro's testimony in the San Jose Mercury of June 18, 1976, in part, as follows:

"Symbionese Liberation Army 'soldier' Joseph Remiro related a shocking and horrifying account of 'life' in San Quentin Prison and the Alameda County Courthouse jail . . . Taking the witness stand in defence of himself and his fellow 'soldier', Russell Little, the 29 year old Remiro told of filthy, airless, 'strip' cells, threats and intimidations by high prison officials, guard brutality, race warfare, stabbings and suicide . . . Prompted by occasional questions from Little, who is acting as his own attorney (as did Remiro) Remiro testified that they were transferred to the second tier of the Adjustment Centre at San Quentin from the Contra Costa jail within 36 hours after they were captured . . . "I was totally unprepared for what happened to me in San Quentin . . . I was in a state of cultural shock. It was all very strange and intimidating . . ." Remiro said when he refused to shave off his moustache members of the prison's 'goon squad' of guards grabbed him about the neck, twisted his arms behind his back and used a barber's clippers to trim it off. "Then they attached handcuffs around the waist, placed shackles on my ankles and placed me in a cell." Remiro said that prisoners in nearby cells eventually began talking to him and Little and passed books, tobacco and coffee to them. "Suddenly, prisoners were yelling back and forth and threatening to



kill each other . . . I couldn't figure what was going on." Remiro said later "it was explained to me that this was a race war going on. It was pointed out that the only people we had been talking to were blacks and only they had given us canteens. . . That had started all the murder mouthing . . . Remiro said he had been conscious of racism in its most blatant, subtle and institutional forms, but I had never been in contact with people who expressed their racism so openly. Later, I tried to talk to white prisoners and received threats on my life in return . . . It was really strange and I couldn't understand the reason." Remiro said that subsequently came to understand "the ignorance and frustration that build racism. I can understand the whole psychology now. . . " James Holliday . . . told him that guards had tried to foment antagonism towards him and Little. When they were moved down the first tier of the Adjustment Centre where the most dangerous men are housed about two weeks later, "a kind of rabble-rouser" was transferred to a cell next to that of Little . . . The "rabble-rouser" tried to incite other prisoners against them, but the prisoners ordered him to "shut up." When Little and he made court appearances during that period, they complained about being confined in the Adjustment Centre before they ever had been convicted of a felony. . . The judges responded that "it was for our own safety". . . "It was absurd. We were in a place with people who could do us the most harm. . . I was in a constant state of attention in the Adjustment Centre. . . I was constantly alert for someone trying to injure me. . . Living conditions in the holes were much worse than in the Adjustment Centre. The cells had almost no light or ventilation . . . unclean and smelled of faeces and vermin. . . " The guards on Death Row were armed and treatment of Little and him became "progressively worse" as the media focused on the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst and the SLA. . . And the guards incited prisoners on Death Row against them by telling them "we were members of the SLA and attacked Blacks." . . . two friendly prisoners warned Little and him that "we were being set up" . . . Little and he finally persuaded a judge to view the conditions under which they were living and he ordered them moved to the Alameda Courthouse Jail. Remiro said they were placed in "holes" in the hospital tank of the jail, stripped and beaten by four guards . . . Remiro explained that two kinds of person were ordinarily housed in the hospital tank - mental cases and inmates who were being punished . . . During more than a year in which Little and he were kept in the hospital tank "we were in constant contact with extremely disorientated or violent people."

#### Fears of Death Threats

In the San Jose Mercury of June 23, 1976, Joe Frein wrote, in part:

"Remiro and Little ended their defence by calling Remiro's ex-wife and mother of his 4 year old son to the witness stand. Remiro enquired whether he had talked to her about "the fears he had," and she replied: "Yes, that you were going to be killed in prison." . . . Remiro and Little have claimed during the trial that they had no "criminal intent" in attempting to escape from the jail. . . They maintain they sought to break out because they believed their lives were in danger . . . from the guards and inmates. Earlier Little testified that he had

stabbed Deputy Lawrence Franks in the throat with a pencil "on an impulse" as the officer slid a chair into an interview room . . . where he was conferring with his attorney and Remiro . . . The attack was not intended as the first act in an escape attempt . . . he and Remiro had not formulated a plan to break out of jail and he "never really made a decision to stab Franks." When his counsel . . . John Bain . . . had informed him and Remiro during the conference of his "troubles" in persuading courts to prohibit "illegal electronic surveillance" of them, he had "got all mad" . . . the assault on Franks was triggered by his frustration and anger "about the justice system, threats against us, bribery of witnesses and harassment of our families and friends." . . . Remiro also had claimed . . . that he had not intended to escape when he rushed out of the interview room past Little and Franks and attacked Sgt. Robert Jensen in the office area of the jail. Only after he knocked Jensen down and noticed the officer's keys lying beside him did he decide to try to open a nearby gun-locker, "take a gun and get out of there" . . . However, officers rushed into the office and subdued Remiro and Little before the locker could be opened."

In the San Jose Mercury of June 24, 1976, Joe Fien gave a resume of the closing arguments by all parties concerned in the case to Deputy District Attorney De Vega's arguments that Little and Remiro had planned to escape and admitted the attacks. Remiro responded "I am not admitting these crimes . . . I am admitting being thrown onto a state of mind where these things could happen . . . we were intentionally terrorised. . . We lived under imminent threat of death . . . Most people arrested and convicted never see or are committed to the Adjustment Centre or Death Row." . . . Remiro also noted that authorities had ordered them kept 14 months in the jail's "hospital tank" with psychologically deranged or extremely violent inmates. And jailers permitted two inmates to roam freely on their tier, throw scalding water on them, and set fire to their bedding . . . "De Vega could have tried to prove we didn't live in filth and terroristic conditions, but he didn't." **Little's Telling Words After Sentence** Dick Egner, a staff reporter on the San Jose Mercury, reported on July 10, what followed Judge James A. Wright's sentencing of Little and Remiro the previous day, in part, as follows:

Each defendant drew up to ten years for his part in the escape . . . and two five-to-life terms for assault of Deputies Jensen and Franks . . . The judge explained after court . . . if the Foster conviction is overturned on appeal, Remiro and Little would still be exposed to terms of life . . . On the motion of District Attorney Clayton Da Vega, two robbery counts were dismissed . . . Little presented an affidavit whose signer said he and others had been "harassed and assaulted" in prison after testifying at the trial about prison conditions. On the basis of "violations of due process" represented by alleged treatment of witnesses, Little made a motion for a new trial and was joined in by Remiro . . . Judge Wright denied it, then invited the defendants to say anything they wanted to say about their own case . . . Remiro declined, saying he had already

"said it all," but Little took advantage to talk for several minutes about the legal system, under which he said he did not expect justice. "Judges are the hirelings of the rich," said Little, and it is "ridiculous" to talk about sentencing him when his trial was "subverted" by: Denial of a change of venue request, compelling their witnesses to take the stand in prison garb, refusal of the Judge to instruct the jury in the way Little thought appropriate in view of the evidence about his and Remiro's fear of their lives in prison."

#### What the Second Trial of Little and Remiro Showed.

In these days of so-called "celebration" of the United States Bicentennial carried out by the hirelings of the present system, it is most fitting to expose the empty claims of "justice" which is supposed to prevail in its self-styled "democracy." And the first and second trial and convictions of Russ Little and Joseph Remiro is a most striking proof thereof. Public Defender James R. Jenner for Little and Remiro was fully justified in contending at the first trial that it was a repeat of the lawless manner in which Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted and executed in 1927. This comparison is equally applicable to the second trial and conviction.

The four days it took the jury to reject the silly charge of "robbery", but find them guilty of attempting to escape and assaulting two guards showed that it dared not rise above the establishment's "laws" of injustice - in face of the lawless brutal treatments and incitements which both Little and Remiro were subjected to, and which the prosecution did not attempt to deny.

In the history of the U.S. establishment's rule there are many other examples of similar disregard for the "justice" it hypocritically boasts of: the execution of the five anarchist martyrs of Chicago, the lynchings of Frank Little and Joe Hill, the massacre of men, women and children at the Rockefeller mines in Ludlow, Colorado, the cowardly night raids on the Russian speaking anarchist movement throughout the country followed by the wholesale deportation to Russia of hundreds of men and women in 1920, the massacre of over forty prisoners and guards at the order of the then Governor Rockefeller (presently Vice-President of the country) at Attica Prison in New York State, the hundreds of lynchings of black people, the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of men, women and even children - all victims of an unjust society. Its very prisons symbolise a degrading inhuman punishment of the very victims created by its system of economic exploitation. It is this kind of inhumane and uncivilised society that has no moral right to exist at all. Its justified overthrow can and will only be achieved through a social revolution aimed at ending every form of rulership, exploitation and degradation of man over man, and the building of a truly free and civilised society.

#### FROM MARXISM TO ANARCHISM

The April 16, 1976 issue of the American journal "New Times" published a lengthy interview with Bill and Emily Harris, Russ Little and Joseph Remiro, by Susan Lyne and Robert Scheer. Under the above quoted last sub-heading of the interview appears, in part, the following:

(continued on page 14)



# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## JURGEN H. BACKER

It was reported in Black Flag March 1976, that Jurgen H. Backer has been in Moabit Prison (Berlin) for five years on remand in strict solitary confinement. He has since been transferred to Tegel Prison, also in Berlin. Being transferred to Tegel was supposed to keep him out of solitary and to put him in a cell with other prisoners for the first time in his five years of imprisonment but this did not happen.

Since being put back in solitary he is not allowed to make contact with other prisoners, nor is he allowed letters, visits or allowed out of his cell. According to the newspaper "Information Service" (I.D.) Jurgen was led out of his cell under the impression he was to be taken to another part of the prison; suddenly he was pushed into another cell and locked in. He was told by the prison officers to clean the cell. As he has a reputation for being exceptionally clean he was horrified when he realised that all that was in the cell was a filthy old bed. The cell was covered in blood, the walls were smeared with shit and there was vomit on the floor. He fainted and when he came round he found that a woman doctor accompanied by two prison officers had come to give him an injection to calm him down. On refusing the injection the men accompanying the doctor beat him up and then gave him the injection.

Is it possible that the West German State is preparing also to drive Jurgen H. Backer to suicide?

## THE SUICIDE OF HORST RAKOW

Horst Rakow had been in Moabit Prison in Berlin for more than five years on remand on a charge of murder which he denied from the start when he killed himself by putting a polythene bag over his head causing suffocation. The following article was taken from a leaflet circulating in West Germany.

Horst Rakow had been in prison on remand since 1971. In October/November 1973 his trial, which was based on circumstantial evidence took place and he was condemned to five years withdrawal of freedom and subsequently imprisonment for life. Horst Rakow appealed against this sentence to the BGH (federal court), more than two years after the second main trial took place. Horst Rakow got imprisonment for life against which he lodged an appeal.

Horst wrote in his last letter: Remand in custody, as practised in Moabit, goes much further than the legislature orders, for nowadays it is unbearable. It not only punishes, it destroys.

The damage of such long term isolation is irreparable. Apathy, perception and difficulty in concentration, permanent headaches, outbreaks of sweat, dizziness and weakness of the limbs, high blood pressure and hallucinations are frequent in long term isolation.

So far as the prison doctors are concerned these consequences are simply 'vegetative disturbances' and do not necessarily have to be treated. That is why I did not write out any complaints to the prison doctors.

For quite a long time I have found I can't communicate with people without constraint. I feel restrained, awkward, cramped and rigid. I can't make coherent conversations anymore since I am afraid to meet people. I feel a dreadful fear.

To vegetate in Moabit for years must lead to suicide. My suicide has not been committed because of the latest condemnation to life imprisonment. It is possible that the sentence could be cancelled if there was a new trial and I could be released from prison. But even if that was the case and the sentence was sanctioned, it would not be a reason for me to commit suicide. I have already served six years of a 12/15 year sentence so my situation should not have been so very hopeless, if the long term isolation had not been so destructive. But this long lasting isolation, rendered more difficult by physical pressure, which was the criminal procedure for me all those years, has destroyed my personality and my ability to live . . . . . Horst Rakow.

The result of this human annihilation is murder as in the case of:—

Hamburg — Detlev Krieger and Hans J. Rohrmoser.

Wittlich — Holfer Meins.

Berlin Tegel — Horst V. Veit.

Belin Lehrter Str. — Beatrix Suss.

Berlin Moabit — Horst Rakow.

Stuttgart Stammheim — Ulrike Meinhof. (Just to name a few).

An execution which makes a man commit suicide, where there are no other possibilities and everything is done to drive prisoners to despair is murder. Each so-called suicide in prison is caused by the conditions, the isolation, the lack of medical treatment and the purposeful ruining of human beings. Now, when the suicide rate in prison is rising so rapidly we have got to use all our efforts to avoid such situations arising.

## SPAIN

Jose Peirats, biographer of the CNT, has returned at the age of 68 to his native Castellon. Arriving in Barcelona, he was met at the railway station by a crowd of several thousands singing the long-forbidden "A las barricadas." Germinal Gracia (who edited "Ruta" in Caracas) was with him. In an article in "La Vanguardia Espanola" (5th August) Peirats agreed with the reporter that there had been and still were serious internal problems of the CNT. "But I consider them natural coming from the life of the catacombs, when we could have no conferences or mandates from the members." Now, he felt, the movement was resuming legal existence after "40 years in the catacombs."

Peirats is undoubtedly a good union man who has contributed much to the life of the CNT, but as secretary-general of the Organisation in exile he was notorious for his "pacifist" line, always against illegal actions against Franco in the interior. It is undoubtedly for this reason that he is able to go back openly now. This does not mean that he is compromising with the regime — as have certain other figures such as Souchy, and possibly Santillan. But it is still not safe for those who have been militant in Resistance to return openly or "emerge."

## BARCELONA WEEKLY: SUMMARY OF C.N.T.

In an article in *Triunfo*, 3/7/76, there is a resume of the "C.N.T.; present and future": "during the past few weeks, many papers have spoken on one occasion or another of conferences taking place, or about to take place, of the 'revived' National Confederation of Labour (CNT). Without any doubt, during the last 35 years as at the present time, the CNT has not had the chance of conditions of freedom — nor even of mere toleration — to hold a conference. The last that took place of the confederal organisation was in Saragossa in May 1936.

"What has taken place in Madrid during the months of May and June has been a gathering of the militants of the Local Federation of Syndicates. In various meetings, some hundreds of militants have attended, examining and debating the situation in its various aspects and discussing the role of the organisation in regard to the present and future situation in our country.

In each of these meetings they have discussed passionately and sometimes vehemently the problems of the present day. The agreements reached have been by majority vote, and the decisions of the local Federation of Syndicates have been expressed in the following terms

"The CNT is in favour of the plurality of workers organisations and while for the unity of the working class, does not consider this unity can exist without options of choice. Real unity is obtained by the workers in the struggles of their class in which they are able to express their will. Those who insist on trade union unity without taking this into account are deliberately deceiving the workers.

"Unity must proceed from the many organisations of the workers, avoiding a centralised and unitary unionism.

"The unions must be for wage struggles and for revolutionary possibilities alike . . . The CNT insists on honesty with the workers and that nobody should speak of unity when what they want to establish is a hegemony over the workers.

Although a lot is being said about independent trade unionism independent of the State and the political parties, in fact such unions generally speaking do not exist. All the illegal trade union movements, with the exception of the CNT, form part of the political opposition led by the parties and are thus in a position of dependence. That is why one of the principal ingredients of unity does not exist.

"The CNT demands trade union co-ordination when it is possible of achievement without giving up the independence of the workers. Common action is possible when it is in their interests. The CNT has always struggled for the autonomy of the working class movement . . . The Local Federation of Madrid renounces all contact with vertical unions since only a syndicalism created by the workers themselves merits any consideration and respect . . . Finally, the Local Federation of Syndicates considers itself effectively and not only formally, part of the International Association of Workers."



# THE DUBLIN HANGINGS



(Noel Murray)

## THE DUBLIN HANGINGS THE FACTS AND THE PEOPLE

On 11th September 1975, the Allied Irish Bank, Dublin, was raided by at least three people and £7,000 was stolen. The robbers were followed in a car by an off-duty policeman, Garda Reynolds; who was later found in St. Annes Park, shot in the head.

The "Dublin Evening Herald" ran headlines that the garda had been shot by anarchists, while at the time the police were saying they didn't know who was responsible. A reward of £20,000 was offered for information.

On September 23rd the police started raiding the homes of all known anarchists and the relatives and friends of imprisoned anarchists, plus a wide spectrum of people involved in community and welfare organisations, including prisoners rights groups. About 200 raids were carried out. One person who was 'helping police with their inquiries' was released with several ribs broken, another they put into hospital for two weeks. They had all been asked to 'confess' to knowing who was responsible for the bank raid.

One of the people raided, interrogated and later released in these raids was Ronan Stenson, who worked for the Prisoners Rights Organisation, which had become an embarrassment to the government because of their persistent exposure of inhuman prison conditions.

On October 9th Noel and Marie Murray were arrested by 20 armed police as they returned home. At 10.30 a.m. that same day Ronan Stenson was also picked up from his home.

Why did the police pick on these three? Obviously the police had decided they were guilty, but why, is a question that only the police can answer. All three were previously known to the police; Ronan Stenson because of his activities on behalf of prisoners, Noel Murray was wanted already by the police in connection with another matter (a petrol attack on the Spanish Cultural Institute in 1974) and Marie Murray has at least one previous conviction for which she received a suspended sentence

— later squashed on appeal. Both the Murrays had been 'in trouble with the police' before, and the police had been in trouble with Ronan Stenson. Both Noel and Marie Murray were active anarchists. But what made the police single these three out from all the other people of similar background, only the police can say.

The three were initially interrogated separately. Stenson was beaten with a hammer and a nylon rope, as well as the 'normal' methods of fist beatings, humiliation and intimidation. When he had 'confessed' he was taken to Curragh Military Prison where the army doctor, who examined him on admission noted that he had extensive bruising on various parts of his body. He was refused any independent medical examination.

The Murrays were similarly treated, Marie finally 'confessing' verbally after 18 hours, having been put in the cell next to Noel's where she could hear him being tortured. She was told that he would be killed if she did not confess, Noel is said to have made a verbal confession.

Ronan Stenson was so badly tortured that although he was put on trial with the Murrays they had to stop the case against him and transfer him to the prison hospital, where he is to this day, nine months after his arrest, still unfit for trial.

Stenson and the Murrays were brought before the Dublin Special Criminal Court for their trial. In this court the case is not decided by a jury of twelve ordinary people, but by three judges appointed by the government (one of whom had already tried Noel Murray some years before for another offence). At the trial the main evidence was the 'confessions'. The Special Court refused to believe there was any torture, maintaining this belief by refusing to allow the defence to produce any evidence to support their claim. The condition of Ronan Stenson must have made this pretence even more difficult, and the abandoning of his trial due to ill-health was inevitable.

The defence was not only hampered from producing any evidence on any major point, but the defendants were not permitted to be present at all for a large part of the trial, including when the verdicts and sentences were given. (Marie Murray did attempt to make the customary statement before sentence of death, but the judges would not allow even that.

The Special Criminal Court was set up in 1939 to hear cases involving large paramilitary organisations, specifically the I.R.A., to "prevent intimidation of the jury". (It appears more likely that the major fear was not so much intimidation as the large number of people sympathetic to the I.R.A., who, if serving on a jury, might vote for acquittal; also the amount of evidence offered by the prosecution would not be enough to convince the average jury).

The Irish Government are using the court, which has no jury, and which was set up to deal with the I.R.A., to try three people who have no connection with the I.R.A., and to sentence them to death, in order to show how tough they are getting with the



Marie McPhillips

I.R.A.

The Murrays appealed against the conviction and the sentence to the Appeal Court but predictably the appeal was turned down. There is a further appeal to the Supreme Court on November 1st, and so the date of execution has been deferred until after this last appeal. The chances of winning an appeal to the Supreme Court are remote.

**WE ACCUSE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT OF:-**

1. OBTAINING CONFESSIONS BY TORTURE and then trying to pretend these confession are real, and trying to hide the facts by refusing any independent medical examinations and trying to prosecute the press for reporting on allegations of torture.
2. DENYING THE MURRAYS A FAIR TRIAL for a serious crime, instead condemning them with three government appointed agents who did not even hear (or maybe did not need to hear) all the evidence.
3. CONDEMNING THEM TO DEATH. Not for the crime they are actually accused of, but because of the general unrest that exists in Ireland, and in order to further their own political ambitions by appearing to be 'taking a tough line.'

**PUBLIC MEETING:-** Conway Hall, Small Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, 10th September — 7pm.

Please send what financial assistance you can manage to:- Murray Defence Group (London) Box 2, Rising Free, 138/142 Drummond Street, London N.W.1.

## ROON 'N' ABOUT (continued from page 4)

seeming to be fearless by libelling people who *appear* prominent but have no money or power (how they love getting a parson on the hop, for instance!)

How easy it is to utter a string of attacks (true, false? ho knows?) and someone's a spoilsport if they protest, and a confessed whatever-it-is if they protest, and a confessed whatever-it-is if they don't! One can't help thinking with a sigh how the great Lola Montez solved the problem... no Fund was set up for her... she laid into her traducer with a horsewhip and announced to the Press, "I made Mr. Secamp, decamp."



# REVIEW

## Book Review

**THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT: FIRST OF MAY GROUP.** (A study of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-73 with particular reference to the First of May Group). Edited by Albert Meltzer, Cienfuegos Press Ltd., £1.35 post free.

Though many would have us believe that the anarchist resistance in Spain died with 'El Quico' Sabate (gunned down in 1960 by Militia and Guardia Civil) other anonymous men and women were even then taking up the struggle. Within a month of Sabate's death the DRIL (Revolutionary Directorate of Iberian Liberation, later to develop into the Iberian Liberation Council - CIL) was formed to co-ordinate the resistance against tyranny in Spain and Portugal. The anarchist movement established a two-fold struggle: a movement for workers councils led by the FOI (Federacion Obrera Iberica - the internal name of a pro-CNT grouping), which aimed at the reconstruction of the CNT, and a 'rearguard' of armed fighters to defend the workers' movement in reconstruction from the attacks of the State.

The international support which this activity attracted led (in 1962) to the setting up of a secret organisation, the DI (Internal Defence), to better co-ordinate the clandestine resistance breaking through the years of ignorance of the existence of international anarchist activity (one by-product being the infusion of libertarian ideas into the nationalist and clerical dominated Basque liberation movement). The bridgehead between the era of Sabate and the modern resistance movement was established by the appearance of a group fighting under the traditional banner of international working class solidarity - the First of May Group. It marked the reawakening of resistance to the growing repression of private and state capital throughout the world; the birth of an International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement.

Once the class struggle was seen simply as a fight between capitalism and communism, in the 1930s and 40s it was translated into the twin poles of dictatorship (fascism and state communism), and until the late 1950s presented as a series of wars between rival power-blocks. Today, in the post-Vietnam consensus of 'detente', it can more clearly be recognised as a struggle waged by the rulers of the world (who have united their common interests of power and privilege) against the people - between the State and anarchism.

It is this which explains the collaboration and international police conspiracy which has resulted amongst other things in a Labour Government in Britain allowing French police to raid the homes of Franco's opponents in London, arrests

and expulsions of sympathisers of the Spanish resistance living in France, and the recent series of summit meetings between the Home secretaries and Interior Ministers of Britain, France and Germany to better perfect the technique of exterminating dissent in their respective countries.

In order to explain away the corresponding resistance which this international repression has brought upon itself, many politicians ask us to accept the 'conspiracy theory of history' - that all revolts are the work of a small (and allegedly crazed) band of conspirators - which is precisely how they climbed to power. They choose to ignore (even if they realise) that revolutions stem from popular discontent and that everyone is a potential revolutionary.

The actions of the First of May Group serve to illustrate the real nature of armed resistance in the context of the class struggle. As with Sabate and an earlier generation of guerrillas in Spain, the new generation clearly realised the limitations as well as the possibilities of their activities. That it was the working class who would make the revolution, not they. Their role, as urban guerrillas was to defend the people in retreat from attack, be prepared to meet the repression of the class struggle by the State with armed resistance, and (in particular circumstances) act as a detonator for future rebellions and revolutions:

*"We do not believe in miraculous solutions, nor in the mere educative value of example - we believe in the effectiveness of action when it responds to certain conditions which give it meaning, and a consistent ideological and tactical line."*

(1st May Group, 10/3/68).

*The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement represents the broadening resistance to an international state conspiracy, a general resurgence of revolutionary anarchism which has characterised the post-war years, and distinguishes itself from the ossified organisations in exile on one hand and the radical 'hippie' and pacifist movements of non-resistance (masquerading as a new libertarian movement) on the other. If anarchism abandons its only possible vocation; its combativeness in the struggle for revolution, if it is content to reminisce about the past or to vegetate into bureaucracy, it will lack a final objective and, as it lacks mystical roots, it could not survive as a sect - it would be of no practical use to any social grouping be their needs material or spiritual."*

(1st May Group, p.28)

This study of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement also explains the emergence of such groups as the Angry Brigade in Britain, the Red Army Faction in Germany, and the ETA in the Basque country, who while not specifically labelling themselves anarchist clearly express this rediscovery of libertarian activism. It shows that "the call for revolution has gone through Europe. Never again will it lie down before the attacks of fascists, vigilantes or secret police. It is not even confined to one revolutionary ideology. It is not a conspiracy. It is a movement that may prove to be irresistible."

Phil Ruff.

**THE AUDEN GENERATION: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930s.**

Samuel Hynes (Bodley Head £6.50).

The rough outline of the thirties myth is that during the thirties the "intellectuals" rallied round to Left Wing causes. What "intellectuals?"

Looking through Professor Hynes' carefully researched account one finds no major writers. Isherwood, Auden, MacNeice, Spender - who read them? Graham Greene and George Orwell are brought in, but they were peripheral to the group and only subsequently became widely read (in Orwell's case, posthumously).

The "literary generation" of which the book speaks does not consist of best-selling writers - some of whom were also highly politically conscious, one of the best known being Ethel Mannin who does not even get a mention. Perhaps the clique were good poets - but during their period poetry became so esoteric that it vanished from the public ken for want of standards. The only evaluation of their work is by fellow members of their circle; critical acclaim passed around the Old Boy network. To proclaim them as typical of a generation, as the generation itself, was a piece of Communist Party propaganda. They were used to create a myth. Some of them lived to become ashamed of it, and so they created another myth.

The Russian situation under the Tsar had produced an "intelligentsia" which was clearly defined - namely, the products of the university at a time of Westernisation, struggling against the "Asiatic barbarism of Russia" (as it was put - so that (roughly speaking) to be educated meant to be progressive and "patriotic" (in the old sense of the word), to be for the modernisation of the country (at least) and for reforms, captured by the need to enter the civil service and succumb to the prevailing lethargy. The "professional revolutionaries" which were Lenin's ideal could "intervene" in the workers' struggle, since the workers were "in themselves incapable of more than a trade union ideology" and lead them to "power". They would come from "the intelligentsia" (typical of what came was John Strachey, "the English Lenin" who finished up as Attlee's Minister of Food).

This policy - like so much more - was blindly applied, out of all remote context, to every country, including England where the workers were far in advance ideologically of the university and the party.

It is no coincidence that the "intelligentsia" (which meant the small minority grouping that was to take the place of the Russian intelligentsia) were homosexual or bisexual, and already belonged to a tightly-knit network, a mutual admiration society. One by one they drew each other into the Communist Party network - many (like Spender) protesting while they did so - others protesting, that they were "bourgeois intellectuals" and so what? - but in they went too.

Their literary value was exaggerated by the masonic-type network of reviewers who also wrote novels and poetry that nobody read; influenced by the reviewers, the libraries bought them and put them on the shelves, unread. But in the end myth became reality of sorts for Victor Gollancz



— super salesman and fellow-travelling communist (until 1939 when he plumped for Judaism, Christianity and liberalism, not a mixture, but all three separately) — built up the Left Book Club as a sort of commercial-political side to the Popular Front.

Its success lay in the corralling of vast numbers of middle class people, with the Liberal Party in ruins, the ILP reduced to sectarianism and working class sectarianism at that, and Commonwealth not yet formed to pick the rump, to take possession of the working class movement. The latter never recovered from the defeat of 1926; it was dormant, and the CP deliberately smashed what remained of it with a campaign designed to let it be superseded by, at last, a stooge working class, an odd few here or there, no longer a mass, but representatives, led by a Russian-type “intelligentsia.”

Prof. Hynes does not spell this out, but it can be seen quite easily from his account. What was only a literary periphery became political importance not because of its challenge to fascism with which it was obsessed, but because of the way it helped the Communist Party “write the working class out of history.”

Spain disillusioned most of them though here the journalists of today perpetuate a new myth. For it was in Spain some of them saw the Communist Party, in hard practice, under the pretence of the anti-fascist struggle, attack the working class because it did not worship at their altars. Orwell, for instance, did not despair in the sense that he saw the struggle as pointless (as some now try to say): he saw the point of the struggle alright, what he rejected was the CP which appeared in the role of a fascist party, (yet the disillusion was very much that for a former love). Others of course, retained their old illusions throughout . . . forty years on, turned a full circle politically so far as the CP is concerned, but still repeat the slanders of yesteryear, which they picked up in passing from their Stalinist days . . . Richard Bennett (reviewing books in the Telegraph) is a superb illustration, with a passing reference to the way the Anarchists — during the Civil War — gaily left the front for the weekends to “live it up with their women” (revealing phrase), something patently impossible unless they “paired” with the fascists like British MPs. The story was symptomatic of the post-Stalinist hangover that has affected the academics.

Professor Hynes has written painstakingly and entertainingly not about “the Auden generation” — as he thinks — but about “the Auden conspiracy”.

The wheel has come a full circle. The working class is out of practical politics and the University dominates an imitation Left.

The survivors of the group huddle in campuses still an esoteric literary circle, still extolling each other's talents, still a cult of their own, but now deploring the excessive radicalism of the new left.

A. Meltzer.

## THE MOSQUITO KNOWS

D.H. Lawrence

*The mosquito knows full well, small as he is he's a beast of prey.*

*But after all he only takes his bellyful, he doesn't put my blood in the bank.*

## THE LIE FACTORY

*We dealt in previous issues with Objections to Anarchism — and also with “Snipe” attacks on Anarchism. In this article we join the two: it is not exactly a book review (the books are unobtainable as far as we know). It is a case history into how the “case against Anarchism” is manufactured.*

“Lean Men” by Ralph Bates was written in July 1934 and is long out of print (it was a Penguin in 1938, in two volumes, now rare). The book deals with workers in Barcelona in the last days of the monarchy. Inevitably, it deals largely with “the fierce internecine struggle between the workers adhering to the CNT, the revolutionary syndicalist movement, in which the dominating philosophy was Anarchism, and the minority belonging to the UGT, the constitutional socialist organisation of trade unions, whose principal strength was in Madrid and the Biscayan provinces.”

The U.G.T., was “forever pleading for co-operation with the employers . . . and had even entered the Council of State set up by the dictatorship.” The CNT though was “ceaselessly and with magnificent spirit battling against their employers.” That is the setting of the book. But there is one snag. The hero, yes, hero! of the book is a Comintern agent, sent to intervene in the struggle, create a Communist Party out of nothing, and to destroy the main workers organisation. The author Ralph Bates, glamourises and clearly identifies with the (English) hero — there are some parallels with his life.

In this well written, but deceitful book there are to be found most of the lies that were levelled against the CNT up to this day, interspersed with some historic facts little known here then, or now. The patience and level-headedness of the fictional Comintern agent make sad reading when one recalls George Orwell's account of how these same agents came to fruition in this same setting.

The main argument used by Mr. Charing (the Comintern agent) and clearly underlined by Ralph Bates, is the pacifist one also used by the social democrats and apparently by the Stalinists too when it suits their purpose. The anarchists are responsible for the fights between police and workers (as if the Spanish police ever needed an excuse for repression), and the “guilt rests upon the consciences of those evil teachers who deluded the workers with impossible doctrines.” They “fastened their hold” upon the syndicates — which the CP would never do! — “and drew the pistol in the struggle . . . if we strike back against the State we demean ourselves, we become anarchists . . . we give excuse for fresh opposition . . .” (Difficult to see, then, how they differed from the UGT. But it barely existed in Barcelona).

This theme, that the anarchists are violent men and provoke oppression by the police, is reiterated; and — though the socialists are condemned for their collaboration — it is emphasised that the militancy of the anarchists is harmful to the best interests of the workers. The Moscow cell tries to control and to smash the unions: “an attack was projected in an editorial appointment on Solidaridad Obrera, the anarcho-syndicalist daily, shortly to emerge from compulsory retirement. It really appeared as if the tempo of the movement was getting too fast, it

might even have to be retarded a little.” (the more things change . . .!) “It was good Bolshevism never to let enthusiasm outrun practical necessity. Everything should be held back until it was vitally necessary or perfectly opportune.”

How did anarchism “this sad business” begin? Here we have the Comintern agent's explanation: “The workers, desperate in their misery, accepted the first doctrine of revolt that came their way, seizing upon it, believing it, thinking it, dreaming it, in sorrow and anguish pining for a nobler order of society. That doctrine was anarchism. ‘Let us destroy all law for it is weighted against us. Let us raze the State to the ground for it is the servant of kings and priests and capitalists. Let us acknowledge no man master, no bonds, no moralities, for no man is good enough to be master nor do the workers need bonds.’ This was the dream.”

The dream had to be destroyed for clearly this could not apply to the law and order of the omnipotent State with its new masters, its new bonds and moralities — that was the aim that kept the Comintern man going! Ralph Bates portrays him as an idealist and an altruist. Then read “Homage to Catalonia” or Victor Serge and see him in reality!

\* \* \* \* \*

The other was published as a sci-fi paperback in New York. It is “Anarchaos” by Curt Clark — a pulp novel of the kind you pick up in exchange bookshops — who knows whether it is in print or not? But this is one with a difference: it is the story of “a world where nothing was illegal, the only crime was to be killed.” The story of an “anarchist” planet, where “72% of world visitors . . . disappeared without trace . . . where anarchy was the only law.”

It is Anarchism, as seen through Fascist eyes. Maybe Clark is not a Fascist — and has just picked up the arguments (many of the objections to anarchism are picked up, from communist or fascist or liberal sources, and treated as original). But the arguments are a perfect example of the Nazi views on anarchism — and fairly presented. It is not, to them, a “dream.” It is a hard reality — but one which they intensely dislike. They know that the State could be dispensed with — but they find it intolerable and perhaps frightening to live without authority above them.

The doctrines of Bakunin — which had “slept for several centuries in well-earned oblivion” were resurrected by Anarchaos. Anarchism called upon the “noblest elements of human nature as the bedrock of society, a call which is itself noble but not entirely realistic.” “The first generation on Anarchaos didn't do too badly . . . but of course they had been trained on other worlds and understood discipline and group effort, those two hallmarks of government” but the second generation “growing up with no influence but anarchism” hived off into “syndicates which ran the factories, and the farms, the schools and transport systems” according to the “naive” ideas of the anarchists, at which point the “off worlders” moved in bearing a remarkable likeness to none other than the Elders of Zion from an earlier attempt at science fiction and without anyone realising it, “the syndicates . . . were quietly and unofficially taken over by foreign corporations and soon the economic — if not the



political structure of Anarchaos was in the hands of profit-seekers who directed operations from grand offices light years away . . . for Anarchaos is a rich world . . . trapping and mining are the two primary occupations, the former done by rugged individualists out in the wilds, the latter done by slaves captured by roaming press gangs and sold to the mining syndicates."

This lasted 87 years "the longest running planet-wide madhouse in the history of the human face" until finally the hero manages to blow up the kind of invisible government and let the rest of the planet stew in its own juice and finally collapse.

By the use of fictional cover, artful and malicious accusations can be made without any justification, which pass into acceptance — sometimes as if they were really fact (for years people quoted William Golding's "Lord of the Flies" as if that was enough to disprove the possibility of a free society). Such an "off world" dictatorship could not possibly exist in a free society. The very reason governments came into existence in the first place was in order to enable "slaves to be captured by roaming press gangs". That is the stuff of government. "The State began with the crack of the slave-driver's whip." It would be impossible to divorce the economic from the political so that exploiters (not expressly designated as capitalists — perhaps the author is thinking of "financiers" with its more sinister connotations to the fascist mind) could not exist and penetrate the free unions — but have no powers of enforcement for there was no political structure to back them up! This caricature of life on the planet "Anarchaos" would be absurd but for one thing: it is the classic Nazi type objection to anarchism and it has been passed off — with the type of objection by Ralph Bates, and many others — as factual.

So far as the average journalist is concerned, Bakunin might well sleep in "deserved oblivion"; they pick up their ideas of anarchism from dime novels and Comintern agents. All this fiction is put over as if it were recorded fact. You have only to pick up a daily paper to see for yourself that journalists do not take their ideas about anarchism from the books reviewed in their papers, or even from the reviews themselves. But they will gladly accept the caricature from State agents. At present, in its neurotic obsession with the State, the German Government is labelling as "Anarchist" not only all resistance in Germany, but anything that moves. The world's journalists are tamely obliged to pick this up from German State propaganda, by editorial order in some cases, from sheer lack of having read anything else in others.

## LITTLE AND REMIRO'S SECOND TRIAL (cont/...)

**Russ** I think it is fair to say that the SLA generated more spontaneous support because of the Hearst kidnapping/food give-away-propaganda of the deed — than any revolutionary organisation in this country . . . When we think about what the SLA accomplished, we've got to remember

## NEW ANARCHIST PAPER

From Vancouver comes the first issue of a new libertarian paper, **The Open Road**, which is "designed to reflect the spectrum of international anarchist and anti-authoritarian Left activities and to provide reports and analysis of popular struggles and social problems." It is not the organ of a political organisation, but is produced collectively by anarchists and libertarian leftists of differing viewpoints, who feel their "primary loyalty must be to the social forms created by the revolutionary process itself, not to the political forms created by radicals."

Some of the articles in the magazine, (which has a 'Rolling Stone' type format) are drawn from first-hand accounts based on the personal experiences and interests of the members of the editorial collective, much of the material on national and international developments is based on the printed publications of a number of different organisations.

The layout is good, and compliments the high standard of the articles, which in turn are well illustrated. (The illustrations include two drawings by Flavio Costantini, one of which **The Death of Pinelli**, first appeared as the cover picture of **Black Flag**, the other is a poster-size colour picture of Sabate.) There is an extensive interview with black militant Martin Sostre, in which he relates his personal experiences while in jail on framed-up charges, and his plans now that he has been released following world-wide

*that it was only 10 guerrillas, ten people who took the most powerful state in the world to task. What if it had been 100 or 1000? The fact that our six comrades were killed and four of us are captives is not due to the invincibility of the state, but to our own mistakes and impatience . . . The SLA proved the validity of urban guerrilla warfare as a military/political strategy for furthering the revolutionary struggle . . . Many of the principles of the SLA are shared by other groups, and in that sense the spirit of the SLA will always be carried on, no matter what the name of the group or organisation.*

**Emily** A lot of people in the left feel that the underground is premature — that there are still legal options . . . But we have seen that the people's options are continually being undermined. When their efforts become a threat, they are wiped out, neutralised and are bought off . . . There's been state-sanctioned violence against the people of the U.S. ever since this country was first colonised, and people have been forced to turn to their own form of violence to counter that through history.

**Bill** We never had the sense that the SLA was the vanguard of revolutionary struggle in this country. Ain't no way that a handful of people are going to make a revolution by themselves. But we had a feeling that we were contributing to the process of revolution.

**Joe** When Russ and I joined the SLA we were going through some political changes . . . In reviewing the internal political documents of the SLA, we now see that they contain two contradictory tendencies between authoritarian and anti-authoritarian perspectives . . . For quite a while we were fully disillusioned with the Marxist parties

pressure. One of the other articles is also an interview with members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, who describe the way their political views have shifted and evolved over the last couple of years. Other articles cover the resistance to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Greenpeace, the nature and activities of the American Indian Movement, since Wounded Knee, and more.

A couple of the articles in **The Open Road** are on music, the first on American feminist folk-singer Holly Near, the second an obituary of the late Phil Ochs (whose best known composition is probably 'There but for Fortune,' made famous by Joan Baez). There are also several good book reviews, of which the one on a new book about Spanish anarchist Durruti really stands out.

A short review of the paper doesn't really allow sufficient space to do justice to the care, attention and planning that has gone into the production of **The Open Road**, especially as many of the articles merit individual reviews of their own. It's all summed up neatly in Walt Whitman's **Song of the Open Road**, (part of which is reprinted in the first issue) "My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellion."

**Zapatista.**

Subscription Address: The Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. (single issue 40p). Also available from **Black Flag**, c/o Cienfuegos Press at 40p inc. p&p.

*and their sectarian lines, but none of us had been exposed to anarcho-communist theories and practice. Joe and I began to re-examine our relationship to Marxist politics. For the last year we have been reading everything on anarchism that we could get past the prison censors . . . We now feel that all forms of revolutionary organisation should act as a catalyst within the popular movement and should be structured in a way they can be completely absorbed by the popular movement. We not only believe that people have the ability to create a new society, but also that they have the ability to lead themselves. The idea of a new "dictatorship" as the model for a "new" society doesn't come close to what we fight for. We want a revolutionary change, not a shift of power.*

The concluding two paragraphs of the article: SLA: The Background to the Foster Killing, read in part:

*"Russ Little . . . in an autobiographical statement which could well have applied to Joe Remiro as well as to thousands of other sincere youths who progress to revolutionary ideas . . . Little was influenced by Marxist ideas . . . We hope that the keen understanding and courage demonstrated by Little and Remiro at their trial will ultimately bring them to the movement which offers a genuine possibility for realising true social liberation in every aspect of life for every human being — Anarchism."*

Naturally I am very happy to learn from the above statement by Joseph Remiro that my "hope" has come true for both of them. It certainly puts to shame all those who had belittled and attacked them.

**Marcus Graham.**



# THE ANARCHISTS IN LONDON

**The Anarchists in London: 1935-1955**, a memoir of anarchist activity from the mid-thirties to the present day, with appendices on the movement in Scotland and Wales, illustrated, £1.00 (plus 15p p&p).

## **The Man and His Work.**

Albert Meltzer has been described variously, in books ranging from a biography of the actor Sir Lawrence Olivier to one of Buenaventura Durruti as a "trade union official," "boxer," "professor," and "auto-destructive artist." Could anyone believe all to be the same man? And as a matter of fact they aren't.

Born in London in 1920, Albert Meltzer has been a committed anarchist since the age of fifteen. Soon after his becoming involved with the anarchist movement — though perhaps not because of it — Civil War and revolution broke out in Spain, plunging him into building support in Britain for the fighters of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. In 1937 he produced *Struggle*, the first of the many anarchist journals he was later to help produce or edit. During this period he was also engaged in rent strikes and the movement for workers' councils. With the outbreak of the Second World War he worked with Vernon Richards, Marie-Louise Berneri, Tom Brown etc., on the paper *War Commentary*, which later changed its name to *Freedom*.

Throughout the war years he helped edit both *War Commentary* and *Workers in Uniform* and was secretary to the 2nd Anarchist Federation. As a soldier in Egypt at the close of the war he took part in the creation of soldiers' councils in Cairo — a

revolutionary episode, the full story of which still remains to be told.

Albert Meltzer helped to organise the re-constituted London Anarchist Group in the immediate post-war years and formed the Union of Anarchist Groups; became editor of *The Syndicalist* (1953) and, together with Albert Grace and Philip Sansom, formed the Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee, later working with the group publishing *Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review* the people on which later formed *The Black Flag Group*. The return to Britain in September 1967 of Stuart Christie, after serving three and a half years of a 20 year prison sentence in Spain for involvement in an attempt on the life of Franco, led to the formation of the Anarchist Black Cross. The ABC and Black Flag Group combined forces soon after, publishing the monthly *Bulletin of the A.B.C.*, which changed its name to *Black Flag* in 1970. Throughout this period Albert Meltzer has been involved closely with the international activist movement, helping libertarian prisoners throughout the world with the Black Cross as a means of building active international solidarity and an effective activist Anarchist International.

Besides *The Anarchists in London 1935-55* he has published (with Stuart Christie) *The Floodgates of Anarchy* (an exposition of anarchist ideas) and his more recent work *The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: First of May Group* which provides a detailed study and analysis of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe

from 1945 to the 1970s. In addition he has authored numerous pamphlets including *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China*, *The Bonnot Gang*, *The Origins of Workers Councils in Germany*, as well as keeping up a continuous flow of articles in numerous libertarian journals throughout the world and an unbroken record of public speaking spanning forty years.

Albert Meltzer is without doubt one of the most controversial and outstanding figures in the British anarchist movement today. *The Anarchists in London* rescues half a century of anarchist activity from obscurity, providing the first inside story of its victories, defeats and unknown heroes. After more than forty years of struggle he is still in the front line. In his own words: "There is something to be said for a sectarian."

As a special offer to readers of *Black Flag* we are offering both *The Anarchists in London 1935-55* and *The Russian Tragedy* by Alexander Berkman (£1.50 + 15p) at the special pre-publication price of £2.00. All cash orders received prior to mid-September will be honoured at the above price.

(Alexander Berkman's work *The Russian Tragedy* was written immediately after leaving Russia in 1921. The book contains a detailed publishing history, an historical introduction and the three original works: *The Russian Tragedy*, *The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party*, *The Kronstadt Rebellion*. Jacket design Flavio Costantini, 140pp, £1.50p.)

(full reviews of both titles will appear in next issue).

**please help us continue our publication programme by ordering copies of the above two titles for yourselves and through your local library.**

**The Essential Kropotkin** ed. by Emile Capouya and Keitha Tompkins (Macmillan £2.95).

The writings of Kropotkin suffered, even during his lifetime, from cheap abridgements — since he was always writing for the people, and had to cut down "to the size of a Penny Pamphlet." Publishers in the main have produced his works in ill-prepared editions. This selection from his writings is well chosen, and serves to highlight the many inadequacies of publications of his works in the past — since one finds passages here in anthology which one often does not find in editions of the (alleged) whole.

Though the passages are well chosen, one wonders why two scholars were necessary to choose them — presumably not much more is involved than the typing, and its doubtful if they did it — while the introduction has some curious passages which suggest they have not read Kropotkin, or indeed anarchism, as widely as they might. They might too have explained how some terms — collectivist, for instance, above all, communist, have altered their meanings so drastically as to make nonsense of what the writer is saying if taken in their present meaning.

But at his best Kropotkin is so clear and concise as to make it possible to take out from his writings any passage, at random, and find him lucid and imaginative. But especially on law and authority — when it can be seen how far we have gone on the authoritarian road and how clearly Kropotkin warned against it. He deserves to be read — and published — in extenso.

**All titles reviewed in *Black Flag* are available through the Cienfuegos Press Mail Order bookservice.**

## **Answers to Anarcho-Quiz**

1. The Nazis dug up his family tree and revealed that the supposedly aristocratic



UNITY MITFORD

2. The Hon. Miss Unity Mitford — perhaps envying her sister's marrying the British Fascist leader but a fascist herself from girlhood — entered into a determined assault on Herr Hitler's notorious indifference to women. She was encouraged by some elements in the Nazi Party who thought it might "normalise" Adolf's sex life and be a diplomatic move if he married an English aristocrat. Unfortunately, the Fuehrer lost his nerve at the vital moment and took refuge in his bedroom. Unity came hammering on the door not knowing the guards had orders to shoot to kill anyone who approached by night.
3. They joined a group owning and printing

- "The Word" and the Scottish Typographical Association (under an "all male" ruling) forbade its trade typesetters (and any other union firm) to set up type for it any longer ... because of the two women working on it.
4. "Little more than a crown."
5. Exiled to New California after the Paris Commune, Louise Michel, the Anarchist pioneer, found it easier to introduce civilisation to the headhunting Kanakas than to the headhunting ("Centre") reactionaries of France.
6. Lucy Parsons (1853-1942), born in Texas of black, Indian and Mexican parentage, was probably born into slavery, but would never discuss the matter with reporters as "A revolutionary's personal life is insignificant," she said. A book on her life will, nevertheless appear this year in the USA. (Lucy Parsons: *American Revolutionary*, by Carolyn Ashbaugh).



# LETTER

Dear Comrades,

There was an article in the "Flag" a short while ago titled "Anti-fascism" which dealt with the futility of staging confrontations with such as the National Front on issues like immigration, which is of course their strongest point. This to us was real common sense, and we follow that line. The point is that these continual demonstrations over immigration (of which Blackburn has more than its fair share) seem to be creating two kinds of feelings among the average Blackburn working class, (both white and coloured). One is a feeling of anger against demonstrators on *both sides*, who they accuse of using the situation to their own advantages, and who try to turn Blackburn into a battle ground. The other is a tendency to treat the demonstrations as a new form of Roman Games, and go down to watch in the hope of seeing a big "punch-up". On the occasion of the last demonstration the pubs did a roaring trade and there was far more than the average number of drunks in the town centre looking for trouble with all and sundry. This is the kind of situation that is being fed by these demonstrations, and we feel that it is not only useless but damaging.

The anti-racialist demonstrations themselves seem very strange to us. They are chiefly organised by state communists, and are backed by people like the labour, liberal and tory parties, reactionary trade union officials, clergymen! general do-gooders etc., etc., — very strange bed-fellows! They also seem to be generously supplied with funds, often donated by massive capitalist business concerns . . .

We also appreciate what you wrote concerning the Work Ethic. The notion which is expounded so much at present that the revolution will be achieved by "dropping out" and living on the state we find ludicrous and annoying. Annoying because it is often expounded by ex-students who have spent a number of years getting themselves educated at the workers expense, and who then proceed to live on welfare benefits which are financed by the workers contributions. Only last Monday we were told by one of this type that the way to bring about the revolution was for everybody to "goof-off at work". Strange philosophy! One wonders what would happen if say, a surgeon decided to "goof-off" in the middle of a delicate operation! Personally we feel, that the revolution, when it does come, will have to be fought for — and we will also have to fight to defend it.

Our definition of the Work Ethic is

that work is "Man's use of himself as a means to make or produce something which men and women must have in order to continue to be." Houses or dwellings do not build themselves, clothes do not make themselves, food does not prepare itself etc. Therefore work is not really a curse but rather a way of life. The idea that work is a curse comes from the days when a "lady" was supposed to have lilywhite hands, and a "gentleman" would never allow himself to be found doing a pice of labour. The days when priests idled and the aristocracy busied themselves with games while "Adam delved and Eve span."

It is not work itself, but rather the conditions of work, which we feel should be changed. Early retirement, shorter hours, fluidity of labour, improved conditions, better reward etc., all these we are in favour of, and seek to attain. We are opponents of mass production systems which we feel tend to de-humanise. But we cannot visualise a world in which nobody works at all — such a world we feel, is, and probably always will be, impossible to achieve.

T.H.  
Blackburn.

## WORLD NEWS

### CHILE

New evidence has come to light showing that IWW member Frank Teruggi was deliberately murdered by a Chilean army officer, after he had been heavily tortured and subjected to electric shock treatment. Frank, an economics student, studying in Chile and working for a radical translation service was arrested in 1973, nine days after the military coup that overthrew Allende. Four days later his body riddled with 17 bullets was found in a back alley — only hours after the Chilean government claim to have released him.

Imprisoned with Frank was a Belgian official working for a government development corporation, who has now filed a sworn affidavit that he witnessed Frank's torture, and alleging that he was machine-gunned to death because his torturers went too far.

(source: Industrial Worker)

### POLAND — the turn of the screw

Since the food riots that took place at the start of the summer news has been trickling out of Poland of reprisals taken by the state against Polish workers who took part in anti-government demonstrations. *Freedom* (21/8/76) carries a detailed report of the street fighting in the town of Radom during which as many as 17 people were killed and hundreds more injured. Although the Polish government is trying to suppress information about the imprisonment of the workers, the names of seven of the people convicted for their part in derailing the train near the Ursus tractor factory, Warsaw, are

now known. They are:—

Mirosław Chmielewski (21), Grzegorz Zielonka (32), Eugeniusz Dziela (30), Czesław Milczarek (27) — all workers at the factory. Józef Jaworski (29), a kiosk vendor; Mirosław Karbowisk (22) unemployed; and Wojciech Czarnecki (35). Letters of protest, especially from trade union members, maybe helpful, and can be sent to: The Polish Embassy, 19 Weymouth St., London W.1.

Edward Gierak, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Warsaw.

Mirosław Chmielewski seems to have been singled out for especially harsh treatment, receiving a 5 year prison sentence.

The reasons for the food price increases, which led to the riots, are to be found in the growing strain plays on the Polish economy by the re-payment of large loans made by Western bankers. Polish food consumption is high, and yet the export of food is a major currency earner, and it is in an attempt to free more food products for export that prices have been increased. This being the case the Polish authorities will be sensitive to any attempt to boycott their food products, which are marketed in the UK under the 'Krakus' and 'Polcoop' brand names. Letters demanding the release of the imprisoned workers, and an end to reprisals, sent to the food exporting agencies in Poland, may therefore be especially effective. Two of the largest of these agencies are:

Hortex, ul. Warecka, 11a Warsaw.

Polcoop, ul. Kopernika 30, Warsaw.

Meanwhile in Poland, the government is attempting to create artificial food shortages in an effort to soften up public opinion before

trying once again to raise prices. Sugar is the latest commodity to disappear from the shops. Monday remains a 'meatless' days, and poor quality meat is imported from other Eastern European countries while high grade Polish cattle are slaughtered in Warsaw abattoir before being shipped to Russia.

### ARGENTINA

The military has seized power. Our anarcho-syndicalist comrades of FORA are again driven underground. They had reorganised to the point of being the 4th largest union body in Argentina — a small but determined union challenging the Peronists, Communists and Socialists and surviving the bomb attacks by AAA fascists. Now, again, they are illegal. But organising continues . . . FORA has named IWW Defense Local 2 their contact for Canada and request the aid of our defence network. A bundle of La Protesta got through the mail to us and was distributed. But more money is needed for the underground to continue the battle . . . that money must come from you — even £1 — send it now to G.D.C., P.O. Box 306, Stn. E, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada.

Janosik.