

BLACK FLAG

organ of the
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL III No. 18 MARCH 1975 10p

SHIT! I NEVER THOUGHT MY EVIL DOINGS WOULD PROVOKE INTERNATIONAL OPPOSITION...

...BUT EXCELLENCY, OUR OPPRESSION IS INTERNATIONAL

4 COMRADES ARE IMPRISONED IN SPAIN FOR REORGANISING THE C.N.T. AND...

BAD NEWS EXCELLENCY, MORE STRIKES HAVE BEGUN

AGHR!! WILL THE WORKERS NEVER ACCEPT DEFEAT?

AND, AMONGST 24 OTHER ANARCHISTS IN FRENCH PRISONS, 8 BEGIN A HUNGER STRIKE.

WITH THE CASE AGAINST ALBEROLA FALLING APART, THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ARE OBLIGED TO SET HIM FREE UNTIL THE LONG AWAITED TRIAL BEGINS...

IN A PARIS GAOL OCTAVIO ALBEROLA AWAITS NEWS OF HIS APPEAL FOR PROVISIONAL LIBERTY

ALBEROLA FREE?!

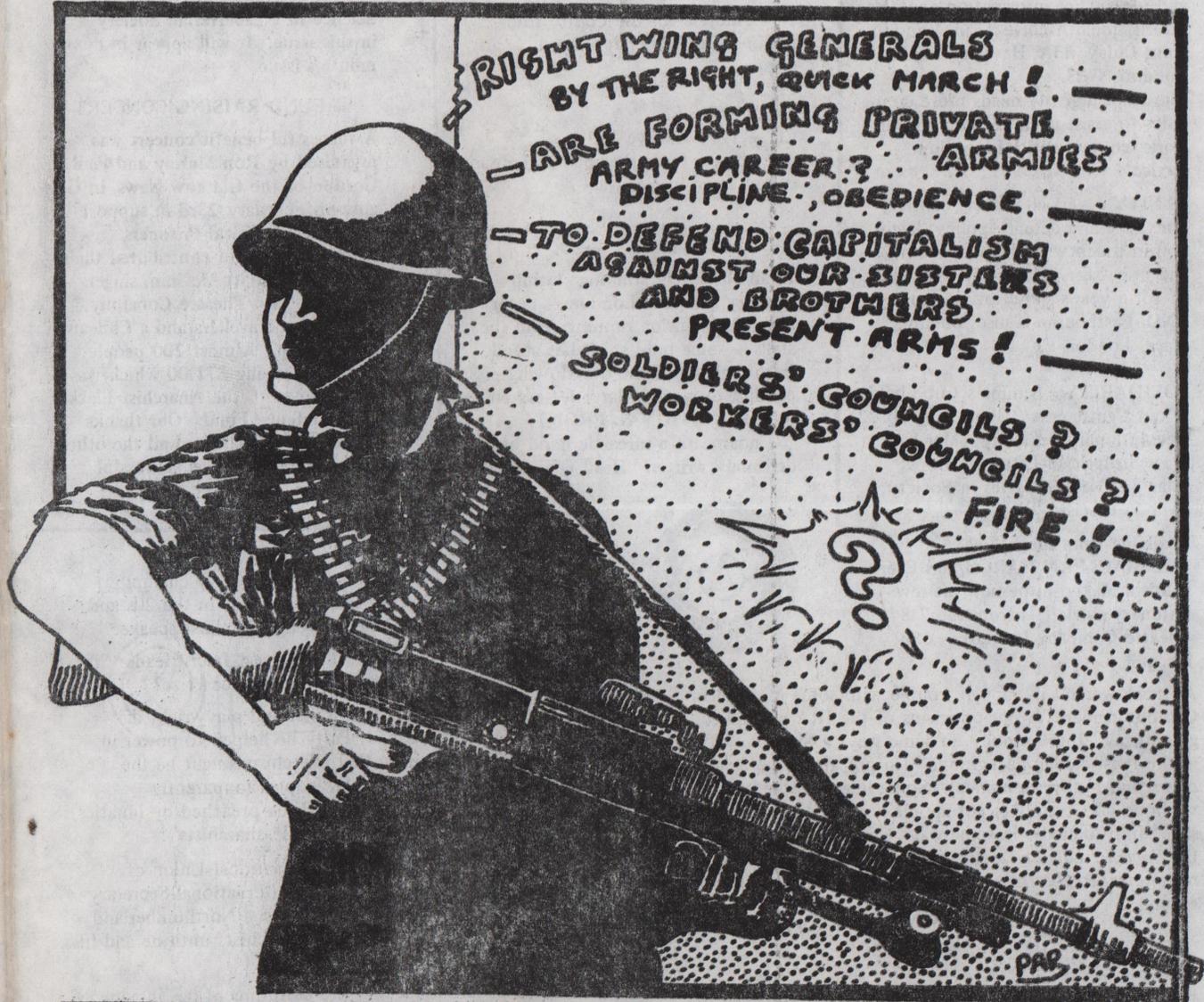
YOU SEIZED THE COLLECTIVISED FACTORIES... SOMEONE PUT THE STOLEN UNION FUNDS IN MY CAR 35 YEARS LATER - NOBODY PAID RANSOM WHOSE IS THE? £250,000?

GASP!

THE STORY CONTINUES...

THE FRANCOIST AUTHORITIES ARE NOT AMUSED...

PAB



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 THE G.A.R.I. (A short account of the facts) / CHAIM RIPPER / ARRESTS IN URUGUAY / LETTERS

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All correspondence to 83a, Haverstock Hill, London NW3.

Tel: (01) 722 1604 Buggers please note!

International Camping in Carrara, Italy. July - August 1975.

Also:

German Libertarian Camp Neulussheim/Baden June - July 1975.

German Anarchist Group wants contact with South American comrades for exchange of information and ideas. For information contact: International Archive Team London, John Olday, 83A, Haverstock Hill, London NW3.

The team urgently needs more comrades to assist us in keeping up our work: contact and information service!

SANITY covers all aspects of the arms race and defence policy; keeps you in touch with threats of war and hopes for peace. 10p per issue, £1 for a year's subscription, from CND, Eastbourne House, Bullards Place, London E2.

SOLIDARITY: Seminars to be held at our Centre Sats 2.30pm - (Feb 22) Revolutionary Sexuality; (Mar 8) Class Struggle in Eastern Europe; (Mar 22) New Struggles in Society; (Apr 5) Fascism.

Available from Black Flag:
THE MACLEAN MARCH/and Every Man's a Maker - the new hit revolutionary single (!) from the 7:84 Theatre Company (stereo) - 65p inc. p + p.

As if we weren't in enough trouble with some of our Irish Catholic readers for our criticisms of the IRA we had to go and say "Jim Connolly, in some ways a Syndicalist, was in the Presbyterian background" (in our article on *Anarchism and the Welsh miners*). Some lines vanished and we hope no Green liner got apoplexy . . . we meant to say, "Jim Connolly, in some ways a Syndicalist, was in the Socialist Labour Party - though for Belfast he recommended the ILP with its Scottish Presbyterian background".

* * *

Pedriani Belgrado, the Carrara anarchist who has been in prison since the time of the Resistance, has been "pardoned" by the President of the Republic and has therefore been released from Parma Prison in which he had almost finished his sentence. He has not however been released into the outside world, rather he was immediately transferred to the workhouse at Castelfranco Emilia where he will have to serve another three years.

G.T.

POSTERS: Beautiful laminated poster "PYRAMID" (The great are only great . . .) by Costantini. £1 post free - in aid of our various funds - from Bill Poster, Cienfuegos Press, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3.

AFTER BALANCE SHEET

"A small gathering was held in the evening of December 7th at the home of a comrade in San Francisco. From the general contribution, we decided to send \$50 to Black Flag.

L.M.

New Address for the Centre International De Recherches Sur L'Anarchisme:-
C.I.R.A.

Case postale 51

CH - 1211 Geneve 13.

The library, formerly open at Lausanne is now open in Geneva.

LIKE IT?

In an absolutely stinking station lavatory in North London - never cleaned, the urine running from the stalls - some bold spirit has stood in the middle of the overflowing piss conduit to write in large letters on the wall NATIONAL FRONT.

Underneath a sarcastic hand has delicately written "Head Office?"



ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Which amateur heavyweight boxer (Navy champion) became editor of several Anarchist papers in the 20s and 30s and a well known "Red Clyde" Anarchist speaker?
2. Why did he once (ironically) suggest fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley should get the Nobel Peace Prize?
3. Which popular English novelist and playwright disillusioned with the Labour Party he helped to power in 1945 conceived the idea that anarchism might be the answer "for ordinary sensible people" (apparently believing it had heretofore only been preached by lunatics) and launched his idea of "the gentle anarchists"?
4. Which former President of the National Union of Mineworkers, miners M.P., Miners' International Secretary and president of the TUC, came from a Northumberland mining family all of whom were anarchists until he and his brother broke the tradition?
5. Some people think that the Government has introduced the "deportation to Northern Ireland" provisions in the IRA anti-Terrorist Bill in order to produce a situation where for instance, the Government could clamp down on a major strike say in Glasgow and deport the "ringleaders" to another British city though no question of terrorism (perhaps fear of revolution) existed. Would they be right or wrong?

answers on page 15

COMMENTARY

ARE YOU PREPARED TO DIE FOR THEM?

One more of the huge paid ads for Army Officers that are issued under the name of Major J.R. Drew and represent the ultimate in hypocrisy asks how you would feel "if it came to it" about "dying for anything".

How would you feel if you were handed a voting paper with just one name on it? (There are two as a rule)

What would you say if your dad was bundled into a truck and sent to a labour camp in some remote part of Europe? (Or Northern Ireland)

Would you stay silent if one of our poets was sent to an asylum for being crazy enough to knock the system?

(Not only has this happened several times, as an Army officer you would be powerless to comment).

And, last question, would you risk your life to stop it happening?

As an Army officer you would have no opportunity to do anything about it. It is true that you might, if the enemy happened to be a country in which these things also happened, and perhaps to a worse degree, be able to risk your life in fighting that enemy. But you would have no chance in seeing those abuses were stopped. You could fight against Hitler Germany because it was at war with us, and feel (if you chose) that you did so because people were tortured in its prisons. There is no way as an Army officer you can stop people being tortured in modern German prisons. On the contrary, you have given up your rights even to think about it.

During the Second World War an artful propaganda trick suggested that one fought the enemy because of his ideology. Some to this day say that as Hitler was fascist, Churchill must have been an anti-fascist! (Not however that because of his role in the First World War that he was an anti-Monarchist or anti-Militarist). Now this trick is picked up by the latest gimmicky Army adverts. All the questions are based on the assumption we would be at war with Russia. But supposing we went to war with Russia against China? Or against America? Or against France, our "oldest enemy"? We are at war with - certainly in - a section of the United Kingdom. Can the Army Officer say he only joined up to prevent the Russians being dictatorial? And what success have they had so far?

ONWARD CONSCRIPT SOLDIERS . . .

On the same day that 6,000 workers marched through the streets of London calling for the release from gaol of the "Shrewsbury Two", and calls for a general strike were being voiced, the Times (14.1.75) devoted its editorial to a commentary of another demonstration.

This time it was a demonstration of 300 French conscript soldiers in Karlsruhe (W. Germany) - the second such protest since September when conscripts demonstrated in Dragnignan - protesting at conditions in the army. Both incidents according to the Times draw attention ". . . to the problem of maintaining discipline in a conscript army in peacetime within an increasingly permissive liberal democratic society."

Discipline is central to all organised State violence, it is the basis for the unquestioning chain of command and obey. Above all a soldier must not think. His biggest crime is to ask the question "why?" And so the Times,

seeing soldiers asking that very question discusses the "reliability" of soldiers who think for themselves:

" . . . if they insist on holding demonstrations, writing pamphlets and forming trade unions, can they be trusted to fight, or to carry out other military duties when ordered to do so? The question becomes especially pertinent if the army is called on to undertake tasks related to internal security, such as anti-terrorist operations or the maintenance of essential services during a strike."

The importance of having a disciplined military machine at its command increases for the ruling class during any period of intensified class struggle. The Times obviously recognises this fact very well, drawing attention as it does to the political purpose for which an army is maintained. If the soldiers of that army happen to be conscripts, and became soldiers because they were forced to by the state rather than out of any desire to follow in the footsteps of John Wayne, then the ruling class whom they protect are less certain that THEY won't be the target when the order is given to fire.

In order to get over this problem of 'unreliable' protectors the ruling class in Britain (who have been longer at the game than most) force an extra wedge between soldiers and the working people from amongst whom they were recruited. 'Professionalism'. As much as possible the state tries to persuade military recruits that they are a specially privileged group within society - protecting their families and friends still in the working class (and deliberately confused with "nation"), but separate from them (in status) by virtue of their uniform. Once ordinary soldiers start realising that they have more in common with the working class than the "brass" spewing out orders from above, then no matter how loud the order-givers scream, the chain will have been broken and they will be slipping into the wind.

Any revolution will ultimately be successful only if the armed forces protecting the state machine are won over, or at least neutralised to the extent of refusing to fire on their brother workers. When the 6,000 workers calling for the release of two imprisoned pickets start calling for the destruction of capitalism, and their hopes of a general strike become reality, the question of whether or not the soldiers sent against them still retain the ability to think for themselves will be crucial. French soldiers are demonstrating that they still retain that ability. Let the soldiers in Britain and Ireland learn from their example.

Amazing how the right wing Labour M.P.s always retain a soft spot for the Communist Party in Spain. (Not so amazing when you realise how they hate the idea of a revolutionary trade union movement) wrote Maurice Edelman MP in the Evening News.

"La Pasionaria was the great Communist orator who stood on the barricades and rallied the demoralised troops" . . . I wonder when this happened? Dolores Ibarruri was certainly a "great Communist orator" - though it is questionable how far her speeches conducted to rather than combatted demoralisation in the Spanish War - but never exactly one standing on the barricades.

For the past thirty years "La Pensionaria" - as she is now known - has been broadcasting from Moscow.

TROTS WHA HAE

The first public meeting of the Workers Socialist League was held on January 24th. Soon after its monthly Socialist Press was launched. Thus yet another Trotskyist party, claiming to be the party of the workers, is born and left bookshop browsers will be puzzled as to which Brand X (Socialist Press, Socialist Workers, Workers Press, etc., etc) they really want. . . all dealing with the same issues in the same or similar presentation with an identical slant, and only differing in that they all misrepresent each other's policies ("revisionist groups . . . always seek to leave out the fact that . . ." "forget to notice . . ." "have deliberately ignored" "never take into account what Marx/Lenin/Trotsky said in . . .")

The WSL is a break off from the WRP which was once the SLL. It is led by Alan Thornett who is said to be a shop steward and it is well known in the trot circles that one shop steward plus one theoretician equals the recipe for a new party. As soon as they were expelled from the main body (and few outsiders can deny that the Workers Revolutionary Party is the most serious of the trot parties) all the others were after them. "The WSL leadership was approached by all manner of quacks and charlatans who wanted to abandon Marxism and abandon the struggle for Bolshevism" said WSL co-leader Lister. (see Socialist Press).

It sounds odd when put that way, but Lister is using established trot jargon: what he means is that the others wanted to adopt different forms of trotskyism. One can hardly imagine the quacks and charlatans coming up and saying "Psst, how about abandoning marxism comrade?" It was, after all as Lister admits, *other* trot gorups (not anarchists, for instance) who approached them for he wnet on: "We remain *hostile* to 'rank and fileism', *hostile* to state capitalism and *hostile* to Pabloism". All these are recognised trot deviations (or different orthodoxies, if you prefer).

Perhaps, as a working class quack who wouldn't particularly welcome Thornett or Lister into the libertarian ranks I might make a suggestion — namely that they do *not* abandon marxism or bolshevism (for they would

never make stateless socialists — none of them has the guts) — but might re-consider the whole cult of Trotsky. He was only a minor figure even among the Bolsheviks; He stuck it out among the Mensheviks as long as he could. However brilliant his military abilities — particularly in outwitting the workers' and peasants' army of the Ukraine or smashing the navy in mutiny at Kronstadt — he thereafter entered into a long losing period associating himself with defeat.

After his death his name has been associated with one piece of rubbish after another (as Thornett and Lister will readily agree — so will Tony Cliff, Tariq Ali, Bob Pennington, Mike Banda, old uncle Pablo and all) and if there *is* one true pristine pure trotskyist party, the workers are likely to overlook it among all the other quacks and charlatans.

Many trotskyists admire policies initiated by figures who are not in any way associated with Trotsky himself. The International Socialists were (originally at least) far more influenced by Rosa Luxembourg. Large sections of French Trotskyists accept Karl Liebknecht — an even greater number are not trots at all just as a large number of Maoists are not maoists at all — they are not even Marxists, they are Blanquists, but Blanqui has been totally forgotten though his ideas rule the New Left.

There are surely one or two figures in Lenin's entourage whom a new party without "abandoning bolshevism" could build up into a new cult figure other than Leon Davidovitch — Alexandra Kollontai, for instance — and Antonio Gramsci is having a revival at the moment. He was considerably in advance theoretically of Trotsky who owed most of his inspiration to Helphand-Parvus — not the most savoury character to offer as a godhead.

There are some other posthumous aspirants for prophet-hood they might consider and one who springs to mind is Karl Radek. I hate to say this, but instead of being trots (which rules them out of working class consideration in several advanced industrial countries because it sounds absurd in English and German) they might become Radekals.

Joanne Little was charged on a monor larceny count. But there was no room for her in the women's detention centre to await appeal so she was sent to the Beaufort County Jail. In the jail she was the only female prisoner. She was there for three months. There were no women guards. She was held like a chicken in a coop. Her presence was an invitation to rape.

On August 27th, 62 year old guard Charles Alligood went in to rape her. He switched off the TV monitor, left his shoes outside and took an ice-pick. Joanne defended herself vigorously. She finally ran off, leaving Alligood with his trousers down, bleeding to death from the blows of his own ice pick. Later Joanne gave herself up fearing she would be killed if rural Beaufort County officials caught up with her.

Alligood, who was white, is described as "a good family man" "an outstanding member of the community" . . . Joanne Little is black, a "criminal" who is now charged with murder. She would be quite alone but for the support of women's groups. Her address is Joanne Little, 1034 Bragg Street, Raleigh, North Carolina 27610, USA (women's jail). Letters from abroad might strengthen her resolve; and show the local bullies that the eyes of the world are on them.

Ho Hum



Maudling Prize for Idiot of the Month to Edmund Crispin (book reviewer Sunday Times) for the following gem:

"The England Commune by David Pryce Jones. Adventures of the Angry Brigade, a scruffy incompetent group of student activists contemptuously supported by the Hungarian Embassy . . . though there is no great tension, the characterisation is good."

As a prize we could soon give Mr. Crispin some tension by publishing his address

Says obsessed Telegraph reviewer Michael Maxwell Scott of the novel by David Pryce Jones the hero of the book is "Tony . . . the hate-obsessed anarchist" who "seems to see himself as a modern Mosley". Needless to say "he is nothing of the sort, only a conceited hater, the anatomy of the dedicated destroyer seems to elude the author." How stupid can you get?

Wooden Horse



Some, reading (say) of persecutions of Catholics in Hungary (or Communists in Chile) may say uncharitably "serve you right": if the opinion is bolstered by "As a Catholic (or whatever) myself . . ." (as happens in the case of certain sycophantic Hungarian Catholics indeed) one must speak of treason. People should not use their alleged opinions or involvement to help persecution in this way. When this stand is built-in in advance one sniffs out more than treason. These thoughts are instigated by consideration of a pretended 'anarchist' journal "The Match" (Tucson, Arizona).

It plays no part in anarchist agitation, organisation or activity; by plagiarising and reprinting articles from other journals (and omitting to mention the author's names) it has attracted some contributors from outside. Otherwise its *raison d'être* is to denounce anarchist actions at appropriate times. Without being paranoid over the reasons for this, we can consider its editor and owner Fred Woodworth as a fifth columnist who can be used by the State in repressive court cases. It is bad enough to have such people who go weak or turn sour (the Garcia Pradas variety): here one sees the type pre-fabricated waiting only for anarchist action to be able to say "as an anarchist I denounce it . . ." On the only occasion Woodworth faced a court (on a charge of resisting a policeman) neither he nor his lawyer once mentioned that the real reason for his arrest was for having distributed an anarchist anti-war leaflet.

In its February 1975 issue Woodworth attacks us in such an article that says little about us but throws much light upon himself.

Proclaiming his utter devotion and reverence for life as a reason for his attack on Marcus Graham's article on the SLA, he says of this 83 year old comrade "obscene old man . . . erratic . . . neurotic . . . putrid rhetoric . . . contempt loathing . . ." (a choice insight into non-violent fascism). Graham has given "Black Flag" — states Woodworth — "a large sum of money" from which it has bought "an offset litho and expensive composing equipment" (see our regularly printed balance sheets) thus weaning hacks "Meltzer and Christie" from their well-known pure pristine pacifism so that they (nobody else) are now "riding high" on the money of an elderly retired workingman! In this attack Woodworth (who served his apprenticeship in character assassination during a six year stint as a radio announcer) equates *age* with *money*: he does not comprehend that this paper could be produced by workers voluntarily in their spare time, or that people could freely propagate their

Freedom Press

Freedom appears with a red logo — neatly typeset and printed offset banner headlines — eight double foolscap pages something on the lines of *Socialist Worker*. Proclaiming itself "The Paper for the Individual" it concentrates on Police Abuses — The Secret Story of Interpol — The Police and their Files — something in the manner of *Black Flag*. You could well be forgiven for mistaking it for a libertarian paper — not least because Freedom — in its "seventh year of publication" — has taken a name used by different anarchist papers in London since 1886.

This phoney Freedom is issued by the Church of Scientology. It is part of Ronnie Hubbard's racket. As we have explained in these columns, Hubbard originally wrote science fiction. The punters started it seriously so he founded a science school of "dianetics": the end product was to process the mind and drive people into insanity. He incurred the wrath or professional jealousy of psychiatrists in many countries so he founded a "Church". Who can lay hands on a Church, no less? Is the Church of Scientology any worse than any other church in striving to drive people nuts? But to fight for the "freedom of scientology" — to stop the psychiatrists from closing down the mind-processing — he launched a pseudo civil-libertarian front in a paper — originally *Freedom Scientology* and now openly *Freedom*.

There is nothing we can do to stop Hubbard. We are no longer using the name for a paper. Freedom Press are. They could — and should.

views other than for cash; indeed mortgage their wages to keep agitation going. Money must come from Big Daddy; it is not worked for; it comes from obedience to the old. The rest of the insults printed against us stem from this thesis and are not worth printing except to amuse our enemies and physically sicken our friends.

Outside contributors and subscribers to Match must consider their position urgently as they will need to justify their association with that journal.

Perhaps one should, in view of the statements in Match, clarify Marcus Graham's attitude to the British movement. He edited MAN! from 1933 to 1940 in the USA. It is alleged his articles were refused by Freedom. This was never the case (indeed the publisher's introduction to *Rocker's Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism 1973*, notes with appreciation his contribution of 30 years before). When preparing an anthology of MAN! (having been its editor during the existence of that paper) he originally proposed that Freed Press should publish it with Marcus Graham covering all the printing costs and the proceeds from its sale to go to Freedom. But disagreeing with the attitude implicit in the article by N. Walter (22.4.73) on the Stoke Newington Eight trial, he withdrew the offer and paid for labour done. Afterwards this offer was made to Black Flag. It was passed to Cienfuegos Press, which was already in the process of publishing Sabate, and costs were covered entirely by Marcus Graham and A.R.

'Right wing anarchism'?

AN AMERICAN ANOMALY

An American reader writes: You never seem to mention the right wing anarchists. I agree with your own left wing anarchism. But can you totally ignore them — or have you no experience of them in England?

It is curious to note how in the USA there has in recent years grown up a so-called "right-wing anarchism" coming from the ranks of the conservative parties but especially the Republican Right — stemming first from the writings of Ayn Rand and later those of Murray Rothbard. Its followers once imagined they had invented the term "anarchism" in the non-pejorative sense; later they discovered certain affinities with the old-time individualist free enterprise school. They began by designating themselves "capitalist-anarchists" — later this term they realised was absurd and adopted other names. One wing, the Libertarian Party, organised itself on established party lines.

It counter-balanced the "left" largely Marxist, coming from the middle-class and especially the Democratic Party.

It is not and could not be anarchistic — ie. anti-government — but echoes the Ernest Benn arguments against *the State*, being a continuation of laissez-faire (and using this term proudly). Summed up briefly it believes that the only business of government is the defence of property and life and has no place in commerce or business. Trade unions are 'restrictive' and looked on coldly. The ideal of the old laissez faire was of course the individual business man but as he has almost disappeared from the economy they substitute the self-employed lawyer, stockbroker, professional man. The reason for the comparative success of this strange (strange because calling itself anarchistic) idea in the USA is the fact that it gives moral justification for the evasion of taxes — just as in the war, anarchism could give a moral justification for the evasion of fighting and so attracted some who otherwise would have been plain liberals. It even supplies tax evasion kits — not a new idea but a new one which ethical justification combined with plain self-seeking.

The reasoning is not new but it is odd that it calls itself libertarian or even anarchistic in the States,

when this is the precise philosophy of the right wing of the Conservative Party in Britain whose common banner would precisely be anti-anarchism. The clearest thinker they have is Enoch Powell, who has spelled out classic conservatism so clearly that he has spelled himself out of the party. He is for authority against anarchy and is against any libertarian measure if it can be seen to detract from the authority of the State. But economically the classic Tory philosophy that he enunciates is more laissez-faire than that of Goldwater in the USA and Pujade in France: it is that the State has no business in business. It is exactly the "libertarian" philosophy declared to be "anarchism" by Murray Rothbard.

The school of Ayn Rand-Rothbard etc., must ultimately vanish against the force of true anarchist tradition, and the association of anarchism and revolution. It is a commentary on the state of the American academic mind that it overlooked the existence of working class anarchism and that actual university professors thought they were working out a new idea to galvanise the right wing.

It is of course an admitted weakness of theory in some American anarchists that they could be prepared to think of "right wing anarchism" as some sort of aberrant anarchism, as some do (except the Woodstock Anarchist Party, which always had a very clear line on rejecting the "right wing" capitalist-anarchists as not anarchists at all): some thinking that maybe there could be a "right" and "left" wing anarchism with something in common — the abolition of the State — as against Stalinism — yet their only reason for thinking this was the fact that the Randites and Rothbardians happened, by accident, to pick on the word "anarchism" (and the persistence of that definition already "the only test of whether someone is an anarchist is whether they call themselves so" — the absurdity of which is apparent when applied to anything else — a colonel, a vegetarian, a miner). They would never have assumed that English Tory leaders like Margaret Thatcher or Sir Keith Joseph were "comrades" — though with the identical philosophy of the "right wing anarchists" from Ayn Rand the Libertarian Party through to Murray Rothbard

(Imagine Maggie Thatcher's nightmare if she dreamed she had used the word "anarchist" and gone out on such a limb instead of clinging to the Tory Party!)

It exposes the weakness of theory among the so-called "new left anarchists" — who daily find their way to traditional anarchism — that they ever contemplated a "dialogue" with this anomalous theory. But to do them justice they have had to find their philosophy the hard way — as did the 19th century Europeans like Proudhon — having no anarchist tradition or even much experience of working class organisation. Anarchist groups or isolated libertarians are suddenly found in places one would more associate with the philosophy of John Wayne than that of Michael Bakunin.

In any other country too, it must be said, the idea of right wing anarchism would immediately have been exposed and attacked on the assumption that it was a deliberate fraud (like national "socialism" or national "syndicalism") to camouflage fascism — cloaked with local traditions — which in America are individualistic rather than collectivistic, which were the traditions German fascism needed to draw on. But this would have been to misinterpret the right wing "libertarians" who, if not anarchistic, nevertheless seem in the main to break with the authoritarianism of the American right and have split wide open, in a way once thought impossible, the long established patriotic authoritarianism of the Republican Party.

The jeers which traditional anarchism will receive from authoritarian socialist parties throughout the world once the existence of a "right wing anarchism" — though for something which they have no responsibility — is generally known, may be worth it if a subversive individualism in the right helps to break up and disintegrate what has long been a solid reactionary phalanx.

Duncan Yuille and a few other lawyers and economists have also had a brainwave in Australia. They have found "the only new political philosophy since Karl Marx" and formed a new party — the Workers' Party — with a political programme identical to that of Murray Rothbard or Margaret Thatcher. They have a laissez faire philosophy that "sees

PUTTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

ARE WE "FOR VIOLENCE?"

On one occasion trade union leader Ernest Bevin was puzzled at the differences between representatives of the labour movement from Belgium and France. (So deep was his ignorance of anything that happened abroad that he was finally made Foreign Secretary).

"We are the Christian Trade Unionists," explained one.

"What the bloody 'ell are we then — bleedin' 'eathens?" asked Ernest.

Some such thought occurs to us when we hear pacifists disillusioned with political action, or liberals trying to strike out an individual path, yet rejecting class struggle referring to themselves as "Non-violent anarchists". What the bloody 'ell are we — bleedin' skinheads?

This rubbish about "non-violent anarchism" (which is not a complementary type of anarchism but an uncomplimentary reference to normal anarchism) is not the sole cause for misunderstanding of anarchism, but one of several reasons for its misrepresentation, (such as that of the deliberate mix-up between anarchism and marxism organised by the media; or the use of the term "anarchist" as if it solely meant someone who attacks the existing order — so that even a fascist could be an "anarchist" and anarchists are therefore blamed for the deeds of their bitterest enemies).

"Right-wing Anarchism (from p. 6) government as the villain" (echoing Ernest Benn "The State the Enemy") but stops very far short of the logical conclusion.

They want the abolition of laws on drugs, censorship and sexual life. believe there is "no role for the Government in economics" and want to abolish Government banking and control of the money supply; aim at the abolition both of taxes and welfare payments but "want government reduced to controlling armed forces, police and courts". In other words, government to have purely the repressive forces; but these to be subservient to the wealthy, who can afford their own police. To the credit of the "Workers' Party" they don't have the ignorance or nerve to call it anarchism.

Many who otherwise agree with us write to us suggesting qualifications to their agreement. Are we really "for violence"? Only psychopaths and professional soldiers are "for violence": but that is not to say one must idealise non-violence and base one's judgment, not upon the degree of struggle or the degree of freedom, but the amount of "violence" used or not used, something totally irrelevant to the issue. (Would Hitler's regime have been acceptable to them had it been wholly parliamentary manoeuvring instead of largely, and the unnecessary accompanying violence omitted?)

Nobody in fact argues for or against "violence": what they argue about is "illegal violence" since it is always recognised that the State has the "right" to violence. It is curious how this applies even to the pacifists. "Freedom's" most regular contributor always denounces revolutionary "violence" whenever he can, and usually manages to work in a piece of self-glorification about his role as a humble soldier in the

Eighth Army. Robin Farquharson was a 'pacifist' and completely against 'violent anarchists' as he chose to characterise them: then inheriting a few thousand quid he spent it all on Third World phoney who rooked him of every penny he had — this, though "illegal" was alright because it was nationalistic — to help the class struggle would have been "violent". But nationalism makes its own laws. For the same reason the Dr. Dugdales and the Pat Arrowsmiths become front-runners for the IRA despite their non-violence when it comes to class struggle.

The subject is irrelevant to anarchism but the imposition of the pacifist ethic upon it always implies an abandonment of class struggle and the acceptance of middle-class values. Not because middle class values are "non-violent" — they are not — but because by qualifying, hyphenating and diluting anarchism, a non-demanding excuse of a philosophy can be manufactured for the disenchanting liberal.

THE AGITATORS: Who they are. How they work. What they want.

The last months of 1974 saw yet another reprint of the Economic League's notorious pamphlet *The Agitators* (ironically, yet tastefully printed with a black and red cover), in which they fearlessly seek to expose industrial 'subversives'. Boldly they reveal that "organised attempts" are being made to subvert the authority of the trade union movement, and endanger the national economy, by groups such as the International Socialists, Solidarity and the Communist Party (both varieties).

Yet who are the subversives, the agitators, and what kind of "extremist activities" are they engaged in? What of Sir David Barran, director of that highly successful enterprise British Leyland Motro Corp., indoctrinated at Eton, and Trinity College Cambridge, who has become President of the Economic League, and seeks to use industry as a "stepping stone, to an extremist takeover of this country?"

What also of Viscounts Runciman and Rochdale? Both are in league with Barran, and have passed through the Eton and Trinity training camps. It is Barran, however, who has been the most successful infiltrator, at times masquerading as a supporter of "free" enterprise, at the same time as receiving a rake-off for a directorship of the state owned British Steel Corporation.

What conspiracy is being hatched on the first floor of Asphalt House, by Col. Walter Hey, Col. Robert Hoare, Group Captain A. D. Rose, Lt. Gen. Sir John Evetts, and Eric Turner, ex-chairman of Birmingham Small Arms? Why did Britain's four largest banks give these men more than £16,000 in 1973?

Are these banks receiving the benefits of the black-listing service provided by the League to other companies, and described by the Guardian as "a unique service to industry . . . compiling data on individual workers who may be politically active, which is passed on to interested management by way of an unlisted telephone number and a company code number."? Even this information is inaccurate, and so the tendency must be to deprive a man of his job on suspicion of his being a communist or whatever. Disturbing if tenuous links can also be made between the activities of the Economic League and those of Special Branch.

In 1973, John Dettmer, director-general of the League, spoke at a number of courses at Ministry of Defence establishments. Presumably in an attempt to ensure that the military are as well informed as the police.

cont. p. 14

THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION

Over the past two or three issues we have run a series on the SYMBIONESE LIBERATION ARMY by Marcus Graham. We have had an unprecedented response in letters from American readers (over thirty, all lengthy — of which most range from friendly-critical to downright hostile). It would be impossible to reproduce them in full. It is clear that — discarding such phoney as the Match editor, to whom we refer elsewhere — there is a profound misunderstanding or disagreement among comrades. Harry Josey (Detroit) says categorically “No white revolutionaries could write like Marcus Graham, for the simple reason they cannot understand in this America black people facing genocide are not over-reacting but even acting moderately when they behave like Cinque . . . they have got their little place in society out of the rat-race, tucked away comfortable with their hifi . . . it takes a black man to understand what is going on.” He is mistaken in assuming Graham is black just as others assumed he was English and “therefore” could not know what was going on in the USA.

The reason we published the article was because people in most countries knew little about the SLA and the denunciations of the media and liberal progressive papers were even more rabid than those applied to German revolutionaries. The only difference between the RAF in Germany and the SLA in America is that the RAF adherents for the most part came from the younger generation of the bourgeoisie, in revolt against the bourgeoisie, whereas the SLA came from the black poor though joined by some rich whites. In tactics and in principles there seems not an iota of difference between them yet Tony Pestalozzi, Steve Parr and Jose Antonio (New York) write: “We know that such a group as the SLA would not receive the support of the European anarchist movement if it existed in Europe.” (It does, and the same division of opinion exists).

“People living outside of the US often do not realise the situation here. We see where Americans — particularly those of us most severely hit by rising unemployment and inflation — are taking on a more desperate and defeatist attitude. Crime and unemployment go hand-in-hand and no liberal solution can be found. The right wing seems to be making itself more prominent over the issues of segregation and military expenditure than was thought possible and the left is in no position to fight.

This desperation we speak of recently expressed itself via the words and gestures of the SLA. They have taken it upon themselves to carry out “expropriations” and shoot outs which have no educational or organisational benefits. If anything, their gestures have only added to the alienation and fear which intimidates us and makes us pause in our struggle to survive the rat race.

The SLA has never claimed to be anarchist. And this is perhaps quite fortunate, for we receive enough slander from the media as it is. The authoritarian left, which uses rhetoric not unlike that of the SLA, made every effort to disassociate itself from the SLA when it looked as if the media would try to connect the two. We anarchists were given the blame by “responsible” socialists and we still suffer from it. Yet our rhetoric, and certainly our ideals, differ quite radically from that of the SLA and we have not stooped so low as to quote Mao and Lenin where convenient, as does the SLA.

Their acts are not those of a revolutionary group and we are sure that legitimate organisations such as the ETA, Tupamaros and FLQ resent the use of their names in connection with the SLA.”

None of those groups are “legitimate”. In a subsequent letter they quote another old comrade as saying Marcus Graham is a “sectarian”. What more sectarian in the narrow sense used here than to denounce someone at the point of death for quoting Mao and Lenin — when their actions belied their words?

Can it be true that the RAF or the Tupamaros can be more readily understood by many American radicals, since they have the same background, whereas the SLA opens up something completely beyond their vista? So we suppose Harry Josey — thinking in racial terms — would claim. But there is more to it than that.

Genocide — including a situation where the workers are deprived of all rights so that any intervention becomes impossible and industrial action an absurdity — creates a frightening picture. The Spanish workers launched their ultimate weapon in their armoury — social revolution — against fascism and were countered by genocide. For the Warsaw Ghetto to contemplate industrial action against fascism would have been a farce — they were expendable. The workers lost all power to intervene in Vietnam. Where such forces exist as ride down social revolution or industrial action, the only thing left is individual action. This is something clearly understood by rebels in Russia and China today. Such actions are applauded . . . by those who find them disturbing to contemplate them on the next block.

One reader after another makes the point that the SLA “killed an innocent passer-by”. This is a criticism not of their ethics but of their marksmanship. But it is absurd to compare the SLA (as one does) with the IRA and say we have “double standards” because we condemn the fascist Provos in placing bombs in department stores and co-ops, or the UDA in shooting down Catholics in their place of work — deliberate acts — yet fail to join in a chorus of protest at the SLA or the RAF for a bullet going astray. It is irresponsible to have a gun battle in public. But it is not the same as deliberately bombing Dresden or Coventry from the air. Guerrillas assume unaffected people will get out of the way quick. They have the moral responsibility to use all discretion possible. But they cannot be compared with national fighting with its policy of deliberate murder of innocent passers by.

A valued comrade Jewell (Toronto) makes the point Revolutionaries have to take responsibility for their actions; they are granted no privileged ukase. A bunch of trigger-happy assholes will invariably commit atrocities that discredit them in the eyes of the working people — and in a way far worse than any bourgeois fulminations from press and pulpit.

Moreover, it is absolutely suicidal and of the crassest arrogance to begin urban guerrilla warfare without a worker base.

If they had the “base” they would not need the guerrilla action! But where is the “worker-base” in the world from which they came and against which they were in revolt?

The same comrade (and many others) assume that Graham is identified with the SLA. Jewell: *If a man wishes to look on the SLA and other pseudo-Leninist organisations (to quote SLA: ‘Black Liberation Army, United People’s Liberation Army, Black Guerrilla*

ARMY: READERS COMMENTS

Family, Weather Underground, United Symbionese Federation, New World Federation Front) as the leaders of the new American Revolution, that is one’s choice.

But he did not say they *should* be leaders. They did not even say it of themselves. He quoted their statements to show that they were sincere rebels.

It is true that military style fractions in many lands do not advance libertarian socialism. Their inclinations are towards authoritarian socialism which they see as delivering the goods. Some Panthers have ambiguous views on the subject: they are for anarchism insofar as they see it capable of inspiring the resistance and the beauty of the society it advocates. But they are for Che Guevara or Fidel Castro when it comes to organising military style — they know nothing of how red militarism has always broken down.

The ‘sectarian’ does not seek, like the Catholic (the opposite term) to impose a dogma to be universally accepted. Having her or his own ideas, she or he is able to accept that others have theirs. We cannot reject the heroic deeds of Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht — because their ideas were not ours. “In power they might have been Lenin or Trotsky”. But they never were. Perhaps DeFreeze might have been a proletarian ruler. But the cards were stacked against him from the first — something to which many make great point. Says Jewell:

Police intelligence in California has thousands of young black informers on the payroll — most blackmailed into that position by threats of life imprisonment or death.

All black informers are eventually killed. Some in “political” work have tried to gain immunity by press exposure. Most involved in robberies, etc., try to make a run for it. DeFreeze seems to have chosen to go out shooting.

Rephrase that and you have the Warsaw Ghetto. That was what the Germans brought it to. The whole Ghetto decided finally to “go out shooting.” Does that not add to the stature of Marshall DeFreeze? I think it does.

Peter G. (New York) protests that “it is going too far to compare the SLA with the Paris Commune. They had an idea where they were going, they had the people behind them. The SLA at the best were out on a limb and knew it.”

I do not entirely agree with Graham’s parallel with the Paris Commune. (Though he only said that they should be regarded with affection alongside the martyrs of the Commune). But the SLA may be paralleled with the Warsaw Ghetto. The Ghetto knew that it was condemned. Those who did not appreciate they would all die knew in what conditions they were forever expected to live. There is a large number of blacks who have learned the lesson of the Ghetto. Their elders were equally for passivity. The youth have reacted against oppression by crime because it was the only available way to live: the “Schneider Gang” or the “Meyer Gang” — though the latter is sometimes said to be anarchistic — were purely “criminal” (there was nothing else they were allowed to be.)

But there is a nearer American parallel in “bleeding Kansas” where the army of John Brown fought in the same way as the SLA., attacked pro-slavery institutions and farmers, and was subject to the same accusations.

Brown was a “madman”, his men were “criminals” they invaded Virginia “at the risk of innocent lives” — a phrase incidentally, that admits the existence of guilty ones — and they could not possibly have seized the South had their small band succeeded in taking Harper’s Ferry. Had the terms then existed they would have been “elitist” and “vanguardist” as well!

But they had a very clear idea of what they were doing. Had they taken and held Harper’s Ferry it would have been a signal they hoped, for a slave rising. *That* — and not the armed band itself — was what struck terror into the hearts of the white South.

The liberal abolitionists flung the same mud at Captain Brown as is flung at “Marshal Cinque DeFreeze”. But one man stood against the tide at the time — one considered to be an Anarchist in the “native American” tradition — David Thoreau. Read his Plea for Captain John Brown — remembering that Brown was held then in equal detestation with DeFreeze today.

It is understandable that those engaged in building up an industrial union or in propaganda work feel that their work is threatened when any violent action occurs — it compromises them with the police. What they often fail to take into account is that to the degree their work is successful, the police can soon enough compromise them if they want to (“what’s this in the cupboard?”). Only high danger and high courage bring out a rearguard action. The persecution already exists

Some have it that the whole SLA episode is a police or CIA plot. For what? To threaten the position of the blacks? It is not the Panthers or the Muslims or the SLA who have compromised the American black. On the contrary, during the years of “Uncle Tom” — Booker T. Washington to Martin Luther King — everyone was kind and sympathetic when talking about them — even the lynchers. They are no longer “good old darkies”. But they are a damned sight more respected. (“This is not to approve of violence but to recognise the world as it is” as is said elsewhere in this issue)

Larry Shull (Tucson) has it that it was a state sponsored plot to discredit the left and create dissension among revolutionaries. There are easier ways of doing the latter. He, and all those critical of the SLA, are convinced of a plot:

One would assume that if the state would like to crush a revolutionary organisation they would do all in their power to uncover all information about the ‘menace’ possible. It would follow that they would do all in their power to take the six ‘alive’ in order to discover the names and whereabouts of other members, extent of the organisation etc., oddly enough, the gestapo did all in their power to see that the six did not live. Dead people do not talk . . .

But they are not the first victims of police forces to be treated in this manner. To write out parallels would take a full issue of this paper before we got off Spain alone. It is true that there are some mysteries about the SLA (the role of Patty Hearst for instance) but are we to believe the whole affair was engineered by the police or the CIA, at the financial and emotional expense of the richest and most right-wing family in the country, just for the trivial reasons suggested? It may well be that the SLA suffered police penetration as do all movements that accept military discipline.

ATTITUDES & PLATITUDES

During the First World War H.G. Wells coined the phrase "a war to end war" and was very upset at the fact that nobody stopped laughing until 1939. He felt that whatever the first world war was about, the liberal propagandists ought to be given credit for the fact that they tried to give it some aims and some excuse, never quite appreciating the sick laughter was at the false aims and false excuses which they gave it.

Nobody could ever pretend today that the First World War was "anti-monarchist" or "anti-militarism" though these were the aims ascribed to it by the Allied propagandists (it was understood that the Kaiser represented monarchism and imperialism, and not of course, his Britannic cousin).

If there was anyone who by 1939 still thought it a war to end war — that is to say an anti-militarist war — poor old Wells would have been delighted to hear from them. As to Lloyd George, or butcher Haig, or bungling Kitchener, or Winston Churchill being described as "anti-militarists" — together with the French politicians and generals — the mind boggles. After all everyone knew that wars weren't fought for ideological motives and even if by some reversal of nature they were, it didn't follow that you automatically adopted the position your opponent was not.

By 1939 there were many on both left and right who wanted a new war or felt it inevitable. But though the left played with the word "anti-fascism" nobody on the right did. No Tory MP approved of "anti-fascism" even in the rare exceptions where they were not pro-fascists. It

might be necessary to fight the Germans. But their internal system was their own affair. "We did not mind Hitler being a Nazi inside Germany. The trouble is he would not stay inside Germany," one explained when the war began.

The liberal propagandists of 1939-45 were certainly no more clever or adept than those of 1914-39. But they had past mistakes to draw on. So the recent Churchill centenary shows how World War II myths are almost as potent as ever. There are still people who think "Churchill won the Second World War . . . he was an anti-fascist . . . it was an anti-Nazi war . . ." Not a positive war to end war — at which everyone laughed afterwards — nor one after which one would build homes fit for heroes — what a laugh this would be now . . . but a negative "anti-fascist" war. Well, Hitler was a fascist, wasn't he, and the war was against him?

The lies of World War II grow for two reasons. The Left likes them. It need not talk about revolution but bathe in the glow of nationalism and "anti-fascism". The right can be described as Fascist. Ergo, it is somehow illegal, unconstitutional, "not what we fought for" (amazing what people will now say "they fought for" when in reality they were too bemused to resist their call-up papers). No need to be "revolutionary" one can be patriotic and constitutional in one's fervent protest that this is what "we went to war against in 1939 . . ." (though nobody knew it at the time).

But the Right also likes the lies. "Me a fascist?" demands an ultra-right-winger indignantly. "Why, I

was in the Army in 1939!" That answers everything . . . If he was in the Forces, and preferably as an officer — and a more fascist bunch of morons than British officers in W.W. II it would be hard to find — he has an "alibi". He could not possibly be a fascist. Fascist yourself! Why he fought against fascism, didn't he?

And the extremists of the Centre also like the lies. The war was their utopia — one of (internal) non-violence! They were not so much enamoured of the fighting as the regimentation, the rationing, the orderliness. There was no rebelliousness, no militancy — or if there was, it was illegal and anyway the press never reported it. Certainly as they never mind reminding one, there was none that they told of in the fascist states. So they usually alter the lie a little. We didn't exactly fight against fascism, we fought against almost anything the Centre did not approve of, and had it not been for either Churchill on his own or sometimes Our Fathers, we would all have been subject to the Nazi heel heeling Hitler and marching orderly-like in mass parades or else marched off to concentration camps. That we might have been a damn sight more rebellious than we are never occurs to them for the simple reason that they themselves would have conformed overnight.

on what we may term the Nechayev tradition (in which the SLA undoubtedly belongs). There cannot conceivably be a situation where genuine libertarians would denounce them, alongside the police. But there very evidently is scope for disagreement as to where such groups belong in a revolutionary movement — and the slander of 'police spy' is no help to that discussion.

Albert Meltzer.

Footnote:

We regret not being able to set the letters received out in full. To do so would require two issues of this paper and most say the same thing (two-page listings of Malcolm DeFreeze's "criminal record" having been received from seven people). The above quotations fairly summarise the objections to the article from those whom we regard as comrades.

SPAIN - COMRADES TRIED

From our Spanish correspondent.

The trial of LUIS EDO, DAVID URBAN BERMUDEZ, LUIS BURRO MOLINO and JUAN FARRA SERAFINI is a perfect illustration of Franco's attack on working-class organisation. They are accused of "illegal association" and in particular of re-establishing the CNT (National Confederation of Labour) the libertarian trade union. We must do everything in our power to secure their release.

The trial can be divided into four stages:

i) First phase: Barcelona 7th July 1974: the BPS (Special Branch) arrested eight people. They consisted of militant anarcho-syndicalists and some who, though no longer militant, were known for their background. On the same day, in Barcelona, the police announced in a self-congratulatory statement that they had arrested "the instigators of the second phase of the Suarez operation". This referred to the kidnapping in France of the Spanish banker, Balthasar Suarez. The ransom demanded was the return of the funds seized from the CNT when Franco won. By association, therefore, the Franco police arrested those known for their belief in the CNT.

This can only be what the BPS are referring to when they speak of "the second phase of the Suarez operation": The rebuilding of the independent libertarian trade union, with its own funds.

The BPS — claiming they had uncovered a flat used as a workshop-cum-warehouse for the Resistance in Barcelona suburb of Sardenola — released to the press documents produced by the Armed Revolutionary Groups (GARI) with conditions for the release of the banker. They stated that those arrested belonged to the GARI rather than to the CNT. But no evidence was produced of this.

WHO ARE THOSE ARRESTED?

Three of those arrested have "records". These are Luis Edo, David Urbano and Luis Burro.

Edo and Urbano have been convicted in the past for "unlawful assembly" — both the Libertarian Youth and the CNT. (Reference is made to them both in Miguel Garcia's book "Franco's Prisoner" as fellow political prisoners).

Burro was implicated in a "sumario" (a legal process) in 1970 on account of political activities and alleged participation in the demand for an autonomous workers' movement.

The BPS therefore wanted to charge these men as being part and parcel of the "second phase of the Suarez operation" — namely, the reorganisation of the autonomous CNT in Spain. Every dirty trick was played to try to link them with the kidnapping. Yet the kidnapers had merely stipulated that the money paid as ransom should go — not to themselves personally — but to this independent 'good cause'. The police tried pressure and blackmail such as threats on Ferra's wife and Burro's father. But they found no evidence, for no evidence existed.

PARIS AND LONDON ARE IMPLICATED

It is important to point out that the arrest of these eight — subject to police torture in Franco's Spain and the perversion of justice notoriously existing in that country — is the direct result of a French court of law conducted by Judge Bernard, appointed to investigate the Suarez affair. It was due to this judge that eleven people were detained in Paris and addresses in Spain handed over to the Spanish police. It also authorised French police to come to England and raid homes and endeavour to get further addresses — which could only be done with the connivance of British police ob-

taining warrants so as to accompany the raiding party from France.

The smashing of Spanish trade unionism and the continuing persecution of independent trade unionists in Spain is something that arouses widespread indignation in France and England. But French and British police can act in defence of Franco and send Spanish trade unionists to jail on the evidence they collect.

ii) Second Stage Several weeks after the arrest when they had not found the merest sign of guilt, even the Spanish police had to release four of the eight and the four mentioned went to trial. Imprisoned in the Modelo prison in Barcelona they appeared before the Tribunal of Public Order in Madrid on February 13th. In view of the lack of evidence about the Suarez case, the BPS felt obliged to cover up the chief accusation and made it one of "reorganisation of the CNT".

Why this accusation? The BPS has been very concerned about the development of secret anarchist trade union groups especially in Catalonia. This has developed significantly since the first War Council against the MIL (Iberian Liberation Movement; whose protagonist Salvador Puig Antich was garrotted). Because of this the police have set up a special squad, specialising in anarchism in Barcelona. It has done its best to fight the activists, and during 1974 has been unearthing various groups some of them completely unknown to the outside world before — for instance the OLLA (Libertarian Organisation of Armed Struggle); several comrades being detained on the accusation of membership. But they have not managed to hit the central cells of the Libertarian movement — that is to say, the anarcho-syndicalist workers' groups, which are much more difficult to penetrate, and it is against this background that we must view the present case. By the accusations against our four comrades, it is hoped to deter others, and to try and curb the development of traditional anarcho-syndicalism among the Spanish workers.

LOOPHOLES IN THE CASE

With what can Edo, Urbano, Burro and Ferra be accused? Nothing, certainly nothing that can be verified, nothing that is obvious, nothing that any normal court of law would consider. Their beliefs? Even in Spain that is not a crime, according to the law. In a letter smuggled out of the Modelo Prison, they state: "We absolutely deny the accusations. We have never denied our beliefs and the fact that we would like to see the formation of an anarcho-syndicalist union. We shall not deny it even before the tribunal. Two of us have faced imprisonment before because of our beliefs. But we are not conducting militant activities at present either as organisation or propaganda. We want to see the reconstruction of the CNT. Because of that, we are being placed before the Tribunal to make us responsible for deeds in which we did not take part."

REPORT ON THE TRIAL OF BURRO, EDO, URBANO, AND FERRA.

I was sent to Madrid to act as a legal observer at two 'judicial' hearings. The first (11th Feb. 1975) was the appeal of the Carabanchel 10 before the Spanish Supreme Tribunal. The second (for the Anarchist Black Cross) was for the trial of four anarcho-syndicalists, Luis Burro, Luis Edo, David Urbano and Juan Ferra. This report deals only with the latter trial; though the appeal was an important part of the general political situation in Spain, which is

SLA comments — cont. from page 9

So did the first Russian Revolution of 1905. But in our view the case is proved that this was a revolt of some members of the most oppressed class who stormed the heavens rather than submit to degradation. We accept what Louis Munoz (New Jersey) says — the article was "magnificent — in the tradition of Bakunin". (Or of Thoreau).

Such movements as the SLA are not called into being by us. The Red Army Fraction demands "unconditional and uncritical support". That we cannot give any more than we can give easy and detached criticism. What we can give is defence for the fallen. Even if they fell under differently-worded banners from ours or their motivation was not as crystal pure as that which we claim for ourselves.

It must in fairness be acknowledged however, that there is disagreement even among revolutionary anarchists

Recurrence of anti-anarchist repression in the "People's Republic of Bulgaria".

Last April 26th simultaneous raids were made on the homes of old and long standing anarchist comrades in Kustendil, Pernik, Stahke Dimitrov, Sofia, Stara Zagora, Hascovo, Plovdiv, Varna and other villages with the purpose of seizing pamphlets published 30 and 40 years ago. About 25 comrades were interrogated, of whom 12 are from Pernik, centre of the Bulgarian metal industry near Sofia. After three weeks detention the following comrades were condemned to five years banishment under strict police surveillance.

1) **Alexandre M. Makov** from Pernik, a technician and an esperantist, exiled to the village of Khouma in Rezgrad province.

2) **Athanase Kuceuv** from Pernik, a teacher, exiled to the village of Cermerdjevo in Rousse province.

Spain cont.
naturally reflected in the operation of the courts, and especially of the directly political Public Order Tribunals (T.O.P.'s).

The trial was held on Thursday 13th February 1975; it commenced at about 5.45 pm and finished at about 8.15 pm. At the time of writing, the result had not been announced (I have been in contact with Reuters since my return). All four defendants were charged with illegal association. In addition, Burro was charged with illegal propaganda. In respect of the first charge the prosecutor asked the Tribunal to sentence each defendant to five years' imprisonment. He also asked for an additional five years for Burro on the second charge. The oral questioning at the trial was brief since the bulk of the 'evidence' is contained in written documents, especially the 'summary' provided by the prosecution. Each defendant was in turn asked a few questions first by the president of the Tribunal (in a somewhat brusque manner), then by the 'fiscal' (the prosecutor), then by defence lawyers. The prosecutor then summed up the case, followed by each defence lawyer, arguing for an acquittal.

There were three foreign legal observers present, including myself. The other two were Yves Dechezelles, a well-known French lawyer himself involved as lawyer in the Alberola case in France, and Francisco Priscopo, of the Milan bar. About 20 to 30 members of the public were present. I also noticed representatives from Portuguese radio and from the French press. I found only one very short report of the case in the Spanish press (*Nuevo Diario*, 15th Feb. 1975, p.5).

We (the observers) were able to meet three of the four defence lawyers afterwards; as a consequence the Spanish lawyers made a short statement about the case, and the foreign observers also made a written statement.

There appears to have been virtually no evidence against the Defendants. The prosecution were able to prove at most that each Defendant knew at least one of the others, but not that all knew each other. No evidence, of times, dates or of any other kind, was adduced to show that any meeting of the accused had ever taken place. Nonetheless the prosecutor alleged that they all belonged to the *Organizacion Revolucionaria de Francia* (the Armed Revolutionary

Bulgaria

3) **Loubomir Ivanov Djermanov**, from Pernik, a highly qualified mining engineer, exiled to the village of Okorg in the province of Sillistra.

The reason for the comrades' deportation was their attendance at the funeral of Dimiter Vassiliev of Pernik, and collecting funds to erect a memorial to him.

4) **Sacho Guigov**, a sculptor, exiled on 25th July 1974 to the village of Letniza in Lovetch province, and later moved to the town of Loukovit, where he died on September 8th 1974, separated from his friends and denied his cultural interests.

Sacho was the sculptor who carved the bust of Vassil Ikononov, the great libertarian fighter. He had intended also to create a work on comrade Tinko Simov.

5) **Gantcho Damianov**, an account-

ant from Kazanlack, sent to a village in the Sliven province.

6) **Athanase Artukov**, sent to Rousse province.

7) **Cristo Kolev Jordanov**, who has been exiled to Pet Moguili, has been held and interrogated by the "people's militia". He has been sent to the village of Balvan in Tarnovo province, where he is unable to find work and has to live on a miserable pension hardly enough for him to buy a kilo of bread a day.

Our comrades have been forced to make declarations in which they agree not to undertake anarchist propaganda. This has happened to **Deltcho Vassiliev** from Hascovo; **Boian Mangov** from Varna and other comrades in Kustendil, Plovdiv and other parts of the country. (Information passed on by Bulgarian comrades, December 1974).

Organisation of France) which, it was claimed, was an international anarchist body responsible for the kidnapping of Balthasar Suarez, director of the Bank of Bilbao, in Paris in May 1974. No proof of the existence of this body was produced to support this contention. There was however evidence that Burro had in his possession a letter concerning GARI and it was this fact that was relied upon by the prosecution in respect of the illegal propaganda charge. To constitute this charge there is supposed to be proof of dissemination of, or intention to disseminate, the 'subversive' material. Normally this is simply left as an inference for the T.O.P. to draw - which it rarely shows reluctance to do. There was no evidence that Burro had distributed the letter, or that he intended to do so. An added hazard for defendants in the T.O.P.'s is that the burden of proof is reversed (even in legal theory), so that a defendant must prove his or her innocence; it is of course logically difficult to prove that one does not belong to an organisation when there is no evidence that the organisation in question keeps membership lists. In the circumstances, we cannot unfortunately expect anything other than the conviction of each defendant, since the T.O.P.'s are notorious for accepting without question hearsay evidence given by the police. As to sentence, generally speaking the T.O.P.'s have 'only' been imposing in recent months prison terms that represent 40 to 50 per cent of those requested by the prosecution. However, the prejudicial effect of the alleged connection with the Suarez kidnapping, together with recent threats by members of the government and senior army officers against 'subversion' make the present defendants' position somewhat more hazardous. Their arrest arose, of course, out of the request of the French examining magistrate (following the Suarez affair) for the help of the Spanish police in questioning libertarians. The four were at no time however charged with complicity in the kidnapping; the case once again demonstrates, even if one accepts that the examining magistrate acted in 'good faith' the dangers inherent in Western 'democratic' societies seeking to enlist the kind help of the Spanish Police.

Jeremy Smith
20th February 1975.

GARI

A Short Account of the Facts.

September 1973:- The arrest in Paris of comrades of the MIL among them Salvador Puig Antich, Oriol Sole Sugranyes, Pons Llobet.

January 1974:- The arrest in France of Miguel Moreno, Jean-Claude Torres, Michel Camilleri and Pierre Roger. These claim to have planned attacks on planes of Iberian Airways with the purpose of bringing to the notice of the public opinion the possible execution of Puig Antich.

February 1974:- Michel Camilleri and Pierre Roger are granted provisional liberty.

March 1974:- Execution of Puig Antich.

March 22nd 1974:- Co-ordinated actions on the French-Spanish border at Cerbere, Perthus, Bourg-Madame, Aix les thermes, Hendaye . . . (claimed by G.A.I. . . the Autonomous Action Groups) to protest against the execution of Puig Antich and to show that groups exist who are determined to find means to prevent the execution of the other accused.

April 7th 1974:- In Barcelona, three militants are arrested at the Gare Francaise by the police who present them as members of O.L.L.A. (Organisation for Armed Struggle).

April 17th 1974:- Arrest and expulsion to Belgium of Octavio Alberola living clandestinely in France, at the request of the Spanish Police.

May 3rd 1974:- Angel Balthasar Suarez, director of the Bank of Bilbao in Paris is kidnapped by the GARI (International Revolutionary Action Groups). He is held hostage against the demands that the death penalty should not be sought against any of the MIL or FRAP members to be tried, and that this decision be made public. Also that the MIL prisoners held in Barcelona be released, and that the law of conditional liberty for political prisoners, systematically refused since the death of Carrero Blanco, be applied again.

May 28th 1974:- The release of the banker Suarez and the arrest of Octavio Alberola, Ariane Gransac, Jean Helen Weir, Anne Urtubia, Lucio Urtubia, Georges Riviere and Anne Chitti, followed by the arrest of Pierre Guilbert and Daniel Haas. All are charged with involvement in the abduction. Then the arrest of Arnaud and Chantel Chastel, whose

flat, according to the police, had been used by the kidnapers.

The questioning and investigation by the judge in control of the Suarez investigation was followed by the arrest, in Spain of some 30 libertarian militants, 8 of whom were held in prison for some time and four finally charged with association and illegal propaganda, it not being possible to link them with the Suarez affair. Luis Burro Molina, Luis Andres Edo, David Urbano Bermudez and Juan Ferran to be tried in Madrid on February 13th by the Tribunal of Public Order.

July 15th 1974:- Various attacks claimed by GARI at the Tour de France, Spanish coaches at Lourdes, trains leaving Paris for Spain etc. At the trial in Spain of Oriol Sole and Pons Llobet they are sentenced to 48 years and 21 years imprisonment respectively.

July 30th 1974:- Cars held up on the Franco-Spanish border area, an attack on the embassy in Toulouse, Spanish coaches held up in Paris, a consignment of parcels held up at Hendaye station, cars held up in Brussels. All these actions are claimed by GARI to remind the authorities of their previous demands, which were not met in spite of the release of Suarez, and to protect against the latest trials of comrades of the MIL.

The day after the attack on the Spanish consulate at Toulouse, Pierre Roger is arrested and interrogated for 6 days by the Security Branch and then held for 2 months at the St. Michel prison in Toulouse under common law.

Late September 1974:- The arrest of Michel Camilleri and Marie Ines Torres in Toulouse and Victor Manrique and Jean Michel Martinez in St. Jean de Luz. All these four and Pierre Roger are charged with the destruction of buildings and vehicles, possession of arms and ammunition and the use of false documents.

October 10th 1974:- In Paris two bombs are placed in the Parc des Princes during the match between Barcelona and Paris-Reims. This action is claimed by GAI (Autonomous International Groups), who declared that the bombs had not been primed for detonation.

October 14th 1974:- Angel Morino Patino and Jean Claude Torres are given a ten month suspended sentence (they have already done ten

months preventive detention) for the Ivry affair, Pierre Roger and Michel Camilleri being due for trial on January 13th 1975. Jose-Maria Bofill, comes to attend the trial, is arrested and sent to Toulouse where the police charged him with complicity in the hold ups with the four accused militants.

End of November 1974:- Of the eleven charged in the Suarez affair only Octavio Alberola remains in prison, all the others having been granted provisional liberty.

December 3rd 1974:- The arrest in Paris of 3 anarchist militants, charged by the police with belonging to GARI. They are brought before the Court of State Security (word by word translation, no exact English equivalent).

Those accused in this court have throughout their captivity refused to take any part in the judicial process, and since December 27th they have been on hunger strike to gain acknowledgement that they are political prisoners and to get the rights of defence and legal representation consequent upon this.

January 7th 1975:- A press conference called by the Support Committee for the GARI Accused. The Defence Collective (Messrs. Yan Choucq, Daniel Jacoby, Henri Leclerc, Georges Pinet, Anne Weill-Mace) and the Free Spain Committee.

January 22nd 1975:- Floreal Cuadrado, who had been arrested on December 3rd 1974 is granted provisional liberty under judicial control.

January 30th:- Press conference called by anarchist organisations and the Defence Group; the six accused under the court of State Security continue their hunger strike (the Minister of Justice, M. Lecanuet, having officially denied the accused political status).

February 13th:- Octavio Alberola released on bail. Luis Andres Edo, David Urbano Bermudez and Juan Ferra tried in Madrid by Public Order Tribunal. (For details see article "From our Spanish correspondent).

STOP PRESS

Madrid sentences confirmed:
Luis Andres Edo 5 years
David Urbano 5 years
Juan Ferra 3 years
Luis Burro 10 years

Uruguay

Buenos Aires 17/12/74

Dear Comrades,

The 'April, 9' Committee, an organisation of Uruguayans resident in Buenos Aires which organises support and solidarity for the struggle of the Uruguayan people, is backing up the initiative taken by the Resistance Committee of Railwayworkers (Uruguay) to secure the release of the comrades (railwayworkers) arrested on 31 July 1973.

These comrades were arrested during a union meeting at the Railwayworkers Union Hall. From there they were taken to Penarol Barracks where they were brutally tortured. As a result of 'interrogations' one comrade, Gilberto Coghlan, died and another, Luis Vega, had to be rushed to the Hospital Britanico dangerously ill. The solidarity of the FUS comrades in the hospital saved his life.

There is no evidence against any of these comrades apart from the declaration of the Prosecutor that they 'hold to a philosophy of destruction and are capable of carrying out cruel acts'. The real reason for their arrest was due to their role in the Trade Union movement and for having played a leading part in the recent General Strike.

This situation has been going on now for over 18 months. The Railwayworkers Union has done everything it can to try to free the imprisoned comrades, but without any success. Large sums of money have been raised and offered as surety against each comrade, but money does not buy off class hatred.

As it is not possible to secure the release of the im-

prisoned comrades through legal recourse in Uruguay, we must now attempt to organise and co-ordinate as many actions as possible to obtain their release from jail, even though it may mean their leaving the country. In conjunction with this we ask all comrades throughout the world to do what they can to denounce the imprisonment of our revolutionary trade union comrades. We ask for solidarity from all comrades.

Comrades: whatever you may do in support of these comrades is of the utmost importance. It is equally important that we know of your campaign here in Montevideo behind the walls of Libertad, Cuartel de Ingenieros, del batallon Florida, Montevideo. The murderers who hide behind the walls of Libertad, Cuartel de Ingenieros, del batallon Florida, know that the crimes of the dictatorship do not go unrecorded.

Fraternally,

Uruguayan Residents Committee
Casillade Correo No 2854
Correo Central
Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The names of the imprisoned comrades are: Raul Olivera, Luis Raimundo, Oscar Rodriguez, Lucas Pena and Nayda Sosa. All are members of the executive of the Railwayworkers Union.

Raise this matter with your shop stewards, Local Trades Council and the TUC, and in particular with the Railway Unions.

of thought that the killer was a Jew" writes Nicholas Faith — apparently not knowing that there was anti-semitism in East London in the eighties equivalent to the anti-black feeling in some places today, which would blame them for anything. One suggested was "... either a Russian anarchist or Tsarist double agent". If an anarchist, why? Is there some connection which has eluded us between killing women on account (according to this theory) of their predilection for drink or the sale of their bodies, and stateless socialism? (The women were in reality respectable women who knew the facts about Mary Kelly, wife of the Duke of Clarence).

It is not certain whether this is an embellishment by Nicholas Faith or whether Chaim Bermant includes it in his book, as apparently Mr. Bermant makes the Ripper an ultra-religious Jew — instead of as some-

times alleged, an ultra-religious Christian, either of whom might have some religious views of retribution.

In taking up anti-semitic fables of the time and re-writing them he is doing the same as Emanuel Litvinoff in his novel on Sideny Street (reviewed in these columns; threatened as part one of a trilogy). Why do Mr. Bermant and Mr. Litvinoff — both claiming to be Jewish themselves — do this? Because the professional writer of today will sell his own grandmother to get a book sold. This — alas — is no longer an exaggerated slag statement. Look through some of the recent biographies and you will see mothers and grandmothers sold — the pitiful pretences they maintained in life stripped away... their intimate diaries revealed against their will... exposed to the guffaws of the next generation by their loving children and grandchildren.

The Agitators (from p.7)

Like the Trots, the industrialists vie with each other, each claiming to be the true guardian of private enterprise, and so we find Col. W.H. Whitbread among the Aims of Industry vanguard, but Brigadiers Taylor and Wedderburn-Maxwell among the joint managing committee of Common Cause, rubbing braided shoulders with retired Air Chief Marshall Sir Theodore McEvoy (former Chief of Staff Allied Air Force in central Europe) and retired Air Vice-Marshal N. C. Ogilvie-Forbes (once Air Attache in Moscow, and former Assistant Chief of Air Staff — intelligence). Only Walter Walker and David Stirling appear to be AWOL — or are they? M.E.

Letters

Dear Black Flag,

Coming as an added post script to 'Urisria's' article in the December issue on Red Flag '74 (Security Risk), the Times (21. Jan) published an article expounding Scotland Yard's latest theory that a "new terrorist group" is responsible for the machine-gunning of two London hotels.

"Scientific evidence and intelligence reports convince Scotland Yard that neither the IRA nor any recognised Palestinian terror group was behind the machine gunning of the Portman and Carlton hotel restaurants on Sunday."

As quickly pointed out by the Times, both the IRA and the PLO now set more store in political acrobatics, with an eye to becoming nationalist governments in their respective countries, than in continuing their guerrilla actions. The group responsible for the recent shootings we are told by the Times "seems to be set on discrediting both."

So who then is responsible?

Scotland Yard and the Times would obviously like to construct some big conspiracy or other to try and finish what they started with the Angry Brigade. But who has more to gain from continuing the stupidity of English/Irish hatred? If the IRA succeed in realising their governmental ambitions, those right wing authoritarians and nationalists in Ireland and England who thrive on dividing the working class with their own brands of fascism will be left out in the cold, pissing into the wind.

Nobody can know for certain who is the phantom machine-gunner, but perhaps we shouldn't assume that ALL the guns are in the hands of opponents of the establishment.

Terry Wrist.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. Frank Leech (who edited 'Solidarity' and 'Fighting Call') who spoke to meetings of never less than a thousand week after week for years.
2. When (supposedly at the height of his triumphs as a fascist leader) Sir Oswald arrived at Glasgow, the police asked him to leave by the next train as they could not control the crowds surrounding the railway station, waiting to tear him to pieces "Mosley managed on that day to get the whole of the Glasgow working class united and even the Orange boys and the (Catholic) Micks were standing together waiting to use their shivs and throw their broken bottles at the same enemy," said Frank.
3. J.B. Priestly. (He became discouraged when he found Herbert Read had got to the same idea first).
4. Sir William Lawther. Convinced by Lenin that anarchism meant petty bourgeois opportunism he renounced the family tradition of libertarian militancy, became a Marxist-Leninist, went into the "mass movement" and so finished up in knee-breeches, garter and star as a Privy Councillor to Her Majesty, one of the many casualties of the book "State and Revolution".
5. Wrong if they suppose the Government couldn't do it before. This very instance happened in Glasgow during the strike at Weir's in World War I when militants were deported to Edinburgh and elsewhere when not imprisoned.

Dear Comrades,

Another in Italy who deserves some attention from the anarchist side is Gianfranco Bertoli, the one who threw a bomb in Milan last year, and by mistake, four people died. Like the case of Fiaschi in Italy, the press acted with a conspiracy of silence.

I am translating to the best of my knowledge from an Italian conservative magazine "Ge te" (people). He states (from the prison of San Vittore) "I am not a fascist. I am a true anarchist. I have a very precise aim to overthrow this old tyrannical society and to destroy definitely every form of authoritarian life and to be able to build a world of happy, free and equal man on the ruin of this old and rotten society."

With best wishes and regards to all from all.

M. California.

Dear Friends,

Once again Black Flag has lived up to its usual standards of both production and content and certainly is very welcome when it arrives here in the depths of Wolverhampton, — keep it up, and I'll keep up the search for like thinkers in Wolverhampton.

S.B.

Wolverhampton.

Cienfuegos Press

A. Tellez — Sabate: *Guerrilla Extraordinary* £2.35 + 20p p&p
M. Graham — MAN! An anthology of Anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries. Library edition £7.00. Paperback edition £3.25 + 32p p&p. (Airmail £1.30p — Seamail 20p)
Don't forget to order MAN! for you local library!

Chaim Ripper



In the Observer (Feb 2) Mr. Chaim Bermant reviews a new book about Jewish radicals in the labour movement seventy or eighty years ago — one need hardly go into his schmaltzy misrepresentations which are not worth the serious rebuttal (odd how in book reviews the anarchists are so tame, so mild, so rabby and yet in the selfsame newspapers in which the book reviews appear, so violent, so criminal, so self-confessedly vicious). But that headline again "the gentle anarchists" ... hasn't it been flogged to death yet!

Do the journalists read the reviews or the reviewers the "news"?

But the anarchists aren't necessarily gently to Mr Bermant outside the reviews column — for we learn (Sunday Times 9th Feb) that he is writing a book in the established tradition of trying to prove that Jack the Ripper was not a cover for Tory political assassinations on behalf of the Royal Family, but a Jew.

"There has always been a school

