

the new reformism

"The Acceptable Face of Dissent. As the young people of Germany become disillusioned with radical politics and witness the horror of terrorism they are increasingly turning to other forms of protest against the wealth and materialism which they believe is threatening their health and peace of mind. James Hogg looks at the Green Movement, which has become so influential it could decide who could form the next Government".

(Description of a TV Programme)

In those few words is summed up the case against the Green Movement, the Ecology Party and all the saplings of the Nuclear Disarmament, Alternative Society and libertarian new left tree which was planted by the Quakers and the Garden City pioneers. Theirs is an "acceptable" form of dissent ... but by whom? That the young people of Germany need to protest against "wealth and materialism" is clear enough -- but they are also in revolt against the history which they have inherited.

The Government found itself in a tight spot. The revolt that expressed itself in consistent struggle for years, forced it to drop its mask of liberalism. The activists started dropping out of the militant movement in Germany, faced with Nazi-type repression: the rump of the Red Army Fraction has drifted to Marxist-Leninism; others drift off to the "Green Movement" - in the vain hope that they are "doing something".

Revolutionary Struggle

In the absence of revolutionary struggle, those who want to be active in changing the world turn to side-shows like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or Ecology Party type organisations, which all come down to what the Liberal Party, or at least its radical tendency, once was. These organisations can generate a lot of support, without ever making the least impression whatsoever, because everything is in the clouds and nothing affects the economics or behaviour of everyday life. Ban the bomb? - by all means. Who, though, is being asked the question? Who is going to ban the bomb? The power-mad leaders of the world who are the only ones to have the bomb? This is a variation on Woodrow Wilson's idea of a League of Nations in which all the governments combined to "outlaw war" ... like having thieves sit round a table and agree to "outlaw burglary". If we sat down for long enough in Trafalgar Square, they once said, "they" would have to ban the bomb. But they didn't ban it - however long the banners sat, the bombers sat them out. And the protest wore itself out.

Now the demand is pitched in a much more minor key. Instead of trying to save the world from nuclear destruction, they try to save whales or seals; instead of trying to preserve the human race, they at least try to preserve the environment, no doubt thinking

that one may get the lesser demand. But why should the governments listen to such pleas? "Let them protest. If that's all that they do!" the criminal statist may say. You may say that at least the protesters are doing something in the absence of a revolutionary struggle. But you shouldn't take for granted the absence of revolutionary struggle.

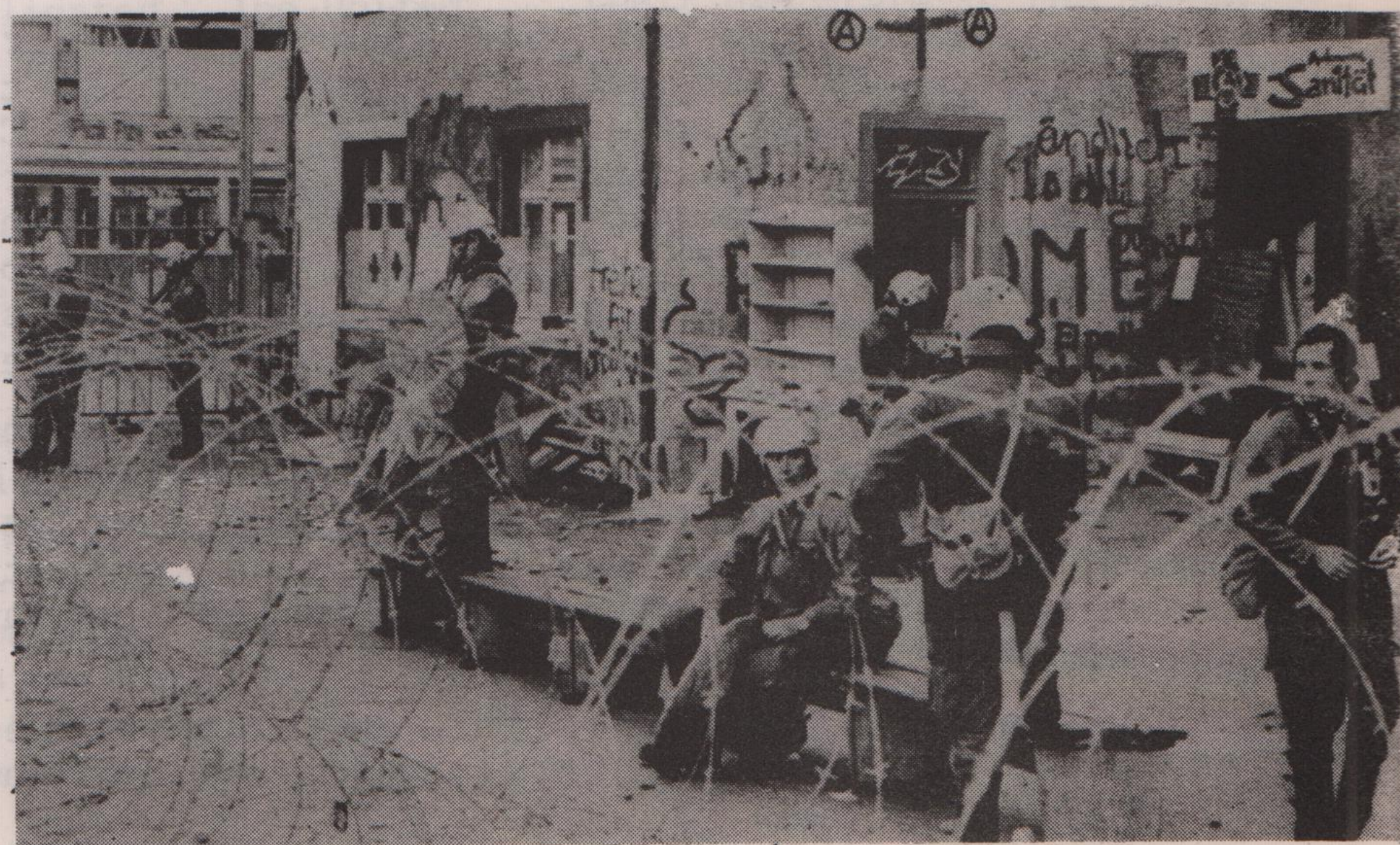
Reformism

What has happened to West Germany - and spread throughout the world - is that in the face of repeated disasters (the disappointment with the failure of the Russian revolution, the rise of State Communism and fascism, and the development of capitalism, in short, the whole rise of criminal statism) the working class has abandoned its principles and the movement it built up. The working class movement is totally derelict, and what remain are monuments, (and usually monuments to what was worst in the old movement); of what was best, there remain only archaeological digs.

For any new left, or new reformism, to pretend to the ideas of the traditional movement is a farce. The object of a socialist movement was to overthrow the economic system by those who produced the wealth of nations, taking it over and running it for themselves. The anarchist movement augmented this with a warning that there must be no parasites whatsoever or a new leisure class - ultimately a new ruling class - would evolve. The warning was not heeded and this has happened.

There is no reason to scoff at those whose hearts are at least in the right place when it comes to protesting. But we have got to get back to effective struggle. That struggle is only effective in the area where despair is most profound: the places or work upon which all industry depends, on the running of which all governments rely.

the new zurich



ATTACK ON SPANISH UNIONISM

Few modern trials in any State observing a democratic facade have been so openly politically manifest as the one which has just passed in Spain, in which two members of the CNT have been sentenced to seventeen years imprisonment each. Others have been acquitted in the notorious 'La Scala' episode, where a public place of entertainment, almost wholly unionised by the CNT, the anarcho-syndicalist union, was bombed and its employees blamed, only because they were there.

The nature of the corruption can be seen in the fact that prominent witnesses, including the secretary of the CNT in Catalonia, were arrested and charged with different offences - so far unclear - and have been kept over while the case has been proceeding, unable to give evidence.

A regular feature of the ballyhoo attending the trade union elections in this country is that, while the voting is in progress several militants of the CNT should be arrested and charged with ghastly terrorist crimes. The newspapers give over their front pages to the news of the arrests but can spare only the tiniest mention later for the news that those arrested have been released for lack of evidence.

"This is an attempt to place handcuffs on the abstentionist posture, discrediting the anarchists by crediting them with dark and never quite disclosed terrorist motives. The idea being to get over the notion that the CNT is a group of crazies instead of an exemplary union.

"Basically what strikes terror into the authorities is anything they cannot control, anything in hands other than their own.

"For this reason the CNT is, and seems fated to remain, a union proscribed by the present government."

(El Papus, 1st November 1980)

Jose Martin Artajo:

"Speaking personally, but confident that a large segment of the membership will endorse my beliefs, let me say that it seems crystal clear to me that the Scala affair was a police frame-up aimed at discrediting the CNT and at dividing the CNT itself. From the Scala affair down to the recent arrests in Barcelona (aimed at another similar frame-up) the repressive offensive against the CNT in every part of the Spanish State has followed one phase upon another, so that it can be stated that the recent arrests of Luis Andres Edo, Galo Sanchez, Jose Ros and the two female comrades picked up at the same time, are no more than the opening and closing gambits of a consistent and continuous police action.

"The CNT's campaign against the union elections has been a magnificent success, given the proportion of abstentionism so far, which is close to 50%. The Confederation has committed itself totally to this campaign, with the obvious result that it has cut to the quick all of the forces in or around the government. I see these elections as a brazen fraud against the working class, the aim of which is to have the workers swallow unions which are no more than transmission belts."

(From Mundo Diario, 5th November 1980)

It is easy to see mass abstentionism as support for an abstentionist policy. But the overwhelming majority of Spanish workers have no use for the so-called trade union corporate state, in which different, approved political tendencies (as represented by their unions) are voting in a works committee with supreme power in collective bargaining.

The Rightists Organise

Many Ministers have expressed their fear of the growth of the CNT at the present time. For a long period the Franco press tried to represent it as dead and the Franco police and army did their best to make it so. After that long period of genocide it comes as a bitter blow to them to find the hated libertarian movement rearing its head again. Every blow is now being struck against it: police frame-ups, armed attacks by the so-called fascist bands (in reality, off duty police) and political intervention.

The fascist bands have taken full advantage of the activities of GRAPO and ETA to organise themselves, and represent themselves as anti-terrorist, when in reality dozens are being killed by the 'right-wing' as well as the murders and rapes it is carrying out on ordinary people for every one policeman or politician who is attacked by nationalist groups. In the climate of the attacks made by the 'rightists', there is bound to be armed defence.

Every resistance to the 'rightists' is treated as 'terrorism' and people are arrested and held indefinitely. In an obvious juggling trick, Supres, the newspaper, and other media have for months been trumpeting news about the "smashing" of "terrorist" groups. But it has placed a great deal of importance on the union elections: the only way to keep the workers quiet (they think). The arrested people have been told frequently by the police "Get wise to yourselves, we have completely smashed the CNT as an organisation," "Even your general secretary, Jose Bondia, will be locked up the moment we feel like locking him up. We've more than enough evidence against him," and even, significantly, "But you're not the real CNT at all. The real CNT is the other one, the serious one, the ones who came out of the congress in Valencia".



This political intervention by the police is directly inspired by the Generalitat in Barcelona, the Catalan administration. They are not responsible for the schism in the CNT. But they are taking full advantage of it to try to dilute the CNT if it cannot be crushed.

The Schism

The "anti 5th congress" of the CNT met in July in Valencia. It had a larger number of syndicates than expected - 120 syndicates and 500 delegates claimed, plus 150 guests, with every regional confederation, but three (Extremadura, Galicia, which refuses to take sides in the split; and Rioja). But the CNT is hardly cloven in workplaces. Many of its members do not understand what the differences are. Many oppose - as we do - any influence of the "old gang" referred to variously as "the exiles", "Toulouse", sometimes "the FAI"; but actually, however one may criticise them for past actions, at present they are solidly for independence and action, whereas the bright young students who want to take over, with Catalanist, trotskyiste, Maoist or political catholic sympathies, using criticisms of the Civil War culled from Felix Morrow, are precisely the ones who are trying to sell the organisation out.

It has nothing to do with the split; but the "official" CNT has remained totally impervious to the infiltrators; whereas the rawer, 'renovated' CNT has let them in with vengeance. They are accepting participation in the union elections and so-called "collective bargaining" - and in return, whether this deal is open or not, are not getting the force of police repression. This is how the UGT was originally built up under Primo de Rivera: it got government recognition and was protected while its rival was persecuted. Thus the government is trying to smash the only union centre which stands for direct workers struggle, direct workers control, and keeps itself aloof from the State. It thinks it has all the winning cards now: repression plus infiltration, with the world approving. Under Franco it didn't.

Whether they will succeed or not is another matter. Meanwhile they have visible hostages in the form of people sentenced to 17 years; others lying in jail waiting until they are safely away so that they cannot give evidence. The Spanish government thinks it has lived down its Franco past sufficiently to be able to trade with the rest of the world, and enter the Common Market. It has got another think coming. We must make one more world protest against Spanish fascism, the heirs of Franco.

alberola

SUAREZ AFFAIR

Dear Comrades,

You will recall that for upwards of 5 years now, I have been kept in assigned residence by the French authorities, awaiting trial for my alleged complicity (and that charge was not preferred against me until over 3 years had passed from the time when we were released on bail) in the abduction of the Bank of Bilbao's Paris director, on 3rd May 1974. Said abduction was claimed by GARI...its aim was to press for the release of political prisoners in what was then Franco's Spain... Well, we have just been informed that we are to appear before the Cours d'Assises on January 19th, 1981.

You will appreciate that such short notice affords us little time in which to prepare our defence or to mount a campaign on our behalf since aside from the little time allowed us for these purposes, that time will be largely eaten up by the period of end of year festivities and holidays.

Even so, we must not let the opportunity pass to turn our trial into a platform from which to speak out against the complicity of all their forces of repression with the camouflaged fascism of yesterday and the neo-fascism of today. Spanish fascism is turning the European law enforcement area into an antechamber to the concentration camp world which authoritarian and totalitarian regimes of left and right persuasions have always dreamed of.

Our defence and the campaign on our behalf is based on the following points:

1. We, the ten persons (two Spaniards, one Scottish girl, five French girls, and two Frenchmen, plus another Frenchman who has since died) charged in connection with the 'Suarez affair', deny the charge of "complicity"...the sole basis for this charge are our beliefs and ideological persuasion and the placing of subjective constructions and implications upon quite normal everyday facts (all unconnected with the Suarez case) concerning people who were alive to the struggle of the Spanish people at a time when Franco was still at his murderous work.
2. Thus, in addition to dismissing these charges of "complicity" (which is the only thing the courts have been able to devise as a pretext for sending us for trial before the Cours d'Assises), I for my part, have from the outset denounced the complicity of the French police with their Spanish colleagues in the frame-up which the Francoist authorities have cooked up against me. As proof of this I cite the fact (noted in the prosecution brief) that the French police allowed the Francoist agent Inocencio Martinez to slip away quietly. It was Martinez who had prepared and supervised the execution of the frame-up for the purpose of compromising me in the kidnap of Suarez... having failed to do so successfully

italy

ANARCHY/AUTONOMY

Following the various blitz operations carried out by the anti-terrorist divisions of the carabinieri and the police, some of which succeeded and others fortunately failed, the situation of struggle in Italy has become more schematic in recent times.

One of the clamorous attempts that failed was the one against the comrades involved in the review *Anarchismo*, which began with the arrest of twenty-one comrades and finished with one sentence only (Massimo Gaspari), for possession of explosives. The others, as is known, have all been released and charges dropped due to complete lack of evidence against them. Only in the case of the comrade Alfredo Bonanno has the charge of propaganda against the State remained.

In the article published in No. 3 of your paper there appeared to be a certain amount of confusion concerning the Italian area of autonomy and the anarchist movement, which we shall try to help clarify in this intervention.

At the end of 1972 there was a profound change within the Italian revolutionary movement. The reaction against the provocation initiated by the secret services and the Ministry of the Interior and police forces with the Piazza Fontana massacre and the anarchist-hunt at the end of 1969 pushed many comrades towards an awareness of the problems of revolutionary organization.

In this period *Potere Operaio* (Worker Power) gave their maximum contribution to the struggles and to the elaboration of an insurrectional theory. Then, followed in this by various other formations of post '68 origins, they dissolved into the so-called movement, taking with them the contribution of their own experience and their own militants' actions of struggle.

earlier, despite numerous efforts to that end.

3. The most paradoxical and grotesque aspect of the case against us is that we are to be brought for trial for alleged "complicity" in a kidnap, the authors of which the French police and courts have not been able to determine... aside from granting that it was the work of GARI, since the kidnap was claimed on behalf of those initials. Which is to say that the authors of the kidnap have been neither arrested nor identified... yet we are to stand trial for our alleged "complicity" with these unknowns.

4. Another grotesque paradox. Ours will be the last Francoist trial, heard some five years after the death of the dictator, at a time when, inside Spain itself, all those anti-Francoists caught up in cases that arose whilst Franco still lived, have long since been amnestied. And the most grotesque, most paradoxical thing of all is the fact that our trial will be mounted by the French authorities who expressed themselves so pleased to see the advent to "democracy" in Spain.

5. To all of the above must be added the personalities of the accused in this "affair". We are all well known for our libertarian ideas and feelings of solidarity for all the world's oppressed. Add to that, we are all persons of good standing in our professions, etc.

6. Now the worst fuck-up of all is this threat hanging over my head (regardless of whether I be found guilty or innocent). For

the French authorities have only delayed my deportation for the duration of this trial. Which means that once the trial is over they will try - unless they can be forced to back down on this point - to proceed with my immediate deportation from French soil. And since there is nowhere else in Europe where I can go, I will be left with no option but to go back to Spain under circumstances which are such that the frontiers of Spain will mark the limits of my freedom of movement.

So, should you wish to be of assistance to us you must get to it without delay. To that end, I suggest you use the points outlined above as the basis on which to draft press releases and communiques concerning the imminence of the trial, the risks involved, etc. and request that protest telegrams be sent on our behalf, stressing our being anti-francoist militants caught up in a police frame-up devised by the French police and Franco's police at a time when Franco was still murdering those who were fighting on behalf of the freedom of the Spanish people.

Such telegrams or letters should be sent to the French President: M. Giscard d'Estaing, Palais de l'Elysee, 75008 Paris.

Also, if possible, send a copy of all such letters, etc. to:

Faustino Llosa, Cercel Garcia Lorca, 15 Rue Gracieuse, 75005 Paris, France.

Octavio Alberola

LETTERS

It is the period in which *Collettivo metropolitano* was formed in Milan, from which the first military formations of the *Brigate rosse* originate.

Revolutionary practice meanwhile (we are around the years 1976-1977, before the *Convegno di Bologna*, a meeting against repression where over 100,000 comrades were present) expanded with large mass demonstrations and bloody battles with the police.

At the Bologna meeting, where the revolutionary forces confronted each other with all their various differences, but where the last moment of a historic period of the class struggle in Italy was signed, the area of autonomy was present in two different currents:

- a) current of autonomy as a movement, represented by the theses of the comrades of Rome, supporting autonomy as the absence of whatever closed and centralized structure.
- b) current of autonomy as a party, represented by the theses of the comrades of Padova and Milan, who supported the formation of an "autonomy party" of a strictly leninist character.

Both of these currents can be defined as being of marxist-leninist observance, even though breaks with the orthodox tradition have become more evident, especially in recent times. Among these changes are: suspicion of the dialectical analysis, reconsideration of the *lumpenproletariat* as a revolutionary element, and re-evaluation of the function of the minority organization including the clandestine one.

Still at the Bologna meeting, the different forces of the anarchist movement were also present, in a more or less bilinear component: on the one side the various expressions of educationism, pacifism, pluralism, individualism, etc.; on the other side a numerically inferior but more competitive side, who insisted on a greater penetration in the reality of the struggles, territorial roots in the interventions made by comrades, and the organization of armed and clandestine struggle, revolutionary violence and insurrection.

CHRISTIE SPEECH

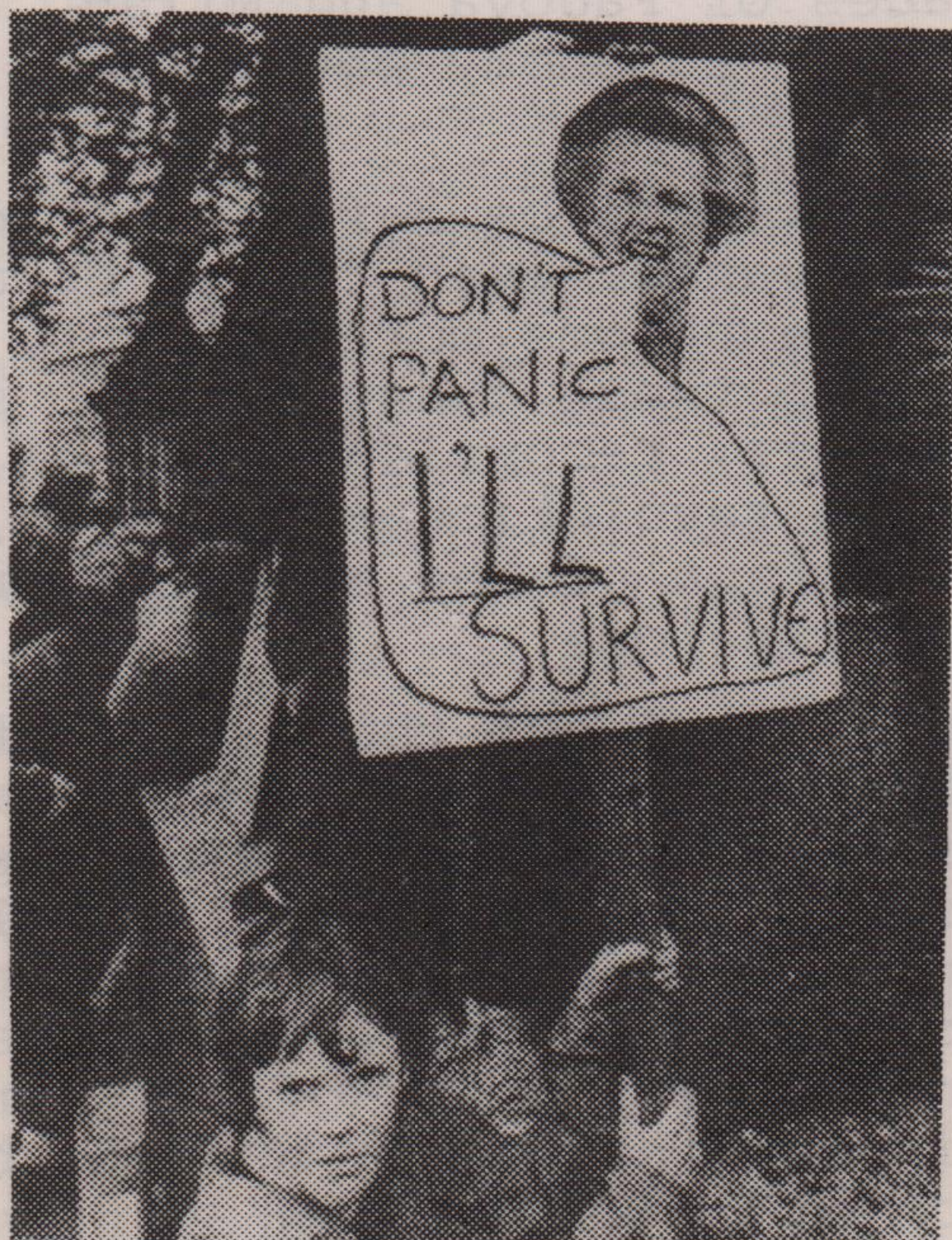
THIS IS THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH GIVEN BY STUART CHRISTIE ON TV, BUT WHICH WAS CUT TO ABOUT 30 SECONDS:

"The reason for publishing TOWARDS A CITIZENS MILITIA AT THIS TIME is because we believe there is an alternative to the threat of nuclear holocaust or world-wide genocide as a result of chemical and biological warfare, from both East and West, (perhaps in the event of Reagan being elected in the USA) and that alternative is one of a citizens defence force along the lines of the Yugoslav, Swiss and Israeli models. An organised and defended population would be a lot more difficult for an aggressor to subdue than a professional elite subject to all sorts of class, political, and personal interests - After all, it's now the 40th anniversary of De Gaulle's call to the people of Occupied France to disregard the Petain Government's surrender to the Nazis and continue the struggle against the invaders. Perhaps if the peoples of Europe had been organised in Democratic Citizens Militias the rise of Fascism, militarism and all the attendant horrors of war, genocide, torture, then the history of the 20th Century and the future for civilisation would have been a lot healthier. In fact, a good topical example is the Russian invasion of Afghanistan; if the Afghan people had been organised along the lines suggested in our manual, perhaps the aggression might never have taken place.

The other possible scenario, however unlikely or improbable it may sound is that a cabal of ultra-right wing politicians and Army officers seize power tomorrow at 4 o'clock in the morning. What could the ordinary man and women in the street do to prevent this happening, in an organised fashion - very little at first. It's all very well saying that this is a fantasy, but history is full of such examples and no doubt there'll be many more to come. Living, as we do, in a society rooted in obedience to Authority it is safe to assume that by mid-day there would be people clapping them in the streets....by three we'd have citizens loading other citizens - the so-called social security scroungers and non 'right minded' people in the first batch, probably - on to three ton lorries....on Grampian Tonight there would be a well-known politician oozing assurances that all was for the best and that it was our constitutional duty to accept the New Order. By 10.30 the following morning we'd have respected members of the Bench setting the seal of Legality on the Authority of the new regime and packing the Opposition, social layabouts and scroungers off to the Uranium mines up here in Orkney or to Hamden Park to await whatever their concept of Justice demanded. It happened in Chile and it can happen here. Both Governments share the same economic and (fortunately here to a minimal extent) political ideas.

I, as a publisher feel very strongly that it is my civil duty to defend those few democratic freedoms we have left and I feel that there are many more people who would feel the same if and when faced with tyranny and injustice.

This is a book primarily relating to the strategy tactics and organisation of irregular warfare for people with absolutely no military training or discipline. The diagrams are used to explain as graphically as possible to the lay person how to effect the information in the text. Military textbooks have the same - and a lot more detailed information, but as with most textbooks they are designed to be used in conjunction with classroom theory and highly trained instructors. To dwell on these illustrations at length is to miss the whole point of the book - that to defend ourselves against aggression we must be prepared to act on our own initiative and to not depend on others for our defence - a point Mr Francis Pym was making quite strongly the other day."



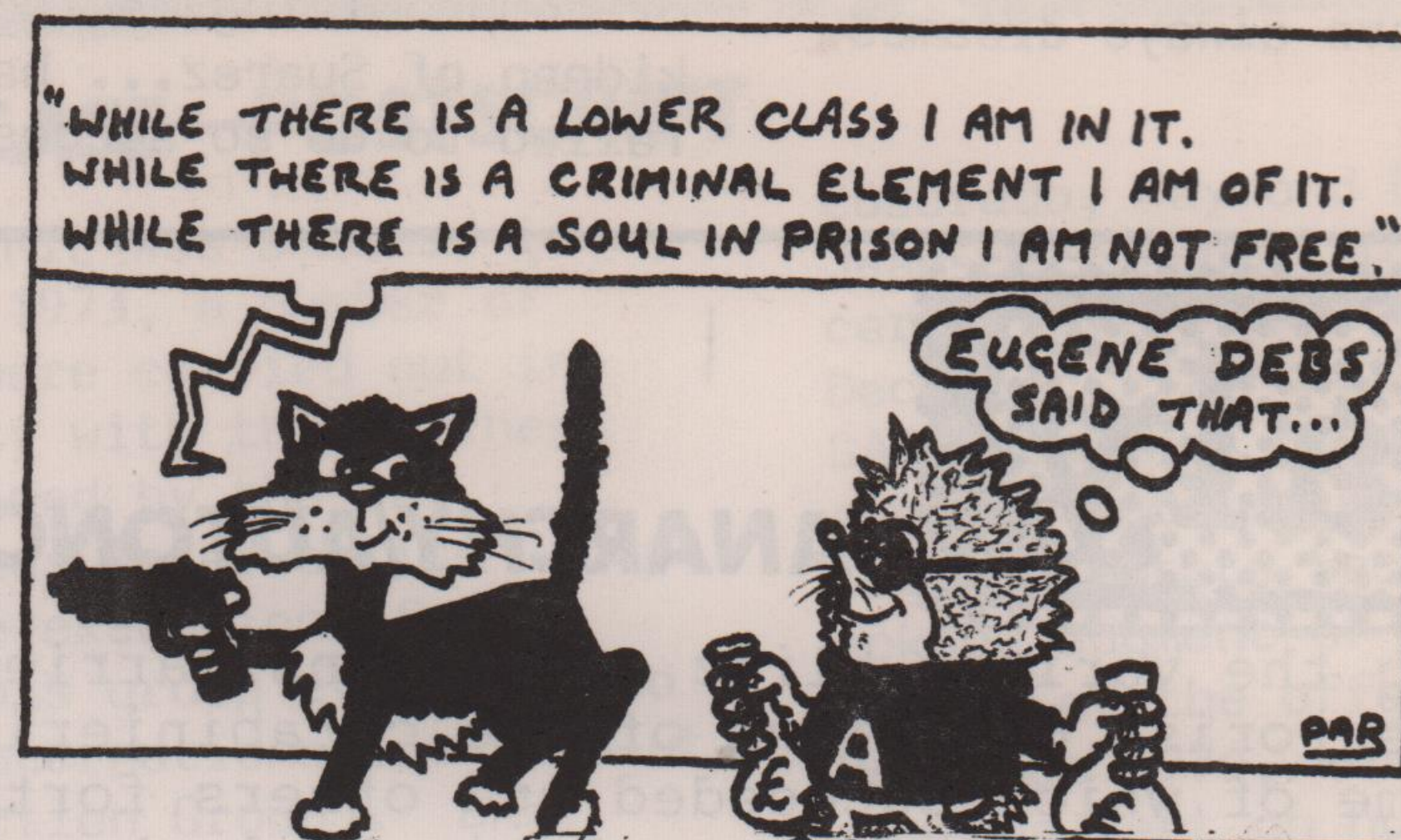
OBITUARY: UMBERTO TOMMASINI
(1896 - 1980)

Born into a working class socialist family in Trieste in 1896, Umberto Tommasini started work as a metal work apprentice at an early age. At the age of thirteen he took part in his first demonstration, a protest against the execution in Barcelona of the anarchist educator Francisco Ferrer. During the first world war, Tommasini was a POW in Mauthausen. Returning to Trieste in 1918, he joined the anarchist movement. He played an active part in the various struggles of the heated years that followed, especially in direct action against strike-breakers and the rising wave of fascist attacks. In 1925 he was involved in Gino Lucetti's abortive assassination attempt on Mussolini's life. In 1926 he was among the first anti-fascists consigned to internal exile on Italy's prison islands.

For six years he was a 'guest' on Ustica and Ponza. In 1932 he slipped across the border into exile in France where he was active in the exiles' anti-fascist struggle. When the Spanish revolution broke out, he went to Barcelona to serve with the CNT - FAI's Ascaso Column on the Aragon front. In 1937 he was arrested by the Stalinists during an attempted sabotage of Francoist shipping, but managed to escape from a CP prison in Valencia. Tommasini refused to submit to the militarisation of the militias as the communists insisted and returned to France. He was arrested there in 1940 and interned in the Vernet d'Ariege concentration camp,

whence he was extradited to Italy. From 1941 to 1943 he was one of the hundreds of anarchists in confinement on the island of Ventotene. After the war he returned to Trieste, where he joined with other anarchists who had been through the experience of exile and partisan activities, to found the Gruppo Criminal and its journal of the same name. Always to be found in the front line of anarchist activity, he was sentenced to the Allied military court in 1954 for anarchist propaganda.

In the wake of the libertarian outbursts of 1968, Tommasini was active and available for talks with interested young people; his group's numbers swelled, its premises re-opened and its activities redoubled. Tommasini was always among the most active of its members. At the age of 74, in 1970, he repulsed a fascist attack on the group's premises, chasing several of the attackers into the streets and seeing off several others. In 1972 he took over from another anarchist militant of long-standing, Alfonso Failla, as editor in chief of 'Umanita Nova' which led to fresh charges being brought and new sentences imposed upon him. In his eighties, he took part in anti-militarist marches and the FAI Congress as well as his group's local activities. Some time ago he retired to Vivaro (Pordenone) to convalesce. He died there on 15th August 1980; his funeral was attended by a hundred of his comrades, most of them young people. Flags and tributes were carried.



ANSWERS TO QUIZ (from page 2)

1. In the days when lashings were frequent, bo'suns frequently had qualms at putting the lash into the effigy of Christ, and making it bleed, but never into unadorned human flesh.
2. Cromwell's soldiers rebelled in the churchyard against further military service in Ireland which was blackening the name of the English Revolution.
3. His hobby was racing fast cars, which ultimately proved extremely useful, but he forgot in his hurry to take the Queen with him and she never forgave him.
4. Rudolf Rocker's portrait is in Whitechapel Public Library. He is described as a libertarian philosopher and organiser of immigrant labour.
5. Joshua Norton of San Francisco, (1819-1880) who claimed to be Emperor Norton 1 of the United States and Protector of Mexico, with at least as good a claim as Napoleon III, Emperor and 'Protector' of Mexico too, around the same time.
6. Cedillo's reply was "I want land, I want ammunition so that I can protect my land. I want ploughs and I want schools for my children and I want teachers and books and pencils and blackboards. And I don't want any church or saloon." He got the land and the blackboards, and the railway re-opened.

SPAIN: latest

SCALA—provocation

The paper 'CNT' (Madrid) in its September issue charges the police with complicity in the Scala nightclub arson, that cost the lives of four workers, and which the police themselves have been trying to pin on the CNT. The paper wishes to keep most of its evidence back, because of the imminent trial of CNT members on the Scala arson charges, but it points a finger at the arsonist himself - one Joaquin Gambin Hernandez, accused of being a police provocateur who infiltrated the CNT for the purpose of discrediting it.

Gambin, curiously, escaped the police dragnet that followed the fire and which saw dozens of CNT members arrested. Instead, he "miraculously" vanished. Only nine months later was he arrested by police in Elche in connection with a fraud and was sent to Alicante prison.

In February 1979, whilst being moved to Murcia Prison (and not yet having stood trial) and despite the fact that he was "wanted" in connection with the Scala outrage, he was freed without any papers being signed. The reason for his release was unknown even to the governor of Murcia prison who merely received orders from "high up" to release Gambin.

Gambin is described in a police report reproduced by 'CNT' as having been going by the alias of Manuel Garcia Gomez. Gambin was born 17th July 1929. He is described as a single man without fixed abode and without steady employment.

ERAT

Six alleged members of ERAT (the Workers, Revolutionary Support Army) were sentenced recently to a total of 150 years' imprisonment. They were alleged to have been involved in seven robberies. The sentences were as follows:

Manuel Cruz Cabaleiro: 4½ years in prison.

Jose Hernandez Tapias, Manuel Nogales Toro, Gabriel Botifill Gomez: 31 years 4 months each.

Agustin Garcia Coronado: 6 years 9 months 12 days.

Jose Ramon Sanchez Ramos: 4 years 9 months 12 days.

Although the offences involved no bloodshed, libertarians have received sentences in excess of ETA members found guilty of murder, sometimes being given sentences twice as long as ETA members have received.

Prisoners

The viciousness of the courts when dealing with libertarians can be seen from the following case:

On 27th February and 12th March 1979, Jose Orive, Ramon Marin and Francisco Mayo were arrested in Barcelona and Grenollers. Taken to police HQ in the Via Layetana

(Barcelona) they were subjected to the whole gamut of physical and mental tortures, the object being to extract signatures to ready made confessions.

Jose was incommunicado for twenty-one days; Ramon and Francisco for ten days. They were arrested under the anti terrorist laws and sent to the Model prison.

Subsequently Jose Sanchez was arrested whilst attending a clinic for treatment to a gunshot wound in the buttocks, received while leafleting near Moncada. He joined Ramon and Francisco in the Model Prison. Jose Orive was released on 40,000 pesetas bail after four months in prison.

Orive, Mayo and Marin are due in court soon. The prosecution has demanded stiff sentences for each on flimsy evidence and on a ragbag of charges.

Ramon Marin: 33 years 7 months 6 days

Francisco Mayo: 26 years 7 months 5 days

Jose Orive: 12 years 6 days

MANZANARES

On 24th July 1980, CNT member Jorge Rafael Benayas Manzanares was found hanging in a cell in Segovia Prison. His friends and fellow prisoners contend that he was suicided. They argue that he was driven to this by the pressures of prison and there are also signs that the suicide was not so straightforward as at first seemed. He had, just before his death, exposed a massive fraud in the Post Office Bank involving 1,000 million pesetas. Many people would have been reassured by his death. The coroner refused an autopsy on his body. An autopsy was held privately at his family instigation, on 28th August. A number of questions surround Benayas's death.

1. Why did the coroner refuse an autopsy?
2. Why did the coroner's report say death by strangulation when an autopsy found no supporting evidence?
3. If the deceased died by hanging, why was his skull bashed in?
4. Why did he have marks on the collar bone and not around the neck?
5. Why would he have taken his life just when he had been promised a week-long parole?
6. If he intended suicide why had he arranged to borrow 4,000 pesetas from the bursar that morning?
7. Why did warders speak of nail-marks on the walls when Benayas's nails were short, as warders themselves confirmed.
8. How could he have hung himself from the bars when his feet would still have been touching the ground?
9. What lay behind the harassment the isolation and solitary confinement to which the judge condemned him?

One possible answer to the last point: one of the people alleged to have perpetrated the

fraud, exposed by Benayas, was ascertain Pedro Marugan Gomez and the judge, Gomez Pantoja, was once legal advisor to a firm owned by Marugan's brother. With Benayas gone, no one could prove that Benaya's signature on a phoney withdrawal slip had been forged by Marugan and his accomplices.

MURDER

Sixteen year old Belen Maria Sanchez, daughter of a striking

Barcelona docker was killed when a car, an Alfa Romeo, ploughed into the picket line of which she was a part on 24th July this year. She was dragged for one hundred yards and died in hospital next day. Other picketers, women and children among them, were also injured. The driver had exchanged some words with police in the docks then accelerated straight into the pickets.

..H BLOCKS *cont.*

prison, rather than on the State socialist principle applied here. Surely the present government, with its monetarist principles handed down by Milton Friedman, must agree with this?

The right to free association does not upset prison discipline a bit; and visits, letters, parcels and proper remission are a feature of most prison services. Perhaps there might be some doubt as to whether organising "their own" recreational facilities would mean allowing authoritarian bodies to drill their own armies within prison. But on the whole these principles, for which the H-Block men were prepared to die, can easily be conceded by the government to all prisoners not just those suffering from the power politics of Northern Ireland.

Fighting

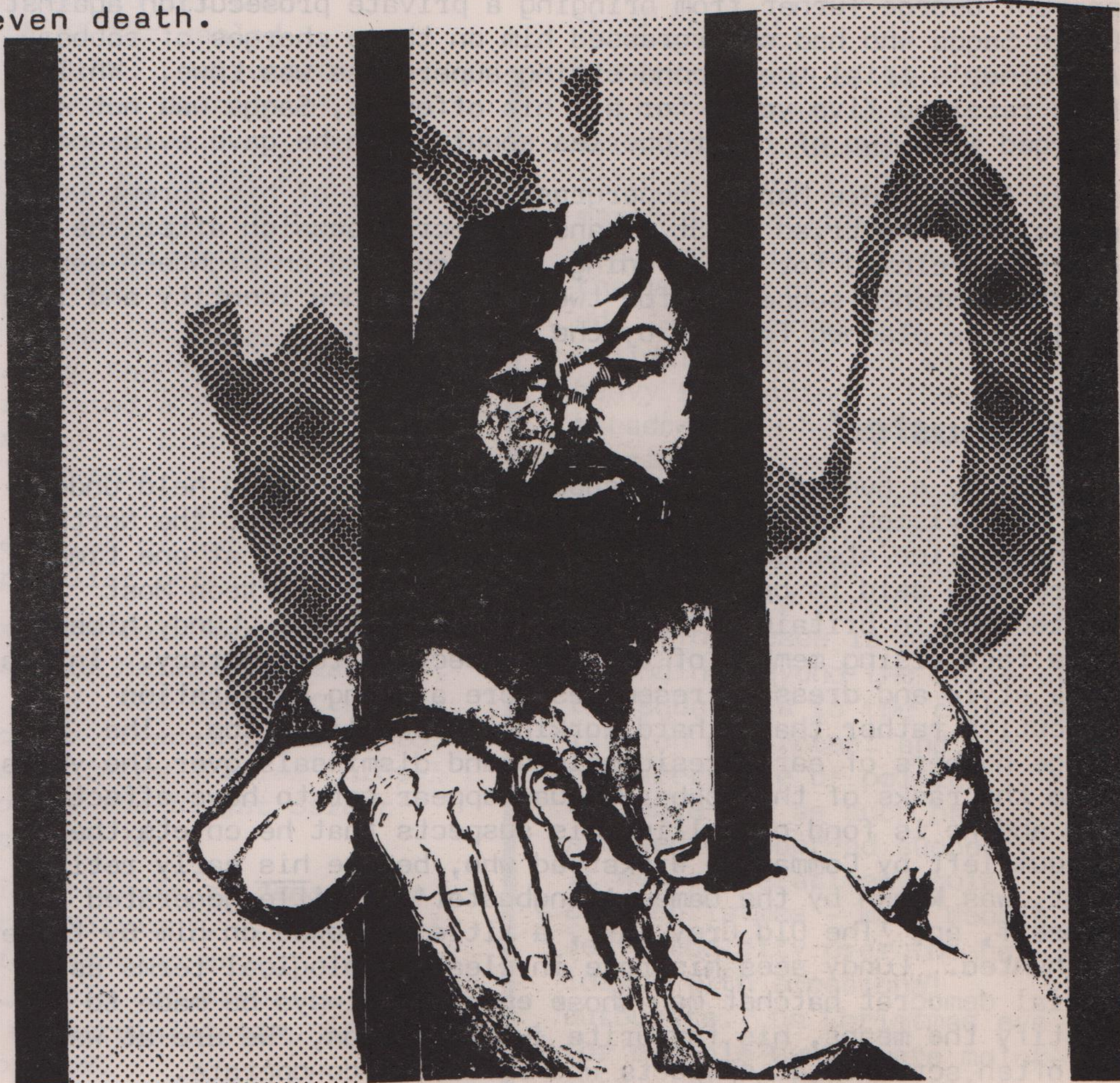
People who have died in terrible circumstances in prisons throughout the years, have always fought for improved conditions, even in the most dreadful prisons. Few have voluntarily accepted worse conditions in defence of a principle as the H-Block men. They had a modern prison; they chose to go "on the blanket", living naked, unwashed and untended in their own filth in order to gain recognition that they are precisely what they are.

Loyalists

The Protestant Loyalist prisoners made a spontaneous decision to go on strike too, but were held back only by political considerations imposed upon the prisoners - thus showing that the differences are external.

Solutions?

Nothing will ever be solved in Northern Ireland while it is plagued by racialistic memories, nationalistic aims and mediaeval religious slogans, with differences between people that are no longer taken seriously in any other part of the world, including Ireland. But how it is to break away from these associations except with a new generation is another matter. There is just an outside possibility that such a generation might come out of the struggle against conditions of imprisonment, which evoke the choosing of even worse conditions and even death.



DON'T REGISTER

Many Black trade unions in South Africa have taken ever-increasingly radical stands, not only in resisting apartheid and economic oppression, but in the nature of their organisation. This is why the South African Government required unions to register under the labour laws (similar to those of Spain) where nevertheless many have declined to register as unions.

Legal non-recognition of a union does not mean it does not exist, as many employers are finding to their cost. It merely means that the union is not subject to government pressure and control on its internal policies - though it is of course subject to external repression.

At Chloride Holdings, the South African subsidiary of the British battery manufacturers,

reported the Financial Times, faced in East London (South Africa) "unprecedented black labour unrest", and the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) had majority support among its five hundred strong workforce. But it refused to register. Despite a move by the Minister of Manpower, Mr. S.P. Botha, to urge employers to refuse recognition to unregistered unions, it was felt, as a company representative said, it is more important (for them) that a union represent the workers than that it is officially registered. The Government argued that it cannot permit two industrial relations systems, one registered and the other unregistered; i.e. one legal and subservient, the other illegal, semi-legal or unrecognised yet militant. The Spanish Government feels

the same about the CNT.

Faced with the fact that one union contains the majority of workers, and that their skills do not permit them being replaced, the company's interests clash with the Government; and they are prepared to negotiate with the union the Government wants to crush. (This exactly reproduces the dilemma of Spanish capitalism in the old monarchy and under the republic).

Most of the multi-nationals have agreed to recognise the other unrecognised black unions, "but they have all applied for registration under the new laws which permit black as well as white Unions". In the case of Chloride Holdings and its black workers, the union is determined not to be registered. It stands for independent unions.

On Thursday evening, the 1st January, in West Berlin, there were demonstrations outside two prisons presumably demanding the release of those previously arrested. Bricks and burning debris were thrown at police.

Money is needed urgently to help those arrested and the address is:

Account No.: Sparkasse
Berlin West, Angelika Grau,

Account name: Ermittlung-
eausschub, Kto.no.067 014 8733



supergrass CONTINUED

bolster testimony with two types of corroborative evidence, both recently under question, that of identification and verbal admissions.

Verbals

In March 1978, George Ince, at that time serving fifteen years for the 1972 Mountnessing Silver Bullion robbery, was charged at Highgate with a robbery which took place seven years earlier. The charge was eventually dropped when it became evident that identification parades held so long after the robbery would not carry weight with a jury. Ince though was fortunate, others have been picked out on parades for offences which took place around the same time. The Robbery Squad's use of 'verbals' as a means of corroboration has frequently led to complex attacks on police veracity by defence barristers, who have claimed on behalf of their clients that whole interviews have been fabricated. Through-out the supergrass era, verbals have steadily entrenched themselves, and for the police they constitute a singularly successful way around the refusal of the legislature to abolish the right to silence. If a man in custody refuses to confess and make a statement, the police on their own initiative simply write long scripts which include confessional material.

In March 1978, the Director of Public Prosecutions met head on the first attempt by a convicted man to seek legal redress against a supergrass. Thomas Hetherington, now Sir Thomas, stepped in to prevent George Turner from bringing a private prosecution against Colin Saggs who had supergrassed him on three charges of robbery. At Turner's trial the second string supergrass was Lowe. While Lowe received five years for all his offences, Saggs was not even charged with two of the robberies about which he gave evidence.

In July 1978, Eddie Martin supergrassed seventy of his former work-mates, and was tried at St.Albans in secret session after the court had closed for the evening. He received an eighteen month prison sentence suspended for two years. A new identity and life style were planned for him by the police.

'Gangbuster'

By mid 1979, a number of major supergrasses were being held under the supervision of Detective Inspector Tony Lundy at the North London police stations of Finchley and Whetstone; at one time, there were said to be as many as fifteen ("The Fifteen Most Wanted Men in Britain", 'Daily Mail', July 26th). Lundy himself is a fast rising member of the new detective technocracy. In his life style and dress he resembles more a young corporation executive rather than a hard working Metropolitan cop. The large numbers of early resignations and dismissals over the years from the ranks of the Robbery Squad appear not to have affected him and he is fond of telling his suspects that he covets the vacuum left by Commander Wickstead who, before his early retirement, was known by the names 'Gangbuster', a title generated himself, and 'The Old Grey Fox', a title bestowed on him by those he hunted. Lundy sees his role in clear ideological terms as a social democrat hatchet man whose ends can always be made to justify the means, his favourite justification, "We are at war", is often screamed at suspects who refuse to co-operate.

The most important of the supergrasses held at Finchley and Whetstone in 1979 broke all previous records for intrigue. It was this group who, more than any other in the period since Smalls, threw the criminal world into a state of confusion. The use of these particular men and the deals which were struck left London's criminal milieu reeling with a sense of outrage. But for the first time since the Thief Takers of the 18th century, the normally well regulated criminal world was brought face to face with the moral duality of the State in a period of crisis.

The names of the key men held by Lundy in 1979 were William Amies, Segars, Dowling, Keith Warne, David Smith and George Williams. The struggle which ensued between Lundy, his stable of supergrasses and those who gave evidence against was a sorry spectacle. Not only did the criminal fraternity fail to resort to the much publicised mafioso techniques accredited to them in the popular press, but they were decimated by a series of below the belt legal moves which turned any concept of justice on its head.

By their reliance upon legal argument, most defendants showed that they were unable to grasp the fact that in the hands of the State, the law is a mercurial weapon which can be changed and morally redetermined at any convenient time. Of course, many defendants knew the truth about not only their own wrongdoings but those of the supergrasses as well. They felt, as many had before them, that the exposure of these truths would end, the corruption and deceit which was beginning to be the watchword for police-supergrass relations.

Despite the fact that the police claim most professional criminals are motivated to inform by high sentences and a natural ambivalence to the morality of robbery, it seems more probable, at least as far as the last batch are concerned, that for every supergrass there is a crime of such magnitude that their release from it represents the *raison d'etre* for their confessional statements. Even Smalls had to fight hard to refute claims by those whom he accused, that he had taken part in a robbery at Cornhill in 1970 when a security guard was shot and killed. Natural psychological weakness and a lack of commitment to the relatively small and unsupporting criminal milieu afloat in a sea of alternative ethical values no doubt plays some part in a psychological collapse into supergrass consciousness. But regularly one can see the fear of being indicted on exceptionally serious matters at the fore in their decision making. In many cases it is this motivating crime or crimes, together with the promise of maximum immunity which provides the material for deals struck between the police and the criminal.

What is disturbing is the serious nature of immunity gaining offences and the resultant lowering in police and prosecution standards, which have superceded the straightforward bargains previously struck. In the final analysis one has to ask questions about the victims of such crimes; do for instance, the widows and children of men killed by supergrasses who receive five year sentences, agree with Merlyn Rees that, "It is right to make use of every available legitimate means to fight crime". "Legitimate means", is anyway a concept continually stretched and tested by the police, and in the war against crime, the dialectics of legitimacy take them far beyond the law as most ordinary people understand it.

ALTERNATIVES TO SUICIDE cont.

Who should take up arms?

Finally, it should be recognised that the basic right of self-defence is implicit in a democracy: this was recognised in America from the beginning to distinguish itself from the monarchical principle that only the privileged could bear arms. However, in most modern capitalistic states, and in all feudal states up to the present, there is an acceptance of the monarchical principle caused by an understandable fear that if the people have arms, they will not tolerate the government.

The left finds itself confuted with its own logic on Israel, when it tries to say it is a fascist state: it is basically a democratic state which can allow its citizens to have free access to arms and to take the arms for a conscript army home with them. Fascism, as in fascist Spain, is frightened to let even conscript soldiers learn too much and relies on an "old guard", select-SS, Praetorian guard or the like. Of course, saying that a country is democratic is not to say that it lacks aggression against others, or is a free society, least of all that it lacks police

repression: all these things exist in Israel as in other democracies. What distinguishes a democracy from a dictatorship so much is not freedom - that is only achieved by a libertarian society - but voluntary acquiescence. Fascist countries cannot allow people to take arms home with them. South Africa can allow it to its white population only; like Israel its democracy is one-sided. Britain retains the monarchical principle against the bearing of arms but at a pinch, in 1940, could allow home defence if it came to it. (Of course it never did).

Does Revolution need arms?

Social Revolutionary change is to do with a change in the industrial relationships: it means an alternation in the way the property system works, and an anarchist revolution means an abandonment of the idea of enshrined property rights. Industrial relationships can only be altered by people who are concerned with them. It is a matter of occupying the places of work, of changes in the way society is run, of an alteration in the way power is directed from above so that it is levelled and control comes from below. Libertarian social revolutionary change means a widening of conceptions so that such attitudes

spread to all social relationships and prevent authoritarian tendencies developing in the way people relate to one another.

This has nothing to do with taking up the gun and nothing to do with sabotage or "violence", notwithstanding the media-induced image. Such resistance is needed not in order that a libertarian social revolution would take place, but to prevent authoritarians from outside (or inside) the country, from destroying the revolution or taking it over.

As conventional war means mass murder, let the discussion on Citizens' Militias continue!

A.M.

POSTSCRIPT

As a postscript to the saga of 'Towards a Citizens' Militia' (now in its second edition), we had a report from a comrade travelling the bookshops in Scotland and getting a somewhat frosty reception. In the Hope Street, Glasgow, bookshop of the Workers Revolutionary Party he was told flatly that they didn't want to have anything to do with Cienfuegos titles because "the police were out to get Cienfuegos and if I didn't realise that I was a fool" and that "stocking the titles would establish a pretext for a raid on the bookshop".

This attitude to threats is reminiscent of that adopted by some minority ethnic groups who in doing so yield their enemies a position of power which they have not yet legally acquired. All that has happened with Cienfuegos press titles is that certain reactionary MPs have demanded that this book be banned and the press closed down. Immediately a civil liberties lawyer (an NCCL official) advised PDC to stop distributing the book! Yet these are the people they call on us to oppose. However, when the same book was advertised - with quotations from these self-same MPs - numerous orders were received, from all over the country and elsewhere, from shop stewards and others, all saying to the same effect: "If these people are against it, I'm for it". Yet the so-called "vanguard parties" are afraid to cater for their demand - an obvious lesson. It may be mentioned that as regards "closing down" the press or banning it, notwithstanding the media, no legal machinery for this exists. A publisher can - rightly or wrongly, successfully or unsuccessfully - be prosecuted for publishing a book. The penalties do not include "closing down" the press. The people who are calling for this are too stupid to know their own stupid business.



..letters contd.

But both these tendencies shared suspicions towards all the more or less marxist thesis, and also agreed in the rejection of any ideological identification with the area of autonomy. For both these tendencies in the anarchist movement the theory and practice of struggle continue to be those of the libertarian tradition.

The fact that on the operational level of the struggle anarchists and autonomists may sometimes have acted together should not necessarily lead one to believe that the substantial differences that divide these two parts of the Italian revolutionary movement have been overcome. Each has contributed within the limits of their own operative possibilities, remaining independent as organizational structures and, more obviously, as theoretical heritages.

We consider that this clarification is sufficient to show more clearly the relationship existing today between anarchists and the area of autonomy in Italy.

A final clarification seems necessary to us. In the article published by Black Flag on the blitz against *Anarchismo* reference was made to Alfredo Bonanno's book *La Gioia Armata*, translating the title as *The Joy of Arms*. We think that this translation of the title is not only literally mistaken, but could also create a mistaken impression and distract the interest of comrades from a book which is far from being a hymn to violence but is a thoroughly examined critical inquiry into the problem of armed struggle. The correct translation which we are bringing to comrades' notice is therefore *Armed Joy*.

Some comrades of 'Anarchismo'

Dear Black Flag,

When converting myself to Buddhism years ago I kept coming across mention of the Great Illusion. Eventually I tracked down its meaning; intellectual speculation without action; the misconception that Truth will appear before one's armchair after a long period of nattering her out.

Isn't this just Horst Mahler's Great Illusion? Let him reflect further on the mediaeval Chinese philosopher's words, Wang Yang Ming.

"Thought alone does not lead to knowledge. Action invariably does. But as Acting is harder than Thinking we must do the most difficult first!" Act-Think is correct; Think-Act is not.

Let him reflect also on this piece of knowledge from an academic logician like myself who spent years unearthing it. Since thought and action are logically distinct it follows that no act can be supported one hundred percent by reason; acting always involves a leap in the dark no

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who spent years unearthing it. Since thought and action are logically distinct it follows that no act can be supported one hundred percent by reason; acting always involves a leap in the dark no matter how prolonged the thinking before it. So it is a logical fact that war-war changes things like States, and not jaw-jaw, which is the Great Illusion that words will melt melt tanks and deflect bullets.

L.H. (Fire Horse Associates)
Dyfed

P.S. Lest it be thought that Buddhism ill fits an activist anarchist - the Gurkhas were Buddhists!



NEWS IN BRIEF

Ronald Street, who lived in Banstead, Surrey, was a right wing nutcase. He was formerly in the SAS. He boasted to friends that he was a "mercenary". It is not hard to trace his political convictions through his fantasies, especially when we learn that "He used to get the kids around here to line up against the wall, and then he'd frisk them . . . when some coloured people moved in opposite he did a war dance in the street . . . an old man parked his car in the wrong place . . . Street marched out of the house and just smashed him in the face."

In his house he kept, like many others on the right wing rearguard (which may yet become its advance guard), a "small armoury" including Sten guns, automatic rifles, hand grenades, a sawn off shotgun, gunpowder, plastique, detonators, hundreds of rounds of ammo . . . "But police said they did not think Mr. Street was a terrorist". (Evening News, September 26).

The police spokesman admitted that "he had enough guns and explosives to start a small war but we don't know what he intended to do with them"; and when he came to their attention as having no licence for his gun, "several" — note that word — of his weapons were confiscated.

Following a domestic dispute when he threatened a woman, police went to his house and he shot himself. Exit Mr. Street. But how many more of his kind are there?

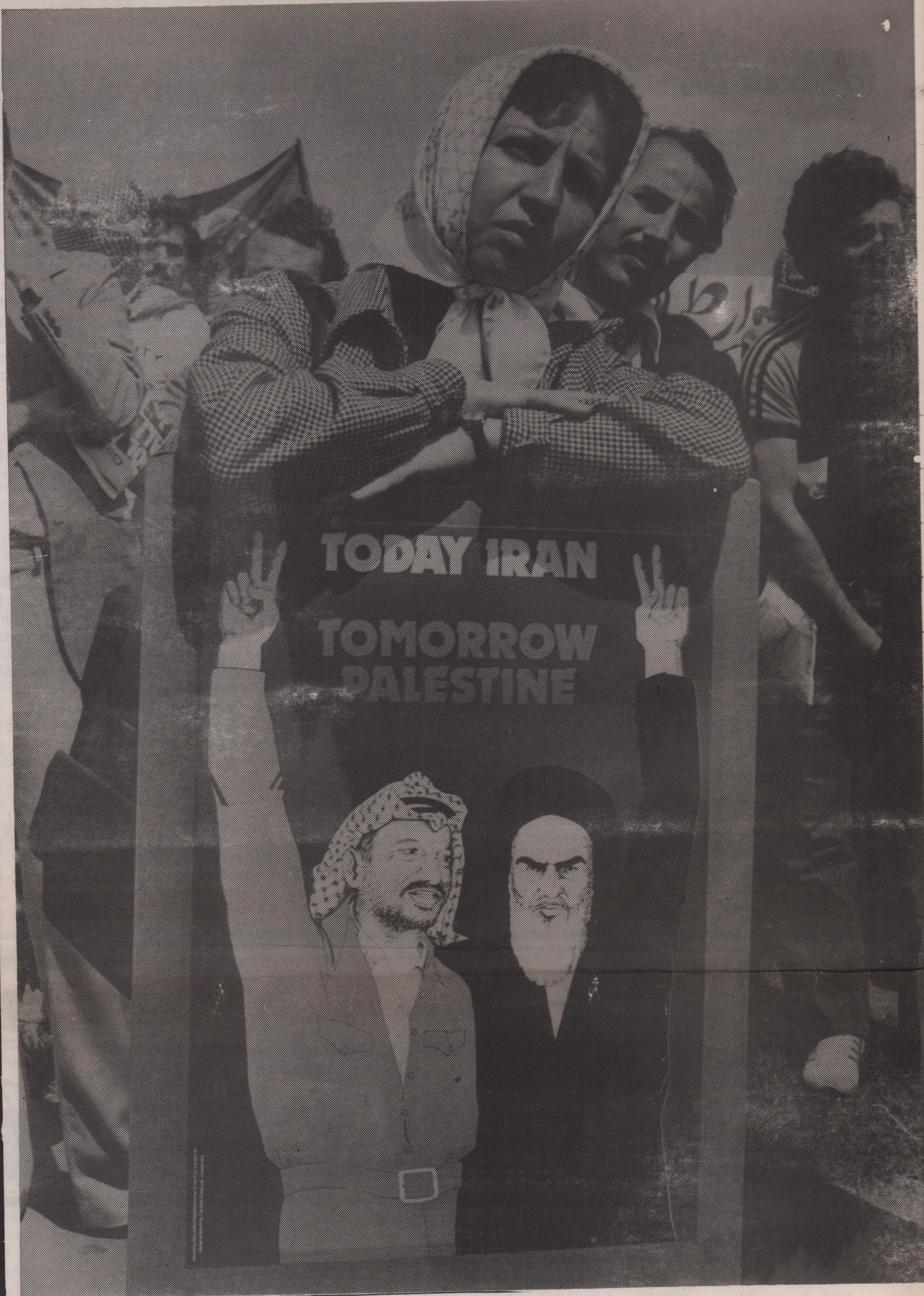
Mr. Street, being such a loyal good citizen, obviously wanted to save the country the expense of a trial.

Leyland — Management Gets the Message?

Leyland workers at Longbridge, Birmingham, smashed their way through the plant in November, damaging cars and breaking windows. This occurred when five hundred men were laid off because of a dispute over the new Metro car. It is good to see a revival of the old IWW spirit of direct action.

As working conditions get worse and unemployment increases we should encourage a bit less talk and more of "hitting them where it hurts".

A week-long anarchist congress in Oslo was arranged by ANORG — visited by 400 to 500 people including Danish and German anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. Among participants were a smaller syndicalist group of Norway (NSF, with thirty members) and also groups into the 'alternative culture' movement. The main anarchist paper is Folkebladet (The People's Journal). This autumn a new activist anarchist group with monthly action-campaigns has emerged. The ANORG has collectively joined the Anarchist Black Cross. There are many comrades who have been imprisoned for refusing to pay the male blood tax (military service); others consider it a useful way to gain knowledge of arms. Kjell Vesje is one comrade who has refused to pay the tax: letters to him can be sent to the Svarte Kors (Black Cross, Norwegian Division), Hoxtedtv. 31b, N 1430 As, Norway.



DEMONSTRATION, HYDE PARK, LONDON (Photo... Carlos Auguste (I.F.L.).

Hanging in the Republic

Three men — Peter Pringle, Colm O'Shea and Patrick McCann — were sentenced to be hanged in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, by the Special Criminal Court. The Court has no jury — it is presided over by three judges. The judges found the men guilty of murdering a policeman last July when police intercepted a gang who had raided a bank in County Roscommon. They were also convicted of armed robbery. The three men pleaded not guilty to murder and armed robbery.

Three policemen have been murdered in the Republic this year compared with four in the previous ten years.

The vigorous campaigning that was conducted for Noel and Marie Murray helped save them from the death penalty, but in this case the men's fate may lie with the Prime Minister, Charles Haughey, who is believed to be against hanging. Now is his chance to prove it.



A BELGIAN ANARCHIST CONFERENCE is to be held in GHENT on 21st-22nd February.