ULSTER WILL FIGHT!

It is hard to find anywhere in the world where people would be prepared to die for Protestantism and Roman Catholicism — indeed, to know what the difference is between them. Yet in Northern Ireland gunmen can order devotees of the rival religion stand aside and be shot — which they do not trouble to conceal; almost as if they believed the hoo-hoos.

Yet do they really believe. The reason the crumpled and tattered symbols of the Pope and King Billy are trotted out is for their want of rhetoric; the Official Sinn Fein with its equally antiquated Marxist slogan mongering is held in contempt all round.

Probably a lot of people in Belfast and Derry echo the sentiments that "it's a terrible thing to be living at loggerheads with your neighbours" and sympathise with the victims of "their own" ills, but when it comes down to hard tactics they have to line up with the heavy mob because, whatever the individual thinks, once he or she is out alone, and set upon by a gang of "the others", for what may or may not be their beliefs, the arrival of the other heavy mob is not unnaturally looked upon with relief. It is a perfect example of the identity of the protection racket with the embroiled State — for despite the innutrition of the "media", Ulster has never suffered from "anarchy"… what it continues to suffer from is too much bloody government, too much bloody religion, and too much bloody national conscious.

Yet for all the charges there is a sign of hope that the parent cities of the Left would observe, for everybody there is well aware that troops in or out makes no difference to the situation there, and few conceive even in their wildest Celtic imagination, that the substitution of a harp for the crown would make the slightest difference to their real life. How could they believe this when a day trip to Dublin would show them otherwise?

The sign of hope is the closer and more intimate community co-operation — for the wider the two major communities clash with each other, the more they cohere within themselves. And both see the struggle in the same terms: of workers control, of street community, of taking over the factories and workshops, of building up co-operatives and getting rid of the landlord gentry who have dominated Protestant politics and trade union politics who have dominated Catholic life; and of armed workers acting in defence of their gains. If it were, as the Left fondly imagines, just a struggle by a national minority against imperial aggression, it would be a revolutionary situation; the problem is that it is two national minorities against each other. The more the struggle goes on, the more the communities yield to democratic control and to grim power pressure.

This applies to both Catholics and Protestants; indeed the latter after all, pulled off for the first time in British experience a great social general strike which toppled the government and scotched every government in Europe into realising how basically vulnerable they are still.

Both Dublin and Westminster want the situation ended; both are partners in the Common Market; both are under the same capitalist control. Either community would be "sow down the river", the problem is finding boats.

There is one difference between the types of grassroots control that surgers through the Catholic ranks and that which surgers through the Protestant ones. The Protestants could call off the shootings tomorrow if they wanted to. The gunmen are under tight political control. They are answerable to the community. The Catholic gunmen are answerable only to the dead whose mysterious commands the struggle. The I.R.A. may want to sell out but it cannot, for there will still be more gunmen. It fell for a Marxist line, then to split between the "Sticklers" on the one hand, and the Provisionals of the other who would not accept an end of the old warfare. Now the Provos want to split out, but splinter groups and breakaways come from everywhere — from the backwoods of Ulster and from the backwoods of the Republic… all determined to die for an Ireland which they see almost as a real person rather than an abstract idea.

The U.D.A. and the other paramilitary bodies won't cease the shootings until the I.R.A. does, and the I.R.A. can't do it because somebody is sure to uphold them on the Nationalist side by yelling Traitor if they do. This is why they extend the shootings and bombings in England, as if the people on the 8.15 train know, care or can do anything about the situation with or without a bomb attack.

Yet without question if the killing ceased the two communities, given their experiences of power residing in the people after years of subservience, could put through a social revolution in co-operation with each other that would be a beacon to all free peoples.

How is the impasse to be solved?

The official lectures on the merits of parliaments, always readily preached in peace-time even by Ministers of War, do not seem to help much.

We shall see an answer to the question if we look at one very curious fact about the killings.

In one sense they are "indiscriminate". But in another sense they are highly discriminating. People are killed at random — for being alone at night in a country lane, for drinking in a pub, for shopping in a certain store, for being a member of the wrong confession, for getting in the way of a bomb… they are taken from their houses, their places of work.

But leading members of the military organisations are immune from these shootings as they are from military arrest. The generals have yet to die, even in bed. Mr. Paisley, for instance, walks from his suburban villa to his chapel, perfectly openly, without a care in the world… How does this come about? What magic talksman does he have against the Provos that Paddy Murphy or Jock McGrath doesn't have? "Well, if we shoot Paisley, they would shoot Joe Cahill." So they shoot twenty workers instead; and the U.D.A. shoots twenty Catholics.

It is too much one supposes to ask the Billy Boys to give up any shootings in retaliation against the I.R.A. But let them confine themselves at least to those who give the commands. If the I.R.A. feel "the struggle must go on", let them confine themselves to those who give the orders, or at least to those who carry them out, not to the unknown passer-by. It is no more difficult than to lob a bomb in a pub, and a lot more productive. It will, we venture to think, lead to a dramatic and rapid a conversion to the principles of peaceful co-operation by the bold Fenian dichard and Orange leadership as the conversion of Paul on the road to Damascus.
ALL OUT WHEREVER!

Periodically we get appeals to support the Troops that Movement of the INLINC which never fail to remind us that “anarchists should not overlook” the promotion of the wealth or the fact that Lenin (early “If one may quote him in anarchistic circles”) said that revolutionaries might have it that fellows of bourgeois nationalism are the war, or even that “at least we can do something practical”.

They quote Lenin out of context. Not that he's that much in or out of context, but after all, the bourgeois nationalists are talking about two wars and a terrible fascist thing since. They never seem to realize that Uncle Tom Cobbleeth and all aren't GETTING the troops on.

They only organize them against it. Not only should Western governments pay how they're demobilised, but quietly they well prefer to keep nationalism in place. TO.M., INLINC, and other factions are against the IRA's activities.

What have these done to do with Ireland save lending a topical and cringe story, a caution for large minority - or even majority - of those British citizens with real pretensions to magick blood in their veins. The ‘new Left’ has all the ubiquitous stoic, unforgivingly blinkered, the dull, the depressive, the sick, the unwell - even more Friends of Finland, and whatever - an order of people seemingly incapable of change.

Their aim is to keep a viable presence, gather support, to raise funds for themselves, to recapture the state at stake, maybe as a state-substitute. But ask the opportunists in power if they can see any reason for their demonstration will actually achieve the result desired at in the end, and you will find you are “No, but talk about ‘national' order of circumstances of the matter’; they might try to save their own sometime.

Meanwhile speculating at all large except least going on about the modernisation of British financial institutions which will hold up to laiter in the bitter, unless persuaded not to do so by 5,000 shouting demonstrators. No, the Bofors do not hang on because of finance constrain the world. The profits in Ireland raised by them - the German and Japanese zaips in the world - the use of the Vatican in the reservoir, and the use of the power workers who bossed into Mess after the other shift. Ulster must now be as profitable as a corner in Belfast holds on Moscow Stock Exchange.

Free Ireland or free Irish?

What constitutional shape a United Ireland should take, urges Mr. Pat Coogan, holds that a merger of the two parties would make up a different party (it would not be worth it. In either case, we should be left in a round table discussion by “every political grouping involved in the Northern dilemma” (“The Irish: a personal view”).

This seemingly-standard democratic formula is a coup for the establishment and of the worst kind. The most revolutionary achievement of the week, it has been to create revolutionary council based on the whole community. There were the “內部” the “INTERNAL”, the “Soviet” in this sense (the use of the term “the Soviet”) to describe the State has not been equalised since the Roman State adopted the name “Christian”). But when Lenin returned to take over (thanks to Helphand Parnas, who engineered the Bolshevik triumph) he proposed an “as a measure of democracy” that the Soviets should consist of representatives of all parties.

The others fell for it. Lenin, Trotsky and the others had no shock in the original sound - they never did a day's work in their lives. Even if one or two of them had managed to enlighten us as representatives of representatives of the politicians, the philosophers or the professional revolutionaries, they wouldn't have had much of a showing.

As representatives of the wealthiest party (again thanks to the wily financiers) they became powerful, and ultimately dominated.

All the parties involved in the Ulster dispute were self-appointed, and aimed “following” as such attracts flies. In no way does any of them express the aspiration of the people of Northern Ireland. They represent the attempt of ambitious men to seize the opportunity of the situation. Their round table discussion might produce peace based on their power; or as easily produce conflict provided it is based on their power.

What is the average man of woman in Northern Ireland able to do when fired up out in the street at critical point, and challenged as a belief into which they were entered and brought an order, from which in the peculiar tradition of Northern Ireland, they have apparently no choice in opposition, and for which they are more responsible than the pigmentation of their skins.

They seek protection in a gang leader offering cover for such an identity.

Certainly, Mr. Coogan is right to suggest that if the gang leaders could get together they might find a formula for co-existence. But this is too impractical for the anarchist, who would prefer to get rid of the gang leaders and let the people decide for themselves.

Valentine Stevenson Again

The case of Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson (the word "strut"") is used in the most well-known legal sense has been under review by the Press because of the fact that his judgments were censored by Lord Chief Justice in one day, including an incident where he told the defendant's lawyers that he would get a very grave sentence unless he pleaded guilty.

A question has arisen as to how far one should go in the case. What are the words of the judge? What are the consequences of his sentence? He is now not at liberty to criticise, but, it seems, anyone unfortunate enough to appear before Melford Stevenson might get an extra five years jail while "we hesitate to criticise."

AUTO DESTRUCTIVE ARTIST...EXTRAORDINARY FRIENDS of Albert Meltzer will be very relieved to read David Wedgery's "autobiography" new book on the British Ltd and that is, and being "an exhibition of printworks" it was only but one holding many years ago he is credited with being formerly "the most destructive artist from east or west" Arthur? Has he been hiding his talents from us? Or is it a simple joke in the friend who has created his own over the past few years?

There happens to be a Jaques Meltzer to gauge in a many very unlike our wild friends who invented "anti-destructive art". One from Wedgery has found Meltzer with Meltzer.

Anyone knowing the name of the Wedgery will be a bit startled to think Wedgery is under the impression he gave up falling into.reduce his books and stepping up the floor of the Rosters Books in the name of art, to write the word of art in that appears in Black King. When one thinks of Albert Schweitzer and the Thule movement, Wedgery received (the search for the historic Black King at Lambeth?) one cannot forgive the Lord Chief Justice (or is that another Wedgery?)
"QUEBRACHO" — Anarchist film from Argentina.

"La Forestal" was a large British company which exploited the "Quebracho" tannin in two provinces of Argentina. Within Santa Fe mile upon mile of land and entire towns were turned into dependence on the company to such an extent that even the railways connecting towns were built and owned by it.

Even the provincial police were paid by the company. At the beginning of this century until the early 30s most of the company's workers belonged to the anarchical movement, and one of their most popular "leaders" was an anarchist school teacher who used his talents in spreading libertarian ideas amongst the workers (most of whom were illiterate).

A new film made in the Argentine "Quebracho" tells the history of the workers' battles against "La Forestal's" terrible exploitation. They lived in absolute poverty; the company "paying" them not with money but in "bonos". This meant the workers could only shop at the company-owned stores. The police killed many of the workers during this period and virtually, literally exterminated the influential anarchical movement in the province.

Later, a political party emerged called "The Radical Party", which won the support of the workers who were tired of the struggle against British exploitation. They elected a lawyer as a senator. But the company, supported financially by the British government, decided to use all possible means to destroy the workers. The police killed many of the workers, and the lawyer was murdered by police as he tried to denounce the fraud in a public square.

In the film many anarchist meetings appear, pictures of the workers' struggles, and the Black and Red Flag. The film ends in late 20th when the Quelacho wood has been liquidated. The company has now been sold, and the workers own the paper mill in Moloque, leaving the province of Santa Fe with thousands unemployed. The province has now recovered economically from the exploitation by "La Forestal" to this day.

One of the main striking things shown by the film is the way the workers' movements are portrayed as the main "leaders" of the people who do not have the same interests as the workers.

The film was apparently allowed to appear because the capitalists were British, and the workers did not present any serious threat. The film was shown for weeks in many commercial cinemas, but later the company won the court case. The film had its premiere in the cinema "Anarchist Cinema," and it was shown for over a year in Europe. It is now believed to be living somewhere in Europe. The film was shown for months in many commercial cinemas before the Peronist government changed its mind and decided to ban it.

One of the leading characters in the film was the "Triple-A" murder squad (made up of policemen) who were believed to be living somewhere in Europe. It is now believed to be living somewhere in Europe. The film was shown for months in many commercial cinemas before the Peronist government changed its mind and decided to ban it.

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ANTI-FASCISM

Six years ago the security forces wanted to build up a massive challenge to the establishment but to keep it under control. They wanted to present a threat of continued insurgency but to keep it within bounds. They wanted, above all, to isolate what was happening in the past, but within the degree in which they could control it, and test how they could keep it in bounds. Accordingly, throughout the summer of 1964 a hysterical press campaign was mounted charging that an "armed revolution" was being prepared for October, and the nation was thus subject to a sort of pre-release for revolution and counter-revolution in the capital. The press campaign could hardly be bettered for effect, with detailed plans coming out daily, in which the Times and the Mirror worked hand in hand, the former proving the more sensational.

The demonstration around which it centered was run by the International Marxist Group, then controlling the trade unionist Solidarity Campaign. It managed to manoeuvre the other Trotskyist groups within the committee to provide the "clout" for the State's "bait". Now, once again, the IMG is obviously using itself to be used all over the country in staging an entirely phoney confrontation with the National Front. When it calls for demonstrations against "racism" and "fascism" the other Trotskyists can stage the outcomes, so they all have to join in. IMG didn't intend racist teams, but it had explained them as fully as has the National Front. One has only to compare the purely and abysmally false of the Leicester double by the IMG with the way the IWW once handled similar situations in the USA.

The situation that the IMG enjoys the reverse of the medal of the fascist "Victory March" technique. This technique is to hold victory-type parades through sections known to be hostile to them, to places which it appears if it is not "sufficient", though planned in advance. First the IMG got this trick in the thirties by staging march after march through the Jewish quarters of the cities inhabited by coloured immigrants. If there is no opposition the fascists appear to be winning -- victorious everywhere. If there is a opposition, they are being "beaten" in the "street" and more importantly appeal for police protection. This gives them added power -- so much so, in fact, that they proactively, but protected from the consequences by the police (who take all the knuckles and get all the blame but still get to identify the, with those who publicly exhibit them).

The opposite to this was the old CP technique whereby the seeds become an attack on the police. If successfully, they have won a great victory, "control of the streets" which revolves when everyone goes home to bed. If any line or a few people get beaten up, this is a step in the initial of the police. (...the "swearing of social democratic police..." to bloodbaths of Norwe... great applause... all good old Weimar Bremens staff). Need one recapitulate the events of Red Lion Square?

The role has been taken over by the IMG, which, because of its waving red flag, is bringing in huge amounts of public attention to itself. Just as the CP have, on certain issues, with a limited working class through going social, on other issues the trots have a recognisable student fallback, there is not much to learn from them on organising demonstrations (for this anyone can do the given people). But what they have done is to fall back on the student "heroes" who in a previous day and age would have been "savingapples" behind the Blue Line in the Boat Race.

What is peculiar about this type of confrontation is that it attacks the National Front directly on the issue on which the latter is mostly likely to gain support; gives publicity to them on which they thrive, and (worse of all) challenges those workers attracted by the racists' theory, taking care to isolate the rats.

The racist line must be attractive to some workers in certain circumstances, which need to be analysed and thrashed out. We do not need to emulate those half-baked libertarians always ready for any confrontation and fighting back on a rubbish level at the first opportunity, obviously the fascists must be fought, but it does not have to be on grounds of their own choosing.

The fascists are weakest on class issues. They are only strong on racist ones. Moloney was defeated in the thirties not as a result of confrontation by "anti-fascists" but by its building in the first place, by Anarchists and ILP of housing strikes in the East End which totally isolated the fascists, who were unable to support the strikes, and obliged to go clear against the interests of (and to attack) the workers on whom they called for solidarity on racial grounds.

There is also much "in no circumstances allow the fascists to speak" nonsense today, trying to evoke memories of the 30s ("they shall not pass") in totally different circumstances to show the tramps are the true heirs of all that is socialist! (They stood aside with smiles at the time)! But there is not enough of real anti-fascists. Stop their "victory marches", but to refer to their energies in small meetings linking to the faithful but bored few -- alas, do we not know how deadly curtaining this is? Real anti-fascism does not consist in tackling those few, unconvertable fascists who have turned their creed into a way of life, who still treasure Hitler photos and cracked Nazi records and collect swastika medals along side union function. Let the closer fascists enjoy what gives them their kicks. The tougher, rewarding job is to put over a true liberation case to those whom their programmes are directed to reach, the people at the lower end of the social ladder, to whom it sounds logical to attribute all the problems of society to an indefinable race -- whatever it happens to be at the moment -- since the hopes once presented by socialists, and even libertarian socialists have been lost with the triumph of State socialism and parliamentarianism.

AFRICA

RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE

The closing of the borders between Mozambique and Rhodesia was part of the programme of the Federation Government of Mozambique when it took power about a year ago. The implementation of this policy has been delayed because Mozambique felt that to take such a step shortly after independence could jeopardise the stability of the country.

Coupled with the victory of the MPLA in Angola the border closure is another move to Southern Africa towards a real confrontation, inevitably the pressures of African nationalism move towards Namibia and South Africa itself. But it looks as if Rhodesia is next on the agenda.

The financial and economic interests of capitalism are at stake, which helps to explain why both Russia and China are showing great interest in the region. Whether those with vested interests in Southern Africa opt for the increasing instability of white rule in the uncertain future of installing black (or multi-racial) elites in power is an open question. Rhodesia or Zimbabwe? Nkomo or Smith? who cares as long as labour is cheap and profits high.
THE U.G.T.
A WARNING

We have warned repeatedly about the controls on British trade unions, especially the Union General as招商前 (U.C.P.) the former official sister to the union movement of Spain.

In its best days, this was a union similar to the TUC — but
with a minority representation, since the majority of workers belonged to the anarcho-syndicalist CN. During the dictatorship under the Monarchy, and later under the republic, it sought to increase its membership by parliamentary representation and legalization of its opposition — at the cost of working united.

During the civil war, under the overwhelming pressure of its members, it joined in the collectivization. But afterwards it collapsed. It played a part in the Resistance because by virtue of its principles it could not exist. As a "vertical syndicalist" like the TUC, controlled by the top, it had no function when the leadership were arrested, shot or imprisoned. It could not operate in legality because by its principles it was constituted to operate in legality. Furthermore, the Falangist syndicates took over its role since it was organized in precisely the same way.

What is the point of reconstructing it now, since it is restricted in the same way not only by the TUC — but also in the "vertical syndicalist" of the Falangists? The Communists have advocated a single united trade union. This has always been talked. The Falangists, on the other hand, have taken the money contributed by British workers in the U.C.P. under false pretences.

THE SPECIAL BRANCH

The Special Branch continue to harass Stuart Christie. Through the KGB, the collaboration of the Spanish secret police against our comrades at the assassination of Gen. Franco eleven years ago. Stewart was released after serving 35 years of a 90 year sentence, as a result of a widespread campaign on his behalf. When it was seen that not only did he not recall his views — as was expected — but went on to collaborate with the Spanish Resistance and to co-operate in the setting up of the Anarchist Black Cross, as well as with the editorship of this paper, a counter-campaign of police action began which has not finished.

There was the trial at the Old Bailey when obvious propaganda leaflets, reproducing a dollar bill and labelled "One life" (Here Vidal said was the "feudalism" of real "Cuban war".). It is a shocking image of a politician travelling, uninvolved. Then, there was the notorious "Stoke Newington—Angry Brigade" trial which Stewart had kept in custody for eighteen months before being acquitted (as Companion Rail said) "you have publicly admitted being involved in the internecine movement".

One cannot count the police raids on his homes but the one by the French police, applying the Spanish law, stands out as a milestone. This in London, when he and the others were selected in this way.

Now we find him banned first from Western Germany on his way in an anti-Franco meeting at Offenbach, where the border police turned him back as being on a secret international "forbidden" list. At first the pretense was that he had insufficient funds with him; when he returned with sufficient funds, in a friend's car, they were surrounded by armed police and ordered out at rifle point. The Dutch police — co-operating with the German police as they did before the war — also failed him to stay in Holland. But the latest event is surely the limit.

He has been forbidden entry to Canada for a three-week stay. On protest, being made about the refusal to admit him for the government has declared that the papers of the Green Cross are of no value and that he cannot be admitted for they owned the earth above the Feetmoore: The latest in the "Christie Saga", is that the London publishers Michael Joseph have commissioned his book "The Christies". He has been refused the police under two flags, a liberation autobiogrophy. A great deal of work had gone into the book, an advance in the project, the manuscript, copies, edit, the advertising material, and the book itself was scheduled to appear in the Spring of this year. Now Michael Joseph wrote to say that their lawyers advise against publication and they hope another more courageous publisher can be found.
Jose Perez Pedrezo was in his early twenties when he faced the firing squad, as the result of the round-up of our section of the Resistance, one of the five whose death sentence was carried out—others had it commuted to various terms, 30 years in my case. At the last moment the lieutenant in charge of the executions asked if there were any last messages. Nobody answered, but Jose took the silk handkerchief off his neck and asked the officer to give it to his mother.

The Falangist secret policeman who was present wanted to snatch it away, “None of that, don’t play the martyr!” But the lieutenant, to his credit, told him to shut up, “You have to say here.”

Like many others, his mother received it as one of the last relics of her son snatched by the dictatorship. Had it affectionate sensations. Jose had a terrific appetite and when on the track over the mountains, at the regulation ten minutes halt in every hour, he could almost eat "even with stones." The first thing they did on the stops was to take off their hats, and usually eat. He was called "el Tragapanes" because in a few moments he would "swallow" one of those large Spanish loaves which were cheap and still the basic food of the friendly towns. With his happy-go-lucky temperament, he would greet the name of "el Bread Swallow" with great bursts of laughter.

Like many others, even "el Quico" himself, he started his career with Massana who trained them all in the art of crossing the border and passing over the mountains. But Massana, like many others, was only in his element in the mountains; he would not go in the towns. This is where he had two parts from people like Sabata who were attached to the towns and where they suspended groups of workers as well as fighting in their elements. Jose too was irresistibly drawn to Barcelona where his life and the fight of the enemy was a constant provocation to action.

On one occasion coming over the Pyrenees a group with which "el Tragapanes" was working snatched a patrol of three Guàrdia Civil. They hid in the bushes to let them go past. Suddenly Jose dived upon a patrol with a dart, killed them, threw down their arms, and threw down their arms. They did so. The rest of the group then killed them, to take off their clothes. The Guàrdia Civil were convinced their last hour had come. They were weeping and crying how many children they had dependent upon them. But whatever the regime propagandists say, the Resistance wasn’t bloodthirsty. They had not the flashes in one spot and the arms in another—when they had a good shot, they would start before they were recovered—and went off saying, "You don’t report us and we won’t report you." For the Guàrdia Civil would not report such an incident (which would have meant court martial after suspension without pay).

Such is the Guàrdia Civil, so arrogant and bullying when dealing with disarmed opponents, who swagger around like conquistadors. But they were as cowardly as rabbits when faced with such a situation, possibly knowing they were hunted by the conquerors.

Once crossing across the Pyrenees the group went into one of the numerous friendly farms where they could be assured of protection. At these places they were supported by the CNT, the Guàrdia Civil, and the Guàrdia Civil knew it, so they were regularly checked by patrols. On this occasion their look-out spotted three Guàrdia Civil approaching the farm and the farmer hid them in the hayloft. When the patrol came in, the acting corporal asked the question, "Anyone here?" "Nobody." It was only a routine visit, but he decided, "Well, let’s have a look." The group had no interest in provoking a fight and involving the farmer and his family. But the acting corporal was anxious for promotion and insisted on looking in the hayloft. As they went up the winding stair, the group were waiting breathlessly. One of them (still living) was crouched at the ready like an athlete. The Guardia drew his automatic. But too late. The other shot first. The other two Guardia Civil streaked off like lightning, disappearing through a tiny window overlooking a precipice, from which he picked himself up quite as a cat and dashed off. Those who were there still wonder as to how he was able to go through so small a window! The farmer and his 15-year-old son escaped with the guerrillas into France to avoid persecution for giving hospitality to the enemies of Franco. "El Tragapanes" was not responsible for the shooting, he just happened to be there. But this was what he was ultimately executed for— at least the pretext, for his real crime was his unyielding enthusiasm for the libertarian cause.

Miguel Garcia.
"WORKERS' PRESS" (daily paper of the Trotskyist "Workers Revolutionary Party") is no more! The Party still exists — though members are dropping out, forming new groups, or being expelled left, right, and centre (sic) — but the natio

larger and smaller points of "principle" with every split. I am reminded of the old saying "a chip off the old block"... but how many chips can come off the same block before

only a few days of thought remain (unexcused) unproven? Poor Trusts, that the only task they see after each fresh disintegration is the rebuilding of the same predetermined

structure!

This harping back to the organisation form of Leninism reveals the complete impotence of such groups when it comes to furthering today's class struggle. All of them are incapable of achieving what they set out to do, (build the party); each persists to its big fish in a small pool but all end up by eating one another. Their entire energies are devoted to recruiting members. Activity for them consists of newspaper selling geared to building up organisations which contain within them the seeds of their own destruction. If they were ever to reach a situation of having sufficient members to warrant the label 'party' they would not know what to do with them. But none of them will ever get that far.

Activities for the Trotskyists is translated into commentary on a spectre which they are outside and powerless to affect — an influence (a curious dilemma for the "vanguard of the revolution")! Appeals to join the party, "solidarity" campaigns (solidarity with the actions of others), which involve no real commitment, and the stacking up of a few posters here and there are passed off as the marks of social change. If anyone outside their control does anything (and no-one inside their control does anything) that takes the fight into the counter-camp (like Angry Brigade, 2nd June Group, etc) they are immediately shunned (or in the case of Spanish resistance, ignored) for being 'adventurists' or 'individualists'.

Even within, properly speaking, in the name of the anarchic movement we can see this spectacle manifest itself in the emergence of ORA/AWA (where students label themselves "anarchist workers" instead of "socialist workers").

Faced with an inactive and unevenly organised anarchist movement, and hampered by the superficial influence (i.e. of the Trotskyist specie), they retreat in line fashion to the dusty "platform" of Malouch and Ashkénazi in the same manner as the WRP approaches Trotsky's "transitional platform". Lenin's party model and Ashkénazi's platform were both aimed at specific historical situations in which the people they were to organise actually existed. They cannot be applied to every period of class struggle in every country regardless of local economic, historical, social characteristics and regardless of the existence of those they seek to organise. But is like trying to fit square pegs into round holes when you don't even have the pegs.

ORA/AWA hasn't organised the anarchist movement. It has separated itself from it. It has gone from a situation of not enough activity into one of too much activity. Like the Trusts, they can only watch (and regulate) the activity of others. We are still waiting to see what (if anything) they can do.

The logical consequence of this situation is dislocation and further retreats. For the ORA/AWA, the Trotskyists sects offer a not too hasty exit home: for the Trusts, the even more comfortable repose of becoming bigger fish in smaller pools.

P.R.A.
THE HARRIS'S STATEMENT

The saddest reality of the revolutionary movement is that it is the only movement that we have got alone with the strength and methods employed by some of the comedians. We must support in whatever way we can those who carry the consequences of the struggle to the day of the lives and this is no exaggeration, there have been murders, such as that of Antonio Mancini, and those who are about to be shot in Spain. One must support this movement. Solidarity is not discussed, it is given.

One must be aware of the problems and prepare oneself for the consequences. This is not a protest or a demonstration. It is a movement. The movement is not just for the day, but the day after. This is the way to the liberation of the working class and the working people.

In this struggle, we must fight bravely. We must not be afraid of the consequences. We must be prepared for the consequences. We must be ready for the consequences.

The Harris's Statement, wrote from the top, back-page.

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ITALIAN PRISONERS
GERMANY

On February 3rd, 1976, Comrade Jurgen H. Beker will have been held on remand for two years.

Remand imprisonment in Germany invariably means solitary confinement, and Jurgen has been held in solitary for 1,800 days—23½ hours every day in a room measuring 8 square metres. There can be no doubt that this degrading treatment is mental torture on someone who, under German law, is presumed innocent.

However, it is not simply the pain and anguish imposed by “justice” on the individual prisoner which we are concerned about, but the political fact that behind such actions to destroy the spirit and will of prisoners are the orders by means of everything at the disposal of the State and its repressive apparatus.

For instance, it would have been perfectly feasible for the judge responsible, Judge Kuhbach (remember that name!), and the prison authorities to transfer Jurgen legally to solitary in Berlin. Instead of keeping him in solitary for him to proceed to give him a special Christmas present of special treatment: special observation, cell to be wrecked by two windows (meaning that he is always last to get food and mail and he has to wait for the second guard to arrive). This is a tremendous psychological burden, to him, because he has no idea when to stand by the door waiting for food and mail! So far “Justice” has not managed to destroy Jurgen’s spirit. After fighting with the prison authorities, who gave him the “special” facility of weekly visits (that many remand prisoners have visits every day), and every month he writes between 10 and 20 complaints and applications of which nearly all will be rejected.

It is painfully obvious that Jurgen needs a trial to show the world how he could have been transferred to Tegel prison. But probably it will be held in Tegel prison. We ask all comrades to make their protests as strongly and as persistently as is possible.

Letters of protest to:
               An der Vorzentrinde el der
               2 G. Strukkemper
               - Herrn Vorsitzender el des
               -personel
               1981 01 10
               Berlin 11

URUGUAY

From Argentina comrades have been sending us reports concerning resistance actions undertaken in Uruguay, especially in the area of the East, known widely as a centre of violence and corruption. On January 11th last, one group carried out an action entitled “Operation Adults” in which they attacked the Cortes restaurant in Porto Alegre and a number of other establishments frequented by the Uruguayan ruling class, the bourgeoisie and the international business community. Our informants explain... that the government of our country is able to maintain its business deals with the Uruguayan ruling class and that it is able to enjoy it with the support of the Brazilian and Argentine army and the support of the Uruguayan army.

ARGENTINA

The tension which is felt throughout the country at the moment not only makes everyday life uncertain for the people of the Argentine, but also extends as far as the prison system where no one can consider himself protected from arbitrary violence and eventual murder. In this respect, a number of political prisoners have been denounced for the viciousness with which they are treated. In particular, unit 42 of the Villa Devoto prison where the minimum guarantee of humanity is being entirely ignored.

Since last October the lives of the political prisoners occupying Plantas 5 and Planta 6 (Women’s Pavilion) have been made impossible: visits have been prohibited, no recreation, no newspapers or magazines, correspondence heavily censored. To this, new restrictions must also be added the deplorable conditions of hygiene and the physical and mental ill-treatment meted out to the prisoners by a group of wardens known as “in potas”.

What do they hope to achieve by these methods?—ask the families of the prisoners? Possibly they hope to intimi-
SNIPE and WOODCOCK

In our last issue we asked for our repeated "trotkyist" stories about Anarchists or the life of the "fellow for wearing a collar and tie who has clean hands." The answer is staggering. Our readers have resisted the temptation to swat the bantam through nut-cake images, followed the popular press and given some choice "snipe and woodcock" to hand.

The first comes from Anna May, who mentions, "I read a recent article in an anarchist paper (1) by a self-styled "Feminist" describing the traditional movement as "falsely feminized" and saying something to the effect that no woman should support anarchism because Makhno raped women - the same scum to other fellow rapists against Zapata. I could understand about Pancho Villa but her story was absurd.

Recently the women of the Spanish Revolution. Is it because the "raped nun" became such a feature of fascist propaganda?"

The raped nun who certainly a feature of fascist propaganda, not unlike the rape in the Congo - the Spanish raped women remarkably seldom. The raped nun is a feature of Fascist propaganda. The Spanish Church mendaciously has always apologised for its role in the Civil War - which included the manufacture of these stories. In fairness to Pancho Villa he was an authoritarian, but a revolutionary nonetheless and the accusation of being a rapist particularly distresses him. "Name me the father, the brother, the relative of a woman I have raped and let him accuse me," he said. It is not consistent to challenge an accusation to rely on hearsay and the total absence of actual victims. Who is for instance Makhno supposed to have raped? Emma Goldman or Natalia Tsarkova? Kropotkins? The lady only says "women" without names.

Why was Makhno never charged with such a crime? He spent only a few years in independence in the Ukraine before he was living in France, a few years in Paris where he led a relatively conventional married life - as did Zapata, even during the years of revolution. This may, by some modern woman's standards be regarded as a lack of feminism but it was certainly not so regarded then. A libertarian was expected to lead a monogamous life - enforced by Church or State.

Another comment in the US had brought our attention to the article in question, so we asked her to check up where the writer got her facts ... she got some evasive replies, more or less to the effect that Makhno was a peasant and all peasants raped women, it was part of their backwardness. Touch of the old Prussian Marxist, but even so, a bit exaggerated, one would think! Did he "confess" when he betrayed his own women workers?

In making this sweeping accusation, the lady had in mind the whole of the Spanish Revolution. But she was a great, foolhardy one in sweeping aside all male rapists. It is to do a great disservice to women because such an attitude is implying that all males are rapists no matter how libertarian in outlook. She is doing her work's worth to build up women's fear of executions as no more than normal in all men, and so advocating what she deplores.

In 1955 the well known travel writer S. Mais wrote in "Spanish Holiday".

The Spaniards all are basically individualists and any critic with a fanaticism that led them centuries ago to cling to their Christian faith in spite of their Moslem church, and in the civil war, led them to destroy the very churches in which they had worshipped.

I quote entirely the story quoted by Cedric Sailer, a great authority on Spain, of the anarchist leader in the Civil War who said to his followers, "I swear to you that I will never rest until every church in Spain has been burnt to the ground and the power of the churches finally and completely broken."

This I solemnly swear in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Very funny. (much the same story is now going the rounds of the press about the Fransj.) But fortunately for Mrs. Sailer (whoever he is) precisely the same story was told about Pancho Villa who is numbered among those who moulded the writing the author's story about the burning of the churches, "if the revolution is successful we shall soon find priests to give us absolution." So great an authority in Cedric Sailer that he quotes an "Anarchist leader". One must marvel at the naïve belief of S.P. Mais, "it was anarchism that made the Spaniards Christians! - and he thinks himself superior to these poor peasants!"

More goes in our next issue 

Footnote * The type of sniping in Anarchist activity exemplified by George Woodcock's brand of Trotskyism.

ON THE DEATH OF WORKERS PRESS

We still say an anarchist daily newspaper is possible - if only there were the will by professed anarchists. The delusion, perhaps, is the number of committed anarchists there are proportionately to the number of supposed ones.

Does the collapse of the trots’ daily "Workers Press" invalidate this? In one way: it tried to tackle national distribution without a firm local base, under the assumption that it had a national party. (In any case it was surely worth the effort, from their point of view.) Most a newspaper last 180 years like the Observer? Was it not a more valid effort? Another, a very serious one.

Party workers were funded with their quota of copies to sell. Many gave them away or lost them, and paid up the system. Nice work; but a terrible cost in paper at inflated paper rates; they would just as well have paid up without all those surplus copies. The first request for a daily newspaper is a firm local base. As a secondary consideration it can be found out of the country - indeed, the world: it does not follow that every daily writer must follow the examples of Pelt Street and be received and read on the very day it appears; it needs won't wait a day or two, it probably

isn't worth it.

Every bookshop doesn't have to be Royal's. It doesn't follow automatically that if one can't have a department store in business, one can't have any anarchist bookshop. Not does it follow that because one can't follow the Daily Express in speed and distribution, one can't an anarchic daily at all.

A word on the demise of Workers' Press, and indeed on the WRP. The other trotsky groups hate it like mad. Perhaps it is the kiss of death, but we can only say that within its limitations Workers Press was a valuable contribution to the struggle and we saw it. The trots in general hate Gorby Healey; but he is the only one with ability and honesty. Authoritarian certainly, but one has said all that when one says Trotskyist. When one considers the filthy, dishonest, financial trickery MTO and the "Million" Groupottoned in when they waffled money in T.U. aid to "Spain" - which will make the same Trotskyist sink when it's discovered - one can better appreciate Gorby Healey, which is why, perhaps, he is drawn by so many admirers from the coffin of Trotskyism.