

# 'AN OBSCURE MYSTERY'

"THE SUAREZ CASE"

"An obscure mystery". This headline from l'Aurore of May 24th concisely sums up the affair of the kidnapping of Balthasar Suarez last month, and the events following his liberation, inasmuch as it is possible to piece together these events from the press and the police files.

Even though on the 22nd May everything seemed clear: both police and press were unanimous in declaring the nine arrested to be: "the kidnapers of Balthasar Suarez". Not a detail was missing; in fact "they were followed at every step by the police" (l'Humanite, May 24th). "A fine catch", crowed the *Parisien Libere* of May 23rd, and 'public opinion' heaved a sigh of relief in gratitude to the police. The director of the judiciary police in Paris explained with evident self-satisfaction: "the kidnapers of Mr. Suarez were known to the police even before they struck" (France Soir, May 24th). Concluded the commentators: "The Spanish Anarchist Groups, infiltrated by the police, seem likely to break up". (France Soir, May 25th).

However, only two days later the 'commando of kidnapers' (France Soir, May 25th) had turned into mere 'pathetic supernumeraries' (l'Aurore, 25-26th May). A police operation having covered half of France, begun as we are told in April under the direction of commissioner Ottavioli, head of the Crime Squad, seems to have served more to fabricate big headlines in the papers rather than to establish any proofs. And as l'Aurore pointed out as early as May 24th (!) "if the police had in fact identified and located the kidnapers, would they have let C.M. Vadrot meet the banker with them?"

What are the accusations? Against five out of the nine (Octavio Alberola, Ariane Gransac-Sadori, Jean Helen Weir arrested in Avignon; George Riviere and Annie Plazen, arrested in Toulouse), receiving a large sum of money; 2,500,000 francs (approx. £250,000) in cash found in Avignon, and 680,000 francs (approx. £68,000) at Peyriac (in the Aude region), in the house of Riviere's friends. The former five maintain that they didn't know what was in the bags they had been given. As for Riviere's friends, Pierre Guibert and Daniele Haas, they are apparently guilty of having allowed friends into their home.

But most important of all is the question where did those three million-odd francs, 'the ransom recovered' (l'Humanite, May 23rd) come from? Thus we have seven people convicted of receiving money which has not been proved stolen or extorted from anyone at all. As if this were not enough, the same charges are leveled against Anne and Lucia Uturbia, arrested in Paris, in whose flat nothing suspicious has yet been found — only that 'they seem to be at the centre of this affair.' (France Soir, May 24th).

All these contradictions are only reflections of a much deeper one: so as to stifle a political action, the authorities emphasise the "sordid" aspects, of "pure gangsterism" (France Soir, May 6th) of the affair. The family and colleagues of Suarez insist on his "apolitical" nature. The authorities pretend that the kidnapers didn't make known their "political" demands. "Nevertheless", remarked l'Humanite on 6th May, "the presence of Spanish police agents, specialists in political affairs, working side by side with the French agencies, seems to refute the theory of a mere act of stupid gangsterism".

Before *Agence France Presse* received the first communique from the International Groups of Revolutionary Action (GARI) claiming responsibility for the kidnapping, we had already been told, thanks to the attention of the Director-General of Security in Madrid, that it was an action of the anarchist group called 'Primero de Mayo' (Journal de Dimanche, 5th May). And the press gave chase to Octavio Alberola, a

"dangerous desperado" (France Soir, 25th May); "a man who governments prefer to see on the other side of their frontiers, because they can always expect him to be hatching some bad plot or other." (l'Aurore, May 6th).

Arrested in France and expelled on the 19th April, Alberola had in fact returned without asking permission from the authorities, who had used him as an opportunity to make a goodwill gesture toward Franco's regime. Alberola knew Lucio Uturbia, a Spanish political refugee like himself. The Uturbias have been pictured as receivers and link-up connections. Chantel and Arnaud Chastel committed the crime of knowing the Uturbias, which made it possible to accuse them of having allowed Suarez to be sequestered in their flat; this on the strength of a telephone number and a grotesque statement by the banker himself, who claimed to recognise the flat by the 'feel' of the entrance ramp and . . . the sound of the street!

For the first seven people charged, contradictory proofs, for the other four, none at all. And no-one should be surprised at the attempts made to transform what is obviously a political affair into a simple crime: this avoids the risk of a mobilisation of the French Left — eternally and sentimentally anti-Franco — which would de-mask the ever more intimate collaboration that goes on between the French and Spanish authorities.

Furthermore, it is evident that a regime based totally on the cult of Money, Law and Order, must repress with the same energy banditry, terrorism and subversion in all domains. To quote Mr. Lecanuet, symbol of the 'new enlarged presidential majority', "a firm but humane justice; in particular, I will come down hard on anything concerning drugs, violence, kidnapping and the taking of hostages." (Le Monde, June 12th).

The fact of their being libertarian militants, or else Spanish refugees in France, has been the only pretext for the arrest of these people. Others have received strange 'visits', connected in fact with veritable secret perquisitions: the Suarez's 'sumptuous flat' was not the only place visited by the Spanish Security Police.

**It is time to denounce the repression of French libertarian circles by the Spanish and French police, to denounce the system which offers up Alberola and other imprisoned comrades as gifts of 'entente cordiale' to the regime which murdered Puig Antich and so many other militant workers; to demand the end of this masquerade of rigged justice and the liberation of our eleven comrades.**

## THE SITUATION AT PRESENT

The Juge d'Instruction has now gone on holiday, as have most of the lawyers, and no immediate developments are expected until after the summer break.

The British Black Cross have organised legal support for the arrested comrades and a legal adviser briefed by us and in conjunction with the French defence team will attend the trial. He will be particularly involved in the defence of Jean Weir but he will also act on behalf of the entire defence team. A Belgian lawyer will also be part of the defence team.

The British Black Cross urgently request that all Black Cross groups throughout Europe — and elsewhere — attempt to send a legal observer to the trial which is expected to begin in October.

### Women:

Ariane Gransac-Sadori, Jean Helen Weir, Anne Urtubria, Annie Plazon, Daniele Haas, Chantel Chastel:—  
Fleury Merogis, 9 avenue des Peupliers, 91700 St.  
Genevieve des Bois, France.

### Men:

Octavio Alberola Surinach, Lucio Urtubia, Pierre Gilbert, George Riviere, Arnaud Chastel:—  
1, avenue de la Division Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes, France.

# BLACK FLAG

organ of the

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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Thats o.k., Sarge; I fancy a spot of rugger practice!



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**ANARCHO-QUIZ**

1. What remains of the many ultra-Protestant sects that sprang up during the English Civil War - Traskites, Shakers, Ranters, Dippers, Behimenists etc., etc., all revolutionary within the sights of the day?
2. The London Rothschild bankers made their original fortune with a couple of birds and an onion. How was this typical capitalist coup brought off?
3. What was (and remains of) the 'Berlin International'?
4. What did William Morris (in 'News from Nowhere') see as the prelude to the free socialist society?
5. Which English political movement (introduced here by an Anglo-Catholic clergyman) realised it would be fatal to be confined to a few middle-class people and therefore imported its leaders and 'staff' from South Africa, a country where they found their activity 'redundant' at the time?

# INTERNATIONAL SYNDICATE?

Reviewing the present position on the Continent observers are inclined to draw a rather pessimistic picture according to which the old traditional fragments of anarchist organisations have stagnated and a new vital movement is practically non-existent.

If the vitality and strength of a movement is to be judged by megaphoned slogan chanting under directives of an organising elite, backed by political legitimacy and the prestige of a slick publicity machine, then of course the anarchist may be counted out.

But this sort of survey is superficial. There are several groups of young anarchists who have replaced the old seasoned comrades and who are displaying a vigorous skill in coping with an entirely new economical and political situation.

The most important and seemingly overlooked phenomenon is that the phase of digesting the impression of the abortive student revolt has proved to be an incubation period, producing a new grouping and assessment, not only confined to students, but workers and bourgeois intellectuals as well.

As wastage we may count the multitude of students who joined the revolt and after the setback drifted back into passivity, drug addiction or occultism. Faced with grim reality romantic sentimentalism made way to matter of fact existentialism. The essential idea of the libertarian Spartacists to combine the efforts of social revolutionary groups on common ground in mutual consent, is being put into working practise without loud proclamation.

The initiative has shifted from outspoken political groups to groups of the 'Black Cross' with no other programme but that of actions of solidarity with victims of class justice.

Prison appears today, in the imagination of many people belonging to any of the different classes, as incarnation of the State. Police States imprint upon the minds of most people the objectionable picture of modern barbarism at work. In the charters and constitutions of its democratic countries and bodies such as the United Nations, it has been expressively proclaimed that no citizen should be deprived of the human right to personal freedom. Only the law, installed for the protection of the individual's freedom, was given power to take it away from him, if evidence was produced, that he interfered with the freedom of others.

But people have learned by bitter experiences, that the "protective weapon of the law" can be turned at random against them.

Prisons today represent social systems stripped of slick moralisations for the denial of freedom. Wherever they become a symbol of power at the highest level of destructive potency directed against human beings, planning the use of modern technique and science to violate human dignity and break self-defensive resistance, people take a stand and identify themselves with the imprisoned and in proportion to the destructive power of the State, exercised in its laws a natural reaction of counter-destructiveness comes into being. The logical consequence in opposition to a law, that in the name of justice commits crime unlimited, can only be action aiming at total abolition. As the State will persistently ignore demands and - with pressure of demonstrations - must apply repression, it bears the moral responsibility for any desperate act of violence on the part of campaigners for liberation, such as the storming of prisons, dynamiting of law administration offices and kidnapping of VIPs taken as hostages.

One may question these actions on the grounds that they were inopportune or ill designed and carried out, or object to any organised action and express the view, that only spontaneous actions of the people in general revolt are justified, that is beside the point, as it does not in the least minimise the moral responsibility of the State, since any action to the abuse of justice produces a backlash of equally violent rejection.

In the anti-prison movement of the Black Cross there is no division on this point resulting in factional frictions. The spirit of solidarity extended to those whose suffer most under intolerable physical and mental stress of the present prison system, deepens the libertarian sense and promotes a fraternity among all participants in the struggle.

The natural response of mutual aid is a basic function of any socially conscious man, which makes him rebel and distinguishes him from the citizen, who confers by vote power to a government and then objects by reason of humanitarian, ethical, religious or democratic principles.

In the beginning of Labour's emancipation revolutionaries focused their attention on the exploited proletariat. Today the prisoner is the most victimised person deserving attention and aid.

The social revolutionary regards the endeavour of humanitarians to ease the lot of prisoners as an auxillary drive, aiming merely at prison reforms. The true revolutionary aims at the undermining of authority of any set of people restricting the liberty of others and the destruction of States maintaining jails.

He does not fall in with the cry for exclusive liberation of political prisoners, but insists that all prisoners are political prisoners, because the political system, due to tis unjust social structure, produces privileged classes and subsequently a class of underprivileged, whom it must force into line by means of deterrent and corrective laws and jails.

"Black Cross" groups have mushroomed in almost every country. The need to improve contact between the groups for mutual assistance has been felt generally and the benefit from free association is being realised.

The setting-up of a vehicle for distributing information has been suggested, whereby every group puts out mailings to all other participating groups. If one locality is in urgent need of assistance they could issue a call for co-ordination demonstrations, fund raising etc. As these calls would not be directives from a centralised body, but an appeal to comrades involved in the common struggle against the same class enemy, much of the duplicating, mailing work and expenses would be reduced by instituting a Syndicate for the purpose of circulating information and appeals submitted for worldwide distribution, thereby promoting communication and assistance on common projects.

The "Black Flag" group, London welcomes this suggestion coming from the "Anarchist Black Cross", Chicago, and is in favour of a conference of continental "Black Cross" groups extending the invitation to the various Anarchist and anti-authoritarian groups in Europe.

Steps have been taken by the London "Black Flag" group to build up an archive of international propaganda output, (magazines, leaflets, etc) accessible to comrades from abroad visiting London. A German language centre operates next to the Centro Iberico, establishing closer contacts with Anarchists abroad. Increased exchange of information and news is developing.

The "Black Flag" group intends to provide space in the "Black Flag" magazine for international group announcements and proposes to publish and circulate special communications to groups abroad provided this effort finds the necessary co-operative assistance.

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This publication may be sold openly under the right of colportage and its appearance continues a tradition of over a century of anarchist publishing. Its confiscation by a police officer other than against an authorised receipt constitutes an act of theft. Comment upon it by a police officer finding it in the course of a search constitutes his involvement in political controversy.

These remarks are made after positive incidents have occurred and should be pointed out to the police officer concerned if they recur.

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SUMMER VISITORS: Comrades from all over the world turn up in London during the summer. Anyone got bedspace?

# WORKERS CLUBS

Despite generation after generation of working class militancy and revolutionary propaganda, few could say what, in the event of a revolutionary situation in the British Isles, they would actually personally, do.

The authoritarian socialists believe they have an answer — by dreaming themselves to be in the role of Lenin's bolshevik, with one situation after another repeating itself, they think they would march step by step to power from the address in the Finalnd Station (Liverpool Street?) to the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. But as Lenin's programme was based on the notion of one party representing the working class that not only took power by a consent not likely to be repeated, but took away everybody else's right to speak, it could hardly come around a second time with 57 varieties of the party going strong.

The libertarian socialist falls back upon the theory of spontaneity because there is precious little else he can fall back on. But how does spontaneity "combust?" In the Spanish Revolution the libertarian workers rushed to the union centres when they heard of the fascist revolt, thus forming a recognisable force. But the unions were themselves anarchistic. Picture trying to do that at the average British trade union branch — especially if the military rising occurred on a weekend or after 5 p.m.

In the French Revolution of 1789 the clubs were in permanent session and contributed the main philosophical trends — one might even say parties — within the revolution. The views of the clubs, developed and extended, have furnished the basis of revolutionary thought for nearly 200 years, such was the force of accumulated thought and experience.

The phrase workers' councils covers many aspects of organisation (including opposites). The notion that workers can form councils to participate in the way in which they work (which has been officially adopted in the European Community and now forms part of the Labour Party platform) is one that is consistent with any form of totalitarianism and was, in part, part of the official credo of the Corporate State of classical fascism. To meet in council is not necessarily to control; certainly not necessarily to deflate power.

The formation of councils representing the workers can apply to the democratic form of representation and is consistent with orthodox trade unionism, or may be used for an overthrow of the system. The same term is used for quite another concept, viz. the all-embracing council of workers to take over the places where they work; and this implies not its democratic continuance but its breaking up, for it is quite obvious that no mass production line can survive control by the whole of the work force

It is this last form of workers council movement that is libertarian. There is no reason why a free society should be tied to large scale industry; indeed the two are probably inconsistent unless methods of technology alter radically, for nobody is going to freely choose the way of life implicit in servitude to the conveyor belt when neither economic nor physical pressure makes them do it.

The type of workers council we see as revolutionary and libertarian is therefore, and must remain, in the future; though the democratic form is more easily achievable. The revolutionary assemblies will no doubt come spontaneously, but cannot be something that can exist within capitalism. The minority or democratic workers council — (elected by the workers, or by some of them) or the union of workers councils that is a syndicalist union horizontally controlled can exist within the exploiting system ("building the new society within the shell of the old" as the old slogan had it). But at the present time when the trade unions as we know them dominate economic life and it is impossible to conceive of industrial activity which ignores or supercedes them, or at any rate takes over their functions in time of crisis, even the idea (whether in the anarcho-syndicalist or IWW form) remain a propagandist vision, extremely hard to achieve except in the context of new struggles. Before one could float such a movement of workers councils one would have to construct the pool for it — workers clubs.

They will take a variety of forms and it does not matter if some are Marxist, some Anarchist, some Social-Democratic, some 'package-deal left' (indeed the latter have most to offer in already existing grassroots movements — dealing with local issues though all too often missing out on the working-class and aiming usually at the most oppressed strata in society, aiming at reform rather than changing the power structure).

Such clubs can be social, for cultural exchange, for sport or entertainment — all these have made up the workers' movement in many countries, and only the triumph of commercialism has made them ashamed of it. They can be for any function whatsoever, since the object is not to be an organisation that can make a revolution — for no organisation can do that, unless it is a "palace revolt" — but to be the place where militants in each industry can find out, socially, who else in the factory is prepared to stick his or her neck out.

They can also be the first line of Self-defence; the Workers' Lodges in every town. As a start, surely in London — this teeming metropolis with so long a history of working-class struggle and nothing to show for it, but the embodied lie of Speakers' Corner, it should be possible to start with an Anti-Fascist Club, with if necessary, seven different tendencies so that there is a different one running it each night of the week so far as its "lodge" activities are concerned, but where one could build up a centre for workers.

The various left bodies all support a similar body for students — they have their "Union". This is where every "left" tendency grows and flourishes (and disappears when the term ends or the student graduates), they all profess belief in the workers' cause. But where is the "Union" where they can meet? Together, libertarian and authoritarian Socialists — all preserving their sectarian differences — could build the first Anti-Fascist Club. (I use the name as one of the few things they would agree on: but I mean a Workers' Club and not another Students' Union — admirable as it may be).

The first one would be a springboard for all the others — for the embryonic clubs exist all over the country. Most of all, they are available through the inheritance of the I.L.P. It still owns — not as a result of the efforts of those who are now in it — but as a trust of past generations of proletarian sacrifices — buildings, clubs, funds, press — all either disused, used (or sold) for profit, or under-used. The party no longer effectively exists. Its viewpoints are represented in many bodies — the whole spectrum of socialism from right to libertarian. But its one main consistent viewpoint is expressed in the whole idea of workers' clubs. A vision that Hardie and Blatchford had no less than Kropotkin.

The first step is an inter-sectarian committee (one can hardly hope for, nor does one need, a non-sectarian one), to found the first Workers' Club — the Anti-Fascist Club in London. The one common aim to be the belief in helping militant workers get together. The next is to launch a campaign for the revival of the clubs. It is a tradition common to the whole workers movement. They all will honour those of the past. Let us build those of the future. For the first of the new Workers' Clubs will soon prove one point — unknown to opinion polsters, psephologists and sociologists — namely, that the extra-parliamentary "left" and the real "silent majority" of now coincide.

# WOODEN HORSE

The National Front held a march to Conway Hall with results which are well known. They marched to Conway Hall and took over for the same reason that Mosley, in the thirties, marched on the working-class Jewish districts. He did not want to "convert" the. He wanted confrontation (which he would not have got in a middle-class Jewish district). The military style march of the Front was to the "Cathedral Church" of Liberal Humanism, the Conway Hall, focal point of London's radical causes for 150 years and symptomatic of everything which the Front detests.

In the counter-demonstration organised by some left bodies, the Front counted on the fact that they would have police protection (just as Mosley used to) and a victory for the police would appear to be a victory for themselves and add to their reputation for "toughness". In the fight in Red Lion Square Kevin Gately stood out, not because he was particularly radical or militant (he apparently was not so at all) but because of his height. He was an obvious target for a truncheon attack. He died.

In all the discussion since nobody asked how the National Front came to get into the Conway Hall and fortify it, military fashion, as for the siege of Troy. The Home Secretary said that the Ethical Society could let their hall to whom they liked. Countless newspapers, TV and radio have given publicity to the Society's secretary Mr. Peter Cadogan, posing as a champion of free speech and so dedicated that he makes no distinction between comers.

One paper made merry at the expense of Mrs. Jeger MP who thought it terrible that the Front got into the Hall. It was, said their reporter, as much entitled to let to fascists as "dietary reformers and theosophists". But it was never consulted. Mr. Cadogan was the wooden horse.

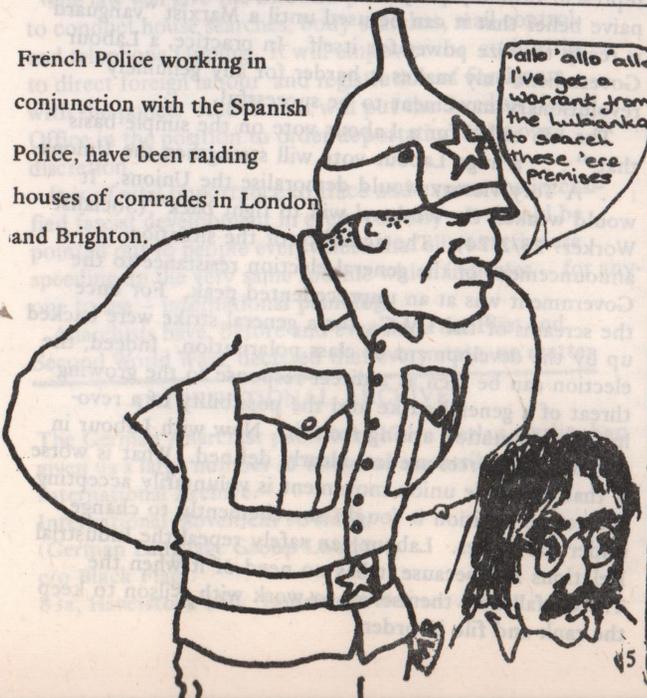
Had this political adventurer in the course of his career managed to become hallkeeper to the Great Synagogue, it would not be expected that he would take advantage of the situation to let it out for a Nazi rally. Had he got the caretakership of a Catholic hall in Kilburn, it would not have been thought proper to let one room to the Paisleyites and another (to show his lack of bias) to the I.R.A. Liberal humanists, even those who do not attend lectures, have their pride too.

Cadogan is not the owner of Conway Hall but the paid servant of the Ethical Society which, because of its antiquated constitution, has given fairly free powers to its paid secretary whom it is difficult to depose, and who behaves as its executive officer. This carpet-bagger, dismissed from the C.P., S.L.L. and I.L.P., making his way without toil from one public cause to another, has made full use of his powers. One method is to work closely with the police. He was doing this when secretary to the Committee of 100 (at one meeting he called on the Spies for Peace to give themselves up). In bringing in the Front to the Conway Hall, not merely for meetings but almost as a H.Q. (for they use it regularly to plan their racist campaigns) and flooding it with their undercover agents, he is not acting in the tradition of the Ethical Society which once would have been in the forefront of the march against the fascists.

While Cadogan allows bookings of the Left in the name of "free speech", he sees to it the police are informed, and it is strongly believed their meetings are bugged. For the notorious Saturday meeting that led to Gately's death Cadogan was there (he is normally never there on a Saturday) seeing to it the place was barricaded, co-operating with the NF's stormtroopers — "men who knew how to look after themselves", he told the press sycophantically. At a previous similar meeting when there was no counter-demonstration a coloured member of a trade union group, meeting there (not as a counter-demonstration) was ejected by the police going into the Mother meeting. This time there was a confrontation. Was it not to be expected?

The Ethical Society as such was never consulted. The press is deliberately confusing the issues for it is not a commercial body letting to all comers and indeed, has at the moment an appeal to the Charity Commissioners claiming to be a "religious charity". It in fact represents a left-wing liberal and libertarian tradition betrayed by Mr. Cadogan, who became secretary with no previous commitment to liberal humanism has two lectures at the hall which are his "alibi" (but because, as one member put it at a previous AGM because he "smelled money").

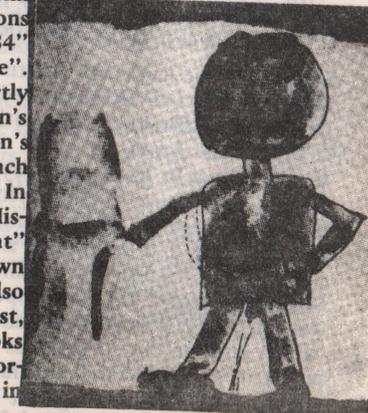
Many in the Ethical Society are asking, "How long is this humbug going to get away with it?" And some, optimistically are saying "Surely now our Council will act?" But it won't. And too many of the libertarian and left movements are not interested thinking it a personal matter for the Ethical Society.



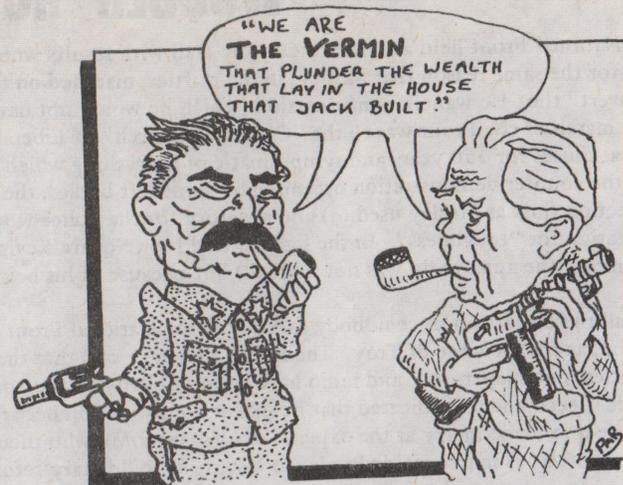
French Police working in conjunction with the Spanish Police, have been raiding houses of comrades in London and Brighton.

ATHENS — The "Diethnis Bibliothiki" in Athens has already brought out three books by Rosa Luxemburg in Greek; a translation of Ida Mett's "The Kronstadt Commune", "The Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti" (with special appendix on the 22nd March movement of Italy and the Valpreda case); Cohn-Bendit's "Obsolete Communism, the leftwing alternative"; Guy Debord's "Society of Spectacle"; books by Wilhelm Reich; and new Greek translations of Marx's "Manuscripts of 1844" and Bakunin's "God and the State". There is also to appear shortly translations of Murray Bookchin's "Listen, Marxist"; Maurice Brinton's "Irrational in Politics" and a French text on the Angry Brigade. In course of preparation are "A History of the Makhnovist Movement" by Archinoff and "The Unknown Revolution" by Voline. They also hope to publish other situationist, "Solidarity" and anarchist books and pamphlets as well as information on the present struggles in Spain.

MICHEL BAKOUNIN  
ΘΕΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ  
ΔΙΕΘΝΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ



It can scarcely be believed that in Freedom the hoary old myth is still being touted that "the question of whether freedom of speech should be allowed to those who do not believe in freedom of speech is a complex one" (Jack Robinson, June 22nd) and that Peter Cadogan's "liberal views" are respected in this matter — while S.E. Parker argues (same issue) from this, logically enough, why only attack fascist meetings? "I have yet to see any correspondent suggest the disruption of (marxist) meetings" though they equally do not believe in freedom of speech. Are they, he asks in pseudo-naïve fashion, "so possessed by the leftist myth that they think there is some qualitative difference between fascists and the various bolshevik outfits?"



Crisis, we are told by our Trotskyite friends, is what capitalism is always in. What they don't tell us is how it manages to emerge unscathed and strengthened time after time.

During the last election we were treated to an unrivaled dose of muddled hypocrisy and Marxist mystification. "CLOBBER THE TORIES . . . or they will clobber you" screamed SOCIALIST WORKER (23/2/74) in typically "MIRRORESQUE" fashion. For the International Socialists, as for the rest of the Marxist left, the only answer to the nasty Tories was a Labour Government. As always, our Marxist friends allowed tactics to obscure strategy. Because the Tories are the most obvious enemies of the working class, the Marxists immediately conclude that they should be removed as quickly as possible and by whatever means. What they fail to understand is that the Tories are not necessarily the BIGGEST enemy just because they are the easiest to recognise.

It is precisely this innate ability of British capitalism to absorb and deflect opposition by changing the faces of its front men that ensures its survival. The substitution of a Labour Government for a Conservative one is not so much a transformation of the status quo as a means to actually preserve it.

The Marxists (at least some of them — I.S., I.M.G., etc.), recognise that a Labour Government does not represent ordinary people, but they still clutch onto the naive belief that it can be used until a Marxist "vanguard" is ready to seize power for itself. In practice, a Labour Government only makes it harder for any genuinely revolutionary movement to be successful.

The I.S. called for a Labour vote on the simple basis that " . . . a huge Labour vote will strengthen the Unions . . . A Tory victory would demoralise the Unions. It would weaken the workers' will to fight back" (Socialist Worker: 23/2/74). The actuality of the situation announcement of the general election resistance to the Government was at an unprecedented peak. For once the screams of the I.M.G., for a general strike were backed up by the development of class polarisation. Indeed, the election can be seen as a direct response to the growing threat of a general strike and the possibility of a revolutionary situation arising from it. Now with Labour in power, class forces are less clearly defined. What is worse is that the trade union movement is voluntarily accepting the cowed position it fought so vehemently to change under the Tories. Labour can safely repeal the Industrial Relations Act because it has no need of it when the T.U.C., fall over themselves to work with Wilson to keep the rank and file in order.

Our Marxist friends, putting theory before practise and party before people, remain caught in the political trap.

"The modern state is too powerful to be fashioned by theory. It must either be abolished or it will shape the party that rules it. Even those aspiring to abolish it could act no different. If by some freak of chance they took power. It is for that reason that revolutionary anarchism opposes party formation and participation in government. Once one finds oneself in office or power, one ceases to be a revolutionary, no matter what one's affiliations might be."

(Christie & Meltzer: Floodgates of Anarchy, p108)

Society will only change significantly when the belief in, and existence of, government are thrown into the wastebin of history. Revolution is about ordinary people taking control of their own lives: about freedom. Freedom is not another abstract utopia, it is the ability to act. Government, personified in the state, checks and diverts that ability. It transforms voluntary action into enforced submission.

The Russian revolution of 1917 not only passed over the classical transition stages in capitalism as envisaged by Marx, it also jumped to a far more advanced stage in capitalist development; a "state capitalism" far in advance of anything achieved in the rest of Europe. What we are now witnessing is the realisation of George Orwell's "1984". British capitalism catching up its Soviet Predecessor.

The future of British capitalism lies with the Labour Party. Traditional Conservative forms are now outmoded. State capitalism, growing out of nationalisation and increased bureaucratisation centralised in the state, is a grim reality for the future unless society re-organises along classless, federalistic lines. Unless ordinary people in every sector of society fight to change the situation of rulers and ruled, the strengthening of the state and the ruling class that it supports at our expense will bear grim witness to Orwell's prophetic fiction. That fight remains doomed to failure unless the working class learns to rely on its own experience and ability to organise freely and ignores the misguided advice of gradualists and those offering transitional ways out.

The advice of Errico Malatesta penned in 1916 loses nothing with age, and gains everything by our experience since that time:

"Today, as ever, let this be our slogan: Down with Capitalists and Governments, all Capitalists and all Governments!"

COMMUNIQUE \_\_\_\_\_ P.R.

Eleven persons are at the moment imprisoned on various charges connected with the Suarez affair; the men in the prisons of Fresnes and La Sante, the women in the prison of Fleury-Merogis. Since the burst of publicity at the time of the arrests, there has been a deafening silence in the press concerning the developments of the affair. This silence seems to reflect the fact that, one month after the arrests, the police are yet to furnish one single material proof implicating the eleven in the kidnapping of Suarez.

Once again, the main concern of the authorities seems to have been to find someone to throw to the media, to satisfy a well-conditioned 'public opinion'. This having been done, they can follow Spanish exiled refugees for a few weeks, arrest them and their companions and they are sure to have an easily usable scapegoat. If necessary, of course, there are 'efficient' methods to get some of these people to say whatever one wants them to say. The web of presumptions so fabricated is quite sufficient to convince the judges. The technique is classic, and it is only too clear from the facts how it has functioned in the present case.

## 'B. TRAVEN'?

The identity of "B. Traven" (author of "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre" and many anarchist novels) was deliberately concealed by the author during his lifetime. It was believed by many he was a Spartakist who escaped to Mexico. Bruno Nevart, sentenced to death after the Munich Commune was suppressed (Nevart is Traven backwards). Others thought him to be Ret Marut, a German anarchist who was sentenced to death for his participation in the workers' occupation of Munich as a free city.

During a week long seminar on the late B. Traven's work in Tuscon City, Arizona, some interesting facts emerged. Marut, who also disappeared after the defeat of the workers was a friend of Erich Muehsam's who for years thought he was alive and asked him to come forward to put down the facts of the Munich Commune. Muehsam later became convinced the novelist "traven" was Marut.

Rosa Elena Lujan, who married Traven in 1957 attended the seminar and confirmed that he was in fact Marut and that his narrow escape from death had left him highly suspicious of everyone and a determined recluse, but he also had a mischievous sense of humour which led him to confuse people deliberately. She said (states Match, Tuscon May 1974) that he had escaped the firing squad thanks to some friendly soldiers, and wandered through Germany and Czechoslovakia selling dolls to keep himself from starvation, finally boarding a steamer to Mexico. There he spent his life among the Indians and a small circle of friends.

Marut escaped the vicious Clerical reactionaries of Munich whose concept of "justice" was venal and distorted at the best of times, and who strained every concept of law to convict the communards of high treason, and to acquit Hitler and his followers whose comic opera putsch failed dismally a few years later.

It is a highly unlikely twist of fate (and on such fantastic twists of fate he comments in some of his short stories) that he became whisked across the high seas to become a leading novelist in the English language writing "somewhere in Mexico". The majority of the activists in Munich were not so lucky. They perished miserably, if not by the firing squad of the Clericals then later in the concentration camps of the Nazis; or they lived in hunger and poverty, only a few breaking out of their outlawry to get jobs again in different parts of Germany or abroad. Traven's paranoia at meeting anyone of the outside world is understandable. The fighting workers of Munich (1918-21) are forgotten by the world. The historians like to talk about writers, because they are writers themselves. Some well-known "anti-Nazi" figures suffered no inconvenience under Hitler bar having their books burned and having to change their residence to a comfortable one elsewhere. Traven himself is remembered only because he was also a distinguished writer.

Footnote: Nevart was said to be one of the witnesses to Hitler's cowardice during the Munich "Soviet" (exploited later by Gregor Strasser and the "Opposition" Nazi Party that split from the original NSDAP). What did Hitler do? On his own showing he was a corporal, not yet demobilised. Did he tear off his stripes and wear the red armband? Did he hide? He did not join the reactionaries in the Freikorps, who later became part of the Nazi hero legend. In "Mein Kampf" he refers to the "atrocities" he witnessed but does not say what he did. Nevart would have good reason not to want publicity (even in Mexico) It would be a curious but perhaps characteristic impishness in Marut that led him to adopt a name that would draw attention to himself. But perhaps he knew Nevart was dead and no longer "wanted".

**Lourdes** — The anarchist 'International Revolutionary Action Groups' (GARI) renewed their campaign against the Franco regime on July 16th with a series of bomb attacks in France and Spain.

The bombings in France destroyed 13 empty buses and a number of vehicles accompanying cyclists in the Tour de France at 2 a.m. in the morning. The vehicles were painted with anarchist and anti-fascist slogans and leaflets were left calling on all Spanish participants in the race to withdraw and thus demonstrate their opposition to fascism. The Tour was selected as a target because of its spectacular nature 'which directed the consciences of people from the real problems in 'democratic' and fascist countries. Simultaneous attacks were also made against Francoist buildings in Andorra and Spain. (The International Revolutionary Action Groups effected the kidnapping of banker Suarez in May).

# THE MIND POLICE

In prisons of various countries the findings of psychiatric research are being utilised to perfect methods that will undermine the morale of political prisoners to such an extent that they will no longer present a danger to authority. In Portuguese colonies political prisoners have been kept for years in dungeons or cells, below water level, which are soundproof. After two years of complete isolation they are no longer in a fit state of mind to react to authority with aggressive resistance.

In Greece political prisoners are kept for about a week insufficiently fed in so-called "white rooms".

In Brazil they are questioned in similar rooms fitted with loudspeakers, microphones and T.V., screens and exposed to unbearable sound effects and blinding lights.

In Northern Ireland they are forced to support themselves with the tips of their fingers against the wall, while loudspeakers produce a high frequency sound mixture affecting their brains. During this ordeal black hoods are pulled over their faces.

This method of imposed visual blackout has also been adopted in West Germany. Trade Unionist editor Heinz Brandt, who experienced isolation cell punishment in Nazi Germany, states that the modern application in the Bundesrepublik is by far worse in destructive effect of the prisoners' health and mentality, than was imprisonment in the Nazi prisons, although the fear of their being liquidated was a permanent tormenting factor. Having himself suffered such isolation from 1961-1964, he speaks from experience. According to his testimony the same methods are used in the D.D.R., but have not yet reached the stage perfected in the D.B.R.

News has reached us from Australia that brain surgery has been performed on over 200 Australians in the last 7 years. Lex Watson (tutor at Sydney University) cast serious doubts on the validity of prisoners' consent to these operations. They were asked in the course of police interrogation whether they would undergo psychiatric treatment. They often as not say yes in signed statements which commit them. In Pentridge prison a man had been given female hormones against his will. Prison authorities had told him that he would not be given parole unless he accepted the treatment.

In June 1973 a court order was issued for psychosurgery on Ulrike Meinhof. Professor Witter volunteered to conduct the guinea pig testing in which the prisoner would have to undergo forcible narcosis. By doing this Witter became an accomplice of class justice policy, giving it scientific legitimisation. Prison doctors Meltzner, Husen, Lockel and Helfsmeyer refused — on orders from the Prison Authorities — to treat the prisoner Katharina Hammer-smith, who suffered from suffocation fits caused by a tumour developed in prison as a result of her lowered resistance, through 1½ years of complete isolation and psychiatric treatment. Doctors thus assisted in class justice murder. The death of the IRA prisoner Michael Gaughin, in England was caused through an injury to his stomach inflicted during forcible feeding.

Therapeutic conversations with the patient; psychiatric care by prison psychiatrists — for example Goette, in the case of Astrid Proll — replace police questioning, being considered by far, more subtle. Psychotherapy is abused as a refined method of official police questioning and disguised brainwashing.

The Hamburg University psychiatric scientists are engaged in "special research projects" and "aggression investigations" in order to perfect further the use of the isolation method on political prisoners.

Revolutionaries should note that psychiatric experts of this University have been working for years now in close touch with the Bundeswehr (Army).

The general public ought to be reminded how, in periods of unrest and large scale strikes, the army is called in where the police force is unable to cope with the situation. As the army and the police work hand in hand, the pattern of treatment of arrested rebels is the same. The scale includes rough handling and beatings. The prisoner is provoked by humiliation and if he reacts in indignation and protest his conduct gives his examiners the excuse to add to the charges and defend themselves against his "aggression and insolence". Any self-protective, impulsive movement on the part of the prisoner, may be interpreted as attack or attempt to escape and provides the opportunity to knock him out or shoot.

The main object is to break the person's resistance and obtain a confession. If a policeman oversteps the limits dictated by law, his superiors — as a rule — will have been unaware of the liberties he took. The basic philosophy of the police has not changed under any reform of the law aimed at democratization.

The German police felt frustrated when their indiscriminate use of firearms was restricted. Immediately the use of substitute weapons was developed by special training into a fine art. The ferocity of aggression in street battles became a new characteristic. One has only to remember bayonet drill in the British Army, the psychological technique of the instructors in bringing out the latent savage in his men and getting them fighting mad and intoxicated with the thirst for blood. The desired result is orgies of brutality and atrocities committed in mad frenzies. Add this to the powerlust of men trained in Karate, and equipped with anything from clubs to tear gas and water cannon, protected by foolproof helmets, shields and driven by the maniacal battlecrys from loudspeakers, then you have primitive barbarism brought up to an insane climax, utilised for keeping the rebellious in check.

The policeman will argue that it is the rioter armed with stones and molotov bombs who is the violent aggressor and morally responsible for the actions of the police, who have no other alternative but violence. In his view it is the challenging of authority on the part of the political prisoner, his offensive, aggressive attitude, his unreasonable stubbornness that drives the questioner to desperation, so that he then loses control over his impulses and oversteps the rules.

In the British Army during World War II a number of mutinies occurred in British detention camps. After the death of two soldiers kept in isolated, dark cells and brutalised by a notorious sadistic staff sergeant, the other prisoners managed to stage mutinous demonstrations on the fenced-in parade ground, which were observed by journalists from afar, as they were not permitted into the camp. The camp called Stakehill had become notorious, the public learning about the conditions, were profoundly shocked. Yet similar cruel treatment of war resisters and deserters in every guard house of the military police occurred throughout the country.

Military policemen were selected in the Army and Navy who resembled in character and body a typical Nazi storm-trooper. Staff sergeant warders and medical officers were selected for their qualification of being able to brutalise men into unconditional obedience.

That police now finds expression in the Government's employment of psychiatrists who exploit science for the purpose of turning men into willing and defenceless subjects.

Psychiatrist Prof. Gross and psychologist Kernpe conduct their experiments officially for the benefit of patients, especially for the treatment of complaints occurring after

kidney transplants. Anybody daring to state facts to the contrary is being threatened by the authorities with prosecution for libel and defamation. This is mainly directed at the members of the German Black Cross and Red Aid organisations campaigning resolutely in aid of political prisoners.

We have had in the past many apologies from scientists who were brilliant in their specialised fields, but as ignorant as newborn babies. For example Einstein who, after the Hiroshima bombing, lamented that the U.S. Government and Military had promised him and his colleagues never to use the atom bomb.

The British magazine "New Scientist" recently gave a documented account of the role played by doctors and psychologists "looking after prisoners". Their main task has become that of voluntary informers and to diagnose how much more punishment a prisoner can endure, or bring him out of collapse and prepare him for a new dose of torment.

In the days of Sir Robert Steel the worst punishment in the Navy was "Flogging through the Fleet". The victim was tied to a triangle carried by a launch to be flogged by crewmen from every vessel of the Fleet. It took usually two hours to row past all the ships. The torture was therefore protracted till, to use a sailor's phrase "the very soul is cut out". After a sentence the victims almost always died.

Steel wrote: The victim receives 50 lashes alongside each ship. After 200 lashes, the flesh from the nape of the neck to below the shoulder blades was one deep purple mass from which blood oozed slowly at every stroke and the poor man began to faint. The Navy doctor administered water and applied pungent salts to the nostrils, to revive the man for continuation of the flogging. If he is too far gone he is taken to a sick berth. Five weeks later, his wounds barely healed, he is once again taken on a flogging, which proceeds with the consent of the medical men.

The close of the 18th century saw the greatest growth of flogging in the Royal Navy. The reason? There has been a great mutiny at the Nore, another at Spithead. Britain was at war with revolutionary France, when the Board of the Admiralty felt that the sternest measures must be adopted "to keep the ships' companies to their posts".

We are being told today that humanism has changed society to the better. The present day Royal Navy is "in a perfect state of discipline without such coercion". The Solicitor General, on the Navy's request, two months before the outbreak of the last war, tabled a motion for the inclusion of a clause abolishing flogging in the Navy, in the Criminal Justice Bill. That Bill was not proceeded with!

Flogging still stands in the Navy, though the fact that it is not made use of perhaps gives the impression that it has been done away with by law.

Under article 540 of the Queen's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions, corporal punishment is retained as a penalty for mutiny or allied offences.

We have not only NOT proceeded away from medieval barbarity but are about to perfect a cruelty passing in its sophistication the crude methods of Nazi concentration camps.

The crucial reason is still the same today as ever before. The rulers fear that they will lose their positions of power and are threatened by the ever-growing move of the people towards liberation through Social Revolution.

Hand in hand with the systematical preparation of Governments to step up their attempts to crush insurrections in the bud, goes the increased demand of one section of the population for bringing back corporal punishment and the death penalty in order to stop the violence. Yet this violence is the legitimate child of a society asserting itself through coercion, backed up by armed force.

We have reached a stage where the executors of justice, civil and military, have replaced corporal punishment and the death penalty by what they have the audacity to term 'psychiatric treatment', ignoring the protests of scientists, who condemn the flagrant profanation of utilising psychiatric discoveries in coldblooded calculation, for the purpose of destroying the soul and the will of prisoners, in inquisition fashion.

Experience has shown the futility of protest. Protests were made worldwide by scientists, when it became evident that atomic energy was to be used chiefly for destructive purposes. Older readers may recall the priority granted to scientists working in Governments atomic war industries, while hospitals were denied the use of atomic power supply and private research was made impossible.

The determination of the Atomic Powers to exploit their new power position advantage at all costs was expressed in the rigorous atomic laws.

The German Government recruits scientists who have discarded ethical principles and serve class justice. Psychologists, experts in the science of mind-manipulation have played their part in advising and it is due to their influence that the law considers psychiatric treatment as a potentially more horrifying deterrent than flogging and the death penalty. We have already pointed out the co-ordination between the Research Dept., at Hamburg University and the Army.

In addition it needs to be stressed that the psychiatric experts have expressly stated that the recommended treatment methods need not be left exclusively to qualified prison doctors and consultant psychologists but can be taught to prison staff members, such as warders as well as policemen. Also prosecution authorities may obtain the latest information on suitable improvements on scientific methods.

In use at present are isolation silence cells, with T.V., surveillance, twelve hi-fi loudspeaker installations producing permanent sound swallowing effects, that is to say a sound vacuum that creates the intensified feeling of absolute isolation.

The experimenter is able, by means of installed special microphones, to register on tape, any utterance the prisoner makes in sleep of waking.

In order to measure the aggression and power of resistance of the prisoner, under the mental stress of sensory deprivation, every verbal or written expression of a co-operative prisoner is analysed (letter; transcript of free association; psychotherapy; or dream description). Non co-operative prisoners have no contact with the outside world (no letters, visitors, or communication with other prisoners). Where, as in the case of Ulrike Meinhof, psychiatrist Witter allowed visitors, the conversation was recorded by members of the crime-police.

Penology (science of punishment) has been enriched by the technique of increasing the suggestibility of prisoners under pressure of sensory deprivation. Prisoners, their defence weakened, during recreation granted then accept the company of staff members who manage to gain their confidence or further undermine their resistance by discouraging suggestions, given in the guise of friendly advice. These recreation partners, sometimes other prisoners themselves, also try to worm information from their subject.

In days gone by aggression used to be broken, if beating failed, by long hot baths that sapped the prisoner's vitality most drastically. Next came the administration of tranquillisers. Then electric-shock and brain surgery. The latest treatments are considered to be superior. The advantage over body torture and administration of drugs is obvious. There are no detectable traces of ill-treatment.

If the German Black Cross or Red Aid organisations protest against torture and mobilise scientists to join them

(continued on page 15)

## CLASS STRUGGLE IN URUGUAY

Once upon a time Uruguay was a half feudal country with undeveloped industry. At the beginning of this century it was considered to be the most democratic land in South America under President Batlle, with a high standard of living and generous social services.

During the Second World War the people of Uruguay were strongly opposed to the Americans gaining a foothold in the country by constructing U.S. Airforce bases, but the arch-imperialists had the full support of the Communist Party since the Russians had become "comrades in arms".

After the war Batlle's proclaimed ideas of Social justice; Social security, National dignity suffered a setback, giving way to a monstrous bureaucracy which had to be paid for and maintained out of the wealth produced by the people. The world market prices for meat and wool fell and unemployment rose.

Batlle's "red" party, child of the 1850 civil war, degenerated. The "white" party of the privileged got on top. When the country had further suffered setbacks from rainstorms, the 1958 elected government had to beg aid from Washington, with the result that big business, through the International Monetary Fund, was in a position to freeze wages. The peso was devalued, the cost of living rose, and unemployment in proportion.

In June 1962, 2000 sugarcane workers demonstrated, demanding agricultural reform. They were met by police making free use of their firearms. In 1967 General Gestido took over the government. After his death Vice President Pacheco Areco — a sinister bureaucrat — took over.

The papers reported in July 1963 the theft of twelve rifles from the premises of a Swiss hunters club in Uruguay. A law student, Raul Sendic, who had taken a leading part in the Montevideo demonstration the previous year, was alleged to have participated in the theft. In December 1963 the youths robbed a goods train of food supplies and distributed them to the poor in Montevideo.

It now became apparent that there was a new movement of young activists who soon became known as Tupamaros (after Tupac Amuru, who in 1780 led a revolt in Peru against the Spaniards; the revolt was crushed and Amuru was drowned by the conquerors and his body quartered).

The actions of the M.L.N.(T) (Movement of National Liberation (Tupamaro) met with the usual venomous reaction of the press. They were denounced as criminals and adventurers.

The Tupamaros explained in communiques to the people their policy of armed struggle. The original group of thirteen grew in numbers. Their well planned and carried out actions increased and met with the approval of the people suffering.

In 1967, after a number of bank robberies and successful raids for arms on military and police depots, the taking possession of land, the kidnapping of Perera Reverbel, the government declared a state of emergency, speeded up the militarisation of the police force, called in FBI and CIA agents from Washington and began having members of the Uruguay police force trained in the U.S.A.

The Tupamaros succeeded in gaining increased respect and sympathy with the people, who received plenty of warning of imminent bomb explosions. Exploited workers received money from expropriations, strikers were supported, sympathisers were protected, and those injured in clashes with the police were never permitted to fall into the hands

of the government forces.

The spontaneous strikes of schools and students in protest against the Emergency Laws were met with brutal police force. In March 1968 the first student was killed. News of Brazilian-style tortures practised in prison caused wide-spread alarm. The great spontaneous strike of 1969 by the Schlachthof workers in Montevideo held out for four months, during which the workers occupied and controlled their entire district. After these spontaneous strike actions were crushed, every new attempt was strangled by the Uruguay C.N.T., and the Communist Trade Union in fear of endangering their legalised existence.

The actions of the M.L.N.(T), did not stop and reached a climax with the occupation of the city of Pando.

This situation in 1971 caused a reshuffling of the party-political scene. Left liberals, Christian Democrats and followers of the former President Batlle and the Communist Party formed a Broad Front (Frente Amplia).

The Anarchists and Tupamaros were antiparliamentarians. At the election 300,000 people out of 2 million voted for the F.A.

After the election the Communists withdrew. The Liberals and Batllists dissociated themselves from the radical youth who grimly opposed the United States Imperialism and turned resolutely towards a new Social revolutionary orientation. Three important organisations sprang up: the FOR (Federation of Revolutionary Workers), the FER (Federation of Revolutionary Students), and the ROE (Workers and Students Resistance).

The FOR found at once great response with the workers since a revolutionary alternative was offered to the treacherous policy of the Communist Party, and trade unions. One third of the Uruguay workers stand behind the FOR. (Schlachthof workers, Kantshuk industry export workers, harbour workers, Fish industry workers and Health Service civil servants).

The FOR has declared solidarity with the Tupamaros. So have the FER and the ROE — in contrast to the CP and CNT, both of which have stated not only that they will not support the Tupamaros, but also consider it a false tactic to defend 6000 political prisoners, since this would jeopardise the struggle for legality.

According to latest reports FOR, FER and ROE are about to unite into one organisation.

As we go to press we learn that the police have destroyed the printing shop of the Comunidad del Sur, an Anarchist Commune that has existed and done magnificent propaganda work for the past thirty years.

Black Flag appeals to all comrades to extend their solidarity to the 6000 prisoners and the hard-hit Anarchist Commune.

Contributions marked "Uruguay" may be directed to the Black Cross, 83A, Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3.

\* The BBC announced that of the 5000 - 6000 prisoners only 38 have had a trial and that torture is being used.

Raul Sendic, who was one of the founders of the Montevideo urban guerilla group, was captured (seriously injured) after an armed fight with police two years ago. He managed to escape from prison but was re-captured with 140 other Tupamaros. Since then he has been removed to Durezno. Since October 1973 he has been kept in a cistern, 2 metres long, ten metres high, lacking every hygienic convenience. In December the beginning of a heart infarction was diagnosed. He was then permitted to have a recreation walk once a week and an electric bulb was installed in his cistern to enable him to read, on medical recommendation. Being 49 years of age his heart is unlikely to hold out much longer.

## SWEDEN Terrorist Law

The Swedish Government intends to introduce a new law which according to official statements is to prevent terrorists interfering with aircraft traffic. Referring to the recent hi-jacking of a Swedish airliner by the fascist USTASCHI in Bulltofta, the mass media welcomed the Government suggestion. Few Swedes realise that such a law is designed for an entirely different purpose, namely to achieve means by which control and registration of political suspects may be obtained. Repressive use would be directed against foreigners supporting resistance movements in Greece, Spain and other countries. Any Turkish anti-fascist would be classified as a potential terrorist.

The commission drafting the law has listed Greece, Guatemala, Turkey, Mexico and other lands as countries most likely to become targets of terrorist activities, committed by their subjects living in Sweden. In consequence any political rights foreigners may have been granted in Sweden can be reduced at will by bureaucrats in authority.

The bill, if accepted as law, will empower immigration officers to refuse foreigners entry to Sweden if they have reasons to believe that the person in question belongs and works for any organisation that promotes within the boundaries of Sweden the use of violence, threats or force.

Since terrorist inclinations are not written all over the faces of persons seeking entry, the immigration officers look up their lists of political suspects provided by the police. Today, as the person shows his passport at the frontier, a T.V. device transmits the picture and identity details to the police H.Q., and the computer informs the inspecting officer within minutes if he is dealing with a respectable persona grata or a known dangerous individual.

German police computers have been fed with lists of organisations and members abroad and their connections with suspects within Germany. In Sweden the SAPO (Protection of Constitution) will swiftly follow the German example and complete a secret list of suspects, in co-ordination with the NATO countries, Denmark and Norway. In addition, Sweden will obtain from Interpol any assistance required for tracing undesirables. Interpol has become notorious for its open collaboration with the political police of fascist states and will be delighted to offer "free delivery" to the social democratic country par excellence.

The law will give the Swedish police official sanction to conduct house searches, body searches, mail control and telephone tapping. It will empower the authorities to direct foreign labour and registration of foreigners with the police. Above all it will put the Swedish Home Office in the position to order deportation at its own discretion.

It is of vital importance to trace and expose the intensified fascist development in every country. It should be pointed out to people everywhere that all countries are speeding up the very same routine which indicates — for any one to see — international planning.

Anarchists have, before and ever since the First and Second World Wars, declared that every state, no matter

### INTERNATIONAL ARCHIVES

The German Anarchist publishers Karin Verlag, Berlin, has given us a large number of books as a contribution to our International Archive:

International Movement Archive,  
(German Language Group London),  
c/o Black Flag,  
83a, Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3.

whether bolshevik, conservative-capitalist or social-democratic, carried within its structure the seed of fascism, which will be fertilised and come into its own as soon as the people endeavour to take the matter of liberation in their own hands.

The effort of liberation should not be confined to one revolutionary group and country. It is high time for the cry, with which the spirit of revolt first manifested itself, to be raised again: Proletarians of the World — unite!

The international conspiracy of fascism must be met with the international solidarity of all sincere social and revolutionary groups.

It is the tasks of Anarchists to encourage the revolutionary aspirations of the oppressed everywhere, and to make every effort to strengthen the dormant, ultimately libertarian driving power behind the exploding impulses of rebellious people.

Sweden boasts much about her democracy. But to judge her or any other country, the real criteria to go by are the prison system and what goes on in the law courts. Jails show the social system of all pretention. Watch how the law of a Government is applied in law courts in order to correct or punish; investigate how full the prisons are and you will no longer be captivated by slick moralisations.

At a demonstration in Stockholm in May 1971 clashes between demonstrators and police occurred. Two demonstrators were charged for having assaulted and injured policemen.

Witnesses for the defence have been continually arrested at the trial, at which they were accused of perjury. The number of these is at present thirteen. Altogether sixteen witnesses have identified the policeman who brought the complaint against the two accused as a violent thug.

One such witness is a doctor who attended to the injuries of the two demonstrators. The prosecution maintained that his written medical statement was untrue, according to which the girl's back showed bruises, blisters and wounds. The doctor was called as a witness and arrested as he repeated verbally the result of his medical examination of the girl. The prosecution alleged that he belonged to a Stalinist party and that the girl should have gone to the surgery of a none-political doctor.

The trial has been postponed since another witness has been arrested and a new charge of perjury brought against the two demonstrators.

A few of the witnesses in custody are said to have meanwhile altered their statements, growing tired of being kept on remand.

### Swedish Syndicalists Say Blockade Junta

The Sveriges Arbetares Centralorganisation (S.A.C.), the Swedish Syndicalist transport federation, has circulated a letter referring to the terror of the military junta and the systematic manner in which the workers of Chile are being oppressed and their organisations after the fascist model. The S.A.C., calls upon the workers of the world to support the Chilean workers by active solidarity, and suggests — as the junta is not invulnerable — an international transport blockade.

This appeal has been circulated to all trade unions. The Swedish Stevedores Trade Union (Communist orientated) and the Transport Workers Trade Union (Social-Democratic majority) have not found it necessary to reply. Their solidarity exhausts itself in mere money collections for the sake of their political prestige. Faced with the deadly terror of the junta they can do nothing but mouth impotent phrases of protest against those who cynically crush human dignity, human freedom and the lives of countless other workers.

## "Brand" Revived!

We have received news from our Swedish comrades that the Anarchist paper "Brand" has recently come out again with two issues.

"Brand" ceased publication after the death of comrade C.J. Bjorklund, who was well known in the international movement for his long work as editor. He was extremely well-informed on important European events prior to Hitler's rise to power and was in close contact with most of the active comrades during World War II, whether in exile or those working inside Germany, Austria and France. He and his wife did everything in their power to ease the lot of the comrades who found themselves in difficulties during their years of insecurity. His contributions to "Brand" were widely read and reprinted in Scandinavia outside of anarchist circles. His main efforts were devoted to establishing toleration between groups with contrasting views and, where he could not achieve this, to foster at least a spirit of mutual respect.

We offer our Swedish comrades congratulations in republishing "Brand" and their intention to exchange news. The establishment of closer co-operation is to be wholeheartedly welcomed.

Particularly interesting is the spectrum which "Brand" has decided to cover, with special attention to articles in each issue of themes on A.M.S; Labour Market Board; outcasts of society; structural fascism; increasing police activities and so on.

We have been asked especially to extend the invitation of the Goteborg Anarkiztika Forening (G.A.F.) to any English comrades visiting Sweden.

The address of the Anarchist Groups in Goteborg, Stockholm and Malmo may be obtained from us.

## GERMANY

Gertrand Will, alleged to have attempted to free prisoners, was arrested in her flat between 7 and 8 o'clock on 24th April, 1974 and is being kept in isolation. Not even her mother is allowed to see her. Comrades everywhere are asked to protest by writing to: JVA fur Frauen, Munchen, Am Naudeck 10.

The trial has taken place in Dusseldorf of Peter Paul Fahl, who was found seriously wounded after a street battle and since then has been detained on remand for one and a half years in Klingelpritz prison. The police intercepted his mail in order to prevent sympathisers turning up at the trial. He was periodically kept in isolation and exposed to half hourly sleep interruptions.

Comrade Fahl was charged with the attempted murder of two police officers. Visitors at the trial had to undergo bodily searches and give detailed information about themselves (which was certainly listed in police files). The prosecution maintained Fahl was a terrorist who vented his hatred against society by shooting blindly at police and thus became a danger to all citizens. He demanded a sentence of twelve years. The defence succeeded in having his sentence reduced to four years.

## ISRAEL

A number of members of the Anarchist group Black Front have been arrested. They are between the ages of 17 and 26 years and have been accused of inciting students in Tel Aviv and other parts of the country to refuse to go into military service. One of these comrades who is 17 years old has been questioned and charged with "incitement to riot". Meanwhile the police are searching for other "anarchist rebels".

## JAPAN

In Tokyo a Black Cross group has been formed in an endeavour to fight for the liberation of comrade Shuichi Yshimifu, who was recently sentenced to five years in jail.

A group of anarchists have offset and published drawings by Arthur Moyses in bookform (£1.) post paid). Sales in aid of the publishing group and their funds. From Idear Publishing House, 90 Matsuki Build., 1-464 Aigashiookubo, Shinjuku-Ku, Tokyo, Japan.

## SPAIN

Three militants of the OLLA (Organisation for Armed Struggles - from its initials in Catalan) face trial in Barcelona. They are Ramon Carrion Sanchis (26), Jordi Joan Vinyolas Vidal (27) and his wife Georgina Nicolau Millau (22).

It is interesting to note (in view of the trend being referred to in these columns) that the press are calling them "anarchists" while the MIL were referred to as "separatists".

The OLLA are in fact "separatists" (though possibly more to the federalising wing than the nationalist one). Yet in the case of the anarchist group MIL, the press referred to "separatists" when they had nothing whatever to do with anarchism.

The case of the MIL martyr Salvador Puig continues to stir Spain. Everywhere there have been protest strikes and armed attacks. The anarchist movement recalls "el Quico nuevo" (the new 'El Quico' - i.e. Sabate) in Puig. Meantime the politicians try to get on the bandwagon. The C.P. reference to Puig (Informacion Espanola, Brussels) as a hero designed for slaughter on three counts - being "young, anarchist and Catalan" - is ironic when one recalls Barcelona May 1937 and the struggle of the Libertarian Youth against the GPU.

There is a Maoist group, FROP, who form an action group among students and are off the usual Maoist line having come to their revolutionary position as the result of the uprising in Madrid University 1966/68 indelibly associated with 'acratist' professor Garcia Calvo, whose members are also currently on trial. They are accused of killing a police inspector last May Day but one. He was disguised as a hippy, taking notes from informers inside the May Day crowd, when he was recognised, attacked, and - drawing a gun - was stabbed to death.

One of the recent Suarez kidnapping demands asked that the charges against these FROP members be made known. So far nothing connects them with the deed itself.

NOTE: This was written before the news of the arrests in France came through.

GUINNESS IS GOOD FOR YOU . . . but for whom? A German comrade visiting tells us that the sales of Guinness have gone up all over Germany among the Left "in sympathy with the Irish struggle". The Guinness family, for long the archetypal representatives of the English Establishment in Ireland and pillars of the Anglican Church, have been for the last forty years as far as possible to the Right Wing up to and including Fascists. Someone pointed out to Brendan Behan that he had to admit, however, that "they had done a lot for the poor people of Dublin". His classic reply was that it was nothing compared to what the poor people of Dublin had done for them.

We fear though a proposed boycott of their product would fail in support, not least among the Irish liberation movement!

## ITALY

from our correspondent in Rome.

On 29th May the trial against Giovanni Marini, Anarchist imprisoned since 7th July on a charge of killing fascist squad man Falvella, should have started. It was to have begun in Salerno in February but was stopped after a few days, because of the disorder in court following police aggression against the spectators. The case was transferred to Vallo di Lucania. Meanwhile Marini has been shunted between fifteen different prisons to avoid demonstrations!

Marini had gone to the rescue of a comrade who was being beaten up by the fascists; in the course of the fight a fascist was killed. Militant solidarity has been shown with Marini all over Italy though it was hoped to isolate his case: even in Paris, a boat was hi-jacked on the Seine raising a banner "for the freedom of Marini" (see photo).

A book recently appeared in Italy on the Marini case ("Scampai ai fascisti ci pensa lo stato" - which more or less means 'if you get away from the Fascist the State will think about it'), which we are hoping will be translated in English. The case shows very clearly that it is not just the neo-Fascist party in Italy that is the menace: it is people are distributed among other parties but have places of responsibility such as prison governors, policemen, magistrates, judges, Ministers and for whom the Mussolini period represents the "good old days of law and order".

The book includes news, interviews, press cuttings and legal statements relative to the case, with photographs, and it tells a fascinating story of Marini's struggle in the working class area of Salerno. There is also the record of the Communist Party, jealous of the young militant's class activity, which has attracted his right of self-defence against the fascists and expressed "deep sorrow for the young life lost".

In prison Marini - like Sostre - maintains his militancy and stands against humiliation and ill-treatment.

## VALPREDA VALPREDA VALPREDA

In our last issue we stated wrongly that Pietro Valpreda has been cleared of all charges. We apologise to all concerned - in fact, the Italian Supreme Court has declared a mistrial and a new trial may start in November. This time there will be an innovation: Pietro and other comrades will stand in the dock alongside the neo-fascists Freda and Ventura, who are also charged with murder for the bombing at the Banco di Agricoltura in Milan in December 1969.

The State has been afraid all along to bring Pietro Valpreda to trial because the trial would expose just how the State has been complicitly responsible for shielding those who are really guilty, who really committed the crime. Now the State has found a way out: to put Anarchist and fascist side by side in the dock and so repeat what the press said a few days after the bombings of December 1969: that the murders were planned and carried out by Anarchists and fascists alike.

Once more the State employs the dirty tactic of the "opposite extremisms", posing as the guardian of public order against extremism of any colour - while we know that the State itself practises violence of every shape and kind every day: violence visual, violence physical, violence against the truth . . . and in every place: violence in factories, violence in schools, violence in quarters, violence in prisons.

All anarchist movements must react forcefully and react now against this enormous, dirty provocation against our comrades. All the dead of the Banco di Agricoltura, all the Anarchist comrades who have been murdered by the

police in connection with the case - all need justice. But justice will not come from a bourgeois trial - it will come from a revolutionary trial against the State.

Meanwhile Valpreda and the other comrades are condemned yet to wait again. STOP PRESS:

We have just learned that Giovanni Marini has been sentenced to 12 years imprisonment.

On the night of April 15/16th 1973, in Rome, the house of Mattei, secretary of the M.S.I. (Italian Social Movement: the neo-fascist party) was set on fire. In the blaze, which occurred in the proletarian district of Primavalle, two of Mattei's sons died.

The police immediately began an attack upon Left-Wing groups. But first one must examine the background of this arson. Some days before, in Milan, the fascists had killed a policeman during an MSI demonstration. They needed to retrieve their reputation. The death of the policeman was forgotten in the disaster of Primavalle, for which the police swooped on anti-fascist activities, repeating the 1969 action against Valpreda.

Three were accused, Achille Lollo, Manlio Grillo and Marino Clavo. Lollo is in custody, the other two escaped. This is by no means a proof of guilt (who would want to be another Pinelli or another Valpreda?); all are charged with manslaughter, which is punishable with life imprisonment. All, of course, are Leftists.

There is, however, a strong reason to believe the Primavalle arson was an internal fight among the fascists. There is an arms market and prostitute racket flourishing in the district; and the "soft-line" (MSI) and "hard-line" (Avanguardia Nazionale - National Vanguard) fascists are locally a front for the rival gangs controlling these markets. The arson had the double advantage for the fascists of letting public opinion think that violence came from the left not the right; and that the MSI though Rightist, and though responsible for killing a policeman, was really the party of "law and order"; and settling one of the local scores between the fascist bosses.

From the police point of view it had, as the Milan arrests had, the chance of striking at the militants of the left, whom they detest.

Though the MSI is putting on a soft-line, its leader Almirante, was Minister of Salo's Fascist Republic during the war and was responsible for the deaths of 800 partisans. These are now forgotten and do not weigh so much in the public mind against Almirante's party as does the one policeman.

Lollo is treated as though he had already been found guilty of the deaths of Mattei's sons. The notion that he should be regarded as innocent until found guilty is waived aside in the interest of class "justice". For a year he has been in prison, in isolation for the most part, and usually in the punishment cell. He has been shifted around between the prisons of Rome, beaten up in his cell, subjected to humiliating and degrading treatment in the psychiatry department of the prison, and subject to continued and unnerving interrogations. As a result, he has defective respiration, is losing his eyesight, has an ulcer in the duodenum, is suffering from arthritis in the vertebrae and has been refused permission for hospital treatment. This is what his two comrades ran from. Can one own? He is still waiting trial (like 20,000 other people in Italy).

Under the white coat of the Italian bourgeoisie there is still the black shirt of Fascism. Everywhere there are outrages by the right in a ceaseless attack on the workers, which goes from mass slaughter to imprisonment without cause.

Claudio di Pietrantonio.

## SPECIAL COURT JAILS COMRADES IN DUBLIN

Three comrades, members of the Dublin anarchist group, were given harsh prison sentences for their supposed part in a letter-bomb campaign in Dublin last March, armed robbery, possession of arms and explosive substances, causing explosions and setting fire to property.

Bob Cullen (24) - 7 years imprisonment

Des Keane (28) - 5 years imprisonment

Columba Longmore (25) - 4 years imprisonment

Marie Murray (25) - 2 years (sentence suspended for 3 yrs).

Noel Murray did not turn up at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin to receive his sentence and is now on the run. The Gardai have made a number of raids throughout the Republic in an attempt to locate him. We are pleased to announce that so far they have been unsuccessful.

All the comrades are cheerful and ask us to pass on their thanks and fraternal greetings to the many comrades from all over the world who have been writing to them. Books and letters are eagerly looked forward to.

We do not know how soon they will be transferred from the Curragh but we are assured that in the meantime letters will be forwarded to them.

Curragh Military Detention Centre,  
Dublin, Eire.

## EIGHT 'FREED' ANARCHISTS TO STAY IN JAIL

The headline, taken from the London *Evening Standard* of May 30th is an admitted lie.

In fact nine of the '22nd October' group went to prison, and when magistrate Mario Sossi was arrested, the Maoist Red Brigade asked for the release of eight. The eight were Marxist-Leninists, the ninth an Anarchist. In the article in the *Standard*, when the demand for the release of the eight was made (issue of May 26th) the Foreign News Desk called the Red Brigade a "Marxist underground group". Yet in this second article, which did not conceal the fact that the Red Brigade wanted the eight "expatriated to Cuba, North Korea or Algeria" or given "asylum in the Cuban Embassy", they became "Anarchists".

Did Michael Dobbs or the News Desk not know the difference between Marxist-Leninists and Anarchists? Or was he obeying the directive (for which we exposed the *Evening News*) that the two be deliberately confused at all times, and the one referred to as the other. We have the word of the Editor of the *Evening Standard*, Mr. Charles Wintour, that as the article emanated from Reuters he had not checked it. But Mr. Wintour obtained from Reuters the following unpublished "explanation":—

"A check with Rome shows that the earlier description of the group as 'Marxist-Leninist' was correct and that the term 'anarchist' could be applied to them only in a sense much looser than Reuters would consider acceptable, viz. that they wished to create anarchy in society as a transitional stage before the advent of the Marxist-Leninist millennium" wrote Mr. Ian Macdowall, Chief News Editor of Reuters to Mr. Wintour, editor of the *Standard*.

This extraordinary "howler" would cause Mr. Macdowall to fail in any set paper in political economy though we appreciate it is an excuse and he is giving the word "anarchy" a peculiar meaning of his own. He stated in the same letter that the "error is being drawn to the attention of our Rome bureau" and Mr. Wintour passed on his apologies to us.

But notwithstanding this, on June 10th the *Standard* "Foreign News Desk" again referred to the Red Brigade "demanding the release of anarchists serving prison terms for murder".

Mr. Macdowall denied the existence of the now notorious press directive, "If it existed we would not obey any directive from any source to blur the semantic distinctions between the anti-establishment forces in Europe," he states. Yet it is odd that UPI, in a Genoa communique of May 23rd, make the identical mistake as he, using the same word in a sense 'looser than we would consider acceptable', referring to the Maoists as 'anarchists' (Times May 24th); and the Times has persistently confused separatists in Spain with anarchists and vice versa.

Mr. Wintour's letter casts grave doubts on his own persona pressman Robert McGowan, who (Dec. 24th) asking WHO ARE THE TERRORISTS BOMBING LONDON? specifically asked if it were 'The IRA or home-bred anarchist groups' - referring to the letter bomb campaign now universally accepted as IRA.

He stated that British anarchists often supported the IRA. Has he any proof that those opposing nationalism and religion would support Catholic Nationalists of the IRA - or was this article also 'looser than normal' use of a phrase . . . or was it designed deliberately to confuse? The article concludes, referring to the bombers "Are they merely trying to confuse and so intensify the terror?" Was he thinking of himself and his colleagues at the time?

## \* \* \* GLEANINGS

### A MAN OF TALENTS

Oh dear, oh dear! We're at it again — the good old sport of Cadogan bashing I mean. This breaks out every few years, bringing little credit on our movement. The issue is the same as last time - free speech. The trouble is, I suspect, that we can't bear to see anyone being as tolerant as we are — more tolerant even than some comrades, I regret to say. Last time Peter was upholding a Tory's desire to express his natural human solidarity with the Czech workers, peasants, intellectuals and students in 1968; now it's the National Front's right to meet and discuss the admittedly very complex problems which immigration has brought to these islands.

Yes, we've always been a bit jealous of Peter, who's never even called himself an Anarchist (and let's face it, what position could we give him in our movement, at least in its present state, that would absorb even a tenth of his talents?), and that's why we've rushed to criticise him. But Peter has always had my admiration, if only for knowing when discretion is the better part of valour. He has sensibly avoided a skirmish with the libel laws on at least one occasion. Then I remember his brilliant briefing to the demonstrators on the Marham V-bomber base in 1963. "If any violence occurs, isolate it" — those were his words. They were virtually the same advice as the National Front gave its supporters in Red Lion Square in June; and how they paid off! It only the counter-demonstrators had taken a leaf from Peter's book too, the whole tragedy, or at least a good part of it, would not have occurred.

### Historian

Not everybody realises that besides being a talented organiser Peter is a considerable historian in his own right. His subject is the absolutist rulers of the seventeenth century. Curiously Peter's old stamping ground is the part of the world which produced Cromwell: Cambridge and the Fens. This has led some unkind souls (jealousy again?) to suggest that Peter thinks he is Cromwell. An absurd suggestion! Peter's concern with democratic values is the very opposite of Cromwell's autocracy.

(cont. on page 15)

Dear Comrades,

The students have been on holiday now for two weeks and already I've been called a sexist, racist and a reactionary by the libertarians and a counter-revolutionary romantic by a Marxist and a misguided idealist by a liberal — I'll be glad when they go back.

G.S.

Friends and comrades,

"Commune Libre" number 7 is the last issue we can afford to send to all the addresses we could gather. Next issue of "Solidarite Internationale" will be printed in about 20 days — and before that, we'd like to get an answer and some news from you.

Do you still want to receive our periodicals? Do you need any international information for your groups, papers, movements, organisations?

Give us an answer as soon as possible. Send us your local information. And let us know who you are!

BP 521 For Commune Libre Toulouse,  
31011 TOULOUSE-CEDEX Fraternally,  
FRANCE.

## SABATÉ

guerrilla  
extraordinary  
Antonio Tellez

Owing to difficulties in obtaining paper (and a strike at the printers) the publication of SABATE has had to be put back six to eight weeks. We sincerely apologise to all comrades who have already sent in an order but assure them that as soon as the copies are available (September is the date given to us by the printers now) they will be despatched immediately.

### THE MIND POLICE (cont. from page 9)

in denouncement, they are said to be deliberately misinforming the public.

Many scientists say in defence of State policy that objective, thinking people cannot dismiss vivisection since the medical achievements in this field benefit mankind. The experiments of concentration camp doctors too have greatly extended the range of discoveries in medical science. The blessings far outweigh the sufferings of the human guinea pigs involved in research experiments. The majority of people sanction the policy of law administrators, protests only come from a minority of confirmed enemies of law and order.

The cynicism of German officials becomes apparent in the reply received to an inquiry, made on our behalf, as to how many political prisoners there are in West Germany. Our representative was told: "Only one, namely Rudolf Hess!"

Astrid Proll, Monika Berberich, Marianna Herzog, Ulrike Meinhof, are not classified as political prisoners but as criminals.

Insistence on a proper reply elicited the reluctant statement that German prisons harboured — as far as could be ascertained — 812 prisoners classified as political.

The police have recently raided offices of the Red Aid in search for hidden weapons. If any had been found in these raids the comrades would have been charged with non-politically motivated offences.

It so happened that at the time of our inquiry a man had been found shot dead in Grunewald, Berlin, known to the police as an Anarchist who had turned informer. It was pointed out to our contact that the police had reason to believe that Anarchists were the killers. If this turned out to be true they would be charged with murder and treated by the law, officially, not as political prisoners but as criminals.

## LETTERS

### GLEANINGS — (cont. from page 14)

Admittedly, Peter was once convinced that the Army has taken over the government of these islands, and indeed he gave a very thought provoking talk on the subject to an Anarchist meeting. However, to suggest, as some have, that this theory amounted to wishful thinking, stemming from his identification with Cromwell, is to engage in the kind of trashy psychologising which Peter himself has done so much to expose over the years.

Man o' the Movement

Apologies to the comrades abroad who missed the sarcasm of these articles!

"Il est de sel attique assaisonné partout."



'Did you 'ear wot  
they did to that  
poor banker?'

### ANSWERS TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. The Quakers (Society of Friends) and the Muggletonians. The Seventh Day Baptists held out until fifty years ago but got absorbed into the American Seventh Day Adventists. The Muggletonians are probably the smallest religious sect going.
2. Rothschilds had heavily invested in Allied bonds and first reports from Waterloo stated that the English had been routed. Knowing this was not so from his use of carrier pigeons, Mr. Rothschild went to the Stock Exchange and stood by a pillar, with an onion in his handkerchief, weeping. The speculators panicked and sold like mad under par while Rothschild's own agents were the only takers.
3. The anarcho-syndicalist labour unions had been invited to Moscow by the conference of the 'Red Trade Union International' but came away disgusted. They therefore, in 1922, set up their own international in Berlin (taking the old name of the First International of the International Working Men's Association - or A.I.T. - partly because of the enormous prestige still pertaining to it in Spain, where it had been 'Bakuninist'). It admitted only recognised union movements, or the remains of them after dictatorship had broken them up. After 1939 it ceased effectively to exist but there is still an 'International' subsidised by the Toulouse section of the Spanish Libertarian Movement in exile.
4. Three years civil war.
5. The Fourth International (Trotskyist).\* Some of the South African leaders that had their fares paid to this country in the thirties are still active (even in the Labour Young Socialist movement). It was felt at the time by Trotsky himself, that in South Africa the C.P., would take direct confrontation with the government and that the English-speaking Trotskyists would be better employed in Great Britain.

\* The clergyman was Father Stewart Purvis. (Most Trotskyist histories omit his title.)