

We promised some time ago to bring out a series of posters beginning with one on Zapata. In fact we have been delayed in this project till now but have now produced the first of the posters. Zapata will come later — the first in the series is on the theme THE GREAT ARE ONLY GREAT BECAUSE WE ARE ON OUR KNEES and is an interpretation by Italian anarchist artist Flavio Costantini of the "pyramid" of authoritarian society. It is in colour, laminated and will make a superb present for the Yuletide season.

The International Libertarian Centre — apart from being the one social meeting place of anarchists in London — has played a valuable part in building the movement in Spain and Portugal by Centro Iberico meetings building contacts in the peninsula, and by the organised lessons in offset printing — as well as "sidelines" like finding jobs and places to stay for many who had to leave suddenly (plus organising hospitality for girl students coming here for abortions). The joint fund for prisoners and resistance has been extremely valuable in several countries. A good sale of these posters at the present-giving season will give us a boost on both. (The second in the series will be 'Sabate' — the third 'Zapata'.)

BLACK FLAG

organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



VOL III No. 15 November Price 10p

32 YEARS in JAIL!



SOLIDARITY WITH PEDRINI BELGRADO!



The posters will be published by Cienfuegos Press for the Anarchist Black Cross and profits will be devoted to the deficit on our London Centre, and to our Prisoners Resistance Fund. No. 3 is now ready — £1. (USA — \$ 2.40) post free (in tube). From Bill Poster, c/o Cienfuegos Press, 83a, Haverstock Hill, London NW.3.

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 Sabate - £2.35p + 20p p&p
 MAN! - £3.25p +pp - available Nov 20!!

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PARIS 11 DEFENCE COMMITTEE- Eight released, three still inside! Sat. Nov. 16th - the Committee will be holding a picket outside the offices of AIR FRANCE at the corner of New Bond St. and Piccadilly. BE THERE!

Meetings CENTRO IBERICO and of INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE at 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW.3 (entrance 2nd door - Steele's Road) nearest tube Chalk Farm - Saturdays and Sundays 7.30.p.m.

RAGS WANTED for our printshop; records (LP) for disco at centre; any scrap to raise funds useful, also jumble for next sale.

We must be careful about these appeals. We wanted an electric kettle for our centre and have plenty of causes to send the saved money to... honest, that's the reason we suggested some people might send trading stamps. *The Observer* refers to *Black Flag* appealing for "Pink, Green and even Co-op stamps to help it along..." Honest we're not as desperately off as that sounds... But we could do with scrap (clean rags for the printshop), jumble (for political prisoners) and as *Black Flag* is building up its own independent print unit funds are needed - how can one make it dramatic enough to galvanise our readers but not so dramatic as to make the Sundays? (We never got any trading stamps either).

State of the nation as at Oct. 4th

Black Flag	deficit c/fwd	75.24	
	Printing costs	148.70	
	Paper	24.00	
	Stationery	13.95	
	Postage	39.50	
	Literature bt.	8.50	309.89
	Sales & subs	97.36	
	donations*	66.31	163.67
	deficit...		£146.22



* donations
 SB 15p, LS 90p, £2.30, 33p, Adam £5, LD 50p, GF £1, JT £2.
 MS £3.50, RB £1.15; (N. Ireland) JT £2; (California) AR \$100
 =£42.75; Tchus £2.53 Printworker £.70 (Sweden) 50p.

The Libertarian Centre

	deficit c/fwd	343.56	
	Rents pd	121.32	
	phone	17.19	
	various	11.20	
			493.27
	subrents &c	129.21	
	collections	4.03	133.24
	deficit...		£360.03

Prisoners/Resistance Fund

		i/hand	27.18
SB	£2.50; LD	£5; SB	£3; AR
MS	£; ; Norwich An. Grp.	£6	25.50
			52.68
To "Paris Prisoners" Committee	£15; Spain	£14;	
Mme. G	£15		45.00
		credit...	7.68

LEICESTER: Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street: anarchist literature.

LIBERTARIANS and Library Users: Make sure that your public library stocks anarchist literature (properly referenced and catalogued - many have two references "Anarchism" and "Anarchist Socialism" and the former has been known to have some bizarre entries). In particular, see they get the new Cienfuegos Press publication out next month: MAN! AN ANARCHIST ANTHOLOGY. Edited by Marcus Graham.

ANYONE INTERESTED in producing a Libertarian Spastics journal contact D. Barnsdale, 5 Cadogan Road, Surbiton, Surrey.

ANARCHO-QUIZ



1. What force did the Government of the day use to repel the invasion of London by the Red Army in the 1920's?
2. What anarchist painter is buried in the grounds of the quiet lakeside church of Ambleside once attended by William Wordsworth?
3. Why "Third" Reich; "Fourth" International; "Fifth" Columnist?
4. This year is the hundredth anniversary of one of the most important battles of working class history - ignored by most historians because overshadowed (undeservedly) by the Paris Commune. Which?
5. What connects "Women in Love" with the revolutionary anthem "England Arise"?

answers on page 15

Moderation Is The Message

Commenting on "talk" from the Right Wing "of what should be done if a general strike, or the action of a strategically placed union, paralysed the country", the *Observer* (25-8-74) told its readers:

"... much of this talk is dangerous nonsense. Dangerous because it is about para-military training of various kinds by unauthorised civilians - and because this is precisely the kind of threat that will put the revolutionaries in power in the unions and unite the working class of this country behind them."

The *Observer* obviously has no wish to see "unauthorised civilians" given guns. Is it because they have not been authorised to use them or maybe because they are civilians? The 'rule of law' is held up by the State as an absolute. If anyone starts shooting people they have to do it legally, they have to keep to the rules. Therefore only those sanctioned by the rule makers, the State, can be considered lawful. Only authorised violence is allowed by the State. If you give guns to civilians (gasp!), why anything might happen! Not being totally controlled, or conditioned to follow orders without question like regular (ie. authorised) soldiers, there is always the lurking danger that those issued with guns might turn them against the order givers - as was the case with the Russian conscript army of 1917 - or, like many members of the French and Spanish resistance movements, hang onto them for future use. Civilians, especially unauthorised ones, are too much of an unknown quantity to be given guns in the eyes of the State.

It is not just that the *Observer* holds a grudge against armed civilians. It also recognises, unlike its fascist friends, that the continued existence of capitalism is best served by avoiding, whenever possible, head-on class conflicts of the sort arising from armed threats directed at the working class. The more imaginative members of the ruling class have learnt the lesson of history - that in such open class struggles they will be on the losing side - and now find it safer to maintain their power by resort to reforms and deception.

Instead of crudely bashing strikers a la Kitson at every opportunity, the ruling class now brings the weapons of 'moderation' and 'national interest' into play.

The thugs and strike breakers of the Rights' 'private armies' may indeed be used when all else fails to maintain the 'rule of law' but at the moment the fascists are an acute embarrassment to the State. They draw attention to the real alignment of class forces - just as Nixon brought unwanted public scrutiny on the American political system. And, just as Nixon was disavowed by the American State as a scapegoat for its own actions, so the 'private armies' in Britain will be disavowed (publically at least). Even within the National Front an attempt is being made to conceal its fascist nature behind a patriotic veil whilst the unsavoury parts of its leaders Webster and Tyndall are passed off as youthful indiscretions.

Realising that such open class struggle precedes capitalism's downfall the *Observer* asks:

"Are the Tories now going to make the fatal mistake that Stanley Baldwin prevented them making in 1926 - when Churchill and others lost working class respect by behaving as if force could be used against working people...?"

At its simplest this attitude among Tories would soon produce a far larger 'private army' of the left - and we would be left with a choice between Communism and Fascism. Britain managed to avoid these extremes in the thirties, when Italy, Germany, Spain and others did not. It was done by the Tories remaining genuine moderates; this enabled moderation to survive in Labour and the unions. Will our present Tory leaders do the same?"

'Out of the mouths of babes and children'... the saying goes. In its appeal for moderation the *Observer* clearly charts the course capitalism must take to ensure its survival. Murray, Jones and the other Trade Union bureaucrats need no prompting to work hand-in-glove with the Government against their union members. Their opposition to the Tories was more a case of sit down you're rocking the boat than anything else. The difference between the fire-breathing Right and the conciliatory middle-of-the-roaders is only that the latter are less open about their intentions; they are no less dangerous to the working class. Their moderation extends only to calling for everyone elses.

When their appeals to "reason" and "moderation" fail these same moderates will be the first to pull the trigger: legally, having first granted themselves permission. They criticise the 'extreme' Right, not for being opposed to working class interests, but for showing it!

But whether or not the first bullets directed at the working class come from the guns of 'private' or legally recognised armies, the question arises, how many of us are ready to meet the violence of the State when it comes?

Our friends on the Marxist left expose every act of armed resistance to the State to the most savage criticism and condemnation. Any real blow against capitalism is invariably tagged 'premature' or 'adventurist'. Unfortunately the fascists which the boot-boys of I.S. and I.M.G. chase round the side streets of London on Saturday afternoons have no such qualms about using guns. As their campaign of street confrontation with fascists intensifies, the Marxists will discover the hard way that their adversaries are armed with more than pointed flag poles. When the fascists start shooting and bombing (as they do already in Italy and Spain) it will be too late to exchange dialectical zeal for machine guns.

How many more shotgun blasts through the windows of anti-fascist meeting places will take place before people realise that the day that revolution actually breaks out will be too late to begin arming the workers?

The *Observer* has good reason to discourage the formation of 'private armies'. Our Marxist friends will only be forced out of their singular faith in Kung-Fu lessons by the 'private armies', so feared by this bourgeois Sunday paper, actually taking the armed initiative themselves. But the State (as clearly recognised by the *Observer*) prefers to put its trust in its own model army.

When it can no longer hide behind its screen of 'moderation' the State will send its soldiers out onto the streets and into the factories without hesitation. If the revolutionary movement is not going to be caught defenceless at the certain cost of the lives of its best militants, then 'moderation' amongst its own ranks must be replaced by more practical weapons.

Phil Ruff.



A background To The German Movement

The propaganda of the Anarcho-Spartacists in East Germany led to the destruction of their groups, but this fact, rather increased their reputation and the effect of their propaganda continued to stimulate the rebellious imagination of the new generation and finally in delayed action, resulted in the open revolt of the 1968 student movement.

The student revolt, started off under anti-authoritarian impulses, got entangled in contradictions imposed by authoritarian dogmatics and thus divided, collapsed under the massive assault of a new specially organised police force.

The setback caused a loss of student support. To regain it, the elitists decided on city guerrilla warfare. As the name "Red Army Fraction" indicates, they gave preference to Red Militarism, in contrast to people's spontaneous armed struggle.

The anarchists argued that any social revolutionary movement forced by oppression underground, would have to adjust its actions to the dynamic force of the people. If unexperienced amateurism and romantic emotionalism were the sources of underground activities, and if the illegal organisation was not structured in a manner that would make infiltration by agents practically impossible, success would be impaired. A period of training was needed, tests of reliability were necessary, as well as acute study of counter-revolutionary strategies. In matters of armed struggle the anarchists believed that self-discipline achieved better results than Army discipline.

The "RAF" believed in "encouraging" those who were paralysed by the striking power of the establishment, to strike back, and that it would be sufficient to demonstrate that this power was not invulnerable. Inflicting injuries on the enemy would spark off insurrection leading to revolution.

To this the anarchists answered: guerrilla hit-and-run tactics may be alright in countries with jungle, deep forests and mountains to run to. Furthermore, they had a mass of peasants to recruit from and replace losses. As things stood in Germany the "RAF" could scarcely rely on a lasting support of progressive liberals in academic quarters.

The "RAF" drive ended in fiasco. Their members found themselves isolated. Anarchist pacifists took this welcome opportunity to, once again, warn the movement about the danger of armed struggle. It then became swapped with bourgeois humanists and people who had lingered on the fringe of the revolutionary protest movement and had been hit by the waves of violence.

A new anarchist movement branched out in different factions. The "pacifist anarchists" were in the majority. Next the groups who hopefully set out to revitalise the Anarcho-syndicalist organisations, by restoring uncompromising revolutionary spirit. Other groups sought new militant contacts in industrial fields, and by practical participation in the workers' struggle believed, they could create a new strong anarchist movement. Some groups were in favour of co-operation with other groups displaying libertarian tendencies. Others rejected this.

The flux of new orientation attempts in both camps, that of the anarchists as well as the spontanists, gave the impression of aimlessness and indecision.

The Communists, although likewise split up into factions, covered their internal weakness with frenzied proclamations and calls for strict party discipline.

The "Rote Hilfe" (Red Aid) gradually became a basis of practical solidarity actions by anarchist and Marxists alike. But as in the student movement, the authoritarians soon usurped domination.

The German comrades adopted the Anarchist Black Cross slogan: "Aid for all prisoners!" as distinct from that of the Red Aid who pronounced aid exclusively to political

prisoners. For a time Red Aid organisations embodied "Black Cross" affiliations. Here the anarchists developed increasing stability. As a result the Marxist-Leninists separated and formed a new Red Aid organisation, legally licenced.

Many autonomous anarchist groups have formed themselves since in the traditional "red" districts of Germany. The workability of co-ordination with libertarian socialists and communists is demonstrated in other mixed groups. Most of them are poised at social revolutionary class struggle in full accord with the spontaneous protest and self-assertion actions of the people advancing towards revolution.

Judging from the information available, the new generation of German anarchists has drawn their lesson from the abortive guerrilla enterprise of the "RAF".

It may be said that the German anarchists lay stress on the importance of regional active participation in the struggle of the working class and recognise the justification of armed defence in situations of exposure to extreme violent repression.

The Rhineland anarchists have played no mean part in perhaps one of the most significant strikes at the Ford plant, that established an exemplary come-together of German and Turkish workers in common action, previously divided in mutual distrust.

In the case of the "Black June Commando" it is impossible for outsiders to cover the background, since we are dealing with an underground group. The communique of this group provoked criticism, voiced by legal groups. The formulations of both sides dare not produce detailed instructive evidence. We may well dismiss the irrelevant side issues touched upon and focus our interest on the main issue, namely that of the exception. Here, it seems to us, there is basically no ultimate disagreement on the question of the killing of spies.

The London "International Archive Team" has declared its info ("Mit-Teilung") in the columns of Black Flag. Solidarity with the "Black June Group" in the same spirit as solidarity is being expressed by the Black Cross with imprisoned members of the "RAF" — that is, in spite of our difference of opinion as to their methods of action.

John Olday.

SOME OPINIONS FROM GERMAN COMRADES

The RAF was an outspoken Marxist-Leninist organisation. Their interpretation of anarchism differed generally from that of most students who had no theories. The Leninist conception was manifested by the fact that the RAF was a self-appointed vanguard which intended to provoke a people's war that could be directed into revolution. This classical Leninist conception disregarded the "revolutionary powers" of the people and role of the proletariat.

The RAF was not adequately prepared for city guerrilla action. Base and group did not work well enough. As the group had no contact with the workers to back them up, it was a mistake to start actions that could not be continued. Once the police had taken up the hunt, the group had to devote all their energy to escaping capture. During this year they were rendered useless as a striking force.

We have criticised them from the very beginning but not refused them our solidarity.

Our concern has been centred since then on discussing the suitability of guerrilla actions in the city. We think city guerrilla actions in West European countries have to be conducted differently from those in an agricultural metropol like Montevideo or the prosperous island of Sao Paulo. We have seen in Paris how the distribution of expropriated food met with friendly acceptance, but did not stimulate active solidarity. City guerrilla action such

(over)

The Opposition In The Ukraine

Since Tsarist times, through the heroic days of Makhno's Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army, up to the present, the Ukraine has been a centre of struggle against tyranny, be it feudal, capitalist or self-styled communist. It is, therefore, not surprising that nowadays while Soviet "liberals" of the ilk of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov are merely harassed or expelled Ukrainian oppositionists loose their liberty for long years, and sometimes lose their lives as was the case with Bohdan Hrytsyna and Ivan Koval, two members of the Ukrainian National Committee who were shot after an in camera trial in Lvov in 1961.

That same year, there were also brought to trial seven members of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union. Lev Lukyananko, the leading figure in the UWPU, was sentenced to death later commuted to fifteen years. The aims of the UWPU were not, as the prosecution alleged, nationalist, but directed at agitating against limitations on democratic freedoms and for the secession of the Ukraine from the USSR (a right guaranteed by Article 17 of the "USSR Constitution"). However, in the course of its development the UWPU discovered that what was needed to improve the lot of the Ukrainian people was not secession but the "liquidation of the bureaucracy". For advancing this idea the members of the UWPU received sentences of between fifteen and seven years in the labour camps.

The comrades of UWPU are but a few of the Ukrainian political prisoners (60% of Soviet political prisoners are Ukrainians). Sentences range from death, sometimes carried as in the above mentioned cases and in that of Mykola Protsiv, sometimes commuted, to two or three years imprisonment. For distributing leaflets Mykola Kots received seven years plus five years exile.

Amongst the men and women behind the wire of the labour camps are Svyatoslav Karavansky, his wife Nina Strokata and Vasyl Stus. Karavansky, who had served sixteen years of a twenty-five year sentence, petitioned the Soviet authorities and the Polish Communist leader Gomulka against the persecution of Ukrainians, Jews and other minorities. For this he received another eight years. His wife received four years for refusing to denounce and divorce him. Vasyl Stus joined the Citizens' Committee for the Defence of Nina Stokata. He received five years.

Vyacheslav Chornovil is the author of the "Chornovil Papers", a compilation of material relating to the trials of twenty Ukrainians in 1965-66. He is currently serving seven years to be followed by five years exile. Leonid Plyuschch

(CONT. FROM P. 4.)

as a bank robbery had in cases, where the seized money was not accounted for, no profound impact in mobilising active support.

Whereas the action of taking an ambassador as hostage, in order to force the release of political prisoners, made a noticeable impression.

At all times the city guerrilla action must be widely explained to the public by utilising the propaganda possibilities at the disposal of outside comrades, who are also in the position to inform workers in their factories, people in every strata of life and engaged in local community activities, schools and so on.

This means that there must be a well-functioning relationship with legal revolutionary organisations. Without this the city guerrilla actions are restricted in their range of actions and mobility, and handicapped by lack of strong support.

is not in prison, he is in the special psychiatric hospital at Dnepropetrovsk. This means he can be detained indefinitely. He may not live to see freedom again for his health is rapidly deteriorating. Valentyn Moroz is the author of "Report from the Beria Reserve" a brilliant description of the brutal conditions in the camps and a critique of what he calls a society of cogs. He is serving nine years.

These are but a handful of the Ukrainians imprisoned for their opposition to the policies of the totalitarian Stalinist bureaucracy, the apparatchiks and chekists.

More important from a revolutionary viewpoint than the actions of small groups and individuals is the outbreak of waves of strikes and riots by the workers. One such wave occurred in 1952 when increases in the price of meat and dairy produce sparked off sit down strikes, demonstrations and riots. Featuring prominently in these upheavals were the Ukrainian towns of Donetsk and Zhdanov.

Recent years have again seen similar outbreaks in the Ukraine. Workers at the Kiev Hydro Electric Station met in the village of Bereza to protest at bad housing conditions. After their meeting they marched with placards proclaiming: "All Power to the Soviets". The delegate, Ivan Hryschch, they sent to Moscow to put their case to the Central Committee of the CPSU was thrown into prison.

In Dniproderzhinsk 10,000 people rioted for two days destroying the buildings housing the offices of the KGB (secret police) and the Young Communist League. The KGB opened fire on the rioters killing at least eight. Mass arrests were made.

In Dnipropetrovsk there were strikes and demonstrations in support of demands for better living conditions. There have been riots in Kannus in Lithuania after a young worker burnt himself to death as a political protest. Thousands fought the police killing one of them. Eight Thousand Crimean Tartars demonstrated when one of them, Femi Aliyev, was shot dead by police in the town of Yangi-Yuli. A leaflet distributed in Moscow, Temir-Ta, Cherchik, and Novochoerkask. And there have been strikes and go-slows in the docks, the motor industry and the gold mines.

Already I've gone beyond the Ukraine, but events there cannot be separated from events in the rest of the USSR and East Europe. These events, from Kronstadt through the uprisings in the GDR, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR itself show that the workers of these lands will one day overthrow the parasitic bureaucracy and establish a really free and communist society.

Terry Liddle.



No argument has as yet sustained the assertion that city guerrilla actions are useless. In contrast the arguments in favour of well-planned and organised city guerrilla actions substantiate not only their usefulness but also their necessity. Who else but city guerrilla activists could have stopped the transport of German troops, mobilised to aid the French police is crushing the 1968 Paris revolt?

The opinion is now that the lessons of the abortive city guerrilla campaigns are: members of city guerrilla groups must receive better technical instructions, must be better supported financially and their organisation more secure. Co-ordination between legal and illegal groups must be perfected. The concept of supporting revolutionary actions by the workers within their factories must be reconsidered.

If all this can be reached after a discussion has cleared the way there will be no need to waste breath on polemics.

Free Pedrini Belgrado !!

News has just reached us from the "Grupo Germinal" in Carrara that they are undertaking a national and international solidarity campaign in support of an anarchist comrade PEDRINI BELGRADO, who has been in Italian jails since the end of the 2nd World War — in fact he has spent 32 years in jail! There follows an outline of Pedrini's case by Goliardo Fiaschi — one of the organisers of the Pedrini Defence Group:

Pedrini Belgrado was arrested initially in 1942 by the Mussolini police following an armed clash with the Italian fascists during the 'illegal' struggle against the 'legal' government (prior to the official formation of the partisan movement on September 8th 1943) Pedrini managed to escape from prison in June 1944 and immediately joined the anarchist partisan group "ELIO" and played a prominent part in the battles of La Spezia, Sarzana and Carrara. Operating as part of the Allied Special Forces in the Appian Mountains in February 1945 as a partisan commander, Pedrini saved the lives of four English Army officers and under heavy machinegun fire escorted them safely through the Nazi lines, to English Allied Command HQ in Florence. Pedrini was also known as one of "the avengers of Vinca", a small Italian village totally destroyed by the S.S. butcher Reder.

Despite his tireless opposition to the fascist regime of Benito Mussolini and his officially recognised bravery during the "legal" struggle Pedrini Belgrado was arrested in May 1945 and charged with crimes committed prior to 1943 (the date of Italy entering the war against Germany)! He was eventually brought to trial by a "democratic" court in 1949 and sentenced to life imprisonment, but this was later commuted to thirty years imprisonment.

HEIGHTENED REPRESSION IN PRISONS.

"In complete secrecy, special 'control units' are being set up in two British jails to deal with troublesome prisoners". (Sunday Times 6/10/74). "Control units" have already been introduced at Wakefield prison for "intractable prisoners" and they are being constructed at Wormwood Scrubs. They are a new weapon of repression against the most repressed element in society, the prison population, and are a more severe punishment than regular solitary confinement. The units are deliberately arranged so that "the opportunities of confrontation with prison staff are reduced", and prisoners are intentionally granted less such contact with screws than a prisoner on solitary.

Under Home Office regulations the minimum term in such a unit is six months, but this must be six months of continuous good behaviour and voluntary work. Any form of misbehaviour at any time during the six months automatically means that the prisoner reverts to day one of his term and must complete a further six months in the unit. And only after an initial 90 day period in the especially harsh solitary confinement is a prisoner allowed to mix with other prisoners in the control unit during work and leisure periods. This is called the second period, and misbehaviour during that again reverts the prisoner automatically back to the first day of the first period of his spell in the unit, and it will be at least another 90 days of continuous good behaviour before he is again, half way through his spell in the unit, and able to mix, even as minimally as is allowed in the second period, with his fellow prisoners.

Other infringements of a prisoners' regular rights include reduction of visits by relatives, and having screws sitting nearby to listen in to the conversation at such visits. The prisoner's visitor is also warned against asking about the treatment the prisoner is receiving. There are also other petty

We repeat — comrade Pedrini Belgrado has now been imprisoned for thirty two years — despite all amnesties — and he has a further three years to serve before he can at last be officially released from a sentence originating from a fascist court for anti-fascist activities! To make matters worse Pedrini has now been transferred to the "House of Work" (forced labour) to complete the final years of his sentence. Unless something is done for him in the very near future then it is highly unlikely he will ever walk the streets again as a free man.

We ask all comrades everywhere to show their solidarity by sending letters and postcards of solidarity to our imprisoned comrade to give him hope for the immediate future. Parcels of food and tobacco would not go amiss either!!

To:— PEDRINI BELGRADO, CASA PENALE 43100 — PARMA, ITALY.

More important still is the campaign to release Pedrini from his 32 years imprisonment. Write letters of protest to the Italian Ambassador, Consul and Vice-Consul in your local town and city: letters of protest to Mario Zagari, Ministro di Grazia e Giustizia, Rome; Il Presidente della Camera dei Deputati, Sandro Pertini, Montecitorio, Rome — and also to your local branch of Alitalia!

GOLIARDO FIASCHI.

Black Flag will be carrying further news of the campaign to release Pedrini Belgrado but for those comrades who want to have information direct, please write to:— Goliardo Fiaschi, Granai Pietro, c/o Gruppo Germinal, Piazza Metteotti No 31, Carrara - 54033, Italy.

extra restrictions on a prisoner's personal rights, like only being allowed to write if he takes a pen into the unit with him, and not being allowed to refill it when it runs out.

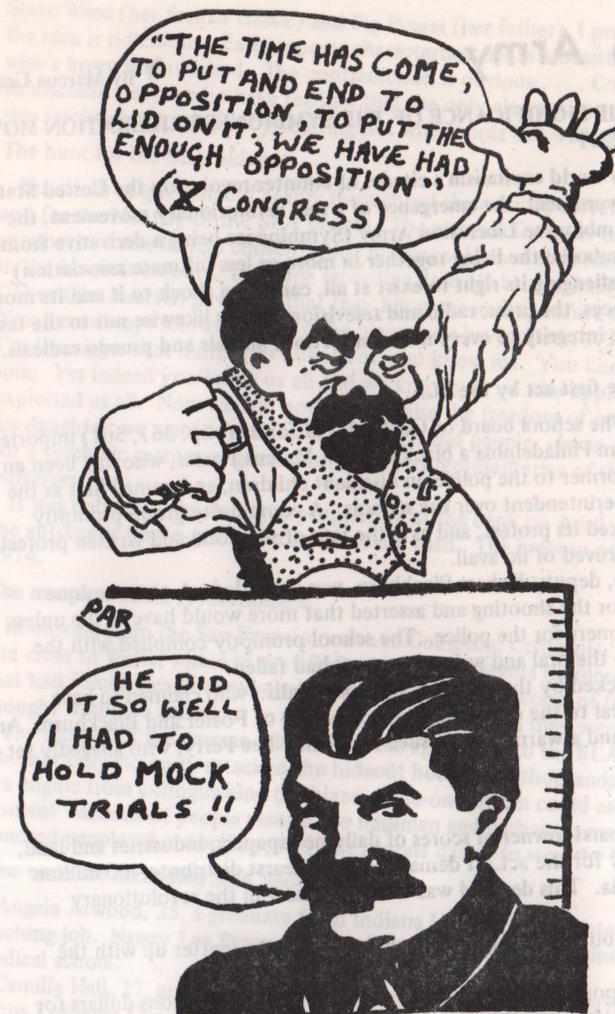
But the overriding horror of this peculiarly cruel and inhuman treatment of prisoners is that he is subject to no independent control. By the bureaucratic trick of treating the sending of prisoners into these units as an administrative function of change of location, and neither as a punishment nor a treatment for the prisoners, the prisoners in the units have no right of appeal against the decision to put them there, and they are not seen by the boards of prison visitors who adjudicate on prison offences. The decision to put a prisoner in such a unit, and in effect, the decision as to how long he will stay in the unit, are taken only by the prison staff, who are responsible only to the Home Office.

Now even for those who retain illusions about the potential of "liberal" Home Secretaries it seems fairly clear that, even if the civil servants have told him of this scheme, Roy Jenkins (it was his "liebral" predecessor Robert Carr who took the decision to set them up) would never disallow the use of these units. They so obviously have a useful function in the view of any Home Secretary, in the task of keeping down the more vociferous and determined prisoners who emerge as the prison population becomes more radical, assertive and militant.

And with the almost daily increase in the number of political prisoners whose technically criminal acts are born out of a political belief, readers are invited to guess which prisoners the units have been designed for. No prizes.

William Lee.

Note: All words in inverted commas and not attributed are from Home Office statements.



Dutch Political Prisoners

Since June 1973 when Black Flag reported that the Dutch 'Red Youth' militant, Lucien Van Hoessel was "the first Dutch political prisoner for some years" other Dutch political prisoners have appeared on, and disappeared over Dutch horizons and, as a result at least one prisoners group has been formed as a direct result.

For instance Ronald Augustin (25) an Amsterdam printer is now a Dutch political prisoner although he is in fact held by the West German police in Hanover Prisoen. Augustin was arrested in July 1973 crossing the Dutch-German border and is accused among other things, of being a member of the illegal 'Red Army Fraction'.

Earlier this year, in February, two other RAF suspects, Axel Achterath and Ekkehard Blenck, who can only have been 'political prisoners' were handed over to the German police by their Dutch counterparts quite illegally — that is, without due process of law, which is as was demonstrated during the extradition of James Humphries of Soho, quite precise.

As a RAF prisoner Augustin is being held under conditions of complete isolation, which have irreparably undermined the stability of other RAF prisoners (see Black Flag Vol. III No. 2 'The Mind Police').

Members of Augustin's family and sympathisers have founded (from August 17th) the Dutch 'Anti-German Terror Committee' (Kommittee Anti-Duitse Terreur — KADT) to give their cam-

Appeal

The Spanish police, on the 25th and 26th of June, arrested one after the other, Luis Edo, Luis Burro and David Urbano; and several days later, on the first of July, Juan Ferra and Margarita Guesano.

A few arrests more or less is no great shock to us Spaniards, used as we are to suffering all kinds of insults from our oppressors, but it is not our intention in this appeal to inflame public opinion abroad, simply to clarify certain facts concerning the affair, facts that we consider to be of gravity in the light of what has happened.

As a result of the kidnapping of the Spanish banker, Sr. Suarez, last May in Paris, there was a wave of arrests in France, including Octavio Alberola Surinach and Lucio Urtubia Jimenes, well known enemies of the Franquist regime. In fact, the charges laid against them are extremely confused and incoherent: this also we will pass over for the moment, waiting to see how they stand up in court.

Our aim is to point out the barefaced collaboration which has gone on between the French police and the judge Sr. Bernard (responsible for the Suarez dossier). At the command of this judge the five arrests mentioned at the head of this appeal were carried out, for the heinous crime of having been associated with the Suarez affair. When the kidnap took place, these five suspects of Sr. Bernard were all in Spain. But besides all this, the judge has absolutely no moral right or authority to involve himself in the affairs of other countries, above all in acting against people hostile to Franco's regime. Each man has the right to act as he thinks fit, but not to ride roughshod over the constitutional principles of his country, and the Spanish people, hiding hypocritically behind a judge's robes.

We launch an appeal to everybody to unmask individuals like judge Bernard, who misuse their responsibility and power and sell themselves for material gain, or power, to the fascist regime of Franquism, and thus act in the same way as did Hitler and Mussolini.

Signed by those who struggle inside Spain for freedom.

paign greater effect. They had previously participated in protest actions organised by the German 'Committee Against Torture of Political Prisoners' such as the Dusseldorf hunger strike last April to draw attention to the continued isolation of RAF prisoners Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrum Ennslein. KADT has been formed in the face of the illegal collaboration between the Dutch and German police; the continued hollow promises of "radical" Dutch M.Ps and government officials over Augustin's continued isolation; and the total disregard shown by the German authorities to representatives made on behalf of Augustin, his family and friends.

The KADT issued an ultimatum on August 29 to two West German officials. (H. Schafer, the Justizminister in charge of Hanover Prison and the Judge to whom application must be made by Augustin's visitors) demanded that Augustin be re-allocated to a normal section of the prison so that he may enjoy association with other prisoners and be fit to defend himself when he is brought to trial.

If, by 2pm on September 27th this demand isn't met other reprisal actions planned by the KADT to bring 'economic' pressures to bear on Dutch based German business interests will go into effect.

A picket in support of the KADT demand for Augustin's removal out of the 'isolation cells' was held outside the German Embassy, Belgrave Square.

The Symbionese Liberation Army

By Marcus Graham



THE S.L.A.'S SEVEN-HEADED COBRA SYMBOL

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SYMBIONESE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

To world capitalism's citadel of counter-revolution the United States government, the emergence of a real revolutionary movement, the Symbionese Liberation Army (Symbionese being a derivative from symbiosis: the living together in more or less intimate association) challenging its right to exist at all, came as a shock to it and its mouthpieces, the press, radio and television. It has likewise put to the test the integrity of every marxian faction, liberals and pseudo radicals.

The first act by the SLA.

The school board of Oakland, California (pop. 361, 561) imported from Philadelphia a black teacher, Marcus Foster, who had been an informer to the police on dissident children, and named him as the superintendent over the schools. A community group promptly voiced its protest, and as is the fate of such oral and written protests, it proved of no avail.

In November 1972 Marcus Foster was shot dead, and his associate, deputy Robert Blackburn, was wounded. A communique signed by the Symbionese Liberation Army claimed responsibility for the shooting and asserted that more would have to die unless the school board promptly put a stop to having teachers act as informers for the police. The school promptly complied with the request, and the SLA had, by its revolutionary act, succeeded where the oral and written protests had failed.

On January 10th 1974 Joseph Romiro and Russel Little were attacked by the police of Concord, Calif., who claimed to have found SLA literature in their automobile, and guns that were identical to the ones used in the shooting of Foster and Blackburn. An attempt was made to burn a house said to have been SLA quarters, and a warrant was issued for Nancy Lee Perry, who allegedly set fire to the house.

The second SLA act.

On February 4th 1974 Patty Hearst, the daughter of William R. Hearst, owner of scores of daily newspapers, industries and land, was kidnapped. A communique from the SLA claimed responsibility for the act. It demanded that Hearst distribute 400 million dollars' worth of food to needy people in various centres of California. This demand was something new in the revolutionary struggle by the oppressed people in the United States.

Hearst's response claimed that he was unable to meet the demand, but was ready to bargain by taking the matter up with the trustees of the Hearst Corporation over which he presided.

Following the weeks of deliberation Hearst announced that his corporation was willing to advance only two millions dollars for the distribution of food to the needy. Various groups of black and Indian people volunteered to aid in the distribution of the food, as 50,000 needy people lined up to obtain parcels of food.

Some of the food was unfit for human consumption, as a communique from the SLA promptly exposed and demanded that an additional four million dollars be advanced for the purchase of decent food to be distributed to the people. Hearst's response was that the matter was out of his hands, and that his corporation would consider it. It afterwards agreed to put up in escrow four million dollars: the first two million to be released following the freeing of Patty Hearst, and another two million a year later. This counter offer was a trick dishonest one, since following the freeing of the Hearst girl not a penny would have been released, and hundreds of government watchdogs would have been waiting to shoot down every SLA member within the hideout.

What Hearst and the establishment may have expected was a flat rejection of the phony offer. But what they did not expect was not only a rejection by the SLA, but that Patty Hearst, in her own voice, should renounce her family and financial ties, and proudly ally herself with the new revolutionary movement!

The third SLA act.

On April 25th 1974 the media released a tape recording made by Patricia Hearst in which she stated in, part: "Greetings to the people, this is Tania (her new revolutionary name). On April 15th my comrades and I expropriated 10,660 dollars from the Sunset branch of the Hiberia bank (in San Francisco). Our action forced the corporate state to help finance the revolution. In the case of expropriation the difference between a criminal act and a revolutionary act is shown by what the money is used for . . . To the clowns who want a personal interview with me, Vincent Hallinan (a communist attorney representing Hearst)



EMILY HARRIS

WILLIAM HARRIS

NANCY PERRY

WILLIAM WOLFE

THERO WHEELER

Steve Weed (her former fiance) and Pig Hearst (her father), I prefer giving it to the people in the bank . . . As for being brainwashed the idea is ridiculous. Early reports characterised me as a beautiful intelligent liberal, while in more recent reports I'm a comely girl who's been brainwashed. The contradiction is obvious . . . Consciousness is terrifying to the ruling class and they will do anything to discredit people who have realised that the only alternative to freedom is death, and that the only way we can free ourselves of this fascist dictatorship is by fighting not with words but with guns . . ."

The hunt for the SLA hideout

Hundreds of government agents throughout the country fervently searched for the hideout where the SLA held the Hearst girl, and for the identity of the SLA people. The communique, on tape recordings, that the SLA had issued were signed Cinque (the prophet) a name he had chosen whilst in prison. He was thus identified, and the enemy swiftly issued statements that painted him in the blackest colours. In a tape recording dated February 21st 1974 Cinque answered his slanderers in these ringing words: "They (the Hearsts) have said that they know me and therefore do not have to repent for their crimes . . . You do indeed know me. You have always known me. I'm the nigger you have killed . . . I'm the nigger that is no longer just hunted, robbed and murdered. I'm the nigger that hunts you now. Yes, you know me. You know us all. You know me, I'm the gook, the broad, the servant, the spik. Yes indeed you know us all and we know you . . . the oppressor, murderer and robber. And you have hunted and robbed and exploited us all. Now we will not compromise the freedom of our children . . . We have heard it said that Mr. Hearst wants to save his daughter; we want to save all the children and people. In an effort to answer some of the basic needs of the people we are asking for a symbolic gesture of good faith from this representative of the corporate state . . . our interest is to serve the people and not ourselves."

It was only after the daring expropriation at the bank on April, 5th that the identity of some SLA people became known from the automatic photo-machine that the bank used. The hideout of the SLA still remained unknown, until the fateful day of May, 7th 1974.

The massacre of six revolutionists.

In moving from the San Francisco area to Compton, California, a suburb of Los Angeles where the population is mostly black, and close to Watts, where in the 1960s government agents murdered four score of black people, together with the revolutionary act that had forced Hearst to purchase two million dollars' worth of food for the needy, both of these facts the SLA undoubtedly thought would be sufficient to rally support if and when they were attacked by government agents.

The mother of the woman who rented the apartment to the SLA reported it to the police. They in turn gathered 500 henchmen who not only viciously attacked the hideout house with thousands of bullets, but also set the house on fire, and even prevented the fire engine from extinguishing the blaze, so no-one within could escape, and resulting in the charred bodies of two men and four women! Millions of people viewed the inhuman and barbarous massacre by the vultures of the government, as did also several hundred people who stood by, without anyone daring to stop the bloody spectacle that was being enacted.

Who were the identified SLA people?

Angela Atwood, 25, a graduate from Indiana University, daughter of a local official of the Teamsters Union, failed to obtain a teaching job. Nancy Lee Perry, 27, daughter of a prominent business man, with a BA degree in English in 197, , hoped to enter a medical school.

Camilla Hall, 27, graduate of the University of Minnesota in 1970, excelled in English, daughter of Dr. George Hall, pastor of St. Johns Lutheran Church.

Patricia Soltysk, 25, studied French and English for a year at the University of California in Berkeley, worked as a janitor at the Berkeley library.

Donald DeFreeze, 30, served various prison sentences for obtaining money in order to support six children from two marriages.

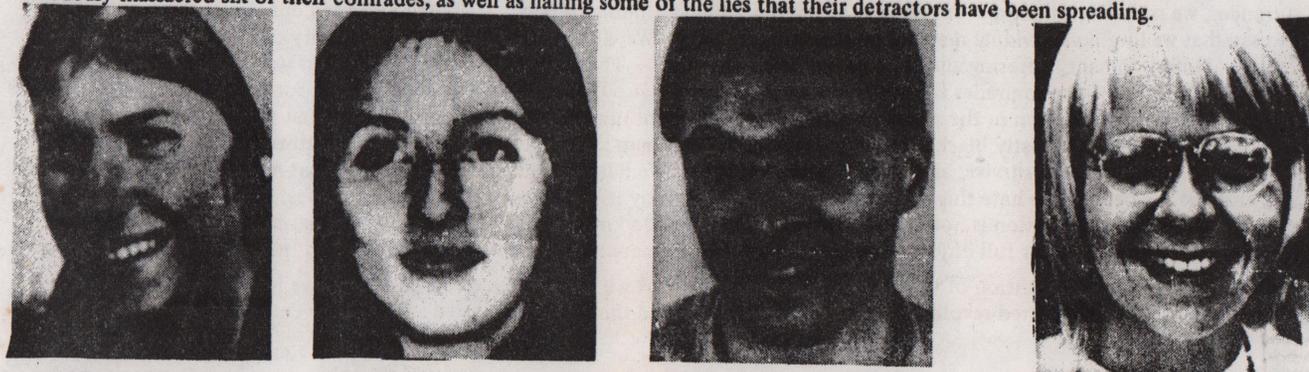
William Wolfe, 22, son of Dr. S.L. Wolfe, was a student at the University of California.

Each of them participated in various protest movements, principally against Vietnam war. None of them had ever belonged to a political party, although they went through the experience of reading literature that taught them what the Establishment stood for. This no doubt left upon them a lasting impression, and led them to embark upon their revolutionary path of action, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as indeed it did.

Thoughts of the SLA revolutionists.

Before the massacre of the six revolutionists the movement issued many communiques which they recorded and sent to various media outlets. These will undoubtedly be published in full in due course, first because of their truths about the society we, the people, are forced to live in, and because of the significance of the daring and heroic acts that these youthful revolutionists had dedicated their lives to.

Three of the SLA revolutionists that the governmental vultures have identified, and are now being hunted by them, have issued three recorded communiques following the massacre of the six revolutionists. The extracts from these three communiques depict what this newly arisen revolutionary movement is striving for, their feelings about the vultures of the government that so cold-bloodedly massacred six of their comrades, as well as nailing some of the lies that their detractors have been spreading.



PATRICIA SOLTYSK

ANGELA ATWOOD

DONALD DEFREEZE

CAMILLA HALL

Tania. (Patricia Hearst) It's hard to explain what it was like watching our comrades die, murdered by pig incendiary grenades, at the cowering of pigs facing a fire team of guerrillas, and the only way they could defeat them was to burn them alive . . . The pigs' action that Friday evening showed just how scared they really are. They would have burned all the entire neighbourhood to murder six guerrillas . . . The SLA terrifies the pigs because now it's called all oppressed people in this country to arms, to fight in a united front to overthrow this fascist dictatorship. The pigs think that they can deal with a handful of revolutionaries, but they know they can't defeat the incredible power which the people, once united, represent . . . I died in that fire on 54th street, but out of the ashes I was reborn . . . The pig lies about surrendering have only made me more determined . . . Death to the fascist insect that preys about the life of the people.

Teko. (William Harris) To those who would bear the hopes and future of our people, let the voice of their guns express the voice of freedom . . . Greetings to the people, the Black Liberation Army, the United People's Liberation Army, the Black Guerrilla Family, the Weather Underground and all freedom fighters of the United Symbionese Federation and the New World Federation Front . . . We have come together in many different cells, squads and military units. We have taken many different meaningful names. But we are not hung up on names, for as comrades-in-arms we are one in our struggle for freedom. The determination to eliminate our common enemy by force of arms has united us . . . On Friday May 17th 1974 a CIA directed force of FBI agents, Los Angeles City, County and California state pigs with air support and reserve assistance from United States Marine Corps and the National Guard encircled elements of the Malcolm X combat unit of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The result of the encirclement was that the people witnessed on live television the burning to death of six of their most beautiful and courageous freedom fighters by cowardly fascist insects. . . The pigs want us to believe that the fire was started by the SLA . . . molotov cocktails, or by accident from pig tear gas grenades. This is pig shit . . . They showed their true cowardice by using incendiary grenades to cause the fire that killed our comrades . . . incendiary grenades burn at such an incredible temperature that they melt steel and armour plate in a matter of seconds, and are impossible to extinguish . . . The pigs have historically focussed on eliminating black leaders. Many have been murdered or imprisoned . . . for over a year the pigs couldn't find Cin (Donald DeFreeze) to murder him so they attempted to isolate him from the people with pig propaganda . . . "Crazy-black-nigger escaped-convict-rapist routine" . . . pimped with ridiculous tales of links between the SLA and CIA, that Cin was a paid informer for the Los Angeles Police Department and the California Attorney General's Office. If this were true, we dare these fools and collaborators to explain Cin's reward for his deeds — a life term in California's concentration camps . . . Racists cannot believe that middle and upper class white and a daughter of a super-fascist ruling class family would ever have reason to follow the lead of a beautiful black genius revolutionary warrior and give their lives to the people . . . The pigs boast that they have broken the back of the Symbionese Liberation Army. But to do this they would have to break the back of the people . . . the SLA is not dead and will not die as long as there is one living fighting member of any oppressed class, race, sex or gorup left on the face of this earth.

Yoalnda. (Emily Harris) Greetings of profound love to the people, to all comrades-in-arms . . . in concentration camps of fascist America, and to all children . . . When we say revolution we do not use the word loosely. By revolution we mean the violent fight for freedom . . . freedom that can be gained in no other way than by fighting. People do not fight because they enjoy it or because they relish the thought of their own death or the deaths of their beloved comrades. They fight to survive, because they understand the violence of fascism; and that violence means genocidal death at the hands of dictators who massed 500 pigs armed with military weapons, fragmentary grenades and incendiary grenades to burn six people to death. Dictators who have imprisoned 22,000 brothers and sisters in the state of California. Dictators who take jobs away from those who are begging for work. Dictators who take food from the mouths of those who are starving. Dictators who take the joy from the hearts of those who love the people . . . The military industrial state of the ruling class can only survive through repression. These fascist dogs must destroy truth in the middle of the people to keep them pacified. They must make people afraid so that they'll do nothing. They must make people feel isolated from each other and powerless. Fascism tries to do all things through the brutal violence of the military police force, the lurking Big Brother presence of the FBI, CIA and their computer files, thorough mass media propaganda. Fascism tries to tell us we are fools to resist, because in the end we will be destroyed . . . We must face the inevitable truth that repression will grow more intense as the power-hungry pigs see their grips slipping. Whites in this country have historically had a tendency to back off when repression is intensified, feeling they could escape the vicious tentacles. For this reason black, brown, Asian and Indian brothers and sisters have not trusted whites, feeling that they would desert the fight as it was just beginning in order to save their own skin. These brothers and sisters were often proven correct. That is why we say anyone who loves freedom must prove this love through action, not words. And only after they have fought can they speak . . . So we are freedom fighters. We may be murdered, but whether we live or die, the day is close at hand when the people will join together in an army because of the wish to survive on their own terms, and the people will change the course of history through their courage and determination. To all those whose fear is stronger than their hatred of the pigs, I must say that the freedom fighters do not bring repression to your door. The fascist pig is responsible for this, and soon even those of you with white skins will lose your privileges . . . The pig will no longer knock and be very polite. He will shoot to kill. He will burn and rape. He will imprison and starve. He does this already in the ghettos of this country, and will expand his efforts to stay in his greed-filled positions of power . . . And if people wish to survive they will have to defend themselves with as much rage as the pigs would use against them. Only in this way can the people in this country avoid the mass genocide that occurred to Jews in Germany and leftists in Chile . . . To those who have attempted to express their love for us by calling for our surrender, we say we must express our feelings of love only by continuing to fight. We have renounced our class and race privilege and say that we love no individual more than we love freedom . . . We clearly understand that the reality of revolution will include death and imprisonment, suffering and violence as well as victory . . . There has been a lot of talk about wasted lives, referring to the six dead bodies of our comrades and to Tania, Teko and myself . . . There are no editorials written for the wasted lives of brothers and sisters daily gunned down in the streets and prisons. The present uproar over the fate of Patty Hearst was barely a murmur as hundreds of young men, mostly black and brown, went off to Vietnam . . . We of the SLA hate the historical reality that requires young people to struggle to survive, and to die violent deaths . . . We hate the reality in this country that murdered six of our sisters and brothers . . . because we hate this reality we must fight to destroy it by any means necessary . . . Yes, history might be different if they had lived, but revolution is not made by saying if only. We do know that the lives of revolutionaries will never be wasted . . . Our lives now are not easy or full of joy. We may die. But our lives are real because we see the truth in the future."

What a clear-cut comprehension of the Establishment's system that we, the oppressed are forced to live in! And what a brave determination the three hunted revolutionists are imbued with! And the kind of liberated society they envisage!

(to be continued)

The Madrid Bombing

The Peurta del Sol is the 'Piccadilly Circus' of Madrid. There, however, we find the Ministeria de la Gubernacion (equivalent to the Home Office) with its clock — as well known in Madrid as Big Ben in London. Below the clock is the Jefatura de Policia, which corresponds to Scotland Yard.

The Peurta del Sol is in front of the main gate; on the other sides of the building are the calle Carretas and the calle Correos, in the second of which the bomb exploded the other week.

Detainees are taken into the police HQ through an entrance on the calle Correos. From here a spiral staircase leads to the second floor of the building — the premises of the Brigada Politico-Social ("Special Branch"). The "Brigada" not only specialises in the repression of political activity against the regime but deals with 'workers' offences' — strikes and so on, the significance of the 'social' in the title 'politico-social'. On the second floor, details of each person arrested are filed and the detainees classified according to political affiliation. The Brigada is divided into a number of groups, each specialising in a different specimen of detainee — communist, anarchist and so on. A group consists of five to six people. At the head is an inspector with four or five 'agentes' as assistants.

Detainees are brought before these groups for interrogation. The group has carte blanche what to do with them short of actually killing them, since the dead can provide no information. Sometimes however they go so far with their 'interrogation' that the detainees forget to breathe. Then the doctor is called to sign a paper certifying death by a stroke or heart attack.

After interrogation detainees are taken back down the spiral staircase to the yard and thence to the Calabros (underground cells) in an annexe belonging to the policia armada (Metropolitan police). An underground tunnel leads back to the annexe — here the police compile another file about you before taking you to the calabros.

The atmosphere is unspeakably depressing. Most of the cells are very small and reserved for those in solitary confinement. Cells are allotted according to the 'importance' of the prisoner — that is, according to how much information can be extracted from him. Some detainees may be kept weeks, even months, completely isolated from the outside world, including their relatives. I myself spent 38 days in this place — 38 days of absolute nightmare. The worst moment comes when they open the door for yet another interrogation. At that moment one feels like committing suicide, but there is not even a pair of shoelaces to do it with.

It is not hard to understand why the Brigada is so hated and feared, particularly by the anarchists and ETA (the Basque movement) who are the chief victims.

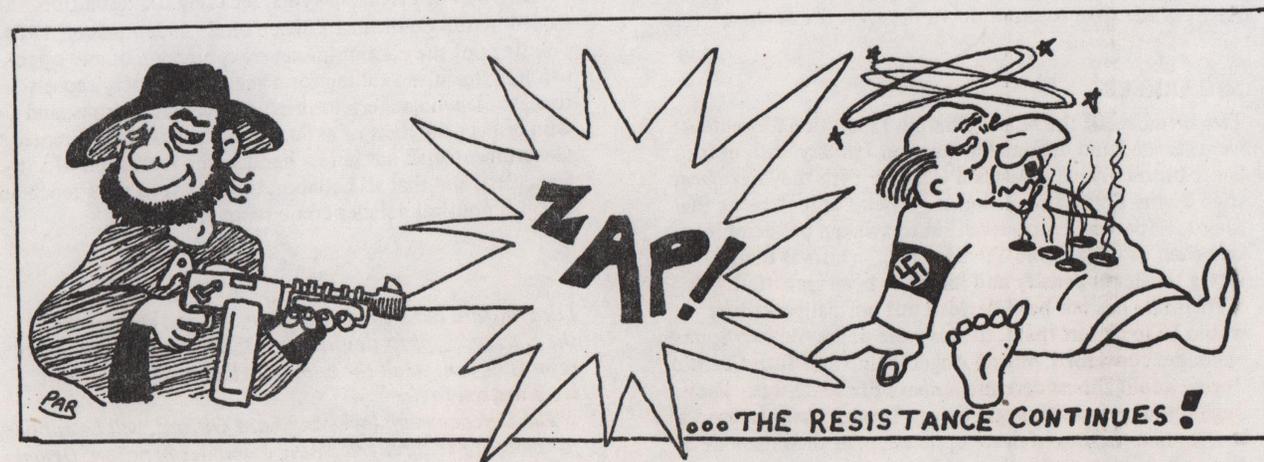
At lunch-time, the Special Branch frequent a certain restaurant in the calle Correos in front of the side entrance. It was here that the bomb was planted killing fourteen (according to a Portuguese paper — Spanish accounts are not to be trusted) and wounding 71. Reasonably trustworthy sources indicate that 21 were killed and 71 wounded, though there is no way of checking. Among the deaths was a policewoman, an administrator in the Special Branch, and among the seriously wounded there were (according to Government sources) nine Special Branch members. Some of these were probably among the dead. The bomb was extremely powerful; certainly not the work of 'amateurs'.

The Spanish police originally claimed ETA was responsible, but ETA denied it. And if ETA were responsible, it would be a new departure for them, since they have always tried to avoid killing or wounding 'innocent people'. But the Special Branch has tortured a great many ETA militants — I have met many of those who have been so tortured in prison myself — and they recently lost one of their best comrades in a battle with the police. They could finally have lost their tempers.

There is, however, another possibility in this instance which could explain the bombing. Recently, the ultra right wing in Spain has been advocating greater severity in the suppression of political activity against the regime — they are dissatisfied even with the measures taken by Sr. Arias Navarro, the present Prime Minister (better known as the Butcher of Malaga, from the thousands he slaughtered when Public Prosecutor of that province). We have seen in Italy how the fascists have organised mass bombings in order to justify severer measures against left wing activists and the ultra right wing in Spain might have adopted similar methods to cause a general outcry of indignation.

But there cannot be any mistake that in the bombing of this restaurant the majority of those present were plain clothes men, secret police, informers; had the bomb exploded a few minutes earlier over 100 of the people's torturers would have been included in the toll. There is something else too, which will be shocking to English readers if indeed it was revolutionaries who placed the bomb, in that a few of the victims might well have been relatives of detainees, coming to bring food or learn what had happened to them, not to mention waiters and others. But Spain has been under the heel of the torturers for 35 years. Moral scruples are beginning to wear thin; after that period under dictatorship, would there still be many who would refrain from action against a Gestapo HQ however drastic, for fear of injuring the innocent? Perhaps there would; for general passivity after a time overwhelms and discourages and often breaks the spirit of those that have dared resist. If only the majority would shed their 'innocence' dictatorships would be overthrown.

by Miguel Garcia.





ARGENTINA

In the town of Villa Constitucion (some 250 kms to the north of Buenos Aires and 80 kms from Rosario) the local and hall of the F.O.R.A. (the anarchist labour union) was burned down by Peronists in September.

This follows a similar arson by Peronists against the Anarchist hall and library "Emile Zola", in Santa Fe, recently. The hall in Villa Constitucion (a town of 80,000 inhabitants) was not so historic, but it too has a record of many patient years in the working class struggle. It was built up with the pennies of the working people, a centre of libertarian culture and education. Now it has been destroyed by well-dressed youths while the police, as usual, have looked the other way.

Once again, when one reads news of the Argentine in the British Press, one reads only of attacks by the urban guerrilla movement against Peronist-fascists. Never the reason why these take place.

The Argentine anarchists have started to reconstruct the building and hope to re-stock the library.

POLAND

Polish Army units were used to help break the strike of dockers in Gdansk (formerly Danzig). Soldiers together with blackleg dockers tried to free the port of accumulated cargo, against the resistance of the militant dockworkers.

Normally strikes and working class action of any sort is punishable by heavy prison sentences or even death, in Poland as in other "communist" countries. But the Baltic dockers are so strong they can fight the Government on this issue: hence it has brought in the Army to clear the freight rather than to shoot down or arrest the dockers.

MIL ARRESTS

Two members of the M.I.L. (Iberian Liberation Movement) were arrested and detained in Paris on January 16th in the Sante prison. Now, at last, on October 14th they have been tried by the Comechon Tribunal — their "crime" being that they took part in a protest action to awaken public opinion on behalf of their friend Salvador Puig, who was then facing the death penalty and has since been garrotted.

Their fate has not been decided but normal procedure would be to deport them. If this were done, the two Spanish comrades concerned, Miguel Angel Patino and Juan Claudio Torres would almost certainly receive life sentences. They might even be framed or garrotted. It might help to drop a line to these victims of State oppression, at the Prison de la Sante, Paris — or to the French Premier M. Giscard d'Estaing, himself; or the local French Embassy.

SPAIN

FRANCOIST BLACKMAIL

In response to the Spanish Government's unilateral withdrawal of the right of French nationals to enter and leave Spain without passports, breaking agreements reached in 1959 and in 1966 between the two governments, a group of French lawyers has issued an appeal, calling on the French Government to withstand the pressure being put on it in this way by the Spanish Government to extradite Spanish anti-fascists, suspected by the Spanish Government of being guilty of subversive activities on Spanish soil, who seek refuge in France.

The appeal makes several points to support its case:

The Francoist regime, born of military subversion, has been characterised since birth by the denial of all liberties, and by pitiless repression of all its opponents, most recently illustrated by the judicial parody of the trial and assassination of Salvador Puig Antich.

It is this fascist character of the Francoist regime which obliges its opponents to use all methods in the struggle against it, including violence. It would be intolerable if the French Government yielded to the blackmail of the Spanish government, as this could only end in it helping the Spanish government to imprison and torture, even to execute Spanish anti-fascists, the victims of their attachment to freedom.

Before these recent measures, pressure had already been exerted by the Spanish government on the French Ministry of Justice, notably in May 1974, by the Spanish police's public official declarations that Octavio Alberola was responsible for the kidnapping of the banker Suarez, before any official French enquiry had got under way. The interest taken in this enquiry by the Spanish political police, even to the extent of actively participating in it on French soil, was noted by the Press.

In the same way, the Spanish police recently named the Basque Nationalist, Gallaranga Mendizabal, as responsible for the bombing of the Cafe Roland in Madrid — an incident whose origin is more than dubious and reminiscent of the massacre of the Piazza Fontana in Milan, also at first lyingly attributed to anarchists.

The most recent pressure applied by the Spanish government has had immediate and tangible results — the French police have arrested five militants of G.A.R.I. in the South West; and a Spanish book, "Operacion Ogro", relating to the death of Carrero Blanco, and published in France, has been banned by the order of M. Poniatowski, Minister of the Interior. Poniatowski has also suggested to the Spanish ambassador in Paris that he can start proceedings for the extradition of Spanish national in France.

The group of French lawyers, recalling the resolution passed by the Council of Europe on 25th September, 1974, pointing out the continuing severe repression of any opposition in Spain and calling for a general amnesty, appeals to all those who adhere to the fundamental liberties, and who respect the right of exile, to demand that the French Government shall not lend a hand in the repression of anti-francoists, and that all collaboration between the French and Spanish political policies come to an end.

Lord Gifford has visited Jean in prison and reports that she is in good spirits despite her illness. She asks that her regards be sent to all the comrades and well-wishers who have written to her.

The Defence team including Lord Gifford, will be applying for bail for the three remaining comrades in prison; Octavio, Ariane and Jean.

The Defence Committee needs money — URGENTLY!

Inflation

The Parliamentary system has become as much of a mockery of democracy as the one-party system of choosing between candidates with the programme. Nobody seriously expects any longer to get a Government they want (perhaps they have become mature enough to realise that no Government can really be desirable): all they do is to identify themselves with a government they are likely to get — they identify themselves if only for the occasion, as if they were backing a side for the Boat Race.

The myth of representative democracy is believed in least of all by MPs whose creed it invariably is that once elected they can do exactly as they wish without reference to the caucus that put them in (this is idealised as 'conscience' and is their only time they use the word 'caucus') or to the punters who voted for them. They work on the assumption that the people voted for the best possible man or occasionally woman; something few of us are reluctant to think of ourselves. This paragon is therefore entitled to a clear run until next time, when — so goes the legend — they are entitled to have another think or another pick.

Reduced to utter political impotence under such a system, it is surely the final insult to the electorate that, it is knowingly suggested, they have some sort of conspiracy (kept secret from their rulers) by which they vote for one candidate here and another there so as to appoint just that balance which fortuitously appears, and a narrow margin either way is said to be a vote for moderation. The fact that Mr. Wilson has just enough leverage to govern if he keeps the separatist parties sufficiently

separate is said to be a vote for the Centre!

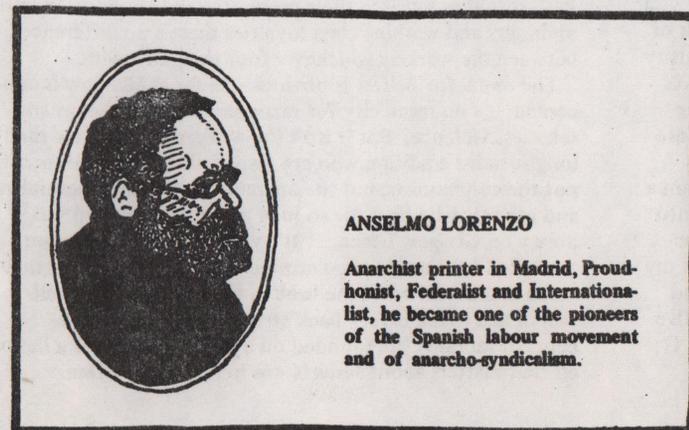
When, however the people make an unmistakable sigh of their desires, this — because it is clearly not the voice of the Centre — is said to be flouting democracy. The industrial actions that have taken place since the election show unmistakably what a very large number of people want; the unabated plots to create private armies to suppress them show what a vocal minority want. The fact that Glasgow lorry drivers were on strike for a month, with all the privations that went with it, is not supposed to be an indication of their democratic aims — the casting of a vote with no effort, for some candidate not worth the effort, is presumed to denote their most sacred wish.

The farce of parliamentarism disguises obedience to a form of choice in order to legitimise power. A dictatorship of the Centre will differ from those of the Left or Right in that it will pay exaggerated respect to parliamentarism: but it can be just as dictatorial, and if necessary just as ruthless. The political danger that we face today is a dictatorship by the extremists of the Centre rather than those of the Right or Left. The electoral result has managed to patch it up for the moment: Mr. Wilson is a consummately skilful politician whose use of demagoguery will keep the Centre safe without resorting to extremism. Mr. Heath was unable to do this and was handicapped by the reputation of his Party as showing confrontation with the workers even before they wanted to make one; even when doing exactly the same thing as the opposite Party.

As none of this can be the stuff of electoral debate, the whole issue

has turned on a faith that nobody believes and only a few understand. Economics dominates the debate. The terrible word 'inflation' is used without any clear indication as to what it would mean; indeed, its opposite is now described in the press not as 'deflation' but as 'reflation' (try reflating a balloon). The old lies about German inflation are trotted out: that it led to Hitler (it was solved years before), that people carried millions of marks in a suitcase to buy a bar of soap (exaggerated) solved by over-printing 'One Mark' with 'One Million' — the real problem was not a lack of printers capable of doing that, but to the fact that the Stock Exchange was gambling on the exchanges. Yes, there were deprivations in inflation Germany; caused by military grabbing and financial speculation. These problems were solved in countries that were determined to do so; but they were not necessarily related to the what was printed on the currency any more than a book can be judged by its title.

The prosperity of a people may lie in many things, even including the useless expenditure on Government which can be if not the cause of prosperity at least the reason for misery. It does not lie in the printers at the Mint who are turning out the ration cards of wordly success; and in time of famine this is not solved by printing more ration cards, except for a lucky few. To have to say such obvious and elementary facts is a reflection on how far 20th century economics has sunk to 19th century theology



ANSELMO LORENZO

Anarchist printer in Madrid, Proud-honist, Federalist and Internationalist, he became one of the pioneers of the Spanish labour movement and of anarcho-syndicalism.

Available soon from BLACK FLAG. "WHAT IS THE C.N.T.?" A new edition of the classic pamphlet by José Peisats.

"HERMANOS!"
William Herrick, (Penguin, 40p).

To portray fictional events in a fictional settings and remain faithful to both history and art, is a difficult and often perilous task for any author. On the one hand, is the risk of transforming a historical reality into purely romantic nonsense; on the other that of being forced into documentary sterility by the sheer enormity of the subject matter. When successful, however, the device can produce stunning results — as witnessed by the remarkable novels of Victor Serge — both in terms of literature and political comment.

In "HERMANOS!", William Herrick (an American who served in the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War) attempts to show the significance of the Communist Party's cynicism and betrayal of Spanish revolutionaries, not merely as events which effect history, but as things which shape the lives of ordinary people.

Revolution is ultimately about changing the nature of human existence. In his novel, Herrick sets out to show that the way that change is conducted will determine the end result; that it is not a matter of the end simply justifying the means, but of the means actually deciding what the end will be. If a single theme can be taken as being central to the book, it is spoken in the first chapter: "A man lives like a beast, he becomes a beast". From that point on, the story merely puts flesh on the bones of that statement.

But it is precisely that flesh which saves the novel from becoming just an abstract and second rate lesson in morality.

Chronicled in "HERMANOS!" are all the hopes, highs and tragedies which were Spain in revolution and defeat. A strange mixture of war story, romance, brutality, and biting political commentary. The Soviet manipulation of the struggle, against Franco, their blackmail (withholding vital arms) of the Republican government, political infiltration into the volunteer army, and the savage campaign of repression and murder waged against POUM and the anarchists in Barcelona are all vividly portrayed. So, too, are the beginnings of the libertarian resistance movement — a movement still fighting against the same enemy today when other former champions of the struggle in Spain find it more convenient to mumble about "democracy" into their whiskey and soda.

A particular high-point of the book comes when one of the guerrilla fighters, Nunez, is finally tracked down and captured by the Communists. In an impassioned reproach of his captors' actions Nunez pours forth the full weight of the author's moral argument:

"... I must maintain my individuality or die... Socialism is supposed to free man, not shackle him... You are in the world, you say. Exactly. You manage to be IN the Party, IN the stream of history, IN the world. You are in everything and take responsibility for nothing. Why should you? It is all predetermined. All you can do is help the predetermined processes along. It is the PARTIDO, history, the world which dominates your life... dominated by history and manipulated by your PARTIDO — the leader, the vanguard, the bulwark of the future, the engine, God — you loose your identity as a man, you loose your responsibility as a man to other men — to yourself. How can you possibly be blamed for anything if the world's so big and you are so little?..."

"... The world is in me, and I am in the world. I am a selfish man, a vain man that when I wish to look into the world's heart, I look into my own. I am responsible for myself, and therefore for the world. I am my brother's keeper — and he had better be mine. And that is the truth, COMPANERO MIO, very unrelative truth. I am beholden to no Man — and yet to all. I gaze into my heart and, knowing myself, know all men. UN POCO. A little."

William Herrick is not an anarchist, neither does he possess the same artistic force as his predecessor Serge. But HERMANOS! nevertheless, manages to capture the tempo and spirit of a people in revolt in a way that few books can rival.

What distinguishes Herrick's novel from the recent spate of books dealing with Spain not its historical or political comment of this or that aspect of the Communist betrayal, but the "mightier justification" which Victor Serge suggested for literature — "as a means of expressing to men what most of them live inwardly without being bale to express... a testimony to the vast flow of life through us, whose essential aspects we must try to fix for those who come after us".

Phil Ruff.



THE SASH, Hector MacMillan, 75p MOLLINDINAR PRESS;

In Glasgow's Pavillion Theatre you would not expect to see a play like THE SASH MY FATHER WORE by Hector MacMillan. Folks go there to see pantomime more than biting satires. And one has to admire the courage of the actors who can get up in Glasgow and tear into their lines that strip the Orange and Papist legends down to their pubic hair. It's about a stalwart Orangeman who finds to his dismay his long haired son is falling away from the faith of his fathers and the bits of realisation start coming out... only fourteen miles from Scotland to Ireland... "Christ it's three times that f'Glasgow t'Edinburgh" and did you know "King William there 'of blessed memory'... that's the man who wis responsible for the massacre of Glencoe... your folk, the Macdonalds! that lousy bastart signed the order they were aw t'be exterminated... it wis supposed to be a great Prodisant victory at the Battle o the Boyne... Right? Then how come the Pope gied King Billy a big pat on the back for it? They lit up the Vatican like the fukn Blackpool illuminations!" You need courage to get up and say that in Glasgow... though by Christ you'd need more than that to get up and say it in Belfast. There were oos in the Glaswegian audience at the conclusion that "we should fling the hale fucking religious thing oot the fucking windae" (possibly as much at the adjectives as at the sentiment) but packed audiences laughing their heads off at the Orange-Papist thing is an encouraging sign for Glasgow, however long it takes to get round to Belfast that as much in their prejudices and stupidity as in their obduracy and working class loyalties there's no difference between the workers whichever foot they kick with.

The moral for Belfast is obvious. As far as Glasgow is concerned, it's no mean city for razor gangs and muggings and senseless violence. But it isn't the workers who follow the long socialist tradition who are responsible — not the socialists, not the communists, not the anarchists. Not the freethinkers and atheists who have for so long preached the word was hooley on Glasgow Green... It's your sun shines out your arsehole Christians who go around with their orange or their green scarfs who wield the broken bottles at the football match and in the dreary back street. For them all concepts of morality are founded on a god they know is a lie for all that matters about Jesus is was he a Billy or a Dan.

S.C.

Anarchy

The latest issue of Anarchy is best forgotten. There will for sure be better issues. In this we recognise at least one item from our own waste paper basket and there are also some long, unconvincing and self centred letters including one from George Woodcock in which he manages to accuse the late dear old Lilian Wolfe, and arch-pacifist Jack Robinson (referred to in their joint capacity as "Red Lion Street") of hushing up a series of hitherto unknown sex murders. Unlikely. Pretty turgid stuff badly produced but the editors admit their hearts weren't in it. Come on "Grosvenor Avenue" pull up the socks you are alleged therein not to wash for yourselves or there'ss be some more murders for Jack Robinson to hush up.....

Sorry people, because you're so nice to the Anarchist Black Cross saying what good work its doing for "prisoners' rights". First we knew about it though.



We have just received the latest publication from our sister anarchist publishing house "La Fiaccola" in Ragusa, Sicily. The work in question is "La Dimensione Anarchica" by comrade Alfredo Bonanno, a collection of articles tracing the evolution of his anarchism from 1955 to the present day: 448 pages/13 x 21cms/price 4500 Lira/Available from "La Fiaccola", Via San Francesco 238, Ragusa 97100, Sicily.

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There is a wealth of material to be found in the long struggles of the libertarian movement. The "social historians" and "anarchologists" ignore such struggles except when useful for their own theses. But some writers have struck a rich vein of ore in digging over the past history of the class struggle.

We are told of a new film "Patagonia Rebelde" which comrades who have seen it in Buenos Aires say is one of the finest they have ever seen. It deals with the struggle of the Anarchist workers of Patagonia, in the twenties, against tyranny, poverty and repression. In that struggle, two thousand anarchist workers were shot by the State, in a determined bid to end the struggle for freedom and social justice.

The film, it is said, is absolutely faithful to the facts and "a gift" to anarchist propaganda. Many old militants who saw it were in tears, recognising the depiction of comrades of years ago and the re-creation of their heroic fight.

"Patagonia Rebelde" now joins the list of films we must see that have not been shown in England. The American-Italian film of "Sacco and Vanzetti," the French film on the "Bonnot Affaire" and many others. Is there no really independent distributor who will bring it here? If not forget the fairy stories of an "alternative cinema". The fight of Patagonia is part of the romantic, heroic past of anarchism that can inspire a revolutionary future.

Letters

According to a police hand out (see TIMES 9-10-74) people were asked to report on ex-servicemen with "Irish sympathies" as likely suspects in the Guildford bombing.

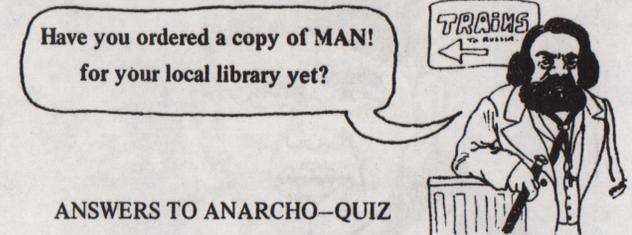
To the Commissioner of Police:

Sir,
I have reason to suspect a former A.T.S. girl now living near Victoria Station, who pays frequent visits to the Continent. She is English born married to a Greek, but of German origin. She has strong Irish sympathies seeing that she wears a harp in her coat of arms. Her husband's name is Glucksberg but he goes under the anglicised version of his mother's name Battenberg. His son is alleged to have strong Welsh sympathies, while he himself claims Scots sympathies, purporting to a close connection with the city of Edinburgh!

Hoping that this will help you with your enquiries, and trusting that your house has not received further damage which you have concealed for cowardly motives,

I am, Sir, Yours respectfully, Sympathiser.

"La Fiaccola" will be bringing out a bi-monthly 64-page theoretical anarchist journal entitled "ANARCHISMO" from January 1975. Any comrades wishing to contribute articles or subscribe should write to: Casella Postale 61 Catania, Alfredo Bonanno, Sicily.



ANSWERS TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. The Red Army — organised by the Young Communist League — wearing red blouses, long boots and astrakhan hats — trained in Epping Forest in preparation for a march on London and confrontation in the streets — but it was dispersed by a couple of forest rangers on bicycles brandishing the by-laws, and Johnnie Douglas (YCL Secretary) resigned ignominiously.
2. Kurt Schwitters, dadaist and creator of "Merz" (collage art).
3. "The thousand-year Reich" — inheritor of the first and second Holy Roman Empires — was a political messianic concept in Germany for many years as well as a mystical expression, and the name "Third Reich" was adopted by Hitler. / The original International Workers Association was deliberately broken by Marx — who sent its HQ to New York where he knew it would disintegrate — for fear of losing control; later the Socialists formed another International, "the Second" which excluded Anarchists. When Lenin broke from Social-Democracy during World War I, he spoke of being the "Third International", and the Trotskyites in due course used "the Fourth". / General Sanjurjo marching on Madrid, claimed he had columns advancing from the north, south, east and west, and a "fifth column" inside the city itself.
4. The Commune of Cartagena. (Taken the point and will produce a pamphlet on it).
5. The relationship between Rupert and Gerald in D.H. Lawrence's novel (later film) was inspired by the writings on homosexuality of Edward Carpenter, who wrote the words of "England Arise".