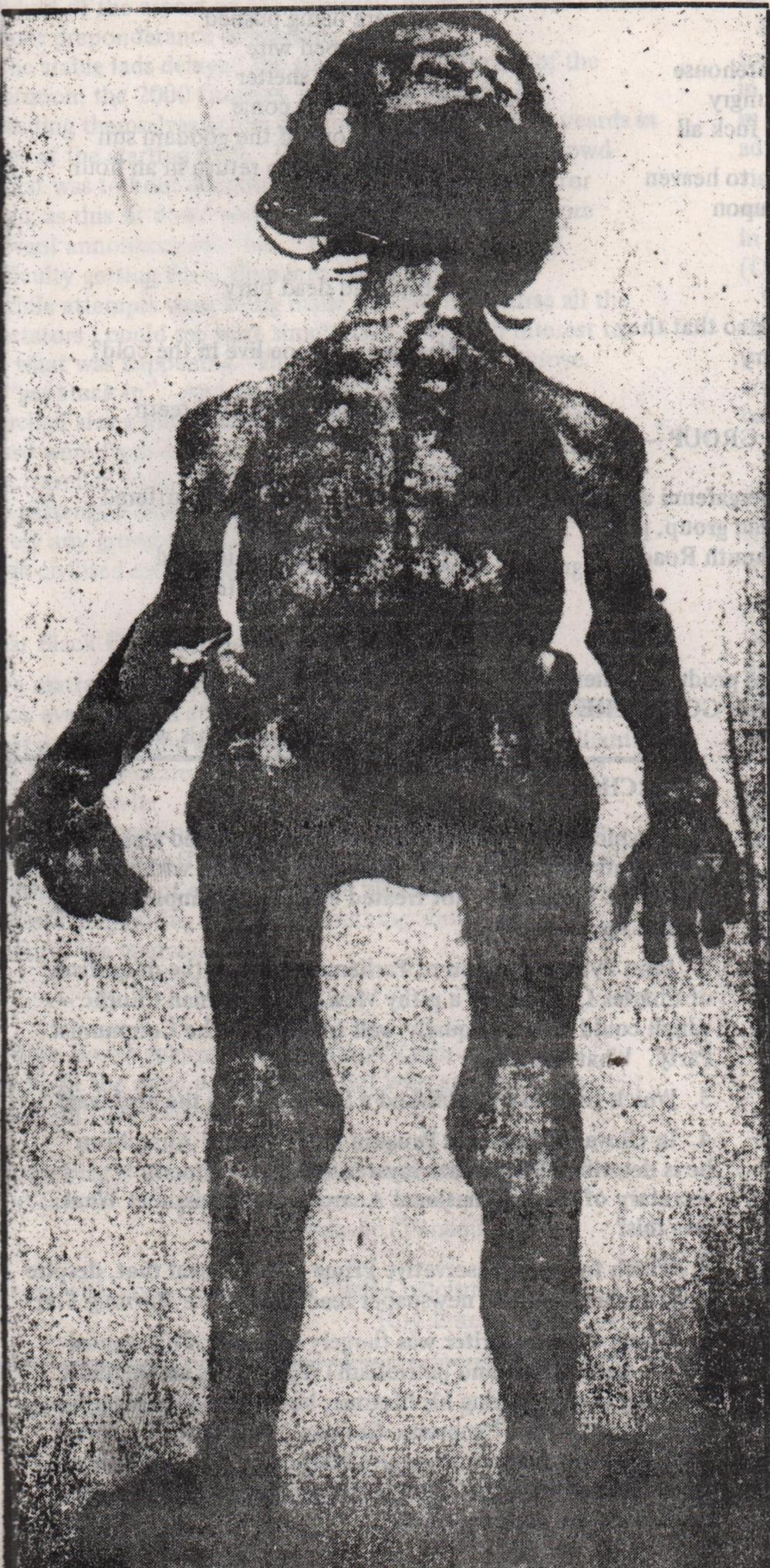


BLACK FLAG

organ of the

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL IV No. 2 JUNE 23 1975 10



The wasted cadaver of Holger Meins in German prison mortuary.

LORENZ KIDNAP DOCUMENT

The following is an extract from a document sent to us by members of the June 2 Group following the kidnapping of Herr Peter Lorenz, leader of the German CDU. This document has not been published elsewhere and mere possession of it in Germany would be sufficient cause for arrest and imprisonment.

WHO ARE WE?

After all the dramatic events of recent weeks we wish to present ourselves through this communique to the people of Berlin as simply and as fully as we can.

We do this for three principal reasons.

- (1) We wish, as best we can, to explain what sort of people we are.
- (2) We want to do what we can to uncover the tissue of lies and fairy tales put about by the press and the politicians.
- (3) We wish to say why we abducted CDU leader Peter Lorenz.

We are not a group of people who heedlessly follow a motto such as "the worse we can make it, the better it suits us" whenever we see an opportunity for ourselves. We know that we alone cannot topple the state, cannot smash it, cannot overturn it. We are not deranged petit-bourgeois. Each of us knows what it is to work in a factory; some of us never got to high school, let alone to a university.

Our enemies deflect attention from the issues and misrepresent the situation to an extent that is no longer to be endured. "We are all in the same boat" they say, and "How can we persuade the small proprietor" and "Nobody is safe on the streets any more". As though all of a sudden we are all the same. As though some no longer must live in poor and expensive flats and houses, and others in magnificent villas and mansions. As though some no longer earn barely 1000 marks a month while others spend as much in one day. As though some lawfully prescribed equality is suddenly upon us, while only 10% of university places go to the children of working class families.

cont. on p. 10 (Cheque p.3)

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Three Poems
by M.J. Walsh

If I gave my boot to heaven
then
it would fit an SS angel
armed with a harp-gun
thirty shekels
and a lariat
to hang the meek with
pleased are the meek
for they shall inherit fuck all

if I threw out my lunch
it would be eaten by St. Michael
armed with a trade-mark
four tone
of famine relief
and an endless warehouse
blessed are the hungry
for they shall eat fuck all

if I gave my soul to heaven
it would be spat upon
for I have sinned
against myself
so let us go out
and arm the meek so that they
shall not go hungry.

ABERGAFENNI
LIBERTARIAN GROUP --

Anyone in the Abergafenni area inter-
ested in a libertarian group, please
contact 31 Monmouth Road,
Abergafenni.

Centro Iberico has produced a new
reprint of Bakunin's GOD & THE
STATE (25p).



ARPIAN, a short sharp cameraman
spat at my feet
rolled in a ball in the dust
When will we get through he said
tomorrow perhaps
perhaps today
On the other side of the road
long lines of Greeks
flashed out of the customs shed
stripped in trunks
some half dead
blood on their faces
none had bread
short Turks shouted and waved
rifles and canes
rattan
more were being pushed
into the barbed wire
compound no shelter
When'll the visa come
can we get out of the goddam sun
We turned back to return in an hour
no bread
no water
all sun
let the dead dead bury

Why does anyone live in the cold?

Hercules who picked his teeth
was bald
constipated
and like his cousin Atlas suffered
from osteo-arthritis
could not make up his mind
what he would do after he
grew up
But he never had to worry
there was always
a war on
and prisoners to mend his walls

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. In which early 19th century novel is expressed some sentiments tending towards women's liberation with a background of Luddism -- not treated entirely unsympathetically for the age and period?
2. John Pym, champion of Parliament against the despotism of Charles I, expressed a pithy view of the Roman Church -- which could be used equally well to describe the Communist Party. What was it?
3. Which Irish city established a Soviet during the civil war?
4. In Giovanni Baldelli's Penguin book "Social Anarchism" he is described (somewhat mysteriously) as formerly secretary of the International Anarchist Commission. What was this?
5. Which former Conservative Prime Minister said that, despite it views, his favourite newspaper reading was *The Morning Star*?
6. Which German writer was (largely because of his opposition to nationalism and patriotism) regarded as an anarchist by many people during his lifetime; but a few years after his death attacked as a "supreme German nationalist" by Allied WWI propagandists, to become a Nazi cult figure for a short time -- though used by WWII propagandists for his denunciations of the national myth.

Answers on p. 15

ON THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

It seems to me that the working class movement is steadily being destroyed — on the one hand the social democrats have made a mockery of every single thing we stood for, on the other hand the Communist Party and its fellow travellers have nothing to do with socialism as I know it, and finally there is something vaguely called “the movement”, “the alternative” “the underground” or even “the libertarians” which ought to appeal to me but doesn't. Its jargon its assumptions, its love-hate relationship with America, its borrowing from CP propaganda when it suits it, frankly make me sick. I ought to have a lot in common with the “women's movement” as they call it. But no working class woman that I know would be found dead in it.

It is not what the press calls the “lunatic fringe . . . the bra burners” that I object to. On the contrary those are its saving grace, for a few such devoted people can and do push a cause forward more in a month than a lot of work can in years . . . who would be talking about women's lib at all now if it wasn't for the fact that a few women did (or were supposed to?) publicly burn their bras?

I object to a number of things including the fact that if a few ladies get good careers this won't benefit us who work for our living.

As a matter of fact their preoccupations are different from mine because I would like to be able to dispense with work and they would like to carry on with theirs — it is easier for them to be independent of men than it is for me, and though I'm all in favour of independence from men I don't see how I shall achieve it under *this* economic system; but I do see how they will.

The “movement” people are all in favour of something they call “personal liberation” which means either you get a middle class status or you drop out and live on the State.

Somehow doing the latter is supposed to make you more independent of the State. As I like to clean up the house and the kids go to school looking tidy I am not much better than a “male pig” to them, and *how* they show it! I suppose there always was this “Hallelujah I'm a bum” thing in the revolutionary ranks but we never took it very seriously — we smiled tolerantly at those who practised it and lent them the occasional bob which was never returned and they in return sneered at us as an easy touch . . . but never before do I recall hearing it advocated not so much as a way of life as a way to revolution!

But today what seems to be advocated in some circles is not gay liberation but gay power. The “women's movement” seems not concerned about advancing women's rights — which I've always fought for in the TU movement — but trying to bully us into being Lesbians. And the hatred for sex they show is amazing to me who comes from a really libertarian background. There's nothing between what's her-name Whitehouse and your actual women's moverment — “sexist” has been made into a term of abuse, derived from “racist”. Whereas the latter is meant to mean ‘racial hater’ the former is meant to mean “sexual lover”. I could understand a “sexist” being someone who was *against* nudity, normal love, or even just titivating displays. But for them “sexist” is somebody *for* it.

Maybe it's just my age that separates me from these sisters who have only to see me to look askance — “what can *she* have in common with us?” But I don't find this division with younger women on my estate — only among these I came across in the “women's movement”. I am the third generation of socialists (going back to the *Women's Dreadnought* days). I think I am now really nearer to anarchism. But if that grotty “libertarian” movement I'm talking about has anything to do with it, I'd sooner not know. **Ann May**

KlingbeilGruppe 1000 Berlin 30 Postfach 1421

An den
C D U Landesverband
Berlin

Sehr geehrter Herr Lorenz,

als Anlage darf ich Ihnen für den Wahlkampf der CDU einen Scheck über DM 10.000,— überreichen. Bitte haben Sie die Freundlichkeit, mir eine Spendenbescheinigung auszustellen.

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Karsten Klingbeil

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from German Industrialist



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roon 'n' about

Three apparently unrelated items jumped from the daily paper.

Kid-bashing is still prevalent in the English upper classes. Fags at Eton are protesting against flogging as well as against the whole fagging system.

And there is the inevitable letter from a reader asking for birching to be re-introduced as a way of dealing with juvenile offenders:

But a man is charged with indecent assault on juveniles in that he exposed his bare bottom and got a couple of boys to cane him . . .

The moral: corporal punishment will never be finally abolished in England until people are persuaded that it gives pleasure to some rather than pain to others.



THE NORTHCLIFFE HERITAGE

The "Express" writers have received instructions to talk about the (utterly unlikely and non-existent) "alliance" between the Communist Party and the Anarchists.

But it is rather difficult to talk about what does not exist. ("You can get it if you try . . . look up some of this International Socialist stuff," was the incomprehensible command given to one young reporter despairingly trying to make his name on a national). John Jun Jr, heir to the mantle of John Gordon, came forward in the Sunday Express with the only brilliant response . . . The "Communists, anarchists and their fellow-travellers" were *silent* over some action of the U.S. President's.

Why does the Express want to prove something that does not exist? Because "it is important not to let the Communists evade responsibility for the Anarchists". Why so? That was not revealed at the briefing - or if it was, our informant failed to pass it on. But could it be that the Anarchists are going to be blamed for something . . . soon? Like . . . could the police have something up their sleeve known to an Express crime man?

THE MAUDLING PRIZE FOR IDIOT OF THE MONTH

"The Spanish anarchists once passed a resolution that any woman who excited a man's desire was in honour bound to satisfy it." Frederic Raphael (Sunday Times June 15). *Book Review*.

British anarchists hereby pass a resolution that any book reviewer who excites a man's or woman's contempt for his appalling stupidity is in honour bound to stop writing criticisms of other's works.

Dr. Rhodes Boyson M.P. issued such a tirade against the Scots before the Scotland international match at Wembley - visualising swarms of drunken savages sweeping down from over the BOrder on to defenceless London - that one recalled how little time ago it was unthinkable to regard British cities like Belfast as ever becoming "enemy territory" and a danger posting.

Dr. Rhodes Boyson was not a bit put out when his forecast proved wrong. He explained that there *would* have been serious riots had he *not* spoken - on the basis of the old lady who put a silver shilling on the hearth to prevent the house being struck by lightning (and it never was struck by lightning).

State Communism coming to the High Street has puzzled many of our shoe manufacturers, who protest frantically that they cannot possibly compete with shoes coming from Czechoslovakia and Poland and other State Communist countries - every bit as good in high fashion but sold for sometimes nearly half the price. How can we compete? - they demand. The old story about the underpaid workers won't work this time - because irrespective of what the workers get or don't get, these shoes are sold for less than the cost of the leather.

"It's a complete mystery to us how they do it," said one footwear manufacturer on television who thought, we presume, that talk of State Communism was "politics" not "business". Another said "perhaps they are desperate to get foreign currency."

Undoubtedly they want foreign currency or they wouldn't give their goods to foreign countries at all, but it doesn't follow they are "desperate" because it is not essential except in the capitalist economy, that the price of the shoe has to be related to the cost of the leather. The State is keeping the shoewear factories going, purchasing the supplies and paying out the workers. The assumption that it "must" make a profit, or cease to exist, is solely founded in capitalism. Under State control, the profit factor can be ignored. Inflation and other capitalist bogeys - unemployment and other evils - can be eliminated, since the State can decide whether or not to employ without consideration of "the market". It need only consider the problem of obtaining those raw materials it does not naturally possess: hence the need for foreign currency, as a means of mutual trading with other countries.

State control has obviously some advantages over capitalism - and the reverse goes too. The curious thing about State Communism, however, is that because it was first predicted as inevitable, and then advocated as desirable, by socialist politicians aspiring to lead the workers, it has come to be thought of as real communism, or in some way not only of benefit, but ideal, for people who have to do the work under either economic system.

The benefits for those doing the governing, or in positions of wealth and privilege, in the more stable system of State control, are obvious - not only can they manage the economy better, they can strengthen the system of government by spending as much as they like on the State apparatus - its Army, its police force, its bureaucrats. Yet those who will suffer for it, fight for it or look forward to it. Can there have been a greater con trick since Christianity was invented?

Speaker of the Dail in Dublin, Labour Party man, Sean Treacy, was received by Gen. Franco on the occasion of the anniversary of the defeat of Madrid.

Treacy said, "We are even more pleased that you have received us because we know that today is celebrated the entry of the victorious troops in Madrid. With all our heart we associate ourselves with this anniversary" (Irish Press, 19th May).

Rumours that the Labour Party in Ireland is laying in large quantities of black shirts is not true, yet. Anyway they might well be green or blue.

Celebrations of the entry of victorious troops of King Billy into Derry 300 years ago are regarded as provocative.

SECTARIAN NOTES

So, getting the very dregs of the barrel — as we had determined not to do — we revert to Fred Woodworth's journal which publishes his vendetta against Marcus Graham for being an "old time anarchist" who dares to carry on with the struggle. Latest in a series of invented accusations: Graham is said to have submitted for signing by all the old time anarchists (in the USA) a petition of denunciation of The Match . . . but no one signed — alas for such a sorry, how *could* he, dispersed as they are (he didn't). But Match prints a letter from one, signed "P.P. Indiana" who says he knew Graham in 1940 (there is indeed a Paul Paskie who was around then and does live in Indiana but who indignantly repudiates the letter, written, one suspects by an F.W.). It says Woodworth is in good company for Graham also "denounced" Rocker (in a pamphlet by Freedom Press, for being pro-war) and others (here invention comes in again). Woodworth puts himself in company with the "stars" none of whom should be criticised — in itself a doubtful proposition. But others may put him as one trying to worm his way into the movement for dubious reasons. The paper should not be supported by contribution or subscription — it will no doubt remain on university subscription lists where any bit of printed rubbish fits into a file.

Latest *Minus One* complains that a reader dares to "interpret Stirner in (such) a fantastic manner". Stirner's ego is editor Parker's own — and he is reduced to rage at the reference in *Black Flag* to Jimmy Raeside and Eddie Shaw ("Anarchism in West Scotland") who equated Stirner's individualism with anarcho-syndicalism.

It is made to sound as if we were attacking "individualist anarchism" which *Minus One* claims as its own — yet goes on to accuse us of being "popes" (which is obviously what it desires to be itself).

The *Minus One* attack then becomes an interesting plagiarism of Keith Nathan's criticism of us (he also used the word "pope"): "egalitarian democrats who run Black Flag . . . guardians of the one true revolutionary faith" (Nathan-Parker); "forever anathematising those they consider to have strayed from the path they lay down" (Parker) as against "regarding themselves as the organisation" (Nathan).

Just as Parker "anathematises" those who take a different view of Stirner, Nathan went on to build "the organisation" enacting something of themselves they thought they saw in us.

Now *Libertarian Struggle* is trying to re-write the sordid Nathan episode (after discarding his title O.R.A., cribbed from France). Keith was a good lad until he became a trot, it seems. But the old Anarchist Federation was composed of everything that was bad "containing all sorts of 'anarchists' from syndicalists through hippies and liberals to individualists" . . . it is now "defunct", it was a "morass" and so on.

What happened to it in its last few years was due entirely to Keith Nathan who finished as a trotskyist. (But at what point did he renege?) The liberals (of the old "Anarchy" school) did not belong to the federation. Because we referred to "liberal anarchists" Nathan — Christian Pacifist apologist denounced us in a whole page of *Peace News* — he said he threw away "Floodgates" after reading the phrase there twelve times, though in point of fact it didn't appear there once. The only time the pacifist bourgeois elements came in, in force, after being kept at arms' length was when the Harlow Federation (Nathan) let them in. Having carried the point that conferences should be open to all and sundry, he reduced the conferences to a shambles.

Libertarian Struggle will get nowhere by false history. We hear a canard — that Black Flag parted from *Freedom* after

a lawsuit between them! This is not only palpably false, it is a patent re-hash of the many false stories about the schism between Freedom and Direct Action.

Being rid of their trotskyist leaders, ORA — now AWA — is fascinated by the old 20's Organisational Platform of Archinov and Makhno. But here again history is re-written. "The Platform was severely attacked by the anarchist 'celebrities' almost without exception, who saw in the formation of a structured anarchist organisation a threat to the inalienable rights of the individual". What student turned this one on? The Platform was certainly criticised by 'celebrities' like Rudolf Rocker, Emma Goldman, Augustin Souchy, Alexandre Shapiro — but *in every single case* they had *already formed* a "structured organisation" in Berlin — so structured that it persists to this day. That they would be curtailed as 'celebrities' is absurd: on the contrary, that type of structured organisation gave them a status beyond anything they had previously. Rocker, for instance, became even more famous throughout the Spanish-speaking countries only as a result of the structured association than he had been in the small circle of the East End London labour movement.

There could, of course, be various points of view about the "Platform", but AWA has taken it totally out of context. The Russian anarchists in exile were in a situation where thousands of hardened, experienced militant Russian anarchists — who could have been more than a match for the political parties — were unable to take advantage of the situation because the Marxist parties had appealed to an illiterate inarticulate mass that wanted bread and liberty but accepted leadership blindly. Should the anarchists form a structured organisation in competition to the Marxists? An interesting academic question, but where is the relevance today? The working class are far above, in political perception, any of the political parties.

I do agree that Makhno could offer a leadership to the Ukrainian peasantry. What have the cadres of *Libertarian Struggle* to show in that way though? Silence before we get personal! (which so many accuse us of).

Attacks

Yet one never sees in-fighting in Black Flag as one does in *Freedom* (where one sees people of the same viewpoint disagreeing). The trouble is we sometimes offend the code which says pacifists may criticise but may not be criticised. A Woodcock may accuse anarchists of wanting something proved impossible because when in power they murder innocent people or those of whose morals they disapprove. Prove him a liar and we're told "don't be beastly to pacifists".

Consider the latest case.

Joffre Stewart of Chicago is one of those we have designated as "non-violent fascists" — a term which apparently gives great offence as "fascism" is a bogey word connoting the persecutions of fascism in power. But as those to whom we refer claim that "violence" makes one "indistinguishable" from fascism it may be fairly assumed their difference with fascism is *only* its violence. And fascism originally suggested revolutionary-sounding phrases to deflect from class struggle — which applies equally to totalitarian pacifism.

Is he within "the movement"? He claims to be a "non-violent anarchist" and never misses a chance to proclaim his purity and love of all mankind except the "violent anarchists" as he designates them. The reason (he writes in a US Bulletin) "an-archists here" are closer to "an-archists abroad" like Alberola is "because they are closer to violence than to an-archism". But he reserves his full, bitter, vicious, non-violent

SIXTEEN YEARS IN PRISON

The continuing case of Eddie Sanchez.



Eddie Sanchez

Eddie Sanchez has survived sixteen straight years in prison. This is incredible enough, but it should also be noted that Eddie's prison life started when he was *ten years old!* He has not left since then.

During this time, Eddie has been subjected to attacks, a lobotomy (that was narrowly avoided, but gave him an additional five-year sentence), years in solitary, razor blade bits in his food, and numerous tortures under the guise of "behaviour modification," including the drug Anectinem which makes the victims feel as if they were dying.

Eddie, after miraculously living through all this, has now become politically aware and is fighting the same system, so that others don't have to combat what he had to.

"On June 24, an inmate was stabbed at Leavenworth. I was nowhere near the scene. Later in the day officials state they are taking me to the 'hole' for investigation. Since May 2, I was locked up four different times on 'investigations,' and found not guilty all four times. These investigations seemed to be setting me up for something bigger . . . besides they were also beginning to get to me.

"I asked to call my lawyer and was told no. I asked to confer with the associate warden to find out what all this was about. Again I was told no. At this point my anger led me to resist these acts of intimidation full-heartedly. I ran

Sectarian notes cont.

spleen for Pedrini — in jail 32 years. Using words like "peace-maker" and "togetherness" to describe himself, he alleges Pedrini supported the war (it may be the stupid git is confused as to which side Italy was on — something that puzzled wiser men indeed) and that before helping him it would be as well to find out what he was in jail for — it could have been rape or something he says, but if it was something like "spitting on the flag" well that would have been all right.

The reason Fiaschi and Pedrini stayed in jail so long was because respectable "libertarians" wouldn't help them without asking insulting questions (to which they could easily have found the answers). Joffre Stewart knows the score all right, the little creep is just having his statutory "go" at anarchists in the name of his pseudo-creed. Perhaps there are others around Chicago, kindlier, wiser than the present writer, who might put him right; personally I would kick him up the arse in the name of togetherness. Papal status, vide Parker, doesn't have to include pomp.

It is hard enough fighting the class enemy. But if some of these are supposed to be our troops!

outside and grabbed a baseball bat and began destroying one of the buildings, and urged others to follow suit in resisting repression. Several guards then challenged me, also wielding baseball bats and carrying shields. We swung at each other without myself or any of the guards being hurt."

On July 25, a Kansas Grand Jury indicted Eddie on four counts of assault with a deadly weapon against prison officials, and one count of assault, with intent to murder, an inmate. Eddie, if convicted, could receive four life sentences plus 20 years.

Throughout Eddie has maintained his innocence on the assault of an inmate. On February 24, 1975, Julius Diaz, the inmate assaulted, signed a sworn affidavit stating that "Eddie Sanchez was not the one who stabbed me on June 24, 1974." Two months later, this charge still has not been dropped.

After numerous "movement lawyers" letting us down, we have finally secured the services of Laurence Holmes, a prominent Kansan attorney.

"It has been very hard not to lose hope. And to tell you the truth, I've just about lost hope of being legally set free. In fact more than before, I feel I will be killed by my keepers. I am trying to prepare my mind to accept whatever fate sets before me, I don't really fear death. I've faced it often before. I do have one worry and regret, and that is I've never been free, and I want to die free so badly. If I could be free for one week, I would be ready to die the next. One thing exceptionally cruel about my individual confinement is everyone else can lie on their beds some time and think on happy times of freedom, and yet freedom is not even mine in dreams of memory."

Eddie Sanchez, a victim of the behaviour modification programmes of S.T.A.R.T. (Springfield, Mo.) and C.A.R.E. (Marion 111) is continuing his resistance to the highly developed practices of mind control used in prison.

Eddie is currently on trial in an obvious frame-up, but one that could mean a total of 4 life sentences plus 20 years, if convicted. The chances of acquittal don't look good, as he is working with a court appointed lawyer, and the Judge is Judge Templar, the one who convinced the jury to convict Leavenworth brother, Odell Bennett.

After repeatedly moving Eddie from jail to jail, waiting for the trial to resume, we received the following on February 14; "Yesterday I was kidnapped back to Leavenworth to await trial. Immediately upon arrival I was placed in a strip cell in the "hole". As of this morning I began a fast (drinking water only) to protest my treatment. I will continue till I leave Leavenworth." "I'm beginning to feel like a rubber ball being bounced around so much, but I know I'm just a political prisoner and this is how we are treated".

February 21, Eddie wrote again to say that he was being transferred, one more time, to Marion Illinois. "The issue is permanent transit, designed to break ties inside and outside the prison, and to cause mental disorientation".

On February 27 Eddie turned twenty-six years old. This marks the sixteenth straight year in prison. We fear with the increased attempts to silence Eddie, Eddie may never turn twenty-seven. Support has been lacking, and unless we act NOW, we may have another dead martyr. **YOU CAN HELP!** Send money, pass out leaflets, contact a movement lawyer, get access to the mass media, organise a demonstration, or whatever . . . **BUT LET'S WORK TO SAVE THE LIFE OF THIS BROTHER!!**

Contact:—

Free Eddie Sanchez Committee

P.O. Box 124

West Somerville, Mass. 02144, USA.

DEATH AND THE LAW

Just imagine the outcry if a bomb in London killed 15 people and injured 30 more. The media would have a field day about inhuman terrorists, Freedom Press would have apoplexy and the perpetrators of the deed – provided they were not Government officials on an official bombing raid – would be subject to threats of hanging by the “Flog ’em and beat ’em brigade” (after they’d condemned the latest uninhibited sex film).

Now when the Rhodesian police of an illegal regime shoot dead 15 Africans in Salisbury, Zimbabwe, we discover it was not actually the fault of the police at all. The shooting was due to “faction fighting” amongst the Africans. So, if two people are exercising their rights to disagree with each other the Rhodesian police are justified in seems, in killing them both. The media has buried the Africans conveniently in a barrage of gossip and unsubstantiated rumour about splits among African nationalists who support either ZAPU or ZANU. The floggers remain in the cinema this time being outraged in their public decency as they watch people fucking upon the screen. So much worse than killing each other!

At the same time that august body, The United Nations, are discussing what to do about South Africa’s illegal occupation of Namibia (South West Africa). Now the law is the law, so we are told and everyone should obey it to maintain the rule of law. In South Africa this recently meant that the young child of a white girl was taken from her by the State because the child was of a union between this white

girl and her coloured boy friend. In the law of South Africa which in its stupidity once banned the book “Black Beauty” until they discovered the beauty in question was a horse and not a woman. The rule of law, comrades, which justifies the terrorism of torture in nearly every country in the world.

The United Nations had said that by May 30th South Africa would have to make arrangements to leave Namibia. South Africa told the UN to get stuffed and the Africans in the security council wanted to cut off arms from South Africa for not doing the right and proper thing. But no go, the United States, Britain and France vetoed such a measure and so South Africa breaks the law with impunity. Africans will only become statesmen when they recognise that it is Governments who make laws, not obey them. Thus who rule by force and the threat of force, Governments based on the violence of the gun or the prison cell cannot be expected to bow before the wishes of the United Nations.

Death and the law are the province of the State. It deals out both and if the people threaten death or disobey the law they are to be smashed, whilst the liberals wring their hands and the pacifists condemn the resistance (unless its far enough away). The others bray of adventurists who know not when the time is ripe. Yet working people the world over know the enemy of the people is always the State which administers their lives to the benefit of the ruling class.

Kali



The contemporary newspaper photograph (Feb 6 1960) of the Governor General of Catalonia, don Pablo Martin Alonso, congratulating don Abel Rocha, lance-corporal of the Somaten (right-wing private army

legalised under the monarchy) in San Celoni, on receiving the Medal of Military Merit for shooting the wounded Anarchist fighter, "el Quico" Sabate, in the back.

Payment deferred... soon to fall due.



Marxist Leninist Critique of Anarchism

It is very difficult for Marxist-Leninists to make an objective criticism of Anarchism, as such, because by its nature it undermines the whole suppositions basic to Marxism. If Marxism is held out to be indeed *the* basic working class philosophy, and the proletariat cannot owe its emancipation to anyone else but itself, it is hard to go back on it and say that the working class is not yet ready to dispense with authority placed above it. Marxism, therefore, normally refrains from criticising anarchism as such — unless driven to doing so, when it exposes its own authoritarianism (“how can the workers run the railways for instance without direction — that is to say, without authority?”)

It therefore concentrates its attack not on *anarchism*, but on *anarchists*. It has — whether one agrees with it or not — a valid criticism of the anarchists in asking how one can (now) dispense with political action — or whether one *should* throw away so vital a weapon. But this criticism varies between the schools of Marxism, since some have used it to justify complete participation in the whole capitalist power structure; while others talk vaguely only of “using parliament as a platform”. Lenin recognised the shortcomings of Marxism in this respect and insisted that the anarchist workers could not be criticised for rejecting so philistine a Marxism that it used political participation for its own sake and expected the capitalist state to let itself be voted out of existence peacefully. He therefore concentrated on another aspect, which Marx pioneered, viz. criticism of particular anarchists; and this has dominated all Leninist thinking since.

Because of the lack of any other criticism of the Anarchists, Leninists — especially trots — to this day use the *personal criticism* emthod. But as Lenin selected only a few well-known personalities who for a few years fell short of the ideals they preached, the latter-day Leninists have to hold that all anarchists are responsible for everyone who called himself or herself an anarchist — or even (such as the Russian Social Revolution) were only called such (if indeed so) by others. They, however are responsible only for fully paid-up accredited members of their own party.

Someone pointed out to me the other day a new Leninist body World Revolution carrying out a “criticism” of both trots and anarchists. It had the same weary old trot arguments

against anarchists — amking them responsible for any and every so called anarchist — but they themselves could not take responsibility for any one outside their own group of unknown students numbering a dozen at most.

This wrinkle in leninism has produced another criticism of anarchism (usually confined to trots and maoists): anarchists are responsible not only for all referred to as anarchists, but for all workers influenced by anarchist ideas. The CNT is always quoted here, but significantly its whole history before and after the civil war is never mentioned; solely the period of participation in government. For this, the anarchists must forever accept responsibility! But the trots may back the reformist union UGT without accpeting *any* esponsibility for any period in its entire history. In all countries (if workers) they presumably join or (if students) accept, the reformist trade unions. That is all right. But a revolutionary trade union must forever be condemned for any one deviation. Moreover, if broken, it must never be rebuilt; the reformist union must be rebuilt in preference. This is the logical consequence of all trot thinking on Spain or other countries where such unions exist, proving their *preference* for reformist trade unionism (because of the reformist unions negative character which lends itself to a leadership they may capture; as against a decentralised union which a leadership cannot capture.

Petty Bourgeois

Notwithstanding this preference for non-revolutionary unions, and condemnation of the anarchists for unions built from the bottom up, all Marxist-Leninists have a seemingly contradictory criticism of anarchists, namely “they are petty bourgeois”.

This leads them into another difficulty: How can one reconcile the existence of anarcho-syndicalist unions with “petty bourgeois” origins — and how does one get over the fact that most Marxist-Leninists today are professional gentlemen studying for or belonging to the conservative professions? The answer is usually given that *because* anarchism is petty bourgeois those embracing it “whatever their occupation or social origins” must also be petty bourgeois; because Marxism is working class, its adherents

must be working class "at least subjectively". This is a sociological absurdity, as if "working class" meant an ideological viewpoint. It is also a built-in escape clause.

Yet Marx was not such a fool as his followers. "Petty bourgeois" in his day did not mean a solicitor, an accountant, a factory manager or anything of that sort (they were "bourgeois" — the term *small* it was "petit" not "petty" that qualified the adjective — meant precisely that these were not the same as bourgeois.) The small burgher was one who had less privileges, economically, than the wealthy — but had some privileges by virtue of his craft. Anarchism, said Marx, was a movement of the *artisan worker* — that is to say, the self-employed craftsman, with some leisure to think and talk, not subject to factory hours and discipline, independent-minded and difficult to threaten, not backward like the peasantry. In England, these people tended to become Radicals, perhaps because the State was less oppressive and less obviously unnecessary. In many countries however they were much more extreme in their radicalism and in the Swiss Jura, the clockmakers, anarchism prospered. It spread to Paris (and the Paris Commune was above all a rising of the artisans, who had been reduced to penury by Napoleon III and his war). As the capitalist technique spread throughout the world, the artisans were ruined and driven into the factories. It is these individualist craftsmen entering industrialisation who become anarchists, pointed out successive Marxists. They are not conditioned to factory discipline which produces good order, a proletariat prepared to take a leadership and a party, and to work forever in the factory provided it comes under State control.

That this observation was true is seen by the crushing of the communes in Paris and in Spain and throughout the world especially in places like Italy, in the Jewish pale of settlement in Russia, and so on. It should be the task of an anarchist union movement to seize the factories, but only in order to break down mass production and get back to craftsmanship. This is what Marx meant by a "petty bourgeois" outlook, and the term having changed its meaning totally, the Marxists misunderstand him totally.



Vanguards

The reluctance of Marxist-Leninists to accept *change* is however above all seen in the acceptance of Lenin's conception of the Party. (It is not that of Marx). Lenin saw that Russia was a huge mass of inertia, with a peasantry that would not budge but took all its sufferings with an Asiatic patience. He looked to "the proletariat" to push it. But "the proletariat" was only a small part of the Russia of his day. Still he recognised it as the one class with an interest in progress — provided he felt, it had a direction — of shrewd, calculating, ruthless and highly-educated people (who could only come from the upper classes in the Russia of the time). The party they created should become, as much as possible, the party of the proletariat in which that class could organise and seize power. It had then the right and the duty to wipe out all other parties.

The idiocy of applying this policy *today* — in a country like Britain — is incredible. One has only to *look* at the "parties" which offer themselves as the various parties of the proletariat (of which, incidentally, there could be only one). Compare them with the people around. The parties' memberships are *far behind* in political intelligence and understanding. They are largely composed of shallow, inexperienced, youthful enthusiasts who understand far less about class struggle than the average worker.

Having translated the Russian Revolution into a mythology which places great stress of the qualities possessed by its leadership, they then pretend to possess that leadership charisma. But as they don't have it there is a total divorce between the working class and the so-called New Left, which has therefore to cover itself up with long-winded phrases in the hope that this will pass for learning; in the wider "Movement" with definitions at secondhand from Marxist-Leninism they scratch around to find someone really as backward and dispossessed as the moujik, and fall back on the "Third World" mythology . . .

The one criticism applied by Marxist-Leninists of anarchism with any serious claim to be considered is, therefore, solely that of whether political action should be considered or not. This is a purely negative attitude by anarchists. Is there, therefore substance in the criticism? In a future issue we shall discuss it.

LORENZ (CONTINUED)

We believe that words and arguments are no longer of any use in altering what is wrong in this country. Too many words have already been written about it, too many people experience it daily in their own lives. In this situation individuals only succeed if many stand prepared. So what does it mean when a man toils all day and comes home so exhausted in the evening that he can do no more than sit in front of the TV? Where does cruelty to children, family breakdowns and despair and suicide develop? And why do such things happen less frequently in the fine houses in the rich suburbs? Working class people are subject to these bad conditions and the strains associated with them, not the wealthy businessman and the industrialist.

WHO IS PETER LORENZ?

In the papers and documents of Peter Lorenz we found some interesting information and in our conversations with him we obtained some important pieces of information.

Peter Lorenz is the man in overall control and leadership of the CDU who is always presented to us as a man of the people. He is a "man of the people" who can spend 50,000 marks a year in expenses, who on his publicity posters, despite being very short-sighted, wears spectacles with plain glass, who has spoken extensively about safety but who demands, and indeed receives, personal protection. His driver was an armed security officer of the mobile operational commando unit (MEK). Peter Lorenz would also give us no explanation why his official senate car has got a private unregistered automobile number - b ac 744 - whilst its proper number plate is b 1 2.

Peter Lorenz also refused help to an entreating mother who had been 25 years a CDU member, and who had a mongol child. He refused to help her because he has no time for such things, or so we learn from letters he had among his personal papers. So we have taken 700 marks from him and sent it to this family.

From other secret documents which Peter Lorenz had on him it appears that Berlin's public utilities have a deficit of 510 million marks, and are therefore faced with a decision on increased charges for water, gas etc. One firm decision already taken is that on June 30th the water rate will be increased by 18%. When we asked Peter Lorenz why the

CDU had not mentioned this in the recent election campaign he said that the CDU could say nothing about the increases because they could do nothing to prevent them.

Also, the workers at LOEWE-OPTA and DETEWE will be interested to learn that, due to difficulties at both companies, their jobs are at risk. The CDU is not anxious to make this known, as this may prove commercially damaging to both companies, or so a report maintains.

PETER LORENZ'S INCOME

Peter Lorenz has a monthly income of over 20,000 marks (over £3000). We see from calculations in his own handwriting that he has received a total of 194,057.60 marks in fees (£20,000) in a period of nine months. By what means can he earn so much money? On top of his salaries for management jobs and places on boards of companies, his job as a member of the legislative assembly and as vice president, he earns a great deal acting for firms who are buying up houses and plots of land in reconstruction areas, where, after the demolition of the old houses, new apartments and town houses will be built that nobody can afford, or concrete blocks, or road developments, of which plans, as the government representative, he has been kept fully informed.

Now it will be said that all this is his affair, and by no means a sufficient reason to kidnap him. And it can be seen like that. But we want to even things up a little. Ask yourself for example, how long must a worker sweat and struggle to secure for himself the living standards of Peter Lorenz (a hopeless calculation).

Peter Lorenz gets a good deal of his money through the plunder of the people living in the reconstruction areas. Peter Lorenz and his CDU party are not in truth, as they present themselves to us, for the interests of the workers. Rather, if he can be judged on his activity in this business of reconstruction areas, he is fair and square in support of the interests of the profiteers and the land speculators.

And to all who still believe that one should vote CDU, because the SPD are not to be trusted and can achieve nothing, we can only say that the CDU-SPD-FDP are altogether in standing for the same thing.

That THEY should rule AGAINST the people.

ANARCHISTS ARRESTED IN JAPAN

On May 18th, shortly after the royal visit of Queen Elizabeth to Japan the Nipponese Special Branch arrested twenty anarchists in the Tokyo area alone and a further thirty in the Osaka-Kyoto-Kobe area. The raids and arrests were planned in early May but it was considered too dangerous to put them into effect until after the Queen had left Japan to avoid action being taken against her. The Japanese police are becoming increasingly worried about the growing strength and militancy of the revived Japanese anarchist movement. It looks as though the 'Black Relief' Committees (Black Cross) of Japan will require a great deal of financial and moral support in the months ahead of the Japanese anarchist movement is not to be decimated with the same ease and quiescence as in 1937 with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war. We shall publish the contact address for the 'Black Relief' Committee in the next issue. In the meantime please send letters and contributions to us at 83a, Haverstock Hill, London NW.3. and we'll forward them to the comrades in Japan.

COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOW

Lonrho, the multi-national company that even Edward Heath found an unacceptable part of capitalism, is financing the publication of an African daily newspaper in Rhodesia. The editor-in-chief has been a Lonrho employee and the chairman of the paper is an executive member of the African National Council, Mr. Amon Jirira. Some ANC officials object to involvement with Lonrho but Mr. Ian Smith Rhodesia's well-known spokesman, has seen the writing on the wall. He has got the personal message and has moved his entire stock of cattle from his Rhodesia farm to his South African one. This transfer of stock was no doubt financed by the doubling of Ina Smith's salary, an arrangement recently pushed through his Rhodesian parliament.

Kali

PORTUGAL and the Armed Forces Movement

Everywhere we read about the Portuguese Army referring to itself as 'radical' and 'a friend of the people'. The Armed Forces Movement (MFA) does everything in its power to sustain this idea, but how true is it?

Among the rank and file of soldiers you will find many revolutionaries. In some army barracks the soldiers manage without officers. On their own initiative many soldiers have defended the collectivisation against the government and its legislation. When groups of revolutionaries attacked the fascist CDS congress the National Guard attempted to stop them, but the soldiers threatened to fire on the National Guard if the revolutionaries were attacked.

However, inside the Armed Forces Movement itself you will not find many revolutionaries. The members of the MFA are all professional soldiers some of whom are middle class bourgeois and the rest under the influence and control of the Moscow line Communist Party. Both these groups have one thing in common: they want power for themselves to control the working class and above all none of them want any revolutionary change in the country. The Government and the state bureaucracy (MFA & C.P.) respect private property and do everything to prevent the workers taking control. To add to the illusion that the MFA is assisting the working class the former call themselves 'revolutionaries'. Admirals and generals talk about 'revolutionary changes' at their press conferences and call each other comrade. As they do this they head a most authoritarian system. Imagine what these people would do to a soldier who asked them to let representatives of the soldiers councils speak of revolution at these press conferences, instead of themselves who have not been elected by anyone.

There are some revolutionary officers, but most of these are not professional soldiers they have become officers during their period of obligatory military service of four years.

From the Portuguese Army as an organisation we can only expect counter-revolutionary actions. From the base, however, we can certainly expect revolutionary action, but this will happen in spite of and not because of the power of the MFA.

The Portuguese Communist Party

The Portuguese Communist Party is now mainly concentrating on recruiting from the larger farms and estates in Southern Portugal. During its long period of clandestinity under fascism the Portuguese Communist Party did a first class job for itself in the field of public relations. The success of this PR campaign can be gauged today in view of the well oiled and smoothly organised Party. There are rumours going about that the Party is having little compunction in employing bureaucrats of the Salazar and Caetano regimes in the running of its own authoritarian organisation. Nor does the Party lack for funds. Eastern Europe has pumped over £20,000,000 into Portugal through Switzerland in its attempts to maintain the interests of the pro-Moscow line Communist Party, to consolidate their hold on the State machinery and destroy the revolutionary left and workers' councils.

Portugal 1975

February 7, 1975 Autonomous factory committees plan to demonstrate on this date against increasing unemployment. The night before the demonstration the General Secretaries of both the Communist and Socialist Parties speak on television telling people to stay away from the demonstration as it would



Anarchist demonstration in Lisbon March 3, 1975

not be under Party control, and there, dangerous. The Government quickly stepped in to prohibit any demonstrations between Feb. 6 and Feb. 12 as it would clash with a NATO forces exercise between those dates. On February 7, 25,000 workers took to the streets of Lisbon. Soldiers manning the barricades hurriedly thrown up by the Government could not or would not prevent the demonstration. They abandoned their posts and opened the streets again to the demonstrators carrying anti-NATO and anti-unemployment placards. This was a resounding defeat for the parties claiming to act in the best interests of the working-class.

March 3, 1975: The Lisbon anarchists demonstrate in solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish working class. 2,000 people, most of them carrying black flags and placards with anarchist slogans such as "Morts ao Estado, a Policia e ao capital" (Death to the State, Police and capitalism). The Government sent in 400 commados to guard the Spanish Embassy from the anarchist demonstrators. Some demonstrators smashed the offices of Iberian airlines instead.

March 11, 1975: Spinoza and other reactionaries attempt to take power again, but this coup was such a disaster that it could hardly be taken seriously. Paratroops surrounded the barracks of the most radical soldiers and waited for orders to fire. The radio having announced the news of the attempted coup sent thousands of people into the streets who surrounded the paratroops and started arguing with them that they were betraying their class brothers. The Paratroops soon became upset when they realised what they were doing and retired from their positions. The people of Portugal quite spontaneously started building road blocks in the streets thus preventing movement of cars, weapons and men. So it was that the coup broke down before it ever got the chance to get off the ground, and Spinoza and his henchmen were forced to flee to Spain.

However, there was something very interesting about this power struggle. It seems that the Moscow oriented Communist Party may well have had full details about this attempted coup before it took place, but allowed it to take place to increase

FRANCO STRIKES AGAIN

Franco

On May 17 the first of a series of trials of twenty five anarchists began in Barcelona. Two of the trials were scheduled to be heard by the Public Order Tribunal on May 17 and June 10 and a third, a Council of War, at the start of the holidays. These trials will have a dramatic effect on the entire Spanish revolutionary movement. Some of the comrades are charged with Banditry and Terrorism and not only face long prison sentences, but also the garrote!

Franco is dying, but the machinery of repression he has built up over the last thirty five years still remains active. It must be prevented from striking again! As silence is the principal ally of Franco's power it has been agreed to launch

a vigorous international solidarity campaign for the purpose of checking his desire to destroy every revolutionary movement, or any movement which has any other purpose than the maintenance of the status quo.

To promote this vital solidarity campaign a "Committee for the Defence of the Libertarians accused by the Barcelona Council of War" has been formed to which the following people have pledged their support: Jean Cassou, Yves Dechezelles, Armand Gatti, Jean Maitron, Jean Paul Satre, Georgie Viennet, Claude Bourdet, Michel Leiris, Marguerite Duras, Claude Roy, Daniel Guerin, Lenny Escudero, Claire Etcherelli, Jean Jacques de Felice, G. Vadrot, and many more.

Portugal (continued)

its standing within the Armed Forces Movement and its strength within the State bureaucracy. At the same time the Armed Forces Movement was able to call itself the saviours of the Revolution and the people in an attempt to so build up its popularity that it could openly announce before the elections that whatever the result it would remain in power.

April 25, 1975: Ninety per cent of the Portuguese people voted in the elections. This was not simply a demonstration

of the Portugues people's faith in democracy, but because those who did not vote would lose their citizens' rights for a year. For this reason the percentage of blank votes is important - 8%. The elections were quite meaningless anyway. No matter what happens the Communist Party and the Armed Forces Movement will stick to power at least until they are overthrown by the people.

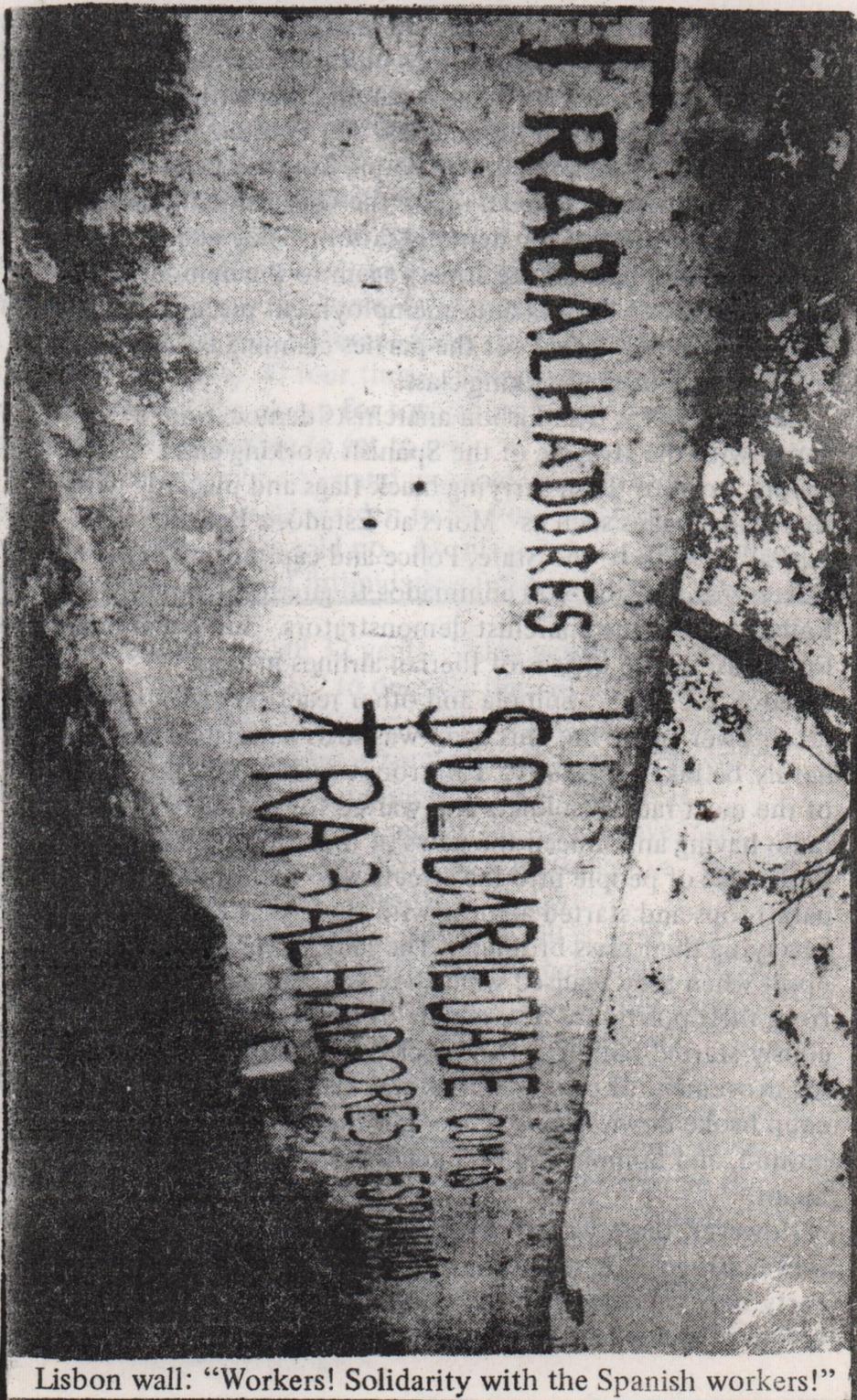
It is now illegal to be a member of any trade union other than the Communist Party controlled 'Intersindical'. Special laws have been passed concerning strikes and there are special regulations concerning demonstrations. But the workers are ignoring these completely and are continuing to organise and fight through their own factory committees which are in contact with each other and which publish regional factory committee newspapers. This political co-operation is of great political importance because all the parties are unable to control the factory committees. A confrontation is looming up between the MFA and the PCP on one side and the factory committees on the other. The situation is reminiscent of Russia in 1917 and Spain in 1936.

Problems of the Factory Committees

The greatest problem seems to be the absence of revolutionary theory in the struggle of the workers. Forty eight years of fascism creates a consciousness which is not easy to change radically in a few months, and though Portuguese workers seem quite militant and willing to act, they are still uncertain as yet, where they want to go. Different revolutionary organisations are now hard at work propagating revolutionary ideas. This propaganda combined with the experience gained by the workers in running the factories themselves increases the probability that soon we may see a positive and decisive step towards libertarian socialism in Portugal.

However it must be remembered that most of the revolutionary organisations in Portugal are committed to massive propaganda campaigns in an attempt to build up their own membership, and not above all to assist the autonomous struggle of the workers. Among some honourable exceptions to this rule we can include the paper "Combate" which lets the workers speak for themselves, and publishes statements from many different workers' councils. The people who produce this paper call themselves 'non-leninist communists', but refuse to define their position more precisely.

From FOLKEBLADET, the Norwegian Anarchist monthly.



Lisbon wall: "Workers! Solidarity with the Spanish workers!"

BOOK REVIEW

THE VALPREDA PAPERS The prison diaries of Pietro Valpreda (Victor Gollancz £4.20).

The publication of *The Valpreda Papers* is a major event (notwithstanding the ill-informed introduction by Gaia Servadio, a journalist who has obviously not even read the book — imagining, for instance, that the Anarchist Movement in Italy “was destroyed by the Fascists and then it was revived in 1968 . . . in Carrara”!)

Valpreda was suddenly and without reason involved in 1969 in a major trial that shook Italy. The neo-Fascist movement (with its police ramifications) had tried to pull off a threefold coup — to smash the Anarchist movement, to spread terror in the heart of the working class, and to show the need for a law-and-order party. The reasons for attacking the Anarchist movement were because it was not involved in party politics as was the Communist Party and had therefore no “friends in high places”; the press had for years built up a “notoriety” tag; a blow at the libertarian movement would be damaging to the “Left” generally without involving State politics; and finally, it was thought the Anarchist movement would be isolated as Valpreda himself indeed was.

To some extent this may have boomeranged against the Fascists — but because of it the Italian State has kept Valpreda a prisoner for six years and totally ruined his life, rather than admit his innocence and the whole frame up. The plot failed. But the State is stuck with its trial.

The book does not give the full story of the Milan bomb placed by the Fascists. Valpreda knew nothing about it then. He only knew he was picked up one day and blamed. The reason for his selection was not even mistaken identity some element of which existed in the Dreyfus and Sacco and Vanzetti cases, later reinforced by prejudice. He was picked out deliberately because he was a member of a situationist-type group that could be easier infiltrated by hostile elements than a working-class anarchist group — especially on a localised basis as they are in Italy. He was a stage dancer and it was thought he would have no working class solidarity backing him. He was picked out and built up as the victim by the Fascists who committed the bomb attack in Milan against people visiting a co-operative bank. A few of the perpetrators — long after, and after great pressure — are now on trial. But their victim Valpreda has been — after touch and go as to acquittal on the score of justice — kept back to be tried along with them — rather than the State admit it lent itself to a gross injustice and a massacre.

By giving Valpreda's own thought day after day, month after month, as his long calvary dragged on, the diaries in a way give a deeper insight to the case than some of the straight documentaries have done, even though it does not relate the

story. (Nothing excelled the two Swedish films, on Pinelli and Valpreda, shown on television here last year).

Valpreda has been the subject of great calumny even by so-called libertarians who did their best to wash their hands of him once they heard of his problems — the suggestion that he was really not an anarchist at all (which the police seized on when it was discovered that the Anarchists could not be blamed at all for the Milan bomb, and an ideal solution for them would have been ‘fascist-plot — anarchist catspaw’, or even ‘madman who thought he was an anarchist, disowned by anarchists’). Nobody could doubt his anarchism who reads the book — and it is hardly his fault — indeed it is his great misfortune — that the press have built him up as an “anarchist leader” simply because they happen to know his name. Some in the movement even now, want to dissociate themselves from Valpreda because he disagrees with them on one or two points — he not unnaturally welcomes politicians taking an interest in his case, for instance. How justified organisations love to disclaim!

Valpreda does not answer his deprecators, and reserves his attacks for the class enemy. There is an essential dignity in his whole bearing that adds immeasurably to the sustained tragedy of his story. Faced with the vicious liars and male whores of the Italian Press, whose barbs, innuendos and downright lies while he has been defenceless in prison recall the barbarities of the pillory, he has retained that dignity.

His observations from inside prison are acute and perceptive and throw a searing light on Italy today. It has been Valpreda's unsought-for fate that he has become in life a symbol of the struggle, linked with Pinelli in death. PINELLI ASSASSINATED — VALPREDA INNOCENT — CALABRESI MURDERER has been shouted, painted and sung throughout the country. Calabresi has met rough justice (or perhaps he was disposed of by those who feared it). But Valpreda goes on living. In life he records the prison scene of Italy — where the imprisoned rot on for years, and guilt or innocence is an irrelevance. He speaks simply but movingly of the class struggle and the great debate on socialism and liberty as it comes through to him in his cell.

In the face of personal tragedy, despair, the demoralisation that prison is intended to produce, Valpreda has gone on fighting. He has utilised his status as *anarchist prisoner* not to demand privileges for himself as a “political offender” but to hammer home the message of freedom not only to other prisoners but to the world. His position was not of his choice. He was tied to the stake and had to face the torture . . . His choice was only whether to submit to the torture miserably or to assert not just his innocence but his faith. In choosing the latter he will be remembered, if social justice prevails, when the names of his hypocritical accusers — in Vanzetti's words — only recall that accursed past when man was wolf to man.

THE ANGRY BRIGADE by Gordon Carr, Victor Gollancz £3.50 h/b.

Gordon Carr is proud to have received the confidence both of the libertarians and of the police in this blow-by-blow account from the outside of the Angry Brigade and the Stoke Newington trial. Although it is a careful and mostly factual account it must be borne in mind there are obvious limitations, the biggest that his very desire to be ‘fair to all sides’ and his liberal objectivity — not to mention the law of libel — make it impossible to be truly objective and factual.

The book is a good summary of the Angry Brigade case and the Stoke Newington trial and it is more than likely it will become the *standard work* of the future on this subject. It is also reasonably politically fair to those who stood trial understanding the libertarian beliefs of the defendants and the communiques of the AB itself. It is particularly useful, however, in the light it sheds on police methods and reasoning. Comrades wishing to learn from mistakes of others could do far worse than buy or order a copy of this book for their library.

* All books reviewed in this column are available through the Cienfuegos Press book service.

GERMANY



Ralph Stein

THE DRAGON AND OTHER STORIES, Yevgeny Zamyatin (Penguin 45p)

At a time when Solzhenitsyns' collected laundry lists are threatening to become the next monument to martyred revolution and anything vaguely approaching literature has disappeared inside the Lubyanka this small volume of short stories* has revived my sagging belief that there was once such an animal in Russia as *Revolutionary Literature*.

Yevgeny Zamyatin is little known in Europe and completely unknown (by decree) in his native Russia. The only other of his books in English, "WE" — a scathing futuristic satire of the emerging Bolshevik State which directly inspired the better known anti-utopias of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell — caused a minor sensation when it first appeared in 1920. Now, with the publication of his short stories (spanning the period 1913-1935) we can see that "WE" was not just a flash in the pan. They confirm him as one of the most important political satirists in modern times. One of the last thinking writers of any talent that Russia has produced.

Details of his life are almost as rare as his writings. A member of the Bolsheviks in Tsarist days he was imprisoned in solitary, twice deported, and brought to trial for an anti-militarist novella during the first world war. Dismayed with the actions of the Bolsheviks after the revolution, his opposition to the increasing dictatorship quickly marked him as a target for attacks from the new "orthodoxy" of pseudo-proletarian writers. He was systematically persecuted and harassed, dismissed from editorial posts, ignored by magazines and publishing houses, and finally denounced by his former comrades in the writers' union.

Faced with a choice between renouncing his literary work or bowing to official command, he chose to stand by his ideals. Unexpectedly in 1929 Stalin agreed to Zamyatin's request to leave Russia (included in this collection) and he lived out the remainder of his life writing, surrounded by poverty, in Paris until his death in 1937.

The stories he left behind him are bitter jabs in the face of authority, orthodoxy, and tradition. Zamyatin was a heretic who could never accept the status-quo: "... true literature

Comrades from the Glasgow Black Cross are acting as liaison committee for the campaign on behalf of imprisoned comrade Ralf Stein, of "BEFREIUNG", active unionist and member of Cologne BLACK CROSS at present in Ossendorf Prison, Cologne.

SHOW SOLIDARITY! Letters of protest to the German Embassy the Judge and Prosecutor: Amtsgericht Koln, abt 203.7.47 - Richter Tiepel, 5 Koln 1, Appelloplatz 1 (Judge); Bundesanwaltschaft Karlsruhe, z.Hd. Herrn Bieger, Karlsruhe, Postfach (Prosecutor). I.G. Metall, Ortsleitung Koln, Hans Bockler Platz, Germany (Trade Union).
British Liaison committee: A. McGowan, c/o 83a Haverstock Hill, London NW3

MINORITY FOR THE COMMON MARKET

Disaster for the pro-marketeters struck in the Referendum, despite a campaign in the mass media (which included a character assassination) to get British people to vote "yes". Final results showed fewer than 40% voting for Britain to remain in the Common Market. A massive 36% didn't vote at all and a further 33% of those who voted were against Britain staying in the EEC.

The British press, as is their tradition, have turned defeat into a victory — claiming a landslide for the EEC.

can only exist where it is produced by madmen, hermits, heretics, visionaries, rebels and sceptics". And where they didn't exist or were killed off he called forth new heretics in his stories.

In an age of servile acceptance to tyranny his characters stand out as question marks; brilliant tongue-in-cheek commentaries on contemporary life, with a peculiar surreal atmosphere attached to every action. They hold up the blindness and savagery of the new oppressors for all to see and mock. The irreverent mocking of a man who sees the ridiculousness of a human existence without liberty.

P.R.

Just published in Spanish: el anarquismo español y la acción revolucionario 1961-1974 by Octavio Alberola and Ariane Gransac, Ruedo Iberico 1975 (available through Cienfuegos Press, £4.00 inc. p&p), Demy 8vo, p/bakc 381 pages including chronology of actions of *First May Group*, *Angry Brigade* and *Red Army Fraction*.

This must surely be the most important book on the history and development of the international activist movement in the years from 1960 to the present day. The authors, who completed the manuscript in prison charged with complicity in the Suarez kidnapping (both now on bail), are the people best qualified to write the history of this important period having been closely involved with the events here detailed throughout most of that time. Consequently they have been vilified by the Francoist press, forced to live clandestinely to protect themselves from the attempted murders and frame-ups of the Spanish secret police abroad, and in general have been committed to the furtherance of the ideas of revolutionary anarchism and anti-Francoism.

As the authors point out at the end of this intriguing, well-written and well-documented history and statement of revolutionary anarchism: 'For anarchists, what is essential is *not* to struggle to attempt to re-conquer a place among the trade unions and political movements of the world, but to reinforce and radicalise all forms of libertarian protest and action and to affirm and re-affirm the idea of revolutionary solidarity in the society in which they live and throughout the world'.

Letters

Dear Editor,

For the past few years (and at this point I must freely admit to being one of those who follows the turf) I have taken advantage of the fact that the 2000 Guineas, a classic horse race, falls on the same Saturday as the F.A. Cup Final, an alleged football match, and taken myself along to Newmarket where the other national sporting event leads to a smaller gathering of racing followers than would otherwise be the case and enables me to watch the race in comfort in spite of my modest stature.

The contrast stood out between the behaviour of the crowd of racegoers on the Thursday, which was obviously very expensive account gin swilling retired military type, and the conduct of the crowd on the Saturday, when there was a much greater preponderance of working people.

The stable lads delayed the start of the main race of the afternoon, the 2000 Guineas, by over 15 minutes by spreading themselves across the course a few hundred yards in front of the starting stalls. The only reaction of the crowd at first was to hoot derisively at the course commentator when, as this sit down was taking place he made no more relevant announcement than "The handlers are having difficulty getting River Blue into the stalls."

While attempts were being made to clear the course all the spectators I could see were simply watching with interest to see what was happening. There was absolutely no move to "get stuck in". And after the race as the stable lads marched along the racecourse the only hostile comments I heard were from a bookmaker. Earlier the coach in which I had travelled to the course stopped at the picket line and the passengers walked the last ½ mile to the grandstands with barely any grumbles or complaints. Evidently a much more civilised crowd than that on the midweek meeting.

P.M.

Dear Black Flag,

As a matter of personal philosophy, I order an "anarchist" book every month at the local library. To be honest I find most a little boring and heavy. But Christ! Man! is brilliant. Can I congratulate you on the work and effort you must have put into it.

I've been meaning to subscribe to BF for years but have always been put off by its insistence on petty and fruitless in-fighting. BUT not even your most vilified victims can accuse you of being boring which is something almost unique amongst the anarchist press.

Good luck,

P.G.

* Never do we engage in "in-fighting" (arguments between people of the same persuasion). But who are "in?" (See our Sectarian Notes this issue).

Black Flag is the only consistently militant English language publication. In struggle,

L. Gambone (Vancouver).

I agree with your comments in "Self Criticism"
Roy Emery.

Answers to Anarcho-Quiz

1. Charlotte Bronte's "Shirley".
2. "She is a lamb in adversity, a fox in equality, a wolf in supremacy."
3. Limerick.

Dear Comrades,

In your Self 'Criticism' you claim to be concerned with class war which you think has nothing to do with personal liberation. I would suggest you have nothing to do with either.

Capitalism oppresses us in all aspects of our lives, and must be resisted in all of them. To take one concrete point, sexism has divided the working class, kept women apolitical and enabled the ruling class to set the issue of prices against wages. The women's movement has begun to challenge this. The attempt to split activity along political/personal or social/individual lines is part of the old tactic of divide and conquer; and to oppose it is essential for a revolutionary movement.

It is not therefore surprising that 'Black Flag' fails to treat of the real class struggle i.e. the mass activity of workers in strikes, occupations, rent strikes etc. Violence has its place in this struggle but it is a subordinate one; as such I do advocate it whenever necessary. However the isolated acts of violence by small groups which we read about in Black Flag are ventures which separate them from the masses and are not in general progressive; which doubtless explains why the right (OAS, UDA etc) are so much better at them.

On the question of your general line, I had understood that A.B.C. was a front concerned specifically with anarchist prisoners. Do you now consider yourself a distinct group competing with AWA, SWF etc? The two functions are hardly compatible.

Yours fraternally

Phil McShane.

*Women's movement — referred to in another article.

Violence — we have said over and over again that this is in no way a major issue though it is a fact of the times — one cannot treat of international football matches, let alone international revolution, without dealing with it. It is only made a fuss of by the press when it is not Establishment violence.

Strikes etc — We cannot deal with latest strikes in a monthly paper where we have to be both topical and internationally relevant at some distance from the time of writing. When we have the resources to bring out a paper of this nature (as we have done before) it will not be declamatory and boring. ABC — We have never said ABC is exclusively for political prisoners; our aim is to help anarchist prisoners carry on the class struggle and to give anarchist groups inspiration while extending help, rather than form a super-group. Our aim is to be the nucleus of an international-based in fact, not on paper

We are not in "competition" with other groups, and formed part of the old federation. In any case, to mention a couple with forty members apiece is to leave a hell of a lot of room without "competition"!

We have in fact co-operated with almost all active groups.

4 A small committee set up after an unrepresentative London conference, whose only activity was to organise a conference in Carrara in 1968 the results of which came to nothing, largely because it tried to reconcile ossified non-active "federations" and bureaucracies with active movements under the guise of "one federation per country".

5. Lord Beaconsfield formerly Benjamin Disraeli referring to the ultra-radical Morning Star of his day. The present Morning Star (formerly Daily Worker) did not exist then of course.
6. Frederich Nietzsche.



INFORMER
Jürgen Bodeaux

Whore
Justice

Constitutional
RIGHTS

RECHT

GRUND

Notorious PRISON
OSSENDORE

KRALE STEIN

John Olday