

# list of imprisoned comrades (INCOMPLETE)

For BANQUET'S  
ISSUE  
HAVE I  
PUNISHED MY  
SOUL ...  
(MURDER)



THAT CURSED TRIAL HAS  
SHOWN ME THAT THE  
ANARCHISTS  
I TRIED TO KILL OFF ARE  
STILL OUT THERE TRYING TO  
REBUILD THEIR UNIONS ... WHEN  
I GO KILL BE NECESSARY TO  
CALL IN THE COMMUNISTS TO  
SAVE SPAIN FROM SOCIAL  
REVOLUTION...  
& FOR THAT END I MUST GO DOWN  
IN HISTORY AS THE MURDERER  
OF THE PEOPLE ?

## Carcel Modelo de Barcelona

Julian Herrero Lorente  
(elderly confederal guerrilla)  
Francisco Javier Garriga Paituvi  
(MIL militant; arrested 1973)  
Jose Oriol Sole Sugranyes  
(MIL militant; 48 years imprisonment)  
Dionisio Fabrin Bernardini  
(preventive detention)  
Santiago Sole Amigo (MIL militant)  
Carlos Monjas Rodriguez  
All the comrades listed below face the  
garrotte  
Pedro Barthes Artmeller  
Ramon Carrion Sanchez  
Jose Ventura Romero Tajares  
Roberto Safont Sisa  
Raimundo Sole Sugranyes  
Juan Jordi Vinyolas Vidal  
Enrique Conde Martinez  
Jose Maria Vives Marcado

Jose Antonio Gelas Bassa  
Jose Antonio Pineiro Huget & Guillermo  
Garcia Pons.

Carcel de Mujeres "Trinitat" de Barcelona  
Maria Angustias Mateos Fernandez  
(MIL militant; 5yrs sentence)  
Nuria Ballart Capdevila  
Georgina Nicolau Milla

Prision de Valencia  
Miguel Jorge Amoros Peiro  
(9 months)

Prision de Segovia  
Jorge Luis Alonso Castro  
(18 years sentence)  
Eduardo Valera Rey  
(2 years sentence)  
Prision Provincial de Madrid, Carabanchel  
Jose Luis Pons Llobet  
(MIL militant; 51 years sentence)  
Luis Andres Edo

A number of GARI (Grps Int. Rev. Act.) and MIL (Iber. Lib. Mvmt.) activists are still  
awaiting trial in France for various guerrilla actions taken at the time of the execu-  
tion in Spain of Salvadore Puig Antich. Some have been conducting hunger strikes. More  
news to follow. Spanish libertarian Alberola out of jail on bail and awaiting a spectac-  
ular frame-up trial in France (Suarez kidnap & the CNT union funds).

(5yrs sentence)  
Luis Burro Molina  
(10 years sentence)  
David Urbano Bermudez  
(5 years sentence)  
Juan Ferran Serafini  
(10 years sentence)  
Prision Torreira de Saragossa  
Eloy Martin Nieto  
Andres Ruiz Grima  
(5 years sentence)

## Prision de Soria

Miguel Lacueva Miguel  
(6 years sentence)  
Julio Millan Hernandez  
(23 years sentence)  
Salvador Soriano Martinez  
(18 years sentence)  
Floreal Rodrigues de la Paz  
(18 years sentence)

## Prision de Palencia

Francisco Tubau Subira  
(18 years sentence; transferred from  
Lerida after two months hunger strike)  
Cipriano Damiano Gonzalez  
(4 years sentence)  
Juan Salcedo  
(sentenced to 80 years imprisonment  
in 1959)

## Prision del Dueso de Santander

Juan Tejeiro Conde

## Place of Detention unknown

Miguel Munoz (sentenced to 20 years in  
1969)  
Pedro Gallegos (sentenced to 6 years in  
1969)  
Francisco Javier Maldonado Rosso  
(sentenced to 4 years in 1969; this 68 yr  
old comrade has spent more than 20 years  
in prison)  
An unknow number of comrades are  
being held in the Prision Provincial de  
Cartagena, Prision de Mujeres, Yesserias  
(Madrid), and in the Prision Provincial  
de Gerona. Barcelona

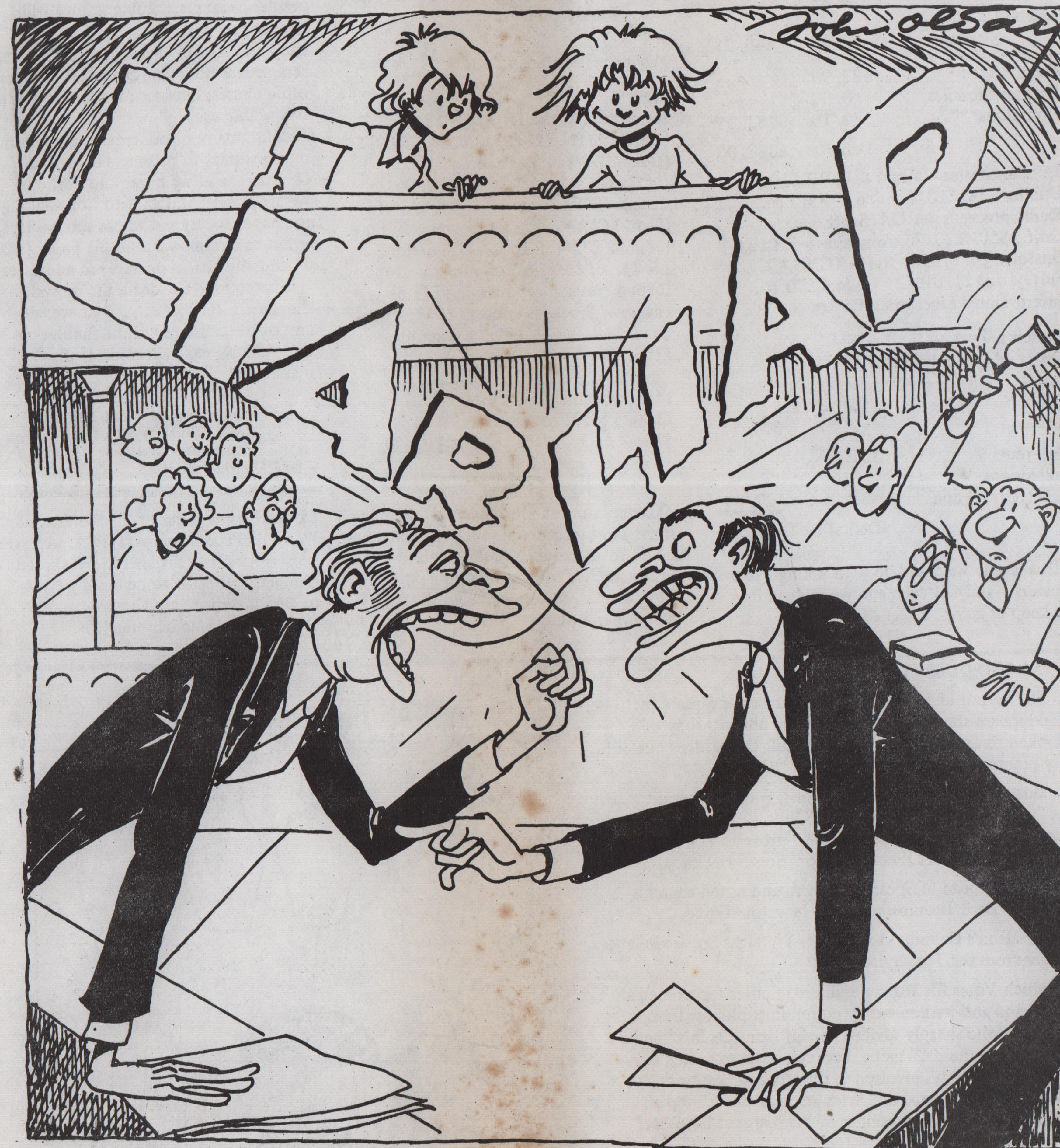
The following comrades have been charged  
with membership of the so-called O.L.L.A.  
Jose Luis Litera Lopez  
Juan Gonzales Lopez  
Ramon Gallardo Martinez  
Ramon Floriac Vendrell  
Jaime Baldrich Viladran.

# BLACK FLAG

## organ of the

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

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State of the Nation (at 1st March 1975)

<b>Black Flag</b>		
Deficit b/fwd	345.00	
Printing, paper &c	173.33	
Postage	39.65	
Stationery	4.44	
Literature b/fwd		
re-sale	77.79	640.21
Sales & subs	182.99	
Sinister subsidies	0.00	
Donations***	70.16	253.15
Deficit		£387.06

\*\*\*Manchester - Anon £10, RB £10, Dublin - BC £10, London - AM £10, Picnic proceeds per LM (Santa Teresa, Calif.) \$50 - £20.76, Australia - TH £2, Bristol - CC £1, London - TG £3.40, Surrey, LD £1, SR £2. Total £70.16.

**International Libertarian Centre**

Deficit b/Fwd	438.01	
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Rates	46.91	
Phone	15.53	
Gas	2.77	624.54
Sub-rents	121.00	
collections	5.60	
L.D.(Surrey) don.	1.00	127.60
Deficit		£496.94

(This is why we could do with selling a few posters - only £1 each and well worth it - to keep us going . . . .)

**ANARCHO-QUIZ**

1. The layout of London's famous Leicester Square (with the Shakespeare statue) was thanks to the philanthropy of a crooked financier and M.P., "who built the gardens out of his city plants". Who?
2. Most enthusiastic patriot of World War I, whose campaign for "equal sacrifice" in his paper "John Bull" led to its being burned on the Stock Exchange, also proved to be a crooked financier as well as Liberal M.P. for South Hackney. Who?
3. Why did head of Special Branch, and noted anarchist-baiter Sir Basil Thompson, finally leave the Force?
4. Is Nelson's Column in London's Trafalgar Square in any danger from the Trotskyites?
5. Which Votes for Women militant, fighter for women's rights, and anti-parliamentary communist pioneer in East London, who sharply divided herself from Lenin's "parliamentary communist" tactic, became, because of her early anti-fascist activity, involved in the struggle against Italian invasion of Ethiopia and - after years of pro-Ethiopian activity - finished a pensioner of the restored Emperor?

NOTE: The huge rise in postage is going to bash us and we need to sell much more of each issue to compensate . . . . .

**"CNT RANSOM" (ALBEROLA**

DEFENCE) Committee in hand £ 60.37  
New York - IWW £4.14; Cambridge - PS £2; Surrey - SB 50p; N.Yk - LM £1.84; Surrey - LD £1. total - 9.84

To MME G for prisoners 15.00

In hand for contingency . . . . £54.85

In addition to this some large sums have gone direct esp. from IWW (Toronto) and other Wobbly centres.

**Prisoners/Resistance Fund**

i/hand £7.68

Received: (Australia) ABC £15, £5; (USA) LM (N.Yk) £2.70, £1.84, £4, S.S. (Guam IWW) sums totalling £11.25; H (Texas) £4.14; L.R. (N.Yk) 2.06. Canada IWW (Toronto) £14.08, £4.14 (Switz) CIRA colln. £4; Surrey: SB sums totalling £3.94; L.D. £2.75; London, LS. £1.16, £2.27; Anon 80p, Centro Iberico "resistance" meeting £11.58; Glasgow: Proceeds concert £61\*; Cambridge Ps £2. Total, a magnificent £153.71.

in all, £161.39.

Disbursements: to Spain £100, S.N.S. Committee £10. £110.00

in hand £ 51.39

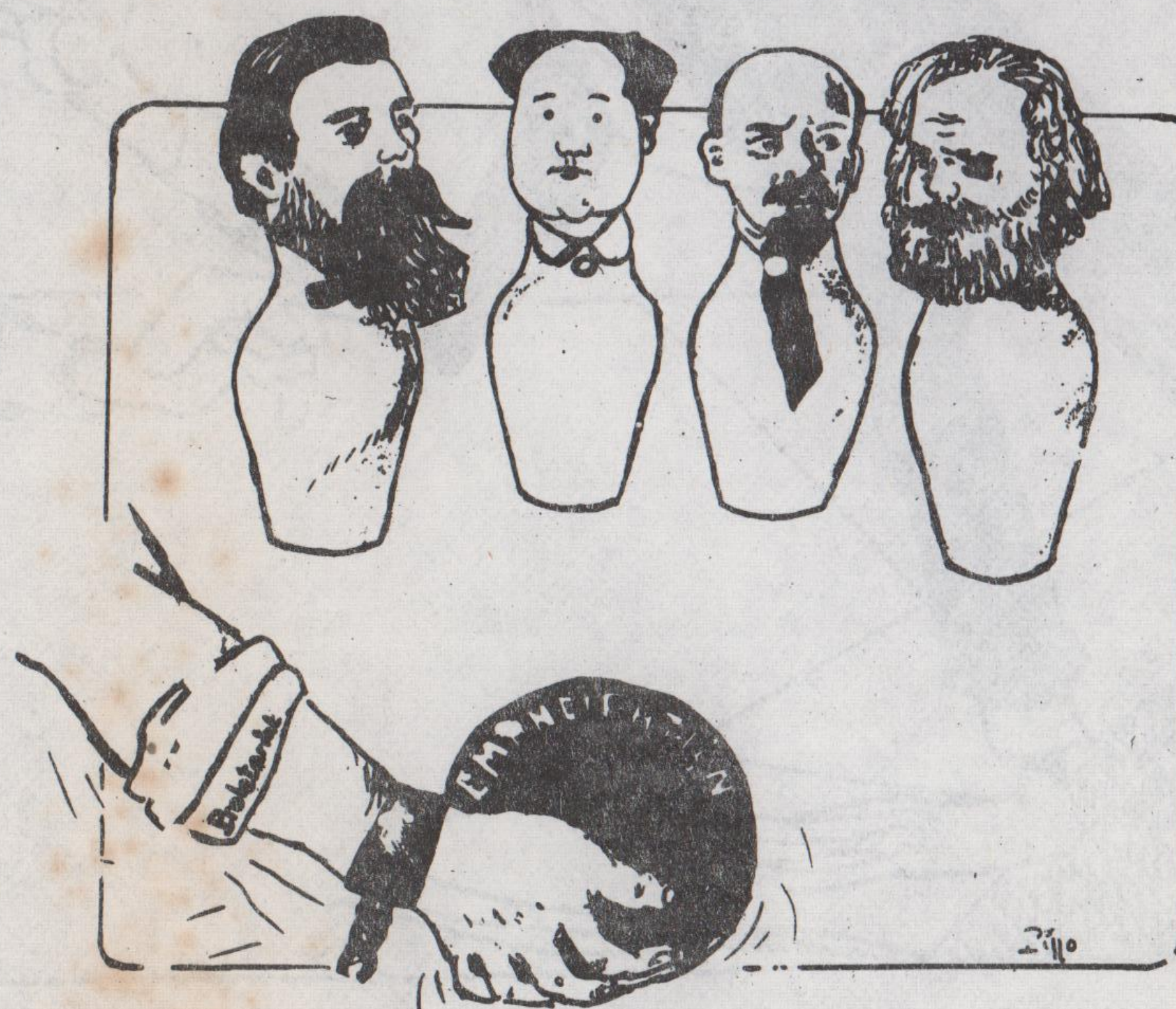
This does not take into account the huge sums sent by comrades and ABC chapters direct to addresses supplied them for prisoners. We need money in hand in case of emergencies - sudden demand for lawyer etc).

\* A further £10 in tickets was also due but not received by the date of balancing. We realise we probably "cut our own throat" financially by asking for support for prisoners and resistance causes, as a result of which our appeal to keep the paper going suffers, but ~~by~~ your best friends. Once we sell enough literature we won't need to ask for cash, and "all good stuff, no rubbish" (see columns). Our London centre is the contact base for international activity and merits a lot more support than it gets. Also remember we can do with a lot of things besides cash: e.g. trading stamps will help us; we need clean rags for print-shop and always have a demand for scrapmetal which we can sell for one or other causes, likewise records, clothes etc for jumble use.

Because many of our readers are sending money direct to prisoners in various countries, and we never know who is, we are always reluctant to stop sending the paper to anyone whose sub has lapsed - but as a result we send the paper (with a added waste in postage) to addresses ~~of~~ - the dead, the moved, the lapsed, the lost . . . if you ever do any of these things bar the first let us know, so we can take you off the mailing list.

Grand May Day Gala at the CONWAY HALL, Sat. May 3  
Rock Venue!! For further information contact us at Haverstock Hill

Direct Action paper of the Syndicalist Workers' Federation. AIT/IWA. A year's subscription £1 (Britain) £1.50 abroad. Cheques and P.O.s to be made payable to Direct Action, c/o Grassroots, 109, Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

**'SECOND OF JUNE MOVEMENT'**

"Was the kidnapping of Herr Lorenz (which has occupied so much press space and has been universally attributed by the media to the Anarchists) really carried out by Anarchists? If so, what on earth made them choose to go to authoritarian Yemen?"

To understand the background of the case one must bear in mind first the Nazi background of the police and the fact that the generation gap in Germany is heightened by the irreconcilable split between those who reject everything that Nazism stood for and those who hanker for the old days. Secondly that the police and politicians can never refer to urban guerrillas as "Marxists" even if they use the term themselves - because Marxism is part of the Establishment - Marxist-Leninism in East Germany, Marx's own party in West Germany.

The fact that all who resist bitterly against Nazi relics in the State, and the strengthening of the new capitalist State, are labelled "Anarchists" - especially if young, and whether favouring guerrilla action or not - is an inducement to many to call themselves (or allow themselves to be called) Anarchists. even if they would have little constructive idea as to what it meant.

There is too a movement - similar to the SLA (which we have discussed in these columns) or in some ways the Black Panthers and the Weathermen and sections of the Basque movement and others, - which accepts the anarchist criticism of nationalism and the State (including its criticism of Marxist-Leninism) as well as the beauty of the anarchist idea, but feels only that "discipline" "organisation" "the party" or "the military force" can deliver the goods (which in practice is taken to mean that Marxist-Leninism - or rather Blanquism, but they do not understand this - or some variation like Che Guevara-ism - delivers the goods).

In practice, of course, this is never the case. "Military" methods always fail, for the simple reason that an Army is something that is built for a specific purpose i.e. mass confrontation under conditions in which nobody would normally advance. In retreat, in difficulty or against superior odds, an army is broken down into small units - which take their very name from the "guerillas" of Spain.

The "RAF" The Red Army Faction was the result of student intoxication with the slogans of 1968. They felt they had "the people on their side and that they could "organise" militarily. In building it the "organisers" felt contempt for anarchism and emulated "Red Army" sloganising which was its reverse. It was this which led to an authoritarian structure and alienated workers who felt they were dealing with mixed-up students; the first wave of repression alienated student mass support and the "academics" who felt that it all gave licence to the police to carry out mass attacks. As a result the RAF was isolated and persecuted, but because of its persecution defence committees mushroomed (including both Marxists and Anarchists) and the forming of Red Help, Black Red, Red Aid and Black Cross committees. The reactionary press labelled them all "anarchists".

These events meant that the new anarchist movement absorbed some former supporters of the "Baader-Meinhof" circle. In particular, many in prison re-digested their thinking. As the anarchist movement had a greater working class content than the Marxist groups, largely student, it was natural that many of the latter gravitated to anarchism though still

in a state of mental fermentation. There was therefore a sharp discussion within the anarchist movement which centred on the attitude to the "RAF".

But this of course does not alter the fact that it was the selfless actions of the "RAF" that gave the class enemy a fright. Its over-reaction has shown how vulnerable is the Nazi mentality. Had someone only shown some fight like this in 1933!

**What was the June 2nd Movement?**

The June 2nd Movement is a successor group to (not necessarily approved by) the "RAF"\* - the name in remembrance of one of the many victims of the German police, Benno Ohnsorg, killed at a students' demonstration (2nd June 1967).

While we disagree with the Guevarism of the June 2nd movement we must admire the determination they had in trying to secure the release of prisoners who had been tortured in some cases for up to two years, deprived of sensory experiences and being turned slowly into vegetables. The police state of West Germany considers itself liberal only by the standards of Nazi times, in which its senior officers were trained. The irresponsibility of the June 2nd movement was seen in many of its attacks; however it has seldom been given credit for its responsibility, in the best sense of the word, in resisting the legal order to open up Ulrike Meinhoff's brain for surgery to "determine" her mental state (which could have made her into a lunatic). The prosecutor who signed the order was given a sharp reminder in the blowing up of his house; and a similar nudge to the surgeon ready to carry out the order reminded him of his Hippocratic oath.

The kidnapping of Herr Lorenz on 2nd March this year triggered off a search involving five helicopters, 200 police patrol cars and 10,000 policemen. The East German DDR broadcast that the People's Police would do all in its power to co-operate. Lorenz's chauffeur identified Angela Luther (fugitive Baader-Meinhof supporter as taking part in the kidnapping. (In parenthesis it may be said the high number of women involved in guerrilla actions has upset the "male chauvinism" of the State-worshippers almost as much as the "anarchism").

24 hours later the group claimed responsibility for what was a well-thought-out campaign (nobody could deny them that) and demanded the release of Horst Mahler (lawyer), Verena Becker (telephonist), Gabriele Krocher-Tiedemann (sociology student), Ingrid Siepmann (pharmaceutical assistant), Rolf Heitzler (student), Rolf Pohle (lawyer). It is not known why Andreas Baader or Ulrike Meinhof were not included.

Mahler, however, who had joined the Maoist K.P.D., "Red Aid", refused to be released. He was allowed to appear on TV to denounce the June 2nd movement. The June 2nd movement added to its list to be freed two workers, Gerhard Jagdmann (building worker) and Ettore Canella (an Italian "guest worker") arrested for resisting the police during the demonstrations against the death on hunger strike of Holger Meins. But this was a gesture to the anarchist workers: neither were facing severe enough charges to want to take advantage of the offer. In the event, the German State was forced to accept the offer and release Lorenz against the release of the others on the first list.

They had this lingering idea of the "revolutionary state" somewhere which would accept them - gradually the dreams of Cuba and Algeria and North Korea all vanished and they

cont. p.4.



# ROON 'N' ABOUT

Mrs. Kellett Bowman MP complaining about the legislation in favour of the Clay Cross councillors, and vigorously defending the point of view of the "law and order" lobby, threw some coins from her handbag at the Attorney General, Mr. Sam Silkin, but struck one of his law officers, Mr. Davidson, in the eye instead.

She apologised to Mr. Davidson pointing out she had not meant to hit him, but his boss.

No action has been taken against Mrs. Kellett Bowman but in the course of a similar political demonstration some years ago — not, of course, in the House of Commons — a young friend of mine threw some coins at political opponents. One of them struck a policeman — not in the eye, but glanced off his arm.

He was charged with obstructing the police, assaulting the police and possessing an offensive weapon (the coins). Had he struck the policeman in the eye he would have been charged with causing actual bodily harm as well. So indeed the magistrate pointed out. The excuse that he did not mean to hit the policeman was not accepted. He was sentenced to three months imprisonment, which incidentally caused the loss of his job and flat and put his family on social security.

Has the law been changed? Or are MPs above it? Or can the case of Mrs. Kellett Bowman be regarded as a precedent? Best not rely on the latter, but it may be worth bringing up.

**Tools of the Trade** cont. from p.5  
are "mad". (Witness the attempt to operate on the brain of Ulrike Meinhof). But what drives someone to become a policeman? The Times reports that police marksmen describe themselves "wryly" as "legalised assassins" (why "wryly" — that IS what they are), and that "failure to pass the course has a strange effect on many officers, who, though not anxious to carry a gun, feel that their manhood has been found wanting". One policeman who failed told the Times (3.2.75) "I never want to be in a position to shoot anyone, but somehow I feel that I am letting the side down and I am not as good as my mates". Is it sane to fight against freedom? What is the psychology of State violence? P.R.

**'Second of June Movement'** cont. from p.3  
shopped around the "Arab revolutionaries" until finally Yemen — to help out the German Government not them — took them in . . . and promptly served them with a notice to go. At the present time their whereabouts are unknown. What seemed the "sectarianism" of the Anarchists proved, in fact, to them to be a practical point. But it was too late to learn there are no free countries only some less repressive than others, and these are not to be found in the Marxist-Leninist lands.

Most anarchists felt that the June 2nd should have had the foresight to include in their demands one against terroristic counter-measures by the police against the movement which had no share in the formation of the strategy or demands of the June 2nd activists. As it was, there were house searches and arrests throughout West Germany and Berlin. Anarchists were rounded up by hundreds, mailing lists, documents and literature confiscated, houses broken open and people evicted from them.

In view of the extreme violence of the press campaign against the Anarchist movement — unequalled since the press whipped up the persecution of the Jews — it may be seen that the class enemy has received a traumatic shock. Yet in anarchist circles there has been, despite regret at the authoritarianism implicit in many of the RAF and 2nd June tactics,

States big business Tory spokesman for policy and research Mrs. Thatcher's second-in-command "Randite" Sir Keith Joseph: "two great dangers now face this country. One is over-government; the other anarchy."

What is "over-government"? It is the intervention of government in business. But it is all right to suppress the workers by government: "the community is more vulnerable than ever before to the oppression of small organised groups who can hold society to ransom." Bet your life the "small organised groups" aren't businessmen, but workers. The dilemma of "this evil threat to our freedom" (London Evening News March 21) is not, says Sir Keith, "insoluble".

"Parliament must remain free to enact emergency legislation which would have the effect of suspending certain provisions of the Bill of Rights". Free to tyrannise. But it should "give objectors the opportunity of appearing before a committee of the Commons to state their objections". This has in fact already been done. By John Hampden and others, standing up to the *divine rights* of Charles I. Must we now go before the "select committee" to stand up to the *divine rights* of Parliament?

A couple of thugs went to the East London kiosk run by Alfie Cohen, "the Hole in the Wall" and murdered him for the few quid they found there. They were sentenced to life, and four years, respectively. They missed his £112,000 savings. Immediately the Inland Revenue claimed £44,700 for death duties. Then they entered suit for £61,000 — alleged unpaid income tax, arbitrarily decided in the absence of books and based on the fact that this was all that was left. If a few quid is left over for the relatives after they have instructed solicitors to contest the claim, they will be extremely lucky.

Poor old miser. Better to have thrown it out of the window!

Alfie worked night and day all his life and thought of nothing else but building up his nest egg. One pair of thieves missed it. Another State-organised group of thieves got it.

respect at the human courage and real spirit of solidarity shown by them. In spite of disagreements, anarchists have maintained their aid for victims of counter-revolutionary terror and — after a period of unbalanced orientation by the impact of marxist dialectics spiced by anarchist flavouring, in the process of consolidating itself and clarifying its anarchism.

Information ex-I.A.T.

A.M. & J.O.

Footnote

\* *Freedom* — anxious nowadays, to dissociate itself from anything that moves — hastened to say that *Black Flag* had described "June 2nd" as anarchist but pointed to its asking for asylum for the released in authoritarian countries. If one must say, however, that it cannot be in the anarchist movement because of its as yet unresolved conflicts between libertarianism and Guevarism, both the pacifist and quietist tendencies must be regarded as far beyond the pale. It is certainly "in" the anarchist movement in that its supporters are probably all in anarchist groups of one sort or another; though not in the sense in which hardly any of the anarchist groups would agree with them. Had we been asked to negotiate the release we would certainly not have thought there was any favour in going to Yemen when an amnesty might equally have been asked.

# TOOLS OF THE TRADE

It is a popular belief that the British police are unarmed. Yet the "Times" (3.2.75) has estimated that more than "10,000 officers through out the country are qualified to shoot". And that "in London, including Heathrow Airport, at least 200 men are 'tooled up' a policeman's expression for carrying a gun, at any time of day or night."

"During periods of intense police activity, especially against terrorists, that figure is more than doubled."

Taken as an isolated incident this "revelation" may not seem so important. But the fact of 400 armed policemen appearing on London streets at the drop of a police-chief's hat (and considerable numbers throughout the rest of the country) is not quite so isolated as at first might be supposed. It is part of a much wider (and systematic) build up of the state's strength which has been steadily conducted over a period of years — aimed, not simply at combating "terrorist" outbreaks, but at providing the "third force" (legally, as opposed to the "unofficial" armies of Walker, Stirling & CO.), in the "counter subversion" schemes of reactionaries like Major General Richard Clutterbuck.

Clutterbuck stresses three ingredients necessary for the success of any counter revolutionary offensive:

- (1) Good military intelligence.
- (2) Propaganda and the manipulation of the media.
- (3) A para-military "Third Force".

The nearest force to this third ingredient at present in existence is the Special Patrol Group set up by the police to cover demonstrations "at which militant elements were thought likely to cause disorder".

The SPG made its public debut by gunning-down two Pakistani demonstrators inside the Indian High Commission on 20 February 1973. Since then it has been used almost exclusively against strike pickets, political demonstrations and raids on the homes of militants (to gather information). In 1972 alone, the SPG stopped 16,340 people on the street and stopped and searched 25,640 vehicles. It is also believed that the SPG's own vehicles carry automatic weapons.

Since the introduction of the SPG, another (armed) group has been set up in London by the police in order to "protect" foreign embassies from possible "terrorist attacks". But a policeman with a gun is able to shoot any target if he is ordered to, not just the occasional terrorist bogey man. What does the excuse matter for the state as long as the result is more guns for the police.

Whilst these groups are permanently armed, "ordinary" policemen also receive arms training and can be issued with arms simply on the signing of a piece of paper by their local Chief Constable. However, the standard of training given throughout the country is dependant upon the initiative and/or enthusiasm of local police authorities and is therefore inevitably poorer in some areas of the country than others. To overcome this unevenness in fighting efficiency a Home Office report, aimed at standardising the training of "police marksmen" is at present in preparation. Already a number of techniques based on experience gained in Northern Ireland have been incorporated into police training courses.

Most of the existing weapons training in the police is given on army firing ranges under the supervision of military experts. And generally, co-operation between the army and the police, is on the increase.

Hull and Birmingham are two amongst many British cities which have seen combined police/army raids on the homes of militants. In the case of the raids in Birmingham (carried out on black militants in the Handsworth area of the city)

the Special Air Service (SAS) took part. Perhaps the most blatant of these 'rehearsals' has been the series of operations around Heathrow Airport — supposedly to meet guerrilla attacks (which never materialised) — designed to test public reaction to the sight of soldiers and armed police policing English streets.

During a hi-jacking of an airliner from Manchester in January police and army marksmen were rushed to Stanstead airport to await the landing of the plane. Peter Shore, the Secretary of State for Trade, asked if the "Security Forces" were prepared to shoot the hi-jackers, replied: "we were ready for all contingencies including that one" (Times 9.1.71). In overall charge of the operation was Police Commissioner Robert Mark, whose rapid promotion (startling even colleagues in the police) followed a tour of duty with the Special Branch as a Detective Sergeant . . . The Times also revealed that Prime Minister Wilson was present in a "secret operations room that had been established in Whitehall for such emergencies" (and also, perhaps, "emergencies" like a general strike . . .)

What degree of control the military may have over future combined operations of this nature is yet to be decided. Bitter rivalry exists between the police and army on this point. The police have always jealously guarded their independence from external controls. They prefer to give the orders, not take them.

On 27 November, 1973 the Deputy Chief Constable of Birmingham (Peter Bellamy) stated that what the police needed was a tactical reserve of specially trained men to deal with civil disturbances: "the other alternative is a mobile constabulary under military control" (Grapevine, January 1974).

It is unlikely that the people in Britain (owing to their traditional distrust of militarism in "peacetime") would accept a military dictatorship without a fight. What is more likely to happen if the present trends continue is that a police state will come into existence instead. Already we have "Draco" Jenkins's "emergency powers" of search and detention (which were waiting 18 months to be introduced). Voices were heard again in the Commons on 26 February (during a debate on "subversion") also calling for even wider powers to be given to the police in order to protect them from criticism.

The function of a political police force has already been defined by one of its most ardent pioneers:

"... an institution which carefully supervises the political health of the body politic, which is quick to recognise all symptoms of disease and germs of destruction — be they the result of disintegration from within or purposeful poisoning from without — and to remove them by every suitable means.

To discover the enemies of the state, to watch them and to render them harmless at the right moment is the preventive police duty of a political police. In order to fulfil this duty the political police must be free to use every means suited to achieve this required end."

This is how Dr. Werner Best, Heydrich's deputy in the Gestapo described political police in 1936. In arming themselves with guns and the "rule of law" the British Police are merely conforming to type.

Finally, "insight" investigations into "the mind of the terrorist" are familiar sights in the papers. There is always someone eager to "prove" that people who fight for freedom

cont. on page 4



# WHO ARE THE CRIMINALS?

Institutions are the hallmark of authoritarian society. The worst of their institutions is the prison which supposedly presents a solution to the problems of those who are found guilty of breaking certain laws. Anarchists have always abhorred prison for the inhuman and useless thing that it is. We have had comrades locked in prison whose only offence is to have offended the State, whilst in prison libertarians note the degradation of the system that "solves" its problems by locking people away.

In Britain today there are a number of organisations which campaign around the issue of prison. On the right is the Howard League for Penal Reform which is "close to the Home Office" together with the State financed National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO), this the brain-child of so-called progressive Conservatives. Then the NCCL takes up the issue of prison from time to time and deals with individual situations occasionally. These are the safe, reformist groups concerned with penal reform and only one ex-prisoner is known to work for the three organisations put together. Something of their image can be calculated from the NACRO newspaper, "Frontsheet" which is distributed free to all prisoners and was launched by Princess Anne.

There are a number of radical groups however of more interest in this area. PROP (Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners) is perhaps the best known. Full members of PROP have to be prisoners or ex-cops but associated membership is open to anyone sympathetic with the aims of PROP, such as this writer. Recently in "Wildcat" 5, Ian Cameron criticised PROP and in particular Ted Ward the London Organiser whilst at the same time writing: "It's important that those who are prepared to make efforts are shown every encouragement". Cameron's particular grouse was that PROP did not produce a regular publication, thus demonstrating a significant ignorance of the situation since PROP publishes a monthly entitled "Prisoners Voice". If Cameron hadn't known this at the time he wrote the article he could have found out easily by ringing PROP. Not that PROP is beyond criticism or Ted Ward — but it is clear that the impact of the organisation in the public mind is

that it is the only credible voice of the prisoner, recognised as such increasingly by the institutions of the State.

Other groups in existence include Up Against The Law who publish a fairly libertarian journal of the same name and Radical Alternatives to Prison (RAP) which was founded in 1970 and works towards the eventual abolition of prison: it is a Christian Action project, although membership does not involve any religious commitment. Then there are two recently established groups: the Prisoners' Wives Union founded in 1973 by the wife of a long term prisoner, and a split from the PWU called the Prisoners, Families and Friends Association which is more politically orientated. Interestingly the split involved something of a Womens Liberation issue. The PWU campaigns for conjugal rights for imprisoned husbands with their wives whilst the PFFA is more in favour of an extension of parole and insists that unmarried men inside should also have conjugal rights. The extension to homosexual relationships was clearly a possibility also except there is no lack of such provision in gaol anyway.

Finally are the overtly political partisan groups such as the Prisoners Aid Committee which works on behalf of Irish

prisoners in British prisons, the Stoke Newington Defence Group which provides assistance for five young people imprisoned after the Angry Brigade Trials, the Free the Shrewsbury Two group which campaigns on behalf of the two jailed building workers' pickets, a number of groups which spring up when black militants are imprisoned and, of course, the Anarchist Black Cross which has a more international position.

Around prison are the hangers on from the system; there are the probation officers organised into the National Association of Probation Officer and the various after care facilities: 'half-way' houses and hostels etc. One particular area of prison life is covered by Recidivists Anonymous organised on the lines of Alcoholics Anonymous for those who spend their lives in and out of prison and another by the Portia Trust which campaigns for women who take away other women's babies.

Crime is a huge business in fact, for the courts with their solicitors and barristers, the police, the prison screws, the institutes for young offenders etc., added to all that has gone before owe their existence to the fact of prison. The lives wrecked, the misery of those parted, the boring pointlessness of gaol: these are among the real crimes and the real criminals are those who perpetrate such a system.

Yet this system has gone a bit too far of late. The introduction of prison control units into Wakefield and Wormwood Scrubs prisons has aroused a united voice of reformists, radicals and revolutionaries in condemnation of the segregation units. They were known about in June 1974 by a few insiders who hesitated before speaking out against them, swallowing the Home Office line that control units were for 'troublemakers'. Finally in October after three people had been put into control units the "Sunday Times" broke the story of the experiment in intensive solitary confinement which was being put into practise. Peoples News Service (16.11.74) then produced the story of Michael Williams, one of the men (black, incidentally) in the Wakefield prison control unit. It became clear that Williams was not a 'troublemaker' at all which was supposed to be the case with those in control units but he'd been carefully selected as a guinea pig to try out the experiment in sensory deprivation. 90 days solitary, followed by a further 90 days of restricted solitary, with the snag that any prisoner found to be unco-operative went back to day one in the first 90 day period to begin all over again. Thus the solitary could be never-ending.

In the light of the development of control units in prison John McGuffin's excellent Penguin on the experiments in Northern Ireland on internees called "The Guineapigs" confirms the view of those who maintain that British officials are trying out in Northern Ireland methods they will adopt on the mainland later. Information on the treatment of members of the Red Army Fraction in Germany learnt more weight to the view that the State had fallen in love with its latest refinement of torture: solitary confinement with deliberate deprivation of the senses. The long term effects on the mental health of a victim of this treatment are now known and they are usually along the lines of permanent mental damage. Stanley Cohen writing in "New Society" (14.11.74) concluded that prisons were likely to get worse and reviewed the "new thinking" on prison: "the system has been forced to accommodate to an increasing number of highly politically conscious prisoners" he wrote and went on to examine the use of psychiatry in prison aversion "therapy", in America brain surgery, use of drugs and electrical control

cont. on p. 7

# '...only a few Intellectuals'

"We seldom have articles like the one on Anarchism and the South Wales miners. Frankly I know more about the history of the Spanish or the Russian movements than I do about the British... Most of the historians one consults tend to assume that British anarchism has no history. The snippets one gets sometimes in other papers whets the appetite but none of them ever trouble to go deep — just a bit of self-advertisement as if they existed in a void..."

So say letters resulting from our article on Anarchism and the Welsh Miners. I have followed it up in this issue on one concerning Anarchism and the West of Scotland. Also scheduled to appear as a separate book is the pre-announced "Anarchists in London" (which will refer to anarchism in the rest of the country, too and I hope may bridge the gap between some of the published references to anarchism in the past, and the present time).

Most historians deliberately overlook working class movements unless they make a decided, successful impact and become noteworthy. Working-class theoreticians who express and formulate theories are totally ignored as of no consequence: what they say is attributed to the next available "Intellectual"... (e.g. published works on British anarchism, such as they are never fail to mention Herbert Read who played a very small part in the periphery of the movement; totally omitting every single theoretician the movement produced between the wars).

An interesting comment may be seen in George Lichtheim's "History of Socialism" published as a Penguin where he explains that anarchism was too "romantic" a movement to be influential in Germany where only a "few intellectuals" espoused it.

He echoes the generally held argument of the bourgeois intellectual that the hardened German workers had no use for the "romance" of anarchism as compared with the lightheaded Latins (Mr. Lichtheim is not a German for nothing!) But police records tell us another story. Just as the Social Register said there were only "Four Hundred" people in New York — when (as O. Henry pointed out) a fairer analysis was the Census which said there were four million — the German police — from Bismarck to Hitler — told quite a different story

**Who are the Criminals?** (cont. from p.6) are all being tried or advocated. Significantly, perhaps, MIND at first associated itself with the Control Units Action Group which includes NACRO, NCCL and PROP but quickly withdrew after internal pressure from reactionary psychiatrists.

Michael Williams is fighting back as a result of the outside pressure on the Home Office about Control Units. He has been visited by Bill Nash, legal officer with the NCCL and Nash was instructed by Williams to prepare proceedings against the Home Office declaring the control unit system illegal. Graham Zellick, lecturer in Law at Queen Mary College is reported in the "Morning Star" (4.11.74) as contending that the control units break the prisons own rules and amount to battery (roughly this means assault). For individuals legal technicalities may be important but it is the thinking behind control units which needs exposing: that is the breaking of the human will by methods amounting to torture. It is prison that needs to be exposed: it is the criminality of the State which we must show to people for then they will reject it and its methods of maintaining oppression and misery.

There is a pamphlet produced by PROP entitled "A Prisoner With no Family" in which the wife of a prisoner describes the plight of those in the "invisible prison".

from Mr. Lichtheim. They listed hundreds, and even thousands, of anarchists — only a few of them "intellectuals"!

These records have been preserved, for any fair historian. After the fall of the Reich the Allies microfilmed the whole of the SS records. Not only are the Munich police files (relating to the Munich Commune, and with material on Landauer and Muehsam) now in the Rehse Collection of the Library of Congress, the archives of the German Foreign Office located at Bonn have documentation on the period 1892/1919 and are described in the Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry (in Ann Arbor and Washington). This contains a great deal of information on German surveillance of anarchism throughout the world.

In the Bundesarchiv of the SS however, a full nine volumes of documents dealing with the anarchist movement up to the period 1928/38, have been preserved. There are details of arrest, search of domicile, confiscation of libraries, records of the FAUD and other anarcho-syndicalist bodies, surveillance of suspected anarchists and also the international surveillance of which the Nazi police were a part. These records have been microfilmed with the other SS records seized in 1945 and are held in Washington. (Guide to German Records microfilmed at Alexandra Va.) The Staatsarchiv in Hamburg has "fifteen feet of shelf space" on anarchism and anarchist activity, as well as a three volume "Anarchist Album" with the photos of 1163 anarchists, states the Newsletter of European Working Class History (published by the University of Southern California)... not bad for "hard-headed" Germany, Mr. Lichtheim!

The records in Eastern Germany are even more vast as they contain material from Communist sources about anarchism. "In the Staatsarchiv Potsdam are located the files of the Police Presidium Berlin, to which all information on anarchism was sent and from which all measures taken against the anarchists emanated". Not only would careful research tell us much about European anarchism, it would also tell us a lot about "international police surveillance" and how the Nazis worked with the international police.

Albert Meltzer

outside. She then describes the position of her son: "The loss of his father did not have an immediate effect on my son, possibly because he was so young at the time, just over two. His reactions were probably partially due to mine, though not entirely. He began to associate his father with sorrow, that the mention of him made me unhappy. He began to have nightmares always resulting in him crying bitterly for his father. His behaviour at nursery changed; whereas before he mixed freely with the other children, I was told that now he would isolate himself to a corner and be found to be talking to his daddy."

There seems to be a move by the Home Office to run down the Control Units but until they are dismantled the Control Units Action Group needs to remain in operation. Pressure on the Government to clearly state that they will not be used again is required as no official statement has been made to this effect.

It hardly needs to be stressed that any Government under pressure would reintroduce control units and that the only sure way of doing away with the inhumanity of experiments in psychological torture is to abolish prisons and with them the structure of the State.

J.W.



# ANARCHISM

## in the West of Scotland

A Glimpse of Working Class History.

Many older anarchists used to speak affectionately of Fred and Amy Macdonald who were active in anarchist propaganda in the West of Scotland as far back as a hundred years ago. Fred was a German baker who had been intimately connected with the International and with the Anarchist workers' faction in Germany that sided with Bakunin. (Fred, who died about 1912 always used Amy's name; his own is not known to me). They formed a circle which met in their tiny flat somewhere in Bridgeton. Whether it was the first Anarchist group in the West of Scotland I have no idea; but its existence shows that anarchist propaganda there well exceeds a century.

As it was a working class movement we have no historical record of it, since records as a rule exist of successful working class organisations or of bourgeois intellectuals who make sure they leave records behind (it is true that today this 'rule' is being altered). For many years Amy (who lived until 1935) used to tell of the old days when the solitary bands of Anarchists used to speak at the Green and elsewhere and sometimes be pulled from their platforms or chased by angry crowds of excited Christians disturbed at hearing their superstitions mocked. Their attacks on the Liberal M.P.s (the dominant in the West of Scotland) were the first to crack the gigantic edifice parliamentary radicalism had built up among the workers. Among well known propagandists of the libertarian idea was James Dick, who was in the old Socialist League.

There were other socialist groups apart from the Anarchists of course; and Glasgow led the way in socialist education and understanding. The Independent Labour Party was strong there from its foundation — with its dour emphasis on socialism — in contrast to the Social Democratic Federation which tried at least to introduce a bit of gaiety (with the Clarion Club movement and so on). It is said that once Keir Hardie turned up at a S.D.F., meeting where he was invited to give a fraternal address from the I.L.P. — he was perturbed to find it upstairs in a pub but horrified when he got up there to find the debauched scene — not merely socialists drinking but ladies smoking! He turned and fled, thinking he was in a brothel. Asked on one occasion what he thought of Anarchism, he said he was only once in an anarchist meeting "and the language was terrible . . . I didn't stop to listen". Yet he was several times on the platform with Peter Kropotkin, whose language may be assumed to have been proper.

Between the pioneer days of Fred and Amy and the exciting period before the first world war, when revolutionary syndicalism made so great an impact on the West of Scotland, (with the Syndicalist movement proper, the IWWs, the dissident Wobs who formed a second organisation here, and the anarcho-syndicalist grouping) there must have been an upsurge of the anarchist idea in the West of Scotland. Perhaps somebody will research it one day: a huge number of working class militants must have been anarchists, as one can judge by these activists who later switched into other parties and thus by their defection provide a yardstick as to how wide the movement must have been. (e.g. John Maclean always denounced William Gallacher — later Communist MP — for having been a "recent recruit" to Marxism from anarcho-syndicalism and having only gone over when there was a Bolshevik bandwagon to jump on, always implying he had clung to the movement he left merely for popularity).

Guy Aldred, a Londoner, saw very clearly in the pre-war period that Glasgow was to be the libertarian hotbed and at first tried to divide his activity between Shepherd's Bush (always his stomping ground in London) and Glasgow, later devoting his whole time to Glasgow. He was an anarchist but had differences with some in the anarchist movement of his day (especially with the Rudolf Rocker circle — a personal and family difference, as Rocker was in fact his brother-in-law). He tended therefore to call himself a revolutionary socialist, or sometimes a "Bakuninist" ("Marx expressed the social revolution but Bakunin lived it") combining both Marxism and Anarchism. He pioneered Council-Communism in this country and his long propagandism for the form of council-communism in which virtually there is not much difference between those from a Marxist and those from an Anarchist tradition was long and tireless, despite his constant battle against poverty (he relied entirely on his lectures and sales of literature for a living). That at the end of his life Aldred tended to capitulate in some of the ideas he had expressed all his life was due entirely to the fact that he was totally worn out by the struggle and poverty.

The anarchist movement which had been noticeably strong in the pre-world war period did not fold up, though most of its members did in Glasgow accept the Bolshevik myth for a time. This was probably due to the expressive propagandism of John Maclean — one of the few honest socialist leaders — who combined standard-bearing of the Russian Revolution (which he thought had triumphed) with criticisms of Lenin and his authoritarian centralism. It was thought by many that it was possible to defend the gains of the Russian revolution while not accepting Lenin's triumph — something which with only small hindsight seems a tall proposition — but Glasgow was of course during the whole of the war and its aftermath in a bubbling state of revolution of its own — tanks being brought down the streets to curb the workers even after the war — and its factory form of organisation was at times almost able to surpass the achievements of the Russian workers in bringing down tsarism — and it would have been difficult to have imposed a party dictatorship on the Lenin model there, in the circumstances prevailing.

Several Englishmen went north, attracted by the numbers of Anarchists with their roots in working class organisation — one being George Ballard, of Bristol — who (as "George Barrett") became a fluent speaker for the Anarchist cause in Glasgow, and also edited "The Voice of Labour", a syndicalist weekly. Among the Scots who came to London were James Dick, James Murray, Florence Stephen and several others who helped to build up the anarchist influence in the syndicalist movement of pre-world war I. Florence Stephen (author of "Suffrage or Syndicalism") later moved into trade union activity among women shop assistants helping John Turner (secretary and pioneer of the Shop Assistants Union and one time editor of Freedom).

### The Miners

As in South Wales, the miners were particularly receptive to Anarchist ideas. It is interesting to note that on one occasion Peter Kropotkin went to Blantyre and Burnbank to speak to the miners there.

# THREE WORLDS IN ONE

Anarchists tend not to frequent "Movement" circles and thus also tend not to be up on the current "in" terms, the proper jargon so to speak, of the Movement. We therefore initiate a lexicographical analysis of a current term in popular, in this case on is tempted to say eternal, use in The Movement.

Our featured term is "Third World". The Third World is to be distinguished from both the First and Second Worlds, the former being the imperialist countries of the advanced western world and the latter being the imperialist countries of the Soviet Empire (now in a state of decay), on several grounds. Chief among these distinctions is that of colour: Third World countries are presumed not to be white: which is an evil colour. Yet, Japan is generally included in the First World, this despite the fact that most Japanese are not white, being generally of somewhat yellowish tinge, though no less courageous than other colours for all that. This raises fresh difficulties. Clearly, the criterion of colour is insufficient. Thus added to it is the notion of underdevelopment. Third World countries are those which are underdeveloped and prey to ravage by the imperialist countries. However, if this is the case, then one can not justifiably exclude the Irish, Spanish, Bulgarian, Albanian, Italian etc., nations from designation as the Third World. This is made all the clearer when one considers such nations as Chile or Argentina, which are scarcely that different

cont. p. 15

### Anarchism in the West of Scotland

The memory of Kropotkin's visit stayed with the miners of Lanarkshire. Anarchism did not die there until two or three whole generations had passed away. Even during the second world war it was possible for anarchists to go and speak to the Burnbank miners — I did myself — and received a warm welcome. They were old veterans. Like the South Wales libertarian miners, they warmly supported the anarchist movement even though in practice they had to accept the existence of socialist and communist leaderships. They belonged to the miners' lodge and allowed the Labour and Communist nominees to struggle for the jobs of parliamentary representation. They did not have a distinctive culture from the working class culture of the time and merged into their background; they would have been the irreducible backbone of the movement had it obtained strength in the rest of the country. As it was they had little contact except by "literature" — and that contact was broken when (as in the case of the South Wales miners — see Black Flag No. 17) bourgeois pacifist and liberal ideas began to infiltrate in the more formally constituted anarchist movement in complete alienation to anything in which they were interested.

However it was not the same situation as in South Wales where the anarchists movement became so informally constituted and so identified with its background that it lost its identity among the advancing state socialist organisations. On the contrary, it was sharply sectarian. The "Solidarity" group (no connection between any of the Glasgow "Solidarity" groups — 1 there were three succeeding each other — or the present group using the name) went to the extreme of rejecting not only parliamentary but trade union activity: they refused to join unions, and this in highly organised industries like shipbuilding and car making. Some of them maintained this attitude as late as the thirties — I remember some of the Scots comrades even at Ford's of Dagenham maintaining their "conscientious objection" to trade unionism like any Jehovah's Witnesses. It is interesting to note (for those who think that trade unionists are necessarily bigoted in these matters) that

economically from, for example, Ireland or Spain.

Generally this problem is overcome by calling these white nations "oppressed" but not Third World. A fresh difficulty arises, however, since in fact the people of Argentina and Chile, for example, are largely of Italian and Spanish descent, and if they are to be classified as Third World, then there is no meaningful reason to exclude Spain and Italy as Third World. Moreover, it cannot be objected that in the South American countries there has been extensive interbreeding with indigenous Indian populations, since, in fact, in Spain there has been much interbreeding with African and Arabic invaders in so many instances. Much the same is also true of large parts of Italy, and in Chile it is said that many of the people retained virtually pure European descent. Thus, it would seem that exactly what the term Third World is to apply to is quite unclear.

Our difficulties are by no means at an end, however. What is one to make of, for example, American blacks? These people are less well off than their white compatriots, but much better off than those of their colour remaining in other lands. (We ignore such less important facts as the strong racial antagonism between American and African blacks and the blacks of the Caribbean Islands). And what of the American Indian? Here is a curious case. Nor does it do to call them an oppressed national minority and thus, by virtue of their colour, Third World, for in other countries

their fellow workers always perfectly understood their position, not only accepting them as militants but even in some cases (quite against the rule book) as shop stewards.

The association of anarchists and council-communists, in the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, in particular (founded by Aldred, but he later left it to form his own organisation the United Socialist Movement) went on until the late thirties (publishing Solidarity and the Fighting Call). Then it became specifically anarchist again, chiefly influenced by Frank Leech, one of the most tireless propagandists the British anarchist movement has known. He was a burly ex-Navy boxer, whose work couldn't be measured. He spoke week after week to audiences of never less than a thousand — for a long time he spoke in the open air every Sunday afternoon and again in a hall — with several hundreds attending — in the evening. He organised a press, he helped in factory gate meetings and factory organisation, started an anarchist bookshop and a meeting hall, and gave untold help to the German anarchist movement in the late thirties as well as to the Spanish movement.

During the war the movement seemed to grow rapidly, but it was disorganised despite its growth. There were two very brilliant speakers Jimmy Raeside and Eddie Shaw. Their views on anarchism were original: they described themselves as Conscious Egoists and Stirnerites but rejected the bourgeois individualism often associated with those ideas (e.g. shop factory committees were "unions of egoists"; anarcho-syndicalism was "applied egoism" and so on), which at any rate made old ideas sound new and which influenced many people at the time. The generation of Glasgow activists which followed on called themselves (some still do) Stirnerites, and it was this generation which gave the drive and continuity or revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist ideas to the influx of younger militants following the Scottish apprentices strike; the disillusionment with the Labour Party (Y.S.), and the political short-sightedness of the Committee of 100 in the early sixties.

Albert Meltzer.



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## NEW ZEALAND

**COMING OUT SOON.** Our comrades in New Zealand are going to produce a quarterly called *Anarchy* — (\$1 NZ for 4 issues). Suggest readers in NZ contact them to help produce the mag.

Write to *Anarchy* c/o 54 Buchanans Road, Christchurch 4 NZ. Will this be the first New Zealand anarchist magazine? There is a long history of libertarian publishing in Australia but no in NZ, where, however, there is a growing libertarian movement.

## BULGARIA

The Bulgarian Communist Party last year published a book "The Communist Party Fights Against Anarchism". It listed the activities of the Government in suppressing the working-class Resistance since taking power as well as dealing with the previous history of Anarchism in Bulgaria and its differences with Russian-style Communism.

It need hardly be supposed the story lost anything in the telling from the authoritarian side and that the Communist Party emerged shining St. Georges against the dragon of Anarchism. (The Bulgarian Anarchists in exile have written a pamphlet listing the inaccuracies and replying to the allegations). But the Government forgot one thing: they had claimed the dragon was long since dead, or better, had never existed. Now they were putting the facts of the Anarchist Resistance, in however distorted a fashion, before the Bulgarian people.

The book was a best-seller. It passed hands avidly. Copies vanished from bookstalls. Red-faced, as well as bloody-handed, the Communist Party censorship withdrew it from publication.

## AMERICA

Comrade Martin Sostre who was framed after a police drugs plant to compromise him following the Buffalo Riots of the late 60's has just received another conviction. This time the "charge" is resisting prison guards attempting to carry out repeated rectal examinations. We urge comrades and friends to do everything in their power to support Martin Sostre. One of the few things that is giving Martin the strength to carry on his struggle against the attempts of the authorities to break his spirit is the fact that he knows (and they know!) there are comrades all over the world behind him.

Letters should be sent to Commissioner Peter Preiser, Albany, New York, 12226 (protests from outside the USA are extremely useful). Also, the M.S. Defence Committee at P.O. Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York, 14205, are desperately in need of funds to continue the legal battle on behalf of comrade Martin Sostre.

A similar case is that of Eddy Sanchez who was jailed at 14 convicted of being a "sophisticated youth". Because of his repeatedly resisting prison attempts to "subdue" him — shock drug treatment, a planned lobotomy, physical attacks on him by prison guards and a knife assault — he is still behind bars at 25 and faces 4 life sentences plus seventy years on top of the five plus ten years he is serving for killing an assailant and threatening the U.S. Presidnet (from prison). Sanchez refuses to crawl out of prison a broken slave . . . again, only our support can save him from legal murder. For further details contact: General Defence Committee, IWW Toronto, Box 306 Stn E, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada.

## MEXICO

Since the early 60's there has been a fairly active guerrilla campaign conducted in the state of Guerrero in southwestern Mexico. The main organisers of the struggle against the Mexican Government\*, Genaro Vasquez Rojas and \*Lucio Cabanas, both teachers, began the campaign in the early 60's when they formed a revolutionary grouping known as the "Party of the Poor".

Both comrades were outlawed and were forced to take to the hills as a result of incidents during protests against Government education policies, such as the rule that students who could not afford to buy school uniforms would not be educated or allowed access to State schools.

Cabanas was one of the main organisers of resistance to these measures in Atoyac where he organised a number of anti-government demonstrations. During one of these street meetings a policeman who attempted to disperse the speakers and break up the meeting was attacked by an angry mother who stabbed the officer in the shoulder with a butcher's carving knife. The Federales panicked and opened fire on the demonstrators, killing eight people and wounding scores of others. Cabanas then decided reform was not the issue and took to the hills to join Vazquez.

The guerrilla army they formed was openly patterned after Emiliano Zapata (peasant leader of the 1910 Revolution who, advised his troops at the end of the war to bury their weapons because "a Government is a Government and we shall need them again. Follow no leaders, muchachos." Zapata was later assassinated by agents of the government he had reluctantly brought to power).

*From the Houston Post: Dec. 13, 1974:*

"Cabanas and his Party of the Poor claimed to rob the rich and help the poor. His alleged crimes include murder, kidnapping and bank robbery. His band probably never stronger than 250 hardcore followers was accused of assassinating the Acapulco police chief only two blocks from the police station and obtaining hundreds of thousands of dollars through kidnappings and robberies."

In fact, Mexican comrades report that Cabanas probably had fewer comrades than that, more like 50 or 75 than 250, but that the Federales had shown such cowardice and stupidity they padded their reports in order not to appear inept in the press. If one suffers 50% casualties after a fight with 250 "terrorists" it is understandable. If one anarchist school-teacher and six illiterate peasants armed with 30 year old carbines wipe out a platoon of the government's crack anti-guerrilla force armed with American M-16's, it looks like incompetence run wild. (M-16's are a terrible waste of ammunition, and they rarely turn up a dead enemy, Cabanas' comrades never left wounded friends behind. They had so many friends among the farmers that the Government troops never found an occupied camp — only deserted ones. Cabanas never claimed to be an anarchist, though he died fighting the State. Rumour has it that he paid his men better wages than in the highest paid industries — union guerrillas(?)).

\* Genaro Vasquez Rojas was killed in a car wreck during a guerrilla action in 1972.  
\* Lucio Cabanas was killed in a furious gunbattle near the village of Tecpan (75 miles north of Acapulco), on December 2, 1974. The struggle continues.

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## CHINA

The pamphlet "Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China" is available again, in yet another edition (now 15p). Doubleday Anchor have also published one of the novels of Pa Chin, "Family" (paperback £1.95) written in 1931 against the turmoils and struggles of the anarchist movement — though this translation is from the 1958 edition which was altered somewhat to suit the censorship.

In an introduction Olga Lang refers to Pa Chin's anarchist background and influence and the fact that he had to remove from his stories (under Mao) everything that revealed the anarchist identities of the characters "and even their sympathies: the titles of the books they read, quotations from anarchist authors, mention of their names".

Nevertheless in spite of Pa Chin's concessions to the dictatorship it did not accept him. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-8) — in reality a period of bitter reaction — Pa Chin was severely punished — even his books were burned at times though he was one of China's most popular writers.

"A most vicious attack was launched by the Shanghai newspaper *Wen-hui* on February 26, 1968. Pa Chin was denounced as the big literary tyrant 'and' the oldest, most notorious anarchist in China. 'In 1930 the newspaper said, he had vigorously attacked the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin but his real target was the Chinese Communist Party . . . he actually dared to point the spearhead of his attack on our most revered and beloved leader Chairman Mao. He really deserves to die ten thousand deaths for his crime."

Later the Red Guards raided Pa Chin's house "and destroyed his Chinese art objects as well as his library, which was said to contain one of the best collections of anarchist literature in the world . . . on June 20, 1968 Pa Chin was dragged to the People's Stadium of Shanghai. Those present and those who watched the scene on television saw him kneeling on broken glass and heard the shouts accusing him of being a traitor and enemy of Mao. They also heard him break his silence at the end and shout at the top of his voice "You have your thoughts and I have mine. This is the fact and you can't change it even if you kill me." Later he was sent to "labour for re-education" — but (unknown to Miss Lang) he was befriended by the workers who greatly respected him for his past and understood his recantations to be on the level of Galileo's. This was what helped him to survive. Now his books are again available, he has been allowed to return to "normal life". When you read the English version, however, remember the intense anarchist background of the protagonists: China's struggle in the 20's was for an anarchist society not for a communist dictatorship. The anarchist workers fought the war-lords, the Kuo-Min-Tang, the Communist Party and finally the Japanese imperialists. It is no wonder they were overwhelmed. But they must not be allowed to sink out of sight.

Internationalist.

## CONCERT/ GALA

at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, WC1  
(nearest tube station: Holborn)

SATURDAY, MAY 3rd

Profits to Anarchist Prisoners Everywhere & Spanish Resistance

## SAUDI ARABIA

A vicious superstitious murderer was killed by his nephew. The dead man was responsible for hundreds of deaths — often for minor reasons — not to mention decapitation and the cutting off of hands, legs or ears of live victims. He believed, in an excess of religious mania, that God allowed him to perform all this for the greater glory of both of them. Such was his power over his cult that he literally owned people — he was allowed to have slaves — and when he died at the hands of his nephew many men in his home town were said to be weeping. That may have well been politic — they could have lost their eyes otherwise.

For the dead criminal was King Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

His death at the hands of a prince will not, we understand, trigger off a world police reaction against princes of the blood.

## ITALY

Dear Friends,

In order to back up the international campaign for the release of Marini (carcere giudizario, 84100 Salerno, Italia) we have published two postcards: 1) addressed to Marini in prison with a message of solidarity and 2) addressed to the President of the Salerno Tribunal, Domenico Napolitano, protesting against the sentence of 12 years passed on our comrade for defending himself against thugs of the fascist M.S.I.

We hope these cards will demonstrate the feelings of the international anarchist movement to the Italian authorities, and also express our solidarity with Giovanni Marini behind bars.

Fraternally,

C.d.C. F.A.I.  
C.d.C. G.I.A.  
A rivista anarchica  
Umanita Nova  
Comitato Nazionale Marini

Le Refractaire,  
320 Rue Saint Martin  
75002 Paris.

The postcards cost 4p per pair (special rates for larger orders) and can be obtained from the Anarchist Black Cross (London). We ask all comrades to order these cards in some quantity for their local groups and friends.

Buffet open from 5 pm  
Small Hall from 5.30 pm  
Large Hall from 7.30 pm

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS



# LORENZO LOPEZ NOGUERO

Publication of my book "Franco's Prisoner" and Tellez's book "Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary", has meant the names of some of Spain's anarchist guerrilla fighters have become well known... the brothers Sabate, Facerías and others. These people were born fighters with tremendous courage. But the numbers were infinite. Among the hundreds that I knew personally there were ten I was particularly close to.

The first was Lorenzo Lopez Noguero. He was from Bilbao. When his home town fell to the fascists before the end of the civil war, his family took him across the border with them, where they settled in Nantes. Noguero was only a lad then. But he took part in resistance against the Nazis, and entered the ranks of the CNT well known for his heroism in that fight. After the war he went on with the struggle against fascism, entering Spain in 1950 with a group that was invading the province of Lerida (in Catalonia) via Andorra.

A well known landowner in Lerida was head of the Somaten army. It was a private army responsible for arresting and killing a great number of people. This incident shows how false is the supposition that the guerrillas were in some way "elitist" or their actions were designed to "induce the people to rise" or that they were acting "without the support" of the workers. The landowner was steadily wiping out every one who had taken part in the collectivisation of the farms during the civil war. In Lerida all the farms (including his own) had been expropriated by the people and worked for the common good. As a result, when he took back his farm after Franco's victory over the workers, he found it in greatly improved condition, and benefitting by years of devoted work. It is not to be supposed that he would be grateful; on the contrary he began to wipe out all witnesses to the fact of collectivisation. He had been spared, though a known fascist. But he in turn spared no one. Hundreds were killed by his orders.

In those days it was enough to make a denunciation for a killing to follow.

Hundreds escaped over the border, where sympathisers learned of the systematic murder being carried out by this man: the group had come from France to kill him. Noguero was chosen as the delegate of the group. They entered his farm and put him against the wall in front of his workers and his family. "You've killed hundreds of people because of your own private guilt. Now it's your turn."

## MAGGOT-FASCISM CANARY ISLANDS

Bands of fascists operating in Spain, protected by the police, have lately resumed their attacks on booksellers.

These right-wing extreme gangs have attacked Distribuidora Enlace in Barcelona, the Fuenteovejuna bookshop in Madrid and the firm of Dan al Set in Valencia, also smashing the windows of the Hispano-Argentina shop in Santander.

The reason is the sight of some more or less liberal books on show — all authorised for publication by the Ministry of Information without which no bookseller would think of displaying them.

The latest attack on booksellers comes in the Canary Islands where a bookseller has received the follow-

ing letter from the "canary Brigade of the Fight against Communism":

"We are tired of seeing so much communist propaganda in the windows of your stinking bookshop. You and others like you are the cause of all that is happening in Spain by inciting the helpless students with the filthy works of Marx, Lenin and the rest of the carrion of international freemasonry. Although that freemasonic traitor Ricardo de la Cierra and that other traitor Arias Navarro says his 'opening up' policy will continue, we will not let it happen. It would be the end of our Glorious Spain... If all these books do not disappear from your shop, remember the fate of Enlace in Madrid. Remove not only these books but all other international freemasons Neruda, Brecht etc., instead stock

On the way back to France via the Mont Sec (dry mountain) between the republic of Andorra and Lerida, they walked at night and slept during the day, but stopped at a spring for water. This was the mistake of the guide. No veteran guerrilla would have stopped at a spring knowing how well the Guardia Civil was acquainted with the locations of the wells, and naturally the authorities had raised a hue and cry against the departing guerrillas. They were, indeed, positioned at this very spring, and fired immediately they saw the party stop.

Some of the group were shot dead, others escaped. Lorenzo himself survived but with a broken leg. Only in extreme pain could he crawl to a cave ten miles away. There he waited hoping the surviving members of the group — especially the guide — would find him. Two days passed... he was found, but by the Guardia Civil.

Tracker dogs had located him for his enemies who would (had there been only one or two of them) killed him on the spot. But as they were witnesses to each other they could not very well murder him on the spot, and so they put him on a donkey — where he suffered agonies with his wounded leg — later transferring him to a car when he was taken to the prison in Lerida, where the director of the prison had him put in hospital, where his leg healed.

At Lerida, witnesses were called to identify him. But the landowners wife and daughter had evidently not been particularly fond of the departed and they declined to identify his assailant. The cab driver who had driven the group to Lerida identified them however.

Noguero was removed to a more secure prison, in Barcelona — for fear that a group might come over the mountains from Andorra to release him — and there, in the terrible "Fourth" Gallery of the security wing I first met him and we became close friends.

The Spanish police went into Andorra — where they had no legal right of entry — and kidnapped the guide coming out of a cinema. (This type of kidnapping has never caused international horror!) Smuggled over the border, he was taken into custody once across and taken to Lerida prison, to which Lorenzo was transferred after a year in Barcelona. Both were tried and condemned together. They were sentenced to be garrotted.

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such works as those of our Jose Antonio, Hitler, Mussolini, Calvo Sotelo, Ramiro de Maeztu and other Fathers of our Country... you will not be warned twice. If you ignore this, we will do our duty to God and the Fatherland by making you suffer. Long live Hitler. Down with Communism."

The police turn a blind eye to attacks by the fascist extremists, and in some cases have been known to encourage them certainly to positively discourage those booksellers who have stood out against them. How easy to be a bold fascist night rider — smashing the windows of bookshops and setting fire to the stock — at night time, when the bookseller and his assistants have gone home, knowing that — if caught — the police will simply tell you to "take care."

# Art & Science in a Libertarian Society(2)

## PEDRINI BELGRADO

This article was originally published in the Italian magazine "Umanita Nova" of 14th December 1974, in conjunction with an appeal for support for the campaign to free Pedrini Belgrado. Send letters and parcels to PEDRINI BELGRADO, CASA PENALE, 43100 PARMA, ITALY. Letters of protest to the Italian Ambassador and Italian Consuls and Vice-Consuls in England and also to Mario Zagari, Ministro di Grazia e Giustizia, Rome; Il Presidente della Camera dei Deputati, Sandro Pertini, Montecitorio, Rome, Italy.

(cont. from January issue)

But to return to the theme of art and science in an anarchist society, which, as is well known, is one free from the State and from political government.

How will scientists and artists live in this society in which self-government of the people replaces historical government, where social conscience replaces constituted authority, and where economic freedom, in the sense of everybody taking for himself as much as he actually needs, replaces money as the method of acquisition.

The reply to this question is implicit in the theoretical principles enunciated above, but it is necessary to give an answer to our many opponents, to the incredulous, with whom I've often had occasion to argue, sometimes convincing them, sometimes not.

The opponents of Anarchism, for the most part, attack the libertarian principle of the absence of constituted authority, without which, according to them, an Anarchist society wouldn't survive for more than twenty-four hours; others say that without profit, that is without exploiters, society would become sterile and die.

The masters of Anarchism have already effectively answered these hoary arguments. Errico Malatesta was particularly good at it.

But hitherto nobody had asked me this question: "What will be the purpose of art and science in your society? How will the scientists and artists be able to feel themselves equal to the tailor, the shoemaker, when a painter, for instance, can earn a six-figure sum by the sale of a single canvas?" Six-figure sums are the product of theft, not of gainful employment, I reply. These grotesque profits can be arrived at today because the value of things is based on absurd capitalist criteria: the same criteria which allow industrialists to thieve enormous sums.

"Well, then, what, according to you is the basis of the value of works of art? An artist who executes a *Pieta*", insists our opponent, "perhaps deserves more than a roadsweeper who, in the same amount of time, might have cleaned a few streets?"

But haven't I already said that in an anarchist society nobody gets rewarded on the basis of the work they carry out, but that everybody gives what they can and takes as much as they need? As for the *Pieta*, dear sir, I don't see how it can be more useful to mankind than clean streets, which is precisely what the roadsweeper provides.

To decide on the real value of things it is necessary to detach oneself from the conventional, pre-established ideas of capitalism. Let me give you an example which will show that value is not in the things themselves, but in their usefulness at a given moment.. Ask someone who was in Russia during the retreat from Moscow, whether, at that moment he would have preferred Michelangelo's *Pieta*, or a good overcoat made by a poor tailor? I think I would have preferred a small bag of *polenta* to the *Pieta*. Do you see then, how the value of things changes with the changes in circumstances.

Let us not forget that the things most useful to man are produced by workers and peasants. The spiritual needs for figurative art and science take a second place to their products.

To a guy who asked me vehemently whether we would have had space flights without scientists, I asked whether he would have eaten his Christmas capon without the poultryman.

Anyone who really thinks about these social problems realises that all categories of workers, whether physical or mental, are of equal value, and that the economic principle which is fair to everybody is that of being able to select, without extravagance, the things necessary for the satisfaction of one's own material and spiritual needs, without having one's pockets bulging with money.

Contrary to the declarations of the impenitent detractors of human nature, it is not self-interest which stimulates the intelligence and produces great men, who have cultivated their minds only for what they could make out of it. If that were true, the world would consist only of geniuses. Apart from what Nature gives to exceptional minds (character, will, memory, attention), men aspire to achieve exceptional works because of a psychological stimulus of a good kind which can be defined as the desire or passion for human greatness, from which social distinction also derives. Self-interest or the frenzy of getting rich comes a very poor second in the genesis of outstanding men. One proof that man is driven to excel without any hint of material profit can be derived from certain improvised displays of athletic prowess. You can bet that if two young men race each other in public, they will both use up all their energy to win without even thinking about material reward.

This shows that men are instinctively moved by noble motives rather than by personal self-interest. Indeed they are often content with public esteem and admiration for works or commendable acts carried out by them. We can assert, then, that when private interest is no more than a bad memory of an ignoble historical epoch, and the social virtues practiced will be equality, collective interest, the healthy and prosperous life of everybody, society will then see the emergence of more artists, more scientists, more famous men in every field of knowledge than ever emerged from this society based on private interest.

The libertarian theory of equality of rights, both economic and cultural, will also allow a greater development of arts and sciences placed at the service of the human family.

We anarchists place scientists and artists at the summit of social esteem, where, however they will not pick golden apples but the laurels which are the due of all who, with the gifts of hand and mind, willingly contribute to the cultural, moral and material good of the People.

Indefatigable research and practice of the greatest good of the People constitute the ideal of anarchists.

PARMA 22-10-74.



# BOOK REVIEWS

## MISUNDERSTOOD RUSSIANS

Paul Avrich Bakunin & Nechaev (Freedom Press 20p)  
Tolstoy Power & Liberty (Simian 15p)

Some recent works have shed further light on the personality of Nechaev. It is unfortunate that nobody who had the patience to research obscure facts of a century ago is likely to appreciate a dynamic, forceful, impatient revolutionary such as Nechaev undoubtedly was, and he always comes off badly. Yet... as Avrich concedes, his methods are used by such contemporary groups as "the Black Panthers, the Black September, the Weathermen, the Red Army Faction, the Symbionese Liberation Army," — he does not go on to mention any specifically anarchist groups because basically his thesis is that Nechaev could not be an anarchist as he was not a very nice man. "Bakunin, whatever his failings, was essentially a libertarian. Nechaev whatever his virtues was essentially an authoritarian." How? Because Nechaev went in for "theft, blackmail, murder" his "selfless dedication carried a harsh and ruthless stamp" — he lacked Bakunin's "warmth and human compassion".

It clearly cannot be denied that since we are libertarians, libertarians have all the graces! That lets Nechaev out!

In fact Nechaev's Revolutionary Catechism has stood the test of time: he concerned himself only with Russia and in Russia, one hundred years and two revolutions afterwards there is no other way but by that catechism to the letter for the revolutionary to proceed there. There was not then. There is not now. If there were, Paul Avrich would be the first to show where warmth and compassion succeeded and conspiracy was no longer necessary.

Do these conditions apply elsewhere? That is quite another point, which does not concern Nechaev, but did concern Bakunin. He realised (and this is what baffled Franco Venturi who called his relationship with Nechaev's "complex and obscure" when it was as clear as daylight) elsewhere there was the luxury of choice as to whether one could be ruthless and dedicated or friendly, easy-going, warm and compassionate. But it led inevitably to a type of revolutionary flabbiness. One was better but the softer option and — certainly as far as any ruthless regime was concerned — got nowhere. The problem has not been resolved but intensified. Avrich thinks that Nechaev's ruthlessness "on however small a scale" led to the "mass murders of Stalin in the name of revolutionary necessity" — this is a tall assumption (this is why he qualifies it with "small a scale"). The mass murders of Stalin flow in unbroken sequence not from "revolutionary necessity" but from Tsardom.

But how curious to believe that Nechaev's iron self-discipline which sacrificed those nearest him and he himself too could lead in some way long after his death to the mass murders of Stalin — or even that Stalin's own ruthlessness (to sacrifice everyone else but himself) could do so! This does not square with your research. Tolstoy would have reproved Avrich: "understand if you believed in divine intervention that you might think God punished the sin with the terrible consequence. But come, we know this is nonsense — therefore from whence Stalin's mass murders really stem?"

Not from a mistakenly interpreted view of Nechaev, not from the will of Stalin — but from a process in history.

The Tsar would also have kept himself in power with such methods if he could have done so. He gave the orders. But in the end they were not obeyed. Why were Stalin's orders obeyed? The viciousness lay not in the personal attributes of Stalin but in the will of the people which was towards

submissiveness. Not that he was a wolf but that they were sheep.

This is what Tolstoy is saying in the snippet from his works "Power & Liberty". That he has been as misunderstood as Nechaev is self-evident. Internationalist.

**THE BALHAM GROUP: How British Trotskyism Began.**  
Reg Groves (Pluto Press 75p paperback, £1.80 hardback).

This is the personal reminiscence of an old-time Trot setting out the origins of the Trotskyist faction within the British Communist Party. It is important to note that Groves omits to point out that Trotsky (realising how divorced his faction was from the working class, though flattered to be idolised) directed that militants from the "redundant" trotskyism of South Africa be sent here, who are the real originators of hard-core trotskist factions at present existing (except I.S. and I.M.G. which have much more exotic origins).

Reg Groves, alas, is as selective a historian as the Stalinists. Re-writing Russian history they forget to mention Trotsky's role in the Bolshevik Party for one thing, and the Jewish origins of some of its veterans is shelved. Mr. Groves shelves the Christian origins of British Trotskyism. He does not deny the leading role of its pioneer, the Rev. Stewart Purkis. There are fourteen references to Father Purkis in the index. Search as you will, you will not find his title nor the fact that he was an Anglo-Catholic priest. It is suggested he was a railway clerk.

The CP in the twenties made great play of another Anglo-Catholic, Father John Groser. Plain "John Groser" is described here — like Stewart Purkis and Billy Williams — as "active in the Clearing House branch of the Railway Clerks Association" — the young reader may be forgiven for not knowing that Father Groser was made famous throughout the East End for his tireless activity for the High Church and its involvement in poverty action, carrying a huge crucifix on Stalinist parades or the dodge of joining a union to which one approximated but did not belong, common among some socialists in the twenties (before it was possible to join the Labour Party as an individual member). This was mimicked in the famous action by Winston Churchill of applying to join (and being accepted by) the bricklayers as a fellow-unionist because he laid some bricks on his country estate — though known and hated as the author of all anti-union activities.

Perhaps it was thought Railway Clerks was the nearest to "Sky Pilots". The middle class origins of the Balham Group (with a few exceptions like Henry Sars, who came from the anti-parliamentary communist council-communist movement) were equalled in America. Trotskyism proper originated there with Max Eastman who invented the whole cult. Later Trotsky was able to deflect the cult by stepping down from his godhead and directing the movement himself.

To this day however Trotskyists will argue that theirs is a working class theory and "therefore" they are necessarily working class. A trot debutante journalist will insist that an anarchist, despite his or her social origins or occupation cannot be working class "because anarchism is a petty bourgeois theory and therefore they are petty bourgeois". For them, the working class is a theoretical abstraction attained by embracing Trotsky's views. As long as this definition is accepted, and that it does not relate to the working class as we know it, Reg Groves's story of the division in the Communist Party over rival gangsters in the Kremlin, and in the High Church as to what they owed the Establishment, may be thought of as part of working class history.

**HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE NICK** Jonathan Marshall  
(Allison & Busby) £3.00 cloth.

Half the terrors of hell were to be found in the fact that you could both pile on the agony yet overrule objections such as that a reasonably accomplished skyver could no doubt find some cool corner where the assistant devils could be bribed into diluting the sulphuric acid or keeping you out of the shit shovelling shop and in any case it was better than the rival firm for company.

The terrors of prison are stripped away by a book like Jonathan Marshall's, a wry guide to softening the edges of prison existence. Even a tough mind like Mr. Marshall's can't make a heaven of hell (despite Milton's dictum) but he shows you how you can (though it takes longer) get over prison the way you can get over a toothache, with all the detail of the Michelin Guide and the drollness of Chic Murray.

Pity that, in the teeth of all his own reasoning, the author thinks that prison acts as a deterrent; the whole of law in our modern society is contained in the commandment "Thou shalt not be found out" — beyond this, all is contained in an able lawyer. The trades you learn in prison, as he points out are "how to pick a lock; how to steal a car; how to forge a signature; how to break into houses; how to corrupt and be corrupted — all sorts of enjoyable and interesting occupational pastimes" — like the man who spent six months for a first (motoring) offence who learned how to use his wooden leg to smuggle watches, and became a successful watch-smuggler with his own home — and whose descendants will have the culture, leisure (and money) to write theses on vocational training.

The carpet is ripped from under the feet of the average writer on prison reform with this send-up of the Prison Rule Book (hilariously illustrated by Liz Mackie). This book won't get into prison until everyone else gets out; but if you feel the long arm of the law stretching out for you, it's a must to read.

S.C.

## ANSWERS TO ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Albert Grant (when he became a Baron of the Holy Roman Empire someone wrote, "Kings can grant honours, honour they can't; Honours without honour make but a barren grant").
2. Horatio Bottomley.
3. He was found in Hyde Park being masturbated by a prostitute and the police constable did not believe (or pretended not to believe) it was his superior officer, and arrested him.
4. In the unlikely event of a trotskyite party getting power they might like to fulfil Trotsky's prophecy that the first step of a successful revolution in Britain would be to pull the statue down. (It was a paraphrase of Marx's fulfilled prophecy — actually Heine's, quoted by Marx and usually attributed to him — that the French workers would pull down the statue of Napoleon in the Place Vendome, as illustrated in our pamphlet *Power and Liberty*).
5. Sylvia Pankhurst (younger daughter of Suffragette leader Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst).

Lorenzo Lopez Noguero cont. from p.12

Lorenzo immediately planned to escape. Every morning the security wing was opened to allow the prisoners to wash. There was no running water in the wing itself and they had to wash in the yard. On the way to the ablutions they passed the centre of the prison where the chief guard — who controlled all the prison wings — was stationed for 24 hours duty. Evading their guard, Lorenzo and a fellow prisoner broke into this control room where the chief guard was asleep (though fully clothed). They looked for a pistol but as they could not find one they picked up a piece of wood and shoved it into his back, telling him they would shoot if he did not take them through the door at the end of the corridor.

This took them to the outside entrance, through which a guard on the other side could check who was passing. They knocked. The guard, seeing the chief guard through the window, opened up. Lorenzo hit him over the head with the piece of wood and he and the other prisoner, along with the chief guard, escaped through the main entrance to the street.

Once in town, they forced the guard to climb the stairs of a block of flats, while they rushed off. By nightfall they were on the mountainside. Unfortunately, their former guide had been unwilling to join them on the escape. Like so many he was paralysed by fear and hope — between execution and expectation. They therefore planned to meet a friend in the town of Balaguer. They reached it by the following morning, so they could not go into the town that day and they spent the night in a haystack outside the town. It was a poor hiding place as the Civil Guard had been alerted to watch for them, and those gentlemen never bothered if, by mistake, they got the wrong person. But it was all they had as day was coming. Later the Civil Guard saw the suspicious presence in the haystack. They ordered them out, on the point of a machine gun, which Lorenzo tried to snatch. He was not quick enough and was shot dead on the spot... one more of those who fell in the long battle against repression in Spain.

Miguel Garcia.

Three Worlds in One cont. from p.9

indigenous Indian people are oppressed by other Third World people (Brazil, Paraguay), so that the fact of being oppressed, the fact of being a national minority, and the fact of being not white cannot be sufficient by themselves. All this, moreover, excludes the oneration perhaps most oppressed of all historically, yet almost never considered as Third World. I speak of the Jewish people, who are Semetic in origin, have been hounded from one end of the earth to the other, and are a distant national minority in every country of the world save one, where they act as oppressor of other national minorities. In every aspect, the Jews should also be classified as Third World. When one adds that Third World countries are those that export raw materials and import finished goods one does not do any better since by this definition the United States would increasingly qualify as Third World, a fact which will not sit well with various Third World sycophants. We can only conclude, therefore, that the term Third World is confusing, ill-defined, and in the end non-sensical and should not be used by right-minded rational people, which is no doubt why it is in such popular use in official Movement circles.

The Society of Depassement.