

BLACK FLAG

organ of the
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

VOL. V NO. 6 OCTOBER 1978 20p

SURVIVORS of the (OTHER) HOLOCAUST



SECOND CLASS CITIZENS

The veterans of the Spanish Civil War are still living as second-class citizens. After the fighting had ended the working-class militia was rounded up; huge numbers served prison sentences, and as ex-prisoners they have been subject to surveillance and discrimination for forty years after. Savings were swallowed up with the great bank robbery of the people that came with the Franco victory (nullifying the republican peseta); the whole collective property of the workers was seized.

Businessmen would not employ "reds" any longer. For years the CNT workers had only been employed because they were usually the best and most skilled — now the standards were reduced and the employers told to choose anyone but

them. This explains the many disasters in post-war Spain which never before had need for building inspectors to guard the public safety from shoddy work. Disabled veterans of the war got not one penny (though they had to contribute to the tax which supported the disabled soldiers of Franco). For them only peripheral jobs were available — car parking attendants, selling on the streets and so on.

Since 1976 the law was slightly changed — to allow 'nationalist' invalids with 15 or more per cent disability to claim a pension but republicans 26 per cent. The 'nationalists' get military pensions as they qualify as professional soldiers but not the republicans; nor can they claim widows' or dependants' pensions, nor medical assistance.

Refugees who would now like to be

repatriated cannot do so because in Spain they would receive nothing. Elderly people living in countries like France, poor and sometimes disabled, long to return now they can do so; but they receive social security where they are and would receive nothing if they returned. Only those fortunate to have been long enough abroad to have gained a foreign old age pension — and can thus enjoy it in Spain where living is cheaper — can afford to go home. Prisoners who have served long sentences have also lost their rights to a pension.

It is this issue on which in the Anarchist Black Cross we intend to fight a campaign within Spain, and if necessary to raise it in other countries which are reluctantly subsidising the Spanish Government's meanness and malice. This will be the first battle in our "Mutual Aid" (Apoyo Mutuo) campaign in Spain.

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Friday and Saturday Nov 10 & 11;
 Anarchist stall (Cienfuegos & Black Flag)
 at the Socialist Bookfair, St. Pancras Town
 Hall.
 Evening, Saturday 11, Centro Iberico, 420
 Harrow Road, London W11. Public meeting,
 7.30 p.m. followed by joint Anglo-Spanish
 social.

in Italy" and "Brigate Kosse."
 We had hoped to have had the afore-
 mentioned pamphlets ready for August -
 but due to the slow return in payments,
 we have been unable to achieve this.
 So, please, if your account with us
 is outstanding, please settle it as soon as
 possible.

Bratach Dubh
 c/o Andy & Veronica McGowan
 83 Langside Terrace,
 PORT GLASGOW
 Scotland.

State of Play to Sept. 7 1978

Sales & subs.	182.32	
Donations*	112.31	
		294.63
Printing etc.	182.00	
Stationery	11.60	
Postages	60.50	254.10
(It doesn't seem possible but . . .) profit	40.53	€
deficit carried fwd	1523.95	
less profit	40.53	
loss c/fwd	£1473.42	

*Donations:

Oxford BW £1; collection Ruskin College
 £7; Malvern JS £1.75; Devon TM £9;
 Stirling JF £1; Woolwich JG £7;
 Croydon GF £2; Aberystwyth MS £1.30;
 Warwick Anon £15; Orkney R.McG £5;
 Manchester Person Unknown £8; Dublin
 CL £10; Smithfield Old-Timer £5;
 Calif. Italian comrades' picnic per LM
 \$75 = £38.26; Brighton BR £1 - total
 £112.31.

Current printing bills will wipe the self-
 satisfied smile off our faces but this
 month's balance sheet shows a healthy
 trend. We must still record a blank on
 foreign subsidies, proceeds of armed
 robberies etc., notwithstanding the daily
 comics.

Prisoners/Resistance Fund

	in hand	£6.00
Guam: SS	£11.72;	Cosham SB £8;
Redhill LD	£5 - total	24.72
	Total in hand	30.72

We have also in hand £100 to "Apoyo
 Mutuo" (Mutual Aid fund - see end
 column for the initial stage of the project
 which will be materialising this autumn),
 and have received £83 from Australian
 ABC for 'Persons Unknown' comrades or
 trial.

THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST.

Volume 2 number 1. A new format
 for this magazine. It is now to contain
 local, national and international news as
 well as all the usual graphics and humour.
 Please help our news service, it does not
 matter where in the world you live,
 we want to hear what is going on there.
 NEW LIFE. Numbr 2. Our review which
 is also undergoing changes, a new format,
 larger in size but just as cheap.
 Both of these magazines are produced
 by the John Creaghe Memorial Society
 which shall also be bringing out a range
 of badges, posters and pamphlets.
 Contribute if you will to the Memorial
 Library, we can be reached for whatever
 purpose at: The Sheffield Libertarian
 Society, P.O. Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.

Syndicalist Workers Federation

With all the interest generated by the
 re-emergence of the CNT - it may surp
 some readers to know that the British
 section of the IWA-AIT, the Syndicalist
 Workers Federation is alive and kicking
 mostly in the Manchester area.

At present we are arranging a series
 of meetings, socials, campaigns, etc., in
 conjunction with the recently reformed
 Manchester Anarchist Group. SWF also
 have regular weekly meetings and discus
 sion groups - our International Secre-
 tariat keeps in close touch with all
 sections of the IWA-AIT.

Any comrades in the Manchester area
 or elsewhere for that matter, are welcom
 to attend our meetings or correspond.
 Full details of our meetings can be
 obtained from SWF, c/o, 109 Oxford
 Road, Manchester.

Dear Comrades,
 Would all groups and bookshops at home
 and abroad who have received orders from
 us and have not paid for their orders
 please do so.

The reason for this request is due to
 the amount of letters which we have
 received asking for the next two pamphlets
 that we intend publishing - "Armed Struggle



ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. The first Carlist war in Spain ended after years of fighting when the Pretender asked his Basque troops whether they were still prepared to go on to shed their last drops of blood for him. They actually answered with a resounding "Yes" - but on hearing it, Don Carlos galloped off on his horse and left Spain. Why?
2. What was the 2½ International?
3. The first secretary of the organised Gas Labourers - the (all-male) narvies - and the first secretary of NATSOPA - one of the print unions which for years discriminated against women - had something in common. What?
4. The sailor to lead the break into the Winter Palace in the Russian Revolution - which led to the Tsar's abdication - is known in precisely the opposite role just twenty years later. What was it?
5. What did explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson note about the North American Eskimos and the Chukchi villagers?
6. How long has the only English town to have a soccer club in the Scottish Second Division been at war with Russia?

Answers on page 19

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the stuff of politics

We have a continuing national saga about the need to bring about stability, to curb inflation and to achieve, lo and behold, the prosperity just around the corner. In the State communist countries, the equivalent saga is about "achieving socialism" while the fascist countries had the "fatherland in danger". All, however, are at one when it comes to the nitty-gritty — the mugs need to work harder and go without, and yet it is their slackness or greed — as opposed to that of the hard-working industrious and self-sacrificing leadership — that brings about all the problems. All politicians feel 'the people do not deserve us' and for once they are not lying!

In the State communist countries the ruling clique has perpetuated an enormous con trick that the working class in fact the ruling class, that the two are synonymous, and only unknown wreckers at home and notorious class enemies abroad would say otherwise. In the capitalist countries, the equivalent myth is that the middle-class is really a working-class, that the workers are middle-class, that there is no upper-class and that the workers' representatives are the real rulers . . . it is a more confused interpretation but the reasoning behind the con trick is not at all confused: it sets out to confuse.

Nobody can understand the stuff of politics unless they talk in terms of class and power relationships. There are attitudes and ways of living and behaviour which affect people in no matter what sort of society they live, which may be more or less authoritarian according to the nature of the society; but the main facts of the way one lives, how the economy is controlled, whether there is a greater or lesser degree of dictatorship, the degree of economic prosperity, is all dependent upon class relationships or who wields the power and how they wield it.

There is a difference between State communism and capitalism in that, in the first, the people in power are there by virtue of their elected or appointed (or self taken) positions, and they do

not depend upon the profits of the economic system. In capitalism, while the government is elected or appointed (or self taken) but the competitive economic system means the domination of classes because of their profits.

There is little to choose between State communism and modern capitalism in forms of exploitation; the sole difference that is always stressed by the pro-capitalists are the degrees of tolerance allowed. This to some extent arises from the system: If the workers seize a factory, no State Commisar would hesitate to blow them from the face of the earth. In capitalist society, the army would be faced by frantic pleas from the owner to spare his lovely profit-making factory. The concern with profits runs right through the capitalist society and introduces an element of corruption which is absent in State communism; but corruption is the only way in which tyranny is mitigated.

Labour or Tory

In British politics today we are not asked to choose between State communism and Individual capitalism as, for instance, in French or Italian politics — not that either, in fact, is obtained or that, as a result of any election they may have, the system is any different. The British scene differs from many others in the confrontation between (Fabian) Socialism and the hotchpotch of Conservatism (part Keynesian, part individualistic). Both parties use the same national saga but introduce an array of side-issues to stress their divergencies. In reality, the Labour Party has no socialist ideas at all, and relies on a sort of diluted Keynesian approach (State intervention, the cure-all) and the Conservative Party has abandoned its *laissez-faire* individualism which represents its ideal for a bastardised Welfare State-ism. It likes to think of itself as libertarian in its approach to business — as little State intervention as possible *there* — but authoritarian in regard to the workers (bash the strikers) and with force as a

cure-all for the crimes of present-day society. Flog 'em, hang 'em, conscript 'em, send 'em back. The Labour Party usually takes the opposite point of view — which is thought of as left-wing (though not always), and this helps them maintain the air of Punch-and-Judy shows about parliamentary politics.

In reality, though the Labour Party still retains some class nature in its appeal — and those who deny it must ask themselves what constitutes a safe seat, why Bournemouth is a Tory 'safe seat' and Tower Hamlets a Labour — it has lost all class nature in its representation. It has receded to the nineteenth century position of the Liberal Party in politics which dominates the parliamentary scene corresponding to the old Whigs. The Whigs, in opposition to the Tory monopoly of government, put forward liberal ideas, and propositions thought of as progressive, though they were solidly aristocratic and elitist. There is now a Whiggism based not on "birth," a discredited notion unless it has money to go with it, but on intellect. The intellectual Whigs are divorced from the people but they offer them — kindly, without doubt — liberal measures to placate them, or sometimes popular ideas to excite them, it being understood that they have no intention of yielding their power to anyone else. Members of Parliament take their cue from the old Whig notion that they are representatives and not delegates.

The Fascist Alternative

Fascism is the last hope of a ruling class to deflect the class struggle by glorifying nationalism or patriotism. It normally seeks to leapfrog into power by attacking first one unpopular minority, for which — it is hoped — few will intervene, and then another, and another — until finally it seems invincible.

The essential fact of fascism is having a set of determined men wanting to rule on behalf of the capitalist class, and being able to offer the ruling class a set of thugs that are able to smash the workers' organisations. While the

orthodox democratic parties and especially the Labour Party can do this without fuss or fireworks there is no place for fascism. In order to render social revolution "obsolete", fascism must turn to racialism or nationalism and the price is too high for a capitalist class to pay if it can prevent the workers' associations taking over the places of work by other means.

Why Not Anarchism?

A survey of the dreary wastes of politics makes one wonder why Anarchism is not immediately accepted by all. The folly and waste of government is so great, the worship of the State — even when disguised in its fancy dress of nationalism, or patriotism — so transparently a fraud, that the Anarchist case would seem to be one immediately acceptable, and the reason for its being so maligned and traduced, and ultimately actively persecuted, by governments, so apparent.

When the working class first began organising itself, it was usually Anarchism, or a socialism barely distinguishable, that was its declared goal. Only active persecution, or in some cases political persuasion and infiltration by the New Whiggery of Fabianism, altered that; and the working class turned to Statism disguised as socialism, or as patriotism, or both together. Now that they have all failed Anarchism is left as the only logical cause.

But if people as a whole are reluctant to embrace it, it is because they have been so cruelly misled by politicians for so long that even the very words 'working class revolution' seem redolent of class revolution' seem redolent of authority or unsocial-ism; or because they have bitter memories of how what the politicians could not get by force, they got by fraud. There is a real fear of being out on a limb, even by those who do not understand the role of a political police.

This accounts for the quasi-anarchism that is nowadays so popular, that seeks to abandon trying to take over the means of life and opt for making the most of spare time left to us by the modern State which can be as much as the whole week if one plays one's social security cards right

But changes in personal values and alterations in life style will no more affect power and profit than changes in fashion. Everything in capitalist society will stand or fall by the criterion of private profit; every advance in personal freedom will always be at the mercy of whoever happens to control the State machinery in any society; the impersonal machine controlling the State will ultimately decide whether we live or die. Unless we pit against it the one thing that still gives us strength — the muscle of our labour.

the five

Still, at the moment of writing, the people in the "persons unknown" case have no indication of when they are coming to trial. The suggestions by Police Commissioner David McNee - with his appeal to libertarians not to confuse the issue - can be seen in their true light. If bail is to be refused so easily as it was in this case and that is to become the general rule, and if no observance of the judges rules are required of the police (thus legalising a situation which already exists), anyone can be in the same position as the "Persons Unknown" are . . . sentenced to what is the equivalent of two or three years in prison (with the allowance for full remission) while innocent, awaiting trial. A cheap and easy form of mass detention.

The probability is that in the end the police will look out for a "dozen", this is what we were "promised".

Several libertarian papers have commented that this case seems to mean that you can't have weedkiller, sugar or loose domestic wiring in the house if your opinions are politically suspect, otherwise you may land up in jail. It sounds incredible, but it is not even the whole of the truth. A piece of incriminating evidence in the shape of a copy of "Woman's Own" was found in Iris's flat. The police questioned her on this. What was she doing with a copy of that (not very subversive) paper?

She laughed apologetically (after all, you have to read something for relaxation sometimes). The detective sergeant was serious: there was (not surprisingly) an article in it on Princess Ann's home. Was she trying to familiarise herself with the layout for a proposed kidnap?

Also note how the political police have been raiding houses in the early morning, snatching people walking alone on the

NEWS OF THE MURRAYS

Marie Murray was to have appeared at the Court of Criminal Appeal at the end of July but the State lost some of her papers and her counsel would not go on with the case. It has now been held back until the first session in October.

After the appeal has been heard, the Anarchist Black Cross intends to pursue its claim against the Government of the Irish Republic that it is holding £7000 the property of that organisation. In this manner the Irish Government will be forced, it is hoped, to answer the claim of the London ABC in an English county court where evidence obtained under torture and only by torture will be challenged as inadmissible.

In 1972 the Irish Minister for Justice designated the Military Detention Centre a civilian prison. For the first time in the history of the country, ordinary civilian prisoners were to be detained by the Army. "Emergency" was cited, but there is no sign that it is going to end. On the contrary a new prison has been constructed since 1974 and 1976 in the Curragh Camp, which will take 400 prisoners. Very handy, for the Minister of Justice can always sidestep the Judiciary and hand over a prisoner from the civilian courts to the army.

This is pointed out by the Prisoners' Rights Organisation (In the Republic) which also notices a second "unique development in Irish penology," the brainchild of Mr Richard Crowe in charge of forward planning of this rapid growth industry. This one is a prison for 12-16 year olds, Loughan House, Co. Cavan, at an estimated conversion cost of £600,000.

street, and questioning and detaining them Do you know so-and-so?

On August 4 we had a meeting in the Conway Hall in Central London where all the people one might reasonably expect to find associated with those accused were present; all the people they were asking about (bar one still on an offshore Orkney Island) and "searching for" were present. Could not the police have walked in and picked them all up? The suspicious anarchist literature found on people's shelves ("look here, sarge . . . this must be the place, anarchist books") were on sale, at source. No interference.

We are dealing here with night-hawks which shun the light and can only see in murky corners. The daylight of a public meeting troubled their eyes.

G.S.G.—9

G.S.G. — 9: SHOCK TROOPS OF IMPERIALISM

In the past the foundation of special police and army units such as the G.S.G. — 9 was considered to be a "prophilactic" for the benefit of the bourgeoisie against future class wars in the G.D.R. itself. G.S.G. — 9 consists of particular police and army units in West Germany. The special units (Sonderkommandos) like M.E.K. (Mobile Einsatz Kommando) and S.E.K. are also aimed at foreign application in the context of the "Germanisation" of Western Europe.

Teacher Number Two: Other Imperialist Elite Troops.

Since the founding of the G.S.G. in September 1972 there have been close relations with "elite" shock troops abroad. Chief Constable Kassman reminds people of the fact that "as early as the foundation of the group, and during its continuous development, an international co-operation, be it ever so secret, existed . . . Professionals in every area deliberately appeared in all those places in the world where experiences could be gained in connection with counter-insurgency, integrated these experiences in their programmes, and related their own experiences and insights to colleagues in different nations . . . seen from an international point of view the development of the G.S.G. was a constant give and take." (Fr, 19.10.77)

Israel. Relations with Israel appear to have been particularly intensive. After Mogadishu it became known that the commander of G.S.G. — 9, Wegener, was present at the Israeli raid on Entebbe airport, Uganda, in the summer of 1976 (Konkret, Jan. 1978). In order to found G.S.G. — 9 Wegener went through a special training with the Israeli parachutists (FAZ, 19.10.77). In concept and training, G.S.G. — 9 and the Israeli elite units show clear similarities.

Britain. The connection between G.S.G. — 9 and the British S.A.S. (Special Air Service Regiment) was revealed by the press in the Mogadishu action. Two S.A.S. experts were present at the assault of the "Landshut". The Guardian (20.12.77) reported that these two "experts" visited the headquarters of the G.S.G. — 9 three weeks before Mogadishu, where they demonstrate the "blinding grenade" subsequently used at Mogadishu. The S.A.S. is considered to be the oldest "elite unit" in the fight against the guerrilla movements. Founded

in Libya in 1942, it had the task of operating behind the lines of the German Afrika Korps. The S.A.S. also fought against the communist guerrillas in Malaya, against the Mau Mau rebels in Kenya, and recently against the I.R.A.. In the headquarters of this group in north west England 200 soldiers of the S.A.S. practise daily on an airfield in actions against hijackings.

"The headquarters of the S.A.S. has for years been the Mecca of the international terrorist fighters. Subjects taught are tactics against taking hostages, hijackings, bombings, outrages and subversion. The West German government, like the F.B.I. and the Israelis, sent its explosives specialists to sit in the school desks of the S.A.S." (Bam S, 20.11.77). "S.A.S. specialists gave advice to the Israelis during the Entebbe operation and, in May 1977, trained, on a military airfield, their Dutch colleagues who stormed a hostage train held by Moluccan terrorists near Assen." (Bam S, 20.11.77).

U.S.A. Wegener and his men went through training at the F.B.I. academy at Quantico (U.S.A.) and have connections with the American elite units that went into action in the Vietnam war (green berets, marines, etc.) . . . from the from the U.S. elite units the G.S.G. — 9 has also learned: After the foundation of this special unit [i.e., the G.S.G. — 9], experts from the U.S.A. gave valuable tips on techniques of descent by helicopter in air landings by combat troops. American experiences were passed around and integrated into the training of the G.S.G. — 9. Now the descent method of the Border Guards has been so perfected that the techniques of the Americans has been surpassed.

West German Grenzschutz Dispersed All Over the World

The action of the G.S.G. — 9 at Mogadishu definitely wasn't the first action of these West German shock troops abroad. One must assume that most of their actions haven't become known. But some have leaked out: as early as 1975, at the assault of the Holger Meins Commando on the West German Embassy in Stockholm, the G.S.G. was at least prepared to go into action at Stockholm airport. (Welt, 21.11.77).

The participation of Wegener in the Israeli raid at Entebbe was kept a secret by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs "to avoid very great damage with respect to the foreign policies of the Federal Republic" — Genscher, quoted in Konkret, Jan.

1978. [Konkret is a political journal in which Ulrike Meinhoff first wrote.]

After Mogadishu it also became known that South African military men were also being trained within the G.S.G. — 9. In 1973, 23 military men from the Republic of South Africa had undergone training "with success". In 1974 and 1975 different South African soldiers were trained at the G.S.G. — 9. The commander of the G.S.G. — 9 visited the Republic of South Africa in 1974 and 1975 to convince himself of the "capabilities" of the South Africans trained by him (Arbeiterkampf No. 124, p.4).

Following Mogadishu, the government of West Germany, by means of political and economic pressure, was able to insist on stationing Federal Border Guard personnel on more than 50 international airports. In this way, under cover of air security control, West Germany has been militarily present at almost every big airport in the world. As to the functions of these Border Guard agents, no documented reports can as yet be given. However, it is certain that each one separately is capable at least of taking the part of the notorious "adviser" of the police at the place concerned.

During the World Cup finals in Argentina, 15 G.S.G. — 9 personnel took charge of "security routine" there — apparently unarmed.

Finally, after Mogadishu, the West German government announced the institution of a G.S.G. — 10 and a G.S.G. — 11, on the model of the G.S.G. — 9. (Fr, 2.11.77 and Heidelberger Tageblatt, 5.11.77).

The development of a West German mercenary army fashioned on the principle of the anti-guerrilla G.S.G. — 9 has started.

Of course, the Federal Government wants to keep this imperialist "elite" force away from publicity. "Total screening of the men of the G.S.G. — 9 — daily ghetto life half a year after Mogadishu," ran a report by Horst Zimmermann in the Hamburger Abendblatt: "the G.S.G. men can't talk like ordinary people about their job, in the pub, but are allowed to drink only in closed back rooms. No one should get too good a look at the special force. For its separateness is part of the strength of its attack."

It is time to pay more attention to these plans of the West German government.

Cicero

SWEDISH FIGHT

(Continued from our last issue)

Letters from Over the Wall

Some letters from prison of Swedish comrades arrested in Sweden for their campaign for international solidarity appeared in our last issue, together with a letter from them explaining their case.

These are further letters from the same group of comrades.

20 September 1977

The weekends are worst, it feels as if there are 600 minutes in every hour. Given that the normal prison routine mostly goes by the board over the weekend. Those who know say that this jail has the reputation of being at rock bottom. The psychological torture is more extreme here. But then its purpose is to break the prisoner physically and mentally before the trial, for aren't we all equal before the law and the prosecution must be given just as good a chance as the defendant. What's more I was slightly drugged when I appeared in court to give my testimony. I had been given some pills to subdue a cold I had coming on. These pills had the side-effect of inducing acute fatigue. But I wasn't told about this when I took them before the trial, only afterwards when I asked for myself. I was on the verge of falling asleep the whole time and towards the end could hardly understand the meaning of the prosecution's questions. One might say it was a double handicap trial. First they used repressive measures to stop me from speaking at all for six months, by enforced repression and isolation, and then to add to that I am drugged against my will when I am to present my version of events in court.

These are different uses of repressive power directed at maintaining a high level of open and undercover violence while at the same time forcing both ideological opponents and victims into passivity. Power corrupts, we know, and absolute power corrupts absolutely, so how can the repressive apparatus of the state be anything but corrupt? With its power to keep us in total imprisonment! Under conditions which are classed as torture in the Declaration of Human Rights. Anyway, with each day that passes it becomes more and more grotesque to be suspected of political activities to which I have always been opposed and am still opposed. But neither the secret police nor the febrile hallucinations of the prosecution pay any regard to subtleties of this nature. The mythomaniac police PR outfit seems to have cost so much to set up that it would be painful for them to accept the truth.

Charlie.

At 6a.m. on the 1st April I was woken violently from my sleep by a squad of headhunters. About ten of this species in full riot gear burst into my flat and thumped me in the stomach with an automatic rifle. That was when it all began. Handcuffs, snipers around the building, and an armed Charon pushing off from the bank to ferry me across the Styx to the kingdom of the damned. Shouts of joy in Swedish and German as I arrive at the offices of the secret police, a portrait of the king with flowers and blue and yellow ribbons on the desk. The interrogation by Gustav Moller's secret police begins. I am denied my right to speak to a lawyer although I insist three times. I am caught in the steel jaws of the repressive apparatus and my journey through the penal archipelago of Sweden has begun. Thrown into a cell four paces in length and two paces across at the widest. My situation is paralysing emptiness and eternity. Franz Kafka has left his mark on every cell in the house of the dead. With the help of modern technology the hideousness of oppression seems to be infinitely variable in the kingdom of the damned, where the irrational has total dominion over rationality. Television cameras in the corridor, in the lift, on the stairs, on the roof, but I must sit in my cell without even being allowed a radio. An eternity where there are six hundred minutes in every hour, an eternity of sensory deprivation, isolation and humiliating ritual has begun. Human dignity is no more than a memory. Newspapers and radio censored, no letters or telephone calls for more than a month. I am forced to live the existence of a rat, my "life" reduced to its biological functions and even those only just acceptable to the repressive apparatus. I am no longer a person, I have become a prisoner and so an animal of the most primitive kind.

The result of this enforced regression is physical and mental pain, primarily the latter. There is an immediate alienation, a feeling of worthlessness, a feeling of non-existence. Minimal human needs like the need to create, understand, the need for perspective, control and influenc

over my own daily existence, the need for social contact, are negated by the

everyday praxis of the prison administration. How can I, a prisoner, solve this antagonistic conflict between my existential needs on the one hand and the regression imposed on me on the other? The solution which the system holds out is one of internalisation, of forcing the conflict into the unconscious. So that the real relations in this institution for the annihilation of humanity only become visible in the mirror of psychic deformity? Hell no!

By this I, a victim of social circumstances shaped by coercion and power, am "free" in this malleable state, to undergo interrogation.

When after a whole month I am finally allowed written communication with the world outside, letters are held back for up to three weeks. Flowers which are handed in for me two floors below are withered when I get them three days later. The effects of total isolation can be seen in my inability to concentrate, depressive states and speech difficulties at the end of the "period of special custody." The prisoner who has been through this is then ready to stand trial. A trial which because of the prosecution's febrile imaginativeness demands total concentration and permanent mental alertness. As if the psychic torture were not enough.

During the lunch break on the 15th August I was searched first by prison officers. They adhere to the rules strictly. After this first search I am stopped on my way out of the cell by three gorillas dressed in green overalls. Without telling me either who they are or what they want they order me to "stop where you are and take your clothes off." It dawns on me that this is a search within the search, so I drop my jeans, clasp my hands behind my neck and place my body at the disposition of these professional pederasts. Word had been "received" that I had hidden crowbars and automatic weapons in my anus. And that's where the gorillas intended to look for them. It's obvious that the gorillas also want my active co-operation in this negation of my humanity. But I take the view that it's their duty to carry out the search, not mine, and therefore I refuse to pull out my own rectum, so to speak. The gentlemen are already in a somewhat excited state of mind and I find myself flat on the floor with two of them all over me. On the way down I am punched and kicked. It appears that the gorillas belong to a mobile squad within the prison administration, specialising in anal searches in the different transit

camps run by the above department. Repression's cockroaches, one might say.

The trial is suspended, the medical officer attests that I have two recently inflicted superficial bruises on the right side of my back, both of which show signs of haemorrhage and external bleeding. Consistent with blows from a blunt instrument. These wounds are also attested to by a news agency artist, a newspaper editor, three lawyers and a prosecution counsel. The decision to discontinue the investigation in connection with the alleged mistreatment reached me on September 5th. State's counsel L. Malmberg concludes that "it is therefore my finding that there is nothing in the evidence to substantiate the allegation that the warders who searched Gratzner are guilty of any irregularity." This in a few words describes the hard core of this criminal scandal. The solitary confinement of myself and my comrades continues, with the relaxation that I am allowed one half-hour visit per week with SAPO officers in attendance. No psychological torture! No special treatment of political prisoners!

Charlie Gratzner.



Sir,

I wish to say a few words about the incident which took place yesterday.

If this trial is to continue, we the accused must be given an assurance that the prosecutor in this case (P.-G. Nass) was in no way responsible for the mistreatment of our imprisoned comrades. For if such was indeed the case, the court must understand that our confidence that this trial will be conducted according to the proper procedures will be severely put to the test.

In this context I would quote Ola Ullsten's statement that "the authorities have a duty to protect the rights of accused persons and to ensure that they are treated in accordance with the rules which govern democracy in this country."

And I would also quote Sven Brik Lundin, the governor of the prison, who said on the television news yesterday that "the searches were carried out in full accordance with the rules that are in force."

If such are the rules that apply, rules which cause bruises to appear on Karl Gratzner's back, then I can only express my deep concern about the impartiality of justice in this country and about the course of this trial.

The prosecutor made a statement on the radio yesterday in which he said that "certain information" had been received that weapons were to be smuggled in to the prisoners. (Even if this were true, what possible use could these weapons have been?) And was the gynaecological examination of the two women prisoners, on a writing table (!), intrinsic to the search for these weapons? Was it not possible to use metal detectors, which have frequently been used on other occasions?

It is impossible for us to continue with this trial, which as far as the prisoners are concerned seems to be in the Latin American style!

20 year-old woman
(who tried to read this declaration aloud in the courtroom but was silenced.)

We are locked in our prison cells 23 hours a day and "exercise" is the high point of the day. At some time in the morning we are taken up by lift to the cages on the roof. In those tiny triangles with walls and bars and netting all around we can walk in tight circles for an hour at most, if you get tired you're allowed back down after half an hour. That's all the fresh air we're allowed. Absolutely forbidden to say anything to the person in the next cage, otherwise you're sent down.

There are only single cells here. I have been put at one end of the corridor so as not to have any neighbours. Not allowed to mix with the other prisoners. If the system fucks up and another comrade in adversity happens to be in the corridor at the same time, the screws go berserk and hustle you out of the way as fast as they can.

The cells are small and super-secure. Everything fastened to the wall, no sharp corners, no hooks or visible screws and the furniture is made of wood.

Most things are forbidden. It's forbidden to receive articles that can be eaten, smoked, drunk or sniffed, to have any writing implements apart from a pencil or a plastic ballpoint pen, to be

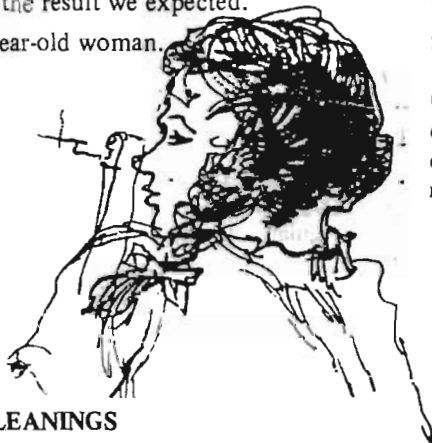


in possession of glass bottles or glue or a whole load of other things. The prosecution decides how tight the restrictions will be. I myself was kept in total isolation for over a month without any newspapers, radio, visits or conversation.

The screws at the prison carry out small body checks and cell searches more or less regularly, looking for prohibited items like glass bottles, chewing gum and weapons. In August once they set to a little more strongly. During the midday breaks on court days we are normally banged into cells to eat our lunch. Not so that day. When I arrived on the seventh floor together with my two warders I was moved into a cell in the remand section instead and was forced to get undressed. My clothes were taken out into the corridor and I was given a coat to sit on. After a while a nurse with blue rubber gloves on her hands came in and ordered me to sit on the table. Was gynaecologically examined and my rectum felt. They handed some food in to me but I could hardly eat it. I didn't understand what it was all about. Asked the staff why they were doing all this, why I wasn't allowed to have my clothes back and was told that it was orders from the governor. A quarter of an hour before the trial restarted they came in with a few clothes, some of them taken from my cupboard and some prison clothes, and told me to put these on since my own clothes were to be examined first. I refused and was then given back what I had been wearing earlier. When I got back to the courtroom it turned out that several of us had gone through the same disgusting treatment, and in addition that one of the guys had been set upon by a search squad, an unknown trio from Osteraker called the Black Brigade. They were supposed to have come down to us in the women's section

but didn't get round to it since they obviously had enough to do mistreating prisoners a couple of storeys above. We refused to participate in the trial until something was done about the matter and were given a promise that the circumstances would be investigated. The prosecutor Nass spoke on the radio and said that there was a rumour that weapons had been smuggled into the prison and that therefore the governor Lundin had decided on a thorough check. As if the treatment I've described were the only way they had of finding these weapons. One of the prosecutors was given the job of carrying out an investigation. First he went off on holiday, then when he came back it was announced that the investigation had been abandoned since no mistreatment could be substantiated. Just the result we expected.

19 year-old woman.



GLEANINGS

A Timely Reminder

It is good to note that despite their obvious difficulties our comrades at Freedom have not dropped their standards of editorial excellence. In their recent obituary notice of Gaston Leval they point out that "though a Frenchman" he "was in 1921 selected for the C.N.T. delegation to the Congress of Trade Unions in Moscow." Of course, this wording might be understood as revealing nationalistic sentiments on the part of Freedom's editors! Why "though a Frenchman?" As a native French speaker working in Spain Leval would surely have been an ideal member of the C.N.T. delegation to a congress where the largest organisation represented would have been the C.N.T.'s fraternal neighbour the C.G.T. of France and where in all probability the second language of most of the delegates would have been French.

Readers may, however, dismiss any suspicions of nationalism on the part of Freedom's editors from their minds. After all, this is one curse that the British, linked to intimately for so long to the four corners of the earth by ties of trade and empire, have been largely able to escape. What Freedom is

National Front Publicity Agents Inc.

Can you imagine a party who desperately wants the Labour Party to lose, putting up Independent Conservative candidates wherever possible? Imagine a manifesto "Anti-socialist fight must be won!" stating that the Conservative "response to the socialist challenge is feeble" and that therefore all true conservatives and anti-socialists must rally to put up independent conservative candidates, and adding "This will strengthen the conservative cause"

Quite clearly, this would split the vote. Nothing would please a party more than to have its opponents' vote divided by such a manoeuvre.

This is precisely the type of policy adopted by the so called Socialist Unity grouping. Namely putting up "anti" National Front candidates. Socialist unity is the thinly disguised International Marxist Group with the rump of the old O.R.A. (or whatever it finally called itself) covering up as non-partisan allies under the curious new name of the Libertarian Communist Group. They intend to "fight"

racism and the National Front by putting up their own candidates. "We should fight racism in the streets and in our propaganda...in council elections, in parliamentary by-elections and in the general election itself, race will be an issue. Revolutionaries should take up that issue."

Take it up? I should have thought it better to put it down. But Tariq Ali is making a play for the Pakistani and Bengali vote, to dish his fellow-Trots who have at last made some inroads into the Black vote. It is clear however what Tariq Ali is up to, it is pretty clear what the IMG are up to (they failed to make the run against the SWP and are trying to make it with further left cover). It is not clear what the "Libertarian Communists" are up to. They trot in and out of the anarchist movement and fail to make an impression, then back to one or other of the Marxist-Leninist groupings. It seems to be a bad case of the trots.

From a comic strip in the Guardian - a caricature of a caricature.



undoubtedly hinting at is the unfortunate nationalism over the years of the Spanish comrades who, in their preoccupation with the problems of exile and resistance, have so largely ignored the pursuit of the new life offered to them by the democracies since 1945. Freedom, while not actually speaking out against this nationalism, has consistently opposed it, either with the occasional unfavourable inference, or simply by maintaining silence about the resistance to Franco.

Leval's death is a timely occasion on which to drop a further hint; after all the nationalism didn't just come from nowhere. It doubtless goes back as far as 1921, even though there are those who will romanticise the C.N.T. at a distance and point to the large numbers of Portuguese and Latin American immigrants who occupied positions of trust in the C.N.T. in the twenties and thirties. That, however, is another matter altogether, as could be shown quite easily here and now if it were not for the shortage of space.

For my part, I think it is particularly unfortunate that so many Spanish comrades have been unable to make use of their enjoyment of our hospitality

to absorb the particular contributions of the English speaking world to the grand body of anarchist theory. I refer particularly to the wiser and more educated heads among us and their attempts over the past few decades or so to finally lay the ghost of the class war and workers' revolution. Now, as the Spanish movement grows by the hour, one can only regret that more Spaniards did not find homes in England, the United States, Australia, India, where notions of anarchy tend to be rather more advanced than in the Latin countries. Little wiser, the exiles now return. I ask myself, "Was it all worth it?" But then, human progress is slow and to suffer ingratitude was ever the lot of the generous.

Man O' the Movement.



ROON 'N' ABOUT



Are you legal, decent, honest, truthful?, asks the Advertising Association, alleging that its sponsored advertisements are and you should write and tell them when, it ever, they fall short of these requirements. Ever helpful I did. I pointed out to them that the Panacea Society is advertising the qualities of a box which if opened by the bishops will have wonderful results.

We can't do anything about that, it's a religious belief! cried the Advertising Association in alarm. That is not the point I said. Is it honest? Is it truthful? Is there, indeed, any box at all? It is not a question of what the devotees of Joanna Southcott believe or do not believe.

Either they have a box or they don't have a box. If they have one, they can believe what they like about it. But do they?

The A.A. insist that it's a religion and therefore whether illegal, indecent, dishonest or lying they can't touch it. An important difference from what they state in their advertisement.

Contemporaries of Joanna Southcott believed she was going to give birth to the Shiloh by divine intervention (she was flatulent and had what is now known as a false pregnancy). When she died they didn't give up the belief but instead transferred the legend of Pandora's Box to her housebox — that of any woman in service at the time — likening it to the Ark of the Covenant and basing their beliefs on the relevant Bible text to that. Over the years the believers have drifted away, the box has drifted away — all that is real is the money they gave. That hasn't died, it's increased — by careful handling — not divine guidance (notoriously bad in this respect). The hard core of the Panacea Society live on the residue of the cash which has accumulated: they all reside in houses belonging to it and make a fair living out of it. They don't seek "converts" though they send out leaflets in response to their advertisement done to keep it alive and justify to the Charity Commissioners that they are not in breach of their legal trust. Is it honest? Is it truthful? Come to think of it, since at any rate in the past this sort of ranting scared people, is it even decent? But legal, yes.

Join the Army

The advertisements of Army recruiting couldn't pass the requirements either (and aren't a religious belief, though they are almost so with some people). Consider this gem from the Army Officer Recruitment Board: Amongst other things, to pass the exam for an Army officer you will "have to present persuasive arguments in favour of your solution to a variety of problems." But if you have trouble in communicating? "Take steps right away. Join a debating society or a drama club. Take a soap box to Speaker's Corner. It won't take you long to overcome the communication problem."

Can you imagine what the Recruitment Board is going to say to some poor sod who is recognised as having spoken in Hyde Park?

One is reminded of John Strachey — after years of being the "English Lenin" having disagreed with the Communist Party over entering the war and applying to become an Air Force officer. "We recognise you Mr. Strachey," they said exchanging knowing smiles. Poor Strachey's face fell. Bang went his hopes . . . "You're one of the (which ever it was) Stracheys, related to the Earl of Lytton" . . . Would he have become a Wing Commander if they had recognised him as the leading British campaigner for the Red Front, the United Front and finally the Popular Front? The colour of the government has changed since then, Strachey was in it himself. But the officer mentality is unaltered.

Citizens Seize Band

Australians cannot bear to see a natural resource left unused or rationed by the government. So it has been through history with the land, the gold, and now . . . the ether. Today Australia's radio 'pirates' number 70-80,000 according to one of their spokesmen, 20,000 by Government figures. Without waiting for permission from the lawmakers, they have carved out their own Citizen's Band on the American model. They have met surprisingly little opposition. Now they are waiting for Canberra to put the stamp of legal approval on the situation which already exists.

Patron Saint of Copytakers.

On the 500th anniversary of Sir Thomas More's death the London *Evening Standard* diarist recalled that More was not altogether a saint — he was a "highly polemical propagandist" for the Tudor dynasty and engaged in the "character assassination" of Richard III for the benefit of that somewhat mean and shabby dictator Henry VII.

The reasons historians are reluctant to accept other than the Tudor case against Richard — unhistorical though it is — is partly due to Shakespeare's dramatisation of the "More version" and partly because of the Catholic Church's interest. How could it be accepted that a saint — as More later became — could write out a tissue of lies?

But the fact is that More, a young man at the time, and copyist for Archbishop Moreton (Henry VII's Chancellor — accepted even by the Church as a pretty unsavoury character). Are copytakers, and printers, responsible for the lucubrations of the journalists? A moral case may perhaps be made out that they are — just as workers in the jam factory are in a way responsible for the colouring in the jam or those in the arms factory for deaths in war. But it is not a case that would be accepted by the editor of the *Standard*.

When the printers have tried to take some action against the publication of similar lies to those about Richard III — but within our own day, and against the labour movement, in the case of the *Standard* — or against racialism, in the case of the *Glasgow Express* — journalists have howled that it is a breach of freedom of the press for anyone to reject an article but the editor. That's what, if we must be historical, triggered off the 1926 General Strike.

Writing to a daily newspaper, a comrade, Dachine Rainer, takes its reviewer to task for not mentioning that "Tolstoy

was an anarchist" while discussing his ideas. She states that he does so notwithstanding mentioning a "very passable" (though somewhat negative) definition of anarchism: "Socialism, indeed any State authority, was as repulsive in Tolstoy's view as any other form of restraint."

"On behalf of hundreds of thousands of Tolstoyan anarchists (who include most but not all religious pacifists) may I risk naming Tolstoy's political philosophy and suggest that it was not appreciably different from that of our own Shelley and Godwin, save that these were atheist and Tolstoy was a religious anarchist?"

Yet was the reviewer all that much to blame? If true, how was he to know? Dachine Rainer is in fact putting her own variation of anarchism on to Tolstoy's shoulders and making him responsible for a "sect" of anarchists. Perhaps those sectarians deserve Tolstoy, but did he deserve them? - Where exactly did Tolstoy even refer to anarchism except in terms of the crudest incomprehension?

His religious ideas are simplistic; his social ideas hierarchical; his views on personal relations anti-life; his quietism absurd; he does have anti-authoritarian views of a sort, but not enough to merit being called an anarchist *malgré lui*. Who first thought of applying the label to him? Who first tagged the label "Tolstoyan" to those trying to combine religion and anarchism, or even pacifism and anarchism (or all three)? It would be interesting to know.

This is not to deprecate Tolstoy as a writer nor even as a thinker (he is unexcelled when writing on guerrilla warfare). There is a certain amount of nationalism in his writing but he is unsurpassed as an anti-clerical writer.

If taking a 19th century writer and going by more or less what he implied in his writings and ignoring his personal life is to be done, why not choose Ibsen rather than Tolstoy?

Thought For the Month

Do you realise that Prince Charlie could get married, get his wife's ovaries chopped out, fertilise them in vitro, have the ova then inserted into the uteri of foster mothers, and have 15,000 or so legal issue within nine months? We'd have to support *the lot!*

The Mosquito Knows

The mosquito knows full well, small as he is he's a beast of prey. But after all he only takes his bellyful, he doesn't put my blood in the bank.

D.H. Lawrence.

The following leaflet was handed out at International Women's Day in Sydney this year. Written by Dianne Palmer and reproduced here from 'Panic.'

CHANGE OF ROUTE

We ask for your assistance in complying with the following:

Petty Bourgeois: rush back to your house the deviants are throwing your TVs into your swimming pools and masturbating on your silk sheets.

Marxist-Leninists: march along George Street to Circular Quay where you can throw yourselves into the harbour to provide a heroic example of the glorious sacrificial future to which our vanguards promise to lead us.

Trendy Leftists: march to Paris Theatre where you can crush yourselves to death in your afflictive idolisation of your reflected mirror soul selves.

Lesbian Feminists Separatist Battalion: march to Central Police Station. Machine guns will be handed out along the route of the march. Attack will be before lunch.

Feminist Bureaucrats: to the Labour Party HQ where you can kill your male androgynous sister/brother vampires. Then kill yourselves for you are the living dead.

Others: those who don't want a world where the possibility of dying of hunger has been replaced with the certainty of dying of boredom - go to Hyde Park and do what you like, Down with Rigidity. Viva La Flux.

And Where Were You?

War on Want published a booklet on the eve of the TUC conference - "Where were you, brother?" by Don Thomson and Rodney Larson - accusing the British trade union of 'trade union imperialism' by putting its resources at the disposal of the CIA. States the pamphlet "The vast majority of

British trade unions simply do not know what is done in their name", and with that statement we can find absolutely no fault. But alas, War on Want, typically of the liberal approach, proves itself a blind leader of the blind; it is the person suffering from preventable blindness presuming to guide one whose eyes have been gouged out.

Those British trade unionists who do know what is done in their name cannot prevent it. But those who presume to state that - against the whole tendency of

Where Were You, Brother? by Don Thomson and Rodney Larson (War on Want £1.20)

totalitarian trade unionism within totalitarian social democracy - they could do so, should state the whole case. They speak of the support for CIA backed intervention in the affairs of South America, for instance. The Latin American unions are neither more nor less democratic than the British. War on Want says the TUC is prevented from "contact with genuine grass roots organisations". Yet what is it *itself*? How does it differ from a trades union movement in a dictatorship? Is it more representative? More militant? Are its leaders genuinely chosen for their merits by an unfettered membership?

From the lists of the crimes on behalf of the CIA the authors noticeably omit to mention Spain. There the TUC intervened in Spanish politics for years in an effort to resuscitate the UGT or to form an 'instant coffee' labour movement out of the Workers Commissions, notwithstanding its domination by the Communists. This was done with the approval of the CIA. Why? because it wanted to circumvent the CNT and still does so try. But because for once it had a common cause with Moscow, this was not listed as one of the crimes of the CIA.

Finally the TUC is accused - we are sure rightly - of co-operating with the CIA to organise worker resistance to the Allende regime in Chile. How was it possible to even think of doing this if there were not already good grounds for worker resistance to Allende? Allende had persecuted the working class movement. The finest rebels were in jail when the fascist regime struck. Now apparently he is a 'martyr president' of the liberals and the pack of deal left. had he not died when he did, would he have relished going into an army jail even without the brutal warders - among the many people he had already sent there himself.



ROMAN DIARY

OF WOMEN ACTIVISTS

Martine Sorti and Marie-Odile Delacour:

For women in the 'movement' there is nothing to choose between the violence of the State and that of the Red Brigades. In a difficult situation they are trying to hold on to their own solutions.

This year the 'party' is over as far as Italian women are concerned. No more large, seething assemblies like *Governo Vecchio* where the feminists 'fused' towards the same objectives. That period has passed, giving way to a succession of tensions and conflicts both real and ideological: in one year the Italian women's movement has been transformed. Many have found their way into the 'Movimenti delle emarginati.' The 'historical' feminists and the deminst 'autocoscienza' collectives have seen an expansion in their numbers: since the spring of '77 they have been joined by students from schools and colleges, workers, the unemployed. On 8 March there were 50,000 in Rome, 20,000 in Milan, thousands more in Turin, Genoa, Bologna . . . An extraordinary explosion onto the streets which has surprised even the feminists themselves.

This qualitative transformation of feminism has left its mark on feminist language, theory, and practice. It's a time for asking questions and moving towards new answers. In Rome for the international conference on violence against women, we thought that the Italians would have as one of the items on the agenda a debate on the violence of the terrorists and the violence of the State. We thought that they would take up the questions which have preoccupied us in France over the last few months, since Italian feminism is seen here, if not as a model, then at least as one of the most prominent movements in Europe. But no: the question of institutional and terrorist violence was never formally raised at the conference. If over the past year Italian women have been coming up against the political institutions and the problems of political struggle, mainly in response to questions asked of them by women on the other side of the fence,

they have chosen not to speak about it in public and not to answer the urgent appeals from the parties waiting for them just around the corner. This is not to say that the movement is not fractured by a host of uncertainties. It is looking for a new identity, being the only genuine mass movement in the peninsula in '78. 'Post-feminism': a word used at the Rome conference: the movement wants to find its way back to being an activist movement since it is at risk of finding itself trapped in a cultural role and no longer in contact with reality. We spent a week in Rome, meeting women who have found different ways of putting their ideas into practice, trying to understand their approach. What follows is not a panoramic view of what they are thinking and doing, but rather a sketch of their 'individual geographies.'

"Going to a meeting nowadays isn't something neutral, we are showing that we intend to work out our own solutions and defend the chance to speak and act for ourselves. What contribution can we make in the present situation, if not that of confronting the problem of violence by moving away from the violence that makes each of us individually either a victim or responsible for it? When feminism came into being we were told that we were out of touch with reality. We have shown, our movement has shown that this is not so. And we are the only movement still in existence today which wants to keep on growing . . ."

Easter Monday is the main auditorium of Rome University and the conference on violence against women is in its final stages. Sandra, from the editorial group of the feminist monthly *Effe*, is replying to a French woman who has registered her surprise that not a word has been said about the political situation in Italy, particularly in view of the fact that it is heavily loaded with violence.

For the past three days, sure enough, at the Women's Centre in the *Via del Governo Vecchio* and then at Rome University, there has been a multiplicity of working-groups and debates on violence

in the family, in two-person relationships, in prisons, in psychiatric hospitals, in sexual relationships, and also on violence between women. Planned several months ago, the conference has been organised not by the whole of the Italian feminist movement, but by one of its most moderate constituent groups, the MLD (Movement for the Liberation of Women), supported on this occasion by the more 'radical' *Effe*. The numbers attending are smaller than expected: not more than 2,000 women, most of them from the MLD. Neither the women from the independent feminist collectives, nor the 'historical feminists,' nor the young autonomists are there. Some of them sit through the conference without making any intervention, as if they knew in advance what was going to be said and could see no point in saying anything themselves. This Easter Conference in Rome, then, cannot be taken as representative of the Italian movement as a whole, even if certain aspects of it can be seen as symptomatic.

For the past three days we have been assailed by the feeling that we are listening to a repetitive catechism of women's oppression. More than one participant finds this inventory of the 'feminine experience' a wearying business and as the weekend draws to a close some of them do not trouble to hide their anger. The approach — 'start with ourselves, start with our own oppression' — certainly seems to be sound, as always. Indeed this is one of the 'achievements' of the women's movement, particularly in Italy where 'autocoscienza'(1) has been widely practised across the whole spectrum of small groups. The personal, it has been said time and time again, is political, but slowly, softly, another phrase is beginning to make itself heard: "Isn't the political also personal?" Over the last months, and indeed outside the conference hall, this question has given rise to much debate amongst the Italian feminists. But they do not want to put themselves into a position that many are trying to force them into.

The Italian women's movement

remains the only social movement to have lost none of its strength, and the least of its initiatives is microscopically examined. Consider the prominence given by the press to what it does. In France, a conference like that held over the Easter weekend would have occasioned, with one or two exceptions perhaps, only a few paragraphs; in Italy almost all the newspapers devoted several columns to it. Moreover, all of them have criticised the feminists for not condemning the Red Brigades nor entering the holy alliance 'in defence of the State and democracy.' Over the past twelve months or so the feminists have been called upon to declare their opposition to the violence of the 'terrorists.' Hence their suspicions and their silence, in public at least, and also their refusal to abandon their identity in the pursuit of causes which may not necessarily be their own.

We will resist every attempt at blackmail

But the debate has been going on for more than a year, fuelled by the various actions and demonstrations mounted by the students, the 'emarginati', and the 'exclusionists' since the spring of '77; these have been violent, characterised by some very forceful confrontations with the police and a number of deaths; particularly that of Georgiana Massi, killed during a demonstration in Rome. Anna Luisa, who works at Time Regained, a feminist bookshop in Rome, told us, "Whenever we tried to discuss the political situation, we saw that there was a risk that the movement would not survive. We recognised that we were still tied to our earlier political positions; those who had been in Manifesto (2) still thought along Manifesto lines, and the same went for those who had been in Avanguardia Operaia and Potere Operaio. It became clear to us that we had not as yet created our own methods of political and social analysis. At the same time we knew that our involvement in politics could no longer be the same as it had been before; so we are taking our time, choosing not to be distracted from our own concerns; violence has become an unmistakable part of everyday life, we mustn't let ourselves be rushed into a position that is foreign to us."

This viewpoint is not peculiar to Anna Luisa. Many Italian feminists have decided to maintain this separatism as a guarantee, real or imagined, of their own existence. All the more so since everything that declares itself to be 'different' runs the risk of being made to suffer the consequences by the holy alliance present in force. Giovanna, a member of the Pompeo Magno collective, one of the first in Rome and one of the most radical,

explains: "What we are trying to analyse is the attempt to criminalise everything that is different and refuses to join the alliance between the Communists and the Christian Democrats. At the present time an attempt is being made to isolate the autonomists and the extra-parliamentary left. The feminists are beginning to be regarded as a marginalised group and in the present situation it is no longer certain that we would be able to initiate action in the same way as we have done in the past. For example, it's doubtful whether the occupation of Governo Vecchio would be possible today. In Genoa, women who put up posters for the 8 March mobilisation were arrested and kept in prison for a week. The 8 March demonstration was banned to begin with, yet that was before Moro was kidnapped."

When the unions called a strike following the abduction of the Christian Democrat leader, it was the feminists of Pompeo Magno who retorted, "Would you call a strike for a woman who died while having an abortion?" "In view of the present situation," Giovanna continues, "and of the threat to everyone and to the women's movement in particular, I do not



want my response to be one of violence; the feminists are advocates of peaceful revolution, but I wonder if that's because we don't have the instruments of violence or because we are genuine pacifists? I think we have to find methods of resistance and struggle against the system that are more radical than the spontaneous individualist, and freelance struggle that some people are advocating at the present moment."

So the Italian feminists do not intend to underwrite without further consideration any series of emergency measures which would mean abandoning their identity and the political methods they have developed in recent years. Here for instance is a statement written by the Via Col di Lana group from Milan (one of the first feminist groups in the city) after the kidnapping of Moro: "Terrorism

nourishes and actualises the fear of danger: for the great majority of people who are exposed every day to the spectacle presented through the mass media, this is not so much the fear of a return to fascism as the fear of everything which today is bringing about profound change, both social and personal (the women's struggle, the young people's movement, the revolt against work . . .) This fear is reality a fear of everything that presents itself as different and in contradiction with existing institutions. In this sense what is 'different' is not terrorism, which has a conservative effect on those emotions and forms of behaviour which prop up the institutional establishment, but rather those who work outside and against this establishment. Terrorism claims to be radically opposed to power, but it is only its mirror, reflecting its gestures and its logic . . . To those who call on us to resist fascism, we would answer that today women are in the process of transforming their historical resistance into a conscious struggle and will submit neither to blackmail, nor to terrorism, not to the institutions which have constantly oppressed us."

Traditionalists and Modernists

The slogan "No to the BR, no to the State" sums up fairly well the position of almost the whole of the feminist movement. A position which explains why the UDI (Union of Italian Women, close to the PCI) has dissociated itself from the feminist collectives, despite the fact that the abortion struggle in particular had brought them closer together over the past few years. It also explains the differences which have arisen during the past twelve months between those who were in at the beginning of the women's movement and who in Italy are called 'historical feminists,' and those who are younger, notably the autonomist women who came into politics — and some of them into feminism — in the spring of '77. To the 'traditionalists,' autonomist women are above all the women of the autonomists; the modernists accept that the traditionalists made a decisive break with the past some years ago, but maintain that they tend to turn in on themselves too much. The death of Georgiana Massi last year gave rise to different reactions within the movement: the diehard partisans of separatism consider Georgiana's death in the course of a mixed demonstration to be of no direct concern to themselves as women, but against this there were others who felt that they ought to take action, together with men if need be, against police repression.

We are left with a number of questions, none of which have yet been answered decisively. Will feminist separatism have to be as rigidly maintained in the future? How to escape the logic of marginalisation and that of the State? How to confront the institutions without becoming trapped by them? How to measure the impact of feminism outside the area occupied by the intelligentsia and the middle class? How, in a period of social and political crisis, to continue the struggle without abandoning their own terrain? And how finally to continue to assert the women's movement as a political force?

On 8 March there were 20,000 on the streets in Milan, several thousands in Turin, 50,000 in Rome. The UDI had called separate demonstrations, declaring that the feminists were splitting the movement. But there were 50,000 in the split, less than 3,000 in the mainstream. "We didn't know how the demonstration was going to turn out," Laura remembers. "A lot of us went along, and there we were, but for three hours no one shouted any slogans. We were establishing a presence which everyone must reckon with, but there was no content, no declared aim, people just said here we are, all together."

So the Italian feminist movement continues to make an impact by the force of its own arguments, quantitatively at least. The battles which it has had to fight to win elementary civil rights, divorce for example, explain its massive support. The fight for abortion is still to be won. "The visible tip of the iceberg," to borrow a phrase of Manuela's, is important in spite of its uncertainties and

hesitations. But no one today knows how far below the surface the whole iceberg lies.

Footnotes:

(1) *Autoconscienza*: the equivalent in this country is the consciousness-raising group. Women go there to talk, express themselves, communicate their experience collectively.

(2) *Manifesto*: group formed after a split from the PCI in 1968. Its leading figures are Rosana Rossanda and Lucio Magri. *Avanguardia Operaia*: Leninist group dissolved in '77 after a split. One section joined Manifesto; the militant faction founded Democrazia Operaia. *Potere Operaio*: No longer in existence, this group personifies the 'theoretical workerist' current and many autonomists still relate to it.

* * * * *

Talking to autonomist women

Italy is the birthplace of autonomy. One of its earliest organisations, the highly

structured *Autonomia Operaia*, has already been in existence for several years. Most of its members are men. There are still some women in the group, but they are becoming fewer and fewer. The 'new autonomists' closer today to feminism, call them the 'duplicator angles'. A neat way to describe these women who, they feel, are too bound to a macho organisation. "The autonomist women" the feminists told us, "are the women of the autonomists..." Let's find out.

Autonomia Operaia puts out a paper called *Volvi* and owns a free radio station, *Onda Rosa*. We met *Piera*, one of the women who works on *Volvi* (1) and who has been an autonomist for two years. "Since the 'emarginati' movement, autonomist women have taken a greater interest in feminism. The major contradiction between ourselves and the feminists is everything to do with violence. The MLD refuses completely to declare its position on this issue. A pregnant woman was beaten up during a demonstration last year, she had to have an abortion: the only response from the *Pompeo Magno* feminists was to organise a handicrafts exhibition. The other feminists had agreed to state a protest demonstration. But on the whole they declared that they were non-violent and refused to counter acts of institutional violence. Unlike the feminists, autonomist women want to introduce political discussion and activity into their workplaces; but just recently they have been trying more and more to combine militant activity with certain feminist issues. What divides us still is that we do not believe that violence is an attribute only of men, we have it in ourselves as well. During major demonstrations over these last months we have never refused to confront the police. For example, at *Tuscolano* we mobilised after the rape of a woman by the doctor who had just given her an abortion. We were in front of the anti-abortionist church when the police attacked us very brutally. When all the women stayed where they were, it was a form of resistance against the police. After this demonstration most feminists accused us of using violence, like the men. For myself, I see autonomy as the only possibility for political action at present; *Lotta Continua*, one of the last extra-parliamentary organisations, has now become a movement of opposition, of reflection."

With the 'emarginati'

"Violence is death, it divides and destroys," said one woman at the conference on violence in Rome. The autonomists and the women from the local collectives did

not go along to defend their very different point of view, preferring to avoid a confrontation on this issue. A few days later we talked to some women from *Gazza Ladra* (*Thieving Magpie*) who see themselves equally as autonomists and feminists. *Gazza Ladra* has existed in Rome for about 6 months and its membership is less than 20 women. Without exception they are young, most of them students at school or college, or else unemployed. They came into feminism in the wake of the 'emarginati' movement of '77: "The feminist movement started above all in the 'autocoscienza' groups. Since '68 it has represented a break with traditional politics that was necessary because the student opposition movement disregarded women entirely. But the feminists have rebuilt the ghetto anew. With the economic crisis, Italian women are in a catastrophic situation, particularly in the south. They are confined at home by the lack of work and remain isolated. The political parties, even the PCI, are putting themselves across in a very 'reactionary' way, and that itself is a form of intolerable violence, institutional violence. After the death of *Giorgiana Massi* the 'historical' feminist movement fragmented when it tried to deal with the problem of violence. We think that with the development of social democracy and the disappearance of the rule of law, the problem of the repression demands an urgent response. Here in Rome we are

in a difficult situation since this is the birthplace of historical feminism. We are unable to act as an opposition within the women's movement since the 'historicals' exercise a kind of power. In Milan and Turin, autonomy is stronger since there is a working-class tradition and the PDUP and *Lotta Continua* have been dissolved. So in Rome the autonomist women are very scattered. There are a lot of them in the local groups, in the schools, at the university, but up till now there hasn't been any coordination. Today many young women find themselves close to autonomy since they look on themselves as an oppositional force and are intervening in a very concrete way in their own districts and in the hospitals: some of the autonomists are nurses. Here in Rome our main activity is producing counter-information. We in *Gazza Ladra* have a two-hour programme each week on *Radio Onda Rosa*. We've used our time on the air to give support to *Franca Salerno* of the NAP (2) in her struggle against the prisons. The feminists have done nothing for her since she wasn't one of them. For us the important thing

MORO KIDNAP

The kidnapping and execution in Italy of ex-prime minister Moro by the Red Brigades, has turned the attention of the whole world to the problem of crisis within an advanced capitalist State, and the relative problem of the growth in the phenomenon of armed struggle.

For weeks newspapers have given maximum coverage to the actions of the Red Brigades, demonstrating how the level of the class struggle in Italy is certainly amongst the highest in Europe today.

But all this journalistic and television attention on the Moro kidnapping and armed struggle have led to no clarification, particularly in other countries, capable of contributing to an understanding by revolutionaries as to what the actual conditions of struggle are, what the future consequences could be, the repression that could follow, or what real possibilities of liberation the movement as a whole possesses.

The boss class certainly don't have any interest in clarifying these problems, which are the interest of all proletarians and those struggling for the revolutionary cause.

In Italy capitalist relations have undergone a profound modification over the past few years due to the increase in unemployment, a diminution in productive capacity, a reduction in profit level, and a flight of capital; briefly, all this has led to increasing difficulty on the part of the capitalist forces in controlling the exploited.

Revolutionary minorities have emerged from various waves of struggle over the past few years in the centres of production in the North and the most exploited areas in the South such as Naples. These vanguards, after having led and directed the struggles, have been isolated and portrayed as criminals by the State at the time of the reflux of the struggles themselves, i.e. at moments in which capital managed to recuperate and contain the workers' economic claims. The vanguards, who had proposed more advanced forms of struggle, were necessarily cut off and represented as criminals by the State.

Certainly, alongside the State's possibility to criminalise vanguards, the defects of the latter — largely Marxist and authoritarian formations — should also be noted. They had meant to 'lead' the masses, to 'illuminate' them, never thinking that they could work

within the masses themselves, inserting themselves in a libertarian perspective instead of an authoritarian one.

In any case, once they were cut off from the struggles due to their reflux as we said, these vanguards transformed themselves into clandestine armed movements and then, as has happened for the Red Brigades, into armed parties.

Even with all the limitations and negative considerations which we as anarchists have of the authoritarian vision of these organisations, from the moment in which they entered into clandestinity and began their attack on the State, we have always supported them in principle, approving their operation. And we have done this when many anarchist comrades were not at all in agreement with us, seeing these movements as objectively a provocation.

Then, with the passing of years, and a clarification of the theoretical positions held by these groups of a Marxist matrix, many anarchist comrades have ended up giving a just analysis concerning them — a critical but correct analysis.

What is important in Italy today is the tendency of the revolutionary movement as a whole to see these movements such as the Red Brigades in a critical light. While there is now a positive evaluation of armed struggle as an instrument of intervention in the class struggle, the authoritarian model of the armed party is coming to be refused, or at least to be considered extremely dangerous and strategically negative.

In this sense the Red Brigades, even if they manage to carry out sensational actions such as the Moro affair, are somewhat emarginated. The revolutionary movement favours armed struggle directed elsewhere.

It should be noted that there exists in Italy today a different type of organisation of armed struggle, 'Azione Rivoluzionaria' which clearly makes reference to anarchism, and is developing a critique of authoritarian Marxism. This critique has not only taken the form of documents, but also of certain actions, such as the destruction of special prisons under construction, attacks against medical officers, journalists (also C.P. ones), etc., and attacks against production.

The points of criticism concerning the authoritarian type of organisation of struggle are: a) their direct counter-

position with the State without a necessary evaluation of the movement as a whole: b) the realisation of actions of such a high technical quality as to be

considered by other comrades the expression of an organisation of quite inimitable strategic level; their proposition of the organisation itself as an alternative element to the existing state of affairs (therefore in fact a future State); d) their refusal to recognise the armed or illegal clash at lower levels (absenteeism, conquest of free time, illegal behaviour, attacks on the small structures of repression, etc.)

In reality a net distinction does not exist. It is the Italian revolutionary movement as a whole which is trying to find its road, in the midst of so many contradictions. The Red Brigades are one expression of these contradictions, they are not the most important one, nor are they even a point of reference for the whole of the movement. The reality of the clash is to be found in an ever increasing participation of all the exploited in the attack against the State.

The Comrades of 'Anarchismo.'

Catania, Sicily.

During the period immediately preceding Carter's visit to the Northwest, the SS and FBI came up with a supposed plot by the George Jackson Brigade to assassinate the president.

They gave a 4-hour polygraph test to one of Janine Bertram's cell-mates, who was about to be released, claiming that she had been recruited and was part of the plot. They visited Rita Brown in Alderson, West Virginia, and told her that she was directing the plot via phone and letters from her maximum security prison cell. They also provided a list of names, mostly of Seattle area feminists and prison movement activists, who were supposed to be connected to all this. During this time, John Sherman was moved to deadlock, supposedly because of his role in a hunger strike for better conditions at the jail.

There are three possible reasons for this fabrication:

- 1) They are so paranoid they actually believe it.
- 2) They made it up so it would look like they were earning their pay-cheques.
- 3) This is the beginning of a new stepped-up witch-hunt in the Northwest.

As a captured GBS member put it: "The GJB wouldn't demean itself to look at the guy. He's just another distant bureaucrat."

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

NOTES FROM THE GULAG PLANET

SPAIN

The C.N.T. now has a paid up membership of over 500,000.

USA

George Jackson Brigade Members

Rita Brown, 21813, Box A, Alderson, West Virginia, 24910, USA

Therese Coupez, County/City Bldg., Women's Jail, 930 Tacoma Ave., So., Tacoma, Washington, 98402, USA

Janine Bertram, Snohomish County Courthouse, Box 500, Everett, Washington, 98201, USA.

John Sherman, King County Jail, King County Courthouse, Seattle, Wash. 98104.

BRITAIN

Arthur Franks has been promoted to the head of M.I.6. Anyone wishing to congratulate him could try phoning his friends at MI5 on 01 222 6266

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Ivan Jirous, a member of the plastic people of the Universe, dissident rock group, has had his jail sentence increased from 8 to 18 months.

GREECE

Greek Tragedy -- or farce?

In May 1976 the Greek anarchist magazine *When* published an anti-militarist issue. In October 1977, 8 of the editorial staff were arrested by the Greek police and accused of being the "moral instigators" of the demonstrations which took place in various towns in Greece after the murder of the RAF prisoners in Stammheim prison.

Among the arrested was Nicos Balis. Nicos was released again in December '77 on bail, with the obligation to report regularly to the police while the trial was being prepared. But on 23.6.78 Nicos had been sentenced to 13 months prison in a trial that had taken place in his absence. According to the police and the prosecution Nicos had been hiding at the time of the trial. Nicos lived, however, the whole time at two addresses which were known to the police, and during that time, Nicos reported regularly every 15 days to the police.

Thus Nicos was not informed of the alleged trial against him, neither while he was held in custody during October/December '77 nor later when he was regularly reporting to the police. Nicos' lawyer was never contacted concerning the alleged

trial. (It can also be noted that at the time Nicos worked as a translator for a publishing company that also had his address, and the police had even sent a letter to this address which they claimed not to know.)

Nicos and his lawyer first heard about this alleged trial after his arrest on 23.6.78. Nicos' lawyer declared that both the alleged trial and the sentence were invalid. A new trial took place on 1.7.78. The defence, with the help of witnesses and, inter alia, the police's own material, was able to show quite clearly that Nicos had always been at his official address. The prosecutor against Nicos was the notorious Deventzas, who made his name and laid the basis for his career by notable efforts on behalf of the military junta. Deventzas still shows his solidarity for the fascist movement when, as procurator, he lets off, or demands light sentences for prosecuted fascists.

The sentence of the trial which the police claimed had been held against Nicos in his absence was confirmed, and Nicos received a thirteen month prison sentence for the contents of the anti-militarist magazine he edited.

MEXICO

Last year 25,000 Mexican women, the majority of them aged between 17 and 25, died as a result of illegal abortions according to official statistics published in August. The figure of 1½ million back street abortions carried out in 1977 is expected to increase during 1978.

PLANET EARTH

According to an authoritative report prepared for submission to the United Nations, by Susan Georges, 2,500 people die of hunger (or illness caused by malnutrition) every six hours!

According to the Los Angeles Times, 85% of Peru's population is now classified as "poor", and most of the country's 16 million people are now literally on the brink of starvation.

SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is now the world's most violent country -- there were 11,342 murders during the year 1976-77. Tory party members will be interested to note that although SA retains the death penalty

the murder rate is rising. Unlike Britain, where the murder rate has consistently fallen over the last 5 years.

FRANCE

Arrests (1)

A symbolic attack was made on the Spanish consulate in Nimes, on the night of June 30, when a dud stick of dynamite was placed in the doorway. A police patrol arrested two people, both libertarians, and later picked up two others accusing them of "complicity" in the attack, which was in protest at the continued imprisonment and torture of anarchists in Spanish jails. All four face charges of attempted destruction of property and conspiracy.

Write to: Christian Segura (No. 228); Pierre Segura (No. 219); Bernard Montes (No. 403); and Daniel Villanova, Chemin de la Serre, B.P. 30010 Nimes, France.

Arrests (2)

At midnight on July 11, four people were arrested by Toulouse police on the pretext of an identity check. Two nights later 8 more people were arrested -- members of autonomous groups and ex-Gari members -- and charged with planning to organise a hold-up. Three were also accused of possession of firearms.

A few days later an issue of *La Depeche* carried a sensational article about the destruction of a "terrorist cell" which had plans to kidnap an Italian celebrity.

Police claim to have found several guns in the homes of Gerard Derbrese and Helene Camalonga, and arrested them, along with Ernest Martinez Loscos who was looking after the belongings of his friends.

Police zeal in the affair is not solely due to vague rumours of plans for a hold-up, but is a panic measure designed to forestall any criticism of their failure to arrest people responsible for a number of attacks on official buildings in the Toulouse area.

USA

Human Rights

Philadelphia police used a bull-dozer to storm a barricaded house that had been under siege for several months. One policeman was killed and at least 7 people were injured as police opened fire on the men, women and children in the house.

Technically, the police siege started after the occupants of the house refused

to admit city health inspectors onto the premises, but the confrontation has involved much more complex issues revolving around cultural opposition to American life; and police harassment of poor neighbourhoods. The occupants of the house were members of MOVE, a racially mixed group that was basically anti-technology. MOVE members (in spite of inaccurate reports) are not black nationalists, although they have attempted to capitalise on white fears of black stereotypes, adopting many of the outward trappings of the rastafarians.

The police action in sealing off the area around the house, and attempting to force out MOVE members has polarised the community. There were several demonstrations, both for and against MOVE, the first anti-MOVE residents having faced considerable problems when MOVE first came to the area. Out of respect for life they fed stray dogs, cats and rats, and all multiplied. They made political speeches during the day and night on a loud hailer, and sometimes broke up meetings. After some neighbours confronted them they changed their attitude, being genuinely prepared to compromise, and many of the disagreements had arisen out of a lack of knowledge about recycling and so on.

What brought things to a head, however, was the eviction of a MOVE member from another house, after which MOVE members appeared on the streets, armed and uniformed. The State could not allow any challenge to its monopoly of force, and moved in - hence the siege.

After the siege ended, Philadelphia's ex-cop, Mayor, Frank Rizzo, who is openly racist, and about the closest thing to a fascist outside the openly nazi groups said "These are violent people."

Solidarity Organisations.

Mexico: Comite de solidarite avec la lutte du peuple mexican, 14 rue Nanteuil, Paris 15.

Brazil: Pro-amnesty Barzil committee, c/o Buy Arenche, 1 rue Paul Strauss, 75020 Paris.

Central America: Central American solidarity committee, c/o America Presse, 46 rue de Vaugirard, 75006 Paris.

Colombia: Groupe Colombie, Case postale 12, 1010 Lausanne, Switzerland.

Paraguay: Centre du Documentation Paysanne du Paraguay, 20 rue Grevelingen, 1040 Brussels.

Ecuador: Support committee for the people of Ecuador, 94 rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris 6.

Mexico - some figures:
 literacy: 40/70%. 6000 political prisoners.
 500,000 Indian women in domestic service. 12 million unemployed (out of 62m population).

France - Front Libertaire accused!
 Front Libertaire, paper of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire, is being prosecuted by the French authorities, for the "apology of crimes of murder and arson," following the publication of article by Noyaux Armes pour l'Autonomie Populaire (NAPAP), which outlined that group's position in relation to State violence and revolutionary violence. This prosecution is in line with the Government's declared intention of creating a "common judicial area" within the Common Market.

Eva Forest, one of the people accused of the murder of flying Spanish Premier Carrero Blanco, who benefitted from the Spanish government's recent amnesty, has been refused permission to enter France.



POLICE CONSPIRACY

Note how subtly the press tried to link the "persons unknown" with the Arab nationalists This mysterious episode of the gun in Brixton for instance. A prisoner reported seeing it and the whole prison was taken apart to search for it. (It was never found). The place was shut to visitors (but the day before it was thought to have been seen, visitors had been warned not to turn up the next day). the press commented on the "anarchist group" in the jail, as well as Arab nationalists. Only *The Guardian* mentioned that the "anarchist group" was not thought to have anything to do with it all.



France is beginning to exhibit similar spontaneous attacks on government buildings that characterises Italy. The police station at Algrange was bombed in July, three days after a similar attack took place at Metz. Both bombs were claimed by MATRA (mouvement arme terroriste, revolutionnaire et anarchiste).

WEST GERMANY

West German police are seeking the extradition from the USA of Kristina Katherina Berster (27) who was arrested by US officials after attempting to cross the Canadian border with a false Iranian passport.

German police issued a warrant for her arrest in 1973 charging her with criminal conspiracy, membership of a criminal organisation, and engaging in activities involving the use of explosives and the forging of identity documents. The charges of violating US immigration laws could result in a sentence of up to 26 years imprisonment.



Why not take PAR's good advice (he speaks from experience!) and pay for your sub to the CPAR by Bankers Standing Order (£1.00 a month). Send off now for details.

Kurt Groenwold, former lawyer for Ulrike Meinhoff, has been found "guilty" of "supporting a criminal organisation" for organising an information network which kept imprisoned RAF members in touch with others still free. After a trial lasting more than six months, and after being held in preventive detention for three years, he was given a suspended sentence of 2 years.

Uwe Folkerts (29) went on trial in Stuttgart in mid-August for "membership of a criminal organisation". He is accused of belonging to a group formed by former RAF lawyer Siegfried Haag, who's own trial starts at the end of September:

Four members of the 2nd June Movement and a member of the RAF are on hunger strike in Berlin jails protesting about the conditions of isolation to which they are subjected.

They are Andreas Vogel, Till Meyer, Gabrielle Rollnik and Monika Barberich (Till, Gabrielle and Monika were all arrested in Bulgaria by West German snatch squads of the G.S.G. - 9, after Till was busted out of jail). The fifth person is Christine Kuby (22) who faces charges of "criminal association" and attempted murder after she opened fire on the 2 policemen who tried to arrest her in Hamburg last January.

Following the well publicised co-operation between German and Bulgarian police over the illegal extradition of the three 2nd June members, two offices in Paris operated by the Balkan trading organisation Danubex were bombed by the International Revolutionary Solidarity Group. A communique issued after the attacks also drew attention to the plight of the RAF members currently in Yugoslav prisons.

Two other members of the 2nd June Movement, Gabrielle Kroeher Tideman (27) and Christine Moeller received heavy sentences of imprisonment from a Swiss court. (Gabrielle got 15 years, Christine 11). They were tried on charges arising out of a December shoot-out with Swiss customs officials, and the trial itself finished without either of the accused or their lawyers present, as they refused to attend. The sentences were unusually savage for the offences they were charged with, and may in fact exceed the maximum penalty allowed for offences of that nature under Swiss law.

As we go to press, West German police claim to have shot and killed 28 year old Willy-Peter Stoll during an incident in a Dusseldorf bar. Willy-Peter was formerly in appeals clerk in the Stuttgart office of Klaus Croissant. Police claim that he joined the RAF group formed by Siegfried Haag, and played an active role in the killing of banker Ponto and industrialist Seleyer.

JAKE

JAKE PRESCOTT

In 1978 the Angry Brigade trials seem a long way off. The main one ended in December 1972. In 1971 Jake Prescott had been found guilty on a conspiracy charge, but not guilty of any substantive charges, which means he was guilty of conspiracy but not guilty of carrying out any of the acts he was conspiring to do, and he has been serving his 15 year sentence since then. At the end of the main Angry Brigade trial a further four people were found guilty of conspiracy, and again not guilty of all substantive charges. The overall outcome of these trials was that, of 12 people accused the cases against two were dismissed as not warranting proceeding with a prosecution, a further five people were found not guilty of all charges brought, although these had been in prison on remand and awaiting trial and during the trial for up to 18 months. The four defendants found guilty at the second trial were sentenced to 10 years each, and when Jake Prescott subsequently appealed against his 15 year sentence this was reduced to 10 years. Now he is the only person convicted at either of the Angry Brigade trials who is still in prison.

He was sent to Gartree prison in Leicestershire, a recently built top security prison, for his sentence. He settled in at Gartree and was working on an Open University course, getting his head down and doing his time.

During 1973 there occurred in Gartree prison a perfectly peaceful sit in by the prisoners in support of their demands for better treatment and extended rights. Jake was involved in this and was even accused in the local press, doubtless only repeating the version they had from the prison authorities, that he was a ring leader and main instigator of the "trouble" and the "violence," of which the only examples were the unprovoked assaults on the prisoners by the screws.

Early in 1975 and in obscure circumstances Jake was transferred to Hull prison. Prisoners who remained in Gartree were anxious as to what had become of him because of the secrecy and suddenness of his move. But although his life pattern was somewhat disturbed he soon

settled in at Hull and continued his studies, although now deprived of his tutor.

But in September 1976 the situation in Hull prison exploded. There was a protest by the prisoners against their conditions and against the institutionalised brutality of the screws. After this protest the screws gave many of the prisoners severe beatings. Enquiries into this have now resulted in charges being brought against certain of these screws, and as Jake Prescott was prominently involved in the resistance of the prisoners and was picked on for beating up by the screws, he was one of the principle witnesses from among the prisoners as to what had happened. Also he is believed to have been the author of the report on the Hull prison disturbances published by PROP.

Then he was transferred to the Danae prison in Shrewsbury, and has now ended up in Dartmoor.

The internal prison enquiry into the Hull disturbances led to his losing two years remission, on top of losses of remission he had suffered elsewhere, mainly in connection with the Gartree protest. When the official Home Office public enquiry into the Hull disturbances was concluded he had restored six months of this two years loss of remission. Which meant that a decision that he had not been guilty as charged in the internal enquiry at Hull, he was still to lose 18 months remission.

Since he has been in Dartmoor he has been visited and questioned by police investigating the case against the Hull screws. After this visit, according to another Dartmoor prisoner who has since been released, Jake was put into a cell and the word passed around among the screws that he was there, whereupon several of them went to the cell to take part in giving him a further beating. This incident was followed by a further visit from the police to investigate Jake's allegations that he had been beaten up, and the outcome of this was that the prison authorities charged him with

assault on prison staff. He was found not guilty of this, but guilty of a charge of resisting an escort. Result: a further loss of remission.

As things stand as present Jake is due for release next May. With normal remission entitlements he should have been out last year. It does seem that he is the object of a conspiracy on the part of the Home Office and the prison authorities to ensure that he does as damn near all of his ten years as they can make him do, which will mean he will have done his original 15 year sentence with normal remission.

He's due out next May and we can only hope that they don't set him up with further losses of remission. But on their track record so far there is simply no sort of lousy trick the prison authorities are not prepared to pull on him to extend his actual sentence.

ROMAN. DIARY (continued from p. 13)

was her struggle against the institutions. We also work with prostitutes, whereas the feminists are too moralistic even to talk about them. Or else on abortion, we explain over the radio what is happening in such and such a clinic. Often women call us on the telephone to talk on the radio about something they've see or experienced. Then there are the actions against rape. In the outlying districts women cannot go out in the evenings. We are organising self-defence groups. Here, if a woman is raped she is treated like a whore, so we would like to organise supportive groups in each district to break down her isolation. In areas where the fascist order prevails, we have to resist the panic they provoke and somehow manage to denounce the rapists publicly. Unfortunately there are limits to what we can do with our two hours a week on the radio. We would like to put out a counter-information paper called *Gazza Ladra* which would facilitate coordination between all the autonomous collectives spread throughout Rome. What we want is to get to grips with reality and devise new methods of political activity which combine the achievements of feminism and those of the workers' movement. The danger with the feminist movement as far as we are concerned is that it is no more than a current of opinion, easily recuperable by the institutions. Today it's necessary to find some global response to state repression, that's the real problem."

Feminist Violence

Milan, 17 January 1976: Pro-abortion demonstration. Women invade the Duomo and are shut inside by the police during mass.

8 March 1976: Confrontations between feminist processions and the police. A policeman is struck by a bottle. Women demonstrating in front of a cinema showing pornographic films try to enter the auditorium and are attacked by the police.

11 April 1976: Three petrol bombs are thrown at the entrance to the Medical Society building. A communique is found in a nearby telephone box: "The doors of the Medical Society are on fire. Women's right to control their own bodies, free maternity services, abortion on demand."

25 October 1976: A luxury shop is wrecked by a bomb. The action is claimed by "The witches outside, the witches inside, we are all in the movement . . ."

2 March 1977: A group of militants and women from Seveso occupy the rectorate of the Catholic University: "Today the witches have no intention of being burnt alive at the stake, we ourselves will light the fire . . ."

4 March 1977: About 20 nurses from the Polyclinic occupy the director's office at the Mangiagalli clinic to protest against the methods used to perform abortions there.

8 March 1977: At 8.30 in the morning three women break into an office equipment factory. They are carrying guns. They tie up the staff and wreck the offices, as a protest against slave labour. The company employs women from San Vittore prison and psychiatric hospitals.

To be continued in next issue.

Footnotes:

(1) *Volvi*: From the Via del Volvi, where the famous autonomist centre in Rome is situated.

(2) *NAP*: Armed Proletarian Nuclei, a clandestine armed group.

49 members of the marxist urban guerrilla group, the Red Brigades (BR) were led into the Turin courtroom in chains, before being placed in specially erected cages, at the start of their trial for forming an armed band to subvert the social and political order of the country.

One of the accused, Paolo Ferrari, read a statement to the court, attacking the government for "attempt-

LETTER

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

Congratulations on the 'Quiz' which has for so long maintained a high standard. Its glimpses into history - and especially the much-neglected anarchist history - has always fascinated me. I would like to know more about Mrs. Foxby of Maidstone. The 'ducking-stool' punishment sounds faintly ridiculous today. But it was designed to make the woman ducked the object of contempt and derision. It was never used against men. Moreover if anyone cares to examine such as has survived - there is one at Canterbury, for instance - it can be seen that what was involved was torture because the person was securely and tightly strapped in a chair which was in itself uncomfortable and then repeatedly plunged into the water. It wasn't just a ducking as we now use the term but a refined form of water torture making the victim unable to draw her breath for periods just short of fatality (usually).

Isn't it typical that everyone stood by and saw it happen and wouldn't they still be doing so if just one woman hadn't had the courage to say *No!* The quiz answer says she 'refused' the punishment. How? How many more rebels are there like Mrs. Foxby written right out of history?

Nellie G.

A lot of the old laws were accepted passively and often custom and law intermingled. Mrs. Foxby - whose 'crime' was non-existent in law (indicted as a school) challenged the legality of the punishment, and won. Thus she makes her mark in the legal histories outside which her life is unrecorded.

ing to ferment a hysterical atmosphere among the public, to condemn us before we are tried."

For many of the defendants it was the first occasion that they had met each other since their arrest.

During the weeks leading up to the trial, the government has claimed that the Red Brigades have been intimidating prospective jurors in an attempt to delay the trial indefinitely, and in February three BR members shot and killed a Rome magistrate. On the second day of the trial in March, a Turin police marshal was shot and killed by BR members while he was on his way to work.

CHILE

The VOP

The group of prisoners known as the VOP are one of the largest groups among the growing numbers of prisoners whom the Junta chooses to present as common criminals. This group now consisting of 10 people, has a particularly complex history. The VOP (Organised Vanguard of the People) was set up in 1969 when a small group of about 30 were expelled from the MIR over the issue of armed struggle. As this took place during Allende's regime they were condemned by the authoritarian left for embarrassing Allende. After an incident involving a fierce eviction of squatters in which several of the squatters were killed, the group took reprisal action by assassinating the Christian Democrat Minister of the Interior.

Following the assassination in June 1971 many members of the group were arrested and the rest dispersed. Those still in jail now were charged with contravention of Law No. 12.297 on Internal Security of the State on the following counts: scuffles with members of the armed forces, carrying false identity cards, putting out subversive propaganda and forming para-military groups. All received sentences varying from 2 to 3 years which have long since been served. This initial trial was No. 51-71 and the visiting judge was Sr Adolfo Ranados Cuadra.

Since the coup the group has been subject to the same treatment as other political prisoners. They have been held in the same cells and have been subjected to re-interrogation and the periodic brutality suffered by all the prisoners. At least one of them is seriously ill and lacks proper medical attention. In spite of the fact that their sentences have clearly been served, the group is currently being reprocessed in a trial which dates back to 1970 before they were arrested. The trial is known as No.1986-70. On March 31st this year it was declared that it was to be treated in two parts; those incidents involving the Carabineros (armed police) to be treated by the Second Military Court of Santiago, and those where the Carabineros were not involved to be decided by a visiting judge Sr Efreem Araya Vergara.

The group is very short of funds to pay for legal aid. As much as US \$1,140 are needed to pay a lawyer for each prisoner of which 50% must be paid in advance.

Because the group has been characterised by the Junta as common criminals, they are unable to apply for exile under Decree 504 as political prisoners can do.

Nevertheless an offer of a visa would greatly improve the possibility of a special plea being made on their behalf. One of them has been offered a visa to Norway. All those who have applied to Britain have been refused and Merlyn Rees has written in regard to Daniel Vergara that "I have considered very carefully the points you made in your letter about the compassionate circumstances involved in this case but I am afraid that I am not prepared to reverse the earlier decision."

Both the International Red Cross and the Inter-Governmental Committee for European Migration have acknowledged the group to have the status of political prisoners and an appeal has been made to the International Commission of Jurists for a full investigation into the legality of the trials.

Their names are as follows:
Aguilera Pavez-Jose - C de 1??? - born 13.3.50, single 1 son; painter; home address: Isla Quirquina 8805, La Granja, Santiago.
Caravajal Garcia - Arnaldo, c df 1 4.464. 781 Stgo; born 26.7.44, single; mechanic; family address, Padre Luis de la pena 283), Conchali, Santiago.
Goday, Oritz, Samuel; C de i???; born 11.10.49; single, family address; Calle Norte 0228, Conchali, Santiago.
Jorquera Galaz - Galvarino, Cdel 4.454. 282. Stgo. born 25.3.44; married, 2 children, toolmaker; F. address, Chacerilla 3606, casa J, Macul, Santiago.

ACTION

1. The prisoners: Write to the prisoner either in jail or at a home address to let him/her know of your support and asking that you be kept up to date with all developments.

2. Chilean Officials:

a. Sr. Efreem Araya Vergara, Ministro en Visita, Corte Suprema, Plaza Montt Varas, Santiago.

b. Fiscal: Proceso 1986-70, 2a Fiscalía Militar, Academia de Guerra, Santiago.

c. Juez: Proceso 1986-70, 2a Fiscalía Militar, Academia de Guerra, Santiago.

Write asking that the trial be discontinued and that the prisoners be set free in accordance with the result of trial 51-71. Enquire as to the precise charges and reasons for the second trial.

3. Visa: a) Write to Merlyn Rees and/or your MP to raise the matter again if your prisoner has been rejected by Britain.

b) Write to the Norwegian Ambassador in London asking that his government give special consideration to the cases. Frithjof Jacobsen, Ambassador, Embassy SW of Norway, 25, Belgrave Square, London SW.1.

Answers to quiz (from page 2)

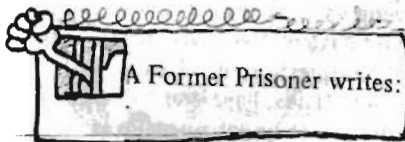
1. Knowing what a response the would-be King would have received, the general who translated his question into Basque actually said, "Lads, have you had enough of this war?" so as to get an enthusiastic reply, thinking Don Carlos did not speak Basque - but he knew enough to know the game was up.
2. The Socialist parties who split from the social-democratic Second International after the First World War - but would not join the communist Third International (including the British ILP, the Spanish POUM and the Austrian social-democrats). They were actually to the left of the Communists, but the term was coined by Trotsky to suggest vacillation as they would not form his "Fourth International."
3. Both were women, chosen (unusually for the time) purely on merit (Eleanor Marx Aveling and Annie Besant respectively).
4. Antonov-Ovseenko was sent by Moscow as its emissary to Catalonia during the civil war, to supervise the smashing of workers' collectivisation which had been established everywhere after the fascist rising.
5. He wrote in "Great Adventures and Explorations" that "absolute anarchy prevailed in all Chukchi villages . . ." that "most of the chief objections which fill our theoretical discussions of communism and anarchy do not arise in practice" and that the North American Eskimos "were found to be communistic anarchists."
6. Since 1854 when the Crimean War was declared by the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland etc and Berwick-on-Tweed, which had enjoyed a special status as a border town since the Act of Union - to save having to decide whether it was in England or Scotland after it had ceased to matter. This status was ended the following year, with the unintended and unnoticed result that Berwick-on-Tweed never got on to the peace treaty with Russia, and (presumably) still remains at war.

MISTAKES IN THE FLAG

Last issue slip-ups:

The photo on page 17 (untitled) was in fact of Alain Frilet, whereas the photo on page 19 was of Til Meyer. Protests at their being transposed should be sent to our printers Anarchy Collective - at their new address as shown on page 3 of that issue (it isn't ours: ours is still at the unlikely-seeming familiar).

Next issue: Jim Callaghan will blame Anarchy Magazine for the whole economic crisis.



A Former Prisoner writes:

Over the past three years work has been carried out at Gartree prison on the construction of a new segregation unit. The prison authorities claim that this unit, now completed, will be used as a normal punishment block and also to house rule 43 men – prisoners segregated for their own protection or because the authorities consider them to be subversive. This in a time of government spending cut-backs and despite the fact that a punishment block and rule 43 unit already exists here.

Suspicion as to the real intentions for this new seg. unit are further aroused by the nature of its construction. It is surrounded by a high wall (approx. 15ft) and is entered by an L-shaped tunnel running from a corridor linking two of the ordinary cell blocks. To negotiate this tunnel it is necessary to pass through a steel lined door and three steel gates set at intervals along the two legs of the tunnel. On the ground floor of the unit are a workshop, adjudication room, two holding cells and two padded cells. On the first floor are 21 cells each containing

its own sink and flush toilet. They are very small (approx. 8' x 6') and the windows are such that it is only possible to open small slits in them for ventilation. The two corridors from which these cells open out are blocked off at intervals by steel gates so that all the cells may be isolated in small groups. A third corridor contains a hot-plate for serving food, and a small association room. Also on this third corridor is a bathroom, each bath being situated on a raised concrete platform behind a glass front. Thus any man taking a bath is exposed, from head to toe, to the gaze of staff in the control centre. This is situated mid-way between the two floors, the entire front being made of perspex protected by a wide mesh steel grid. This enables staff to observe both levels of the unit at once. Two small exercise yards are contained within the units perimeter wall. A steel door at the end of one of these yards leads directly into the prison hospital.

All in all it is a very elaborate construction and quite unlike any other punishment block I have ever seen. It does however, match very closely the descriptions I have heard of the control units which the Home Office alleged would not be used after the public outcry their first introduction caused.

We call to general attention an article in June "Ethical Record" (obtainable from Conway Hall, London): "The English Prison and the English Conscience" by Geoff Coggan, the text of a lecture which he delivered there. He points out that this country has the second highest prison population in Europe (second only to West Germany and vastly greater than most other countries), and quotes some examples concerning the prisons and hospitals of Russia. "I chose that country because on this particular question of drug abuse it seems to be closer to our own than do Chile or South Africa. Chile and South Africa are less refined, less sophisticated. There the tortures are more primitive but doubtless, given time, they too will progress to more modern methods."

The drugs treatment given in Russia and England is the same. But whereas the "English conscience" is affronted by what happens in Russia, it accepts what is happening in England because it is part of "the system." The Observer writing on Ponomarev says he had been treated with chlorpromazine, making him walk like an automaton. In its trade name of Largactil, chlorpromazine is in widespread and daily use in English prisons producing the same effect for the same reason.



WAGES

by D.H. Lawrence

The wages of work is cash.
 The wages of cash is want more cash.
 The wages of want more cash is vicious competition.
 The wages of vicious competition is – the world we live in.

The work-cash-want circle is the vicious circle that ever turned men into fiends.

Earning a wage is a prison occupation and a wage-earner is a sort of gaol-bird.

Earning a salary is a prison overseer's job A gaoler instead of a gaol-bird.

Living on our income is strolling grandly outside the prison in terror lest you have to go in. And since the work-prison covers almost every scrap of the living earth, you stroll up and down on a narrow beat, about the same as a prisoner taking exercise.

This is called universal freedom.