



ANARCHY

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ANARCHY 30

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STREET RIOT, BLACK RIOT, CLASS RIOT: Learning for a Riot of our Own.

Los Angeles 1965 and Detroit 1967, 1977 and Southall 1978, Miami and Bristol 1980. It's not difficult to state the obvious about the background to any of these — poverty, police brutality, racism or fascist provocation. Riots are mostly unpredictable, unpremeditated and quickly over. Organisations don't plan or supervise them. So in the main we have been happy to pass comment after the event. In hard times — when revolutionaries are a little thin on the ground — a spectacular riot confirms that the struggle is still being taken into the streets. We watch while the rioters act; they drive the police out for an afternoon or a day, and we take consolation.

How do we see events developing when at last we drive back the forces of repression? Perhaps it starts with a guerrilla war, followed by strikes and a general insurrection. Or do the strikes come first? Or do we expect the old forms to be eroded by the new, and rely on mass defections from the police and army for the non-violent defence of what we have won?

Any explanation of this sort relegates the street-riot to the status of a mere demonstration. In fact, the riots which took place in Detroit, Liberty City Miami and St. Pauls in Bristol show how the arguments about violence, leadership and organisation relate to some of the practicalities of revolt. Those riots, which were not planned ahead, which were isolated, which were not informed with an explicitly revolutionary idea, were nevertheless revolutionary events. While the police were being driven out and the streets repossessed, the citizens organised the systematic theft and distribution of food and other goods. Accounts of the Watts riot show how this process was undertaken without formal leadership, without discrimination on the grounds of age or sex, with the minimum of violence against people but the maximum of violence against all forms of property, without the hierarchical division of labour, and in a spirit of adventure rather than revenge. All the experts were shocked and confounded — the official left, as well as the social workers, the community leaders and the politicians. A prior conspiracy was invented to explain what was happening. At the same time, they demanded that riots be put down with the utmost severity.

But weren't these race riots? Yes, they were. They all took place in areas with mainly black populations. Discrimination against them was one outstanding cause of discontent. The Bristol riot started when the pigs tried to close down the last cafe in St. Pauls. In Miami, it started when an all-white jury acquitted four white policemen of murdering a black driver who'd committed a traffic offence.

And no, they were not race riots, because the conflict in the streets was not between blacks and whites, but between the population — mainly blacks — and the defenders of property. In Miami and Watts, there were isolated attacks on whites who were driving through the neighbourhood — though not on white residents. But in general, integrated groups of rioters fought black and white police alike, while the solidarity of the looters did not extend to black shopkeepers. The looters in Watts made it quite clear that what they were looking for was not equality with working-class whites, but the complete subversion of property — all or nothing. The issue raised by the St. Pauls riot is not only the status of blacks in Britain, but the status of Britain. These riots were class riots. They were race riots because blacks in Britain and America are a permanent underclass. An individual black may get rich, but the blacks as a whole represent poverty. It is they



who acted first and the whites who followed in taking back what is systematically denied them: not better pool-halls, not more jobs, not even 'equal justice' — but total and immediate freedom.

The issue of racism is not swallowed up by the issue of class. But in the riots, the two were fused. The authorities were quick to deny that Watts and St. Pauls were race riots. Why? Not only to preserve a public image of good 'race relations', but because to admit that would have been begging the question: why were whites not attacked? Why did black and white looters work together? The answer is: because these riots were about poverty. Rather than admit this, they chose to talk about pingpong and police relations, unemployment and 'under-privilege'. We can be sure, however, that they

learnt some of the real lessons of St. Pauls. As the local deputy police chief said afterwards: "We are going to make sure that law and order are established and maintained in the future."

The difference between St. Pauls and Lewisham or Southall is clear. The first was spontaneous and successful; in its suddenness and savagery it took the state completely by surprise. They want to make sure they are not surprised again. The rioters made enough time and enough space for people to put the desire for freedom into practice. No demands were made, no concessions given. The Watts riot developed from an incident involving traffic police and pedestrians into a virtual insurrection in a space of hours: it took four days, thousands of troops and an armoured division to suppress it. The story in St. Pauls was the same, on a smaller scale.

At Lewisham, however, the aim was never really to take control of the streets. The date, the purpose and probably the plan were known in advance. We had our demands and our perspectives for the day. We attacked the police when they were strongest and most prepared. What we won — at cost — was more symbolic and temporary than tangible or permanent. But even there, we experienced a freedom and an exhilaration — and a fear — with which everyday life has little to compare.



What about the problem of violence? For the people of Watts, there was no problem. It took no more than a day for the majority of law-abiding citizens to get out onto the streets. Everyone took part in the looting and distribution of food, not just men, the young and the able-bodied.

In the first moments of the St. Pauls riot, when the mood was angry, it was a small number of mainly young people who threw bricks after the retreating police. Others shut themselves up in fright in their houses. Later, many of them came out and joined in. But it is not in the early hours that people are hurt. It is later — when the police come back in force — that people are injured or killed. In St. Pauls, the police did not use guns. Nobody died and few were seriously injured. Violence emerged as a problem when the police re-occupied the district, intimidating the population and making hundreds of arrests. In Watts and Miami, violence — the numbers of people killed or seriously injured — reached the level to which the authorities forced it. They brought in the national guard: the rioters took up arms in response. In Watts, the killing took place not when

the people were on the offensive, but when the police and army began sniping at looters and passers-by. The rioters armed themselves after the police had been driven back, in order to defend what was already won. By this time, the motive was not the desire for pig blood, but the fear of being beaten once again. 27 looters died, 5 police and national guardsmen.

In this kind of riot, then, the initial victory has always been relatively easy and painless. The police have always been taken by surprise, always been forced to beat a rapid retreat. The question is: if street-riots become commonplace and therefore more predictable, will the authorities allow themselves to be beaten so easily? Will they arm themselves? Will they begin to occupy the streets in greater force, ready for trouble? Given that riots have always — so far — ended in mass-arrests and more repression, are they worth the price that usually has to be paid afterwards?

This is a question which can only be answered by those who are angry enough, and desperate enough, to start one — or else by those who have taken part in a riot, and from it found new self-respect, an awareness of their superiority over commodities and their guardians the police. In the early stages of a riot, the problem is not whether we use violent or non-violent tactics, but whether we are sure we can win. Anger of that kind can only be released violently. If the authorities are weak in numbers and preparation, few people usually get hurt. If the authorities are ready and waiting, the riot will probably not get off the ground anyway.



In the second stage, when the police are gone and the streets occupied, it is a question of self-defence, collectively and individually. Nobody can reasonably argue that the way to do this is to lie down en masse, exposing yourself to the enemy's blows — forcing your moral grandeur to the point of sparing him the trouble of using more force by giving up on the spot. Non-violence does not equal pacifism: it means doing whatever is necessary to prevent people getting hurt. In that

sense, you are obviously justified in shooting first to stay alive.

In the final stage, when the police and army are closing in, the only way of making sure as few people as possible get hurt is by making sure the riot spreads – in other words, by turning it into a general insurrection. An impossible dream? Make up your own mind about that.

But there is the other kind of riot, the kind that happened at Lewisham and Southall and Leicester. It is here that specifically non-violent tactics come into their own. The police are present in their thousands. They are radio-linked to a central command, and they have helicopters. The fighting never got us anywhere. The plan at Lewisham was simple: 5,000 people would occupy the High Street and stay there. The fascists would not be able to march through the town because the town was completely blocked.

It ought to have been easy to do this. How did the police physically remove such a large crowd? They linked arms in ranks two or three-deep and pushed. Once we were moving they split us up. Why didn't we link arms in ranks five-deep and push back? Two reasons: one, we just haven't learned how to link arms properly, and two, – which amounts to the same thing – we were afraid of being arrested by 'snatch-squads'. The simplest

of non-violent tactics, and one requiring no prior arrangement, could have given us the day. We didn't manage it. Instead, we let ourselves be drawn into sporadic fighting where we could not possibly have expected to win, and where people were certain to be injured and arrested in large numbers. Hard as we may campaign for the SPG to be disbanded, our own lack of elementary street-organisation remains part of the reason why they were allowed to run amok in Southall.

So what about riots? Obviously, they aren't a sufficient requirement for permanently taking over the streets, let alone for a revolution. But when so much energy is being spent on defending benefits, the right to work, the right to engage in the endless pursuit of commodities, then riots and looting – like theft, sabotage and absenteeism – are ways of taking back into our own hands what has been taken from us: material abundance, time, and freedom. Rioting is not a substitute for continuous revolutionary activity, but it is a part of it. It may be over in a few hours or days, but every class-motivated riot is a potential insurrection. So if we can't have a riot of our own just yet, we should make sure we go along and learn at other peoples.

Siôn

WATTS

All the theorists and spokesmen of the international left (or rather of its nothingness) deplored the irresponsibility and the disorder, the pillaging and above all the fact that arms and alcohol were the first targets for plunder; finally that 2,000 fires had been started by the Watts gasoline throwers to light up their battle and their ball. But who was there to defend the rioters of Los Angeles in the terms they deserve? . . . Let us leave the economists to grieve over the 27 million dollars lost, and the town planners over one of their most beautiful supermarkets gone up in smoke, and McIntyre over his slain Deputy Sheriff; let the sociologists weep over the absurdity and intoxication of this rebellion.

Bobbi Hollon had this to say to the Herald Tribune in October: "Before, people were ashamed to say they came from Watts. They'd mumble it. Now they say it with pride. Boys who always went around with their shirts open to the waist and who'd have cut you into strips in half a second, used to apply here every morning. They organised the distribution of food."

International Situationist Magazine No9, 1965.

DETROIT

Anti-white feeling ran high on 12th. Street in the heart of the city's major Negro ghetto, but elsewhere – and especially in the integrated neighbourhoods – Negro looters smiled and waved at white police and newsmen.

Along one section of Grand River Avenue, where negroes and southern whites live in adjoining neighbourhoods, stores were raided by integrated bands of looters. At Packer's, a block-long food and clothes store, a negro looter boosted a white looter through a window. Scores of other negroes and whites looted and chatted side by side in the store, loading shopping carts, boxes and bags with booty.

New York times Thursday 17th July 1967.

BRISTOL

But if there was a limited participation by whites in the rioting, the evidence from both black and white witnesses is that white people were heavily involved in the looting in the four hours - 7 to 11 pm - when there was no police presence.

White punks appear to have joined in the looting, and there are even accounts - barely credible except that they come from three different sources - that old white people, even one in a wheelchair, were helping themselves to goods in the shattered APC self-service food shop.

The Guardian Saturday April 5th 1980.

MOTHERS ARE WOMEN TOO!

In the early seventies we were angry — we said we are not baby machines, we are not men's dolls or slaves, we need not all or always have men — it was a good time, there was a closeness for some, but it went wrong somewhere — instead of making it easier to be gay it became hard to be heterosexual; instead of being free not to have children, or to have only the number when and where welcome, it is hard to have children at all; instead of women being able to enjoy their work and excel at it, now we cannot 'just' have jobs or be mothers.

It has become as rigid as it should have been free — and by doing so excludes many women. Now, far from finding life easier many of us fall between two camps — we are "odd" enough not to be welcome in the old school of motherhood and marriage, but we are too "straight" to be part of the women's movement.

But we are all women, and we are not powerful. We do not seek power over others, but it would be good to be recognised once in a while. I have been on some 'pro-abortion' rallies and have always found it isolating. I got the distinct impression that it was only the mothers who had had their children pre-1967 that were acceptable, those of us with younger children were misfits. The last time I went on a big 'pro-abortion' demo, I went with friends, we took our kids and stuck together — we had all experienced the same uneasiness — to be on an abortion rally, as they have been, can seem a negation of our kids and our love for them. The women's movement is distinctly anti-child in some ways — a list of demands once included abortion on demand and twentyfour hour nurseries — why not test tube babies, and an end to personal relationships and fulfilling careers for all — think about it, it stinks!

Kids should be conceived and born because they are welcome, and bad housing, low wages or no wages at all, should not get in the way of that. Abortion is the answer when we do not want to have a child but we have become pregnant, it is not the answer to the lousy conditions we live in, they are part of the struggle.

Abortion has a place in the struggle, just as important, but not more so, for better conditions to live in, work in and play in — and freer heads to do all that.

That's where the NAC (national abortion campaign) has gone wrong and so alienated a lot of women. The 'abortion' issue' has polarised into two camps. As an anarchist I have no time for the SPUC crowd (society for the protection of the unborn child). They speak of life but not about the quality of life, and the weapons they use are so disgusting that their motives become questionable at the very least. If they did put

effort into helping women have children by fighting to improve the conditions of those women (as they pay lip service to in their pamphlets) they might have some credibility. But they prefer to concentrate on dead fetus' and guilt — this kind of emotional blackmail is not just below the belt, but incredibly painful to, for example, women who have to choose between an abortion or a handicapped child. I don't think SPUC gives these women any moral support, but unfortunately NAC doesn't either.

Most of the women I know, with and without children, myself included, while agreeing with and knowing the need for the availability of abortion, find the NAC very hard to support. Mainly because it comes over as very anti-child and anti-mother. Yes, we should have the choice to bear children, and to choose the time when we do or don't. But it has become hard for those of us who choose to have children to do it with any support from our supposed sisters. It is still very hard to be either a full time or a part time mother, I thought we had won that battle a long time ago, but now the pressure comes from both sides of society. It has been pointed out to me, and I take the point, that one reason why many women have concentrated their efforts on campaigning for abortion rights, is that they are having to defend the limited gains of the '67 abortion act against repeated attacks (White, Benyon and Corrie). Many of them would prefer to use their energies in more directions. All the same, I have seen 'rights' or 'improvements' in such things as nurseries, playgroups, childbirth, be eroded or completely disappear without such a vigorous campaign to defend them.

We concentrate on abortion because we fear unwanted pregnancies and we forget the laughter of children. NAC should not exclude mothers or children. Women with children fear unplanned pregnancy as much as women without. In some ways it is worse once we have given birth — we know, we have a loud joy of birth — for some of us that makes abortion hard. If we get 'abortion on demand' we must make sure the demand is our own. Already there have been instances of women only getting abortions if they agree to be sterilised at the same time — a medically dangerous combination. It is easier to get an abortion than it is to get a council flat. Don't you think we screwed up somewhere? No, I don't mean reverse the two, I do mean fight for both! And if you can't manage that, at least recognise the struggle.

Some of the 'abortion on demand' campaigners make it sound as if the realisation of this will mean the struggle is over. Control over our bodies is essential (tho' by no means the end of the story) — but the idea that the right to abortion gives us the

control over our bodies is bullshit. It gives some control over a very small part, that attitude itself is guilty of labelling women as only baby machines. My body has more problems than just its ability to conceive. I would like more control over DOCTORS generally in order to become a healthy woman. A few years ago, the womens movement was talking about menstrual extraction, to some it was a means of getting over periods, it had also the attraction of being a way of aborting very soon after conception removing both the more grisly aspect of abortion and the need for waiting – or rather forced delay – which to my mind is one of the worst horrors especially if you have already born a child.

Also the place taken up by doctors, social workers and psychiatrists becomes vacant – a welcome sight! I don't know what happened to all those ideas, maybe they didn't work or maybe they got swallowed up. Whatever, they were't the only answer, we still need abortion for women who are several months pregnant, but it would be a big improvement to have doctors play a much smaller part in both abortion and birth.

We do also need better contraception, we do need better housing to bring our kids up in, we need more money so that bringing up children is not a constant struggle to stand still. We also need to be able to have children whatever our social standing; we shouldn't have to be married or the right age, intelligence, class, or whatever is fashionable that year. How often do you hear the womens movement fighting for that? The womens movement should be able to fight on more levels, it would be less divisive if it was seen that bad

housing and low incomes were also high on the agenda.

Conception is probably the one thing that women the active in the movement have in common with those outside of it. I realise that if you havn't a "housing problem" it might not seem important to fight for improvements. If you havn't had a struggle to bring up children because of lousy external conditions, maybe it doesn't hit you between the eyes, but it should.

When its hard to bring up kids the answer isn't not to have them, but to change what makes it hard. That is not saying everyone should have babies, but it is saying that the fight is wider than just stopping unwanted children. It is still hard bringing up wanted children, isn't that worth fighting about?

And spare a thought for the women who have great difficulty in conceiving. The obsession of the movement with abortion must draw them nearer to their 'sisters' – like a hole in the head.

All I am asking for is a little less rant, and a lot more love. It's as soppy as that. Some of us want children, we do not demand that everybody does the same. But open up the movement to us all, make us welcome, make our children welcome, recognise the wider struggles that are just as necessary.

The demand to bring children up is just as important as the demand to have an abortion. Don't make the two incompatible: We might need one or the other, both or neither – we certainly need each other.

Charlotte Bagins.

Note: "Solidarity", a national libertarian socialist organisation, produced 2,000 leaflets to hand out on an Anti-Corrie Abortion Demo. They attacked the power of parliament and the medical profession and explained the direct alternative of women setting up self-help groups and using safe self-abortion methods (emphasising that suitable conditions and knowledge HAD to be acquired). A restatement of original feminist ideas, this leaflet was condemned by many womens groups and organisations, who mistakenly presumed it advocated primitive and dangerous methods. The state is still deciding whether to prosecute.



LETTERS

You are not communicating.

What is all this irrelevant historical bullshit?

What about the present? And a few specifics.

We all know that the only REAL freedom is economic, and that there are a small number of criminals directly responsible for denying it to you. And they will continue to control your puny lives as long as you keep publishing self-indulgent crap.

Ten per cent of the people in this country control ninety per cent of the land, and with it the means to a living.

Greedy parasites like the Duke of Westminster who, according to a recent CIS report, 'owns' 15,000 acres in Cheshire, 14,000 in Wales, 100,000 in Scotland, 900 in Shropshire, an estate in Northern Ireland, shopping centres and a 12,000 acre industrial estate in Canada, development in Hawaii, a 100,000 acre sheep farm in Australia and 300 acres of Mayfair and Belgravia which is 'valued' at one thousand million pounds. This bastard is enjoying a champagne-filled life at your expense, and there are hundreds like him, all wearing jackboots. Not surprisingly, they take pains to keep their embarrassing activities quiet, but if people like you don't expose them WHO THE FUCK WILL? The Daily Mail?

It's all very well to scream 'smash everything' but if you're really interested in change you have to get people to listen to you, and you won't do it by remaining an esoteric bunch of slogan-mongers. The diggers etc. are all dead. The only people who count

are the ones who are alive now, and it doesn't matter whether they call themselves anarchists or the Mickey Mouse club. We are all human beings.

So, if you get another issue off the ground give us more specifics. More about Andy Bruce and the others involved in that unsavoury affair. And, by the way, why were three or four posters unprintable? Were you afraid you might offend someone? God help us! Cut the crap and write something worth reading. No wonder your silly rag is going down the chute!

Kind regards.

Pat Condell.

Dear Anarchy,

Thanks for sending me the 'Anarchy' magazine. I thought it was very good and interesting. I can't really understand this 'revolution' thing. I don't want to destroy the system. I am a Nihilist and Heretic. I don't care, (well, I do a bit). Now I'm really into Rock Against Sexism and Punk. I like Crass, I like their attitude. To be honest I thought most of the stuff was just Hearsy, I don't give a shit about 'class war'.

Anyway, keep up a great mag.

Yours faithfully,
Tom.

Dear Anarchy,

Greetings, felicitations, bonjour, and howdy.

I have received a copy of Anarchy 28 and was hoping to get back to you on it before this, but the schedule of events here and a general lack of funds have hampered any efforts in that particular direction until now.

I am wondering if it would be possible to get on your mailing list as a typical indigent (broke) unemployed (imprisoned) long-haired bearded anarchist (shudder). I would like to make the same request of Freedom, but I seem to have lost their address. I'm hoping you can help me with these requests.

Interesting things keep happening here in the Land of the Fee. The prisoners here recently won a lawsuit against the State and this prison has been declared Cruel and Unusual Punishment. That ought to start the ball rolling a little faster against the FORCES OF EVIL. Our Brother Carl Harp is still busy fighting the State and it appears that he is landing some terrible blows on it at this time.

In the meantime, our publication, the ANARCHIST BLACK DRAGON, has been declared 'contraband' at this institution and is barred from coming in. (That decision is ridiculous. We write it here and the clowns say we can't read it!) The main objection against it is that it 'advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States and its institutions'. I wonder what issues the institution has been looking at. None of the ones we've put out have advocated such a course of action.

Does a lumberjack put his axe to a tree that is already falling?

Anyway, we now have 3 suits against the prison involving this issue. The first suit says that I personally can read anything I feel like here so long as it doesn't endanger the security of the institution. The second suit says that the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective has the right to write and publish anything it pleases - Freedom of the press and all that. The third one, in the name of the publication itself, is in under Freedom of access to the media. All of these rights have been upheld by the highest court in the land so the only real question we have is when do we win.

Winning is a foregone conclusion.

Here's the deal on that. If the court dismisses the case, it is ruling that Anarchy is illegal - a violation of our right to do as we see fit. So the State would lose if we were so bold as to release a report of their decision. If the case continues and we lose in court, it will be an admission by the State that 1) we are hurting

them; and 2) that these 'rights' don't mean a thing under the laws of this country. If the case continues and the court finds in our favour, it is an admission that we got a good grip on ourselves and that Anarchy per se is not a threat to the people of this country.

How can we lose?

In my own case, it has been discovered that the main witness against me committed perjury in his testimony and so I hope to be out of here shortly. On the other hand; the State is not known for its honesty and fairness so maybe I'll just sit here for a little longer. Either way the fight will continue. I take the revolution kind of personal. It doesn't matter so much where we do the fighting - it matters that we fight.

Besides, my grandparents came from the old country. With a grandfather from Donegal and a grandmother from Dublin I feel that I got a bit of a head start on these slave-makers over here.

Well, I guess that's it. A longer 'history' of our

suits against the State concerning our publication will be coming out shortly. If the stamps hold up I'll try to send you a copy.

Oh yes. The court the suits are in has asked us by what authority we exist. The answer to them was that the basis of our right to exist is found in the common law and goes back to a time prior to that when people banded together to pursue a common goal. In short, who needs permission ('authority') to exist?

To all the brothers and sisters in prison throughout the world, hunted by the FORCES OF EVIL, and/or simply fighting these FORCES OF EVIL, I and the ANARCHIST BLACK DRAGON COLLECTIVE send our greetings. Keep up the good work. We got all the oppressors SURROUNDED. Neither God nor Master.

John H. Bosch 253269
Anarchist Black Dragon
Collective.

P.O.Box 520,
Walla Walla, WA., 99362.
USA'

Greetings Brothers & Sisters,

Here things are o.k. and I am well. Finally out of segregation, but still in San Quentin the most racist, gang-run, violent prison in all of Amerikkka. Lots in the works around transfers and expect a victory soon, but we'll see. As you may know all criminal charges were dismissed against me in the May 1979 Prison take-over, and we won hands down, our Civil suit in Federal Court this year around the treatment, conditions, and brutality in the Washington State Penitentiary! Real happy about these victories, and

inspired after many defeats to go on for more. My appeal for a new trial is still working so no news there. Defense Fund/ Susan Harp 7074 132 N.E. Kirkland, WN. 98033. She and I got married here on Sept 2nd. Fine, beautiful, little sister that I like so much I love her. Dave met her in his travels. Also now out from Pulp Press in Canada is my book LOVE RAGE (diary with drawings) \$2.00 plus postage to Claire Culhane 3965 Pandora St. Burnaby, B.C. Canada (Prisoner's Rights Group). If you like the book help us move it for Defense Funds, P.R.G., and Pulp Press, Funds. Also got posters out I did with

North American Anarchist in Toronto (6 for \$10.00) - funds to Prison Group there and my Defense Fund. Buys little anarchist hey? Smile. A.B.D.C. all over Amerikkka in exile, but we is still struggling!!! No Anarchy's have showed up here yet - please do send. Miss you all.

Well, Hope this letter makes it through enemy lines and finds you all well. I think about you all even when I don't write. Let's get back together. Love and hugs from the belly of the beast!

Love & Rage,
Carl (HARP)

WE WANT BETTER ODDS.

Whenever the question of 'childcare' or mother/parenthood' is raised it is either met with a blank stare or groans and some hackneyed cry of 'oh, alright I'll do the creche'. That's not what it's about. Seven years ago I had my first child, three years ago my second. Over those years I have lived communally, shared houses with people (there is a big difference), and lived as a nuclear family, both in an open house set up and in a very closed oppressive straight manner.

I chose to have kids, I didn't ask you all about it and therefore you can turn round and say 'Yes, but you did it on your own, why drag me in now you want a babysitter'. —back to square one!

Let's explore the steps one by one:

Motherhood.

This is the big selling point — fulfillment, closeness, a special relationship' — a baby is so tiny and needing that her mother at first spends twenty four hours a day caring, loving and protecting her. No one else gets much of a look in. They can of course, my children have had very different care from each other over their early years. My first child was breast/bottle fed, so that twice a twenty four hours I did not have to be with her. One of those I used for sleeping and the other I went places. My first sight of her through pethedine nightmares was the most colourful and amazing human in the world — she'd made it, she was here — fantastic. Looking at her sleeping, this tiny little person I became aware for the first time of the commitment I had made — I looked at her and thought 'For the next sixteen years you will rule my life, I will never be 'free' again, you will need me there and I will have to obey the call. What the fuck was I thinking of, why didnt anyone tell me, warn me, stop me?'

So, less than twenty four hours old and the pattern is set, the resentment has been voiced — silently, never admit your terror — she's smashed my womanhood, my sexuality has overnight been turned into motherhood, into sacrifice and that awesome strength of mothers who cope, who keep going, who support and deny themselves — and while I am denied my child can never grow into a different freer woman, she too will be denied, she too will have children and remember her mother — quite a good mother, but she didn't love me enough, she kept trying to get away, she poured all her frustration and anger over me.

And when she was eighteen months old she went to a state nursery because I was ill and couldn't cope in the house that was great as a communal living space, but impossible for two adults and one child, and too many stairs, too much cleaning, too little sleep, too few people, so much space but none of it mine.

'We lift our eyes upwards, but not to see the sun, it is to see the dust on the window sill and clean it'.

Motherhood Mark Two.

This time I'll do it right! Well the home birth was obviously better, and I threw myself into being the best mother in the world. This daughter was always breast fed. I do believe that it is better for the child and could be for the mother. I did enjoy feeding her — a closeness there that has been called erotic and could be likened to the closeness of screwing — and there's the rub — a satisfied mother, a demanding baby — what did I do to this one? How did I fuck up her chances? — "I'll never leave you, this time you'll stay with me, no putting you out to other people, I'll feed you, nurture you and we'll grow strong together" — like hell we will. You'll eat my soul with your grasping mouth and searching hands — in desperation I stopped feeding her when she was about two and three quarter years, but she still sucks and claws and plays — she calls them her tities as often as mine own. Is that what they meant by 'special bond'? losing my body to a child? does ivy have a special bond with the wall it smothers?

And what will she be if I am denied? Will she expect to deny herself? Will she have children who scream if she goes out? Will she say "I'll never leave you". Or now that the relationship is changing and I'm trying to widen it and find the other pieces 'I'll return'? Will I be granted at most an 'awayday' to life? — to work to friends to all things that people need to grow/to live.

And what will that do to us, us mother daughters — where did the woman go — was she ever there?

Kids

For kids to be able to walk away they need two things: the self-possession gained from their care/love /security and the knowledge that they can.

1. Get away 2. Come back if they want.

As very young children they demand the impossible (life is real after all!) they want our constant attention. Millie thought the world disappeared when she shut her eyes. Meg will prise open my shut eyes because I must always be there/available. They start to wander further afield, to grow to learn to explore. They need other AND OTHER PEOPLE NEED THEM. And I must let them get away — and they must let me get away — they must not grow up believing in the all or nothing choice that is all we have won at the moment. I can 'choose' not to have children. I can 'choose' when to have children — but what has been done to make it better if I do — as I have done — 'chosen' to have children? What has changed? I can 'choose' to have some other woman look after my children — I can go to work and pretend I am a woman — or am I a working mother? Whoever heard of a mother who didn't work (having no experience of the strange world of the upper classes I will dismiss them entirely).

Questions.

So what do I want and what do my kids want. Millie says I control her (or try to) and make her do things, she also says she agrees with me on most of my interpretation of life — she also has some pretty strong ideas herself!

How do I as an anarchist/mother/woman relate to her as an anarchist/girl/daughter? How do we grow together and not stifle one another's ambitions/hopes/dreams. How do I not infect her with my despair/loss/anxiety — How do I share my ambitions/hopes/dreams/experience without stifling her? How does she grow/learn/experience without threatening me?

I have the feeling it ought to be easy — seven years experience tells me that it isn't!

And Meg, three years of her — in some ways we are more relaxed, but she demands so much of my body, and my resentment and her insistence has to be solved somehow.



DON'T LET THE BASTARDS
GRIND HER DOWN.

Solutions.

So far you've heard the bad bits, the sorrow, the fuck ups and the unanswered questions. I have some ideas on solutions but I want the joy to get a look in too, because that's why we go on, and that's the bit so many people in writing about kids DON'T write about. Kids are fun, kids question and explore and are not so inhibited/socialised that they don't express their feelings — my kids have opened up feelings for me when they find them for themselves — kids don't bullshit as much as adults — they'll lie when it suits them sure, they'll fantasise and I'll not know easily reality from dream, but they are basically honest, when they love me they hug/kiss me, when they hate me they kick/hit me — I usually know where they stand! Basically, before they get too fucked up kids are really good people.

Where you fit in.

As anarchists we surely start from a basic caring — call it whatever fancy name you like but its about self-respect and respect for other selves. While some people may wish to be excluded — die rather than give up their power — anarchy is not something exclusively for people between eighteen and thirty who are able bodied and childless!

Anarchy being about life/living I have this crazy dream that it is from the moment we are born to the second we snuff it — and that includes us as babies, children adolescents, young people, older people, old people, ancient crones. To this end we deserve/expect respect when we are any of these — kids and parents expect and deserve more than just to be tolerated. Parents should not be faced with the choice of 'you can be a revolutionary or a parent' — we demand both.

Apart from the daily reminders of how hard it is to be an anarchic mother (and still find time/space to be a woman) screaming 'put your bloody socks on' at nine a.m. when its time to leave for school might not seem a shattering event but if you saw yourself doing it as often as I have your nerves might be a little raw — anyway, apart from these recently I have had reminders within the 'anarchist movement' that all is not well! Foolishly I went to the Oxford anarchist conference, with two children and their other parent.

We had received the list of proposed workshops and been invited, along with everyone else to add to it suggestions — oh how I longed to suggest kids/parents but figured there was no point sitting in a room in Oxford with Chris discussing it, when we had the opportunity to do it at home in comfort — that's how much faith I have right? I know its not as important as / has no bearing on "anarchy and organisation", "mental health", "nuclear power", "prisons", "Northern Ireland", "violence"; but humour an old disillusioned woman for a few minutes eh?

Before we had left Millie — just seven — had said she wanted to meet more anarchist kids and I had foolishly said "you'll meet some at Oxford". "But they'll just be in a boring creche, why can't kids have print shops/workshops/pubs/cafes, you get them all we don't have anything." So we all discussed how Millie could talk with the other kids and see what they wanted out of life and then they/she could make their demands. Chris warned her about the vagaries of adults who would probably clap and cheer and then say "what's next on the agenda?" He told her to demand the who, when and where, and not give in till she'd got it.

Millie and I got to the creche, two other kids, both too young to talk with Millie, not much in the way of toys, books no orange juice/food no music — not a great deal of enthusiasm! I went to find out about accomodation, we'd rung to say we were coming, given kids ages and all brought sleeping bags — no sweat right? wrong!

An anarchist woman said "It might be a bit difficult, there's not many people who'll have

kids" — now just for a moment think about that — think about the implicit rejection/put down/denial of a seven year old anarchist girl, of a three year old anarchist girl, of their anarchist mother and father — when my kids are excluded in the big, bad outside world I usually fight back/make a scene/boycott the place — SOMETHING — at an anarchist conference? It was knowing that if she'd said instead of 'kids', blacks, women, gays cons, we could have had a good riot going within minutes — but KIDS? I certainly couldn't rely on it — maybe half a dozen people right? And I couldn't voice the rage, hurt and anger because that's how fucking oppressed parents/kids are — right? (we did get a place to stay eventually, and had a comfortable/welcome night, with good conversations all round —)

*Hush my baby don't you cry
Mama's gonna make all of
Your nightmares come true.
Mama's gonna put all
Her fears into you.
Mama's gonna keep you
Right here under her wing.
She won't let you fly
But she might let you sing.
Mama's going to keep
Baby cosy and warm.
Of course mama's gonna
Help build the wall.*

Eventually I got talking to some other parents, and we were all voicing the same kind of pissed off ness about how it is, but didn't see how we could make much of a mark at the time. However at the end when the person standing up at the front, who, was not chairing it but... said has anyone got anything to say before we close, my rage got the better of me, and I streamed off a somewhat incoherent and passionate plea for a better deal for parents and kids within the 'anarchist movement' — I sat down and the guy at the front said 'that's it then?' and the Oxford anarchist conference was over. That's it then? — all I'd probably done was to annoy those who'd played with the kids at the creche or taken them to the park, by making it sound like they hadn't done well enough or I wasn't grateful enough — I wasn't getting at them, I

was screaming at the people who have such tiny minds that they think/live only within their own narrow peer groups.

A word about the London Anarchist Centre. I met someone connected with it and voiced a personal and anarchy group interest — I casually asked what kind of provision had been discussed for kids, and was told that no one had mentioned it as yet — okay I'll be at the next meeting (I was), but there's a little more to say... However much room there is or is not available, there has to be some way kids can be there and enjoy it — not a "boring creche" — I would like both to look forward to going to the anarchist centre, but also I would like it to be a place anarchist kids can meet and learn and play. I would REALLY like for Millie to say she wants to go to the anarchist centre, and for there to be something for me to while she is there — think about it? why not? kids are people too.

Back to Square One.

Okay, I didn't ask you first before I had my kids, but then you didn't ask me how I felt about you being born, and if I came to a meeting and questioned your right to exist 1. I'd be out of order 2. You and others would tell me so.

I am not asking for babysitters in a very long winded way (however since you offered, Tuesday would be great!) — it's more than that right?

At least think about it, think about who you know, how you live, who else is around, how they live, how we could live — all those things. Think about when you were a kid — think about what anarchist kids could teach us. And when you've thought, start acting it a little — a gesture a day would improve the situation no end — eventually you might get to think it makes sense!

I would appreciate some feedback, from others, daughters, parents and others.

Please please please don't allow it to be that in fifteen years time I have to write an article on how us anarchist grandparents are pissed off with the way our grandchildren, their parents and ourselves are tolerated/ignored — okay?

I can only cope with being a fucked up woman/mother if I have some hope that I won't become a fucked up woman/mother/grandmother. And ironically enough it is one of the few things we have the power to change without overtly taking on the might of the state — they know when we challenge them outside/inside their prisons, schools, workplaces, hospitals — but they wouldn't even notice at first when we challenge the way we (don't) relate to each other.

Charlotte Baggins.

This would not have been written without the solidarity of some sisters who helped me to talk and think and realise, and who were there when I needed them. The space and the time and the typewriter were loaned me by some brothers without who, to coin a phrase, this writing would not have been possible, nor, on the other hand necessary!

PRISONS

Some practical schemes in the area of the prison struggle

Prisons are the major weapon of the state in its efforts to destroy the working class, but it seems that the whole question of prisons has been brushed under the carpet by so-called revolutionaries. No revolution can be complete if the institution still exists. As the capitalist state machine plunges deeper into crisis it will use prisons in an effort to silence and isolate those who show any resistance to its will. As Anarchists we seem to have neglected this area, but are we content to allow the state to harass and kidnap our brothers and sisters? As an ex-prisoner I know that many prisoners do not have any faith in the left and so I believe that if we see that "all prisoners are political prisoners" we must be prepared to show our solidarity by doing actions that will win their credibility. It's no good talking — we must show that we care in support for them. You can't blame prisoners if they are reluctant to take direct action, when they get hardly any back-up. Prisons are ideal places for schools for revolutionaries and I personally believe that prisoners have so much revolutionary potential.

I would like to suggest a number of things that could be done by Anarchists in this area — these suggestions may not seem to be that militant but I think they are important as they show our solidarity in a practical way.

1) Prisoners' Bookscheme. The aim of this scheme is to get publishers and bookshops to donate books so that they can be sent in to prisoners. This scheme is getting off the ground in London, so far we have been given over a hundred books (we still need more) by various publishers and bookshops. We are going to compile a catalogue with all the titles included and this will be sent in to prisoners so they can choose the books they want. What this scheme needs is money to pay for costs of postage, and the names and addresses of prisoners. More information to follow — or you could set up your own local scheme.

2) Local Prisoners' Support Groups. The aim of the groups is to get people that live near prisons to form into a local prisoners' support group. The groups could visit prisoners in their local prison, write to them, pass on information, contact groups or individuals that may be of some help to prisoners, publish a newsletter which gives information and news about what's happening inside their local nick, to be given out to local people and visitors to the prison. This group would also be useful if anything happened like the Scrubs riot as they could get the information circulated quickly. It is important that any group listens to prisoners and asks for their support where possible

before any actions are taken by the support group ie. pickets, demos det. There are Prisoner Support Groups forming at these prisons: Long Lartin, Brixton, Pentonville and Holloway. Hopefully we will be able to bring to the conference our first newsletter.

3) Breakout or prisoners' magazine. Breakout is a magazine written for and by prisoners, ex-prisoners, and others who have been or are up against the law. Breakout is still in its early stages, but its aim is to give prisoners a paper of their own. It has articles on prisons, the courts, the police, plus poems, artwork, cartoons etc. Copies of Breakout will be available at the Conference. It is sent to prisoners for free, but costs those on the outside 25p. This is to pay for the printing costs. We would like to have more articles, poems etc from prisoners or ex-prisoners. The paper is bi-monthly and you can contact it by writing to Breakout, Box 66, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

4) Prisoners' Relatives' Bus Scheme. The idea of this scheme is to provide the families and relatives of prisoners access to their relatives who are inside. Many prisoners are in prisons that are a considerable distance from the area in which they have friends or family. These families cannot afford the high cost of travelling — once a month for a half hour visits. If we can get groups to organize cheap travel to various nicks. What is needed is mini-buses, coaches, drivers, and donations towards the cost of petrol. In London we have been offered a mini-bus for £5 per day and also the cost of petrol. We have written to various oil companies for donations. Maybe the scheme could be done in other places too.

5) Campaign against PRINUS. Prindus is the trade mark of Prison Industries. This campaign is against the commercial exploitation of the country's prison population. Prisoners have to work under Prison Rules, and a refusal to do so may result in a loss of remission or privileges. Prisoners earn roughly £1.20 a week but some never reach this low level. Some commercial companies use prisoners as cheap labour. These firms are: BRITAINS TOYS, EMPIRE STORES, BRIAN MILLS CATALOGUE, ARRONSON FURNITURE, NELSON LABELS, INVICTA, GPO. We would like to hear from anybody that can help this campaign — by boycotting the goods this company provides. We are producing a leaflet and stickers — we need your support. Write to:

Campaign Against Prindus,
143 Francis Tower,
Chingford Hall Estate,
London E4.

(Alan and Ruth Leader)

OR, JOD THE RIGHT WORK

A cartoon illustration of a clock with a face, looking surprised or shocked, with the text "BRR-RR!!" and "EARLY MORNING!!" below it. The clock has a round face with numbers 1 through 12, and its hands are positioned to show approximately 10:10. The clock's body is round with two small bells on top. The background is a light beige color with a dark, jagged, lightning-bolt-like shape behind the clock. The text "BRR-RR!!" is written in a large, bold, stylized font, and "EARLY MORNING!!" is written in a smaller, simpler font below it.

EARLY MORNING!

UM, SEEMS YOU GOTTA
DO A LOT OF WORK FOR
A LITTLE DIGNITY \$\$\$

AARGH!
ANOTHER DAY,
CUTTING GROOVES
IN THE 5th CLASH
LP.

**BUS
STOP**

8^{AM} AND OFF TO WORK.

IT'S A
JOB INNIT

AT WORK 9AM

THEN HOME AT 6PM, HAVING PICKED THE
KIDS UP, DONE THE SHOPPING, THEN THE
JOYS OF COOKING, AND CLEANING
THE FLAT !!!

DID YOU KNOW.....
THE EARLIEST WORD
FOR WORK IS TRAVAIL
FROM THE LATIN WORD
TRAPALIUM - AN INSTRUMENT
OF TORTURE!

OK BACK
TO THE
STORY

GOOD TO SEE
ENGLAND ON ITS
FEET AGAIN

UNION
OFFICIAL

HURRY!
UP

{BLAH!

JOBS FOR
ALL
THE PYRAMID
PRO

IM GONNA
MAKE A
FORTUNE.

AGH GOOD,
THIS WILL KEEP
ME UNION
JOB SAFE!

IM GONNA
MAKE A
FORTUNE

AGH GOOD,
THIS WILL KEEP
ME UNION
JOB SAFE!

I WAS GOING TO HAVE
FUN TONIGHT, BUT
I'M TOO KNUCKLED!!

0000 WILL BE
SHOT.
AND NOW A
MESSAGE FROM 0000

OK AFTER
THAT, FILL
EM IN
AGAIN

HEY FOREMAN
WERN'T YOU A
STEWARDS ON
THE LAST 'RIGHT
TO WORK'
MARCH?

7.30 PM

BEDTIME! 10 PM
EARLY TO BED,
EARLY TO RISE. IN TIME
FOR WORK!

10 PM
EARLY TO BED,
EARLY TO RISE. IN TIME
FOR WORK

ECT IS A GOOD WAY TO READY PIGS FOR SLAUGHTER.

ECT stands for Electro-convulsive therapy or treatment. It was first thought to be useful for severe depression, but is more and more being used as a treatment for schizophrenia. It is the deliberate inducement of a Grand Mal seizure yet from time immemorial doctors have sought to prevent seizures and with modern anatomy it is known that such seizures damage the brain. The ECT machine is a transformer found in the majority of psychiatric institutions and in some private surgeries and prisons. Although there are variations, the classic method is still the most common: electrodes are fixed to the patient's temples. Current ranging from 70 to 150 volts at 500mA to 900mA, enough to light a 100 watt bulb, is passed across the front of the brain for up to a second. It is this part of the brain that most distinguishes people from other higher animals.

Unilaterally administered ECT requires even higher voltages, but has been hailed as an improvement because, following shock, there is less babbling of the patients to upset staff and relatives. Because the convulsions of unmodified shock sometimes cause fractures and because patients frequently resist, it is now common, but not universal in public loony bins, to give a hypnotic like sodium pentothal shortly before treatment and a paralyzing agent like Anectine. However, these increase the risk of death by choking. So while the brain is being assaulted the overt bodily and verbal accompaniments of ECT are suppressed. There isn't the terrifying spectacle of the body's violent spasms — and those around are less distressed. These modifications are like the flowers planted at a Nazi concentration camp or the sign over its entrance, "Work Makes You Free". Something indecent is still going on.

CONSPIRACY TO DAMAGE

Practically no psychiatric personnel are unaware of the tissue damage done by ECT. Those who justify ECT when fully aware that it damages the central nervous system are themselves, like most laymen, taken in by a false analogy. It is that if you can knock someone possibly, or only temporarily, out of a depression or delusions at the cost of an unknown number of brain cells it is no different to the acceptable assault on the body of removing a gangrened leg, a festering appendix or a rotten tooth. Such people say it is only a matter of more research to show that mental and emotional problems have physical bases and hence should be amenable to physical methods of prevention and treatment, just as malaria was first controlled with quinine and gonorrhoea with penicillin. Yet even in their cases the social factors are important since these medical conditions can be prevented by draining

still waters and by education in good sexual practises.

Proponents of ECT would like it believed that it is a scientifically proven treatment and that it is a treatment of last resort. Neither is true. ECT is being used in advance of good evidence of a physical basis for depression and schizophrenia, in advance of evidence that it works better than anything else and is often used routinely and early on as a means of quietening, even punishing, a difficult patient.

One well accredited proponent, Lothar Kalinowsky states, "What we wrote 20 years ago. . . is still true. . . we are empirically (hit & miss) treating disorders whose aetiology is unknown with methods whose actions are shrouded in mystery". Few admit this and then usually only in professional papers for their own consumption. The confused, anxious patient isn't told that his "superiors" don't know what she/he's got or what they are going to do to him/her other than fry his/her brains which she/he is not told either. In addition, especially in public bins, the poor and ignorant, are not only conned into ECT, but many are forced into it physically sometimes when heavily sedated to overcome resistance. A reluctant, suspicious patient will be allowed to talk to a patient who favours ECT, but not to any who disfavour it. Patients are not told that if they admit to having had ECT, they may be refused for later verbal therapy by therapists who put emphasis on recall of experience. Finally, in recent years, socio-economic class plays an important part in recommendations to patients that they take ECT. A consultant will be more concerned about memory loss resulting from ECT in the personal and professional life of an accountant, barrister or librarian than he will be in that of a fishmonger, shop assistant or working class housewife.

Especially in practise, the idea is rejected by the majority of medically indoctrinated people that psychological problems do not fit into the medical disease model, but are due to interpersonal experience, that is, arise from social and economic conditions. Even if more research turns up a few cases having discrete physical causes as is true of general paresis (syphilis of the central nervous system) they will be few cases indeed and such disturbed people will still present the more important problems of social management which include decent care and surroundings that are not today being provided the majority of sufferers.

ECT damages the human brain just as poor nutrition and excessive use of alcohol do. It

differs in that it is one of the legitimated tools of a limited professional group and their ancillaries who are sometimes, but not always nor consistently, humane toward the people they act on. In addition to ECT's physical damage it should be noted that those who are subjected to it are often being treated as objects in an every-day Kafkaesque sense.

RECIPIENTS DON'T ALWAYS REALISE DANGERS

If an elaborate comparison of ECT with frequent cups of camomile tea were made no differences in outcomes would be seen because the common factor would be that of Tender Loving Care; that depressed and schizophrenic patients would be responding not only to the special treatment, but according to their assumptions that something was being done for them when they couldn't cope on their own. Such improvement with treatment is highly personal depending on what the disturbed person has cathected, that is, what s/he invests in an idiosyncratic way with the meaning of help and attention. Not many disturbed people in the hands of medical staff cathect ECT and in the study reported on a number of people referred as potential subjects refused to take part. Had they been included it is a safe speculation that they would have shown either no benefit or post-treatment distress. Many disturbed people, especially those who have actual or vicarious experience of ECT, are fearful and suspicious of it either knowing that it destroys tissue, or fearing the experience itself or knowing that they will have a variety of post ECT contra-indications the principal being loss of memory.

Loss of memory following ECT is not always temporary and is no joking matter. Ernest Hemingway received two series of ECT at the prestigious Mayo Clinic and his biographer reports him as having said, "What these shock doctors don't know is about writers and such things as remorse and contrition and what they do to them. What is the sense of ruining my head and erasing my memory, which is my capital, and putting me out of business? It was a brilliant cure, but we lost the patient!"

ECT is often claimed to prevent suicide, yet a month after his second series, like so many others, Hemingway killed himself.

ECT is often forced on patients. Here in Britain it has been officially reported that a common method of coercion is to strip and seclude recalcitrant patients. This is a method preferred to "sectioning" voluntary patients. Another method, also officially reported, is to get heavily sedated patients to sign the consent form. When all else fails, a "disobedient" patient may be declared incompetent so that consent can be got from a relative or guardian. Finally, ECT is used as a form of punishment just as are refusal of sedation or weekend leave against

patients who don't play according to hospital rules or who generally challenge the power of a consultant or matron.

SOCIAL CONTROL

ECT has gained popularity since the 1930's from the onset of our era of frank totalitarianism. Other convulsive methods have fallen out of favour. Even the most deteriorated patients would not tolerate the unbearable apprehension that precedes seizure from Metrazole injection; Insulin shock requires too much staff - people have to prepare and serve sandwiches and juice following treatment to normalize blood sugar levels and dosages require too critical control to preclude death from shock; Indoklon, a convulsive gas, didn't catch on because, like the poison gases of World War I, it depends on the wind so that nurses and doctors too frequently get whiffed themselves.

ECT is now used in a quite thoughtless way. It is in vogue and is a substitute especially in public loony bins for the more costly general care that isn't given to the poor and ignorant. It is being used less and less or in shorter courses for those in the higher socio-economic classes. It is of a kind with the German National Socialists' simpler, final solution which was, in the '30s, to starve, beat, drug and gas to death 275,000 inmates of German psychiatric institutions. It began in 1938 when Cerletti, an Italian psychiatrist, observed that pigs in an abbatori that had had current passed across their brains went into convulsion, then relaxed and were thus easier to slaughter. "During this period of unconsciousness (epileptic coma), the butcher stabbed - and bled the animals without difficulty. . . it was not true that the animals were killed by the electric current. . . I felt we could venture to experiment on man. . ."

When they increase the voltage
and sit you in a chair with a cloak
over your head,
it's called judicial murder, or,
state revenge or even justice.

Today's ECT proponents argue that techniques have improved enough to make treatment safe. This is nonsense. Man's convulsive threshold has not changed since 1938. The voltage to induce seizure has not changed. The brain has not changed; it's still made of delicate tissue. Neuropathologic studies conducted mostly in the 1940s consistently showed severe brain damage. According to one, "The patient, a man of 57... died one half hour following the last treatment. . . in the frontal and temporal lobes of the brain were several small areas of devastation entirely devoid of ganglion cells and containing some ghost cells." Nothing has changed since the '40s. In a recent interview, the head of Stanford's Neuropathology Institute said, "I'd rather have a small lobotomy than a series of electroconvulsive shocks. . . I just know what the brain looks like after a series of shocks and it's not very pleasant to look at."

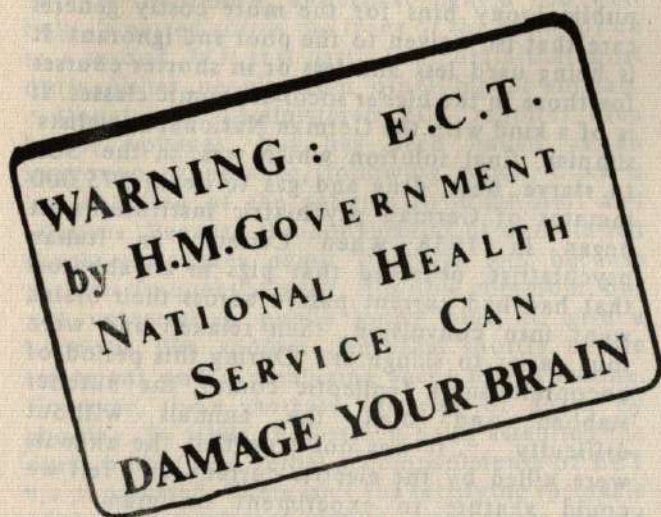
made to get unreconstructed patients to forego ECT, the effort being principally to get it understood that the treatment permanently damages tissue. With suitable alternatives it should be easier to get those few people who actually want ECT out of the habit than to get people out of the habits of excessive smoking and drinking which also damage tissue, but for which as yet there are no sanctioned alternatives as Cannabis should be.

But the alternative has two other aspects to just phasing out a method that does physical and psychological damage. They are the re-socializing of the medical profession and its ancillaries and the general development of community control of medical services.

More and more medical skills are going into the hands of nurses and others who have not had educations in schools of medicine. What is still largely retained is the power structure in medicine, the status structure vis-a-vis those working in the medical field and vis-a-vis those needing medical services. In this social hierarchy the technician with a degree from a medical school gives the orders and often has an absolute veto on proposals from his "team". The object of all their "good" services, the patient, is frequently not consulted at all. Interested laymen can be trained in many medical techniques, can work along with professionally trained people who will still include those with medical degrees although some of the content and a great deal of the philosophy and attitude-inculcation of their training will be radically changed. Many services can be made available at community level rather than in vast hospital conglomerations and laymen, including patients, will have an important, if not over-riding, say in both day-to-day and long term decisions; medical staff at all levels may eventually come to have roles only as advisers.

With full community involvement in the giving and receiving of medical services ECT would drop out entirely; there would be the return to or the continuation of limited use of barbiturates and other hypnotics for short periods of acute disturbance, limited use of tranquilizers and anti-depressants return to cold wet-sheet packs and warm baths and, there would be above all, the maximum availability of comfort and counsel in physically agreeable surroundings; the hospital would again become an "asylum" where one is not forced to get well and there would be the relatively unimpeded possibility of suicide.

This positive reference to suicide should no longer be startling. As long ago as 1911 when his monumental *Dementia Praecox* or the *Schizophrenias* was published, the Swiss psychiatrist, Eugen Bleuler, wrote that it was a pity that those who are so painfully and chronically distressed should have blocks put in the way of their self destruction. Suicide, although it can be legitimately carried out recklessly, can also be the ultimate rational expression of personal control of one's existence.



ALTERNATIVES?

To paraphrase Dr Thomas Szasz on the Inquisition and institutional psychiatry in general, there can be no abuse of ECT since ECT is itself an abuse. What then are the alternatives? First, since there won't be a quick, long jump into the post ECT period and since the jump will be longer and slower still into the period when status and power, not only within the medical hierarchy, but between patients and staffs are considerably blurred as described in this country by such people as Laing, Cooper and Esterson and by the Radical Therapists in the USA, there may still be some patients who cathect ECT, who find it helpful and even pleasurable like the lady who stuffed feathers in her arsehole to fart them out when she climaxed. But ECT is not a benign accessory erotic satisfaction and, in fact, sometimes if patients admit enjoying the pre-treatment preparations, particularly going under the Pentothol, they may be refused ECT. You see, one isn't supposed to enjoy it at all, but to get "cured" at the will of others. As long as the machines remain, considerable effort should be

MEDICAL CATEGORIES

A few last, general considerations. First, psychiatric diagnostic categories are largely, erroneously applied as part of the medical disease model for psychological disturbances. The very term "illness" is a misnomer in most cases of personal and interpersonal disturbance and today, to be labeled psychologically disturbed often means that one is being inconvenient to someone else or to some whole class or group of others. In practise, the professional assignment of a diagnosis to a disturbed person is mainly a comfort or security operation for the assigner. Diagnoses not only mystify patients and other laypersons, but the professionals themselves, the majority of whom are ignorant, barely competent and often destructive in their hierarchical human relationships, quite like most people without official credentials. Diagnosing or labeling is a first step in preparing a human being for treatment as an object to be administered, to be dealt with, not interacted with. It not only justifies "therapeutic" interventions like ECT chosen by bureaucratic technicians, but reassures them that they are doing something useful, indispensable and not to be questioned within the framework they impose. In practise diagnosis doesn't determine much a disturbed person's living arrangements ie to what sort of ward or outpatient facility s/he will be allocated. Such allocation is not like that of goods on Woolworth counters, but is rough and ready beginning usually with a closed (locked) intake ward where a person can be assessed and may calm down or live up. Then there are other facilities such as a locked or secure ward for the often violent or suicidal, special care wards for the senile, bed-ridden, incontinent or anorexic to locked wards on which some or most patients have day and even weekend passes and who may leave the grounds. Some wards of this type often have the door open most of the time with it understood that not all patients may leave the ward freely. Then there are completely open wards or separate units that may actually be houses on the grounds. These pass over to hostels or halfway houses or to permanent or temporary residence in private households and outpatient clinics for those no longer or never having needed hospitalization or supervision.

Finally, the choice of the medical disease or social model for disturbed behaviour can never be decided. Holding to the one or the other depends on personal outlook, experience and what is fashionable. The medical model participates in the rationalist view that the laws of society and human conduct are no different from those of the physical world. They can be discovered, as though they existed independently of human will and motive, by suitable methods of observation and manipulation of conditions according to the positivist view of scientific enquiry.

The alternative, sometimes now called an existentialist, takes part in a view first given modern expression more than two centuries ago by Giambattista Vico, a cleric and philosopher of the early Enlightenment. In his great work, *The New Science*, Vico held that man makes his own social world and is fully responsible for it; for what is good and what is bad: there is no outside logic to it such as transcendentalists and rationalists maintain. Actually Vico thought that mankind would always make a mess of things and needs a God. Contemporary exponents of this view include the late Gregory Bateson, a British anthropologist who worked for many of his last years in California both at a university and in a large neuropsychiatric hospital. He put forth there his "double-blind" theory of profound psychological disturbance and, like Laing et al after him, thought that such disturbance is under-valued in modern, industrial society.

When applied to various parts of your person it is called torture - usually carried out by nasty state police or the army occupying someplace else - never by the white man - either way it's called TORTURE - only the uniforms are changed.: WHITE = CURE GREEN = TORTURE

THE VALUE OF 'MIND TRAVELS' & ASYLUMS

It is possible that serious psychotic disturbance is no more than an extreme version of what the Germans call a *Wanderjahr*, a period of travel and self-exploration common among German youngsters growing up. A few millenia ago Plato expressed a similar idea expecting a conservative outcome: a young person without foreign experience knows only the values of his own community and believes in them naively. He must go abroad, discover new ways and have his innocently held beliefs challenged. Then s/he will return home still believing in what he was originally taught, but more firmly and unchallengeably than before he was tested.

Anton Boisin, an American clergyman who underwent a period of catatonia, a form of schizophrenia, and then devoted himself to psychiatric work also expressed the view that the initial, acute schizophrenic reaction was potentially useful. He likened it to fever, the reaction of the body to invasion by a noxious agent against which the body mobilizes to defend itself. Boisin, described initial, acute schizophrenia as a reaction to internalization of intolerably contradictory values and social relationships. The schizophrenic frenzy shakes all this up making it possible for the person to reorganize himself in a better way. Unfortunately, this is not the most usual outcome or a complete outcome. What usually happens is the fixing of the schizophrenic pattern into more or less permanency. The use of ECT, of heavy medication and the relationships of contemporary psychiatric services may hinder this process of self-healing, self-realization so that the best outcome can only be the serenity of the person with a well developed paranoid delusional system, a serenity not often achieved or maintainable under institutional circumstances, but one that might be the envy of so called "normal" people under every-day stresses. But, in my view, achieving relative serenity along with a sense of excitement about life doesn't depend on the architectonics and dynamics of the brain and its

physical manipulation, but on the kind and quality of human relationships; the kind and quality of the architectonics and dynamics of society.

Today, those who have positions to maintain in power relationships over others in the form of methods like ECT use statistics and the inductive/deductive method for authoritative, sophisticated justifications of their positions just as do civil servants, public relations firms and politicians. Very likely some of them are convinced of the reliability and objectivity of what they report, but the taking up of their profferings by the media has the effect of a manipulation of a wider public to give continued or extended assent to authoritarian social relationships.

NB. Some of the above came or was adapted from material that appeared in issue 11 of the journal of PROMPT, an organization of mental patients. Inquiries to PROMPT should be addressed to it c/o 25 Seymour Bldgs, Seymour Pl. London W1. PROMPT can be reached at 01 693 0011, between 1500 and 2200 hours, Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

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London Nw11

OPPOSE POPULATION CONTROL

In China, families with more than two children are degraded and impoverished by law. The excess children may be denied ration cards for anything except rice and cotton, denied equal medical care and educational opportunities. People have to ask for government permission to have a baby. They also have to pay a rising proportion of their income in community taxes for each excessive child they have. If this seems mild, I urge you to put yourself in the position of those parents and children and think what the hardship, stigma and discouragement of loving relationships would be like.

The Chinese measures are not to aid a sexually liberated lifestyle. Single mothers are not allowed to bring up their children if allowed to go through with the pregnancy at all. When she gets pregnant, the state decides whether she shall be allowed to marry the father, or will undergo 'abortion plus re-education', or will have the child taken from her and given to childless marrieds.

Chinese libertarians recognise population control as part of the package deal of repression imposed by the state, and include 'freedom of child-bearing' in the 19 point demands of the Chinese Human Rights League.

It can happen here.

This is only part of a worldwide movement which the ruling class is promoting in the West as well as the Third World. Although China has encouraged birth control for a long time, mainly by late marriage, these extreme measures coincide with closer ties with the U.S. - especially military aid from the U.S. - whose security adviser Brzezinski was a signatory to a population control document informing the rest of the world that his country was no longer going to give it any aid if it did not stop having babies.

The ruling class would like to do these things here, even with the west's declining population, because they don't need such a large working class now that they have computers. Why should they shorten the working week, or pay dole to a lot of people, when they can keep a smaller number of workers on a long week at the same pay and with hardly any dependents, to provide them with luxuries? Of course, as in China, they must set a good example, so large families are unfashionable among the rich also.

The Planned Parenthood World Population Group has printed a scenario of measures

ranging from those 'predicted on existing motivation' such as abortion and sterilisation on demand; through 'economic deterrents/incentives' such as taxes on children and 'require women to work and provide few childcare facilities', to 'social controls' such as compulsory sterilisation, permits to have children, and fertility control agents in the water supply. These proposals were for the U.S. where sterilization (laparoscopic) is second only to scraping of the womb (D&C) as the most common gynecological operation.

It is happening here

Population control is already operating in Britain, with increased openness and aggressiveness. Not only is family restriction propaganda all over the place, but the financial position of people with children has got worse and worse over the years. The Child Benefit which replaced child tax allowances is not being kept in line with inflation, and there is talk now - even from CPAG, trying to be politically 'realistic' - of offering only means tested benefits to families. Over five years ago a person who is now a cabinet minister, Keith Joseph, (who incidentally we have discovered used to subscribe to 'Freedom' in the forties), denounced births to persons of 'low intelligence and low morality', referring to semi and unskilled workers and single women. More recently a single mother was denied maintenance from the father because she had not used the Pill. Women in ante-natal clinics and maternity wards are questioned constantly and some times insultingly (apart from the inherent insults of such questions) about contraception. You commonly hear the idea that people should only have two children, or that they shouldn't have them at all if they can't afford them.

In other words, birth control which has been campaigned for as liberatory, since at least it

acknowledges people's right to have sex, has become a form of repression incorporating an obligation not to have children.

As for women's rights, the objective of 'requiring women to work with few child care facilities provided' has been met here socially and economically even if not by law. Illegitimacy still exists. Working parents are expected to work the same long, inflexible hours as child-free workers. Employers are allowed to discriminate against unmarried mothers. In other words so-called women's liberation stops abruptly at the maternity ward.

The difference between the oppression of families and the oppression of other groups is that the ruling class has had it gloriously easy, facing virtually no opposition from the left or from the women's movement. Last year I wrote to the CPAG and One Parent Families, to ask if they could sponsor public demonstrations where families could stand up for themselves, they said they couldn't do anything political as they depend on charity status for financial support, and added that they couldn't think of any suitable political groups to approach about it, unless they could interest the Unions.

The New Puritanism

When society changes, sexual prejudices are the last to go. Early trade unionists had quaint ideas about women. Modern radicals believe in sexual equality and in the freedom to have sex in any form. But they accept enthusiastically the puritanism of today, which is about reproduction. So the new puritanism is really the old kind, only freed from its sexual safeguards by the existence of contraception.

Yes, it was wrong to preach in the old days that sex was only grudgingly justifiable if it produced children. But it's just as bad to say that children are only an unpleasant, anti-social by-product of



Photocell, Clara Gutache

sex which we must do all we can to prevent, thus making our sex lives perfect. Both sex and procreation are part of our human needs.

As with sex repression, birth repression holds up a glorified type against a despised type, like this:

SEX: 'Romantic "love" ending in marriage', against 'Squalid illicit affairs, Prostitutes, Homosexuality'.

BIRTH: 'Middle-class two-child family, ' against 'unmarried parents, large families, unemployed or low wage earners'

'Smash the Family' is the slogan. Where working class and unmarried parents are concerned, the Tories are doing their best to oblige. But no communes for us as an alternative - they are just denying us the chance to bring up children at all, and with your help if you support that slogan.

In reacting violently against the CONDITIONS of motherhood, leftists and feminists have concluded that the state of parenthood was inherently degrading and life destroying. My impression is that birth repression isn't just a 'capitalist plot' - but a mass modern neurosis too. Will it pass, or cripple our minds and our society for centuries, like sex repression? At this rate, when the next generation sneak into Soho, it will be to leer furtively at pictures of babies and watch strip-teasers going through the motions of childbirth and breast feeding, while dirty jokes will mostly concern large families.

Ecology

Maybe some people genuinely believe that 'overpopulation' is a problem. Mainly its a question of values, and whether you think the end justifies the means if devaluing birth and your own life. In a birth repressive society, the competitiveness we already suffer from reaches its ultimate pitch - you must prove, not just that you deserve a job or a degree, but that you have any right to clutter up the planet at all. There is no human way to devalue life. Just because people aren't dragged to the sterilization chambers doesn't mean that their lives are acceptable to them.

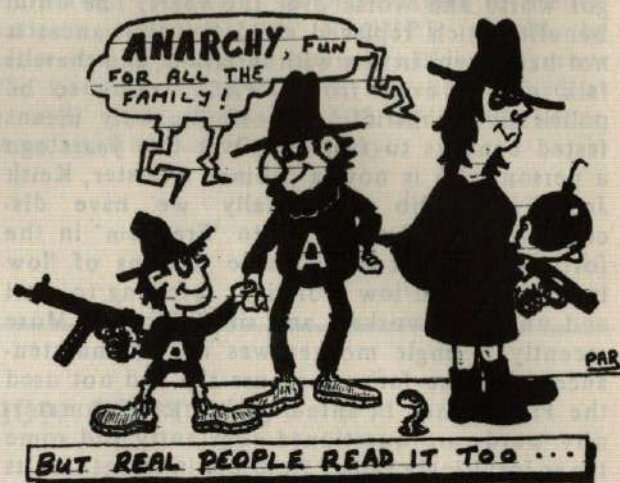
The soft sell

Nowadays some population controllers have developed a soft sell, in the face of third world resentment of their cruder activities. (In post-Ghandi India family planning posters were ripped down by the victims of forced sterilization. I would like to rip them down in England BEFORE the sterilizations begin !)

The soft line goes - 'If you make birth control available, and raise the standard of living the birth rate will fall of its own accord.' In practice where the 'availability' is manipulative in its

intent, it's bound to be accompanied by economic and social, if not legal, measures which put pressure on people to conform to the state's wishes.

Another soft line goes, 'Where women are liberated and have wider horizons than domestic life, the birth rate falls.' This is true if you insert the word 'childless' before 'women'. Mothers then have added to their former oppressions the sense of being inferior to other women and of failing to live up to the modern ideal of a woman, which is childless, employed, and having a swinging sex life.



However, where mothers are also counted as 'women' and given some comforts, some rights, and some options in life, as they are periodically by governments wishing to raise the population, the population duly rises - and is curtailed again by withdrawal of the said benefits when the govt. feels it has had enough. Childless women needn't suffer simply because mothers also have some rights. But families ALWAYS suffer when birth is discredited and childlessness encouraged.

I urge all anarchists and libertarians to throw off their preconceived ideas and fashionable slogans and consider what the situation really is with regard to reproduction. Consider it, and do something about it before we too have to include 'Freedom of Childbearing' in a list of demands which have come to seem utopian.

Kathy Perlo.

This article was abridged from a paper distributed at the Oxford Anarchist Conference, but not discussed.

ANARCHO-ESCAPISM (POLITICS & MOTIVATION)

Us Anarchists and lefties are in a pretty embarrassing situation. Here we are ranting and raving year after year, and no one's paid a blind bit of notice. Even those we most want to help, hear what we think is wrong, hear our solutions then burst out laughing. (Whom have you just spoken to on the factory floor?) All in all the most our propagandists ever done is balance out the sell outs.

So, what've we done about it? Gone back to the drawing board? No fear, if we just carry on they'll eventually understand!

Why haven't we thought they could be right? They could be aware of something we haven't lit up to. Maybe they aren't listening 'cause we're talking rubbish. We've never considered that thought. On the whole self-criticism's not been one of our strong points.

Forty years ago Voline said the Russian Revolution failed because the consciousness of the people went no further than getting rid of the Tsar and co. Otherwise they were still firmly rooted in 'Tsarist values'. That, he says, is how the Bolsheviks justified themselves, why others agreed, and how they shippwrecked the whole affair.

Good old Emma Goldman agreed. So did Gustav Landauer. Here's what he had to say about the state: "The state is a condition, a certain contractual relationship between human beings, a mode of human behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently."

Very nice. In other words we are the state, we are capitalism, we are patriarchy — they have produced us.

If we're not careful, then, our revolution will also be a part of it, without potential, a mere safety valve. Authoritarian Socialists are a classic example of this for Anarchists. We're always going on about how their strategy is self-defeating. We also can't help thinking that their pathology for a party to control other people's 'welfare' comes from a drive for control, power, importance and security, as well as social concern. It also comes from their culture's way of making people see themselves.

Although we Anarchists have rejected authority and hierarchy, we're in the same boat. We're conditioned not just not to look at our unconscious, but to deny its existence altogether. It never occurs to us that our wants aren't always straightforward, that there are motives behind our attitudes.

Together with this our culture (patriarchy) teaches us to divide things black and white, good and evil (male and female), and makes us believe the two aren't always mixed. This dualism constantly helps oppression. By blaming something/someone outside 'the system', people's

energies can always be wasted on this instead of getting to grips with the real problem. At first this was the scapegoat, driven off to die in the wilderness, loaded with the sins of the community. Nowadays it's been the Jews, the blacks, the Arabs, the war effort or inflation.

What this splitting also does is to de-fuse revolution by giving us an excuse to run away from the personal struggle Landauer went on about. It allows us to project and focus the problem outside us. We keep ourselves pure, loveable, secure, and keep a shady self-respect by crusading against an abstract problem.

Many of our revolutionary ideas come out of this: The postponement of change 'til 'after the revolution' where it is seen as an organisational re-arrangement: The role of propaganda — getting the masses to fight this external problem: The idea that finally we will "take control over our lives" as if that, too, were something outside ourselves.

This allows us to make gestures at freedom without touching the 'values', the world view that restricts it. It's like taking aspirin for a stomach ulcer — you treat the symptom, reinforce the cause.

What it also means is that we hold our opinions not just 'cause we think they're true, but 'cause they make us feel good — guerilla warfare, mass armed struggle; the war movie fighting for the right side fantasy. To be sure these also come from other patriarchal 'values', in this case prick power as the means to change, but dualism is the central problem because it obstructs our awareness of the others.

This explains why our revolutionary strategy has not developed along with our analysis of the state etc. It also explains our anger at sell-outs who, forced by our rigid discussion to being either all the way in or all the way out of the movement, give up when they come against the brick wall instead of burying themselves in the struggle. It is not simply that "now they're the enemy", but that they cast doubt on our insecure ideology.

As a result of all this I think that so far we have only been a reaction against patriarchy, it's safety-valve. If, worst luck, the revolution fell upon us, we wouldn't have the means or the experience to deal with it. For revolution to be feasible, it must happen now, and well before 'the overthrow of the state'.

Finally, at the risk of turning No. 30 into "Issues Around the Women's Movement", I'd like to get my oar in and say how I think some of its present problems come from unclear motivation. (Obviously this applies to groups with whom I've come into contact, as there's no "Women's Movement as such any more than there's an "Anarchist Movement").

The women's movement has been one of the few truly revolutionary movements this century. From the start it showed a clear awareness of what it was up against: "The answer" was rejected. The idea as personal property, something to fight for to win an argument, rather than a means to finding common truths, was thrown out. Patriarchy was shown as the root oppression, its personal and group links explored. The medieval notions of romance, love, motherhood and the nuclear family were questioned, criticised and often rejected. Through-out, discussion was flexible, undogmatic and personal. Dualism was largely absent. "The revolution" was emasculated.

Recently, however, it has seemed to move closer to the traditional left. I'm not talking about "bourgeois softy values", "lack of class analysis" or any other of the arrogant put-downs people have levelled at feminists, but the increasing presence of "black and white issues", a movement to a dogmatic ideology. This has alienated quite a few women both inside and outside the movement.

This is partly an angry reaction to repeated, bigotted attacks on issues like abortion and motherhood from outside the movement. These can be more easily dealt with by a return to 'the idea as tool/power/prick' arguments of patriarchy, where the battle is fought in an external arena. But this is all secondary to the results from the presence of so-called 'feminist men'. These men behave in the typical patriarchal mold: They externalise the sexism, make it abstract, and then construct an ideology which sees the overcoming of patriarchy in the FUTURE overcoming of OTHER MEN'S sexism; (by means of large organisations, propaganda etc.).

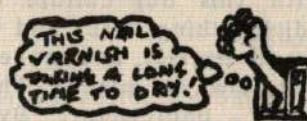


The way they talk about their ideology — a wallowing and aggressive black/white dogmatism, is used to back up their position and make themselves safe from attack by their (dishonestly) implied criticism; (men do this, I am a man, therefore I am criticising myself). Nonetheless, their arguments have in many cases been accepted as 'the feminist ideology'.

At the same time their treatment of women, their sexuality, their conception of their role remains the same. They oppress women as before, only now it is more subtle, more insidious. They are not "feminist men" for the cause of truth of freedom from role, but for safety. On every count they are attempting to regain the power over women, the cheap security that feminists have taken away from them. Like Erica Jong says, they're just using the best pickup line in the book.

Typically, the women's movement has become increasingly aware of this contorted motivation and its side-effects. Just as typical, the Anarchist movement is far from close to such an awareness. And yet, if we want to avoid the failures of the past it is essential; we must reexamine everything from our motivation onwards.

I can imagine this being labelled a 'negative article'. It would be so if it served up plastic answers and mindlessly 're-affirmed' the struggle'. I have tried to describe how I think we must start again. Whether that is 'positive' or 'negative' depends on whether you agree.



THE ANARCHIST DLTNs WKLY

FIGHT BACK WHERE YOU SEE THIS SIGN (A)

ANARCHISTS LOCAL

- ABERDEEN** Libertarian group, contact c/o 163 King St.
ABERYSTWYTH David Fletcher, 59 Cambrian St.
BARRY Terry Philips, 16 Robert St, Barry, S. Glam.
BELFAST anarchist collective (BAC) c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast 1.
BIRMINGHAM Anarchists / Anarcha feminists meet Sundays, Contact Alison at Peace Centre, 18 Moore St., Ringway. Tel 021-643-0996
BRIGHTON Libertarian Socialists c/o Falmer House, Univ. of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton.
BRISTOL CITY contact c/o 4 British Rd, Bristol BS3 3BW.
BRISTOL STUDENTS: Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queens Rd, Bristol 8.
CAMBRIDGE anarchists, Box A, 41 Fitzroy St, Cambridge.
CANTERBURY Alternative Research Group, contact Wally Barnes, Eliot College, University of Kent, Canterbury.
CARDIFF write c/o One-O-Eight Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road.
COVENTRY John England, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Warwick.
DERBY Collaborators welcome. Contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Ave, Derby DE3 5BY. Tel. 368678.
CENTRO IBERICO Spanish Anarchist Centre, 421 Harrow Rd, London N9
DUBLIN: ABC Collective, 7 Marlborough St, Dublin 1 Eire.
EAST ANGLIA Libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.
EDINBURGH anarchists meet 8 pm on Mondays at 1st. of May Bookshop, 45 Niddrie St, Edinburgh.
EXETER Anarchist Society, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd. Exeter.
GLASGOW Anarchist Group contact John Cooper, 34 Raitburn Ave, Castlemilk, Glasgow 45.
ECOLOGY & ANARCHISM Contact Box 1000, 182 Upper St, London N1.
GREENWICH & BEXLEY any trade unionists interested in forming a syndicalist group contact John Ryan, 47 Binsley Walk, SE2 9TU.
HASTINGS ANARCHISTS contact Sophie Bookshop, 127 Bohemia Rd, St-Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex Tel. 0424 424537 or else 18A Markwick Terrace, Tel. 0424 420620.
HIGH BENTHAM ask at the Dragonfly on Saturdays.
HUDDERSFIELD phone polytechnic Students Union phone 0484-38156. Also Holme Valley Anti-Nukes group c/o 8 Larch Ave., Thongbridge, Nr. Huddersfield.
HULL Libertarian Collective, 16 Park Grove, Hull, N. Humberside.
LEAMINGTON & WARWICK c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington spa.
KEELE anarchists c/o Students Union, Univ. of Keele, Staffs. Non-students welcome.
KEIGHLEY Anarchists, 37 Parkwood St, Keighley BD21 4QH
LAMPETER anarchist group c/o A James, SD1C, Lampeter Dyfed SA48 7ED Wales.
LEEDS c/o 189 Hyde Park Rd., Leeds 6. Also Leeds D.A.M. c/o Dave Brown, 30 Park Row, Knaresborough, Yorks.
LEICESTER anarchist group contact Lyn Hurst, 41 Briargate Dr., Tel. 0533-21250 (days) 0533-414060 (nights). Bookshop: Blackthorn Books, 76 Highcross St., (Tel. 0533-21896). See also 'Lib. Ed.' under publications.
LONDON: Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Ave., London N5. Publish Anarchy Magazine.
ANARCHIST FEMINISTS Box 77, 182 Upper St, London N1.
FREEDOM COLLECTIVE, 846 Whitechapel High St, E1. Tel. 01-247-9240. Anarchy Bookshop
KINGSTON ANARCHISTS, 13 Denmark Rd, Kingston, Tel. 544-2564.
LONDON WORKERS GROUP, Box W, 182 Upper St, N1. Tel. 01-249-7042
RISING FREE BOOKSHOP- 182 Upper St., N1 !
WEST LONDON D.A.M. c/o Centro Iberico, 421 Harrow Road, London W9.
LOVE V. POWER Box 779 Peace News (London office 5 Caledonian Rd, N1.)
MALVERN & WORCESTER area contact Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrage, Malvern, Worcs.
MANCHESTER c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, M1. Also Manchester D.A.M. Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Bldgs., Hanging Ditch, M4.
MID-SUSSEX & SOUTH COAST anarchists, c/o Resource Centre, North Rd, Brighton, E. Sussex.
NORWICH Libertarian Socialist Group, 56 St Benedicts St.
NOTTINGHAM c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St: see also 'Peace News', and 15 Scatholme Ave, Hyson Green.
OLDHAM contact Nigel Broadbent, 31 Cooke St, Fails-worth, Manchester.
OXFORD anarchist group, contact 34 Cowley Rd, Oxford.
PAISLEY (College) Anarchist group, S.U., Hunter St, Paisley, Renfrews.
PLYMOUTH anarchists, 115 St. Pancras Ave., Penryn, Plymouth.
PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahn, 25 Albany Rd, Southsea.
READING anarchists c/o Shevek, Clubs Office, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.
RHONDA & MID GLAMORGAN. Henning Anderson, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, Mid Glamorgan, Wales.
SHEFFIELD anarchists, 4 Havelock Square, S10 2FA.
SWANSEA Don Williams, 24 Derwyn Durrant, Swansea.
SUTTON in ASHFELD D.A.M., 28 Lucknow Drive, Sutton in Ashfield, Nottinghamshire.
SWINDON area. Contact Mike, Groundwell Farm, upper Station, Wilts.
TAYSIDE Anarchists group 3L, 118 Strathmartine Rd., Dundee.
TORBAY Anarchist Federation, 24 Beverley Rise, Brixham, Devon.
STOP PRESS LIVERPOOL anarchist group, contact Hywell Eliss, c/o Students Union, Liverpool Univ.
RICHMOND - announcing the existence of Richmond anarchist group: - anyone interested please phone 01-948-2915. Solidarity.

THESE PAGES are open to anyone wishing to use them. Send your address and the name of your group, paper, organisation etc. to 37a GROSVENOR AVE, LONDON N5.

Monday November 24

South London Hunger Strike Action Committee: public meeting on the prisoners. Speakers from labour and trade union movement and from 6 Counties. 7.30 Lower Town Hall Brixton

Wednesday, November 26

Charter 80 public meeting, Battersea Town Hall, Lavender Hill, Battersea, 7.30

Saturday, November 29

SPTAC picket of Labour Party HQ, Walworth Rd SE17 on 6th anniversary of the Prevention of Terrorism Act

ANARCHIST DLINS WKLY CONTINUED

ANARCHISTS PAPERS & MAGAZINES

- ANARCHISM LANCASTRUM Variable Price & Format, Variable Content - 24 Conway Ave, Oimeade, Lancs.
- ANARCHIST WORKER Alan MacSimon, 49a Leister Rd, Dublin 6. 15pence. Paper of the Irish 'Anarchist Workers Alliance'.
- BLACK FLAG. Paper of the Anarchist Black Cross. International News. Also Cienfuegos Press, publishers of Anarchist Books and the excellent Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review. Address Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2EL.
- BREAKOUT 'The Paper For Insiders'. 25p. For anyone on the wrong side of the law - 56 Dames Rd., Forest Gate, London E7.
- FREEDOM fortnightly 25p. News, Information, Debate, Reviews. Over 100 years old & still going strong. - 84 b Whitechapel High St, E1.
- ANARCHIST-FEMINIST NEWSLETTER c/o 192 Upper St, London N1.
- INSIDE VIEW local anarchist paper. 11 Lincett Drive, West Worthing, W. Sussex.
- LIB ED formerly Liberation Education. 'For the Liberation of Learning'. 30p from Blackmoon Books, 74 Highcross St, Leicester.
- OPEN ROAD International anarchist/anarcha-feminist paper. Quarterly. Box 135, Station G, Vancouver, BC Canada.
- OUTRA CONTROL Belfast anarchist paper 5p from 7, Wine-tavern St, Belfast 1.
- POISON PEN duplicated local magazine from Hastings Anarchists (Solstice Address). Free when available.
- PEACE NEWS for Nonviolent Revolution. 25p fortnightly from 8 Elm Ave, Nottingham. 0602-53587.
- SOLIDARITY FOR Social Revolution. Libertarian Socialist journal 30p - Publications Secretary 123 Latham Rd, London E6.
- LWG BULLETIN - free, duplicated, from BOX W., 182 Upper St, London N1.
- EXTRA! Paper for the Armchair Terrorist. 30p from Rising Free, 182 Upper St., London N1.

These and thousands of other anarchist publications are available from RISING FREE Bookshop (address above!) Many of them will also be available at anarchist and community bookshops throughout the U.K. and abroad.

The next meeting to discuss the plans & proposals for an anarchist centre in London (sponsored by Cross, Cotton Girls and many others) will be held on December 11th at 7.30 pm. in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

ANARCHY COLLECTIVE publishes anarchist opinions.

Our aim is not to push or defend any particular variety of revolutionary anarchism, but to give space to the widest possible range of views. We feel that the benefits of such a magazine are that we can both spread anarchist ideas, and also help push them forward by including any polemic we can collectively stomach. We are not producing the magazine for its own sake, or competing with other anarchist papers.

Issue 30 is produced by a very small number of people. Most of us have not helped put ANARCHY out before. The magazine appears irregularly. Although the format has not changed much since the start of the second series, the collective has had many changes in personnel and morale. For instance, 26 was the first and last to call itself a 'quarterly magazine'. 28 contained the words "Will ANARCHY 29 be out in record time?" It was. The copy was written and prepared, then the collective broke up. It was not printed & distributed till over a year later, when 3 or 4 people decided to revive the title. It was widely acclaimed the worst issue ever. This one's better. 31 will be better still we hope.

ANARCHY is distributed in the UK and overseas by subscription, bookshop sales, people taking bundles and - if the issue is good enough - by selling it on the street. The money comes from the subs. and from donations. We are not a 'going concern' but in future we want the printers to get wages. In the past, ANARCHY was sent to shops by Publications Distribution Co-op (PDC). They didn't push the magazine, at least partly because we came out so irregularly. We have now joined with several other groups to distribute anarchist papers & books. This won't be a service, like PDC, but a collective project by the papers involved.

If you would like to subscribe to ANARCHY or take a bundle, the rates are printed here somewhere. Prisoners can have a free subscription. If you want to write or draw something, send it and you'll most likely get it published (we'll put out the magazine whenever we have enough good stuff to make an issue.) If you'd like to contact or join the collective, the address is here somewhere too.

For us, ANARCHY is not an end in itself, or our most important activity. We are all fighting at work, or at home, or in the streets - wherever we are oppressed or put down. We would like the collective to grow, so that it could extend its criticism of this sick society beyond the verbal, into the direct. On the other hand, if we find that we've got better things to do than produce ANARCHY, then we'll let it go. After all, it's folded up before... **A** **END**

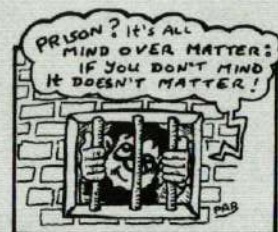
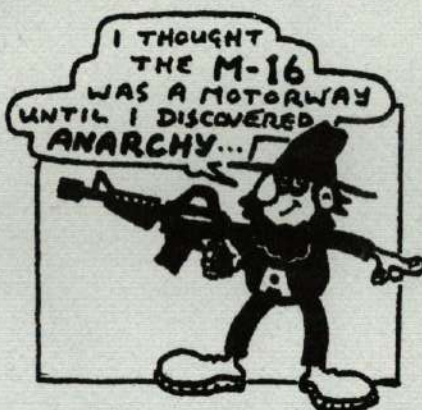
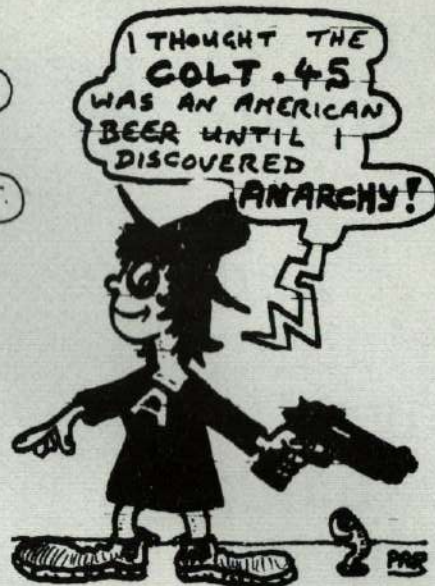
For #31 we're inviting contributions on the subject of SEX. As well as anything you may wish to do about anything else that's on your mind.

Saturday, December 6

TOM Day School on Ireland, Highfields Community Centre, Leicester
speaker from Women Against Imperialism

Sunday December 7

National demo in support of hunger strikers: organised by broad based ad hoc committee, will be very important.



Shown 1/2 actual size, these are on sale as postcards at Rising Free, and distributed thro' @ dist. Retailing at 10p each. The cartoons are done by Phil Ruff at present serving a 7 year sentence in Her Majesties Prison, where he is currently having servant problems!

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