

BLACK FLAG



Vol. V.

No. 9

JULY 1979

20p

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

MANIFESTO TO THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

LORENZO
KOMBOA
& ERVIN



"Before the First World War the main impetus for Social Revolution came from the Anarchist and revolutionary Syndicalist movements. However, following the defeat of the Russian Revolution with the triumph of authoritarian (State) Communism, world Capitalism tended to concentrate its energies on destroying this (real) apparent danger to its continued existence, thus giving the impression that the Libertarian movement and its ideas were superfluous, or, at best, a side issue to the main struggle, so far as the organized working class was concerned. Only in a minority of countries did Anarchism take the lead, elsewhere the very idea of freedom went into decline.....(Albert Meltzer in 'THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT', Cienfuegos Press 1974).

"The modern States (totalitarian or democratic), private and State capitalism, all variations of political and religious ideology, trade unionism (whether reformist or State-run), in general, all social groups which are part of the productive society have established, as a fact, a co-existence that tends at any cost, to ensure the present status quo for all forms of privilege, exploitation, and authority." (Meltzer)

East and West, States are the oppressors of the people. But Capitalism is being undermined due to economic and political crises (depression, inflation, exposures of political corruption) and a myriad of social and cultural ills. Our time is indelibly branded by the robbery of human labour power, and by the exploitation of natural resources. The denial of freedom, world war, and oppression by the State also characterizes our period.

The incapability of bourgeois scientists and politicians to get to the root of these problems opens the doors to Anarchist revolutionary activities. This obvious world wide destruction as well as the every-approaching planetary catastrophe, (that even the Bourgeoisie can see!), opens up for the Anarchist world-view the best possible circumstances since the beginnings of the Anarchist movement. Thus, Anarchism presently faces an excellent opportunity to become a dominating social force in modern society, to change the scientific, cultural, and social chaos into a free society, and to implement Libertarian Socialism on a world scale.

The Anarchist society will only be realized as a result of world-wide social revolution. However, this will be possible *only* when there exists a international revolutionary Anarchist organization. An organization which can co-ordinate the everywhere existing resistance struggles of the people, but without centralizing those activities, and which can give to the actions Libertarian goals, at which point we *know* we can make freedom and Libertarian Socialism come true.

The Social Revolution is proletarian internationalist, not merely an insurrection in one land, and must have as its goal world-wide Anarchist rebellion and overthrow of the State. We need an organization and a Social revolutionary movement capable of launching, sustaining, and co-ordinating our struggles in every country.

Cont. page 9

INSIDE: International Prisoners; Thorpe; China; Times; Body Guards & more.....

BLACK FLAG is late again — and not too well produced at that. Our problems have not been financial — though they could, of course, be dispensed with by cash. They rest upon the breakdown of a typesetting machine, and the difficulties of obtaining a typesetter where the work could be done commercially.

We were, in fact, all set to transform BLACK FLAG into a fortnightly, and this will certainly come about in the foreseeable future. Strange, when this is the second copy in the year — and it's supposed to be a monthly (more or less)? Not so strange when one thinks that the problems of a fortnightly are utterly different.

However we can't go ahead without a solution to the typesetter problem — and purchase a new one involves several thousands of pounds. We hope to reach an agreement with some group doing typesetting. Meanwhile, once again we offer our apologies for irregularity and the appearance of the Flag, for so long vain of its appearance.

On to the Fortnightly! We realise that others are thinking of the same thing — an Anarchist paper with fortnightly, and some in London hope weekly, issues. The more the merrier — there is plenty of scope. Regularity means topicality and dealing with current issues — but these cannot be dealt with by any paper under fortnightly appearance.

Is a daily an impossible pipe dream? Not so. It is within the bounds of immediate possibility if three or four fortnightly papers were brought out by different groups, were successful, and saw the possibility of collaboration.

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.....
BENEFIT (PRE-TRIAL)
'PERSONS UNKNOWN'
SATURDAY 8TH SEPT.
CONWAY HALL; 7.30 PM
CRASS; POISON GIRLS
AND ONE MORE GROUP
.....

3 PM - 6 PM MEETING
DEFENDANTS WILL TALK
ABOUT THE CASE
BEFORE DANCE.....



STATE OF PLAY AT JUNE 1ST '79

Printing Bills to date	262.00	
Postage (including ABC)	114.50	
Stationery	10.00	
		386.50
Sales & Subs	231.14	
Donations +	85.50	316.64

Loss	69.86	
deficit c/fwd	1326.58	

new deficit	1396.41	

Last issue sold out but we would still solve our deficit if all copies were paid for. But as long as it's below the dreaded £1400 figure it's manageable.

+ donations

London: Punk Concert £15; JH £5;
JG £6; SM £1; 'Smithfield Mob'
£25; JF £2.50; AM £20; Cosham
SB £7; Washington (Tyneside) DAS
£4. TOTAL £85.50.



PERSONS UNKNOWN
TRIAL DATE HAS BEEN SET FOR
3RD SEPTEMBER 1979.
ANARCHIST DEMO CALLED FOR
SATURDAY 1ST SEPTEMBER
1979 IN PROTEST/SOLIDARITY.

DON'T FORGET THE
"FLAG" COMPANEROS
WE GET NO MONEY
FROM THE WORLD
COUNCIL OF CHURCHES!



ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Pope Innocent III ordered a crusade against the Albigensian (Cathar) heretics: what was the answer of the Church to the military commander who asked, during the siege of Beziers (France) how in the heat of battle he could distinguish between Cathar heretics and the Catholic faithful?
2. How is it that British achievement in geriatric science never gets recognised in the Honours List?
3. What have Pullman Wagons de Lit (sleeping cars) to do with anarchism?
4. What has the statue of Queen Anne outside St Paul's Cathedral in London, in common with the statue of Brigham Young in the middle of Salt Lake City (at least, as enshrined in jest)?
5. Which English politician was compared during the election campaign (admirably) with Michael Bakunin and other Russian revolutionaries?
6. Mr G.N. Strauss, until the election Father of the House and now in the Lords, once collaborated with Anarchists and others in a 'terrorist murder plot'. What did he do?

Answers on page 23

an interview with CRASS



WHATEVER HAPPENED TO 'INDIVIDUALIST' ANARCHISM?

'Punk is dead!' so goes a song written by a group calling themselves CRASS and who have brought anarchism back on to the turntable. CRASS are part of a collective who live near Epping. We wondered if they were merely left-overs from the heady days of '76, or whether in fact they had anything to offer the anarchist movement. Some of them have been living in the collective for about fifteen years in a rented farmhouse where their lifestyle would seem to reflect the kinds of anarchism they have adopted. They live frugally, are anti-consumer and when they need money they do the odd job to get what they need. In other words, they live at a very low monetary level - consuming only what they need. At the same time they realise that they don't need to compensate for an unsatisfying life by spending money and 'consuming'.

Unlike most rock bands the group have put a lot of thought not only into how their music relates to their audience but also how it relates in the wider context to their type of anarchism. CRASS (Oxford dictionary: stupid, ignorant, etc.) actually describe themselves as 'individualist' anarchists, although on first sight appear to be just another bunch of peace freaks who live in a commune and grow their own food. However, despite this, they are trying

to spread anarchist ideas not only amongst the Left but also amongst the extreme Right, this being the main thing that sets them apart from other 'individualist' anarchists (and rock groups). They consider that their way of life comes first, whilst their music is only an extension of it. One interesting aspect of their lifestyle is that unlike most anarchists who find themselves out of work and who tend to advocate living off the dole (as if in doing so they are striking a blow at capitalist society), CRASS bluntly refuse to take any hand-outs, realising (quite rightly) that if they became claimants their collective would then in fact be financed by the State. Many anarchists tend to justify the former belief by stating that if everyone went on the dole then the capitalist society would collapse. This is, of course, unrealistic as everyone isn't going to go on the dole. There is the other point that eventually, in order for capitalism to continue, it will be necessary for a high percentage of the population to be paid not to work (even Tory M.P.'s are getting used to this idea and some are even advocating it). But as anarchists this doesn't really concern us as it is merely reformism and we are not interested in aiding capitalism in recuping itself. Cont. page 21

CHINA

A FILM has been made in China based on the novel "The Family" by Pa Chin, whose conflicts with the State we have recorded in these columns.

The book is available in English (the only one of his to be). It has been censored; the film may be very much more so. But it would be interesting to see if it ever comes your way.

"Shouhuo" (Harvest), a Shanghai literary publication, has in its February issue "Memoirs on the creative work of the noted writer Ba Jin" (in the new spelling).

After a mass rally on Feb 6, the provincial party committee in Canton "exonerated" two of the three activists who issued the "notorious" poster "On Socialist Democracy and the Legal System" in Kwang Tung back in 1974.

Known as the Li Ti Zhe poster" (after the three concerned: Ki Cheng, a student, Wang Xizhe, a worker, and Guo Hongzhi, a party cadre) it caused a big stir at home and abroad. Typical of China that one poster on one wall could make such a stir!

"Confessing", but only just, Li and Wang said the campaign was not a "drive for Western democracy", as it had been interpreted, and they were "dissidents of the Communist Party".

But of Guo, no word. He was not there to join in the praise for the current leadership. That means either he refused to recant or that he is dead. If the former, he will be in one of the permanent prisons where people rot for years as they are "rehabilitated" — which usually means that they petition to stay on "until the year of re-education" — which may be forever. A grim sick joke of Maoism.

behind

What's Happened Here?

I have been caged, isolated, segregated, alienated, classified, reviewed, denied, put off, put on, beat up, gassed, starved, tortured, shamed, humiliated, degraded, subjected to fear, paranoia, frustration, depression, rage and sorrow, a sense of emptiness, a sense of loss, and digital sodomy.



'Nuisance training' shows police horses how to cope with the enemy. (Metropolitan Police training school photo).

sussex uni fracas

There has been a concerted attack on militant students at Sussex University by the University hierarchy, the Anarchist students being singled out for vicious treatment. The Student's president Richard Flint (an anarchist) was mandated by his executive to authorise a programme of disruption to stop the preliminary examinations. Many of the students had been forced to re-sit it as they had refused to attend the original exams.

On May 31, as students were crashing dustbins outside an examination hall and creating a row, the Vice Chancellor's assistant and another member of the management were seen photographing the incident. This resulted on June 1 in Richard Flint being accused of being personally responsible for the boycott/disruption, and he and Shaun Senior, another Anarchist, were given until midnight on the Sunday to be out of the campus.

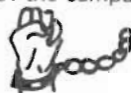
The Vice-Chancellor told them that a University had to be non-democratic in order to be run efficiently, and there was no room for the "consumers to participate in decision making". A protest meeting was planned for June 5.

This attack on Anarchists is a further illustration of the intensifying of action against Anarchist in particular. The mailing list of Essex Anarchist was stolen, it is believed by Special Branch. Then came the news that 300 Students were also threatened with expulsion for being on rent strike.

Sadly, there have had no outside support. Letters of support should be sent to .

Dave Nundy
27a Park Village,
Univ. of Sussex,
Falmer, Sussex.

bars



I have been used, abused, lied to and about, played as a pawn, ignored, sensationalized, scapegoatized, and so much more that words alone cannot tell you about this existence.

I feel a hurt so bad, so deep, a rage so consuming, that only love can save me from myself.

Carl L. Harp age 30 serving four consecutive life terms in the Wn. State Penitentiary is an Anarchist Communist and member of the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective in the Penitentiary.

Glasgow Anarchist Group — contact John Cooper, 34 Raithburb Avenue, Castle-milk, Glasgow G45.

ROON 'N' ABOUT

Forget all the talk about Thorpe 'getting off' because he was a member of the Establishment. If they can't get justice, who can?

The fact is his acquittal proves two things. One, that the Conspiracy Laws are seen as a vicious red herring and should be repealed instantly. It was not denied that there was a conspiracy. There were "nods and winks" which, a judge once said, was all that needed to be proved. But not a conspiracy to murder. One can "conspire" to do many things some of them lawful, some of them meritable, some inconsequential. That can be taken to prove evidence of a non-existent crime.

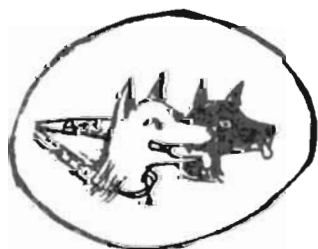
Two, the secret service got a hammering — overlooked by the press hanging about like vultures to exploit the sex angle. The case was cooked up by South African Intelligence through two stooge journalists who have now made fortunes though not as much as they might have made if they had got a conviction. It is a defeat for the Law and Order Party.

A.T.S. BITE TRAINERS.

The Anti-Terrorist Squad arrested two members of the Hampstead Labour Party on election day, and strip-searched and 'interrogated' them. Ken Livingstone, Parliamentary candidate, has protested to Scotland Yard about this "ham-handed mistake".

Alas, the moral is that when you allow your Labour Home Secretary to pass "draconian laws" and then stand by while the ATS are given full licence to run other political persuasion than yours, you won't be taken seriously when it's your turn.

Margaret Fletcher and Nick Mullen were collecting elderly people when they called at the hit address — 'they could not understand the tenor of the questioning', it was said. But this perhaps they can understand: when the bell tolls, it tolls for thee.



LIGHTNING INSURANCE

The Blasphemy Laws were due to be given a critical eye once more but with the new Attorney General this has perhaps been dropped. How can anyone take them seriously (but for their possible legal consequences?)

Consider the case against Gay News ending with a large fine. One sees the point of a blasphemy law, if it is in order to propitiate a jealous God liable to strike us all dead for the sins of the minority, and the only thing to do to avert a calamity is to burn the offenders at the stake. This at least makes sense...provided one believes. But what is achieved by a fine and costs? Nothing is propitiated and nobody is persuaded. If the State cannot say openly that what is wanted is to protect religion against ridicule then it should drop the charges of "blasphemy" in which it clearly does not believe itself.



AN ADOLESCENT FEVER NOW

The Guardian (writing of an old friend) says that Angela Carter now a leading writer, 'had an adolescent fever for anarchism' which calls to mind Lenin's 'infantile disorder'. "In her maturity she still thinks them right, and righter all the time"...how come the adolescent bit then? "The trouble is she reflects ruefully, when two anarchists meet, there's straightaway a split"

Chuckles from appreciative Guardian readers; from 57 varieties of Trots, eight different Liberal tendencies, ten factions of the Labour Party, and Marxists of all shades and sizes. Yet what split exists among anarchists? Between revolutionary anarchists, hardly any differences. Among the Quasi-Anarchists, diluted peaceniks and lifestyle libertarians, perhaps a few. The problem is that this essential difference is not spelled out. "She tells an anecdote of Communist Bol

-ogna, a demo of millions of cops and about 30 anarchists old men with a record of aeons in gaol and kids. Oh, it was a proud moment for her when she first saw the red and gold unfurled! But what a shock when she located the point of the demo: a protest about English brutality in Ireland." Someone — I suspect at the Guardian — has got a little confused. Not so when they interviewed Alexander Zinoviev. On Solzhnitsyn he remarked shrewdly that he and other dissident writers "to a certain extent prevent more extreme forms of resistance. Every one who plays a passive role plays also a negative role." And yet he does not despair of Russia. "I am sure that And yet he does not despair of Russia." I am sure that terrorism will come about. A dose of Anarchism is part of the Russian soul. I am not an exception. I am a typical Russian."



Mr F. Randall B. (Dorset), DPA (Lond) is an official academic explainer of political ideas, and is presumed to be able to teach the young the issues and parties of the day. His textbook "British Government and Politics", in the M & B Handbook series published by Macdonald & Evans is hereby awarded the Joseph Goebbels/Donald Duck prize for objectivity.

A sample:

...."(a) THE NEW LEFT is not a party but a number of groups frequently at odds with each other but united in a common belief that society should be governed by an elite.

Cont. Page 23

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Anarchist Black Cross

The Anarchist Black Cross is not of itself an organisation but it is a spring-board for organization. It stands for solidarity with political prisoners and with all libertarian prisoners whether their offences are political or not. We recognise that our resources are limited but even so have managed to work for authoritarian political prisoners on occasion or for others in general.

Our simple formula for prisoners aid is the 'round of drinks' for an absent friend. It is only necessary to contribute the cost of a round of drinks, at or after every meeting, use it to help a comrade inside. Groups which do this become the most committed to all revolutionary work.

It is as well to save money until it is worth sending but there are always many urgent causes - just as, at present, in addition to the forthcoming trial (Sept. 10th is the latest date given) there is the trial pending of Spanish, French and British militants in Paris; and many in the USA, Germany and Spain - to name but a few countries.

Work for prisoners is not the same as propaganda activity. If one is educating the general public one makes generalisations - Abolish the Prison s, Disband the SPG and so on. It is a half-baked idea to paint a back wall with the request to a bewildered passer by to free John Smith. If it cannot be done by a mass campaign it needs to be done by personal contact, legal aid, individual (and humiliating) approaches to authority or influence. It is not done by small groups endlessly duplicating manifestos to each other. That is the stuff of political agitation but not the way to help prisoners. There is no reason why there should not be political agitation but one must recognise that these are two distinct matters.

In the main, in the work of the Black Cross, we have done this. If there is what is known as the 'Black Flag tendency' it is the result of many militants with different strains of experience coming together in a common endeavour. One both learns from militants who have fallen foul of repression and teaches them too. One draws inspiration from them and they give it too. This is how real, not paper, internationals are made.



William John O'Meally
Victoria's
longest serving prisoner,
was released last week
after serving 27 years of a
life sentence imposed in
1952 for the killing of Con-
stable George Howell.

released

australia

IF THEY COME FOR YOU IN THE NIGHT
by Tobin

If they come for you in the night
Then they will come for me in the morning
So we must stand together and fight
We don't need no other warning
I am finished with sitting on the fence
To fight is my best defence
I'll find you when the walls fall.

If they break you mind in jail
Then they will break my heart in passing
So we must struggle on win or fail
'Cause it's us they're bashing and gassing
Revolution is pie up in the sky
Here in hell we only fry
Still, I'll find you when the walls fall.

We can hear you crying at night
No matter where they build their Katingals
Can you hear us demanding the right
To raze the jails, let the prisoners mingle
Utopia is not around the bend
But I'll be damned I will not bend
I'll find you when the walls fall.

Q. Why do we need Armies?
A. To keep our handies on!

The following is an extract of a letter receiving from a comrade in Australia, proving again that fact is stranger than fiction.

On Saturday (April 14th) following the Tuesday picket of the Victorian tourist bureau, Paul, Geraldine, Gay, and Eric & pet Daschund cum lover (no pun intended) went out to the city jail to hand out leaflets to outgoing visitors, complete with I.W.W. banners that N.Z. exile Michelle Badgirl had temporarily donated to the cause. After exhausting their supplies of printed matter, all 5 headed back to the Jura shrine to reassure them that their Standards hadn't slipped. Well, as it was a Saturday, the bookshop was full of reverent worshippers who had collectively gathered to pay homage to the mentors of yesteryear whose collective spirit weekly materialises through a medium - that of the printed word; and furthermore, to engage in ritualistic sexual acts which would surely contravene the Mutual Masturbatory Act of 1905. One Mark Maquere, G.O.B. in one hand,in the other, on the point of ejaculation, ran at the entourage as they came in the doorway, screaming: "Get that dog out of here!" & showing visible signs of cancer in its intermediate stages. Then the Grand Lizard of Jura, recently returned from an overseas study of the workings of the Freedom Bookshop in London (only last week, at 7.30 a.m., was he seen trying to pass *Peace News* & *Industrial Worker* as "Anarchist" publications to an unsuspecting North Shore public) - yes, none other than Alan F. Westfield - engaged in verbal sparring with Geraldine (which Geraldine won on a T.K.O.) "they were the I.W.W., not us; we had no claim to the banners; it was better that the banners stayed in the I.W.W. temple upstairs gathering dust than to fall into the hands of such riff-raff as ourselves; why, we don't even pay dues - how dare we call ourselves I.U.D. Local 5 (meanwhile Bill O'Meally continues to rot in gaol). However, such rationale was no match for Geraldine's abrasive wit, and it was an overwhelming points decision in favour of the girl from Tasmania.

FROM YOUR ROVING REPORTER
IN AUSTRALIA

News Cont page 7

usa

MONTGOMERY, Ala. Time has run out for the last 23 of some 600 black men who stood to collect thousands of dollars because they were tricked into taking part in the government's infamous Tuskegee syphilis study, comparable to the Jonestown Guyana massacre.

A report from Associated Press stated that the US Public Health Service experiment, which began in 1932 and ended 40 years later, consisting of withholding from 400 syphilis victims the treatment necessary, so doctors could study the effect of the untreated disease on the human body. The 200 other participants did not have syphilis and were used as a control group.

'After disclosure of the experiment in 1972 produced public outcry, the study was discontinued and the Health Service began the following year notifying the participants that they had been used as guinea pigs.

'The participants, all poor, uneducated black men, were never told the purpose of the study or that they had syphilis. They were persuaded to participate by promises of free medical treatment for illnesses other than syphilis, free meals and free burials.

'At least 28 men died as a direct result of untreated syphilis, and officials estimate that the number of deaths attributable to the experiment may exceed 100.'

This type of Buchenwald experiment was carried out in Nazi Germany by force; in free America it is carried out by fraud.

brazil

FED TO FISH

A recently discovered tribe of Chipula Indians, I am told, found living in 'paradisaical bliss' in a remote valley in the jungles of western Brazil were reported to have thrown two representatives of ITT into the piranha-infested waters of the Itui River, where they were immediately devoured. ITT could offer no explanation for this uncharacteristic behaviour. The ITT sales team had been demonstrating colour TV to the tribe by showing a documentary on life in the US when they were suddenly attacked, no reason being given.

u.s./ canada border

On April 13th ten Anarchists and four others crossing from Windsor to Detroit were seized US Customs officials on entering the States. The 12 Canadians and two Americans were hauled from their van, put against a wall, body searched and interrogated for six hours. Finally, the two Americans were released but the 12 Canadians were threatened with indefinite detention if they refused to submit to fingerprinting. Following forced fingerprinting, they were expelled from the US

Anarchist literature was seized, also documents intended for a conference of the Anarchist Communist Conference North America in Ypsilanti, Michigan on the group's destination.

The official charges are:

'You are seeking to enter the United States to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest; you advocate opposition to all organised government (i.e. anarchy); you probably would, after entry, engage in an activity a purpose of which is the opposition to the Government of the United States by unconstitutional means.'

Entry was refused under the 1952 Immigration Act, relevant sections of which date back to 1901. It was pointed out by Toronto Anarchists that this is a clear violation of the 1975 Helsinki agreement which provides for the unhindered passage of individuals and ideas between signatory nations.

More, this treatment, which is more arbitrary and despotic than that suffered at the notorious East Berlin frontier (which at least guarantees unhindered passage to West Berlin) is directed at visitors to the US and aimed at subverting their viewpoints.

Statists always imagine they own the country in which they reside. All is theirs to dispose of as they wish. But in a commercial-minded society like the US they will be wary of losing the lucrative business that goes with preying on strangers - if it can be demonstrated That the 12 are not alone.

france

Five years after the abduction of the Spanish banker Suarez (who remembers?) the French Public Prosecutor has dug-up the case, dating back to the black years of Franco's agonising rule. In Spain, all cases connected with the Resistance against Franco have been amnestied. In France, they linger on.

Eleven libertarian militants on provisional liberty since the end of 1974 risk a heavy sentence at the end of a slapdash trial to be held in the summer recess.

Five years awaiting trial, not a page has been added to the case for the prosecution.

Like that of the GARI the case has been kept in the dark, lost in the files, since 1974. They were then accused of receiving stolen property. Abruptly, in March 1978, another accusation was added, that of complicity in holding the Director of the Bank of Bilbao for a period of twenty days following his kidnapping in Paris, May 1974 (a political kidnapping to obtain the release of Spanish prisoners). This belated accusation permits the case to be sent to the Assize Court. Until now, neither police nor the Public Prosecutor have been able in the slightest degree to show any proof of their accusations. It entirely rests on the accusation of receiving three million francs which corresponds to the ransom.

This accusation rests entirely on the actions of one Inocencio Martinez, who is said to have left the bag with the ransom in a parked car in Avignon and disappeared into Spain immediately afterwards. He is supposed to have been followed by French police up to the point of leaving the ransom - and then lost light of. No need to comment on the weakness of this case - the irony being that granted.

It involves militants from the movements in several countries - including this. It seems a last-ditch stand of the Francoists in France.

ROHAN BENNETT is still in jail in Brixton - the official reason for his having been refused bail is the dangers of "the Irish connection" which "cannot be overlooked". It is now officially admitted, it would seem, that persons of Irish origin - even if, as in this case, born in England are second class citizens. Cont. page 8

west germany

One of the dangerous aspects for free expression in the law is that it provides a catch-all in that it penalises but does not define "the violation of public order" and an "offence against personal liberty" as expressed in literature. It is open to a vast army of interpretations — and to State corruption.

The arrest of the AGIT printers will result in an epidemic of insecurity among printers. Not only printshop owners but workers are made responsible for what they print, and presumably all should act as censors.

The way out, in England would be for printworkers to use their law given rights of political censorship to hold up the daily press, until the law is repealed. But this is not likely to happen at this stage in Germany. Even to express the idea might be illegal.

In October, 1977 four members of a West Berlin printing press collective, AGIT, were arrested and charged under 129 88a with "supporting a terrorist organisation". In that month, 38 private dwellings, libraries and one printing press were searched. Is the "terrorist organisation" that large?

The four members of AGIT, two of whom had stopped working for AGIT six months before, were imprisoned because they had printed texts of the June 2nd movement, the RAF and the revolutionary cells. These were in a weekly, INFO-BUG which AGIT printed.

The weekly had been in existence since 1973 providing an undogmatic arena for debate between the extra-parliamentary left. Views varied greatly. AGIT was founded in 1968 to print for alternative groups and others. It was charged, not because it had provided INFO-BUG, let alone the RAF, with arms or economic aid, but because it had printed the 'illegal' ideas the readers had expressed.

Another printer who offered to print INFO BUG was raided in September. Meanwhile, the four AGIT prisoners were held for nine months under preventive detention awaiting trial.

In a ploy recognisable here too, the one woman was held in high security.

In August 1978 they were finally released on bail, following a massive public support. They now await trial.

Such is the "State of mental siege" in Germany. Once more, thought does not travel free of toll. ("Gedenken sollen zollfrei")

NYC +

The New York chapter of the Anarchist Black Cross announced the publication after a long delay, of Lorenzo Komboa Ervin's pamphlet "Anarchism and the Black Revolution". For copies write to Ginger Katz: Anarchist Black Cross, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.

Komboa was one of the Marion Brothers, the prisoners at the infamous Behaviour Modification Centre at the Marion, Illinois prison. This unit has been used especially for Black militant prisoners whose political discussions and educational activities among the other prisoners were effective enough to attract the attention of prison officials who feel such behaviour stands in need of modification 'by all means necessary' that they can get away with.

Soon after its establishment less than ten years ago the Marion unit became notorious among people interested in changing the criminal justice system and concerned with simple human decency and social justice for Black people, prisoners and everyone else. Criticism came from all kinds of people and organisations, regardless of their political or other association.

Psychological terms like 'behaviour modification' and 'aversion therapy' and a rationale of modern pseudo science became a mask for torture - severe enough to cause the deaths of ten prisoners in the first five years of the unit's operation.

Anarchist Black Cross (New York) originally undertook to publish Komboa's writings because it was hoped the publicity they generated would have three effects. First, it might make those who had Komboa at their mercy afraid to go as far as they had with the ten prisoners who did not survive the Marion unit's version of 'behaviour modification'. Second, it was thought it might lead to the Marion prisoners being transferred to a less dangerous prison. Thirdly, it hoped it would lead to the close-down of Marion Prison and others like it.

Komboa has since been transferred to Leavenworth Jail. The first emergency is over but what he has to say remains exciting and relevant.

He joins Martin Sostre in sharing observations and insights obtainable nowhere else.



" I know we support them, but don't you think the Super. is going a bit too far? "

Desire is the heartbeat of freedom.

Cont page 22

CHEMICAL AGENTS, dealing with

A chemical compound which permanently or temporarily incapacitates, or kills, people; or which destroys plants or material; when directed against such objects by any suitable delivery system, is termed a CHEMICAL AGENT.

In dealing with chemical agents it is important that every individual understands the nature of each agent, the symptoms each will cause, and how to deal with them. It may be delivered in a spray force, like an aerosol or mist, or in a gaseous form, which may be invisible. It may be breathed in, swallowed with food and drink, or simply penetrate the skin or eyes. It can be delivered in almost any way imagined. Here are the main types.

Incapacitating: include Riot Control agents such as Mace and acrolein and can cause everything from eye irritation and fainting to mental disturbance and paralysis.

Blister agents: cause the other agents will destroy food crops.

Protection: These are the type of thing we can expect the ravenous invading hordes to throw at us, after wiping out our army, navy and RAF (Royal Air Force in this instance).

So how to protect oneself? The first thing is a protective suit. For instance, ex-navy foul-weather suits—water-

proof smock/hood, elast. cuffs, water-trousers, rubber overboots and gloves that protect the wrists. A self-inject ampule of atropine will counteract nerve agents. oxime tablets are also useful in increasing resistance to nerve attacks. But a respirator is a must, and must be put on if you get a sudden headache or blurred vision, sore eyes or chest.

The suit could also be useful as nuclear protection. Radio-active fallout occurs over a wide area for some time after a nuclear explosion, as well as there being induced radiation from the ground. The suit can be showered down. If any of us survive the nuclear explosion without being blinded by the flash, incinerated by the fireball, or crushed by the blast, we might want to head for the hills. But you might want to go back for some military equipment, especially if there were troops preventing you leaving the contaminated area, or gunning you down as you approached the roadblocks.

After all, you could hardly expect the government to allow a bombed city to contaminate the rest of the country, and there is no real solution to the problem other than elimination of the 'carriers'.

Nimrod

A CALL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST RESISTANCE MOVEMENT



Although it may seem that what is being discussed here is a monolithic, centralized apparatus, such is not the case. There must be a network of organizations which is spread all over the world, based on a common consensus for revolutionary struggle. The structures would be federated into an international revolutionary organization and Social movement. The revolution recognizes no border lines!

1. Anarchist-Communist Infrastructure

The Communes are the ground-work for this international organisation, and are the primary social form of the new society, but even more are the subversive organism to undermine the authority and control of the State. It is intended to organise the new society in the shell of the old. Communes may be social organisms (such as Labor or municipal communes) or affinity groups and collectives. IN a revolutionary situation, Free Cities would constitute communes. But we must begin now to form Labor Communes and Community Communes (and not just be satisfied with forming small, isolated non-functional communes, which are really just collectives for alternative life-styles) to distribute food, clothing, and other essentials in the face of the economic crisis in the capitalist countries and to create an infrastructure for direct democracy—by the people. This would undermine leaders, political parties and the state, and would constitute the first shot fired in the social revolution. It would mean discrediting the state and rendering it an irrelevant dinosaur. People would be able to see how the future Anarchist society will work, be seeing it in an embryonic form today.

Therefore we need an INTERNATIONAL to organize national and continent-wide Anarchist federations all over the world, to co-ordinate those federations which already exist, and to link up those fed and communes with one another all over the world. In countries where there is no tradition of Anarchist activities, it should establish a string of Anarchist Propaganda Leagues, book shops, educational, cultural and social groups, newspapers and theoretical journals, workers' associations, and other organizations to spread Anarchist ideals, win people over to our views, and build a mass Libertarian revolutionary movement. Of course, the conditions in each country will dictate how this is done, and the local people will always serve as the revolutionary organizers, even though on occasion the initial impetus may come from delegates from the international organization. This is in line with our ideals of workers' self-management and the self-determination of all oppressed peoples.

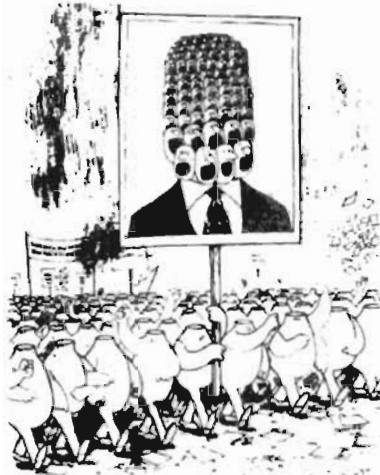
2. ANTI-STATE MILITARY ACTIVITIES

At some stage it is inevitable that the State will recognize the danger to itself of such self-managed organizations and will then try to forcibly repress them. We must organize self-defence committees, whether Workers' Defence Leagues or Community Self-Defence Groups, to protect ourselves and our movement from repression. Such military organizations would not be a vanguard, police force, or standing Army in the Statist sense, but would rather be defence organisms self-managed by the workers and community itself, or in other words: the people-in-arms. These militia organizations, plus our revolutionary unity, will allow us to at any time resist attacks from the authorities, no matter from what direction they come (Left or Right-wing), and we can then ward off the assaults without being crippled or seriously endangered.

In addition, there should be an organization to conduct an underground resistance struggle, specially in those countries where an open Anarchist movement would be impossible, or would be sure to be subjected to fierce repression by the State. Such countries as Iran, Russia, China, Korea, South Africa, Chile, and other repressive countries are fascist dictatorships—either Red or Black. The only hope for freedom from slavery for these unfortunate people, and for the establishment of Libertarian Communism in those areas is to wage an underground resistance struggle. Such a struggle would not merely be military, but would also mean creating a propaganda network to expose and undermine the State, as well as spread Anarchist ideas; creating free unions and other autonomous worker organizations to sabotage industrial production and to act as industrial "guerillas" and a catalyst for strikes and other Labour protests; and other such protest activities. Peoples' guerilla warfare techniques should be used (particularly well organized sabotage of State installations, and the assassination of secret police, torturers and murderers) with the immediate aim of disabling the whole State system as far as possible. When such extreme forms of revolutionary action are required, however, a clear difference should be seen among revolutionaries between simple terrorism without popular support and guerilla warfare arising out of the collective left frustrations of the common people.

It is very important and needs to be made quite clear that the creation of a people's guerilla warfare situation would be a means and not an end in itself. For such a means belongs to the tactics and not the strategy of an Anarchist revolution. The use of military methods would be necessary in every case where the attitude and actions of the State made it imperative for revolutionaries to defend themselves by taking the offensive against the State — so as to disrupt its normal functioning and thus make all the easier the building of a Libertarian/Anarchist social infrastructure in place of the existing one. An intelligently executed and successfully-run people's guerilla warfare campaign would have the effect of winding down the State machine and its capacity for regimentation and control. This is the only way that Anarchism can raise its head in such repressive States: underground resistance networks in the workplace and the community.

Such activities require an international revolution capable of carrying on such struggles. Such an organization must be decentralized and a semiclandestine federation of dedicated revolutionaries; the INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY ACTION GROUPS is the organization needed. Autonomous revolutionary cells would carry on clandestine propaganda, industrial sabotage, anti-State military activities, organizing Anarchist Communes and Assemblies, and an Anarchist Syndicalist Labor movement, among other activities.



3. INFORMATION

Every individual who is involved in the Social Revolution must know how far our cause has advanced in other countries. We must not leave the tasks of information on our comrades and analysis of our movement and its activities to the bourgeois and Socialist press. Therefore we must take all necessary measures to establish an INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST INFORMATION BUREAU to

inform Anarchist comrades world-wide of the level of the struggle, which is also in a position to spread Libertarian/Anarchist ideas world-wide. The Information Bureau would serve as a communications and propaganda centre, and would carry on such activities as: translating Anarchist theoretical works into every major indigenous world language, and distributing such literature to every continent; creating a SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWS SERVICE to act as a wire service and send information and news to Libertarian journals and newspapers world-wide; securing an international anti-copyright agreement among Anarchist/Libertarian publishers to allow free republication rights of all Libertarian works; creating one (or several) international Anarchist weekly newspapers; creating a LIBERTARIAN PRESS SYNDICATE to offer Anarchist publications mutual aid and international connections.

In addition, the Information Bureau should establish propaganda networks to engage in underground revolutionary propaganda activities in those countries which repress Anarchist ideas. Every possible method of clandestine propaganda must be used: "pirate" radio stations and secret transmitters, to be established in the target country or a neighboring country; establishment of an underground printing press and secret distribution of Anarchist literature (such as is being done with the "Samizdat" literature in Russia today); secretly plastering buildings with paint or posters for propaganda messages; spreading leaflets and other materials; holding impromptu rallies and demonstrations against government policy or repression; and other activities. The objective of the underground propaganda network is to inform the people of Anarchist ideas, and to incite them to overthrow the State. We must be creative in our methods, our very lives and the fate of the revolution may depend upon it.



4. ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST LABOR MOVEMENTS

Many whole continents as well as well as individual countries have no anarchist nucleus: Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Oceania, many countries in Eastern Europe and some in Latin America. In the majority of these countries where there has never been a history of Anarcho-Syndicalist activities. ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST

PROPAGANDA LEAGUES should be established now to propagate class struggle unionism, create revolutionary cells in the trade unions, and push them in the revolutionary Syndicalist direction.

Many countries in Africa such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Senegal, Zambia, and others (even South Africa, where there is a large African working class) have very large trade union confederations, but they are reformist and are under State control. The ideas of Anarchosyndicalism among the rank-and-file of such trade unions could create a revolutionary upsurge, free unions, and add to the strength of the international Anarchist workers movement. Further, in the Third World it would change the nature of the liberation struggles from Marxist-Leninist authoritarian to Anarchist Libertarian; from the supremacy of a party or "Liberation Front" (sponsored by Moscow or Peking) to the self-organization of the workers themselves; from the ideas of a "Workers' State" to the creation of Anarchist Communes (which are especially fitted for African and Asian villages and city life) and workers and peasants' councils and unions. This is a form of revolutionary struggle never seen in the Third World. It will change the course of history.

In Eastern Europe (including Russia), China, South Africa, and other repressive countries we would have to conduct our activities underground. The building of an underground autonomous workers' movement for revolutionary industrial sabotage and a General Strike, to organize the workers for self-management of production, and to undermine and overthrow the government is the number one priority. In those countries unions are merely organs of the State, (if they exist at all), there is no right to strike, therefore the International should organize clandestine workers Assemblies, factory committees, independent unions and other such free workers' organizations. Labour Communes, Peasants and Workers' Councils, Syndicalist unions should be established to create a dual power (Workers' Control) situation in both industry and society, in order to struggle for Social Revolution and workers self-management of the economy.

In the Western industrialized countries it is necessary to infiltrate the reformist trade unions (event hose under Communist Party control) and push them into a class struggle, revolutionary Syndicalist direction; create factory committees, workers' Assemblies, industrial councils, and other autonomous labour organs, in order to undermine the trade union misleadership and evade government control of the unions. We must demand an end to government control of the unions and the repeal of all anti-Labour laws, as well as rank-and-file democratic control of the unions

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Letters!

HELLO!
TO ALL
YOU PRISONERS
OUT THERE
ON THE
GULAG PLANET



Comrade Shellard gave me a right shellackin' for my "State of the British Worker". His criticisms one by one:

1. I didn't intend negatively assaulting the working class! My aim was to describe some of its members as I found them in pub, caff or digging holes in the road. Along with Wordsworth I have time for yer average worker - 'I love every greasy wrinkle on his dirty sulky face'. But I'm not sentimental about him by the same token. Love isn't blind.

2. I agree that everyone works. To say clipping one's share coupons at Barclay's or screwing social security for a clothing allowance are 'nt examples of work is merely misusing the language. But there is an ethos in Coronation Street not quite the same as the one in

Albany, Mr Heath's current tenement, and sociologists have such difficulty in defining their difference that a few have been misled into thinking it doesn't exist - like claiming that because 'red' is indefinable, the Red Flag isn't red.

Try getting your doctor to utter in his piercing Hamstead accent: 'Ectually, Ay'm a membah of the Briish working clahsss too, y'know', as I got a Tory MP to do, years ago. And try to stop laughing at the same time.

3. The beer-fags-chips-foot-ball-telly Kurtur is there to be seen wherever Britons earn wages instead of salaries. It is not abusive to point it out: it is a billion-pound industry battering and frying the BW in with his fish-fingers every night of the year.

It is a mere philosopher's quibble to debate whether this culture torpedos the BW's ability to think along sound political lines (our lines) or whether his refusal to think this way, for whatever historical reason, resulted in his present cultural state.

4. 'Change of any kind...is a very slow process'. Not always. The Shit of Iran...vro-om! My whole point is that if the BW is depressed and despondent (study the boozing figures) then our tactics should involve some study on how to use this sad social fact for our political ends.

Q. What is passivity?

A. A slow form of suicide!

Repression is noteworthy for giving way under certain pressures to outbursts of negative emotion. The French workers were certainly depressed in 1789! All it took was a royal whore to jeer Garn! Eat cake! to usher in the well-known Revolution. "One inarticulate scream of rage from the French working class" was how one historian described it; the debris from it is still falling down. If one of our obliging royals had been persuaded to address the workers thuswise - "Garn, you great gits. Get back to the slums on the dole where you belong!"...well, anyway, it's just a thought.

L.H.

The working class in America is not the most revolutionary class. The most revolutionary classes in America are the lower classes i.e. Black, Third World, Poor and Prisoners.

The working class in America is split into two camps i.e. the working middle class and the working class. The latter is its majority is reformist.

In Russia the working class and the peasants overthrew Czarism, the working class then and there was the most revolutionary class. In China the peasants overthrew the ruling power/class because they were the majority and most revolutionary class.

In America the majority of revolutionary minded and active people are in the lower classes, not the working class.

Each country is unique. American revolutionaries are trying to copy the Russian and Chinese revolutions with the wrong class as a starting point.

The petty bourgeois revolutionary intellectuals and the minority of the revolutionary working class must join hands with the lower classes to make revolution in America.

Carl Harp

NOTE: In our view LH is provocative and witty but confused: the working - or to be exact, productive - class is firstly economic and secondly (because in a parasitic society those who do most get least) culturally deprived. A free society must be based on a productive class since the existence of a parasitic society is the reason for the need for authority.

There is today a mix-up as workers often earn higher wages because they're organised than many ill-organised professional people clinging to their social status. It is a peculiarity of English life and language to distinguish class by accent but one can be a millionaire with a Cockney accent - all that proves is the sliding scale of capitalism.

It is not a question of idealising one class as against another. Carl is right in saying the American (or the British) worker is not revolutionary in that, while they think they can screw more out of the system by organisation, they are not insurrectionary. But it is only they who can change the social system, since it is a matter of seizing the economy and that means occupying the places of work not the social security offices or the prisons. They only need to be torn down in a free society. If both isn't done there is a situation that looks revolutionary but can't be pulled through. To place any hope in the 'petty bourgeois revolutionary intellectuals' is a fatal mistake. That is a myth of Leninism and of the student movement alike. They, as such, can offer nothing but leadership, another word in this context for betrayal.

Dear Black Flag,

Surely you all realize that the "Rev." Jim Jones was not a Southerner, let alone from the Deep South, and never picked cotton? Also that, in the 20th century, the K.K.K. has had most of it's membership outside the Deep South?

J. Huller
Southern Libertarian
Messenger,
South Carolina U.S.A.

Cont. page 14



Lord Thomson has upset a well-established appellation; and of course with his sort of money, he doesn't need to worry about apples.

Who would have thought the Establishment would have so tamely borne the loss of that old lie-machine, its cherished London Times? It floated all the rumours, evasions, propaganda disguised as news for successive governments, in an impartial way (as between governments), mistaken for liberalism. But it was a luxury the Establishment could afford to lose, for it was always the journal of the club rooms, the halls of academia, the embassies and consulates, rather than of the businessmen who make them all jump to it, more clearly expressed in the Daily Express.

The old Lord Thomson was interested in money, many English press lords have been more interested in power, and the sort of power that goes with owning a great national newspaper.

The present Lord Thomson inherits an empire in which monetary losses of several million pounds don't matter. He will not give way unless forced to do so and even then requires to "save face". But he would not have chosen to confront the unions in the way he did had he not come in from outside. Like the Grunwick situation, an outsider defies the paper tiger of English trade unions. They are supposed to have power but they are afraid to use it.

They are too entrenched in the State machine. They inhibit workers' action but expect the capitalist to play ball while they do so. The outsider fails to do so and nothing happens...social democracy it seems is for someone who plays the game, not for export nor for someone imported who does not observe the rules.

The printers at the Times were not known for their militancy. How they now regret it! "These are times when we all feel we'd like to be Anarchists," one FOC put it to me). For in the words of the lavatory attendant, "It may be your shit, but it's my bread-and-butter" — and the loss at the Times is not the product, but the jobs involved. Sad that so many intelligent, hard-working, experienced men and women were engaged in producing such rubbish; but so they are all over Fleet Street. (And after all the Times was far from being the worst!).

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

The aim of the recent Torness gathering (May 4-7) was to gain sympathy for the Torness Alliance's work to oppose the building of a nuclear reactor at Torness and to try to put a halt to the nuclear programme. What happened at the week-end? It should have been a success. Between five and ten thousand people went to Torness, and after a festival on the Saturday, held meetings to decide whether and when the occupy the site, and eventually decided on doing so on Sunday rather than Monday.

On Sunday morning people got on to the site using haystack bales as a stairway. Then various happenings took place. Flowers and trees were 'planted', the fence was decorated and anti-nuke messages written in rocks and stones. Some directed a stream to flood the road.

A meeting was then held on the site whether to occupy the inner compound (with its McAlpine machinery). Though the meeting decided not to, some damage was done to the works by 25 'self-confessed anarchists' — vide press — watched by self-confessed police — and they were soon joined by over a hundred anarchists and other frustrated demonstrators.

Feelings of solidarity within the Alliance were lost as those against the occupation of the inner compound collaborated with the police in trying to get the 'wreckers' out. Peaceniks outside the compound shouted to them to come out, and came pretty close to collaboration with the police. No support was offered the folk in the compound, who eventually came out of their own accord marching behind a black flag.

Some questions persisted afterwards. The one one of 'violence' and 'non-violence'. Most of the Alliance saw the occupiers of the compound as 'wreckers' determined to destroy the nuclear site. They saw this as 'violence' — so they sided with the police. Their greatest concern was for good (press) publicity — which would have been none but for the 'violence' — against property, not people or animals. Is this violence?

TORNESS (IM)



Quotations from:

Occupiers' handbook

Always remain polite and reasonable. If you consider you have been ill-treated, make a formal complaint to the Procurator Fiscal immediately. He is an independent civil servant entrusted with the prosecution of crime within his district and is not an arm of the police.

The Alliance is determined that this occupation should result in no violence to people and no damage to property.



The Times will not re-open (failing pressure put on Lord Thomson) without the most humiliating surrender by the printworkers and already unions are realising the facts of the case and allowing them to go to other jobs — which will make it more difficult for the paper to re-open (to the outrage of the management which thinks it can sack its workers and keep them waiting as well).

Why could they not have seized the paper and gone on printing? This was spoken about throughout the Organisation. There was a massive expenditure on locks and security systems (but even so, occupation was always possible until very recently). There are times when we all have to be Anarchists. The printers, divided into unions, divided between factions, did not do it. They could have done it without the journalists — which would have made it so interesting an experiment that Lord Thomson would have re-opened next day **WITH** the journalists, who are still in the payroll anyway.



MOBILISATION

Violence is what the Torness reactor will do when it's built. What is a little damage to fencing and machinery when one looks at what has been done to the East Lothian countryside?

Months of delay caused by damage would, on the contrary, have postponed, maybe threatened, the frontal attack made by the reactor on the people and the country.

There is something to be said for non-violence as a tactic in some situations: when bulldozers are working, for instance, and there is something to be physically stopped. There is none for an ideological 'non-violence' that is a cop out for liberals who don't want to get arrested or who 'respect property'. The Alliance as a whole look at nuclear power as a single issue, rather than in the wider spectrum of State oppression.

—decide our policy on arrest beforehand — whether to go limp or to cooperate. Be sure you don't struggle.

—SMILE!



PASSIVE
RESISTANCE ?
SHIT



IT'S THEM OR US

Margaret Thatcher as Wonder Woman appeared on the front page of the last issue of the Flag.

We hear that 'insurgent sisters' from two doors up from Rising Free (North London bookshop) stuck stickers on issues there saying 'THIS DEGRADES WOMEN'.

In Edinburgh copies were withdrawn from sale by two (male) members of the First of May Bookshop because they thought it "offensive to women". It was admitted by one of the members that he ought to have consulted the collective first (especially the women) but he still felt the cover was sexist.

The following correspondence has ensued. The first letter is from London; all the others from Edinburgh. There were (so far as we know) no other reactions.

Dear Friends at Black Flag,
I was disgusted to learn that some women professing to speak for all, put stickers on the last issue of Black Flag at Rising Free because of the caricature of Margaret Thatcher. Tory feminists? Let me tell you of my experience when a group of so-called feminists were discussing the General Election when to my dismay one 'sister' came up with the idea we should invariably vote for women; if more than one, or none, then for the Tories to get la Thatcher in. I asked sarcastically if I should vote for the National Front, as the one woman candidate in my constituency was a fascist. To my horror the 'sister' said, Of course that's the whole idea. That certainly degraded and disgusted me for one.

Martha Johnson

NOTE: To be pedantically correct, our comrade is mistaken in thinking the Islington 'feminists' are pro-Thatcher; they probably equate acrobats with strippers. Even Mrs Whitehouse allows for "good wholesome entertainment" and a phone call elicits she includes Wonderwoman therein.



Is your friendly neighbourhood Black Flag.....



Dear Black Flag Collective,

This is about the cover of your latest issue. I don't like it and I'd like to explain why. My first response was confusion — I'd forgotten about the Smirnoff ad and the montage/label/caption didn't add up to anything for me. I didn't think it was doing anything very powerful about Thatcherism but assumes that since I didn't get the point I had no right to criticise. I was wrong.

What changed my mind was seeing some politically naive kids come into the bookshop and snigger, as if it were Playboy i.e. what your cover was doing was reinforcing their contempt, not just for Thatcher, but for all women. I think this is likely to be a pretty common response from men with no feminist awareness: to further brutalise their attitudes to women. What you meant by the cover doesn't matter at all.

What the cover really does matters a lot. I suspect it will have far more effect on women in general than it will on Thatcher in particular.

So please THINK about what you publish in the Flag and how it will be received: if some of your readers react as if it were the News of the World. If Black Flag has a real commitment to opposing sexism, then it must make that damn clear even to men so deeply enmeshed in it that they don't know what it is.

*Love
Jack Campin*

NOTE: How patronising to your young customers! Are you an ageist? Could it not be they were less politically naive than you — you can't tell the sternly moralistic News of the World from Black Flag? You couldn't do a newsboy's job! They 'sniggered', did they? — did they see the point of Thatcher as Wonderwoman and the connotation of the Smirnoff ad? What is the alternative? That they were sexually aroused at seeing a stockinged leg? Long shirts went out in 1923.

Letters to Black Flag

GUARDS

BODY

I think this cover is awful. Don't anarchists have any awareness of sexism? Women have had enough of their bodies being used to put messages — we don't expect to get it from the left as well!

Beverley Sommerville

NOTE: Any photograph or cartoon shows a body, or are you insisting on a strict interpretation of not making graven images? If we had showed her in her undies being fondled there might be some point in your remarks.

I know you didn't mean it, but you lot of all people should have known better. Simply because the Tories used Thatcher's sex as an electioneering device there's no excuse for you to go for the cheap laugh to counter them. Thatcher may be the leader of that party and is definitely the symbol of the election victory, but wouldn't it have been more to the point if you'd displayed, for example, the evil Sir Keith Joseph below your headline?

*yours in hope
A Barlow*

(socio-economic Class 5)

NOTE: Then some equally sensitive soul would have accused us of anti-semitism!

Dear Friends,

The front cover of Black Flag is a good example of the trouble you get in if you don't have a clear political programme. The cover photo seems to be nothing more than a personal attack on one human being — Margaret Thatcher, not her policies or the government's policies but the person. The attack is clearly based on the fact that she is a woman. (Am I missing something or is there more to it?)

I wonder how much public confrontation we should have over this kind of stuff — it certainly should be exposed but I think we can more readily look on the idea of Black Flag as allies than we can, say, the Right Wing. Maybe we should encourage discussion on what kind of political programme is workable as well, as, or even rather than, saying nothing until some silly cover photo comes up. I happen to know the designer of the cover is trying to go against a lot of sexism in Black Flag and elsewhere in the anarchist movement. So maybe we should remember that as well as jumping down his throat at any mistake.

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Cont. from previous page

Yes, it is sexist but ideas are communicated only with trust rather than leaving it to censorship. I have told the designer some of this so don't make him paranoid by having him on the capet. He is on our side.

With love
Michael Spring

NOTE: Thatcher, like Hitler, is a human being. That has nothing to do with out animosity. Nor has the fact of their sex. Politics is based on people. As for a 'clear cut political programme', this always means one's own. How come you wait giving us the benefit of yours until you got offended about the Prime Minister?



.....nothing but sexist (a word connoting everything from Playboy to power stations)?

YES this is the unacceptable face of anarchism due, presumably, to not realising the importance of feminism to every sphere of life.

The attitude of many anarchists is that anarchism, by its very nature, includes all freedoms for all people is at least partially to blame for this. For feminism needs to be stated explicitly again and again in order for 99% of men to even recognise its existence, let alone its validity.

Mrs Thatcher should be opposed for a very great number of reasons, namely her policies, and if ridicule be part of that opposition so be it, but the fact that Mrs Thatcher is a woman is irrelevant, and she should not be subject to ridicule because of her sex, which is what the cover of Black Flag amounts to.

There is no anarchism without feminism.

Rosanna Cecil

NOTE: Your attitude is (you will be horrified to hear) that of the anti-suffragists of seventy years ago. Their arguments included the one that if a woman entered the political arena, she would be subject to political ridicule like all politicians and that would be degrading to any lady.

Her sex is irrelevant. Don't bring it up.

Meanwhile, even the artist recanted.....

Dear Black Flag,

It is a great pity that you chose to run the photomontage of Margaret Thatcher as Wonder Woman on the front page. When I made the montage I was only too aware that to depict Thatcher as Wonder Woman would be open to criticism for being 'offensive to women' since it would be interpreted as a cheap put-down of Margaret Thatcher *because* she is a woman. That was not my intention.

I had hoped that by combining her picture with Jim Callaghan in the equally ridiculous body of Superman that the message would be clear. Sadly the final photomontage depicting the patriarchal superheroes Wonder Woman, Superman and Spider Man struggling for political power against a background of the Houses of Parliament was not published. Personally I feel to show one figure without the other is open to criticism as being 'sexist' and I would like to apologise for any offence that the cover has caused to anarchists or anarcho-feminists.

Having said that, I also want to point out that here are many other periodicals that could be construed as offensive on sale at 'Left book-shops' and I feel dismayed at the arbitrary way the Flag has been singled out. The covers of The Leveller, Tyneside Street Sheet and the back cover of Red Rag can be regarded as offensive. To take an example, Red Rag depicts a naked masked man on all fours used as a coffee table, with the caption 'I'm Allen Jones - fly me'. If the reader does not know that Allen Jones is the artist who produced a series of offensive sculptures of masked nude woman as tables, chairs, hat-stands etc. the viewer would be justified in thinking this was an attempt to degrade men's bodies. In World Information on Energy Service (WISE) a nuclear power station is depicted as a penis and balls which could also be construed as offensive - unless one realises that nuclear power is a symbol of patriarchy. All these interpretations depend upon the political consciousness of the reader, and having said that, I am sorry to have to admit there is a lot of sexism in the anarchist movement. So if a sexist person looks at this particular cover of Black Flag, it would reinforce his or her sexism. That is where I have failed.

In solidarity,
P. Monteur for Black Box

THE COPS IN YOUR HEAD
KEEP THE COPS IN THE STREET



Or is it mistaken identity?

NOTE: We did not suppress the picture of Jim Callaghan as Superman for fear of upsetting those who would shrink from seeing him with his underpants outside his trousers. The London editors didn't receive it in time (or even see it for weeks after). But anyway it was clear before the result that Saatchi and Saatchi had won the Election with Wonderwoman and Uncle Jim's Homely Brand was nowhere.

What sort of statutory balance would you propose next time -- if Shirley Williams contests as Labour leader by then? We accept that the cover may have been offensive to some male or female feminists, but doubt if they represent more than a fraction of feminists, and an infinitesimal part of women generally. The Body Guards operate in many causes: the obsessive in every cause who convince few and do more harm than good to their cause. Ridicule had drive the "Body Guards" out of every popular cause and they only flourish among minorities.

SVOR

wise
World Information Service on Energy



Number 4, March 1976

World Information Service on Energy showing nuclear power as a penis and balls. (No wonder some guys got an inferiority complex. No wonder some men got a guilt complex!)

Cont page 16

Cont. from previous page



We do accept one point from our critics. Middle class feminism has made some major points and will not go away. It is absurd to say that 'the anarchist movement is sexist' or 'there can be no anarchism without feminism' without defining anarchism, sexism or feminism. The definitions of sexism and feminism have come from the student movement influenced package-deal left and taken for granted, or rejected, in their terms which are different from those of working people.

We invite an extensive debate on anarchism and feminism from anarchists (to be published in the Flag, the Review or as a pamphlet, according to response). We do not particularly want the view of the quasi-anarchists of the Zero school (though we're prepared to include them) but of revolutionary anarchist especially those of the Black Flag tendency.

Our experience is that women themselves tend not to write on the subject — we suspect because those who reject the student movement think it bring all women into ridicule or perhaps because to take a stand on the subject is to accept the separatist position. Or is it just apathy? Anyway, it's a mistake. If we do not spell out such issues they tend by becoming part of the left package deal to be taken for granted (as shown here).



RE: FUSE REVIEW

I wish to question the reviews of John Quail's book *The Slow Burning Fuse* by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer (Black Flag Vol V No. 8) in so far as they criticise John for basing his history of the British anarchist movement almost entirely on written material and hardly at all on personal memories of living people.

The first, particular, objection is that John's book describes events roughly from 1880 to 1930 and comes to an effective end half a century ago; indeed he explicitly (page 307) refrains from describing events in which living people were involved. There are still a few survivors of the movement before 1930, but it is surely doubtful whether they could have contributed anything significant to John's very compressed account of developments after the First World War.

The second, general objection is that personal memories are very unreliable. For example, Albert mentions Mat Kavanagh, but, whatever his undoubted qualities as a propagandist, he was a very careless historian, as may be found by checking his many biographical articles in the anarchist press. Albert also mentions 'the traditions of Frank Kitz'; but again, whatever his equally undoubted qualities as a propagandist, he too was a very careless propagandist historian, as may be found by checking his memoirs. Albert mentions that Charles Lahr was an authority on Kitz, but Lahr was yet another very careless historian.

If anything, I would make the opposite criticism of the *Slow Burning Fuse* — that John relies too much on personal memories. The problem is that personal memory is unrivalled for such things as atmosphere, character, place, appearance, but that, whether written or spoken, it is often worse than useless for hard facts, unless it is carefully checked against contemporary documents. I have found this again and again, both in using my own memories and in using those of others; and I would end by saying that the most unreliable evidence all is anecdote based on personal memory of someone else's personal memory — the folk memory which plays such an important part in the historiography of the anarchist movement.

NICOLAS WALTER

(To some extent, yes; but consider the lists of non-existent groups and federations published in *Freedom* in the '60s and reproduced by bourgeois historians, all of which can be contradicted by personal memory and knowledge.

PAGE 16.

Most historians are propagandists and a lots of what they write is bunk. John Quail's book was exceptionally good but his omissions and mistakes can be rectified. He is totally mistaken, for instance, about George Cores — well known to many still living. There are also many still living who could have corrected him on many matters — e.g. the 'pro-war minority' of 1914 where he followed repeated, but false, assumptions.)



LIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW

SOCIAL

ROEBUCK HOTEL

TOTTENHAM COURT RD.

7.30 P.M. SEPT. 7th

Nearest TUBE: GOUDGE STREET.



The International must represent the most oppressed workers: especially immigrants to the western industrialized countries, racial minorities and women workers, and to organize the un-organized workers. Further, with the current economic crisis in the Capitalist countries there are now millions of unemployed workers: there should be unemployed unions existing parallel to the workers unions to demand the bosses provide them with (socially useful) work and to provide strike support to workers on strike against the boss.

Finally, the International should be on an international basis rather than by national labour federation, because it is much more effective for labour solidarity, including a revolutionary General Strike. Anarchists of every stripe should join the sections of the International and once again make Anarchism a working class doctrine.



5. PRISON SUPPORT WORK

All Anarchists oppose Laws, prisons, and the State. Prisons or Laws are not designed to "protect society" or even to lock away dangerous criminals, (the real criminals run the State), but rather is a means of State social control and slave labour. Further the prisons are mere concentration camps for the poor and powerless. We must organize to abolish the prison system along with the State, and free all class war prisoners.

Further, we must be able to organize a powerful international defence campaign to free "political" prisoners, that is, those prisoners confined for their social or political beliefs or their revolutionary organizing activities, and/or frame-up victims and those railroaded through the Capitalist courts. These comrades are victims of State political or racial persecution, and it is our revolutionary duty to free them.

This international defence campaign may involve: armed support activities; an international boycott and General Strike against a target country's consumer goods and services, or the activities of the multinational corporations; protest demonstrations at Embassies and Consulates of the countries involved; an international Petition and letter-writing campaign; and many other activities. We need an international prisoners' aid organization to lead and co-ordinate such activities. Of course branches of Anarchist Black Cross and Habotoc exist in several countries, but full support must be given to building a strong Black Cross or other Anarchist prison support organization. The prison struggle is an integral part of the struggle against the State and it deserves the full support of all sections of the Anarchist movement. We must build an INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS, with branches in every country where we are active. Many prisoners will turn out to be some of our strongest Anarchist revolutionaries, and further we should not forget that Bakunin, Kropotkin, Johann Most, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Haymarket martyrs Alexander Berkman, Makhno, Emma Goldman, Durruti, Martin Sostre, and many other Anarchists were political prisoners. And to this very day, throughout the world many of our Anarchist comrades are in State dungeons. Shall we ignore their cries for help?



AREAS OF STRUGGLE IN THE WORLD

The revolution cannot be confined behind national borders, but rather must be international in scope. We have to build an international revolutionary solidarity movement. Our objective is to spread Anarchism all over the world. Our tactics may vary from country-to-country, but our objective remains the same. The State is our eternal enemy, but will only go away through the triumph of the Social Revolution. Anarchists should involve themselves in struggles in every field - varying from women's and struggles to the rapidly developing conflict between the much exploited poor peoples of Africa, Asia, and Central/South America and the rich exploiting nations. It is vital that Anarchists involve themselves in such grassroots conflicts now raging or ready to erupt. For unless we do, we will have no voice or influence in such developments, let alone be able to create Anarchist support bases in those areas.

In the Western Industrialized countries Anarchists should expose the corruption and incompetency of government, should build a powerful working class movement, and should build revolutionary communes, Assemblies, and Anarchist-Communist federations in order to create dual power in both industry and society. Libertarian educational, cultural and social activities should emphasize countering the effects of the authoritarian psyche (racism, militarism, patriotism, sexism, and other ills) and the "work ethic". The objective being the creation of an Anarchist system of human relations. Anarchists should, when necessary for their survival, practice armed self-defence against repression and even guerilla struggle to some extent; but in the initial stages of our struggle our activities in the "democratic" countries will be more agitational, educational and organisational than direct physical actions. More evolutionary than revolutionary. One thing we definitely must do is to show that the "free world" is not free and that Anarchy stands for the greatest degree of freedom and democracy possible.

In the fascist and State "Communist" countries, however, our struggle must be much more vigorous and revolutionary. There, Anarchists must lead an underground existence or suffer persecution or death. With the fascist countries this is clearly recognized and acknowledged, however the Communists pose as revolutionaries and the State regimes they have erected as "workers States" where they are "building Communism". Thus Castro in Cuba, Mao in China, and other dictators have been able to win a quite large international group of sympathizers and followers (especially among youth) for being "successful revolutionaries". The ideas of Marxism-Leninism are in vogue as never before; people are sympathetic to what they feel is Socialism as opposed to the Capitalism of the West, although there is also a large number of other persons who are anti-communist because of the crimes of Lenin, Stalin, and Mao, and the obvious bureaucracy and authoritarianism of their regimes.

Anarchists should counter the myths and lies of these Red fascists, and should expose their State crimes. But most importantly Anarchists should challenge the monopoly by the Marxist-Leninists of the ideas of Socialism and Communism and Libertarian Socialism and Communism. We must begin to challenge and defeat the Marxist-Leninists in both ideas and practice, and show that their ideas of State Communism are obsolete and oppressive. And most importantly, Anarchists should begin a fight for freedom (Libertarian Communism) in the countries under the heel of the red "dictatorships of the proletariat".

Cont. page 18

We must build an underground resistance movement with anarchist freedom fighters taking revolutionary action against these dictatorships of the Communist party. It is a life-and death struggle which will determine the true worth of Anarchist ideals and the future of our movement. There is no other way that freedom (Anarchist Communism) will be established in those areas of the world. It will be a violent, bloody struggle, but it cannot be avoided. All fundamental change is violent; and to radically transform our world, a violent revolution shall be necessary - even if only for reasons of self-defense. Liberation will not be given to us; we must take it for ourselves. But, naturally, we cannot sing the praises of violence for its own sake. Rather - than say that violence inevitably and logically proceeds from revolution, it is better to say that we are forced to resort to violence because, in order to retain their power and privileges, the counter-revolutionaries (Capitalist class) will try to suppress us with violence. All oppressed people have a right to rebel!



WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The creation of a large Anarchist social revolutionary movement - global in scope and with dense local pockets in many parts of the world - is a vital initial step in preparing the ground for a successful apocal Anarchist revolution. It would provide the necessary support base which is not so badly lacking for Anarchist activities of all kinds - varying from a highly developed global information network (itself a vital step in the making of a militant global Anarchist movement) to successful anti-State military operations, where such are both necessary and possible.

Conditions are becoming ripe for a thorough-going world Anarchist revolution which will replace the long-diseased and inadequate State/class social order with a stable trans-national Libertarian. But such a genuine revolution cannot take place unless the ground is prepared for it beforehand.

The problem right now is to create a militant Anarchist minority, which would serve as the core for such social revolutionary movement. Many anarchists are mere dreamers or armchair theorists, while their followers around them are being destroyed by State machines. They do not inhabit the real world.

Our failure to act will forever be cursed by tomorrow's slaves. As Anarchist revolutionaries (let us always remember that by definition Anarchists are active revolutionaries, ever at war against State machines, and if not, they are not Anarchists) we must be ready to struggle, not theorize. Anarchism has always been a dynamic doctrine of revolutionary struggle, when it becomes a haven for bourgeois intellectusland hippie freaks, then it is no longer Anarchism. **THE FUTURE IS ANARCHISM, OR THERE WILL BE NO FUTURE!! SMASH THE STATE!!!**

prepared by
Lorenzo Komboa Ervin # 18759-175
United States Penitentiary
P.O. Box 1000
Marion, Illinois 62959



SPAIN

In a document addressed to Juan Carlos from Valencia Provincial Prison dated 26th February 1979, ten prisoners announce their intention of mounting a FAST TO THE DEATH. They question their exclusion from a recent amnesty, arguing that this is in defiance of all logic, and article 14 of the Constitution. Constant violations of their rights have persuaded them to withhold all cooperation and recognition from the authorities. Their decision is to affirm their humanity and to reject all attempts to turn them into pawns or commodities or property. They question the whole myth of prison, of order, of laws. "WE SEEK TO BE FREE WITHOUT CONDITIONS." They have wearied of playing the role appointed by the Authorities...conforming to rules...petitioning for Rights...acquiescing in the prison system. They have no reason to seek death, but no reason to go on living. The masquerade can go on without them.

The 10 are:

José Ramón Cornejo Sanchez
Luis García Tamarit.
Arcadio del Real Rodriguez.

Cont. Page 20



THAT'S ENOUGH JONES... NOW TAKE HIM TO THE STATION AND BOOK HIM

THE BOAT PEOPLE AND OTHERS

The ethnic Chinese living throughout the lands of Asia are industrious and hardworking, and are generally individualistic. They are the type of people who normally become individual craftsmen but in the type of exploitative society they find themselves in, become minor capitalist entrepreneurs; and some, a not insubstantial minority, major exploiters. A similar problem exists with Indians in Africa where an aggressive and ambitious people finds itself both excluded from normal working and pushed into administrative positions and business yet hated for being in that position. In many countries they find themselves cheek-by-jowl with a local people that prefers to take things easier and not to join in a rat race; and these people have racial to back up the normal hatred for an exploiter.

This was the story behind the Asians expelled from Amin's Uganda. It also explains the Pakistanis who are victims of racial prejudice and economic exploitation when they come to Britain; but who once here are pillars of economic exploitation and "natural" capitalists. There is an ugly side to Zionism, often stressed today because the Jewish State, when built, is inevitably like any other state. But it should not be forgotten that one of the early ideals of Zionism - and one which has been partly achieved - was to transform generations of city-dwelling people immersed in capitalism and competition once more into agricultural workers and out of the capitalistic ethic; and however the State reacts against the national enemy, the Zionist ideal in this has made a productive class out of the hangers-on of capitalism, and

in the main without losing the civilising effects of bourgeois life either. Its nationalism may be as rampant as any other; but this aspect is a significant one, and such a solution is needed to the "Chinese ethnic" and Indian and Pakistani emigration. BUT WHERE?

But where in the world is there a place for many of the people expelled from Vietnam to go? Even if there were, they would face the same problems of the Jews in Palestine - either to dominate or be dominated, to expel or be expelled.

The whole parlour Left, taking its ideals from the student-dominated movement, should hang its head in remorse over the incidents of the Boat People. Who was it that only a few years ago chanted "Victory to the Vietcong"? Now, when one reads of mass expulsions of thousands of ethnic Chinese - the Chinese gave their lives for the Vietcong victory by the way - perhaps the glory of Ho Chi Minh fades a little? Anarchists always bitterly opposed the dictatorship of Ho Chi Minh and the Vietcong, but it is no consolation to be proved right when one reads of thousands being sent out in open boats, the men tortured to find gold, the women raped, the boats refused entry anywhere, and militant Islam, in the form of the Malay States, threatening to open fire if the heretic refugees dare to land in their ports.

It is intended to expel one or two million, partly to disembarass Vietnam of a potential middle class; partly to ensure State Communist domination; partly to embarrass the Chinese Republic in its conflict with Russian Imperialism. The West moralises. It has territory available. Australia does not even occupy its outer rim to the full. But the Nation States divide the world as if they had a God-

given right to own the strip of land they occupy and there is no place for the Vietnamese refugees. Racism and Nationalism always runs to hatred; no feelings of racism and nationalism in China, one of the most racist and nationalist of all, induce feelings of solidarity with their co-racialists and co-nationals adrift on leaky boats or stranded on waterless islands.

THEM OR US

This type of genocide, now widely practised, has no answer but social revolution. No amount of charity, no amount of goodwill, not even strikes or sabotage, can help the situation. There are some situations in the world (the Vietnam war as it affected Vietnam was one) where even the massed power of the working class is useless against the aggression of the State. It becomes Them or Us. The ethnic Chinese, hounded and harried like animals to the boats, should have stood in a last ditch fight. They did not do so, partly because of their individualism, everyone thinking to save themselves; partly because of the pervasive effect of State propaganda. Like the Jews in Europe, they have trailed along to the gas chambers, the more readily because there was just a glimmer of hope.

And who knows which of us in the world will be the next to follow that futile path of non-resistance?

Are we in Europe not as bemused with the myth of Parliamentary Statism as other parts of the world are with State Communism? If we are faced with the crunch will we, one wonders, be queuing up for the gas chambers or the leaky boats; waiting for our draft papers to nowhere; entrusting our lives to whoever happens to be in control of the State at the time? A lengthy article on Cambodia has been held over till next issue.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS (Cont.)
West Indies

Our position here remains the same - five of us - Dennis Fletcher, Peter Chandre, Kirk-lon Paul, Winston Ferrier & myself (Andy Thomas) await death by hanging.

Six others, Clyde Haynes, Clem Haynes, Tony Alexander, Lincoln Noreiga, Bunny Gransaul and Andrea Jacob, are serving long prison sentences, ranging from lifetime to 7 years.

We are all members and sympathisers of the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF) that was engaged in a guerilla confrontation here in 1972 - 75. We have been classified and tried as criminals despite the recent Geneva Convention on War which states that Guerilla Partisans in captivity must be classified and treated as Prisoners of War.

The Government here refuses to recognise our political status.

Added to this we are subjected to constant mental & physical torture designed to break our will. Here in Death Row we are kept in 9'x6' cells 23 hours per day, with only a bed, a cup of water and a small slop pail.

The stench is unimaginable. Visits are conducted from a small conversation box through a grill of 4 layers of 1/8 inch mesh wire. There is no physical contact even with one's wife or mother; and, an Officer stands one foot away from the visitor listening to every word. It is humiliating, frustrating and vexatious. And totally unnecessary because all visitors are completely searched beforehand and our cells and persons are searched by three Officers, thrice daily.

Needless to say more - the horrors are endless. Please send petitions on our behalf to The President of the Republic of Trinidad and

Tobago West Indies. Also The Prime Minister of the..... The Attorney General of the.. The Minister of National Security.....The Ombudsman.... The Opposition Leader..... Mr. George Weekes OWTU..... And Andy Thomas - P.O. Box 12 Port of Spain Trinidad West Indies.

**JAIL STUDENT
"KILLS HIMSELF" ?**

A law student awaiting trial on kidnapping charges electrocuted himself in Stannheim jail yesterday, the Stuttgart chief prosecutor's office said.

Werner Edrich, aged 29, connected a wire from a set of earphones to the prison's power system and died when the electricity was switched on at about 6 a.m., the prosecutor's office said.—Reuter.

U.S.A.

On May 9th, 3 prisoners, Carl Harp, Shane Green & Clyde Washburn seized the Classification and Parole Building with 10 hostages. They held it nonviolently for 12 hours and no one was hurt.

During that time, they were in constant communication by phone and bullhorn with media, prisoners and people outside.

They talked about maltreatment and cruel conditions inside prison.

The majority of the prisoners supported them, with over 200 prisoners who stayed in the yard to keep the guards and S.W.A.T. team from attacking.

The 3 instigators peacefully surrendered after 1 hour in front of news reporters and cameras.

The hostages later said that they were treated well by the prisoners.

THEIR DEMANDS:

Asked for a Federal Investigation of the prison, for Federal Protection and transfer to Federal Custody (because they fear for their lives).

Demanded lawyers, formal court charges and a jury trial. They want full public scrutiny of the illegal activity at the penitentiary.

They also asked to be placed in Segregation.

SPAIN Continued

Juan Paredes Daningo.
José Saura Navarrete.
José Manuel Gil Ramos.
Manuel Molina Gómez.
Juan José Llopis Ortega.
Francisco Navarrete Mata.
Angel Fernández Soler.

On 23 February 1979, 14 libertarians of varying persuasions were arrested in Barcelona. Gunpoint arrests were followed by threats, beating, intimidation, torture, and 10 days being held incommunicado under the new Anti-Terrorist Laws. Deprived of food washing facilities and legal advice. The ill-treatment included: suspension by the wrist from an iron bar. This is known as the "Democracy Bar." Forced to wear a motorcycle helmet, bound hand & foot and beaten about the head with rubber truncheons. This is known as "motorcyclist."

Face and mouth and nose bound with wet towels, impeding respiration. This is the so-called "sauna" treatment. Polythene bags placed over detainees' heads until near asphyxiation. Fingers twisted and pencils or rods twisting through the fingers.

Cont. Page 22

CRASS (CONT.)

On the face of it CRASS can be criticised for being elitist, but given the facts already mentioned, and also that they claim they don't want to force their ideas or themselves on others, it is impossible to say this. Unlike the Trots who consider that people need to be led and told what to do CRASS believe that you should be out 'doing' rather than 'taking in' adding that 'in all the years of your life you've taken in so much shit that you have to spend the rest of it getting that shit out of you.' At the same time they recognise that there has to be a starting point and that by taking the above idea to its extreme there is a danger of ending up in a completely nihilistic state, literally doing nothing.

Another criticism is that CRASS appear not to give much thought to anarcho-syndicalism. In an industrial society like Britain's, anarcho-syndicalism is the most practical and would be the most successful and inevitable first step towards an anarchist society. 'Individualist' anarchism is one alternative, but in society as it is today (before the resources are distributed and people are able to choose their own way of life) the unsavoury realities of high-rise flats and overcrowding make it impossible for most people to live the way CRASS have chosen to; 'individualist' anarchism is clearly limited. On the other hand, anarcho-syndicalism would affect and embrace the whole of the urban population.

Even if 'individualist' anarchist lifestyles did lead to people realising the advantages of such a way of life, it is difficult to envisage this approach succeeding without the industrial worker taking the first steps.

However, having said that, CRASS go out of their way not to cut themselves off from reality. Most of their gigs tend to be benefits (and they refuse to make any profit from them, asking only for expenses). Likewise, their recent record, which they say is just a 12" single (although it has a playing time of thirty minutes), costs less than £2 and the money received will probably just about cover the cost of making it. They claim that they will do a benefit for almost any organisation, Left wing or Right wing, because they believe that anarchist ideas shouldn't be restricted to the already converted.

At the gigs the sound they present is abrasive, industrial, nagging and raw, and they scream the lyrics as if in a cata-tonic rage. Through their music they hope to provoke their audience to question how they live and the way they are ordered about by the State, but they refuse to compromise themselves by putting over a situation where they are on stage 'telling it like it is' and the audience is 'out there' being told 'how it is'. According to Penny Rimbaud, the group's drummer, 'the State's power is contained in our own subjugation' while they (CRASS) are

not afraid to show their own doubts in the hope that their audience will likewise do the same. As they say in one of their songs:

'You're paying for prisons
you're paying for war/you
paying for their order
paying for lobotomies/
you're paying for law/
you're paying for their
order/you're paying for
their murder/you're pay-
ing for the ticket/to
watch the farce/known-
ing you've made your contrib-
ution/to the systems
fucked solution....'

Incidentally, the first track on one side of their record has two minutes silence as that particular track was censored - the various pressing companies refusing to make the record with it included on it.



CRASS COMMENTS

Pete Wright comments on the interview that he did not mention anarcho-syndicalism directly (apart from a comment I made on 'isms' and 'ologies' in general) not because we have never considered the issue, again as individuals, but because we were not interested in a polarised political debate, even though the conversation veered that way occasionally.

Cont. Page 22

CROSS (CONT)

We try to deal in common ground. Being interviewed to me means explaining myself in shared terms and ideas. To deal in the differences which we all spot during a conversation would be to move into areas of confrontation and possibly alienate either or both parties. The political system, in this country especially, deals almost entirely in areas of difference, even to the extent of making most people believe there are radical differences between separate parties. The broad areas of unquestioned agreement, and who administers these, indicates where the real power lies.

I appreciate the desire for co-ordinated effect. It is tiring and lonely alone or in small groups. But I have a fair enough indication of the dangers of co-ordination to keep me alone. Coordinated I can wage war, provide a target - Spain, Paris, slipways to a stable and overt oppressive society.

I move in space created by the political and social confidence trick. I think that is why most of the activity here, of a co-ordinated sort, attempts to make others aware of this space - the band, publications, graffiti and various other anti-social pursuits. Individuals can use this space as they want. Factories, families, fighting, offices, fields, oppressing oneself and others must in the end be a matter of personal choice. Someone does the doing - the consequences vary.

To pull a trigger is culpable arrogance, so, in a way, is being the target. I am sure enough of my way of doing thing only to the extent of sharing not imposing. I do not want my personal short-comings amplified or to go beyond the bounds of shared, immediate, constant questioning with and by the people I live with and trust.

The rest is advertising for goods and services which the recipient must provide and, hopefully, want. Anarchy with a small a.

(We seem, by the way, and as we understand your definition of it, to be a practical demonstration of anarcho-syndicalism.)

ANARCHY-A PROMISE NOT A THREAT

INTERNATIONAL PRISONERS

U.S.A.

Wednesday May 20th: The Classification and Parole Building in the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla prison, Wash (USA) was taken over and twelve people held hostage for twelve hours because the conditions in the prison threaten the lives, limbs and minds not only of the men taking the action but of every prisoner in the jail. All attempts so far for reform have failed.

It is already established in law that prisoners have the right to be free from cruel and unnatural punishment and to escape from conditions and treatment that threatens life, limbs and minds. Legal recourse having failed, the activists declared that they had done what they did to the best of their ability for justice and human rights.

Carl L. Harp, Robert S. Green jr, Robert C. Washborn, state that their act of civil disobedience was war over the nature of conditions in the Washington State penitentiary and nearly every prison in the USA. The only force was the seizure of hostages, none of whom were hurt. It was done to eliminate a graver evil and they state that they have done no wrong and violated no law.

They are now being tried for a crime "in order to strike fear in the hearts and minds of other prisoners so that they do not rebel against injustice and demand their human rights. It is to intimidate other prisoners into silence and submission to injustice. We need your support."

GREECE

Theodore and his brother Nick were sentenced to 7 and 21 years respectively in jail for supposedly robbing the National Bank of Greece on 19th August 1977.

Please send solidarity to Theodore Tsouvalakis c/o Aegina Prison, Islo of Aegina, Greece.

He had been held in Chalkis prison but in early June was transferred to Aegina where conditions are worse.

Also please write to the following addresses asking for details of the whereabouts of Nick Tsouvalakis who was also held in Chalkis prison but has been transferred elsewhere. Express concern for Nick and Theodoros' wellbeing and state that their treatment by the Greek authorities may violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Letters to:- Christophoros Stratos, Ministry of the Interior, Stadiou & Dragatsaniou, Athens GREECE.

George Stamatis, Ministry of Justice, Socratous & Zenonos, Athens, GREECE

Q. What is a Vanguard ?

A. One Shop Steward and three students !

R.A.P. statement

A Public Statement from Radical Alternatives to Prison (RAP), 104a Brackbury Road, London W.6 (tel (01 -748 5778)

Britain and West Germany have the highest prison population in Europe (43,000 here) and anti-social behaviour is increasing. Holland has proportionately a quarter of Britain's prison population and has been reducing her prison population whilst Britain has been increasing hers. Also in Holland sentencing is less severe - over half their prisoners serve sentences of a month or less. In Britain only 17% of prisoners do such short sentences.

What is the result? There is not any difference between Britain's crime rate and Holland's: prison and length of sentencing are irrelevant. In both countries anti-social behaviour is increasing. So is the remedy more prison?

The answer to overcrowding in prisons is an obvious one of reducing the prison population. But all we get are calls for longer sentences, tougher jails and the distortion that "hooligans and muggers" are threatening the fabric of our society. Sometimes one gets the distinct impression that the psychological needs of people in authority underly the calls for more and tougher prisons. Instead we need a rational discussion of the subject of prison.

The emotionally loaded issue of the death sentence has been brought up. It makes an impact but what

long term harm is done by giving the impression that the solution to a problem is to kill someone? Isn't that the type of behaviour we discourage from "delinquents"?

In fact it is our competitive society that encourages anti-social behaviour. In a caring and co-operative society anti-social behaviour based on greed and profit cannot survive. It is at this fundamental level that the answer to "crime" must lie - which is why the main political parties evade a rational discussion of the topic.

The only thing the community gets out of prison, for the millions of pounds spent annually and all the misery involved, is for some people to be kept out of sight for a few months or years. That is all.

There is an argument that prison is a punishment that deters but it clearly does not. Some maintain prison has reformative influence yet overall the record of prison as a reformer is a dismal one. Indeed many petty thieves become professional criminals as a result of prison. Most thefts are committed by people who come from a deprived background and prison confirms them in this situation. It does nothing to eliminate the inequality which is the root cause of the stealing.

Jerry Westall
(Co-ordinator)



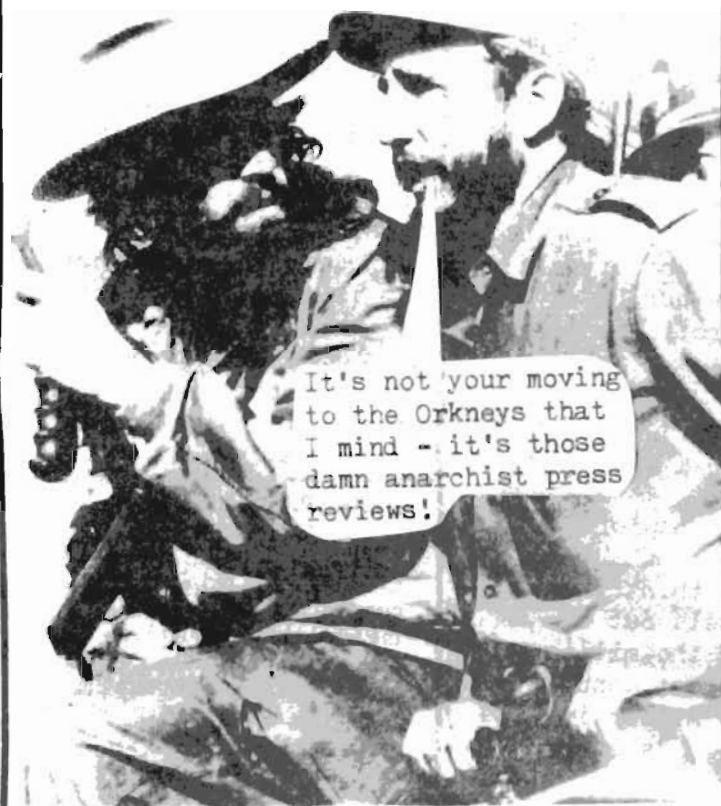
ROON 'N ABOUT (Cont.)

Regimes, except those which they specifically support, are seen as corrupt and the only way to change the system is by violent means. They include the Trotskyists (members of the International Marxist Group), Maoists, who accept that the Chinese version of communism is the correct one, and anarchists (who share most of the above views but do not see violence as the way to achieve their aims)....."

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. The answer, redolent of the crimes of Christianity, was that the whole town should be slaughtered Cathar and Catholic alike - God will distinguish his own'.
2. The leading specialist is Dr Alex Comfort - an Anarchist, who won't take an 'honour'.
3. Peter Kropotkin cited them as an example of non-governmental international co-operation.
4. Queen Anne was said, in her statue as in her life, to have her 'back to the church and her face to the ginshop'; Brigham Young is said to have his 'arse to the temple and his hand out to the bank'.
5. Lord Lambton somewhat peculiarly described Margaret Thatcher as deserving the support of 'youn idealists' for her affinity with Russian revolutionaries such as 'Herzen and to a lesser extent Bakunin' but did not go on to describe that affinity.
6. Mr Strauss helped finance the attempt on Hitler's life by Hilda Monte, in which John Olday collaborated (but which, like all such attempts is now deliberately ignored by historians).

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UNDERCURRENTS

After the preparation of the last issue of CPAR (IV) there were misunderstandings about the sum which Cliff Harper asked to be paid for design work because the editorial group were unaware that he was charging on a salary basis. There was never any question that he would not be paid (and most of what he asked has already been paid despite the fact that Cienfuegos Press has suffered two major financial disasters).

Regrettably, Cliff Harper did not discuss this with the editorial group and made allegations about Cienfuegos Press in general and Stuart Christie in particular. After meeting Stuart Christie he realised he was mistaken and made efforts to rectify what he had been saying, but distorted accounts had already got out of control so it was agreed to put the matter on record for those who have not heard personally that Cliff Harper withdraws the allegations he made last year.

All other work on CPAR and Black Flag continues to be on a voluntary basis.

ROON 'N' ABOUT MINISTER KING

I'm also told that Tom King, the new Minister for the Environment and Local Government once took an interest in convicted prisoners back in 1974. Unfortunately, his philanthropic interest was stretched by one prisoner appealing for help from Walton jail - he took such a political dislike to him that he wrote urging the visiting Psychiatrist to certify the prisoner. The Psychiatrist was so disgusted (even psychiatrists can get disgusted) that he read the letter to the prisoner to show him what a two-faced git he was dealing with.

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