BLACK FLAG

Volume V No 11 OCTOBER 1979 20p

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

HAS ANARCHISM BEEN MADE ILLEGAL ?

The brazen admission of jury vetting in the 'Persons Unknown' case has brought a storm of protest, mirrored in *The Guardian* (though the other papers are maintaining a low profile). The Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, denies being responsible for it - he once disowned it, now he says it doesn't come under his jurisdiction. The former Attorney-General, Sam Silkin, who institutionalised it, contradicted Judge Gibbens who said he had 'no legal power to stop vetting' but contended that he introduced the practice as a 'lesser evil' to abolishing juries altogether.

The lurking shadow of Big Brother is behind not just vetting, but the fact that unchecked computerised snooping exists which makes vetting effective.

Having "vetted" the jury, the case opened against Iris Mills, Ronan Bennett, Trevor Dawson and Vincent Stevenson. Stewart Carr was "withdrawn" and Dafydd Ladd did not appear for reasons unknown at this stage. The case opened with the prosecution with a carefully planned attack on anarchism. (Notwithstanding all the previous statements trying to associate Ronan with the I.R.A., on racial grounds, in order to keep him in prison under strict security, the prosecution studiously avoided all Irish connections and disavowed its having anything to do with the case. Apparently, it is accepted without comment that policemen can go in the box and lie).

Mr Michael Worsley (prosecutor) gave a speech that would indicate he has a brilliant future ahead at the Moscow Bar if he chooses to defect. He gave a prejudiced, bigoted, authoritarian attack on anarchism which he equated with a philosophy of robbery by violence, and said - while disavowing any attempt to turn it into a political trial, that "politics comes into it in only one way - if the beliefs of a defendant are - and you find them on evidence to be - that they were seeking to achieve some political end by violence, or using some other illegal means, by which to put those beliefs into effect, *such as those which are complained of in the charge*" (robbery), "clearly that belief in unlawful violence is a motive to commit crime."

He spoke of violent robberies being used to 'subvert the institutions of the State' and - dropping his voice to a dramatic hush - "which is anarchism". He paused but there was no one in the public gallery to shout encouragingly, "Shoot the running dogs! Kill the petty bourgeois revisionists!" Really, Special Branch or whoever is behind the real conspiracy will have to consider packing the public gallery!

(The case continues.....)

AFTER 150 YEARS OF OPEN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY,HAS ANARCHISM BEEN MADE ILLEGAL IN THIS COUNTRY?

IS IT NOW AN OFFENCE TO HOLD STATELESS SOCIALIST VIEWS?

IS IT, IF NOT CRIMINAL, TO BE HELD A PROOF OF CRIMINALITY?

CONTENTS: International News, Letters, Cambodia, Roon N' Aboot, Red Brigades.

BLACK FLAG

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GROVEL GROVEL

Apologies for the fact that in the issue dated July (sent out later) the Readers Meeting was given as being in the wrong place (the Roebuck Hotel) instead of in the Conway Hall. We contacted as many as we could but apologise to those who had a frustrated journey. The Conway Hall Social (a delicious Kebab meal brought by an Indian comrade was heartily devoured) served to bring our far - flung tribe together again.

For our next get-together write and ask for details; they will be sent to Review Subscribers in the London area.

Apologies too for what seems a regular feature - advertising events that have already happened by the time the paper appears (it's not that your copy is late). We are working on this among other things in our preparations for The Fortnightly.

Once again Cienfuegos Press / Black Flag Simian and the Anarchy Collective will be having another stall at the Socialist Book Fair. This year there will be a bigger Anarchist presence in regard both to titles and space.

Date : November 2 and 3 (Friday & Saturday) at the Camden Town Hall (Old St Pancras) opposite Euston Station, London.
We will have a social on November 1st (place will be notified).

Against the law, is it...

O.K. Look this up!

ANARCHO - QUIZ

1. Charles Dickens's novels caused many liberal reformists to battle successfully, for the abolition of imprisonment for debt. But why did many oppose it to the last?

2. Which doctor became internationally infamous for pushing what he thought was a humanitarian and benevolent reform?

3. What "humanitarian reform" by a genuinely compassionate Spanish priest, put into practice by a staunch anti-Catholic English man, ranks among the major crimes of Christianity?

4. Why did the future King Edward 1 - reckoned to be among the best English Kings by conventional historians - lose the Battle of Lewes?

5. When was the last major bombsite in the City of London cleared?

6. What had the early jazz bands of the 20's and 30's - such as the Blue Devils (first of Oklahoma, then Kansas City), the Bennie Moten Orchestra (Kansas) and the Missourians (from which Cab Calloway came) - in common with anarchism?

Answers on page 23.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

SPAIN

A statement from a prisoner recently released from Soria prison in the Basque Country warns of mounting tension in that establishment due to provocation of prisoners by heavily armed detachments of the Forces of Public Order. The witness fears mass suicide or massacre of a sizable number of inmates unless something is done.

Prisoners are outnumbered by armed police by 10 or 12 to 1. By contrast, there are only 5 warders proper. These threaten to unleash the armed paramilitary police if prisoners so much as look sideways at them. Prisoners' nerves are worn down by searches in the middle of the night when their cells are turned upside down. They are body searched before and after visits. They are allowed to write only 1 letter a week so they are forced to choose between parents and wife/girlfriend. Conversations with the only visitor of the week are tape recorded. Every effort is made to cause dissension between inmates. No exercise is allowed unless everyone agrees to it. If 3 disagree, no exercise. If only 2 disagree these are locked up in thier cells. These exercise periods are the only communication between galleries.

Even in the canteen only 40 prisoners may eat at the same time. Half of the prisoners have lost thier hair due to nervousness. Hot water is only available in some cells from 12.30pm to 6 or 7pm. Many cells have windows with panes missing. And this in the Basque mountains in winter.

Lessons in Basque are banned, but, curiously, knives may be bought in the prison shop. The ex-prisoner fears that with nerves so frayed and with police so aggressive and antagonistic some trivial incident may result in carnage on a massive scale. Especially now that some prisoners have gone on hunger-strike.

He appeals to the world to make its voice heard and to speak out on behalf of people no longer in a position to reflect before acting.

THE SCALA DOSSIER

At 1.15 pm on January 1978 the Scala Nightclub in Barcelona was the target of an incendiary attack which left 4 employees dead. RamónEgea and Diego Montero belonged to the UGT. Juan Manuel López and Bernabé Bravo Betarano, like some 75% of the night club's staff were CNT members. Police statements claimed authoritatively that the attack had been the work of a CNT commando composed of FAI and Libertarian Youth members. This the CNT denied and is suing the Govt. for 100 Million Pes tas damages. This money will be handed over to the victim's relatives. CNT members have since then been subjected to swoops and arrests and torture by the police. Why was the CNT picked out for this treatment? It is the only union opposing the Govt.'s Social Contract plans. Indeed a CNT demo of 10,000 people paraded through Barcelona on the morning of the attack at Scala. The media have gone to great lengths to depict the CNT as a terrorist organisation.

As of 29 August 1978, the following people were imprisoned on charges connected with the Scala outrage. José Cuevas Casado, Luis Muñoz and Arturo Palma Segura are in Carabanchel. Maria Teresa Fabres is in Yeserias, whilst Francisco Javier Cañadas Gascónis in Barcelona's Model Prison. Four others are being sought by the police: Francisco Martinez Pérez, Jesús Emiliano Portes Gil, Carlos Gonzales Garcia and Joaquin Gambin Hernández. Also, Maria Pilar Alvarez and Maria Rosa Lopez, charged as accessories have been released on bail of 25,000 Pes tas each.

There are several points which suggest that a concerted premeditated effort has been made to milk the Scala incident most callously in order to discredit the CNT.

1. Joaquin Gambin Hernández, a 45 year old Murcian, has been denounced by the Barcelona CNT as an informer. Not only has he denounced those "implicated" in the Scala affair, but he also contrived with Police to dismantle the ERAT group - Worker Support Revolutionary Army, to whose members he passed himself off as a member of Grapo. Gambin has mysteriously "eluded" Police although his associates have not been so lucky. Gambin's treachery seems to have had it's origins in prison where he served 15 - 20 years. On several occasions, he too

took part in failed escape attempts but was never punished. When Gambin applied to join the CNT in Murcia in 1977 he was fobbed off but later admitted in spite of suspicions. He had known Cuevas in the Model prison. On 10th January 1978 he contacted Cuevas in Barcelona. After the Scala incident Cuevas was picked up in a hideout known only to Gambin and himself.

2. The Scala Manager, Maso, who was purported to be able to give police a detailed description of the attackers down to a lapel badge worn by one of them, has dissappeared, apparently vanished.

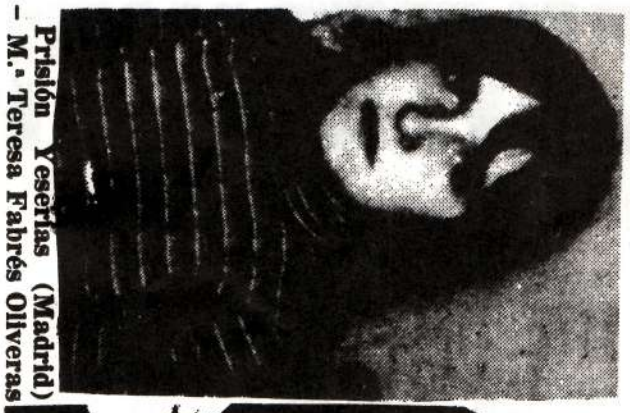
3. The owners of the Scala, the Ribas brothers have ignored a challenge to a public debate on certain discrepancies between forensic evidence and the Official version of the fire in which the four employees died. How come the sprinkler system did not work? These were supposed to be triggered at 60° whilst the furnishings were not combustible below 1000°? Why was the usual Police guard at the door taken away? (The club had been threatened.) How come the bodies were found in the centre of the Club if the fire had been, as is claimed, in the foyer? The incendiary material seems to have been carefully situated so that everything would go up in the few minute before Firemen arrived. How come the bodies were found among and not *below* the rubble? How come removal of the bodies was not supervised by the Police nor by the Coroner's Squad? Why the haste to bury the dead before proper Autopsies had been carried out? If everything inside the Club burned how come the bodies were not charred?

4. The Scala had been threatened prior to the attack. A year earlier the Rio night-club had been the target for a similar attack. The CNT's Entertainments Syndicate has explained that their industry is prey to a Mafia-like network which manipulates the hiring and firing of Artistes and extras and many Clubs sell drinks which are illicit, not having paid Tax duty.

These queries - all unanswered - led the CNT's Regional Plenum of 5th Feb. to pledge UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR THE PRISONERS. As the CNT has pointed out what the Scala has led to is not an attack on 7 "terrorists" but a determined, contrived attempt to crush a Union - the CNT.....the only rallying point for opposition to the Moncloa Palance Pact.

ALSO

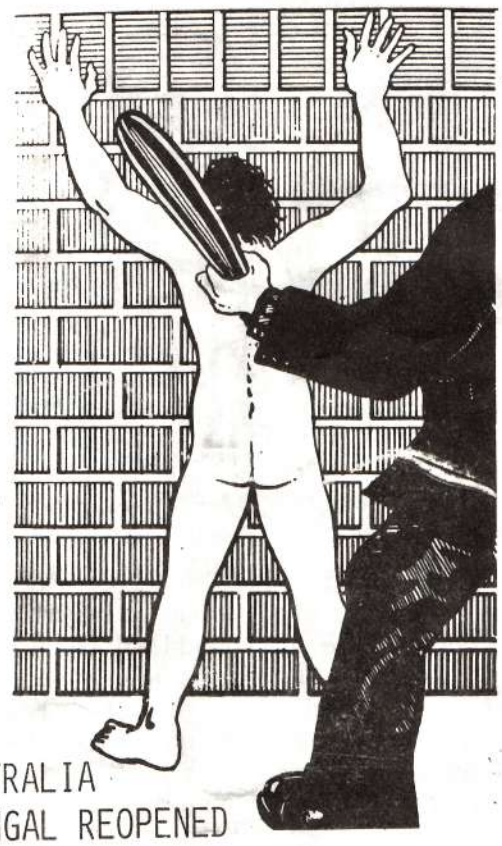
17 comrades amnestied in Dec. '77 had their amnesty withdrawn and the prosecution has asked for sentences of between 12 and 20 years against them.



Prisión Yeserías (Madrid) - M.ª Teresa Fabrés Oliveras

Prisión Segovia - José Cuevas Casado y Luis Muñoz García,

Arturo Palma Segura, Francisco Javier Cañadas Gascón.



AUSTRALIA
KATINGAL REOPENED

KATINGAL the isolation / behaviour modification Unit of the Long Bay Gaol at Sydney Australia's metropolitan prison Complex has been reopened after the death of a warder by a hammer blow from a prisoner. To achieve this repressive blow a prolonged strike by warders left prisoners locked in their cells for 72 hours. The Salvation Army fed the inmates hamburgers & Kentucky Fried chicken. But being unable to slop out toilets, take a shower or exercise the diet (exclusive of vegetarians) was a small improvement. New South Wales State Police manned the guard towers and the Fire Brigade with hoses ready for any arson were in attendance. Prisoners hung sheets from windows demanding medical supplies for sick comrades but the Media after showing the Police heavily armed were only interested in the striking Warder's Spokesperson and the Labour Government politicians and Opposition conservatives demands to reopen Katingal.

A RECENT HISTORY

A Moratorium against Prison building by the now deRegistered Builder's Labourer's Federation and Architects opposed to Prison Construction prevented Katingal's completion as ordered by the then Liberal / Country Party Coalition Govt. With the B.L.F.'s deRegistration submissive Labourers and Architects were found and the "electronic zoo" was opened. Those who have been inmates make similar statements of the torture under the sensory deprivation Regimes of the British Army in Northern Ireland and the West German 'dissidents'.

Despite the existence of the Neo-Fascist, armed groups such as the Ustasha there has been no armed resistance for the Federal & State Police to prosecute. An enquiry by Civil Liberties groups exposed surveillance and Dossier collection on people active in the anti-Nuclear movement by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation. Police Commisioner Salisbury made press statements saying he was responsible to the Queen and not the elected Govt. of South australia he was sacked by the Premier Dunstan. The Secret Police needed some good publicity... Boom! the Commonwealth Heads of Govt. Conference for 1978 was bombed but thedeath of two rubbish collectors and later (of injuries) a Police Constable were not claimed by anyone but tra la the Anti - Terrorist Squad and the Army sprang to the rescue and militarily Occupied the town of Bowral the new site of the Conference. No-one was even found guilty of this timely explosion!

People belonging to the Ananda Marga Indian based Religous group were framed up for conspiring to murder the New South Wales Representative of the National Front in Oz and given 16 years in prison.

With the election of the Labour Govt. in N.S.W. the Katingal Unit was closed after a Royal Commission into the State prisons recommended it. Inmates were moved to older Isolation sections of other gaols in country areas. A series of Pickets outside Long Bay Gaol by friends and relatives of inmates as well as Prisoner's Action Group Women Behind Bars, I.W.W. General Defence Committee Local 5 and local anarchists also contributed to the closure. After such struggles and in the light of Research upon the effects of Behaviour Modification on it's subjects the reopening of the Unit comes as an alarm to those whom the State finds it's enemies....be they troublesome prisoners, "terrorists" (such as the Ananda Marga), 'dissidents' or those who fall out with proposed Labour Laws criminalising strikes in essential services. With the reformist and social democratic structure of the organised labour movement and student groups; and, the notorios hostility of liberals in Australia to prisoners er convicts conditions, the NEED for support from overseas to help isolated opponents in Australia is clear.

Letters of protest to the Premier of New South Wales and Police Minister Neville Wran, Parliament House, Sydney, N.S.W. Australia 2001

Doley: "Ask not what is wrong with you for industry, ask instead what is wrong with the industrial system."
- from "Everything" newspaper.

Letters!

Dear Anarchists,

I saw your posters with Margaret Thatcher (Scraggy Hachett!) photoed as Wonderwoman and Jim Calllaghan as Superman. I think they are farout and would like a copy of each if possible. I live in a commonune called Laurieston Hall in Southwest Scotland. It is about six miles away from a town called Castle Douglas.

From Joel Reid aged 11 years.

I was amazed at the protests about your Margaret thatcher / Wonderwoman cover. It struck me as being very funny, clever & appropriate. I never thought for one moment that M.T. was being ridiculed as a woman, but as the Leader of a Party which had been promising a supernatural transformation in a split second if only we voted for it. Maybe your critics don't watch telly? I don't very often myself, but on the rare occasions when I have seen Wonderwoman, she's seemed to me more like a cold efficient machine than a woman - certainly not the type to be exploited by any man, as a sex-symbol or anything else, so maybe it should be regarded as a compliment, rather than an insult, to womanhood and Mrs T.

Jim Callaghan as Superman wasn't in the same league, partly because of circumstances - we've had more recent experience of the Labour Party in power, so that even they would never dare to claim superhuman power, which makes the joke less effective. Also he has been much less of a personification of his Party. But imagine, at some appropriate time in the past, Harold Wilson as the Incredible Hulk! That would have had the same effect of being visually funny as well as satirically telling. Again, I have only seen the Incredible Hulk on a couple of occasions, but he struck me as tending to represent the champion of the anonymous oppressed individual, wheras Wonderwoman is more the champion of Law and Order. What could be more appropriate, satirically speaking? But would we have had protests about the insult to manhood?

And would there have been screams of 'insult' and 'exploitation' if M.T. had been pictured as a cleaning-woman or a supermart check-out girl, instead of someone who makes a lot of money by showing her legs?

Yours in solidarity,

Sheila Blanchard, Nottingham

Dear Black Flag,

It was probably inevitable that the Election of a woman Prime Minister would produce some very muddled thinking on the Left. Marxist feminists were heard to say that they would vote for her simply 'cos she was a sister. Anarchist feminists then reacted to a satire on an advertisement typefying the society advocated by Margaret T. combined with the escapist entertainment drug, as if she was being attacked on the grounds of her sex. It is perhaps significant that some 'Anarchist' Feminists analyse the women's stuggle in class terms without questioning the origins of such an approach.

This 'class' construction was forced to fit Marx's economic scheme by Engels as an afterthought. 'Man is capital and woman is labour' shows the superficial and one-dimensional approach of Marxist theory. It is alarming the way such a production line slogan still distorts the ideas of many in the women's movement. M.T. is in fact the best example to demonstrate how untenable this analysis is. This 'sister'has taken on the worst male qualities of ruthlessness and competitiveness and advocates them for her dream society where the prime motive force is greed. In a class analysis the worker who becomes an exploiter is no longer a worker. But this'sister' has not changed her sex. The class construction is utterly inappropriate and the only *analogy* possible is racialism; M.T. is far closer to the black who obtains power and dominates both black & white. To say that she is *still* expoited by her male child and husband is pure sophistry to maintain a basic premise.

The criticism of Black Flag's cover comes close to saying that you cannot criticise Idi Amin because he is a member of an exploited race. M.T. could have been portrayed as Superman instead of Wonder woman (it would have been appropriate considering her use and advocacy of 'male qualities') but undoubtedly there would have been some complaints that THAT would have

been sexist by adapting her to male conventions. Obviously any cheap cracks against or through her femininity would be like racist jokes against Idi Amin and just as despicable. But in this case the cover was never intended to be offensive to women in general and the over-sensitive reaction is vaguely reminiscent of those attacks on the libertarian Left in the 1920's and 30's for having criticised the Bolsheviks. Let's hear from the Anarchist (?) Feminists who attacked the cover and hear whether they think M.T. is a 'sister' despite her assumption of 'male qualities'.

A.B.

****

Maybe I am confused about the definition of the working class, but not to the extent of thinking I have at last defined it by renaming it, as you have; viz:

" the working - or to be exact, productive - class is firstly economic and secondly..... culturally deprived."

'Opium causes sleep, because it has a soporific quality' is a similar mistake of renaming'sleep causing' as 'soporific quality The dilemma of distinguishing between an architect and a barber by class persists whether 'working' *or* 'productive'. Since both work who would be game to say neither produce?

To argue that the working class, however defined, is "economic" is, if I understand your comment, to argue that it is economically different from other classes in a given society. You appear, therefore, to contradict yourself later on in your comment on my letter by asserting that what is true, that certain workers earn more, than, and, implicitly, approximate the earnings of proffessional people. For the consquence of affirming that it is a difference in income which makes workers and non-workers (whoever *they* are!) differ lies in being forced to conclude that there is *no* difference left when every man earns the same or similar in a given society. Does any reader actually believe that an Anarchist Revolution is virtually accomplished the day Mrs Thatcher decrees that every British adult including herself and the Queen, is to get roughly the same income?

I venture to suggest that if Mrs. T. did take such an extreme course Britain would sail onwards as if nothing had happened; the reason being that nothing *would* have happened to Britain, whatever happened to the incomes of all it s inhabitants! The pigs would still bash the workers, and do so now, when receiving the same incomes or less than those workers. One might as well argue that feeding dogs on fish, as cats are fed, will later, if not sooner, result in dogs giving up all attempts to chase cats!

Such an error is a Social Democrat error, and one rapidly becoming old-fashioned even for them. For it was this political theory which assumed that class differences would ultimately disappear when the lot of the working class was bettered; it would be more exact to say in a Two-Society nation such as ours that levelling the income curve has actually exacerbated class differences by for instance, putting workers into private housing and (occasionally but growing oftener) putting "non-workers" if not into Council houses, at least into cheaper housing than they would have enjoyed a generation back.

It is the system of proxy government which Anarchists believe to be responsible for class differences, and one which inevitably orders these classes into a hierarchy, as the proxy governors realise and then consolidate their power or priveleged position vis a vis the rest. Put an effective set of road blocks right around your town, require *every* citizen in it to participate in government and associated duties *daily and effectively,* lay not a finger on class, economic or income differences and I prophesy you'll get my meaning!

L.H.

Editor replies: It is not even a Social Democrat error to equate equality of incomes with socialism let alone " the Anarchist Revolution." Equality of incomes could not reduce class distinctions any more than wartime rationing when all, more or less, ate the same. Inherited wealth and status also come into the matter. There is a blurring of class distinctions today - when everyone likes to kid themselves they're"middle class" -which has caused the confusion which this correspondence is about. As the distinction between State Socialism and capitalism become narrower, so power counts for as much in wealth in determining class.

But it is still only productive classes that have the power to change the *economic nature* of society. (The mistake is to think there is only *one* aspect of revolution and the fact that more needs to be done than that means that it doesn't matter) The architects are just as much working class as the building workers - except that they usually have different social values - but the economic system can't be changed by self-employed barbers in shops or architects at their drawing boards, it could be changed by workers industry if they had the will to do it. "Rename" classes as you will but that's a

fact. The neo-libertarians who say that class is irrelevant have not shown how people who do *not* work in the nerve centres of capitalism can alter the economic system. That can only be done by the people who *do* taking over.

It might perhaps be done by an elite - the technocrats, the military - taking over the places of work; but that would not be a revo lution but a reaction. The fact that the people who work may or may not *earn* more than most of the elite is irrelevant. If it wasn't done, capitalism would stay as it is.

But "what of people who don't work?" People who don't work can't take over places of work (except as bosses).

LETTER FROM WADI WILLIAMS WHILST IN PENTONVILLE PRISON, HE HAS SINCE BEEN MOVED TO PARKHURST.

I came across your neat articles on Azania and Zimbabwe in the Feb. 78 and May 78 copies of *Black Flag*. Respectively I agree in substance with your analysis of the Southern African situation. However there were certain overriding issues which I feel you overlooked. Before I discuss them let me clarify and regularise my position. I am an African Revolutionary Pantisocracist - Pantisocracy A Society in which power and wealth are equally distributed - This jective forms the crux of our Revolutionary thinking and actions; we are in the process of forming a revolutionary organisation which we intend to initiate 'The African Revolution and the Revolutionising of Africa'. Having made a conscious study of the entire political spectrum, we have found it necessary to formulate our own revolutionary stance, for us revolution is a live, sensuous and creative experience which charges us with the task of rediscovering and even re-investing the perceptual upsurge that is revolution. In passing I ought to make it clear that we regard the countless crop of petty nationalist organis ons to which Africa plays host, as no less than panegorics to reaction, confusion and compromise.

To continue. From our understanding of the objective conditions the primary contradiction engaging humanity in this our age is the historical confrontation between the forces of oppression and the forces of liberation. This principle contention that is daily deepening is literally defining and reshaping the essence of our lives. And today we find ourselves entering the decisive and critical historical flashpoint in the long unfolding titanic drama of humanity's quest for liberation. In this context the principal antagonistic contradiction is *not* between the various groups that constitute the forces of liberation and progress i.e. socialists ranging from Utopian to Scientific; Communists, Anarchists, Pantisocrasists and all the intermediate lines and combinations.

It must be remembered that the real and fundamental contradiction is between 'we' the forces of liberation and progress, and the forces of reaction - this latter group ranging from bourgeois democracy through to fascism, via conservatism and various other capitalist modes of production constitutes the real enemy; a realisation that many current revolutionaries tend to overlook, and thus lose themselves in an endless maze of critical polemics, which in many instances finds many of us reserving our heaviest critical guns for our comrades and fellow travellers.

The upshot of this is that the dominant trend became an ever increasing bent towards insular politics. The last two decades have witnessed an almost matchless era of self-criticism sometimes unnecessarily destructive - within the revolutionary camp.

We now run the risk of forgetting and/or ignoring the fact that we socialists, Communists, Anarchists, Pantisocrasists, have not only a coterminal humankind - but also shared goals and ends. We all in our respective jargon posit as our profound objectives, the abolition, 'withering away' of the State, the final emancipation of humanity, the creation of our egalitarian society, the termination of the exploitation, oppression and debasement of humankind. We all profess a passio e and vehement hostility to capitalism, imperialism, racism, sexism etc., furthermore we all envisage a society in which all these 'isms' of madness have finally entered the burial ground of history.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

BACK GROUND TO GENOCIDE

CAMBODIA

From time to time reports appear in the press of atrocities committed in former Cambodia or Democratic Kampuchea as it is now officially known. Stories of the Vietnamese - Cambodian ccnflict also crop up time to time. What follows is an examination of how rival imperialisms fought over one sector of Asia, allowed changes of Government to occur and then, embarrassed at the Kampucheans' efforts to construct a "New Man" cajoled the Vietnamese into efforts to subvert the Kampuchean Government.

Our story begins with Prince Sihanouk after years of intriguing against the French about to take their place as rulers of Cambodia.

S ihanouk, if nothing else, is cunning and obviously A BORN CHARMER because on 25th Sept. I955 Cambodia became independent and he became it's political Leader. FURTHERMORE he and his followers achieved independence without any of the bloodshed that accompanied the French withdrawal from Laos and Vietnam.

For the next twelve years or so Cambodia enjoyed a fairly stable peace, disturbed only by the occasional pinprick attacks from a couple of hundred social fascist guerrillas operating under the name of Khymer Zuarks, who later became the Khymer Rouge. Occasionally the Vietnamese and Laotian civil wars spilled across into Cambodia, but they too gave little cause for concern. Cambodia was the little nice guy. The Chinese provided most of the capital for Cambodian businessmen and the Americans handled the Education and Irrigation projects. They also made sure the Royal Cambodian Army was well fed and happy.

ESCALATION

As the Laos and Vietnamese wars escalated Cambodia was dragged into the conflict. By I966 the U.S. Army was mounting helicopter raids into Cambodia in an effort to flush out the increasing number of soldiers from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, (D.R.V. - North Vietnam) and Vietcong guerrillas who regarded Cambodia as their holiday home. By I967 the frustrated Americans were sending ground troops over the border and as usual getting deeper and deeper into the mire.

At some point though,the Americans formulated a back up strategy called the Khymer Serei (Free Khymers), a situation which is being bizarrely paralled in the area today. The Khmer Serei declared war on the Cambodian Government and made their bases in and along the Cambodian and Vietnamese borders. About this time the word Khmer began to creep in more and more, in a country where the I970 population was roughly - 7,000,000 Khymers, 500,000 Chinese, 500,000 Vietnamese and several thousand other assorted nationalities. The emphasis has switched to Khmer from Cambodia - it was as if the United Kingdom suddenly became the English Republic.

Sihanouk did his best to keep his Royal head above water. By I965 he was pleading with the VC and DRV at least not to use Cambodia so much. The last thing he wanted was an anti-Vietnamese Rightist coup or a popular revolution.

The plans for a Rightist coup seem to have been set into motion some time early in I970. The Khmer Serei suddenly announced National Unity was the greatest thing and trooped off into the 28,000 strong Government Army. In March I970 Marshal Lon Nol, President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Defence, became Minister of Information and launched a massive Anti-Vietnamese and "Communist" propaganda campaign. Sihanouk was

well aware that a Right wing coup was on its way and that Lon Nol was almost certainly its main Khmer instigator, but he went ahead with a holiday to France. Maybe he believed that his support was so vast that when his neo-Fascist opponents launched their coup they would be swept away by a pro-Sihanouk uprising. So self-assured was he that he thought they would get the shock of their lives. Instead he got the shock, and the people - or what is left of them - are still feeling the conseque-nces.

THE RIGHTIST COUP

The coup went in fact fairly smoothly. The Army was infiltrated by Rightists who (according to one of their leaders, enjoyed eating Vietnamese "especially their livers". The Rightists had been placed in the Royal Cambodian Army by their American paymasters for two reasons:

(I) to whip up anti-Vietnamese feeling.
(2) to make sure that any Royalist sections would have a tough fight on their hands if they tried to move against Lon Nol.

"Popular" demonstrations against Lon Nol broke out especially in the rural areas but they were savagely suppressed and peasants began to drift into the countryside to find the Khmer Rouge, who welcomed them.

It is a puzzle why Sihanouk allowed the Coup to take place so easily. If, as the "experts" and he himself claim, there was massive support for the jazz-playing Prince, it would have been easy for Sihanouk to organise a people's militia or at least a series of nation wide demonstrations. He did neither.

Why? Maybe because as he was adept at playing one side against another he reasoned: let the Right take power, then if they crush the D.R.V., V.C. and Khmer Rouge they still can't hold power without me; if they can't crush them, the people will never allow themselves to be ruled by a puppet government directed from Hanoi, North Vietnam.

What he didn't reckon on was the apathy of a people towards a ruler who seemed powerless to stop the Vietnamese and American incursion into Cambodia. Moreover in I970 the Khmer Rouge was highly Nationalistic and any arrangements they made with Vietnamese "communists" were purely of a short term nature. Sihanouk, after failing to get any positive French support, went to Peking and formed his Government - in - Exile.

THE PLOT THICKENS

With Lon Nol and his friends in control at Phnom Penh, the South Vietnamese Army (A.R.V.N.) invaded Eastern Cambodia backed by mass-U.S. ground and air support. Ostensibly the invasion was a short term measure to clear Eastern Cambodia of "communists". In fact it resembled a B-movie Viking raid, only differing in time and place. The Vietnamese made it plain they were there to stay and to incorporate the land back into Vietnam. This action (which Lon Nol was powerless to stop) caused the first split in the new Government. The Army had been keyed up to kill "reds" and Vietnamese, not to watch them take over the country.

Against this peculiar alliance, Sihanouk formed an equally bizarre alliance. He threw in his lot with the Khmer Rouge, again in the belief that once the country was "liberated" he could manipulate them. This view was shared by most of the experts who believed that the Khmer Rouge was of the same outlook as the Patthet Lao and the Vietcong.

So in I970 the U.S. Generals and their allies found themselves in a new situation. The D.R.V. and V.C. sea lane through the Cambodian port of Sihanoukville had been cut and the Indo-Chinese war had entered a new phase. The Americans wanted to proceed to flatten the D.R.V. - but before they could do so completely, poor little rich kids like Jane Fonda by persuading the U.S. populace that a "communist" Indo-China would be a happy Indo-China forced a re-Election conscious Nixon to pull out all U.S. Forces (bar the clandestine ones of course) from the area.

Under the I972 ceasefire agreement the South Vietnamese (all Vietnamese for that matter) were supposed to leave Cambodia, now renamed the Khmer Republic. The A.R.V.N. complied, after a final orgy of anti-Khmer killing taking around 250,000 Vietnamese with them. The social-Fascist Vietnamese weren't half as stupid - they stayed and provided back-up support for a rapidly expanding Khmer Rouge Army.

By mid I973 many South Vietnamese were writing off Lon Nol and the Cambodian Govt. The U.S.A. Air Force left and the Khmer Rouge rolled on and on. The strategy was simple: force all the peasants you don't need into the cities and let the Rightists try and feed them. It worked. By the time the Lon Nol Government fell, three million people were crowded into the Capital, Phnom Penh, which was supposed to hold a third of that number. And at what original standard of living?

Early in April I975 Lon Nol packed his bags - mostly with gold bars - and fled to Taiwan, leaving one Lon Beret to face the music.

Lon Beret hadn't a hope in hell of salvaging anything. All the former supporters of the rapidly disintergrating regime were heading in all directions - North, South, East, West - out of the country. The armed forces had ceased to function.

The world's press was there so that we could all sit back and watch other people's misfortunes.

On I7th April, I975 the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh.

On I7th April, I975 Lon Beret formally handed over power. On the same I7th April, after handing over power, Lon Beret was taken into a courtyard and shot. On the same I7th April, the new Government told the newly "liberated" people of Phnom Penh to leave the city. There was no discrimination. The Khmer Rouge treated everyone the same.

THE INDO-CHINA WAR

Let us turn from the horrors of Cambodia and look at Vietnam, and find out the reasons for the "new" Indo-China war.....

When the D.R.V. launched its full-scale invasion of it's Southern antagonist in the Winter of I975, many top A.R.V.N. Officials realised the game was up (as far as conventional warfare was concerned) within two or three weeks. This is why South Vietnam collapsed so quickly. The already unpopular President Thieu lost whatever support he had, and by the time General "Big" Minh finally realized his ambitions of becoming President all he Presided over was the evacuation of the South Vietnamese upper classes and the C.I.A. operatives. Whilst Minh was organising the evacuation, others in Vietnam were preparing for guerrilla war.

The guerrilla resistance was organised by three main groups operating in two areas. On the one hand, centred in An Ciang province, the Hoa Hoa sect made massive arms purchases in Saigon shortly before the city's fall. The resistance was placed under the control of an ex-ARVN officer Col. Huyah Trung Hieu. The Hoa Hoa army was joined by an influx of ARVN soldiers, and a price was put on Hieu's head.

On the other hand, In An Chiang, around Chau Doc and Soc Trang a "third force" of ex-ARVN units was organised. Apparently a few days after Saigon fell, a number of ARVN officers met in a town still not under communist control, in the Mekong delta, to discuss future resistance. The "third force" was the outcome and a Col. Phong was placed in charge of operations.

The third group is based in the Central Highlands, where the Montagnard tribesmen who had been fighting Americans, French et al for years carried on the fighting - just changing opponents. These units all used old Vietcong bases inside Cambodia with the connivance of the Khmer Rouge, and it is the activities of these resistance groups which, I believe, in part hold the key to the escalation of the border war.

IN CAMBODIA TODAY

What is going on is hard to ascertain. Very few countries maintain diplomatic missions in Phnom Penh. Under the Khmer Rouge diplomats are only allowed access to a few streets in the immediate neighbourhood of the embassies, which are all grouped together. Foreign journalists are rarely allowed in. Earlier this year Swedish journalists returning from the capital said the population had been reduced to 70,000 (from a pre-war million, and a post-war three million) and that money was abolished. It lies in the street for anyone to pick up.

In August I975 Vice-Premier Leng Sary said that a quick evacuation of Phnom Penh had been essential. He claimed that disease had broken out on a massive scale and that the Khmer Rouge did not have enough food to support the city's population. It might have been true - but why empty the hospitals? Why shoot people where they dropped? This same Leng Sary claimed in an interview with "Der Spiegel" (of all papers) published on May 8 I977 that 3,000 died during the evacuation and " a few thousand " since.....This statement is in direct contrast to what President Khieu Samphan admitted a few months later: that before theI970 coup the population stood at Seven Million and by April I975 it was Six Million and it now stood at Five Million.

The purges / executions came in three main waves. First there was the Stalin-type liquidation of the remnants of the middle and upper classes. But wheras with Stalin it was Heads of families and immediate relative executed immediately, and juveniles sent to institutions, with the Khmer Rouge there was no such niceties. It was immediate execution all round. The next batch were the supporters of Sihanouk, who had initially been the backbone of the I00,000 strong Khmer Rouge.

Sihanouk was himself sent into internal Exile in April I976 (a year after his re-establishment as Head of State) but his supporters weren't so lucky, they were treated in the same way as the bourgeoisie.

The a part of the Khmer Rouge itself was liquidated, leaving Khieu Samphan and Pol Pot (chief of the Communist Party) firmly in charge. What happened to the bodies? There may be some exaggeration by refugees with an axe to grind but the Khmer Rouge seem to have a wide variety of execution and disposal methods.

HOW STATE COMMUNISM WORKS

Cambodian society under the Khmer Rouge is divided into two sections. The six to fifteen year olds and the over 15s. Families see each other when communal groups happen to be working in the same place. Every one over six years old works, including the elderly, who look after the under-sixes as a full-time occupation. The married work in and around their town whereas single people are liable to be sent wherever "Angka" (the organisation) directs them. People live in groups of ten with two people in charge, directly responsible to the Khmer Rouge for the good conduct of the unit. The working day is

8a.m. to 10p.m. with two rest periods at which a meal is served, consisting of a soup made from potatoes, rice, bananas, tree bark and fish. Condensed milk is also available. There is a daily roll call and strict discipline (two months in leg shackles for theft).

The main reason for the " Freedom Through Work " campaign seems to be twofold: on the one hand the Khmer Rouge have turned their back on the 20th Century and are intent on plunging people into a mythical rural Age. Virtually all the people bar Bureaucrats and Soldiers either work on the land or have some occupation connected with it. A reason for the massive agricultural campaign could be that if water is stored during the Cambodian summer season, with proper irrigation, three crops of rice a year are possible. On the other hand, if you put the people on a Nationwide irrigation Project - no work, no life - they are simply too tired to rebel.

Cambodia is a happy land according to Phnom Penh Radio. Families who attempt to escape are publicly executed, or buried alive battered to death, ripped apart, you name it, it's supposed to have been done. Even Khmer Rouge soldiers who have deserted to Thailand say they don't know why they killed - but "Angka" told them to. They have no ideas about Marx or Lenin or who Pol Pot is or what "Communism" is. It was not until September 76 that Pol Pot stated, whilst in Peking, that "Angka" drew its inspiration from Marx & Engels.

Yet prior to the Khmer Rouge taking complete control they were well liked by most of the people under them.

Resistance was based around two Thai-base based groups who have had at most a few hundred operatives. The Thais are now sending Refugees back unless they can get into a camp first, but people still come. By sea they risk storms and former Cambodian and South Vietnamese sailors turned pirates, as well as the Cambodian Navy. By land they risk the Army and the Thais.

A couple of years ago the resistance groups named 'scarves' and 'cobras' blew up a whole series of arms dumps in Cambodia - which Phnom Penh said was caused by American F-IIIs. This was the major action undertaken by anti-Khmer groups.

THE BORDER WAR

The border war escalated into a full scale war early in 1978. The Khmer Rouge has been involved in armed clashes with forces from the Hanoi Government since early 1975. When the Saigon Government fell, Khmer Rouge units moved into disputed areas to find themselves faced with anti-"communist" Vietnamese guerrillas and the combined forces of the V.C. and D.R.V. The most serious clashes were around the Parrot's Beak area and there has been suspicion that the Khmer Rouge were allowing the "third force" guerrillas to use the old V.C. bases to launch attacks into Vietnam.

When Vietnam launched it s invasion of Eastern Kampuchea in early 1978 the world's press on the whole treated the events as if they were some new phenomenon, which is patently untrue. The Vietnamese did not launch the their invasion because they were fed up with Khmer aggression. The entire border has long been disputed and as in Kampuchea there are many Vietnamese in the border areas, as there are many Khmer settlements in Vietnam. The Vietnamese authorities have long been in favour of an Indo-China Federation of some sort, a concept which is completely opposed to the Nationalism of the Khmer Rouge. With Teng Hsiao-P'ing back in charge in China a more "pragmatic" approach towards the outside world has been adopted and there are indications that Teng feels that the Khmers are giving him a bad name.

In the Spring 1978 issue of the Official People's Army magazine, Vietnamese Lieutenant - General Tram van Quang pointed to "localities in mountainous regions where armed reactionaries still exist" saying they were hampering the Kampuchean operation along the mainly flat border.

After initial early Vietnamese successes and an advance that took them to within 35 miles of Phnom Penh, the six Vietnamese divisions (60,000 men) were forced to withdraw to within a few miles of the border. Originally Khmer resistance seems to have been ferocious the soldiers being more afraid of the Vietnamese even than of Angka and the peasants did not dare revolt. If the Vietnamese had wanted they could have conquered Kampuchea in a few weeks - but that would be costly in manpower and could precipitate an attack from China.

CRUSHING THE HOA HOA

The Vietnamese have probably succeeding the Hoa Hoa and third force guerrillas through the sweep into Kampuchea - which was probably their short term objective. Furthermore, they have cleared enough Kampuchean land to begin training a Khmer anti-Angka Army. The vietnamese know their worst move would be to unite all Cambodians by invading and establishing a Puppet Government which in desperation is exactly what they have done. Along a 50 mile stretch of the border from Ha Tien to An Gjang and also around Tay Minh and Song Be. Originally it stretched from Parrot's Beak to the Gulf of Siam where the Khmer Rouge had committed their 30,000 strong Eatern Army to the fighting. The fate of this Army is unclear. At first the Vietnamese claimed it s destruction but subsequent event show the Eastern Army is still fighting.

Indeed in March 1978 the Khmer Rouge switched to guerrilla warfare and caught the Vietnames offguard with a land and sea attack on Ha Tien (held by the Vietnamese). However, they lost the smaller towns of Xa Xia and Ky Lo, which means the large town Dia Teng is now threatened.

EXPLUSION OF THE CHINESE

Where does the expulsion of the Chinese fit in to all this? The Vietnamese know if China cut off aid to Kampuchea, Pol Pot's Government would collapse. The Chinese do not seem to have considered reducing aid to the Khmers, so the Vietnamese expel Chinese in retaliation.

It is easy to see why the Chinese from former South Vietnam were thrown out. They had raised the greatest objections to Nationalisation and it was Saigon Chinese businessmen who had been responsible for arming anti-"communist" guerrillas.

The Chinese Government had cut off all aid to Vietnam and increased it ot Kampuchea. The Vietnamese for their part appear determined to force China to the brink of war. Probably they want to force Hua and Teng to give up Kampuchea and convince them that Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge are just not worth the trouble. Yet Pol Pot is the only National Leader anywhere in the world who shares China's ideological position. Albeit only tenuously.

What solutions are there? Last Spring Prince Sihanouk's mother went to Peking and his reinstatement was mooted. But now it appears the Chinese told her that her son had better forget any notions about returning to Kampuchea, thcugh he would probably by now be acceptable to most Cambodians. The Vietnamese dc not think it likely that Sihanouk will ever come back and have armed the Kampucheans who hope that once regular successful guerrilla operations get started, the peasants will overthrow Angka and establish a Government which, at least, will not be as overtly hostile to them as the present one.

Until the defeat of Pol Pot the Thais were no longer making it difficult for anti-Khmer Rouge units to operate. This seems part of a tough new line on Kampuchea taken by the Asian States who want to woo Vietnam with it's shattered economy and large population. For the Vietnamese probably want to keep the Soviets at arms length and one way to do that is by closer co-operation with local agents of U.S. imperialism.

Meanwhile in Kampuchea a new wave of killings has begun. Cadres from South-Eastern Kampuchea have mcved up to the areas nearer the Northern Thai border. This latest batch of refugees reported that they are now killing " the cousin of a cousin of someone who had a cousin in the Republican Army." If this is true, the Khmer Rouge has gone completely kill-crazy and will go on killing until stopped or the supply of lives runs out. The same mentality as the German S.S. when the tide of war turned.

Education in "Democratic Kampuchea" has been abolished. Leninism is taken to it's logical conclusion.

INVASION

The latest act of this gruesome scenario, the full scale invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, had a British connection. On 23 December a Lecturer at the London School of Economics, and Pol Pot apologist, named Malcolm Caldwell was shot dead in Phnom Penh. He was probably shot by commandoes of the 'Cambodian United Front for National Salvation', the Vietnamese backed rebel organisation. He had just interviewed Pol Pot who on December 25 was faced with a full-scale Vietnamese invasion.

Fifteen Divisions of Vietnamese troops invaded together with a squadron of gunboats. Air cover was provided by Mig fighters and captured U.S. built F5 "Friendship" fighters. The Vietnamese and their Khmer Allies attacked across the entire length of the Lao and Vietnamese borders. For the first few days progress was slow and the quick breakthrough and anti-Pol Pot rising did not materialise. However, an 100,000 strong Army which on the one hand has to watch a hostile native population cannot fight an enemy the size of the Vietnamese Army.

The rulers of Angka decided to abandon the towns and cities and let the Khmer Rouge Armed Forces retreat to the Western area of the country. It has been said that the Khmer Rouge have a civilian juggernaut of over 70, 70,000 people under their control who must go where they are told and provide the population resources for the Khmer Rouge Army.

ESCALATION

On January 7 Phnom Penh fell to a two-pronged offensive from the North, East and South. Pol Pot fled to the West to conduct operations from the mountains, Leng Sary and Khieu Samphon fled to China, the Korean and Chinese advisers and foreign diplomats fled by road to Thailand, and Sihancuk was released from house arrest so he could go to New York and denounce Vietnamese aggression at the United Nations. He has since gone on to denounce Pol Pot as a'Hitlerian' and new boss Heng Samrun as 'Pol Potian' - nct that these identifications have done him personally any harm, as long as he stays away, and they are correct enough.

In the following months, Khmer Rouge resistance seems to have been designed to 'drown' the Vietnamese in the Cambodian countryside. For the first few months, it seems to have been fairly successful; in late April the Vietnamese launched what the Chinese press called 'mopping up operations' in the western part of Cambodia. Indeed, over the last

couple of months, the Chinese reports on the war have shifted from reportage of the war to mouthings of support for the Khmer people and sloganeering of the " ultimate victory " of the Khmer people etc. etc.

THE FUTURE

The future, politically, appears stale mate. The Heng Samrin Government has promised to re-populate the cities, re-open schools & Buddhist temples, as an immediate measure. For the near future they hope to restore the family unit, the money system, and an eight-hour working day. But they know that as long as they are dependent on Vietnamese support many Cambodians will prefer the Thai refugee camps, and that without Vietnamese support Angka would probably regain control. So the Vietnamese are there to stay unless it is possible to do a deal with Sihanouk, the one Khmer who could unite all Cambodians against Pol Pot.

In the last few months there has been another huge influx into Thailand not only of civilians but of Khmer Rouge troops who are fleeing the relentless Vietnamese advance. In some areas of the country the population has been reduced to existing on mushrooms and tree bark.

The Vietnamese and rebel forces struck before last year's harvest was complete. But more, Khmer Rouge units attack people working in the fields, while hundreds and thousands are wandering aroundthe country looking for friends and relatives. The Vietnamese have no spare food themselves and are still flushing out the remnants of the C.I.A.'s "secret army" in the agricultural areas of Laos. There is little seed grain for the June/July rice sowing.

The United Nations has not made up its mind to which Government to send any supplies. The Pol Pot representative still sits in the U.N. The Red Cross, though not as politically hidebound, is having trouble in importing supplies. This means that up to two million refugees are expected to try and cross into Thailand in the next few months. The Thais, unable to feed them, say they are preparing to use guns to repel the refugees. (This means shocting not clubbing).

17 April 1979 was the fourth anniversary of Democratic Kampuchea and on the day before Khieu Samphan issued a call for National Unity. If Cambodia is a blueprint for the future, there won't be any Nation left to unify in a few years. Genocide will take its toll.

CONCLUSIONS

Capitalism whatever form it takes is an international operation because all the variations - Multi-National, Fascist, State Capitalist - reveal the same thing, work in the same way and are more finely tuned each year.

Anarchism too is an international doctrine of common ownership, the abolition of the State and the abolition of money. What anarchism wants to get rid of, the Stae wishes to preserve. Therefore there is war between one and the other which can take many forms in many countries.

In the U.S. a Corporate State such as Mussolini's Italy is emerging. In most "Western" countries it is possible to fight the class war in industry and offices through strike action. In semi-Fascist States such as the Federal Republic of Germany that struggle is fought on the streets because of the way the Trade Unions are dominated by the stooges of Bonn. In "Eastern" Europe the struggle is fought by whatever means is at one's disposal. Strikes in the Roumanian coalfields, riots in East Berlin, bombings in Georgia (Soviet Union).

Do people struggle in Kampuchea for a different solution? Probably they do but in twos and threes and it's like talking to the door.

To help them we must regard any country which aids the Khmer Rouge as a legitimate target. The Governments of the world want to get rid of the Khmer Rouge now it is an embarrasment but what we should do is to help to eliminate Pol Pot and his ideas in a way the Imperialists would not choose. To say it is up to the Cambodians to help themselves is to act like Pontius Pilate. We have to make our presence felt by international action. Meantime, at this moment, in some forgotten corner of Asia, someone is being killed.

Michael Chruszczewski

The plague of history is the elimination of freedom for property; property is the occupation of free land by force and violence.

- P.J. PROUDHON

Continues from Page 8

From the foregoing it seems patently clear to us that we are in agreement on the fundamentals ; in fact it is this fundamental agreement that defines us as progressive revolutionaries. Our disagreement,if it be called such, stems from our methodological postulates, we propose different means to achieve the same ends. However, instead of the common factor that unites us, it is our methodological differences that seem for the long longest of whiles to have dominated the revolutionary perception, to the exclusion of all else. We African revolutionaries recognise the need for a diverse application of tactics within a unitary strategy, and understand that in the syllogism of revolution 'the ends' constitute the major premises and 'the means' the minor premises. In so far as the the latter is variable an flexible, while the former remains the centre of gravity, the constant factor, in view of this we call for a shift from insular politics to unitary politics.

In the African context where the true revolution is only just now emerging from the nebulous void, we regard our struggle as a conscious mission, we go so far as to say it is the next crucial stage in humanities evolution through revolution. In keeping with this view we regard our struggle as not only a continental one, but also an international one, and as such our revolutionary movement - the International African Movement - RAM - embraces and welcomes not only all people of African descent but also all bona fide, genuine and authentic revolutionaries irrespective of sex or race. Hence we wholeheartedly welcomed your views on Africa. Even if we harbour some reservations as to their total validity. To explore this point further we must state that we are not hostile to the 'State' per se. We regard the emergence of the State as an inevitable outcome of our historical, economic, political and social development, and just as an inevitable is the demise of the State once it has fulfilled its historical mission. We hold that from its emergence to its final demise it goes through an almost continuous process of change. A change forced upon it by the needs of the rising consciousness, awareness and demands of humanity. In this context anarchism has played an exemplary role in ensuring the continuation of this process of change. However it can not be denied that the State in it s various forms throughout history has been instrumental in facilitating the formation of much needed socio-economic-industrial infrastructure, so concomitant with it s destructive and nightmarish role, it has played also a positive historical role. The autocratic, bourgeois democratic, hierarchical proletarian states were all necessary stages in our development and enabled us to define clearly and in some cases eloquently, our ideals, aspirations and objectives. And most important, afforded us the opportunity to study the real, palpable objectification of our ideas. In any event we can safely say that the various types of State holding sway today are but transitory stages in the unstoppable quest by humankind for the quin tessence, nectar of a sane, liberated, fulfilling and multi-dimensional lifestyle and form. It must be noted though, that it is from the raw material of a world balkanised by numerous State structures that the true, anarchist or communist or pantisocratic society will be formed.

In the context of Africa the impact of our recent Colonial past and our painful brush with slavery has left us bereft of even the basic infrastructure to satisfy the equally basic needs of we the people. Thus we find ourselves entering the politic -al and historical stage as a poor, hungry, balkanised, confused, disorientated continent and people; prey to the rabid Imperial powers and their respective multinational combines. The facts of our reality have made it imperit .ive that we revolutionaries develop our extensive, nay even a definitive manifestation of unity and coherency, both quantitative and qualitative in all aspects of our existence. This task has logically led us to the realisation that in the social, economic, cultural, historical, geo-political and philisophical milieu of Africa, the creation of a 'continental state' is a must, as a means of creating the necessary infrastructure for development. The salient and most profound difference that distinguishes our 'State' is that it will be 'non-hierarchical', it will be centrifugal with a powerful, strong core, centre of gravity, like the stem, and our solar system. This singular innovation, this dynamic conceptual alternative represents the qualitative shift and connecting link between Statal and post Statal civilisations This in our view will be and is Africa's contribution to humanity's socio-political evolution!

Finally, please send me copies of Black Flag, any after May 78 and any CP Review. It will be a little while before I can send some cash but will do!

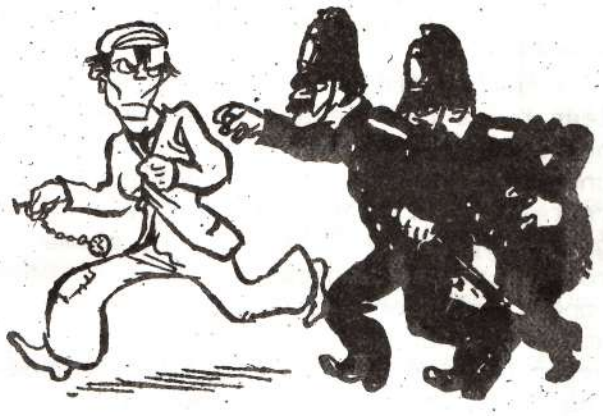
Salud Love and Rage *Wadi*

Readers of Black Flag may be interested to know that the reason Wadi is in prison is for being involved with cannabis. He also has lost remission inside due to being found guilty of assaulting a screw at Wandsworth prison. A full account of this episode can be found in 'Grassroots' April/May 79. Also in that issue of 'Grassroots' and in the June/July issue is the text of the manifesto of the Prisoner's Liberation Front. It became clear at the trial of Wadi on the assault charge that he was involved with the production of this manifesto when it was quoted in Court. (GRASSROOTS 61 Golborne Road, London W10 costs 10p.)

I have visited Wadi twice in Wormwood Scrubs and once at Parkhurst. I also replied to his letter above. Anarchists clearly will be in disagreement with Wadi but I think there is room for a useful dialogue over an area of the world which has yet to feel the impact of Anarchist ideas in an open and organised form.* Briefly, of course, Anarchists need to continue to stress that the means to the end which Wadi rightly says we have in common with others, those means are the end in embryo and must thus be consistent with our ends. To us it is a contradiction to talk of a non-hierarchical State for the State is hierarchy. A classless society must be without rule from above. Only Anarchy enables the people to be rid of oppression, whatever land we talk of, what ever the colour of people's skin. We do not see history in the 'inevitable' terms that Wadi does - nordo we see the 'Welfare' side of the State in any way makes up for the 'warfare' side. Anarchist self-management during the Spanish revolution demonstrated that the infra-structure Wadi wishes to see in Africa is not necessary - on the contrary such an infra-structure only serves the interests of the external and internal rulers.

Jerry Westall

* Typists note: The 1922 Industrial Workers of the World STRIKE of 11,000 miners, in the Rand Goldfield, South Africa was an 'open and organised' struggle involving Wobblys cut across Trade and Race division



STATE OF PLAY AT Oct 1st, 1979

Printing(paid to date)	*£141.00*	
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Stationery	*19.00*	
		£280.50
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		118.03
New Loss incurred.....		*162.47*
Add Old deficit		*1396.41*
New Electric typewriter for production of Flag		*750.00*
New Deficit		*£2308.88*

...which makes you wish some of these stories about armed robberies were true! Alas, they all prove very materialistic rather than idealistic.. However if we could get paid for all copies sold, and have subs renewed, this would actually turn into a profit. We may have to get 'bureaucratic' and send out some reminders (but our records aren't all that good).

**Donations: London TE £5; JG £11; Cheltenham JA £1; HMP MS £4. Total £21. We also have a welcome cheque for $100 (see letter) not yet cashed into sterling.*

Dear Comrades of Black Flag,

At a picnic, Sunday September 16th at Santa Teresa Park, San Jose, Calif. a sum of money was collected and distributed among various Anarchist perodicals in England, Britain, Mexico and U.S.A. This picnic has been organized by the Italian Anarchist community in the Bay Area. This year a number of younger anarchists participated. We all spent a very pleasant day - playing, discussing etc. The enclosed $100 is forwarded to the continuing of your publication.

Saludes - Audrey Goodfriend

ROON 'N' ABOOT

An argu ment brews up over whether Vanessa Redgrave - known for her "pro-Palestinian" views, should play the role of Auschwitz survivor Fania Fenelon on film.

The media is determined to exploit it. As a matter of fact, Vanessa Redgrave's views on Palestinian nationalism are not all that far from Zionism, just the other side of the counter. But that apart, she is not "anti-semite". Listening to the radio comment, it was taken that "Zionist" and "Jewish" were identical, so if she's anti-Zionist she must be anti-Semitic.

It doesn't seem to occur to the media that plenty of people in this country are not Tory or not patriots; plenty of Russians are not Communists; Catalans are far from all being nationalists; jews, even in Israel, are not all Zionists, nor necessarily more inclined to observe their nominal faith than anyone else. The jews are still regarded as a magical people. That "the Jews" all still think identical comes out in all the comments. This in the 20th Century! It was thought dated two centuries ago.

Conor Cruise O'Brien opened his heart in the London "Observer", in which he has taken an Editorial position to maintain his positio n in world politics bolstering his dismal failure in the Dail. O'Brien is a liberal, of a rather pathetic sort, in the manner of Chrles Dickens's Mrs Jellyby. Opposing the death penalty in England, he wrote:

" I have been a member of a Cabinet, in a country which still retains the death penalty in certain cases - for the murder, for example of a policeman or Diplomat.....It so happened that during that period the death sentence was pronounced in only one case, though on two people, a married couple, the Murrays, convict of having murdered a policeman in the course of an armed robbery.

The Murrays were anarchists - of a rather pathetic sort, in the manner of Conrad's 'Secret Agent' - and so the case was 'political' and so became a'cause' in the appropriate circles. Two years afterwards. I was reminded in a foreign country, of my own shameful part in that affaire. I was speaking at a French Univer sity, and a demo er upted into the lecture room with placards and quite a large banner. The message of the demo could be expressed in the syllogism : 'Hangmen should not be heard, O'Brien is a Hangman. Therefore O'Brien should not be heard.' The weakness was in the minor premise. I managed, after a while to be heard sufficiently to get across one simple message : The Murrays had not been hanged.

Pas pendus?

Pas pendus!

Not hanged at all.....

The consternation of the students was clear; their disappointment, I fear, also. I explained that the Appeal Court had found that it had not been proved that the Murrays knew that their victim was a policeman: he had been in plain clothes. If they did not know he was a policeman it was not capital murder. The Murrays are in fact serving a long sentence for ordinary, non -capital murder. But the students were no longer interested in the Murray fiasco or me.

Hangmen should be stopped from speaking, but non-hangmen are not worth listening to. The rope is all. There is a lesson somewhere in that.

I did not find the in cident altogether funny.'

How slick, how naive, how shameful! Passing off as a cultured joke, with a little polished French on the side, the torture of Noel Murray the admitted torture of another defendant thereby unable to stand his trial, and the holding of a woman in the shadow of the death

cell for nearly two years. Passing aside with a cultured sneer the fact of the frame-up - the delay in remitting the death penalty until forced to do so by international pressure, the prejudice of the judge against Stateless socialism, the lack of a jury, even the lack of a case. What was the case against Noel and Marie Murray? That Marie "confessed" to prevent Noel being tortured after she had heard their colleague being tortured in an adjacent cell. This is not "altogether funny" for the "liberal Amnesty-conscious O'Brien since it happened in Dublin, not Lublin.

These be your gods, O Israel!

This, O Ireland is not some Bog bigot, but your "greatest liberal"!

MORE PRIMITIVE RITES

British Movement versus the S.W.P. was the climax of the Person's Unknown Benefit held on the 8th September at Conway Hall. The B.M. skins were spending the evening in intimidating anyone they could, when in came an uninvited gang, identifiable only by their S.W.P. and R.AR. badges, who proceeded to 'put them in their place'. A few non-partisans, including a Persons Unknown defendent and some non-fascist skins, got caught up in it all. Cr@ss, who were just about to play, found their equipment 'nipped in the bud' by the fracas and had to abandon any attempt at pacifying the masses as the P.A. was hastily dismantled by it's anxious operator.

Some members of the Press came to the Benefit and later wrote 'shock horror' stories - equalled only by the Press's initial reactions to the 'Persons Unknown' case last year. The Guardian write-up was not only exaggerated but inaccurate, giving the impression that Anarchists are obviously incapable of running anything successfully, even to the extreme of :

" It was a gently anarchic occasion - few of the audience paid the £1.50 entrance fee, and in principle, nobody forced them to."

The Leveller reporter put in his bit : *" the organisers had abandoned all thought of taking money "* - yet the organisers made over £500. He suggested that despite being Anarchists P.U. should *"liase with the police on future occasions"*, even the irritating and authoritarian practices of searching people and barring *"obvious trouble makers"* were recommended.

The significant thing about all this was not the violence that occured (which, unless you are a pacifist, was not necessarily a bad thing) but the hysterical post-mortems : how dare Anarchists allow trouble to occur at one of their events - it's so primitive!

'Persons Unknown' a pamphlet priced 40p is now available from Rising Free Bookshop.

By unanimous acclaim the Donald Duck/JOseph Goebbels Prize together with the title of Miss Information of 1979 goes to Kenneth Mackenzie, the Guardian's man in Ankara, for this gem :

" In the past year left-wing anarchist groups have increasingly gone on the offensive. An organisation which calls itself the Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Association has claimed responsibility for the murder of a Leading NAP Official in Instanbul last Friday."

VIVA ZAPATA! - HE STILL MAKES THE AUTHORITIES CRINGE!

It's true the Americans used to say a lot of nasty things about Zapata but imagine.. Marlon Bando in a film called "Heil Hitler!" showing the Fuhrer sympathetically, to popular acclaim. Would there not be outcries, protests, attacks on cinemas and refusals to exhibit, would not the director, producer, cast be ostracised and denounced? (and rightly so). But not if the National Front were in power perhaps.

Well, what of it? The National Front *aren't* in power. There is no likelihood of them being in power.

Not in civilian life, that is. But in prison?

At Leeds Prison, a notorious stronghold, you can take your pick of biographies of Hitler, or Goering, freely available in the prison library. But Zapata is banned. You can get Spearhead and not Black Flag, but this surely is ridiculous!

A comrade sitting in his cell actually received the latest biography of Zapata from Cienfuegos Press. He was sitting down to read the first chapter when in burst the warders... A terrible mistake had been made. He'd been allowed to get the copy sent him, when it was realised who Zapata was. Not that nice cosy fellow with the small moustache whose life is available in the prison library. The sombrero had fooled them - they thought it was a cowboy tale... Back went the book pronto... one minute you see it, the next you don't.

Do the citizens of Leeds prefer Hitler to Zapata?

Maybe they still resent the way Zapata burned their haciendas? Perhaps they have admiration for the way Hitler cleared their worst slums?

Or do they just allow a few fascists to get into power by the back-door out of sheer apathy perhaps claiming (as the citizens of Weimar did about Buchenwald) that they never knew what was going on?

Richmond Anarchist Group - anyone interested please phone 948-2913.

AN. ARCHOS

FEMINISM?

IT is a good idea of Black Flag's to instigate a dialogue about feminism. It is about time that the authoritarianism of feminists was exposed and the difference between the feminist, the anarcha-feminist & the anarchist woman who believes in concentrating propaganda-wise on the feminist issue were also discussed.

Nobody would dispute the necessity for the liberation of women. At the same time no body could dispute that the liberation of *all people* is the most important issue. To say as feminists do that women are doubl y exploited is incorrect. The idea that some one can be *more* exploited than the wageslave (male, female, black or white) is assuming that the white male worker has a good deal. There are plenty of blacks exploiting blacks and whites and black capitalists as well. And Golda Meir reched what one would assume to be the pinnacle of the feminist's aspiration. The black worker has a bad deal as he/she is so easy to pick out. But to advocate a better deal for blacks, separate and not to do so for all is playing into the hands of the capitalists as is race-hate and discrimination. The only way to combat exploitation is to hit at the base of it ie: *the State* (comprising the Government; the capitalists; the property owners) and the agents of the State (the Police and the Army) One can aim at reforms of the system with such things as new Laws against racism and discrimination and in the case of women, the Sex Discrimination Act. The problem with reformism, apart from the vital fact that it doesn't do away with the system, is that the State (as already defined) will only allow such reforms in an economically stable climate (as in the 1960's) but as soon as the 'recession' is here the reforms are snatched back either because of the State not being able to spend the money on Service due to cuts or, and this is the main reason, because it is in the State's interest that racism and other differences between the people and the people as workers are rife at this time. While the whites are blaming the blacks they don't notice who is actually cutting their standard of living and freedom This is also inevitable with women. As soon as the economy is unstable and unemployment rises the first to go are the 'surpluses'; in employment this means the migrants and the women, the latter finding themselves back 'in the kitchen'. (the exception to this could be the highly qualified, professional woman).

The feminist movement was, and still is, composed largely of middle-class liberal women. The working-class woman has been barely touched by the feminist movement and this is precisely where such a movement would play a vital role. The middle-class woman does'nt experience the subj gation that the working-class woman does; such as the lifelessness of the high-rise flat, having a couple of kids and still having to work all day and so on. If the feminist movement could penetrate the area of the 'Council flat' and these women could stand up against oppression by men then the whole movement would be worthwhile.

The point is, how does the working-class woman find the time to attend the so-called 'consciousness raising' sessions which is the method the feminist movement uses for women to understand their oppression and talk through it? It's surprising that the middle-class woman needs the feminist movement when you consider that they have a certain amount of 'priv lege' already. The middle-class woman is not brought up in grotty conditions with violence an everyday occurence in her childhood. She also does not see marriage as the only way out of a tedious situation e.g.: living at home or the factory job. Most middle-class women are sufficiently trained to take a job either that they choose or that they don't particularly mind doing. Therefore marriage or setting up house with a man is not essential to them. In addition with a certain amount of job training they don't need to remain trapped economically if things go wrong. For the working-class women if things go wrong in the marriage/partnership they see no way out at all. These are the people who could benefit from, not just the psychological strength in becoming 'liberated' but also practical advice about how either not to get into the trap or how once in it, to get out of it. I think the feminist movement has failed in this area.

The idea of groups of middle-class women getting together for their 'consciousness raising' sessions seems to me a real liberal wank. Although there is no disputing that the nuclear family is the 'root of all evil' the apartheid practiced by feminists is not going to solve this problem. If women can't get together in groups with men, either social or political groups, and come to terms with not only their sex but also with the question of equality then I see no hope for them as individuals.

The fundamental issue in regard to feminism, and this was amply illustrated by the reaction to the Margaret Thatcher Black Flag cover, is that feminists would like to

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have us believe that they are all for equality, liberty and justice when this is not the case. There is no reson to even presume that feminists are left-wing not to mention libertarian. In fact they do seem to be very narrow minded and in favour of any censorship which would aid their own cause without tring to see for example the Black Flag cover in the correct perspective. A lot of the actions of the feminists brings to mind that other campaigner, Mary Whitehouse. How many of the feminists who attacked the Flag had actually looked inside it or ever glanced at it before?

The kind of organisation people join is generally a reflection of their political consciousness. An anarchist could take the elitist view that as feminists don't pretend to have any idea of real politics, their only interest being in 'liberating' women, that therefore you can't expect any better from them when they commit an action such as affixing *this insults women* stickers on the May Flag cover. On the other hand, that weird breed of woman called the 'anarcha-feminist' should cause us all in the Anarchist movement great concern.

It is a contradiction to call yourself an anarcha-feminist. If women haven't 'liberated' themselves as individuals from male oppression then they certainly haven't the consciousness to advocate the liberation of *all people*. Either you are an Anarchist and believe in freedom for all or you are not. It is as simple as that. To read the article in the Summer Issue No. 10 of the Open Road on anarcha-feminism makes me think that these women are living in some kind of horror-movie world where 'isolation' , 'exploitation' and 'domination' rule their lives. This seems to be laying it on a bit thick: the aware middle-class woman who allows herself to be put down by men should not call herself an Anarchist. There is a considerable element of choice these days. The article itself points out the non-attendance at their groups of 'third world and working-class' women : 'This may be explained by the fact that these women were more concerned with survival issues, since they were exploited as workers and as minorities'.

The most practical way to build the Anarchist society is to agitate for anarcho-syndicalism (whether through propaganda or through direct action). The fact that women can spend time at these 'consciousness raising' groups isolated from men while there is work to be done brings seriously into question the anarchism in their feminism. Furthermore, the description of the activities of these anarcha-feminists in Open Road reeks more of the individualist, mystical type of Anarchism advocated by some groups (could the Maharishi Yogi be a secret Anarchist?) which is elitist and doesn't relate to the everyday world of the worker. To say that 'women often practice Anarchism and don't know it' is the ultimate in confused thought. People don't seem to realise that until the Anarchist society exists they are *not* practising Anarchism. How can one practice Anarchism in an Authoritarian society?

To get away from Open Road, in Zero (now defunct) an English anarcho-feminist paper the writers acutally advocated life imprisonment for rapists! That about sums up the anarchism in anarcha-feminism.

R. Miles (female).

The following song was heard on a radio show, which we taped:
TITLE: *MAINTENANCE ENGINEER*

One Friday night it happened some years after we were wed
When my old man came in from work and as usual I said
"Your tea is on the table - clean clothes are on the rack
Your bath will soon be ready - I'll come up and scrub your back"
He kissed me very tenderly and said I'll tell you love
The service I give my machine ain't half as good as that.

chorus:
I said *"I'm not your little woman - your sweetheart of your dear*
I'm a wage-slave without wages - I'm a maintenance engineer"

Well then we got to talking. I told him how I felt
How I keep him running just as smooth as some conveyor belt
Well after all if I'm the one provides the power supply
He goes just like big clappers on me steak and kidney pie
His systems are all shining as I keep him nice and clean
And he tells me his machine tool is the best I've ever seen.

but, *Chorus:*

The terms of my employment would make your hair turn grey
I have to be on call you see for 24 hours a day
I quite enjoy the perks though when we're waking through the night
Cos we got job satisfaction well he will and then I might
If I keep up full production I should have a kid or two
So some future boss will have a brand new labour force to screw.

So, *Chorus:*

The truth bgan to dawn then how I keep him fit and trim
So the boss can make a nice fat profit out of me and him
And as a solid union man he got in quite a rage
To think that we're both working hard and getting one man's wage
I said and what about the parts and packing job I do
That's three men that I work for love. my boss. your boss and you.

So, *Chorus:*

He looked a little sheepish and said he as from today
The lads and me will see what we can do on equal pay
Would you like a housewives union. do you think you should be paid
As a cook and as a cleaner as a nurse and as a maid.
I said don't jump the gunlove if you did your share at home
Perhaps I'd have some time to fight some battles of my own.

So *Chorus:*

I've often heard you tell me how you'll bring the bosses down
You'll never do it brother while your bossing me around
Till women join the struggle married single white or black
Your're fighting with a blindfold and one arm behind your back
The message I've got over for he realised at least
That power to the sisters must mean power to the class.

And Chorus:

Our thanks to the women who sang it so well...

A woman without a man is like a country without a government. Ⓐ♀

A Questionable Position Towards The Red Brigades

Under the heading of "Posizione chiere Anarcho di fronte terrorisma" Luciano Farinell, Editor of Internazionale, wrote a front page Editorial in the issue of April 10 1979, in which he derides the Red Brigades' acts as "psuedo-revolutionary", and contends in the event of a Marxian triumph, "it will bring new reaction, new dictatorship and new tyranny."

As to whether terming the Red Brigades acts as "pseudo-revolutionary" is justified is, in this writer's opinion, most question able.....The Red Brigades movement is an out growth from within the Communist Party of Italy, composed of University students who openly protested against the Party's leader ship, and condemned them as traitors.

David Wiley writing in the Daily Christian Monitor of April 19, 1978 makes some pertinent comments on the issue in question:

" The communique from the Red Brigades terrorists, announcing the 'execution' of former Prime Minister Aldo Moro threw the Italian Government into temporary disarray.... The political significance is clear: This has been a symbolic attempt by the Red Brigades on the whole Christian Democratic political structure of the past 30 years....It has been particularly embarrassing for the Communists to be under attack by the Brigatte Rossa who signed their Communique in the name of the Communist movement, for having 'betrayed the interests of the Italian proletariat'."

An even much deeper interpretation has been penned by James Reston in the New York Times of April 18, 1978 stating :

" The tragedy of former Premier Aldo Moro of Italy is a startling reminder of the fragility of all civilised nations....in the last quarter quarter of the century, the tyranny of desperate minorities may also be a threat to world Order....Every U.S. Ambassador abroad when he ventures out to lunch....has to be concerned about his safety...Perhaps more important, we are probably not at the beginning of this tyranny of militant minorities. The more people crowd into the cities of the world, the more vulnerable cities will become to the sabotage of desperate political organisations like the Red Brigades."

Reston, the leading mouthpiece of the present system, is not enough to state why there are "militants" and "desperate minorities". Economic exploitation plus unemployment is widespread, affecting not only the ordinary workers, but also the skilled ones, as well as the intellectuals. And it is this state of affairs that the Marian students have given expression to. They expected the Communist Party Leadership to be in the forefront in exposing the capitalist system. Instead, they found them joining with the Christian Democratic Govt. & physically attacking their protesting voices.

This courageous action of the Red Brigades offered a unique opportunity for revolutionary Anarchists to morally support the Brigade Acts, and at the same time point out to them that the betrayal by the Communist Leadership was a direct result of their following the Marxian motto of "the end justifies the means" which lead them to co-operating with the C.D Govt., and also make peace with the leading religous hypocrite, the Pope. Further proof for the Red Brigades adherents to ponder on is most strikingly illustrated in Spain as this excerpt from the Associated Press of April 20, 1978 shows :

" Communist Leader Santiago Carrillo launching the Party's first National Convention....said Wednesday that European Communists must abandon the idea of Revolution and 'class war' in favor of co-operation with Democratic Governments..."

When confronted with the widespread persecution that the Christian Democratic/ Communist/Socialist Government is carrying on against the Red Brigades Anarchists ought to keep in mind the unequivocal words of Marie Louise Berneri :

" When a Government puts people in jail for their political opinions, we do not ask the Nationality of that Government. We are always on the side of the victims of State tyranny."

Farinell's fear of the reaction, dictator ship and tyranny that a questionable Marxian triumph will bring on - is correct. And it is here too that the Anarchist can point out to the Red Brigades and their adherents what is taking place in the Marxian-ruled countries where peasants and workers Revolts are brutally crushed, dissident intellectuals jailed or declared mentally deranged. And their own experiences in being condemned by Marxian - Communist Governmental rulers, furnishes ample proof to realise that the kind of a true free society that they are working for, can only be achieved when every form of Authoritarian rulership and economic exploitation are discarded forever.

Anarchists need also to remember that many who have turned to the ideas and movement of Anarchism, have first begun to realise the social problems via the Marxian school of thought. Ulrike Meinhof, the murdered Revolutionist wrote in one of her letters from prison : *" Authoritarian Leadership structures have no material base in the*

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CONT. A QUESTIONABLE POSITION TO THE RED BRIGADES....

guerrilla, also because the real, that is voluntary, development of the productive force of each individual is conditioned for the effectiveness of the revolutionary guerrilla. "

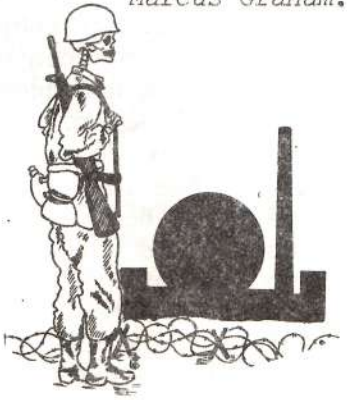
An even more direct example of Marxists turning to Anarchism is that of four Symbionese Liberation Army adherents : William and Emily Harris, Joe Remiro and Russ Little.

One may also recall the time when Errico Malatesta was arrousing hundreds of thousands of people to resist the then menacing Mussolini Fascist hordes; that the Marxist Lenin issued the edict to the Communists in Italy that it was premature to support a revolutionary uprising, thereby making it pssible for Mussolini to usher in his Fascist reign. It would therefore be of an equal moral tragedy for Anarchists not to give their utmost support to the Red Brigades that are courageously undermining the present corrupt system in Italy that the C.D. Comm. Government is doing its utmost to perpetuate.

The manner in which Aldo Moro and Hans Martin Schleyer found themselves at the end of their life-long anti-social rulership - they only have themselves to blame. They did their utmost to perpetuate the monstrous institution of the State - rendering inequality for the masses and riches for the few. They were a part of the State's machinery which inhumanly jails, tortures and kills dissidents through the Police, Army, Courts and Jails. When it's Authority is challenged, the State has no scruples to make the life of it's own Leaders expendable - as in the instance of Moro and Schleyer. It may be pointed out here likewise, that the Marxist Stalin had no hesitation in ordering the execution of some co-rulers such as Bukharin, Radek and others who began to disagree with his policies.

When sincere revolutionists as the Red Brigades (and also the Red Army Fraction in Germany) begin to realise that in the institution of the State - humanity faces its worst enemy - no matter what political Party assumes the reins - that the need for its total abolition becomes self-evident, and a truly free society for every human being can begin to be built.

Marcus Graham.



CONT. ROON N ABOOT....

The Treasurer of the Socialist International - a close friend of Sir Harold Wilson and Lady Falkender - was Eric Miller, ennobled in the notorious Resignation List. He was one of the architects of Eurosocialism, as well as being a major financier. He shot himself while under investigation for his fraud and corruption. Sir Harold is still alive, we are told. He appears chattily on television shows as the condescending Elder Statesman who made it somewhat despises the punters of the party that made him. Eric Miller's other great friend, Judah Binstock, has fled the country.

Sir Eric tried to get Poulson off the hook, he supplied the Labour Party election team with a helicopter and he ran lavish holiday trips for his political friends.

Was this not a conspiracy? Was this conspiracy not at least in part inspired by their political beliefs - not only the Conservative Party policy, to which they privately subscribed, of making a fast buck quick, but also the Labour Party policy of making the best of Capitalism and using the idea of social reform to whittle down socialism and create a government of the 'philanthropic' middle class?

These people enter and use politics as a means of enhancing their money, dignity, position and status. They bitterly denounce anarchism as subversive and all that. And like all authoritarians, they will denounce anarchism of the faults they are guilty of themselves.

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Leo Goodstadt, author of "Mao's Search for Plenty", said (vide Guardian):
...Those in their teens today (in China) have had their education interrupted by the closure of schools during the political storms, the seizure of school premises and the transfer to other occupations of professional teachers. These youngsters have not been through the traditional Chinese process to condition them in deference to authority. They have learnt at first hand the politics of anarchy.

Peking is now highly nervous about the impact of these groups because of urban unemployment...
Not unlike the home life of our own dear countries, to twist a phrase.

Cont. Roon & Aboot

P.C. Desmond Kellam, was murdered in Trowbridge, Wilts, following which Mr James Jardine, chairman of the Police Federation, made a renewed call for the death penalty. He said he hoped those who were "angry at the outcome of the Blair Peach case" would extend the same sort of sympathy to Mr Kellam. What, by calling for the death penalty for Mr Blair Peach's murderer?

Mr Blair Peach was murdered during the police assault upon the Asian community in Southall on the pretext of a National Front demonstration being thwarted. Though he had been struck on the head by a policeman, the police decided to bring no changes - not even charging Mr Blair Peach's estate for the damage to the truncheon.

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If the Labour Party does not recover its function of exercising the political power and influence of organised labour, the alternatives are Fascism or Anarchy, said Mr Enoch Powell at the Institute of Directors.

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£2.50p plus 20p p&p. Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2BL.

Anarcho Quiz Answers from Page 2

1. Because of the do-gooder belief that "nobody would then extend credit to the industrious poor!" They cited the case of seamstresses not paid their wages until Saturday night who had to get their food on Thursdays. (In the event they got paid last thing Friday and Saturday was carried forward.)

2. Dr Guillotin invented his device because of the brutality and clumsiness entailed in using the axe.

3. Father Las Casas so deplored the crimes of the Spanish Conquistadors against the native Indians, dying off in their thousands, that he proposed negro slavery as an alternative; Sir Francis Hawkins initiated the slave trade one of whose "virtues" was thought to be the introduction of Christianity to the Africans(!) as well as the creation of a giant fortune-making industry.

4. Seeing the citizens of London marching in semi-trained bands, virtually without arms, in support of the Barons against Henry III., the Prince recognised the real enemy and chased them for miles, to massacre them with out pity - but in doing so he had detached an important wing from the Royalist army and caused it to be defeated by Simon de Montfort.

5. Last month the last major bombsite in Newgate Street, not exactly cleared, but converted into a building site on which the new Post Office will be built - not quite forty years since the Blitz.

6. It's not just that they were against the Establishment and usually persecuted by the State, but they were originally "commonwealth bands", run along co-operative principles, everyone sharing in decision, and profit making; even the music was spontaneous.

Roon n Aboot Cont. from P.23

There was a "growing habit of exercising industrial power to decide political questions outside the framework of the party and also of Parliament and the law." If Parliament had been made ineffective by the workers exercising independent industrial power, either there had to be a fascist dictatorship to suppress them, or there would be Anarchy.

Unlike most politicians, Mr Powell did not on this occasion appear to mistake what Anarchy meant.

PRISONERS-MUTUAL AID FUND

Donations: S.S. Guam) £24.66; SB (Cosham) £20; HDT (Hayward) £3; C.C. (London) £5.
Brought Forward £49.37, total £102.03.
Disbursed:
Spain £25; UK £8 = £33. Total £69.03
The fund isn't going too well (apart from two "old faithfuls".) We could only send small amounts to prisoners, and we think many direct contributions have now dried up (understandably as there are now fewer long-term prisoners in Spain, but there are many in Greece and elsewhere). Also, many comrades will be contributing to the Persons Unknown support. We have been working on the basis of having something in hand in case of emergencies, but what we will now do is to use the money we have on hand to bring in a film on the Spanish libertarian resistance (post 1939). We need altogether about £200 for this (including English dialogue or dubbing). The profit on showing the film, which should be fairly high over the years when you recollect how the two films we had from the CNT on the Spanish War were literally worked to ribbons in showings over forty years, will go to prisoners and mutual aid with Spain, as it arises.

On Saturday October 7th a party was held at Centro Iberico to celebrate Joe Hill's 100th Anniversary. Two bands supplied the music and scrumptious food was provided. A good time was had by all.

Cont. International News

Two Anarchists, Philippos and Sophia Kyritses were condemned by a Greek court to nine and sex years respectively for having made a "Molotov cocktail", it was said, back in 1978.

The hastily-passed law - *after* the incident is said to have occurred - is part of a massive and hysterical anti-anarchist witch-hunt in Greece, as a result of which twenty comrades have been sentenced.

A huge meeting in Athens, held in the Stadium at Athens, protested against the sentences, and for the release of the Kyritses. 6,000 people crammed the hall, and a further 6,000 were milling around outside trying to gain admission. Singer-composer Dyonyses Savopoulos introduced songs such as "The social revolution can't be murdered or imprisoned" and "Though the State lives on blood, living people will still struggle for justice."

After the meeting there were many clashes with the police. A hundred arrests were made, and swift trials followed. The following sentences were passed on comrades: Giorghod Ghiokaras (22) two to five years imprisonment; Alekos Maneles (19), Demetres Verghiankis (19) the same, and Panaghiotes Drivas (18), three to five years.

View of the cells inside Brixton Jail