

BLACKeye

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A FREE ANARCHIST PAPER

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

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BLACK EYE

STATEment of Aims

Preamble

What is Anarchism?

Anarchy means literally without Government, without authority, or without rule. It derives from the Greek words a - not and arkhe - rule. The word Anarchy is often used by the uninformed as well as by our political opponents to denote a condition of disorder and chaos. This is a gross distortion emanating from those individuals or groups who have a vested interest in the perpetuation of the status quo and a morbid fear of freedom and a life without coercion and domination. Anarchism is the social movement which espouses the philosophy of Anarchy.

AIMS

- a) The reorganisation of industrial production on the basis of workers' self management. The content and nature of social production to be determined by the workers themselves organised within workers' councils and collectives. These decisions since they affect the whole community to be made in concert with the other free social forms. Production for social need not profit maximisation. The abolition of all forms of managerial, technical, and bureaucratic control in industry.
- b) The reorganisation of agrarian production on the basis of rural collectives and communes.
- c) The establishment of communal warehouses wherein free access is guaranteed to all according to their needs, irrespective of whether they work or not. This is COMMUNIST ANARCHISM.
- d) Abolition of all forms of property whether state or private. The existence of property presupposes the continuation of economic exploitation.
- e) Abolition of wage labour i.e. the wages system.
- f) Abolition of the state. Black Eye opposes all States whether Capitalist, Marxist, Communist or Fascist. The workers' state or Dictatorship of the Proletariat is in reality no less exploitative or oppressive than preceding social forms. e.g. The Bolshevik Tyranny in Russia.

g) The replacement of the State by the free federation of free communes. The precise form of this federal structure to be determined by the people themselves in the post revolutionary situation.

h) Direct action and mutual aid. The essence of the Anarchist philosophy is the self activity of people. They will determine their own futures and control their lives within their own free social organisations.

i) Opposition to all political parties and politicians who seek to capture State power. Black Eye is 'political' in the broadest definition of the term. The only politics Black Eye advocates is the politics of freedom and self determination. Against the parliamentary system since elections only result in the transfer of power from one set of rulers to another.

j) Opposition to all forms of sexual oppression. Solidarise with all sexual liberation movements e.g. womens' liberation, Gay liberation, but consider that such movements form an integral part of and are inseparable from the struggle for a free and Anarchist society.

k) Opposition to the nuclear family. Support the creation of free communal forms on the basis of free social relations.

l) Against the system of 'Schooling' which masquerades as Education. For free educational structures where potentialities and talents can be realised to their fullest extent.

m) Totally oppose all manifestations of racism. View racism as an 'irrational' phenomenon which is inculcated and reinforced by the prevalence of reactionary ruling class ideas in peoples' value systems. e.g. patriotism, national superiority etc. Anarchism is an International revolutionary movement that repudiates all discrimination on the grounds of colour, creed, race etc.

n) Black Eye does not support National Liberation movements since they are founded upon nationalistic ideologies and seek to replace the international exploiters by a local ruling elite. The only genuine social liberation movement is one based on international Anarchist principles.

o) Opposition to militarism. Black Eye is not a pacifist group since it recognises the paramount necessity for all individuals and social groups who are attempting to translate the principles of anarchy into practice to defend themselves and their autonomy against 'State violence'.

p) Freedom of Speech is indivisible and represents a fundamental tenet of Anarchism.

q) Personal and social freedoms are to be defended at all times from infringements by authoritarian groups.

Conclusion

This Statement of Aims is a broad outline of Black Eyes' policies. We welcome comments, suggestions, criticisms, etc. If you agree with it, why not write to or for the paper?

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CLIFTON, SWINTON, MANCHESTER, M27 2WL.

BRITAIN - guilty of torture

The European Commission on Human Rights has concluded its investigation into complaints of ill-treatment and torture arising out of Internment and detention under the Prevention of Terrorism (Northern Ireland) Act and the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act. Hundreds of people were interned in N.Ireland in 1971 without charge or trial and were subsequently released. These complaints against the British Government had been brought by the Irish Government. This case against the British Government is currently being tried by the European Court on Human Rights.

deep interrogation

The Commission reported that the use in Northern Ireland of 5 deep interrogation techniques, consisting of hooding, noise, wall-standing, deprivation of sleep, and a bread and water diet, constituted a practice of inhuman treatment and torture. The Commission found that these 5 deep interrogation techniques used on 2 occasions, and involving a total of 14 people, contravened Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights. (Article 3, which was found to have been breached, provides that 'no one shall be subjected to inhuman treatment or punishment, or torture'.) The Commission also found that of 16 'illustrative cases' investigated, 7 were subjected to inhuman treatment at Holywood barracks in N.Ireland in 1971. (Written evidence was submitted including medical reports relating to 228 cases.) There was a practice there in connection with the interrogation of prisoners which constituted inhuman treatment in breach of Article 3.

According to evidence submitted to the Commission, the 'torture' techniques or procedures employed by the Security forces in Northern Ireland were never published or written down anywhere. These Interrogation procedures had been taught orally for use in emergency conditions in semi-colonial situations by British Army Intelligence. Officers and men of the English Intelligence Centre were present in the control rooms in N. Ireland.

2 internees, T6 and T13 in the official jargon of the report were interned on August 9th 1971, and taken to Magilligan camp. "The witnesses demonstrated how they were spreadeagled against the wall, the legs spread apart and feet back, and their fingers put high above the head against the wall, causing them to stand on their toes with the weight of the body on the fingers. (the stress position). T 13 had been against the wall for 23 hours and T6 for 29 hours. The witnesses were subjected to the techniques of 'sensory deprivation' or disorientation mentioned above. T6 claimed to have been physically assaulted also. This was substantiated by medical evidence and corroboration of other witnesses.

The Commission's report ends, "the five techniques of 'sensory deprivation' constitute a modern system of TORTURE falling into the same category as those systems which have been applied in previous times as a means of obtaining information and confessions".

Free Society !!!!

The disclosures contained in this report together with the earlier Compton report demonstrate the true nature of our so-called 'democratic' and 'free' society. Men and women were deprived of their liberty under 'draconian' laws and then subjected to the most brutal and inhuman techniques of psychological torture that can be devised by the Security forces and their technical advisors on counter-subversion. The brutal humiliation, degradation, and suffering inflicted on internees in N. Ireland explodes the myth of our 'civilised' society and British 'justice'. This report represents a damning indictment of the means 'democratic' governments employ to maintain their domination and control.

Anarchists over the years have consistently opposed the organs of State power since they fundamentally challenge human freedom and liberty. The nature of the authoritarian state is revealed by revelations such as those mentioned in this article and the democratic liberal veneer is stripped away. Statist power by its very essence is corrupting. The brutal oppression of man by man is an integral part of an authoritarian, statist system that is ruthlessly determined to preserve its power and privilege. The dissolution of statist power is the only future course for humanity; If this does not take place, the techniques employed by the Security forces in N. Ireland are surely destined to become part of the 'British way of life'.

For further information and background reading re internment without trial and interrogation techniques ('sensory deprivation') in N. Ireland; Vide 'The Guinea Pigs' by John McGuffin. A Penguin Special.

postscript.

1. On 13th February 1974, Pat Shivers was awarded £15,000 against the Northern Ireland Ministry of Home Affairs and the British Ministry of Defence (by the Belfast High Court) for 'false trespass, false imprisonment, assault and battery, torture and inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment'. Neither Ministry offered any defence and in doing so they made a complete admission of their guilt. Nor did they defend themselves when on 20th June 1974, Gerry McKerr was awarded damages of £10,000.

'heavy gang'

2. Allegations against a special squad of Dublin detectives known as "the heavy gang" have been published in the Irish Times. The methods used by the Garda against suspects (according to the Irish Times reports) include 3 of the techniques used in Northern Ireland against internees which the European Commission ruled were torture. Suspects described being made to stand spreadeagled against walls until they were exhausted, and being deprived of food and water and sleep. The Dublin detectives are said to have used physical force, beatings and psychological pressure, including threats and lies, on suspects, beginning 3 years ago, but their use has increased since the introduction of the Emergency Powers Act last October.

A DISEASED SERVICE

The Royal Commission on the National Health Service has received evidence from the British Medical Association as to how the service might best be made more efficient. This august body, no doubt angling for a further financial shot in the arm for its exclusive little club made the following proposals. Firstly all wage earners should contribute an extra £2 per week to a special fund for the Health Service. Secondly, in-patients should pay £2 per day for the duration of their stay in hospital; and finally prescription charges should be increased to a more "realistic" level.

FLAT RATE CONTRIBUTIONS.

These proposals are iniquitous on several counts. Wage earners already pay large National Insurance contributions every week and the rates are continually rising. This suggested new compulsory, flat-rate contribution takes no account of one's ability to pay, which is especially relevant in these days of inflation and Government imposed wage-restraint when for most people every penny is accounted for. A standard contribution is in any case contrary to the spirit of present N.I. contributions which are earnings related. Paying out £2 more a week means much more to someone on £30 a week than it does to someone earning £100.

TAX ON SICKNESS.

The second two proposals are nothing more than a tax on the sick; as if it's not bad enough being ill, you now have to pay ~~xxxxxx~~ extra for the privilege. Again this will fall most heavily on the old, the low-paid and claimants. The B.M.A.'s ideas are even more galling when you consider the vast sums of money that are wasted in the N.H.S. Rationalisation in this regard would provide the money the N.H.S. requires to give us the service that we pay for every week.

BUREAUCRACY

When the Regional and Area Health Authorities were established three years ago much expensive accommodation was found to house them (just like the new Civic Centres we had foisted upon us at the time of local government reorganisation) and of course they had to be staffed with a large administrative bureaucracy many of whom contribute nothing to the smooth running of the service. Money could be saved on their salaries as it could on the salaries of G.P.'s, hospital consultants and dentists few of whom merit the large ~~xxxxxx~~ financial rewards they get.

The resources of the N.H.S. are often wasted. For example doctors and nursing staff are trained in medical schools and colleges at the expense of the rest of us only to leave the N.H.S. and work in private hospitals, clinics and nursing homes, where the wealthy jump the queue and receive specialist treatment.

HUGE PROFITS

But perhaps the most deplorable waste of money is that expropriated by the drug companies in payment for their products. In a capitalist society rival companies produce similar drugs under different names and then have to spend more money promoting their own particular product. They do this by sending out vast amounts of publicity to G.P.s and hospitals and by holding promotional parties where the food and drink is virtually limitless. All this has to be paid for and guess who does pay; you're right—we do. The drug companies merely add the cost of all this to the price of the drugs; and a little more besides to make it worth their while! Over the years the profits of the multinational drug companies have increased many times over.

There's some of the ways the N.H.S. can raise the money it needs. Any more can be got from those who can afford to pay.

ANTI - SCHOOL

The curtain is about to be pulled down on the 'William Tyndale' drama after many months of delay whilst the Auld report was being prepared for publication. This lawyer was asked by I.L.E.A. to investigate the causes of the trouble at the school when scores of parents withdrew their children because the children allegedly were not learning spelling and reading. The teachers came out on strike in protest at the way school inspectors were called in, and have been suspended ever since.

The Auld report blamed Terry Ellis, the schools' headmaster for lack of character and loss of control. Another teacher, Brian Haddow was described as 'the main architect' of the troubles. The teachers (Ellis and 6 colleagues who supported him) are now facing disciplinary action at the hands of their Employer. There would seem every likelihood of these teachers losing their jobs.

Terry Ellis and his fellow 'Progressives'* have obviously been victimised for the overt manner in which they promoted progressive teaching methods at 'William Tyndale'. They encountered intransigent opposition from the formal, traditionalist 'Black Paper' school of teaching e and the educational bureaucracy, who refused to countenance any radical developments. These teachers have paid the price for their radicalism, just like Michael Duane at Risinghill.

Lessons

1. No teacher can openly innovate within a school situation and challenge the hierarchical, authoritarian system of indoctrination which passes itself off as education. Any attempt to do so is crushed by the forces of reaction that fear even moderate change or reform. The School milieu effectively precludes any real learning or education taking place.

2. The Progressives dont fundamentally question the institution of school and the concept of 'Schooling'. All attempts to democratise the school are reformist and self deceiving. It cannot be done except on the terms dictated by the educational hierarchy. The Progressive fail to recognise the need for institutional revolution.

3. It is impossible to innovate in teaching methods without first breaking down attitudes, values, and prejudices, which are held by the great majority of parents, teachers, politicians and administrators. These reflect a conservative and traditionalist conception of the nature of education.

Ivan Illich, in 'Deschooling Society', develops an authentic revolutionary critique of 'Schooling'. "The Political Revolutionary strengthens the demand for 'Schooling' by futilely promising that under his administration more learning will become available to all through more schooling. It remains the task of the Cultural Revolutionary to overcome the delusions on which the support of school is based and to outline policies for the radical deschooling of society." 'William Tyndale' illustrates the point nicely. Reform is not enough, institutional revolution is an urgent need.

* Style and method of teaching that is anti-authoritarian and centred on childs real needs, interests, and happiness.

e Teaching method based on discipline, authority and tradition. It is orientated to the pursuit of success, achievement and 'Standards'.

FROM MARXISM TO ANARCHISM.

Further to the anarchist critique of the Symbionese Liberation Army published in Black Eye 1, the U.S. journal "New Times" has recently published a lengthy interview with Bill & Emily Harris, Russ Little and Joseph Remiro, by Susan Lyne and Robert Scheer. Under the above heading appears, in part, the following:

RUSS: I think it is fair to say that the SLA generated more spontaneous support because of the Hearst kidnapping/food give-away propaganda of the deed than any revolutionary organisation in this country... When we think about what the SLA accomplished, we've got to remember that it was only 10 guerrillas, ten people who took the most powerful state in the world to task. What if it had been 100 or 1000? The fact that our six comrades are dead and four of us are captives is not due to the invincibility of the state, but to our own mistakes and impatience... The SLA proved the validity of urban guerrilla warfare as a military/political strategy for furthering the revolutionary struggle... Many of the principles of the SLA are shared by other groups, and in that sense the spirit of the SLA will always be carried on, no matter what the name of the group or organisation.

EMILY: A lot of people in the left feel that the underground is premature—that there are still legal options... But we have seen that the peoples options are continually being undermined. When their efforts become a threat they are wiped out, neutralised and are bought off... There's been state sanctioned violence against the people of the U.S. ever since this country was first colonised, and people have been forced to turn to their own form of violence to counter that through history.

BILL: We never had the sense that the SLA was the vanguard of revolutionary struggle in this country. Ain't no way that a handful of people are going to make a revolution by themselves. But we had a feeling that we were contributing to the process of revolt.

JOE: When Russ and I joined the SLA we were going through some political changes... The political documents of the SLA contained two contradictory tendencies between authoritarian and anti-authoritarian perspectives... we became fully disillusioned with the Marxist parties and their sectarian lines, but none of us had been exposed to anarcho-communist theories and practice. Joe and I began to re-examine our relationship to Marxist politics. For the last year we have been reading everything on anarchism that we could get past the prison censors... We now feel that all forms of revolutionary organisation should act as a catalyst within the popular movement and should be structured in a way that can be completely absorbed by the popular. We not only believe that people have the ability to create a new society, but also that they have the ability to lead themselves. The idea of a new dictatorship as a model for the new society doesn't come close to what we fight for. We want a revolutionary change, not a shift of power.

STOKE NEWINGTON

WELFARE COMMITTEE.

Following the good news of Anna Mendelson's release after serving over five years, we must not forget that 4 other comrades are still inside after conviction on trumped up charges of association with the so-called Angry Brigade. Money is still badly needed for books and visits. Send to Box 252, 240 Camden High St. London NW1.

PICKET PICKET PICKET

Jake Prescott, one of the Stoke Newington 4 is now in Strangeways Prison following his part in the Hull prison riot. He and other prisoners were beaten up both at Hull and after transfer.

Protest against ill-treatment and against the National Front prison officers:

Picket at 2-00p.m.
SATURDAY 20TH FEB.

outside STRANGWAYS.

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N-W ANARCHIST FEDERATION
Next meeting 2pm 13th
March at 15a Charlesway
Court, Lea, Preston.

REAL OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION.

The Western Press, not unnaturally, has over the past few years made much of the "dissident movement" in the USSR. It has quite rightly attacked the barbarism of State power in the East, with its labour camps and its use of psychiatry as an instrument of political repression. Things, however, are not as simple as the media would have us believe, in their simplistic world view of "Communism versus Democracy!"

SOCIALISM?

There are indeed many abuses in the USSR by the State power, but probably no more so than in many other countries where a centralised State operates without even the slightest check on its excesses. What is important about the particular case of the Soviet Union is that that country was the first to enlist centralised State power in the supposed name of socialism. What should be clear to most observers by now is that what has existed in the USSR since 1917 has been neither socialism, nor Communism nor even State capitalism, but rather some new form of bureaucratic tyranny which has simply succeeded in modernising and industrialising a previously backward country through the absolute exercise of State power on an unprecedented scale. (I am here using the term "State power" in the traditional anarchist sense to include the entire apparatus of domination comprising government, administrative bureaucracy, judiciary, police and armed forces, as well as industrial management and party officials.)

SOLZHENITSYN AND BUKOVSKY.

The present dissident movement in the Soviet Union has been represented to us in the newspapers principally through its two most outstanding recent exiles, namely Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Vladimir Bukovsky. These two people have been lionised on television and in the press, as though somehow they represented the main currents of opposition to the Soviet State power. We only need to look a little more closely at these two gentlemen to understand that this is nowhere near the truth. Solzhenitsyn, who was hailed as the great literary critic of Stalinism, seems to have reappeared in the West as more of a religious mystic content to promote the stale myths of God and nationalism ("mother Russia"), as the true saviours of the people. Bukovsky, moreover, seems to have shown his true colors most recently with his attendance at the conference of the right-wing National Association for Freedom (NAFF), and his apparent involvement there with some of the most prominent right-wing and establishment figures in this country. One cannot imagine that either of these two rather ridiculous figures can lay any claim to representing true opposition to the State in the Soviet Union today.

MAKHNO AND KRONSTADT

Historically the strongest opposition to the Communist Party (previously known as the Bolsheviks) came from the libertarian impulse of the peasants, workers and soldiers and sailors who began the revolution long before Lenin or his bureaucrats returned to Russia from exile. After the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917 this opposition was highlighted most clearly by two libertarian movements - the Revolutionary Insurrection in the Ukraine between 1918 - 1921 and the rebellion of the Kronstadt garrison in the early months of 1921.

The Makhnovist movement (as it was known) in the Ukraine was made up of a mainly peasant guerilla army which fought against the oppression of the new Tsars in the Bolshevik government and Red Army as much as against the attempts of the old Tsars and the White Army to re-establish themselves, with the help of foreign imperialist powers. For three years the partisans fought against successive waves of conquerors in the Ukraine in an attempt to support the Social Revolution

against those who would have destroyed it. They were only finally defeated by the Bolsheviks when the full might of the Red Army was turned against them in an attempt to quell the last vestiges of armed opposition to the Leninist State.

Also in 1921 the garrison town of Kronstadt, near Petrograd, rose up against the Bolshevik abuse of power and the centralisation of the State which Lenin had already initiated. Their demands were for worker and peasant control over and against the bureaucratic stranglehold of the Communist Party. Trotsky had them slaughtered.

LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISM

So opposition in the Soviet Union is not new. Neither did it begin merely as a reaction to Stalin. Genuine opposition to dictatorship always exists in the popular consciousness yet does not aim at the re-establishment of capitalism or parliamentary democracy. Solzhenitsyn and Bukovsky may be the latest discoveries of the Western press, but the real opponents of the State are those who have been successively butchered by Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and their current heirs. This opposition does not escape to the West, is not allowed peacefully into exile nor exchanged in deals with the Chilean junta. This opposition remains in the Soviet Union as in all other countries implacably against the State power and actively working for the social revolution. We are not likely to find such movements described in our history books or in our morning papers, but they have existed nonetheless. The struggle today, as ever, is against authoritarian rule of all kinds and in all countries, not least our own.

+++++

irish comrades.

X Although the Irish Supreme Court recently commuted Noel Murray's death sentence to one of life imprisonment and ordered a retrial for Marie Murray, we should still be carrying out vigorous protests against the Irish Government.

Marie still faces capital charges before the Special Criminal Court (a court only in name; in truth a State tribunal with no jury only three paid executioners sitting as judges), as does Ronan Stenson. Ronan was unable to stand trial originally with the Murrays as he was in such poor physical and mental shape after police torture. He is now supposed to be fit to face the State prosecutors.

We should continue to fight for a JURY TRIAL for them all, so that they may be freed.

Neither should we forget the other members of the New Earth group, to which the Murrays belong, who are serving sentences in prison for various expropriations from the Irish banks and for petrol bombing the Spanish Embassy in

x Another thing that must not be
o forgotten is that a sum of money
x running into four figures was
o found at the Murray's flat. The
x Bank of Ireland deny that it is
o theirs: Noel Murray has said that
x this money was collected for the
o work of the Anarchist Black Cross
x (international aid to prisoners).
o The ABC would like its money back.
x Donations are still needed by
o the defence groups here and in
x Ireland. Money should be sent to:

x MURRAY DEFENCE COMMITTEE,
o 155, Church road, Celbridge,
x Co. Kildare, Eire.
oorM Murray Defence group, c/o
x Grassroots, 109 Oxford Rd.,
o Manchester.

XOX

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x
o

sostre

Watch out for
film coming to
Manchester and

X Bolton soon about Martin Sostre,
O black anarchist militant who served
X 9 years after police frame-up.

back page.

ANARCHIST

contacts

SYNDICALIST

LIBERTARIAN

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE
WORLD. (I.W.W.),

One Big Union Centre,
294, Middleton Rd.,
Oldham, Lancs.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST
FEDERATION & BOLTON ANARCHIST
GROUP,

6, Stockley Ave., Harwood,
Bolton.

PRESTON ANARCHISTS,
213, Brockholes View,
Preston, Lancs. PR1 4XJ

BURNLEY ANARCHISTS, 165, Rosehill Rd.,
Burnley, Lancashire.

LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK,
c/o Manchester Univ. Libertarian Soc
Students Union,
Manchester University.

LIBERTARIAN INDUSTRIAL NETWORK
(contact between libertarians in various industries.)
national co-ordinator---

GRAHAM SHORT, 8, Mylor Close, Pennycross, Plymouth, Devon.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS (international aid to prisoners) and

BLACK FLAG GROUP, "Over the Water", Sanday, Orkney,
Scotland.

Full list of Anarchist and Libertarian titles also available from
Cienfuegos Press Ltd., at the above address. Contributions for prisoners
welcome

LIBERTARIAN WOMENS NETWORK, + BOOKS ON ANARCHISM etc.
Grassroots, 109, Oxford Rd., Manchester.

c/o Alison Malet, + OBUC, 294, Middleton Rd., Oldham.
1, Lynwood Place, +
Dundee. + News from Nowhere, Manchester St., Liverpool.

+ SYNDICALIST WORKERS FEDERATION +
+ c/o Grassroots, 109, Oxford Rd., +
+ Manchester. ++

+ CLAIMANTS UNION.

+ NORTH WEST COORDINATING UNION,
+ 6, Cotswold Drive, Horwich, Bolton.

+ LONGSIGHT CLAIMANTS UNION,
+ 113, Hamilton Rd, Manchester 3.

+ Available from the above:
+ Women and Social Security.
+ The Fight to Live Handbook.
+ Claimants Guidebook.

+ also Claimants Newspaper, handbooks for
+ students and striking workers, & CU
+ badges and stickers.

+ MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS.

+ Meetings fortnightly at the Lass
+ O'Gowrie, Charles St., Manchester.
+ (near UMIST.)

+ Next meeting Wed. 9th March.

+ THE 68 CLUB.

+ (a political venue with a sociable
+ atmosphere.)

+ Meets every Sunday at 8-00p.m.
+ at the West Indian Sports and
+ Social Club, Westwood St.,
+ Moss Side, Manchester.

+ Interesting programme of talks,
+ films and plays.

+ BOOKS ON ANARCHISM etc.

+ Grassroots, 109, Oxford Rd., Manchester.

+ OBUC, 294, Middleton Rd., Oldham.

+ News from Nowhere, Manchester St., Liverpool.