When you're 'telling the tale', and

you get to the part where you're giving the copper a clout Just remember the lads, who did just what you did, who now start off their day 'slopping out' You stood shoulder to shoulder, and sang 'here we go', you were brother to men you'd just met And, some paid with their livelihoods, some with their lives, in a struggle that's not over yet. When you're checking your wage slip, and moaning about

all the stoppages you've got again Think of how you'd be feeling, if you were to join all the sacked and the victimized men It was such a long battle, that those

who survived, want

to get 'back to normal' once more

But, never forget, there are those, just like you who are prisoners, of the class war.

AUGUST 1985 (As in all conflicts, some suffered more than others, its a poor army that forgets its wounded).

The above poem is from Striking Stuff which is a collection of poems and photographs which tell the story of the '84'85 miners strike through the eyes of the author, Jean Gittins.

Jean has been writing for her own pleasure for many years, but her involve ment in the dispute through her work with North Yorkshire Women Against

Pit Closures and her two sons who work at Ledston Luck colliery brought her into the public eye. She began to perform her dialect verse at benefits, fund raising events and rallies throughout the Yorkshire coalfield, and her poems appeared in both local and mining papers.

Members of the 1 in 12 Club met Jean through their own support work for the miners and decided to publish this book to commemorate the 2nd anniversary of the strike.

The money for publication was raised by local donations and benefits, which means every penny from sales will go to the Miners Solidarity Fund. Striking Stuff is available from: 1 in 12 Publications, c/o 31 Manor Row, BFD 1. Cheques should be made payable to: MINERS SOLIDARITY FUND The cost of the book is £1.50

SQUATTERS HANDBOOK. 50p from Advisory Service for Squatters, 2 St. Pauls Road, London N1 Ph: 01-359 98814 (2-6pm)

This comprehensive 54-page booklet is the 8th edition of the handbook. It covers legal aspects, finding a place, moving in, getting services connected, evictions and social security benefits. A short history of squatting begins: 'there have been squatters for a long as there's been the concept of owning land, and squatting on land or in buildings which "officially" belong to someone else takes place all over the world'. This chapter also covers organising amongst

There are great photographs and illustrations throughout, a simple legal warning for the front door of your squat, references and a contact list.

PICKET

squatters in an area.

More new Pickets are coming out. This is the news-sheet of the Printers Strike at Wapping, and well worth a read. They are free, but donations are welcome. Their new contact address is: c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX.

Books Reviewed

The Fugitive Years by Robert Bradshaw. Penguin £3.95. Notes from A Waiting Room by Alan Reeve. Heretic Books £3.50

Robert Bradshaw's account of his prison experiences in South Africa and Britain has the very rare effect of showing the British prison system in a comparatively favourable light. The South African prison system operates much as one would expect such a system to operate under the South African government. Brutality is endemic. Punishments are imposed for the slightest offences and range from a prisoner's meals being stopped for a period to a specific number of 'cuts with the heavy cane', a punishment which is described in appalling detail in a section I found physically upsetting to read. Much the same can be said of the details of how hangings are carried out in South African prisons. Both of these descriptive sections contribute to the impact of the book by making quite explicit the viciousness that is an integral part of the South African prison system.

My general view of British prisons is that they are run on the basis of bureaucratised indifference, though Robert Bradshaw's experience was that the help and support he received during a sentence he served in this country enabled him to establish a much more meaningful relationship with his fellows and to come to terms with his own personality problems. He moved into criminal activity when his family and the sect of the Exclusive Plymouth Brethren to which they belonged rejected him in his teens for associat-

LATE NEWS

SPANISH PRISONERS

at cost of their lives.

Avenue, Brixton SW2

More next edition. . .

IN MANCHESTER

prisoner Omori.

BRIXTON PRISONER

The Collective of Cenetista and

Libertarian Prisoners in Carabanchel

decided on the 2nd June on a hunger-

strike until the death in protest against

AIT is not entitled to its name, identity

and assets. 'There is no other CNT but

the CNT-AIT'. They assert and protest

at the Socialist Government's trickery,

Terry Dean has been on hunger strike

since June 16th 1986. He has been in

prison on remand for over six months

held until December. He can be visited

and has been told his trial will not be

daily and has requested support and

T.J. Dean B77879, HM Prison, Jebb

Our cartoonist, Pete Masten has

mysteriously disappeared, feared

kidnapped by for forces of evil.

BLACK CROSS MEETING

The North West Black Cross region has

August at Manchester's Town Hall 1pm-

5pm. This will be a general meeting about

the Black Cross in the North West Region

but with special attention to Japanese

People should go to the side entrance

ring the bell and ask for the Black

Cross Prisoners Support meeting.

Shining Path Prisoners Massacred

Up to 400 prisoners were murdered

in attacks by Peru's 'security forces' on

ordered the massacre following a mutiny

June 19th-20th, President Alan Garica

in three Lima jails on 18th June. The

island prison of El Fronton, five miles

arranged a meeting on Saturday 2nd

the Madrid court ruling that the CNT-

ing with people who were not members of their sect. His tentative move back to a less harsh form of christianity in later life is easily understood, but it still saddens me that he should expect any help from a religion which was in great part the cause of his years in prison, and which, even in its more liberal manifestations is essentially a demanding, an unnatural and a degrading creed, and which is also a profoundly mistaken one. But this criticism is a minor one when set against the wealth of useful material in this book. My reservations concerning Alan Reeve's book Notes From a Waiting Room are more substantial. They almost led me to question the wisdom of publishing the book at all. But the account of the use of hospitals for the mentally ill as a part of the prison system and as a means of controlling, isolating and stigmatising political dissidents within that system is of value. Much of Alan Reeve's description and analysis of this process is of interest and I am trying to avoid being overly critical because I am aware that his Maoist approach, with its excess of zeal, is little to my taste and may have prejudiced me against the

He describes the series of appeals and tribunals by which he sought to be released from Broadmoor, a process which ended when all the medical authorities and all the civil servants connected with him declared that he was fit to be released, but his release was vetoed at a senior level in the Home Office. After his third attempt to secure release had failed Alan Reeve escaped and fled to Holland. Just one year after his escape, while he was physically unwell, he attempted in a very ham-

18 hours by naval marines backed by rocket-firing helicopters and demolit demolition squads. Senderista prisoners resisted with fortifications, trenches, tunnels and small firearms but were overcome. Thirty prisoners who surrendered were not murdered.

In Eastern Lima army units attacked Luriganello prison with anti-tank missiles and explosives. The prison building caught fire leaving prisoners to die in the flames and bombardments. Santa Barbara women's prison in the port of Callao also became a 'restricted military zone' and murders of prisoners took place

All male Sendero prisoners have been transferred to Canto Grande maximum security prison opened earlier this year. In October 1985, thirty Sendero prisoners died as they resisted a search of their wing in Lurigaucho. The prisoners demands included to improve prison conditions and were banned as censorship of the media was imposed. The massacres occurred during the Socialist International Congress attended by 'eminent' socialists including the Italian Prime Minister Craxi.

The Sendero Luminoso ('Shining Path') a Maoist-led guerrilla group began insurrectionary actions in Peru in Peru's Sauthern Andes in 1980.

There were pickets and marches in protest at the brutality in many cities around the world and some bombings in Peru itself.

NEWS FROM WAPPING Continued from front page. .

withdrew without any arrests, and made our way back to the cars with the satisfying feeling of a good half hour's work.

ORGANISE PICKET - Wapping, Bourverie Street and Grays Inn - round 24 hours a day - Join the demonstrations -Mass Picket - Wednesday and Saturday 8.30pm Tower Hill Tube. Make a collection of Murdoch's scabby papers dropped at newsagents between 4-5am. Get involved with offshore from Lima was beseiged for your local printers support group.

fisted way to steal whisky from a supermarket while carrying a pistol. On being apprehended he fled and shot and killed a pursuing policeman. This would seem to give substance to those who opposed his release and is the basis of my reservations. As well as this I kept thinking at different parts of the book - No, that's not true - because the account of events did not seem to me to be feasible. But these reservations no doubt say as much about the psychiatric hospitals in which Alan Reeve spent his life between the ages of 18 and 31, and the effect life in this environment had on him as it does about anybody's perception of the nature of absolute

Both of these books are disturbing, which is what books about prisons written by prisoners should be. Robert Bradshaw's account of the treatment of white prisoners in South African prisons makes it painful indeed to contemplate the treatment of black prisoners. Alan Reeve's book shows the technique of repressive tolerance, the iron fist in the velvet glove, which for the most part characterises the British prison system, and by extension, British society at large. In view of the personality problems of both writers no reader will accept these texts as completely and objectively true accounts (can anyone be objective about anything that affects them personally - typesetter). As autobiographical writings are bound to be deficient in this respect anyway the books are not significantly devalued by this. Both books are written with a passion and conviction that, on balance, gives them an over-riding merit.

'WHO OWNS LEEDS - a guide to the Rich' price 40p by

Peter Miller

I—Spy Productions 'Who Owns Leeds' is a study of a local ruling class. It's a detailed and critical look at the companies and bosses who run life in one city.

One section deals with the richest men in Leeds. Shows how their influence spreads across companies and into cultural and recreational life.

There is a review of Leeds-based companies, large corporations, property speculators and the bosses who run them. Another section deals with the local state hierarchies and how they link-in with the rich.

The principal behind the booklet is that individual members of the ruling class, by influencing and controlling our lives, are responsible for the violence and frustration we feel. The most important feature of 'Who Owns Leeds' is the names and addresses of the men who are usually hidden and out of reach.

'Who Owns Leeds' is an A5 booklet of 44 pages, illustrated with photos and maps, charts and pictures. It costs 40p from selected bookshops. Housmans and 121 Bookshop (it's on order) in London, Grass Roots in Manchester, Austicks and Corner Books in Leeds. Or 60p (incl.p&p) from I-Spy Productions, Box T/III, 1st Floor Market Buildings, Vicar Lane, Leeds. W. Yorks

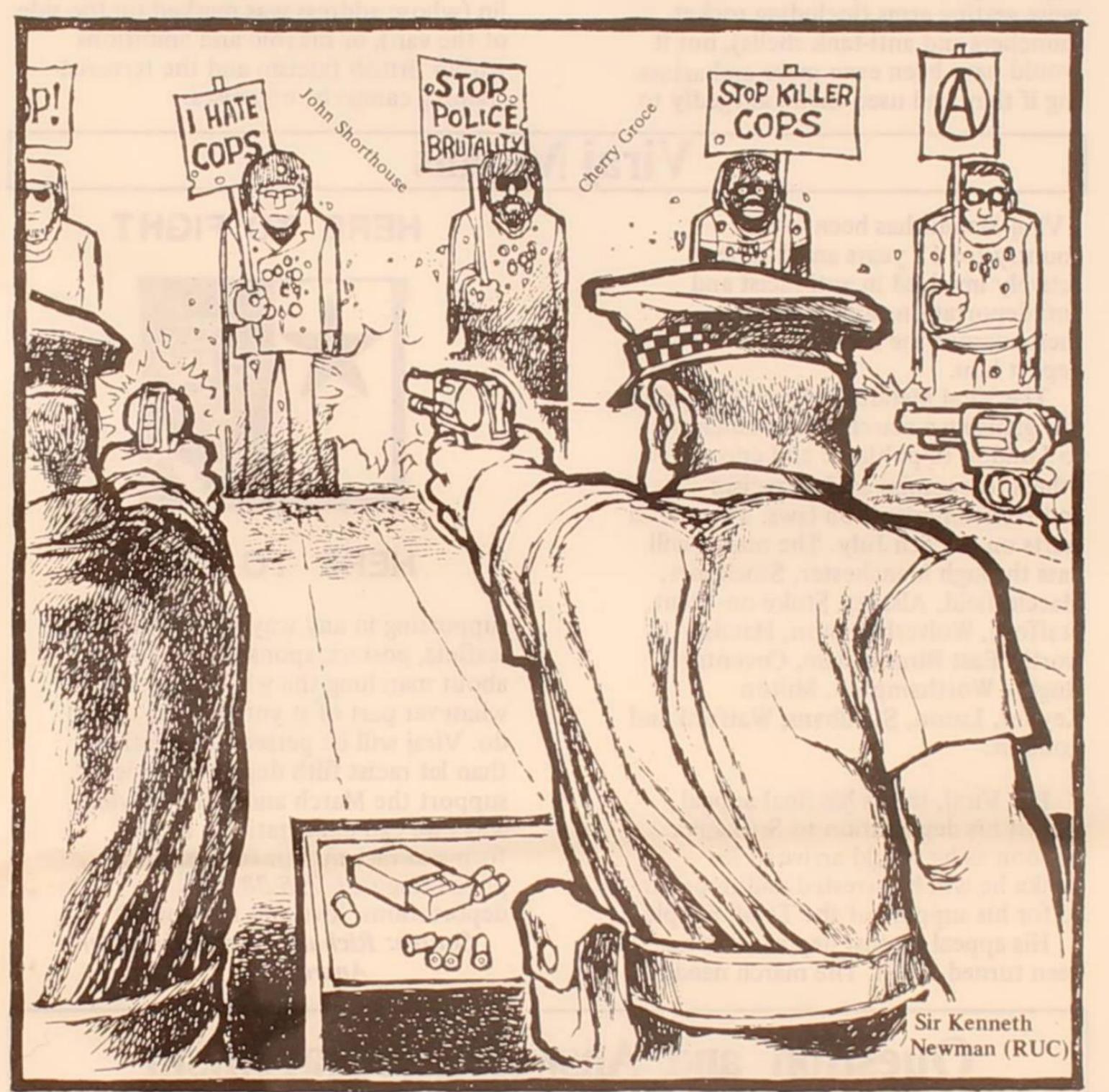
ANARCHIST RELEASED IN FRANCE

Orestino Domenichelli, an Italian

Anarchist imprisoned in France (see last Black Flag), came off hunger strike on July 3rd and has been conditionally released pending a decision on his extradition back to Italy (where he faces seven years in prison for allegedly taking part in an armed robbery). More details in future issues of Black Flag.



ARE READY-ARE YOU



PC Brian Chester a self-confessed Police marksman (ie. gunman) from Leek Wootton, near Kenilworth, Warwickshire was acquitted of the murder of five-year-old John Stonehouse in

No compensation has yet been allocated to the family but PC Chester is back on duty!

WAPPING-NEWS FROM

WEDNESDAY 2nd About 300 pickets massed around

Welclose Square at about 2.30pm, the police were obviously alerted to any attempt to take the main gate and were there in numbers, they quickly sealed off off the top of Virginia Street with two vans and destroyed all ideas of a charge down to the gates. A sporadic march east down the Highway blocking the road resulted in a couple of arrests and it became obvious that the police were out to nick people. Returning to Glamis Road, the police had brought horses in to clear the pavement and put up barriers. A group of people broke off and walked towards Tower Hill, blocking the road on the way; then, realising there were no police at Thomas More Street, ran down to build makeshift barricades out of police barriers. Afterwards they moved off to Tower Hill where a scab was attacked and more arrests were made. An effective picket, but too many people were nicked which reduced people's confidence.

NB At the time of going to press one picket arrested for threatening behaviour is still on remand. He would like people to write to him: Jonathan Blair L47597, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs, London W12.

FRIDAY 5TH JULY

Again the police were on to this daytime picket and a lot of people seemed three days before, but the road was still blocked for about an hour delaying the scab and police reinforcements. Scab coaches were surrounded and hit by some stones. Police escorting scabs were hit, struck by missiles and one scab coach was forced to stop for about half an hour when a police barrier was thrown into the road at a narrow junction.

FLYING PICKET SATURDAY 5th At 3.14am Eastleigh TNT depot near Southampton suddenly found itself under seige by about 250 surprise picket. Immediately upon arrival, missiles began to fly at the twenty plus vehicles inside the car park. The security guard fled his hut, back to the main building under a shower of bricks. A lock was put on the gate to stop the scabs getting their trucks out but it didn't stop the pickets getting in. Fences were ripped down and groups of pickets ran into the compound and set about the vehicles. The cops were alerted and when the first car arrived pickets moved out of the plant. On realising there was only one police car the attack was soon resumed. The two pigs in the car made a quick summary of the situation and made a three point turn and fled. Later more police arrived, but the damage had already been done, every car, van or lorry had one broken window at the very least. We slowly

intimidated by the amount of arrests co-ordination can be overcome and this

SPAIN - CNT ILLEGAL!

While the King of Spain was in the Irish Republic applauding the band at the presidential palace playing the defiant lament that never would the tyrants be able to forbid the wearing of the green or the growing of the shamrock, the court in Madrid was deciding that the Spanish Anarchists no longer had the right to use the name of the 'CNT'.

This 'ringer' - the so-called CNT-U (or as some are now calling it, the CNT-CIA) arise in theory out of divisions in the Congress, which resulted in many critics of the CNT-AIT (the historic CNT, as even now it is referred to in the court decision).

This incited a deliberate political fraud by outside elements to take over the 'renewed' CNT and confront it to the 'historic' CNT. The CNT-CIA has now appealed to the courts - for all the world like British trotskyists - and asserted its claim to the name of the

The court has ruled that the phoney CNT's 'sole secretary' is Jose March with the sole right to use the name 'CNT' and that the 'historic' CNT (the CNT-AIT) is no longer allowed to use the name, and even extends to the French zone where the CNT has made headway in the Seat car factory.

The phoney CNT, having complied with government regulations and the Moncloa Pact, and agreed to work through the State controlled 'syndical elections' originally set up by the Falangists, has done all the court could require of it. The 'historic' CNT has decided to work without and beyond the State. The State is no longer fighting back by shooting one in ten from the factories, or sentencing people with CNT union cards to long terms, it is going the British way too, by court actions leading to sequenstratHow the Commies work it

Meanwhile various Communist and Arab governments are using the 'ringer' tactic to create Marxist-Leninist initations of resistance movement. Whenever - from now on, it seems a resistance movement is formed, or any industrial organisation - an imitation will be formed, to under-sell it or discredit it one way or another. This represents an entirely new weapon, of the late 20th century, and a considerable weapon in the hands of the ruling classes.

Anarchism here and elsewhere is faced with the certainty of phoney federations and will be faced with even more if ever the phoney CNT gets its hands on money stolen by Franco from the official CNT. But it may be the crooked Spanish socialists are too wily for them! The court decision is that the phoney CNT is the genuine one, and the historic CNT is what it says it is. The historic CNT can't get its halls and printing presses back because it 'doesn't exist' and the phoney CNT because it 'didn't then exist'! In the finish everything will go into the coffers of the UGT - the socialist union - with its own assets back too.

There is a warning for British unions ists here. If the phoney miners' union links up with the scab electricians' union and forms a 'new TUC' with other like-minded unions, they may find themselves in the position of the phoney CNT — and the miners and the printers in the position of the historic one. These unions are in a position to put pressure on the socialist government of Spain by pressure on Kinnock. Maybe they thing the CNT-AIT too extreme for them - but that won't save them from being thought 'too extreme' as well. If there

is nobody more extreme than you, you are the most extreme. CNT-AIT Calle Magdalena, 29,

Madrid, Spain.

campaign developed if those who

U.S.A. - NEWS FROM BIG MOUNTAIN

'Nothing has changed, and we are still awating the troops to move in'. 'Big Mountain: Navajo and Hope stand by to resist'. Those are the latest words about the situation at Big Mountain, Arizona. The Native Americans, both Navajo and Hopi are continuing to mobolise against the US government, big business and the Mormon Church. Basically nothing has changed. People are continuing to gather for the final confrontation.

The outcome of the fierce resistance on the part of these long suffering American Natives will depend on their own spirited struggles at their homeland and on the amount of support and solidarity given to them by people in other lands. In Britain, although few in number, have carried out supportive activities. These have included three demonstrations at the American Embassy in London and the distributing of leaflets outlining the case for the people to whom Big Mountain is hom.e People who participated have included the 121 Support Group, Greenpeace, CIMRA, Wages for Housewives Campaign and others including individuals. The lack of communication and

action related meetings. There has been really good response from people who have read the leaflets and become aware of what is happening. HOW YOU CAN HELP IN THIS STRUGGLE 1. Write letters demanding the repeal of P.L. 93-531 to: Sentate Select Committee

participated come together for regular

on Indian Affairs, 6313 Dirksen Building, Washington, DC20510 USA and the: Embassy, 24 Grosvenor Square, London (Tel 01-499 9000). 2. Messages of support, donations and any

other offers of help can be sent to: Big Mountain Legal Defence/Offence Committee, 2501 North 4th Street Suite 18, Flagstaff, Airzona 8600 USA Tel 602-744 5233).

ORGANISE and mobilise in support and solidarity with these Native American people like there is no tomorrow; for these people there may be no tomorrow! Big Mountain Support Group, c/o 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Rd., London SE24 Ph: 274 6655 hrs 2-6pm

An elder from one of the tribes is to visit Europe soon to talk about the situation at Beg Mountain. We, at 121, are looking into speaking venues, please contact us with

BLACK FLAG - BLACK CROSS BM HURRICANE, LONDON WC1N 3XX

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GIRO ACCOUNT No. BLACK FLAG
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GIRO ACCOUNT No. ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS: 51 172 0009.

For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation – against State control and all forms of government and economic oppression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all – the breaking down of racial, religious, national and sex barriers – and to fight for the life of one world.

Soldier of Fort

Stop Racist Checks

Unwaged groups and Claimants Unions recently picketed job centres in protest against a London trial scheme of racist checks

Under this scheme, clerks were ordered to look at people coming in to seek jobs, either at the door, or during interviews, and classified each person under 1) WHITE 2) BLACK 3) ASIAN 4) OTHER 5) REFUSAL.

When done at the door, the government hoped to compile general statistics. When done during interviews, they linked the information to other personal details, such as: how long you've been unemployed, how many jobs you've applied for etc. . . It's not clear how much would have permanently ended up on computer, but the government have refused to say how these surveys would have been used, saying it is 'confidential'. . .

'Ethnic monitoring' is a sinister step, especially with the introduction of computerised National Insurance ID cards. It is one of a whole series of racist schemes, (Nationality Act, Passport Checks at hospitals, colleges, DHSS etc) aiming to harass and make scapegoats out of ethnic groups, and divide working class people. . . Information is used not only against black people,

Job centre workers were called on to boycott or sabotage the checks, or go on strike. They have already stopped the checks in dole offices by taking industrial action.

Five hundred workers in 18 London
Job Centres walked out on March
14th in protest against the suspensions
of five Hackney Job Centre staff who
boycotted the checks. However, no
doubt we shall see a more advanced
version of the scheme attempted.
For more details contact: Tottenham
Claimants Union, c/o 628 High Road,
London N17.

STOP THE SNOOPERS

A gang of 'Supersnoopers' (Specialist Claims Control Unit members — SCCUM) arrived at Archway DHSS (nth. London) on April 21st for 8 weeks. They got paid over £40 a day expenses to harass and intimidate claimants. They were aiming to scare certain types of people (who're picked on because they have a special skill, or are a single parent etc), into stopping their claims. They use threats. They chat with neighbours, snoop about, follow people and rummage through files.

But they have no power to take claimants to court or to cut benefits. Their most powerful weapons are fear and ignorance.

Even other DHSS workers can't stand them and refused to co-operate. Wherever these squads have been, they have been photographed and hassled by Unemployed groups.

At Archway 20 claimants from four local unwaged groups picketed the office and were joined by 20 staff, who went on strike the next day.

Leaflettings have happened on most days during the visit.

Meanwhile, a second harassment

HOME NEWS

ARMS CACHE -BRITISH MOVEMENT LINK

The mysterious 'Arms Cache' story appearing in the British national press just over a week ago mentioned only the Ulster link. As we go to press two men have been arrested and two serving soldiers were held for questioning. It was announced that they turned up at a lockup garage in Trowbridge, Wiltshire, in a van with 'Soldier of Fortune' marked on its side. One of those arrested, Peter Kabluckzenko, lives in Mold, mid-way between Chester and Wrexham. The latter is where Michael McLaughlin, head of the British Movement resides and where he runs a survivalist business as well as organises guerrilla training courses in the Welsh hills for British Movement members and members of other neo-fascist organisations.

Kabluckzenko is connected to the Soldier of Fortune bookshop in Chester

squad (Regional Fraud Team) flew in to a nearby dole office, met by 5 of the local Claimants Union — who took photos, alerted claimants and called for strike action (or at least non-cooperation) from workers. A poster of the squad was published and further pickets took place to harass the squad and reassure claimants (many of whom had received intimidating letters to come to

a 'fraud' interview).

There are dozens of the squads operating in various regions of the country

they can be stopped!

NEW ATTACKS ON THE UNEMPLOYED

Latest government plans to attack unemployed peoples benefits and 'rights' include the far-reaching scheme to interview, within the next year, all 1.3 million 'long-timers' (over a year on the dole), and 'offer them' various work and training alternatives. The threat is to eventually bring in forced labour similar to the Youth Training Programmes etc. imposed upon young claimants. Called the 'Restart' scheme, trial runs took place in a number of towns including Plymouth, where the local Claimants Union subverted both the interviews and training courses with a 'Nonstart' campaign. However, it is clear that the Government is serious in its attempt to impose work-type discipline, cheap labour and general payments cuts on a section of the working class who are becoming increasingly alienated and angry, and a potentially powerful social opposition. We must prepare to fight for our interests.

JULY 28th - DHSS BENEFITS 'UPDATING DAY'

Massive cuts in real levels of benefits, plus 50% reduction in pay-outs of single payments, cuts in other areas (young claimants) etc. are planned for July by the State. They are part of the gradual implementing of the Fowler S.S. Bill, with even worse attacks planned on unwaged women, ethnic groups, youth and long-term unemployed, as well as all claimants in general (affecting up to more than 10 million people). Unwaged and pensioners groups, DHSS Unions and other bodies have publicised and deplored these cuts, but it now remains for action to oppose them.

The London and S.E. Federation of Unemployed, Claimants and Unwaged Groups have declared July 28th as a Day of Action against the Cuts, and to demand a decent payment for all. DHSS workers can refuse to implement cuts, claimants and their groups can picket, occupy and act in any way they know. We call on all unwaged people to get organised, and to fight for your basic

Contact LSE FUCUG, c/o Mary Ward Unwaged Group, 42 Queen Sq., London WC1 01-831 7711 or Tottenham Claimants Union c/o 628 High Rd London N17 (for detailed info

The above article was written by a representative from Tottenham Claimants Union.

on the above subjects)

and a similar shop in Liverpool. None of the press or TV stories referred to the fascist connection; nor to the connection to McLaughlin. McLaughlin has been keeping the BM going for some years – allowing many to believe it had ceased to function

ceased to function. Around a month ago stories were selectively released to the Daily Mirror about the activities of survivalists and the sort of things sold at the Soldier of Fortune bookshop (the London one in Charing Cross). Police interest in the survivalists and their contacts in the Army coincided with the press interest which almost gave the game away about the police surveillance. It was embarrassing enough for the police that fascists were getting arms (including rocket launchers and anti-tank shells), but it would have been even more embarrassing if they had used them, allegedly to

assist Ulster unionists. The Trowbridge link was Paul Barker, who had liaised with the Army contacts. The suggestion is that the arms came directly from army bases, of which there are many in the Trowbridge area and were then to be used for the Unionist cause. They could easily have been meant for other reasons (e.g. a 'strategy of tension' scenario). This is unlikely in that the weapons that were found are used against military targets not civilian ones, although a reciprocal deal with the Unionists cannot be ruled out. We predict that both the press and the police will continue to restrict their coverage to the Ulster link, currently very topical, and not mention McLaughlin (whose address was marked on the side of the van), or his role and ambitions within British fascism and the terrorist training camps he organises.

Viraj Mendis

Viraj Mendis has been in this country for 12 years and has been actively involved in anti-racist and anti-deportation campaigns. For these reasons the state intends to deport him.

The Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign is organising a march from Manchester to London to publicise and encourage others to organise against racism and racist immigration laws. The march starts on the 5th July. The march will pass through Manchester, Stockport, Macclesfield, Alsager, Stoke-on-Trent, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Handsworth, East Birmingham, Coventry, Rugby, Worthampton, Milton Keynes, Luton, St Albans, Watford and

For Viraj, this is his final appeal against his deportation to Sri Lanka.

As soon as he would arrive in Sri Lanka he will be arrested and imprisoned for his support of the Tamil people.

His appeal against deportation has

been turned down. The march needs

HERE TO FIGHT



HERE TO STAY

supporting in any way it can. We have leaflets, posters, sponsor forms. How about marching the whole march or whatever part of it you wish to or can do. Viraj will be persecuted. Rather than let racist filth deport Viraj let's support the March and resist in what ways we can deportations, and all forms of racism. For further info please ring 061 795 3870. No deportations, love and freedom.

Source: Richard from Manchester

Question and Answer on Anarchism

Q: How do you convince an Anarchist to join a union? I work with an anarchist who agrees with unions in principle but feel joining the union won't change things. I've used every argument to convince her that working outside a union/workplace organisation gives no chance to change anything!

A: It's easier to wake up someone who's asleep than someone who's not asleep. There are some—especially since the pop music scene has made the name anarchist more acceptable than the thing itself — who call themselves anarchists for purely negative reasons — e.g. they don't vote every five years! They have objections to positive action on the grounds that it isn't ideologically acceptable for one reason or another; and despise industrial action as 'jumping on a band-

Whatever faults unions may have, it is usually the fault of the apathetic even more than the opportunistic.

If the working people can't take any action to defend their

won't be able to change society: if someone doesn't even want to try, they simply aren't anarchists. There's more to it than merely a name! One can appreciate difficulties in undertaking specific anarchist actions; certainly not so any problems in the minor matter of standing up and being counted at work — however much one might be a week-end protestor in all the accepted causes.

Some worthy readers get very uptight at our saying such people are liberals. 'It's all too easy to use the name liberal to describe those with whom you disagree', snaps one. It isn't so easy - we've searched like mad for a name to distinguish them from us, and this is the best we've come up with, and isn't insulting (like bourgeois). Pure liberalism (as distinct entirely from political liberalism) is anarchism with the guts out and nothing to do with the working I class. It isn't our anarchism. But it is that of those who eschew action of any sort, but whose hearts may well be in the right

-GAY ANARCHIST NETWORK

If anyone, anywhere is interested in forming a network of lesbian/gay anarchists, to make contacts, exchange ideas, socialise, propagandise (maybe produce a paper) etc., get in touch with Moj, Box BLAG, 37 StokesCroft,

Bristol BS2 3PY. Avon, or Paul, Box 19, 17 Chatham Street, Reading, Berks, or turn up at the picnic in Brockwell Park, Brixton on 19th July — look for the pink and black flags!

AUSTRALIA

Anarchism And Anarcho-Syndicalism Today

The following is from a pamphlet which was produced by members of the Melbourne group of the Anarchosyndicalist Federation for the recent Anarchist Conference, May 1-4 1986 in Melbourne Australia.

INTRODUCTION

This paper is seen by the authors as a means of stimulating some much needed debate in the Australian anarchist movement with regards to the question What is Anarchism' and What is Anarcho-syndicalism? '. It is also seen as a means of dispelling what we feel is certain misconceptions about anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism which are currying favour in the broader anarchist movement in Australia today. We feel this debate is vital to the development of anarchism in Australia. We are not attempting to draw lines or write people off — this is a debate of ideas. What we are seeking is the basis for taking action together to bring about what we want - an anarchist society.

During the course of discussion, from which this pamphlet grew, it appears that the pressing issues confronting us are the following: 1. Power and Class Analysis. 2. Non-violence and Direct Action. 3. Organisation and the Individual. 4. Internal and External Confrontation. 5. Education, Organisation and Action. Further, it seems there is widespread misunderstanding about anarchosyndicalism in Australia. Briefly, that anarcho-syndicalism is irrelevant, that it ignores or has ignored questions relating to gender politics and the ecology issue, and that an anarchosyndicalist organisation is only a shade away from some sort of leftist vanguard party.

Because of this we feel a need to define anarcho-syndicalism in the context of anarchism. Anarcho-syndicalism is an anarchist strategy for bringing anarchist ideas, organisation and social relations to the workplace and the community through the formation of industrial associations and local community groups on the basis of federation and equal decision-making. We hope this pamphlet brings into focus more clearly the nature of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism.

Chris Smith Cliff Smyth

Melbourne, April 1986.

The authors would like to thank the many comrades who contributed to this debate through discusion of the

ANARCHISM IN AUSTRALIA IN RECENT TIMES

various aspects of these questions.

The more recent history of anarchism in Australia is characterised by fragmented and sporadic activity by small groups and individuals. The main activity of Anarchists in Australia has been the production of anarchist publications and the maintenance of bookshops. However, publications are irregular. As well as the plethora of pamphlets and leaflets there have been a host of once-in-a-blue-moon papers produced, many of them to disappear after a short period of time. Some of them have battled through the efforts of one or two individuals, eg. Red and Black, an anarchist journal from Sydney, which has appeared fifteen times in as many years. Notable exceptions are Libertarian Workers Bulletin and Rebel Worker, but even the most regular of these only appears every two months. The situation has been alleviated somewhat by the more recent appearance of publications such as Treason, Affinity and Canberra Crimes. But all these pale in comparison to Black Flag, Freedom and Open Road.*

Bookshops or the general distribution of literature is another case in point of sporadic bursts of activity. Although it must be said that one shining exception has been Jura Books which, aside from having been in existence since 1977, is considered by many, here and overseas, to be the best anarchist bookshop in the english-speaking world. Nevertheless, with the formation of Black Rose Anarchist Bookshop, and the recent collapse of Annares in Brisbane, we have the absurd sistuation of having the only two bookshops in the land separated by barely two kilometres!

Another feature sadly lacking in the anarchist movement has been a continent based organisation. An attempt to rectify this situation was made in 1975 with the formation of the Federation of Australian Anarchists, which brought together anarchists from all over the country. Unfortunately the FAA lasted basely eighteen months only to collapse in the wake of the Great Split Debacle of 1976, the effects of which are still felt today. Things have improved somewhat in recent times with the advent of the Anarcho-syndicalist Federation, which upon its formation became the largest anarchist organisation on the continent today.

Why has the anarchist movement in Australia been dogged by a singular lack of organisation and why has it been characterised by short periods of sporadic activity? Good question! While there are some who would say a contributing factor has been a conflict of personalities, there are others who say that the situation in Australia is somehow unique and therefore requires a new interpretation of anarchism. We believe that there has been for some time a misunderstanding and general confusion about what anarchism is and what it means to be an anarchist.

PACIFISM

Many anarchists assert that anarchism is essentially pacifist. To reject pacifism is to be involved with violence, and violence is a tool of the state.

According to the dictionary definition, one is a pacifist if one believes it is desirable and possible to settle disputes by peaceful means. However, this is contingent on both parties agreeing to do so. Unless we can imagine some mass laying down of arms, a defection from the ranks of power, how do



we achieve the desired anarchist society?
The history of struggle convinces us this is

The view of pacifism as a strict moral rejection of violence is the perogative of those in a relatively pasive country, where the violence of the state is not experienced by most people. This type of moralist pacifism can also be seen as a fear of strong emotions such as anger, passion and the

desire to resist the violence of others.

These moral justifications of pacifism are not so easy for those who are the victims of the arbitrary violence of the police, the state and the factory owners — workers in industrial accidents, squatters harassed and beaten by the police, the harassment and arrest of workers on picket lines, and Aborigines who have experienced the attempted genocide of their people.

Non-violent resistance is a tactic of direct action and has, as Gandhi stated, more to do with war than with peace. Implicit in non-violent direct action is the threat of escalation. Thus, if the general strike, the closing of the shops, civil disobedience and sabotage do not work, and if the army threatens or commits violence, do we all go home, back to work, to school or to prison, and wait until we can fulfill our desires peacefully?

Rather than use violence, a word used by the state and the media to discredit our actions, we describe our activities as resistance, direct action and self defence.

ANARCHY MEANS DOING WHAT YOU WANT

One characteristic of the anarchist 'mo

ment' in this country is tendencies toward an individualist view of anarchism and individualist behaviour. This seems to take two forms.

First is the view that anarchy means doing whatever you like, or it means the individual liberty to be spontaneously self expressive. This, we feel, is running the risk of two things — being individually irresponsible (violating another's rights) and imagining that anarchy is what you make it.

Anarchy entails equal rights and equal responsibilities (and not the individual liberty to act arbitrarily). Anarchy is a form of social organisation which implies that individuals govern themselves, that is, that they accept within themselves their personal and social rights and responsibilities. In this sense it does not mean total freedom, but an individual and collective awareness of what freedoms are possible.

To take a belief in individual liberty to its logical conclusion is to say that everyone has the right to do as they wish. This is the justification right-wing libertarians use of a laizze-faire economy and minimal government interference in people's lives. This is not anarchy as we understand it.

We feel that anarchy is not what you or I individually make it, but what we collectively make it. Thus decisions are made through discussion, negotiation and mutual agreement. This is not to say that anarchy is a set of rules nor is it to say that anarchy implies collective regimentation. It implies an awareness of self and others. An awareness of who makes the mess, and who does the cleaning up.

The second position seems to be from people who may have an understanding of anarchist history and theory - but are reluctant to work with others. This seems, in part, to come from a desire to keep their ideas 'pure' and 'unsullied'. Therefore a reluctance to work in groups in case this means the confrontations, and at times compromises, of group processes and practices challenge their positions - or put their ideas, or their bodies - on the line. Because these people tend to only work in ones and twos, it limits the types of actions they can take. For example, producing occasional newspapers and journals.

Behind this type of individualist anarchism are assumptions similar to the 'doing what you want' individualists, that if enough people 'change their heads' then society will change. These assumptions do not take into account the real interests that are threatened by anarchism or provide a mechanism by which these changes occur. That mechanism, we believe, is struggle. People change through the struggle to change society.

the struggle to change society. Anarc hism is a form of socialism that has the same roots in the early labour movement and utopian socialist thought as statist socialism and communism, trade unionism, social democracy and revolutionary syndicalism. What has been important has been the similarities (class analysis and the struggle of working people) and the differences (power analysis and the rejection of the state). Anarchism is not a brand of individual belief or a mere set of ideas. It has been sustained and developed by the thinking and action (praxis) of groups and federations of anarchists.

POWER ANALYSIS

Many anarchists now believe that class analysis is no longer relevant and a pure power analysis is sufficient to explain the forms of exploitation and domination we experience today.

Power analysis posits that it is domination that is the main basis and form of oppression in this society. It's proponents suggest that it is somehow beyond class analysis. We believe that class analysis has a place for anarchists — because class and power are inextricably linked. Class analysis does not ignore power. It is clear that power, in all its forms, serves the interests of those who benefit most from society as it is.

This benefit can be direct or indirect.
The sexist organisation of domestic work in the family, for example, benefits men directly — but also benefits class society through the division of men and women, developments of concepts of domination and passivity and through the reproduction of capitalist society — by providing the material base for keeping the worker in the workplace as well as the rearing and acculturation of children and commodity consumption.

The problem with class analysis is not that it is irrelevant, but that in some anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist writing, it hasn't been updated from its original nineteenth and early twentieth century formulations. We acknowledge the contribution made by some feminist (especially some socialist feminist), situationist, anti-racist, ecological and modern socialist thought to developing the analysis of power and class. The developments made showing the importance of the relationships between gender, sexuality, culture,

But a pure power analysis has many limitations. It seems to suggest a generalised and disembodied domination that we must struggle against in our individual lives, but seems to play down the social basis of this power or the social struggle against it.

It is not true that class analysis is essentially Marxist and therefore unanarchist. Peasants and workers knew they were peasants and workers long before Marx walked into the British Museum. This is because we experience class (exploitation, powerlessness, prejud-

Some people suggest that western societies are now 'post-industrial' societies and that class analysis is no longer relevant. That is, that the 'working class' The traditional industrial proletarian have sold out to materialism and that workers have become middle class.

There is some truth in this - yet it cannot be universally applied. Some sections of the industrial workforce are very conservative — yet some others are quite militant despite substantial benefits from the system (eg. the deregistered Builders Labourer's Federation). Unemployment has led to the intensification of the exploitation of some workers, especially young people, recently arrived migrants, women and part-time workers, illegal immigrants and others in the cash economy. This in turn has led to pressure to reduce incomes and worsen working conditions for the industrial workforce and we are yet to see the effects of these developments. The passivity of recent

While 'post-industrial' critics of class analysis point out the increasing importance of a small number of technical, scientific and managerial workers, another of the effects of this process is the deskilling of many areas of employment. There are significant numbers of workers who find that their position (income, industrial muscle/bargaining power and sense of trade identity) is under threat. This creates the potential for a new, large 'proletarianised' section of the workforce with much less committment to supporting the existing system.

Some of the apparent coming of 'post-industrialism' in the west has to do with the shifting of western industries 'off-shore' to countries where, owing to poverty, workers are less organised. Industrially based class society hasn't disappeared - indeed for many people in the world it is becoming the new form of exploitation. The class nature of these societies is very clear, especially in the 'free-trade zones' and under a range of authoritarian governments. Class relations may appear to be becoming outmoded for some people in the west, but with an international perspective they are a common form of exploitation and

we acknowledge that it is not easy anymore to determine strictly who profits and who doesn't from systematic exploitation. Who is an order giver and who is an order taker? Many people are both beneficiaries and victims of this system, they both control and are controlled. This is not necessarily an argument against class analysis.

We believe that it is still possible to determine who benefits most - materially -economically, power-politically, emotionally-psychologically, and in other ways from the world and society as it is. There are some people in whose interest it is to maintain society as it is and there are others whose interest it is to change it. A pure power analysis, on an individual basis, implies that it is in everyone's interest to change society? What power analysis often fails to do is to provide an explanation of how change comes about. It doesn't go beyond people rejecting power in their own lives and joining with others who share the same particular oppression. If this was effective then the movement politics of the last twenty years would've brought about more revolutionary changes than it has. The fact is that movement politics has not been a revolutionary force and has been used to propel some people to positions of greater power or profit making within the capitalist system.

Class analysis, on the other hand, implies an allegiance to others in the same class — and the existence of an opposing class. It explains the real opposition and retaliation when class interests are challenged by revolutionaries. The ability to identify who we are struggling with and who we are fighting against has important implications in the struggle against Capital and State.

'ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM IS OBSOLETE'

Many anarchists now see anarcho-syndicalism as obsolete and workerist. We believe this has much to do with their own perceptions of society and of anarcho-syndicalism than

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The Spanish Electoral Circus

Anyone visiting Spain, or, at least, Barcelona (e.g. where I'm staying) could be forgiven for thinking that the only thing the average Spaniard has on his or her mind is the forthcoming general election. The entire city is decked out in political frippery ranging from the mini-billboards which dangle from every single lamp-post to the massive plastic banners strung across every street and boulevard. The TV carries constant coverage of the dozens of men vying for power, and every single Spaniard or at least Spanish home is about to receive a 'personal letter' from each of the two main opposition parties and a 'personal phone call' from the leader of the party now in power. In fact though, when you zero in on any heated discussion that might catch your attention in the bars or on the streets you'll find it's about the Mexican World Cup. And if you start chatting directly with folk about the election, you find a mixture of disgust, apathy and downright anger at the incompetence and childishness shown by the politicians. Of the forty or so people I've spoken to about this, only one is going to vote; this bunch of forty or so includes engineers, punks, mechanics, secretaries, executives, painters, salesmen, shop assistants, musicians, people-out-of-a-job, and a farm-worker. For the most part we can exclude the executives - the reasons are more or less ones that any anarchist or libertarian would find difficult to disagree with: 'I don't want to hand over power to any politician, a bunch of liars and crooks the whole lot of them'. That, however, is as far as it goes. After that, most people's reaction becomes passive, (unlike the 'active boycotting of the anarchists).

any interest in seeing who gets in, but because it shows up very nicely the way in which vested interest (both Spanish, European and multinational) is getting the Spanish political scene neatly sewn up and ready to fit like a well-oiled cog into the general economic set-up. To give an idea of the changes which have taken place, it's worth taking a quick look at the political scene in Spain following the death of Franco. Over the period of the first two elections several political/popular movements emerged (some more popular than political and viceversa). You had a centre-right grouping with a few Francoist elements run by an inept showman (Suarez) who eventually disappeared in the ruins of his own party. You had a hard-line almost prehistoric - right-wing lead by ex-fascist minister Fraga Iribarne. There was a pretty popular, and at the time pretty radical, socialist party, led by Gonzalez. The communist party, under the veteran Santiago Carrillo (a man with 'blood on his hands' according to those who remember the civil war and the postwar period) controlled about 12% of the votes. In Catalonia and Euskadi, and to a lesser extent in Galicia there was massive resurgence of a kind of pseudonationalism (very different from the genuine state nationalism of the Castilebased groups) demanding various degrees of autonomy and guarantees for the languages and cultures of those areas, which Franco had tried to eliminate. And, finally, there was the libertarian movement, then identified almost wholly with the CNT-AIT, and incorporating dozens of different groups ranging from veteran and not-so-veteran anarchosyndicalists to 'philosophical anarchists'

I must be one of the few people

up quite interesting, not because I have

here who actually finds this electoral run-

WHAT HAPPENED?

and ecologists.

Then what happened? The first to go, in terms of being a mass movement with very widespread influence, were the libertarians and anarchists. By 1979 the serious element within the CNT were getting things moving. With 150,000 members in Catalonia alone, it looked like this anarchist organisation stood a good chance of once again becoming a



'Enough Promises - Abstain'. A CNT-AIT Anti-election poster.

industrial centres. Days after the then Minister for the Interior, Martin Villa, had declared on TV that the main threat to his government came from the 'libertarian movement in Barcelona'. four fascists working with the security forces petrol-bombed the Scale night club in Barcelona, causing several deaths. and the blame was laid with the CNT, resulting in dozens of arrests, constant harassment, general unpopularity with the public (who of course - dazed with the new democracy - didn't believe the claims it was a frame-up until much later). At the same time or rather just after, a mysterious split took place in the ranks of the CNT, causing a great deal of bitterness and confusing the identity of the organisation in the public eye, a situation which continues to this day. All that left the CNT shattered, and if it hadn't been for the determination of its rank and file, that could have been the end of the organisation once and for all. In effect, it resulted in a massive drop in numbers, and the fragmentation of the anarchist movement in Catalonia, (though there are now signs of a gradual renewed solidarity taking place).

When the socialists beat Suarez with

real force within Spain, at least in the

an 80% majority, vested interest got a bit worried, but not for long. Gonzalez dripped most of the semi-radical elements of his programme, stayed in NATO, and hasn't changed the abortion laws or done anything much for the poor and unemployed except increase their numbers. Jokes like 'Socialist party? What socialist party?' are commonplace. However, the disillusion with Gonzalez gave vested interest another problem: the possibility that Carrillo and the communists might gain in popularity given the political/radical bankruptcy of the socialists. Even though Carrillo could bore the hind leg off a donkey after just one cup of tea, he still represented some kind of united far left. Now, however, Carrillo is almost finished, banished from his own party by a group of younger communists led by Gerardo Iglesias. In fact of all the acts in the pre-electoral circus, the communists are taking the biscuit as regards making the public laugh: In Catalonia alone there are now four 'communist' groups on the electoal roll, all of which include people who enjoyed some kind of political popularity up until all the divisions. Now, nobody is quite sure who represents what. The Spanish communist Party minus Carrillo's followers — has joined up with some small leftist groupings, including something called the humanist party and is called the United Left (Izquierda Unida); Carrillo's followers have formed the Round Table For

Communist Unity (Mesa Para La Uni-

dad de los Coministas); the Catalan

Communist Party (the PCC, the only European community party with electoral support which is pro-Soviet), is standing on its own, and two other Catalan communist groupings, the PSUC and the ENE, have joined up and called themselves the Union of the Catalan Left (VEC). Even reading the papers every day it's difficult to work out what each of these groups are offering. Conveniently for those worried about an Italian type CP block in the Spanish parliament, the Spanish communist party split came about a few months before the elections.

The so-called 'nationalist' parties in the various Spanish regions are all neatly sewn up too, and have been for some time. In Catalonia, Jordi Pujol runs the area like a patriarchal bank manager, making verbal concessions to the more nationalist and/or separatist of his followers, but of course doing nothing to threaten the stability of the central government in Madrid. In Galicia, autonomy is scarcely taken seriously. The Basque National Party (PNV) have the say in Euskadi, and they are the same kind of centre-right pseudonationalists as Pujol's crew. Herri Batasuna the political wing of ETA was legalised as a political party a week after the electoral circus began, and has hardly had time to mount a proper campaign, or raise the proper

After the clowns and the jugglers, we come to the elephants: the big 'moderate' parties who stand a real chance of winning a nationwide election Until recently, Spain had an unsatisfactory two-party system, the two parties being the socialists and Coalicion Popular, the right wing grouping led by Fraga. This was unsatisfactory to the bankers and the Americans and the multinationals because Fraga's outdated smartarse type of conservatism was so appalling that the socialists could well have had the prospect of the next three terms in power, simply by default. Three terms of even a moderate socialist government (especially one that is avowedly pro-Nicaragua and which maintains good relations with the Soviet Union) is not desirable to certain powerful people. Someone else had to be found to offer a credible opposition to the Spanish public. Suarez, since his 1982 fiasco, had formed a new party the CDS – which proclaimed and proclaims itself as the 'voice of the centre'. But Suarez is something of a laughing stock in Spain, and a reminder of the immediate post-Franco days, which were anything but agreeable. He also didn't have anything much to offer. This is why the Spanish and multinational banks in Spain have ignored Suarez completely and instead have given massive loans to a newcomer on the scene, a Catalan called Miquel Roca,

be the next Spanish president (despite Spanish prejudice against Catalans), and its worth having a look at his policies. Essentially he is a nationwide version of Jordi Pujol, a capitalist liberal who believes in cultural decentralisation and the importance of foreign investment, not to mention complete integration into the Common Market. He also has a cleverly presented set of practical proposals to deal with the tremendous problems faced by Spanish OAPS, the unemployed, and the current social security and health services. (These latter proposals are based on what Pujol's party has been doing within Catalonia and I can say from personal experience that they consist of seeming to do a lot - lots of public bulletins about this and that improvement etc. - but have done very little overall to change the pension/ health/social security/work problems: very, very crafty). As you can see, Roca's credentials are perfect - to Spain's many semi-autonomous middle-classes he is ideologically OK, to the bankers and to big business he's as sound as a bell, to the disillusioned socialist or communist voter he's offering an apparently radical programme regarding the old, the low-paid and the unemployed (NB: he always makes a point of visiting gypsy camps and immigrant suburbs – flying to the cities in question in a private jet), and to the large numbers of ex-radicals who bumble around Spain in jeans and woolly jumpers he offers a kind of 'adult' alternative to an otherwise depressing political situation. He is also careful not to talk in a loud voice about nuclear power or reducing the size of the army or taking Spain out of NATO, a silence which seems to go down well with everyone too. And so all the progressive wishes which took various more or less disturbing forms in 1976 all over Spain (disturbing to the vested interests, I mean) - among which I'd include radical social and economic change, serious decentralisation, health for everyone - are represented in the most watered-down, aseptic forms possible in the figure of this ex-lawyer from Catalonia, while at the bottom of it all he is firmly dedicated, like every other politician, to maintaining the same social and economic system we all know only too well. With him in the opposition, and the socialists in power - or vice-versa, and so on for the next few decades we have the spectacle of one of the last politically imaginative areas of Europe reduced to the sorry level of Britain or France, that is to say: a country where the majority of the citizens fall into apathy in the name of 'common-sense' and 'democracy' and become ripe once again for being lied to, worked (or bored) to the bone, used as cannon fodder, perpetuating hopelessly inadequate moral and political notions, or,

who has formed the Democratic Reform-

ist Party (PRD). This man will probably

As an alternative to this hopelessly depressing little situation in Spain, we have an anarcho-syndicalist organisation with its back to the wall, a growing number of ecologist groups, most of them avowedly anarchist, a proliferation of small libertarian groups with a youth bias - PUAJ, the Libertarian Centres, Contracorrent, Ikari, Kafe Volter etc. — and a completely unpoliticised undefined group of people who are thoroughly and 100% pissed off with politics. however, this latter group will happily mobilise around anything that affects them more or less directly or through friendships: random arrests, McDonalds & Burger King being set up in the middle of Barcelona, the nuclear power stations currently operating around Catalonia. On top of this we have the first completely autonomous, independant and non-nierarchical organisation set up to defend working rights in Spain since the Civil War - the motorcycle messengers' club (Coordinadora de Mensajeros) which operates in coordination with various anarchist/ edological/anarcho-syndicalist groups over larger issues but which remains independant when claiming its own rights (bike messengers usually come from the ranks of the unemployed and have few legal rights — it being a recent phenomenon in Spain, this industry and represent on of the worse paid sectors in the country, not to mention

simply, for being slowly poisoned...

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SOUTH AFRICA

Bosses Sanctions Or Workers Solidarity?

On June 28th, well over 100,000 people marched through London to protest against the racist Apartheid regime in South Africa. It was an impressive show of support for the Anti-Apartheid movement's call for sanctions. However to support such a call means lining up alongside black Nationalists, church leaders, Stalinists, liberals, social democrats and even conservatives like Malcolm Fraser and Tony Barber of the **Eminent Persons Group. Anarchists** in contrast have always argued that begging governments to take effective action is less than useless. Furthermore the most dynamic force for change is not diplomatic pressure nor guerrilla action but the black working-class in the factories, in the mines and in the streets of the townships. Nonetheless there is an important role for international solidarity and this is why anarchists must develop a coherent argument for effective action.

The Effects of Sanctions

Before I sketch out what type of 'sanctions' revolutionaries could meaningfully demand, I will attempt to predict the possible effects of an economic boycott. Those who reject any use of economic force like Thatcher tend to believe in something known as 'construct ive engagement'. Their argument hinges on the ridiculous claim that sanctions will harm the blacks. The rioting 'comrades' of Soweto, Crossroads and Gugeletu have of course had nothing to lose for long enough and the major black African organisations including the 500,000 strong COSATU have all called for disinvestment. In a recent pamphlet Mark Orkin has suggested that sanctions would proportionally hit whites harder than blacks. Black unemployment, already at 25% would rise to 26% but white unemployment would increase from 5% to 8%.

How then will sanctions effect the South African economy? Although South Africa is far more industrialised than any Third World nation it still depends on imports especially of oil and machinery to maintain production. South Africa has suffered from a shortage of skilled labour in manufacturing. In trying to become more self-sufficient in the production of machine-tools (1/3 are imports) it has fragmented skilled jobs previously reserved for whites and employed black labour. The less South Africa depends on imports the more it



South African Woekers on May Day this year

gives black workers access to power. Similarly South Africa has tried to pre-empt an economic blockade by building the SASOL oil from coal plants and by stockpiling oil. However the SASOL process cannot produce the heavy diesel fuel required for the transport industry and it can only satisfy at most 40% of the nation's total requirement. Furthermore the oil from coal process has the obvious effect of incresing the State's dependence on black miners, half of whom are now organising within the NUM. Finally the stockpiling of oil can only last for so long Christopher Hohne in The Guardian estimates '15 months to two years of unrationed

The Effects on Britain

oil supplies'.

A second argument raised by British advocates of 'constructive engagement' is that tens of thousands of British workers will lose their jobs. Britain's manufacturing industry for example relies heavily on the £479 of specialised machinery exported last year to South Africa, while the Pharmeceuticals Industry exported £201 billions of chemical goods last year. The figures however for jobs which will be lost through sanctions vary dramatically. The foreign and commonwealth office have quoted 50,000 while Downing Street has recently estimated 120,000 and the wildest figure of 250,000 comes from UKSATA, the United Kingdom South Africa Trade Association. By way of a contrast, Anti-Apartheid draws on the Rogers-Bolton study of 1981 which estimates that fewer than 10,000 jobs could be lost. Thatcher of course cares nothing for the plight of these workers but she is moved by the powerful Tory backbench lobby with business interests in South Africa. Labour MP Gordon Brown has listed 31 Tory MPs who hold shares, directorships and consultancies in companies with assets in South Africa, while 25 backbenchers have taken advantage of 'expenses-paid trips. . . as guests of Pretoria over the last 18 months'. Thatcher is anxious to avoid a split in the party and to protect the interests of city stockbrokers, for as Andrew Cornelius has

pointed out in The Guardian —

'it is Britain's invisible trade with South

Africa — banking, shipping, investment, air

travel — not UK jobs which does seem to

be the key issue. Forget the . . . exports,

and look to invisible earnings of £1.9

billion last year, most of which were pay
ments of interest, dividents and profits...'

Labour Sanctions

Many people accept that the Tories will never impose sanctions and instead argue that a Labour Government, once elected, will take tough measures. Firstly we must bear in mind the fact that Labour MPs in opposition are given to making promises which they have no intention of keeping. Secondly, Labour's past record on action against South Africa and Rhodesia is scarcely better than the Tories. Thirdly, South Africa has always managed to find legal and illegal ways round the arms and oil embargos and aided by Israel, France and West Germany has created its own nuclear industry. The Labour Government's ban on arms sales to South Africa tended to have the convenient loophole of allowing sales of weapons for external rather than internal use

- a distinction which quite simply does not exist. In the case of Rhodesia, Wilson imposed sanctions which were not only violated with his knowledge but in the final analysis were useless because they were not extended to South Africa itself, which was propping up Smith's regime.

The main aim of western liberals including future Labour Governments would not be a total blockade, which would be virtually impossible to enforce successfully, but 'selective measures'. These are designed to put pressure on Botha to make reforms and save South African capitalism from revolution. Botha is willing to concede some reforms but is unable to do enough to satisfy the black nationalists without alienating many of the 4.5 million whites who are increasingly prepared to die to preserve their privileges. On the other hand the business community having seen Magabe leave the multinationals alone in Zimbabwe and with whom the ANC are prepared to talk are urging reform. Clearly more reform will further divide the ruling class and could add fuel to the revolutionary

Workers' Sanctions

Government sanctions are therefore likely to be ineffectual and certainly incomplete. Leftists have therefore emphasised worker's sanctions' as the basis of solidarity. It is the workers who produce the machinery, the chemicals and other goods which South Africa needs. It is the workers who convey and distribute South African exports. The trade union bureaucrats have been conspicuous on Anti-Apartheid platforms but have

As the Dunnes strikers have discovered, carrying out union policy has resulted in much praise from bureaucrats but no effective action to win the dispute. Bureaucrats shaking hands in public and conference resolutions passed then forgotten seems to be the sum total of trade union solidarity. It is only recently that the Anti-Apartheid movment has been giving publicity to the massive growth of independent unions. It has given more publicity to SACTU, the exile-based industrial wing of the ANC which has only a minimal influence among the new unions. Before it was crushed SACTU was accused of drawing the best union militants out of the factories and turning them into the professional revolutionaries of MK-Umkhonte we Siswe (Spear of the Nation). This left organised labour vulnerable to State repression, a fate which the new breed of union militants are anxious to avoid. British workers, though, are still badly informed about their African counterparts. As the

International Labour Reports found: 'All too frequently shopfloor workers never get to hear about calls for support that have been put out by independent unions in South Africa.' (Nov-Dec 1985) Workers' sanctions in practice must mean widespread industrial action and the open flouting of the Employment Act which outlaws sympathy action. The trade union movement is in no mood to delivery such radical action being more concerned with putting Labour back into office. The miners and the printers received nothing so why should we expect the unions to deliver anything more than empty gestures of solidarity? Demands for rank-and-file direct action independent of bureaucrats are correct but with workers on the defensive and classconfidence so low such actions will be few and far between. One area of activity which can produce results is the building of direct links between British and South : African workers. This must take place at branch and shop-steward level to be effective. As a Metal and Allied Worker's Union representative said after a recent visit to

'British workers were genuinely surpirsed that black workers have organised into independent unions. . . Their attitude to how they could give black workers support really changed when they realised that we who work in the same company also have a union and are fighting the same employer.' (International Labour

Ultimately the sort of working-class movement which could deliver effective solidarity action would also be capable of taking on the government and the state. This is what Kinnock, Willis, Healey and all the labour movement parasites fear most. We cannot meaningfully separate antiapartheid activity from anti-capitalist activity and we must expose the hypocrisy of those who do.

D.A

How Many Divisions Has The Left?

Continued from page 7

itself in the divisions of the left, though in Britain chiefly as influencing the causes in the package deal, some nationalisms being accepted and others beyond the pale, for no apparent reason.

Elsewhere in Europe and in parts of the American continent, Maoism has succeeded in imposing a successful ringer for anarchism, or superseded Trotskyism, while in the Arab countries it has merged into Islamic Fundamentalism and in the African countries passes off as 'Marxism'. It has thus created its own climate of opinion and is one of the sources of new parties, with an alleged new outlook but a very similar pattern.

The woman's movement has brought new interpretations to bear on many issues, but nevertheless has reproduced many of these divisions within itself.

If we half-facetiously compare all this with the divisions within the Church some interesting parallels emerge. There is nothing new in comparing the Communist Party with the Church of Rome, the Jesuits are the Communist commissars in soutanes. Rome has aptly been described as 'a lamb in adversity, a fox in equality and a tiger in supremacy', equally applicable to Moscow.

The Church of England as a pale reflect ion of Rome may therefore be compared with the Labour Party. Both are 'broad churches' with extremes within it. Opposed to Roman domination yet a fifth column of Rome within the Anglican Church are the Anglo-Catholics, whose clergy are attracted to slum parishes but tend to be personally well within the cultured bourgeoisie. They have an exact equivalent in the Trotskyites, opposed to Moscow yet Moscow's fifth column in the Labour Party, spreading their tentacles over slum areas yet with a funloving intellectual bourgeois or mandarin core. (It is of interest to note that Trotskyism was introduced to England by Anglo-Catholic clergymen in the Communist Party).

The old ILP might be compared with the Methodists, who did in fact help to build it. The ILP survived for years because of past assets built up by former pioneers, so do the Methodists; it went into one form of alliance and another, as do they. Now to all intents, the ILP is dead and back in the Labour Party—
(not a contradiction)—as the Methodists may yet go back to the Church of England preserving not so much a separate cause as a series of interpretations and interests past and present. The memory of the

of the Labour Party outside the trots; its shadows are the controversies of the present.

One is tempted to go on — with such comparisons as that of the small but still alive Socialist Party of Great Britain, with its theory of inevitability coming directly from Calvinism (as well as the aspect of Marxism most forgotten), but if one wants to fit the Anarchists in, the inevitable comparison is with the Spiritualists! The Spiritualists disdain any agency between themselves and the heavans (even Jesus gets tossed aside as irrelevant), they certainly believe in direct action; and church people are unable to make up their minds as to whether they are part of Christianity or not, as socialists cannot determine whether Anarchists are part of the same movement or not, or the opposite, or a higher, if unattainable, form!

We are hoping to publish a series of articles on the 57 varieties of trotskyist and Marxists parties in Britain (or abroad) today but need more information from readers.

LETTER FROM BRISTOL

Dear Black Flag,

Here is some news from Bristol. On June 16th (Soweto day) a group of about 25 comrades occupied five South African connected banks in the City Centre. We started with the shopping centre Barclays, went on to the city branch which we managed to close down for 1/2 an hour. The employees (50 or so) were quickly told to leave by the management and the doors locked. Passers-by were informed by a notice that this was in commemoration of the massacre at Soweto. Other banks occupied were Barclays (International), Standard Chartered and the | Clifton Barclays - in this one phone calls were answered on behalf of those comrades murdered by the South African police! - As usual there was a press blackout.

The Bristol Young Comrades
PS. We found an excellent couple of
poems to play loudly on occupations.
They are on the War/Peace compilation*
and by the poet Zenzile (a political
exile from South Africa).
*R. Radical Records (USA).

INTERNATIONAL

Greece - 5 On Hunger Strike

As we reported in the last issue of Black Flag, dozens of Anarchists have been arrested over the last two months in a crude attempt by the State to break the back of the Greek anarchist movement. As we go to press, twenty-one anarchists remain in prison facing a variety of charges (including attempted murder) and many have been tortured (two so badly that they now have difficulty walking properly). Five anarchists went on hunger strike on June 17th in response to the tortures and beatings and would obviously appreciate any form of solidarity from Britain or elsewhere (see below).

Eleven of the twenty-one arrests were made during an anti-nuclear demonstration through Athens on May 13th while the others were arrested in Salonica after a petrol bomb attack on a police car on May 19th, (two policemen were seriously injured in the attack, hence the attempted murder charge).

To continue pressure on the anarchists, Katarina Latropoulou (a well known anarchist lawyer from Athens) was arrested by police on June 22nd in a vicious frame-up. Police have linked her with two escaped prisoners who they claim she helped while they were on the run. Drug squad officers also planted heroin and hashish in her home to ensure a heavy sentence if she is convicted. The case, known popularly as a police fiasco, has caused so much public controversy that both Greek Prime Minister Papandreus and his Minister for Public Order have been forced to make public statements about the case. Predictably, they claim the arrest was totally justified and also hinted that Katarina had links with the terrorist world as well as the drug scene.

three thousand people gathered outside
the University of Athens and marched
to the houses of parliament on June
26th in solidarity with Katarina. A
second demonstration was organised
by anarchists on July 3rd but it was
banned by the police and a police
cordon was thrown around the university
of Athens for several days to ensure no
more demonstrations would take place.

Despite the cordon, four Anarchists managed to slip through and display banners denouncing police repression on July 3rd. Fifty more Anarchists broke through the cordon on the following day and held a press conference in the university.

On June 1st an incendiary bomb exploded outside the ruling socialist party's newspaper office, causing fifteen million drachmas worth of damage. A second bomb exploded outside the Young Socialist's newspaper office a week later. Both actions being claimed by the 'Anarchist Action' group to underline growing police repression.

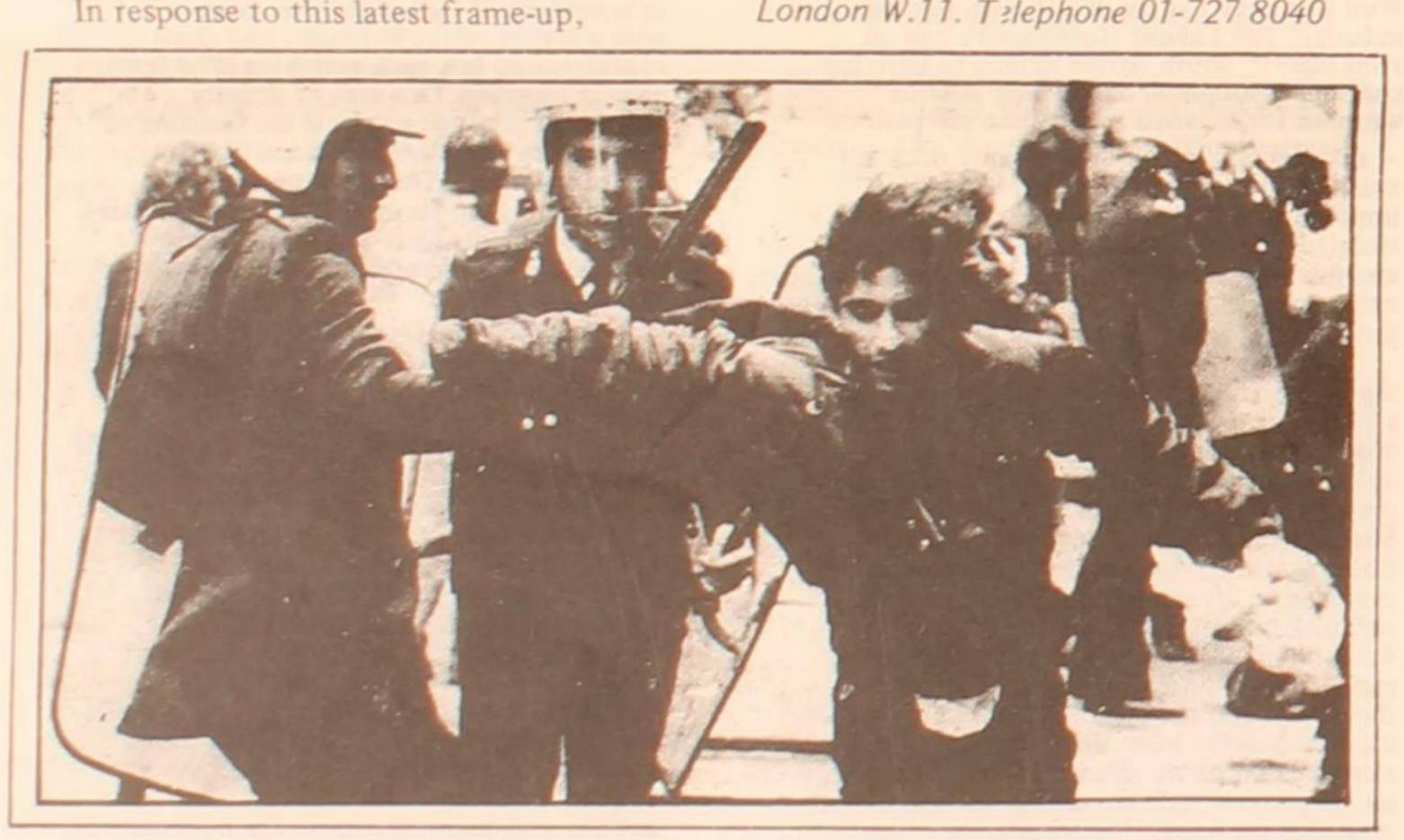
On June 23rd a third bomb exploded outside the Ministry of the Environment causing extensive damage. This bomb was claimed by the 'Revolutionary Popular Struggle' group in solidarity with the Exarchia Square Community (a meeting place for Anarchists in Athens).

The 5 Anarchists on Hunger Strike

- 1. Yannis Balis
- Basil Maganadelis
 Tasos Kypreos
- 4 Andreas Barbou
- 4. Andreas Barboutis

5. Panayotos Galanakis
Direct protests to: The Greek Embassy

Greek Embassy, 1A Holland Park, London W.11. Telephone 01-727 8040



The Spanish Electoral Circus

Continued from page 4

the worse treated – 3 deaths in a year due to the time pressures). More and more these different groups – ignored by the creators of political flim-flam here – are beginning to discover each others' existence.

They are probably more numerous than they seem. They had a recent local victory with the release of seven punks here in Barcelona recently (see last article) though its true that the lenient attitude of the authorities may be due in part to the forthcoming elections. There is no reason why they shouldn't have more. Then again, there is no reason why they should have any at all they have little money, few contacts in the media, an artifically created reputation of being 'outside society' (whatever that means) and a different mentality from the universal official one of how 'things should be done' Nonetheless they are among the very few people in Spain getting direct results. Albeit - we don't want to get too optimistic, eh?- on a small scale, though come to that, what other scale is there? But in terms of activity, they are only marginally more visible than anarchists in Britland, for example. The only sign that gives me any hope, is

exceptions (that I've spoken to in Catalonia) knows what anarchism and libertarianism is. Anarchists aren't bogged down in the caricature of the loony in the black cape.

Getting back to the electoral circus

- and the dozens of grinning apes plastered all over Barcelona and other large cities - suffice to say that like the real circuses which still trundle around Europe, the act has become something of a museum piece, or at best, something for the kiddies. The magic's gone. Today I chatted to two people who are going to vote: both of them said in as many words that they were going to vote despite the flim-flam rather than because of it (both voting for the communists – two completely different parties, obviously). And I suppose, like them, such is the majority of voters. In fact it's all so unbelievably stupid I'm going to finish this piece

PS. Anyone wanting any information contact addresses etc. for anarchist groups. libertarian groups in Catalonia or for their literature, can write to:

Apartado de Correos 35152, Barcelona,
Catalonia, Spain

МТ

(Typesetters Note: the Socialists were voted back into office with a reduced majority).

Chile - State Forces Murder Seven

While most of the media's attention is on South Africa this month, the fight against General Pinochet's fascist dictatorship (now thirteen years old)

In the early hours of last Wednesday morning (July 3rd) around a dozen bombs exploded in Santiago (Chile's capital city) marking the beginning of a massive 48-hour general strike against Pinochet's rapidly crumbling nazi regime.

Barricades were thrown up in working class districts to keep out military death squads while troops fired tear-gas and used water cannons against demonstrators in the capital city centre. Military jeeps toured the city streets firing tear-gas at any crowds that gathered while 'civilians' in unmarked cars gunned down unarmed protestors without warning.

On the second day of the strike, supported by 60% of workers and students in many areas, soldiers invaded working class districts making mass arrests (around 700 nationwide) and beating/shooting indiscriminately. By the end of the 48-hour strike, State



forces had murdered seven people in cold blood including Nadia Fuentes, a 13-year old girl.

Far from reducing opposition to his murderous regime, Pinochet's cruel and repressive methods seem only to fan the flames of discontent against him.

Anarchism In Brazil

On May 1st, an anarchist demonstration took place in the streets of Sao Paolo for the first time in twenty years. A group of over two hundred people carrying banners and black flags paraded through the streets and distributed leaflets.

During the proceeding week, the Centro de Cultura Social opened at 85 Rubino de Oliveira St. The libertarian press of different countries was put on display attracting enough public attention that our Brazilian comrades decided to prolong the exhibition.

The May 1st events continued into the night with the presentation of *The First of May*, a play by Pietro Gori, which was put on by the anateur group Anarchos at the Major Diogo Theatre. A number of comrades spoke before the play got underway.

On May 2nd, a meeting to discuss syndicalist questions took place with the participation of delegates from Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, Pasaiba, and Sao

Paulo. Discussions centres around the Brazilian workers situation, and the possibility of creating International Workers Association (IWA) sections in Brazil, which would signify an organised anarcho-syndicalist presence within the COB (Brazilian Workers Federation). The name A Voz Operaia was chosen for a journal which is to appear shortly and a decison to hold another meeting in Bahia in 1987 was made.

These events were also reported in the media: The return of the Anarchists (The State of Sao Paolo); The Anarchists are Back (The Evening Journal); 'The Anarchists are Back on Stage (The Journal of Brazil); The Anarchists Want a Five-Day Work Week and an End to Obligatory Voting and Military Service (Popular News). Several participants were also interviewed for the television and radio.

Source: The International Relations Committee of the French Anarchist Federation. Translated from Le Monde Libertaire No. 622.

Anarchism And Anarco-Syndicalism Today

Continued from page 3

to do with the real nature of anarcho-

We believe that we have demonstrated that industry is still a dominant force in western societies and is becoming increasingly important in 'third world' societies. The workplace is a vital site for struggle against exploitation, as well as for the preservation and improvement of the working and living conditions of workers. It is also vital for the s etting up of the structures that can create revolutionary change through taking over, self-managing and transforming production for real social needs.

With the increased complexity of modern societies and the huge increase in the role of the state in economic and social life (eg. subsidisation of business, 'welfare', environment al controls, public housing and transportation, etc.) it is increasingly difficult to separate purely industrial struggles from broader community struggles. Many, but not all, anarcho-syndicalists see much value in addressing the relationship between these sorts of struggles. We discuss this point in more depth later.

Anarcho-syndicalist unions and groups have always included unwaged workers — unemployed people, houseworkers, pensioners, prisoners and others. Anarcho-syndicalists recognise that these people have to labour to live and are part of the reserve labour force to be used when economies are expanding; and to be used against workers where economies are contracting (strike-breaking, attempts to reduce conditions and wages, etc.). Anarcho-syndicalists seek to break down the artificial distinctions between 'workers' and 'non-workers' that are created by the state to divide the revolutionary movement.

In Spain in the 1930's unemployed members of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT were among the most militant and active, In Spain, too, many anarcho-syndicalists were also involved as anarchists in the broader libertarian movement that involved the affinity groups of the FAI, rationalist

schools, women's organisations and much more, as well as anarcho-syndicalist cultural activities and centres (ateneos). Many members of the CNT rejected state and church involvement in their personal lives, preferring to live unmarried in a committed relationship with their 'companera' or 'companero' in the villages of 1930s Catholic Spain. At the 1936 Congress of the CNT, a broad sweep of issues from the collectivisation of heavy industry to the social responsibility for the rearing of children were discussed with regard to the coming revolutionary society.

Some, but not all, anarcho-syndicalists today recognise this as an important part of anarcho-syndicalist history and believe it further proves that anarcho-syndicalism is neither obsolete nor workerist.

We reject the dichotomy pushed by newspaper editors that workers (especially when they are on strike) are somehow outside and against 'the public'. With 40% of people in this country in the paid labour-force (and with many more people relying on their income) to a large extent the workers are the public are the workers.

SUMMARY

We ask, are these positions outlined above doing anything for anarchism in Australia? The lack of organisation and its attendant sporadic activity, is a result of lack of action and confrontation with what oppresses us. This leads anarchists to turn on themselves, creating divisions and mutual suspicion. Groups stagnate and then disappear through attrition by 'burn-out' and causes cynicism — 'everything's fucked' attitude.

- 'everything's fucked' attitude. These positions also tend towards a move away from a sense of external struggle to a sense of internal struggle as a primary footing with personal struggle, struggle becomes unbalanced. They should work hand in hand.

Social struggle and personal struggle together help us to understand how to take control of all life's processes.

PART 2 in next issue. .

COMMENT

How Many Divisions Has The Left?

The ILP influence

All subsequent Labour Party minority

groups (as distinct from trot infiltrators)

now named 'left' or 'loony left' have

tried to imitate the ILP. The old ILP

took its coloration from contemporary

events. When the original Labour Party

influence of its Glasgow MPs, a sort of

streak. Then it became a pacifist party

Then suddenly it bloomed as a socialist

alternative boasting its alliance with the

POUM. The Glasgow ILP MPs compared

themselves with Lenin and Liebknecht,

and then became ultra-pacifists with at

least one of them reverting afterwards

anti-communism. All this can be mirror-

and Ken Livingstone, now the extreme

left, now the scurge of the 'left', always

denounced by the press as monsters yet

In the 30s the trade union leadership

via Moral Rearmament to rightwing

ed today with the Wedgwood Benns

in the limelight, always being both

presented as loveable loonies at the

was regarded as being right wing,

today it is regarded as left wing, but

either way this is meaningless; they seek

power and influence and their 'moderat-

ion' consists of not pressing the struggle

too hard, their 'militancy' consists of

not letting it get away from them, the

Labels of 'right' and 'left' come from

the company they keep and the politicos

same time.

sanitised Communist Party with a pacifist

types left it, it became under the

Austrian Socialist and the Spanish

As the seating arrangements for the French deputies during the Revolution stemmed from the monarch on the extreme right, through the Bishops and aristocracy to the middle class, the idea of the 'left wing' was the workers and the extreme left as the extremely impoverished so more inclined to extreme

During the period following the capitalist victory over feudalism, the working class became vocal and powerful, but inevitably perhaps took its leaders from failed or impoverished members of the middle class (just as the middle classes had taken theirs from the aristocracy), they had to be 'extreme' to get a demagogic platform, it had nothing to do otherwise with their economic interests.

The 'left wing' was originally a term for the working class movement; but gradually became a term for the political leadership of that movement, gradually only the political representation of it, ultimately just of those who invoked its name. This alteration of the name was the result in this country of years of radical involvement and Labour representation in the Liberal (and finally Labour) parties.

Bourgeoisie and Mandarins

The peculiarity of this century is the rise of a different class, which can be called the mandarins; namely those who rise by examinations and appointment (sometimes by nepotism) in the hierarchy of government or State industry and rival the bourgeoisie for power and wealth. Just as the lower ranks of the bourgeoisie sometimes look to the struggles of the workers to enable them to rise — for instance, the lawyers who 'advise, counsel' and finally 'represent' — so the failed mandarins also act often in opposition

They abound since the growth of high education; students who have grown out of student politics and can't make it into business management; former student activists who know how to manufacture slogans but know no other way to make it pay but politics.

By keeping this in mind we can trace what otherwise seems a tangled mesh of 'left wing politics'.

The rise of the Labour Party

The Labour Party is unique among world Socialist Parties by virtue of its trade union constituency ensuring working-class electoral support.

Originally trade unionists looked to the Liberal Party for political guidance, and in particular to radical MPs) who stood as Liberals. This was inconsistent because the Liberal Party in the 19th century was the capitalists' party and represented the manufacturers. Benjamin Disraeli, creator of the Conservative Party (who began as a Radical), exploited the inconsistency by urging an alliance between the (farm landlord) Tory Party and the industrial workers against the (capitalist) Liberal Party and agricultural workers.

It was this wedge which finally divided the trade unionists from the Liberal Party, Keir Hardie pioneering an Independent Labour Party (independent of the Liberals), others remaining as 'Lib-Labs'. In 1900 the ILP helped to form the Labour Party with the trade unions, with the prime target of incorating the Lib-Labs.

Only workers through their unions, or

unions, with the prime target of incormembers of affiliated organisations, could enter the Labour Party, whose bias was well to capitalism. Individual members could join the ILP, and it grew to be a wealthy powerful organisation that helped found the first Labour government. But as by virtue of its independence it could embarrass the Labour leadership, so MacDonald opened up the Labour Party to individual membership making the ILP redundant. From the '20s it became smaller and smaller; though it held on to the accumulated funds and property and thus became richer and richer, the less activitiy it undertook, (it finally sank out of sight in the modern era and the vast accumulated assets are finally gone like the snows of yesteryear).

Marxism entered the British Labour movement via Hyndman as a minority sect. The Social Democratic Federation was its first in the field; but there were various offshoots, one curious one being the Socialist Party of Great Britain, which - fed up with schisms laid down a firm and unalterable constitution from which they would not deviate and have remained alive ever since, notwithstanding an entirely different world. (They have been very successful in attracting legacies). Their line was taken from direct new translations of Marx (unfortunately taken when the Bismarck anti-Socialist laws were in force and Marx's works were bowdlerised; this water-down Marxist policy has

remained their policy ever since, though

the full texts are long since available).

The Communists

The Communist Party using the glamour value of the Russian Revolution grew in this country out of many Marxist sects and minor parties (it also attracted some renegade anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists, through exploitation of the name 'communist', used by anarchists). Left wing politics has since been thought to revolve around the CP's twists and turns, its adventures and misadventures, folklore has grown out of 'how we resisted the Blackshirts', and its legendary struggles since, as an end result of which the working class is undoubtedly alienated from any form of left wing activity. Unlike in (say) America



Ted Knight, Marxist bore extraordinaire, is on the extreme left!

Then Marxist involvement

It was the Fabians who first popularised Marxism, (or at least their interpretation of it), in the Labour Movement, and people like Beatrice Webb with a total lack of human feeling saw socialism as an efficient super-State, an idea popularised by Bernard Shaw. In Soviet Russia (and to tell the truth in Mussolini's Italy) they saw their ideal realised. They wished to stay with the Liberal Party but events moved too fast for them (H.G. Wells later complained - it was hardly worth destroying the Liberal Party for what the Labour Party had become). Their idea of Marxism has now permeated the universities; via the London School of Economics; it influenced generations of students of political economy, and the modern American style radical politics, Marcuse-ism Situationism and what-have-you comes down in direct line. The Russians and Chinese have tried to keep up with the intellectual popularity of Marxism and its acceptance through the former British Empire by generations of LSE students. Every university campus is affected by this. Few economists dare challenge the validity of the theories of Marx, Engels or Lenin for fear of intellectual ridicule thanks to Fabianism.

where Communist veterans must forswear their old allegiances to be accepted once more by bourgeois society, in England they have only to enter the Labour or trade union bureaucracy and mention the magic words 'no witch hunts' to finish in the Honours List of the Privy Council.

Trotskyism, actually a right-wing deviation of the Communist Party, therefore entered the Labour Party. It has had some success as a Tapeworm. Years ago, in Glasgow, one had to be an ILP stalwart to get jobs or council houses; now in Liverpool, the magic word for what otherwise could be called corruption is 'militant tendency' Some Labour people look to Militancy Tendency to supply them with Election fodder; others abhor it knowing that whatever else the trots do, they are a certain vote-loser; and in its defence the magic words are intoned in Walworth Road 'no witch hunts'. The youth section of the Labour Party has been the prey of the trots ever since the CP was eaten away by the ageing process.

Half the attraction is a form of sadomasochism. The discipline, the financial demands, the life style insistence, is quite steep — if they introduced whips and ropes they would probably increase the membership, and anyone who didn't like it would probably go to the Socialist Wormers Party instead, which is a good roadshow version of the old ILP at a later period of its life, when it thought Rosa Luxembourg was the greatest.

The Anarchists played a significant role in the pioneering of the working class movement, alongside the Radicals and a crucial part of the division between syndicalism and trade unionism. In this country it was the Radicals who influenced the early trade union movement, in many others it was the Anarchists. In this country lib-labism, and the Radicals, led to the Labour Party; but it was the role of the Communist Party which smashed anarchist-influence internationally within the working class movement, together with the fascist onslaught from a different direction.

Liberalism v Anarchism

Total-Statism came in the 1930s to seem relevant and Non-Statism irrelevant. Total-Statism (whether capitalistdemocratic, fascist, or State communist) triumphed over our working lives, but (at least in affluent countries) anarchism appeared to have won a revolution in our leisure time lives. It hadn't really: there was an ersatz anarchism consisting of weekday conformism and weekend rebellion. The new means of persuasion was by an apparent abundance of freedom. Outside the work system and a corresponding lack of freedom within it. (Adapting to this, it was a typical ersatz-anarchist response to say let's back out of the working life as much as possible and be content with State

As we lost control of what we produced and how we could improve our life style, so we gained an abundance of freedom in the way we spent our

But this ersatz-anarchism was only a revival of the old liberalism, originally mixed with labourism, and now put forward by the new constituent class of failed mandarins. Anarchism means the destruction of the State, and freedom: Liberalism means as much freedom as possible within the State. Thus we got a

hybrid, Liberal-Anarchism that exists parallel with Anarchism, and sometimes confused with it, (and people believing that only 'personalities' caused the divide)

This liberalism was passed of as a new movement' and comprised a number of ideals, new and second hand, all tied up in one package, in which anarchism it self was the loss-leader. The academics became increasingly important in the establishment, yet undeniably Marxist, so the failed academics picked up this liberal anarchism, some of them quite genuinely, others afterwards using it for a career. This body of failed mandarins is now the 'loony left' of the Labour Party - 'loony' only because its ideas are impracticable under capitalism, and only under social-democratic capitalism can such mandarins live. New package deal reforms have replaced the old ragbag of reformism and Keynesism; Marxism still exists but taken up by the trotsky ite entrists as a right wing with left phrases.

In a quiet revolution in the 50s or 60s, the working class movement vanished. The centre of politics became the students. Marxist Leninism has always assigned a leadership role to the educated middle class. Now it became the young educated class, the students, and the working class merely an evocation

Maoism

There is yet another warp to the pattern, Maoism. Russia shifted from Stalinist to suit its internal purposes and disorientated the communist parties. They would have followed but for the existence of powerful China. China remained true to Stalinism but Mao also incorporated elements of the Trotskyism. Internationally this meant 'world revolution', in reality, world support for nationalist movements, necessitating power politics, espionage and a new

form of 'terrorism'.. Under the influence of China, 'ringers' for anarchism were created, and some States saw the necessity of introducing ringers themselves, lest anarchism emerged. From here we have an entirely new ball game and this too has reflected

Continued on page 5

BLACK FLAG PAGE 7

that here everyone with very few