

Letters Received

Dear Black Flag,

I believe Peter Miller in his so-called review of Alan Reeve's Notes From A Waiting Room was to say the least prejudiced and distorted. Does the reviewer claim to be a truer than true anarchist who is allowed to pass judgement on individuals who have been crucified by the state repression machinery?

If that is the case then anarchists must start to look seriously at what we mean when we call for the smashing of the state which undoubtedly includes destroying the prison system.

The following remarks, I find object-

"My reservations concerning Alan Reeve's Notes From a Waiting Room are ... substantial. They almost led me to question the wisdom of publishing the book at

"Almost one year after his escape, while he was physically unwell, he attempted in a very ham-fisted way to steal whisky from a supermarket while carrying a pistol. On being apprehended he shot and killed

Dear Black Flag,

I hope you've seen a new book that was recently published here and should be on sale in the UK, called Destructive Engagements about South Africa's war against its neighbours. It strikes me that, the media plays down this aspect of racist Pretoria's policy. There was recently a disgusting article in the Sunday Times about the MNR in Mozambique which portrayed them as poor ill-equipped 'freedom fighters'. This is of course total bullshit. Does the English press really believe that every country bordering on South Africa has problems with dissidents because they now have 'independent' African governments or do they

Dear Friends,

Greetings to you from an anarchist in India! How nice it was to see your address in the International Anarchist Address Book! Hope all is well with you, your families, friends and your good

Let me introduce myself as an enlightened anarchist who lives the life of anarchism in daily life. Without living such a life, mere protests have little meaning for me. If you like to know more, we shall send you a copy of our ENLIGHT-END ANARCHISM on hearing from you.

I often feel that person-to person contact is more important than having contact only with organisations which have no heart to feel or love to inspire. Even our anarchist groups cannot have deep affection of the heart for another. I would, therefore, like to have names

a pursuing policeman."

Peter Miller never makes mistakes and is therefore qualified to stand in judgement of peoples actions, just like middleclass psychoanalysers who are responsible for the confinement of many children and adults within the hospital prisons.

Because he went on to say: "This would seem to give substance to those who opposed (i.e. the Home Office, how nice to be a clever dick) his release and is the basis of my reservations."

"That's not true – because the account of the events did not seem to me to be feasible." PM now becomes a paragon of truth.

As an individual who spent a considerable amount of time in remand homes, detention centres, prisons and borstals in Britain and Ireland in the early sixties 1960-1965 and also having read Alan's book, discovered an affinity with Alan whatever his politics may have been then or now.

Oskar Rossin

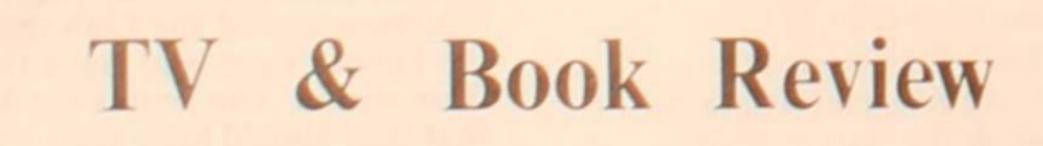
know the truth that the SA regime now causes destruction and death all over Southern Africa, and want to minimise the evils perpetuated to protect UK investments from sanctions etc. The misinformation spread by the English (and other countrys' press too?) press means murder in this part of the world. The Sunday Times is not just a lackey of imperialism and a killer but a scab newspaper to boot! Their article made me feel sick and seems typical of British journalists who spread murderous lies under a pathetic cover of 'balanced and liberal' reporting.

N. (Harare, Zimbabwe)

and addresses of individual anarchists in the UK and other countries which are totally fed up with authoritarianism and bureaucracy. I would also like to have names and addresses of religious anarchists who are not dogmatic or blind believers. Hope you will be able to help. Thank you....

...We remember you in our prayers. Victory to anarchism and free thinking! With deep love to you! SWAMI NIRMALANANDA B.R.Hills 571317. Karnataka.India.

'Enlightened' you may be, Swami...anarchist you're not. How do you get over to a swami that he's made a mistake? All this comes of publishing address books with wrong addresses and 'unsectarian' divisions, Don't wait up for us.



THE JEWISH ANARCHISTS

An amazing coincidence: not only did Channel 4 television put on the story of the American Jewish Anarchists - Free Voice of Labour – but it was on June 26th, the very day that Sam Dolgoff's book Fragments appeared off the press. Sam is a veteran of the American anarchist movement and appears briefly in the film. He was not exactly in the group described in it, but in the Industrial Workers of the World and Englishlanguage anarchist movement. The book is published by Refract Press at £3.

The film is a wonderful evocation of the old struggles, and is given point by the old-timers who talk about the past. It doesn't give quite a true picture of the Frei Arbeiter Stimme (Yiddish speakers) movement. Younger comrades may, for instance, wonder why there is only a fleeting glimpse of Emma Goldman. who wasn't part of that circle along with other well known anarchists of Jewish origin in America.

The FAS reflected the militant anarchists in the immigrant working class movement, who pioneered many trade unions.

In New York, many of them were Jewish or Italian. While these were separated from each other by language, they were in some ways less effective, but decentralised and revolutionary.

Once this barrier was removed, and none worked harder for it than the anarchists, the unions became centralised and under the domination of trade union bureaucrats. The film shows the struggles of the youth, it also shows those same youth in their old age. But it doesn't show the problems they faced in between, when the unions became reactionary and the FAS followed that line, putting its former anarchism on one side. People like Emma Goldman, or Sam Dolgoff, didn't work with it; others, especially those whose language and work problems confined them to the Jewish language, tried to work within it, despite criticisms.

Despite these shortcomings, the film brings back the fighting past of one section of the Anarchist movement in its history, as did the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Civil War series. It is rare, but welcome, to find this on television.



An exellent leaflet has come our way on Prisoners' Rights. It is put out by NCCL and costs 40p. It is one of their information sheets. Titles include the following: Remand Prisoners, Convicted Prisoners

and Youth Custody. National Council for Civil Liberties,

21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA Telephone (01) 403 3888

Anarchism and Violence. Osvaldo Bayer. £3.95 Book on Severino di Giovanni, an Argentine anarchist militant who was murdered by the State in 1934. 250 pages. Elephant Editions, BM Elephant. London WC1N 3XX

Angry Brigade - Documents and Chronology. 74 pages. £1.20p. Elephant Editions, BM Elephant, London WCIN 3XX

Anarchism in Action – the Spanish Revolution. 48 pages. £1.00. Published by Tower Hamlets DAM-IWA. ASP, c/o BM Hurricane, London WCIN 3XX

Anarchist Encyclopaedia – Integral Education by M. Bakunin; Self Management by F. Mintz. 18 pages. ISSN 0267 6141 (for library orders). The Anarchist Encyclopaedia, c/o Cambridge Free Press, Unit 6, 25 Gwydir Street, Cambridge CB1 2LG

The Battle for Orgreave Bernard Jackson with Tony Wardle 130 pages £3.95 Distributed by Housman's Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road N1 Tel (01) 837 4473 (£4.50 inc. p&p) ISBN 0 950996769 for library orders illustrated.

Utne Reader 16 PO Box 1974, Marion Ohio 43305 USA

TERRY DEAN STOPS HIS HUNGER STRIKE Terry Dean, on hunger strike since June 16th ended the ordeal on July 21st. He still has trouble taking food and has to cope with Liver, Kidney and eyesight

Le Monde Libertaire 12 June 1986 8.00F 12 pages (+ Bookservice index) 145 rue Amelot 75011 Paris Tel (16) 14805 3408 ISSN 0026 9433

AGORA Libertaire June 1986 25F 36 pages French language BP 3098 31026 Toulouse Cedex France.

Umanita Nova 15 June 1986 8 pages La Cooperativa Tipolitografica a.r.l. via S. Piero 13/a Carrara Tel (0585) 75143.

Counter Information June 1986 Free 4 pages Box 81, c/o 43 Candlemaker Row, Edinburgh Scotland.

Nottingham Anarchist News July 1986 10p 16 pages Box A Mushroom Bookshop, 10 Heathcote Street, Nottingham.

Strike Back No. 1 12 pages donation PO Box A Chideock Post Office, Chideock. W. Dorset.

COMING EVENTS

Women's March at Wapping. August 2nd, Assemble at Tower Hill Tube, 8.30pm. Organised by S.E. TUC.

National March on News International August 9th, Assemble at Tower Hill Tube 8.30pm.

HA MACHAR MACHAR

ANARCHISM AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

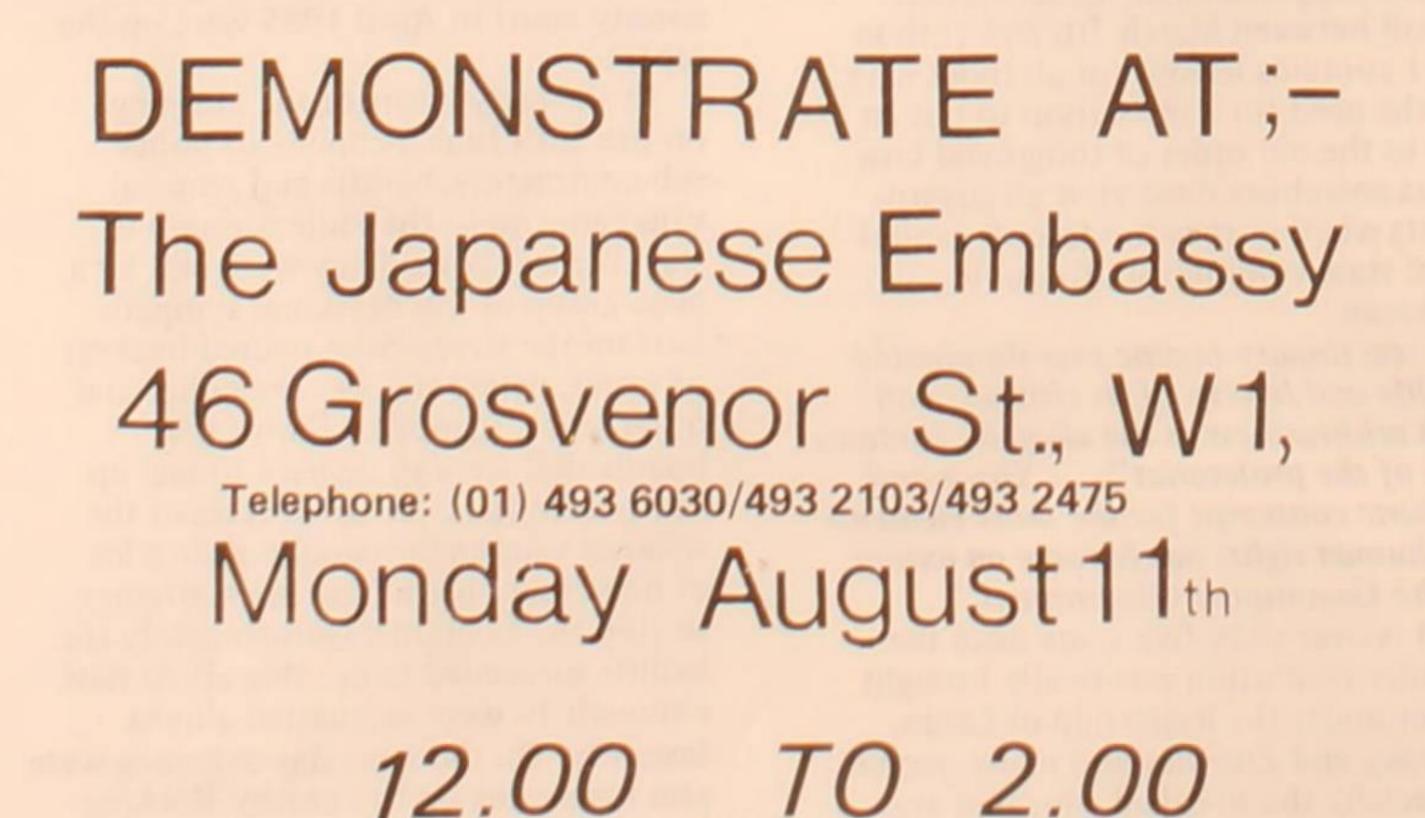
Public Meeting. Organised by Central London DAM. AUGUST 21ST 7.30PM Thursday.

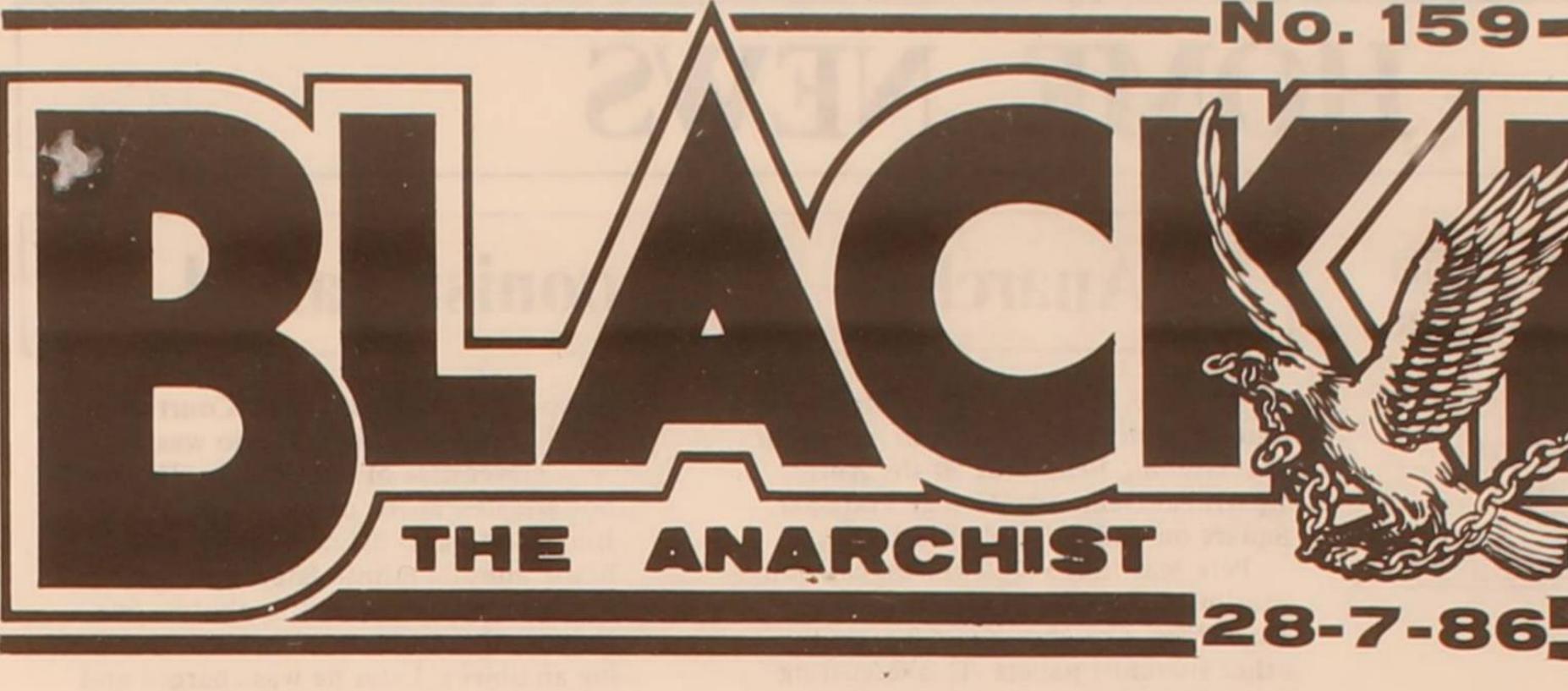
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Tube: Holborn.

problems. Please support him through messages, magazines, stamps for post. . TJ Dean B77879, HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton SW2



K. Omori, show here in police custody after an unsuccesful appeal against his death sentence, has been in jail for ten years in August. He is innocent, he needs your help!





COMMONWEALTH secede from the Athletic Games which

In the Second World War the British Empire, militarily victorious, bled itself to death financially, finally justifying to themselves, at least - the 'Little Englander' bourgeois economists who had always thought that it was not worth the cost entailed in a large standing army. Derided as the 'Manchester School' these capitalist economists felt it more profitable to dominate by international trade rather than by the show of empire. It was their influence that led to the Commonwealth – a name borrowed from English republicanism – as the white colonial nations became independent.

The working class never got anything out of the empire, though they picked up the bill during its existence and after. They needed some consolation for their sacrifice of lives, and were offered the imperialist, patriotic, royalist sideshow for which the Commonwealth was a democratic-seeming substitute.

their independence, which generally came when a universal military presence was no longer economically viable, the Commonwealth became a members' club or more properly a game. While the serious business of business was left to the multi-nationals, the Commonwealth Game became centred on the Commonwealth Games. In an attempt to influence the British Conservatives over the South African issue by the majority of the Commonwealth state, the Commonwealth may lead to them seceding from the political Game.

As to the twilight of the Commonwealth Games, it is a great pity for the athletes who have trained hard and whose outlet to world fame is by international contests to find that their final opportunity is ruined by politics. But youth always suffered in the course of international politics, and the athletes may feel thankful that they are only asked to sacrifice their sporting ambitions and their athletic talents in an imitation of war rather than their lives or limbs in an actual war which the passing of Empire no longer requires. Because the preservation of Common-

wealth meant ties with rather than domination of the black members of it, the Commonwealth has lost its nationalistic and patriotic appeal, and to the populists

A Federal International of Stateless

The South African Government may well be surprised at the strength of world condemnation. They have done nothing that other States haven't done.

but it's not many years since Britain and France were ruling their colonies on a similar basis; they have suppressed the country by force, but not on the scale carried out in Germany, Spain and Russia; their apartheid rules are grossly unfair but the United States (and Australia) has only recently given way on its colour bar and even so hasn't relented all that much: they have raided neighbouring countries but hardly any States can throw the first stone in that respect. . . in what have they offended so greatly as to call for world wide condemnation?

How have they united governments and oppositions in an international dosomething-about-South Africa bloc? Even though what to do divides the anti-Boers, they all agree it should be something, but not violence. That is the one thing all are agreed shouldn't happen, and maybe affords us an answer. Some say sanctions won't work, some call for the sanctions, but all are agreed that whatever is done, it must be done to avert the threat of violence – and they are exasperated with the South African Government because it is using violence itself, in such a manner as to provoke violence.

Apartheid hasn't got worse, the regime hasn't got more liberal; what has happened is that the revolutionary tide



SPANISH REVOLUTION-- 50 YEARS ON

15267 BF

30p

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

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6 months:

£15 surface, £19 Air. £6.50 inland £8 surface, £10 Air.

PRISONERS: Free on request. GIRO ACCOUNT No. BLACK FLAG

58 552 4009 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.

Unilever research labs carry out experiments on live animals, such as the LD50 test where household products such as detergents, food additives, cosmetics and cleaning fluids are force fed in large quantities to a batch of animals to see the dosage level at which 50% will die.

On 19th August 1984 a raid took place at the labs in Bedfordshire during which documents detailing experiments on animals were tkane, and a guinea pig was rescued. 42 people were arrested.

In 1986 forty people were ordered to stand trial. Because there were so many people charged they were split into three trials. The first took place at Northampton Crown Court in Feb. 11 people were found guilty, 2 not guilty. At the second trial in March three were found guilty and ten not guilty. At the third trial thirteen were found guilty and one not guilty.

Only one woman was given bail in the third trial. In all of twenty seven found guilty, twenty six are currently in jail. In his summing up in the first trial the Judge said to the Jury that they couldn't hold the fact that everyone had answered no comment in the police

John Macreadie, Trot Tapeworm

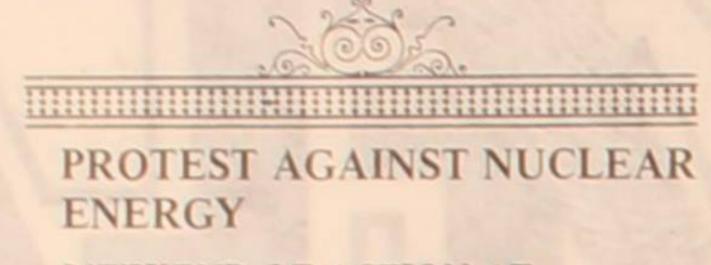
John Macreadie, trot tapeworm within the Labour Party who has been elected to be General Secretary of the Civil and Public Services Association - to the dismay of the Labour Party types around him, actually to the left of the trots but supporters of Kinnock – has announced that he is willing to go to court to defend his victory.

This follows announcements by Tapeworm Tendency supporters all round the Labour Party that they will fight for their right to be members of the capitalist-inclined Labour Party and

THAILAND'S GREENS ACT! The Thai Government declared a state of emergency on the southern island of Phuket after rioting by residents who destroyed a \$76 million ore processing plant they believed would pollute the island and damage its forestry.

Arsonists struck as Industry Minister Mr Chirayu Isarakun Na Ayuthaya who snubbed meeting locals delegates had to flee the estimated 100,000 strong crowd who wanted to hold him accountable. Angry crowds in a festive style stoned government offices, banks and a tourist hotel whose owners are investors in the project. When firebombs were thrown at the Phuket Merlin hotel the police used teargas and called a curfew. The tourists were evacuated from the hotel.

The factory was due to start test runs in August and begin production in 1987 converting tin slag or tantalite into tantalum, a rare and valuable mineral used in the manufacture of missile warneads, fighter aircraft and electronic components. The Thai Government and the World Bank's International Finance Corporation backed the project which using West German technology (with 'adequate safeguards against pollution') was producing ore for export to the USA.



WEEKEND OF ACTION AT **DUNGENESS POWER STATION** 23, 24 and 25 AUGUST 1986. NEEDS LOTS OF SUPPORT. - 3 (G.O.) 20

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Unilever 40

station against them, as it was their right. He then totally contradicted this and said: 'but however, you might feel it was part of the conspiracy, that these people didn't answer to the questions put.' This wasn't an isolated comment the whole of the summing up was along the same lines.

A picket was held outside Holloway Prison for the seven women held there recently. The petty mindedness of the prison officers has added to the problem of incarceration. Given that these people are vegans, so they do not eat meat, eggs or dairy products, or use any products containing ingredients made from dead animals, the officers have been adding milk or meat products to meals without telling the prisoners (they are officially on vegan diets) etc. All their mail'is being read by prison officers.

More information about the Unilever prisoners (some are serving 2 years in jail for conspiracy to burgle Unilever) can be obtained from:

Support Animal Rights Prisoners BCM Box 5911, London WCIN3XX Telephone (01) 8882482.

qualify Ministers in a future bourgeois Labour Party government. . . 'fight' meaning in this case to proceed with writs and litigation and if need be sequestrate union and Labour Party funds if their legal victory enables them to do so.

Commenting on the Litigant Tendency, an avid reader of Trot literature on the Spanish civil war commented 'O Morrow, Morrow, if only you had known the morrow'... but this is a bit of an in-joke.



The official campaign backed by France). environmentalists, political and some commercial interests was as shocked as the Thai authorities at the arson and violence. In the wake of the Bhopal chemical plant of Union Carbide having an accident leaving 4,000 dead and many many more to suffer for the rest of their lives and the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident leaving hundreds dead and thousands, perhaps millions affected with cancers perhaps the local people of Phuket decided to act for themselves and get immediate results through direct action!

WEST GERMANY

An Update on Roger Szatkowski

Roger Szathowski was arrested during a demonstration in protest against the death of Gunter Sare and received a two-year sentence without an option for parole. At a recent appeal hearing, Roger's sentence was reduced to a year and a half. Apparently, he is not threatened with extradition (which would mean his being shuttled from one prison to another because in the meantime he has been sentenced in absensia in his native

HOME NEWS

Anarchist Cartoonist Jailed

On Monday 30th June, Peter Mastin was sentenced to three months in prison for 'Threatening Behaviour' at the Anti-Apartheid Demonstration at Trafalgar Square on 2nd November last year.

Pete Mastin is a well known cartoonist, illustrator and contributor to Black Flag, Crowbar, Class War and other anarchist papers. This disgusting sentence is the result of determined police persecution and harassment of him over the past year. He was arrested and fined at Henley Regatta last year, and told he was a 'leader' of Class War. He was arrested again at the 'Beanfield Massacre' in June 1985, when hundreds of riot police smashed the Convoy to pieces. The police stole a camera and other things from him and he is still facing a charge of 'Criminal Damage to a Beanfield'. Then in last September's Brixton Riots he was arrested while opening his own front door and charged with looting, though he had nothing on him. This case will

be coming up in the Crown Court soon. The Anti-Apartheid Demo was a

clever case of persecution. He was not arrested at the demo at all; Special Branch and CID officers came to his house about a month later, managed to get in, and showed him photos, one supposedly of him from behind, throwing an object. Later he was charged and eventually persuaded to plead guilty to 'Threatening Behaviour', the charge was chosen so as to 'get him' in a Magistrates Court – which is exactly what they did. It is sad to see yet another anarchist being kidnapped by the State, purely for his political beliefs. On behalf of all his friends and his daughter Becky I would like to give the police this message - Fuck Off and Die You Bastard Soum. His address is: Peter Mastin N86881. HM Pentonville Prison, Caledonian Road, London N7 8TT Please write and send in books and magazines.

Anarchist Conference in Cardiff

The conference at the university was on the Saturday afternoon. Over thirty people from Wales and the surrounding area turned up. There were four speakers - Dave Douglass from the NUM, a man from a South Wales housing centre and 2 anarchist striking print workers.

Douglass emphasised the need for a flexible industrial strategy and argued for a twin policy of profitability and militancy. As the older pits tend to have a tradition of militancy yet are often harder to mine, etc., Douglass argues that such pits should aim for profitability in order that the militant tradition remained within the union.

Douglass also indicated how close the NUM had come to a total blackout in the UK - only 800m watts were held in reserve by the Central Electricity Broad at one time. He also derided the 'told you so' attitude that many have taken since the end of the strike, Douglass arguing that it was people forgetting, or ignoring traditional TU policy of not crossing picket lines, not the absence of a ballot, which defeated the miners.

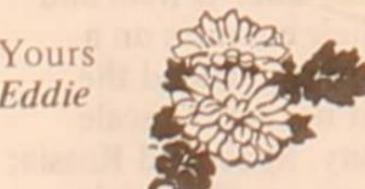
The appalling housing situation in Wales was outlined. Of over 900,000 houses in Wales, some 80,000 are second homes and over 10% of the remaining stock lacks the basic amenities such as electricity and/or running water. The Cynon Valley has the worst housing in Western Europe. In Cardiff alone there are over 3,000 council houses empty and over 4,000 on the waiting list for a

home. One of the solutions his office recommended was squatting and provided a list of suitable targets. Second homes are best because it is harder to evict squatters on the basis they are displacing someone from their home – this is an argument the council often employ when getting an order to evict squatters. The two printworkers outlined how the

strike was progressing. Because the leadership was intent on selling out, initiative had passed to the strikers who were now planning lightning day time pickets which are more effective than the ritualised Wednesday and Saturday night 'shows of strength' when the filth are well prepared. Also, the strikers no longer receive strike pay and all money sent to the union headquarters is spent on the boycott campaign. Therefore the strikers would appreciate it if people would send money for strikers direct to the local chapels: perhaps twinning with a chapel as people twinned with a pit during the miners strike.

A humorous way of direct action employed by the strikers was to take a bundle of Sun newspapers one day and the next day to replace them for that days issue so that the newsagent unwittingly sells yesterday's paper.

The conference was a good idea, was well attended and we look forward to the next one. .



INTERNATIONAL NEWS EXTRA

At present, Roger is not experiencing difficulties in receiving letters, books and journals. He would appreciate correspondance and news about events in your area. His address is: Roger Szatkowski, 1 Berlin 21, Alt-Moabit 12 A, German, Source: Le Monde Libertaire

KOREA – 'SEXUAL TORTURE' PROTEST BY UNION WOMEN.

Thirty women staged a three-day sit-in in Seoul to protest at sexual torture of female political prisoners by police and intelligence authorities. A factory worker and union activist,

Chang Mi Kyong, aged 21, was arrested while distributing pamphlets calling for a 33% salary rise. She produced photo graphs showing bruises from beatings and electric shocks. Such abuse is on the increase. A dossier of 13 cases from the June 1986 period was presented but the organisers say many more people are too scared to report police abuses, and women particularly fearing family shame if rape is publicised. The Government admits to holding 1,000 political prisoners officially, and stopped newspapers

from reporting the women's sit-in. Ms Chang has filed a suit against the police chief of the station where she was made to suffer and has received threats to drop the case. Few people are optimistic of the court action being successful.

FASCISTS ON ATTACK

Last month the first member of the lasurai party (CP) since WW11 was installed in the Amsterdam City Council, aided by the socalled anti-fascist, Mayor Van Thyn, who helped smuggle the fascist past an 8000 strong blockade, while the media declared she had not yet arrived.

The other more 'radical' political parties didn't take part in the blockade, and even tried to sabotage it by holding a conference elsewhere at the same time. This tactice of ignoring the fascists isn't so easy, if you happen to be black or a punk for eg. Since the installation of the fascist there have been numerous street attacks by armed fascists, some very serious, based solely on the victim's appearance. The police, of course, stay inactive, surprise surprise! Source: BLUF.

A Bit of Bad News From Spain

The inevitable has happened: after years of protests and campaigning, the Spanish government has recognised the right of the CNT to some of their patrimony (buildings and goods seized from the CNT by Franco at the end of the civil war). There are only two snags: the government will only accept the return of 21 separate premises (value 209 million pesetas) and not the 251 premises (value 3000 million pesetas) claimed by the anarcho-syndicalist organisation. The second snag is the government decided – only July 1st – that the sole CNT to be considered as the natural descendant of the pre-war CNT is the CNT-V, or if, you like, the minority split group which broke away from the CNT-AIT in 1979. This group, which insists on using the CNT initials despite its rejection of the most basic tenets of anarchosyndicalism, is, on an optimistic reading, some seven times smaller than the CNT-AIT, and receives no support from anyone who was connected with the single CNT of pre-war days (Frederica Montseny, for example, openly supports the majority CNT-AIT). The CNT-AIT has issued an appeal against the court decision to recognise the CNT-V alone, calling that decision 'irrational', and saying that they hope that 'reason will see the light of day, and will repeal a decision which goes against the principles of justice'. This is the first time that the ownership of the CNT initials has been decided in court. According to the new ruling, Jose March, of the CNT-V, is now the only general-secretary of the CNT, and his organisation alone will in future be recognised as the heir of the original organisation founded in 1910. (Jose March, it is worth remembering, worked

the 2,000 trainee post-office workers working for free in expectation of a job. He currently receives a pension both from the post-office and from the socialist UGT union) This court decision' was to be expected. The CNT-AIT has a nationwide reputation for not backing down to management demands in industrial disputes and of using direct action. It's consistently attacked pacts with management and maintained a genuine anarchist stance in its dealings with the government. It remains one of the last 'all-ornothing' organisations in Spain (very un-European, that), and recently there have been signs that the various libertarian grouplets newly active round Spain (Contracorrent, Coordinadora de Mensajeros etc) have been discovering that the aims of the CNT-AIT are not far from their own. The CNT-V, on the other hand, has shown itself to be perfectly willing to work with the two majority unions in Spain (UGT and CCOO. both being carefully preened for a fully European future) and to abide by their decisions. Nobody is going to bite their own nose to spite their face, and it seems obvious that the government should make such an absurd and illogical decision in favour of the tamer 'CNT' and maintain it by law. The only question is, what can the CNT-AIT, and their supporters worldwide, do now? More news after the appeal has gone through. (And coming soon, a report on an exhibition here in Barcelona called 'Anarchism and The Civil War' which closes on July 16th).

for the Post Office until 1984, during which

period he became known for handing out

jobs to CNT-V members over the heads of

Women in the Spanish Revolution

. De Toda La Vidc/. . . All Our Lives is a 54-minute video documentary on the lives of several women who actively participated in the social revolution during the Spanish Civil War.

The women featured here are as dynamic now, in their eighties, as they were in their youth at the height of their work. They illustrate how it was possible to take matters into their own hands instead of waiting for the government to act on their behalf. They bring to life the anarchist vision of 'autogestion' or selfinitiative, through their own examples in educating themselves, creating new social relations based on equality, collectivising workplaces and organising daily life in the rearguard. These women were, and are, all members of the anarchosyndicalist trade union, the CNT (Confederacion nacional del Trabajo), which was the main representative of the working class movement in Spain in 1936

In the words of Suceso Portales, organiser with Mujeres Libres, the first independent working women's organisation in Spain, 'We weren't fighting a war in the ordinary sense of one power against another; we were fighting to create a more just and humane society.' And with that as background they describe their activities in the workers' cultural cultural centers, the Modern School, the anti-fascist militia, the agrarian and industrial collectives, the anarchist press and the organisation, Mujeres Libres. Although their efforts were finally thwarted by the fascists in 1939, it

INTRODUCTION

While much is known about the Spanish Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist movement (past and present) relatively little is known about the Portuguese Anarchist movement. This article, written by a member of the French Anarchist Federation, attempts to rectify the situation.

Anarchism was the predominant ideology amongst workers up until the 1940's yet today (although it is a growing movement) it is relatively unknown in Portugal This makes it more difficult to understand its evolution from Salazar's period up until today. Here I've tried to explain the situation better from information taken from various sources.

The Explosive Situation At The Beginning of the Century.

The post-World War I period was marked by a general decline of the work ers movement. War, economic crisis and extreme repression (by the Republic) created problems for organised workers. The struggle declined in this period. Many workers were disillusioned after participating in long, fierce strikes. On the other hand, a wave of protests by the Republican middle-class against

is only on Spanish soil that such achievement have been carried out. To date. . De Toda La Vida/. . . All

Our Lives is the only visual portrait of women's role in the Spanish anarchist movement. It provides historical information as well as a warm encounter with several women whose ideal of 'a more just and humane society' has lasted a lifetime. Dolores Prat, from Ripoll, Gerona, takes us on a walking tour of Toulouse, where she has lived since her exile in 1939, and still, at the age of 81, serves as the secretary of her union local. The video was shot on location in Toulouse and Beziers, France and Barcelona in the spring of 1985, and

edited in Barcelona in ³/₄ inch broadcast quality colour video. Included are also archival film material and photos of the period.

The program is available in both the original Spanish version and a subtitled English version.

The above video is being purchased by the Belfast Video Collective, c/o Just Books, 7 Winetavery St, Belfast TB1 1JQ. Donations are urgently needed. The Anarchist Film Society based at 121 Railton Road has closed until the end of the year. We have been given two new films recently 'Rebellion in Pa agonia' - kindly donated by the Australian comrades and 'Shine On Jimmy' about the death in custody of Jimmy Heather Haves. We hope to have a new catalogue ready in the near future.

Anarchism In Portugal - A Short History-

the Democratic Party (in Government) helped provoke a political crisis. This also paved the way for a coup, supported by the most conservative and reactionary part of the Portuguese middle-class, on May 28, 1926.

Anarchist opposition sprang into action very quickly. Protests became numerous and violent. Repression increased in turn, especially after an attempted insurrection on February 7, 1927 during which many people were killed, hundreds of arrests were made and all Anarchist newspapers were banned. Also criminalised was the CGT, an anarcho-syndicalist workers union.

A lot of militants were forced into exile, later to found the Anarchist Federation of Portuguese People in Exile (AFPPE) in Paris. The AFPPE was also active in Spain and played an important role during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39. Anarchist newspapers finally returned to Portugal in 1929 with Germinal, Aurora and Avida in Porto where repression was less than in Lisbon the capital.

More and more groups sprang up around the country leading to the creation of the Libertarian Alliance in Lisbon in 1930 and the Anarchist Federation of Portugal (AFPR) in June 1932.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

News From The IWA

Black Flag recently received more details of the decision by the Madrid courts to declare the CNT-AIT illegal in a circular sent out by the IWA (International Workers Association) Secretariat.

According to this circular, the Court decision was made on June 23 and gives the phony CNT (known originally as the CNT-V, then later as the CNT-U¹) the sole right to call itself the CNT. The real CNT (the CNT-AIT) now finds itself in the ridiculous position of not being able to legally use its own name. The national committee of the CNT-AIT immediately appealed against the decision and has threatened to take the case to the high court if their appeal fails. Meanwhile the return of the CNT-AIT's historic² and union[°] patriomonies looks more remote than ever.

On June 29th a special meeting was held by the national committee of the CNT-AIT to review the situation. At this meeting IWA sections and supporters

around the world were called on to help the CNT-AIT overturn the court decision with solidarity actions and financial aid.

Telegrams energetically protesting against this arbitrary decision against the CNT-AIT, denying it all legal rights as a syndicalist organisation, should be sent to the following addresses:

Jesus Nicolas Garcia Paredas,

Juez del Juzgardo de Primera Instancia, Numero Tres de Madrid

Plaza de Castilla MADRID SPAIN

Don Felipe Gonzalez Marquez Presidente del Gobierno Espanol Palacio de la Moncloa

MADRID SPAIN

- 1. The CNT-V or CNT-U is also known popularly as 'the renovados'. 2. Compensation for the premises, printing
- presses and other materials stolen from the CNT-AIT by Franco in 1939. 3. Compensation for the loss of union dues
- the CNT-AIT would have received after it had been made an illegal organisation in 1939.



CNT militants give the anarchist salute, Barcelona, July 1936.

PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE KATE SHARPLEY LIBRARY

The latter organisation collapsed after only six months due to severe state repression.

During the spring of 1932 a Libertarian Youth Organisers Committee was founded after a meeting by the Antawen Esperanto society. This survived up until the 1950's, in an attempt to rebuild the Anarchist movement.

Meanwhile, Salazar's regime passed 'The National Work Law' in an attempt to get rid of Unions once and for all. It provoked an attempted insurrection on January 18, 1934 but the insurrection's failure provoked more repression and led to the end of the CGT as an effective union. This incredible insurrection was indpen lent of any political party. Still, A Batalha (Voice of the CGT) continued to be published clandestinely thanks to various AFPR groups and the Libertarian Youth (JL). By 1939, opposition to the Salazar regime had reached an all time low. Several hundred anarchists were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Fascism engulfed Europe and the Spanish Revolution was defeated. In 1950, the Anarchist movement dis-

appeared all together due to: – not being able to adapt to the new reality.

theoretical weakness.

- very severe repression.

The anarchist movement resurfaced in 1974, but didn't play an important part in events after April 25, 1974. A lot of young people went through libertarian organisations in this period-but did not stay. This caused the failure of the attempts to organise the movement on a national scale (eg. The Portuguese Libertarian Movement, Anarcho-Syndicalist Alliance) promoted by the papers Voz Anarquista and A Batalha.

The Portuguese Anarchist Movement Today.

There are a lot of isolated militants (some individualist) and several groups growing all the time. 1986 -1987 will be important for the Portuguese Anarchist movement as it marks 100 years of the struggle. In 1987 there will be an international meeting and an exhibition on One Century of Anarchism in Portugal.

Manuel.

- 1. A Ideia No 32-33. Apontamentos sobre a historia das JJLL
- em Portugal (FIJL). O Segredo das prisoes atlanticas (Acacia

Francisco).

Tomas de Aquino). Una Campanha de Salubindade ou a critica da ideologia de Conformismo (Jose

While the expression 'Anarcho-syndicalism' has been in use since the turn of the century (from the French 'syndicat' meaning 'union'), it has only been since the late fifties that there have been groups calling themselves anarcho-syndicalist in Australia. Nevertheless, there have been organisations and movements which have been essentially anarcho-syndicalist in character since the 1890s.

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) at the time of World War I, arguably, was the only revolutionary, mass based organisation in Australia, and was suppressed by the Labour Government of Bill Hughes.

The IWW had an enormous impact on the labour movement. It was organised in every state and its paper, Direct Action, had a circulation of 20,000. It opposed Australia's involvement in World War I, arguing that it was only in the interests of Capital that worker fight worker. It believed that workers had to organise into one big union to take over the means of production so that labour could enjoy all it produced. Believing that an injury to one was an injury to all fostered a great sense of solidarity. It saw as its major weapon the General Strike.

With the resurgence of the IWW in the 1970s the overwhelming majority of those involved considered themselves anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. Prisoner solidarity and the propagation of anarcho-syndicalist ideas were the major activities undertaken by the IWW of 1975-83. The IWW ceased to exist in Australia as it was based largely in North America and there was a growing desire amongst anarcho-syndicalists to become part of a larger, more internationally based organisation. Such an organisation is the International Workers Association.

From 1983 until recently there have been two anarcho-syndicalist groups; the Rebel Worker Group, and the Melbourne Anarcho-Syndicalist Group. Both these groups favoured affiliation with the IWA. The MASG dissolved in 1984 but in January 1986 the RWG, former members of the MASG; and other anarcho-syndicalists formed the Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation. The presence of anarcho-syndicalist ideas in Australia has a long history. Further, there have been struggles which have taken on anarcho-syndicalist characteristics (e.g. Evictions resistance of the 30's and the Green Bans campaign of the 70's).

Despite the general slander of the word 'anarchy' and the specific smiting of the word 'anarcho-syndicalism' by the left and, yes, by some elements of the broader anarchist movement, anarcho-syndicalism persists in one form or another and interest in its ideas and methods is growing with renewed vigour today. Indeed, it can be argued that anarcho-syndicalism, rather than being a different 'brand' of anarchism, is the most modern development of anarchist thought.

CLASS ANALYSIS

Class analysis shows us in who's interests it is that society is maintained and in who's interests it is to change society.

The question of the nature of the economic system we live under is recognised not just by the traditional workforce - usually said to be the 'constituency' of anarcho-syndicalism. Women recognise the importance of their economic position in calling for economic equality. Environmentalists recognise the direct relationship between industyr and ecological destruction.

We believe that class analysis allows us to go beyond the linking of exploitation and individual oppression to a single source, as in movement politics, and look at the social and economic basis - and therefore what can be done.

Given the changes in the nature of work in Australia - a decreasing organised workforce, increasing unemployment and a growing cash economy, automation and computerisation, it is now more important that those workers who remain in the organised workforce recognise their real allegiances. It is also important that those in the new deskilled workforce and the cash economy, who are exposed to lower wages, longer hours, more unsafe conditions with no job security, organise to protect their interests.

It seems that some of the rejection by anarchists of involvement in industrial struggles involves fear of involvement with people who may not share the anti-sexist, anti-racist and environmental positions of the 'non-industrial' left. This seems to arise from a fear of confronting these issues and experiences with such people.

As anarcho-syndicalists we believe people can and do change through struggle. But this involves confrontation, first in our own organisations and then in the wider society.

Class analysis is linked to the question of organisation. Anarchists in Australia are avoiding the questions of how we stop capitalism (and state capitalism) and how we will organise the meeting of needs into the period of revolutionary change. Anarcho-syndicalists believe that it is important that we are involved in the labour force. Workers are the people who still create most of what we need (despite more

sophisticated machines - which are only

PAGE 4 BLACK FLAG

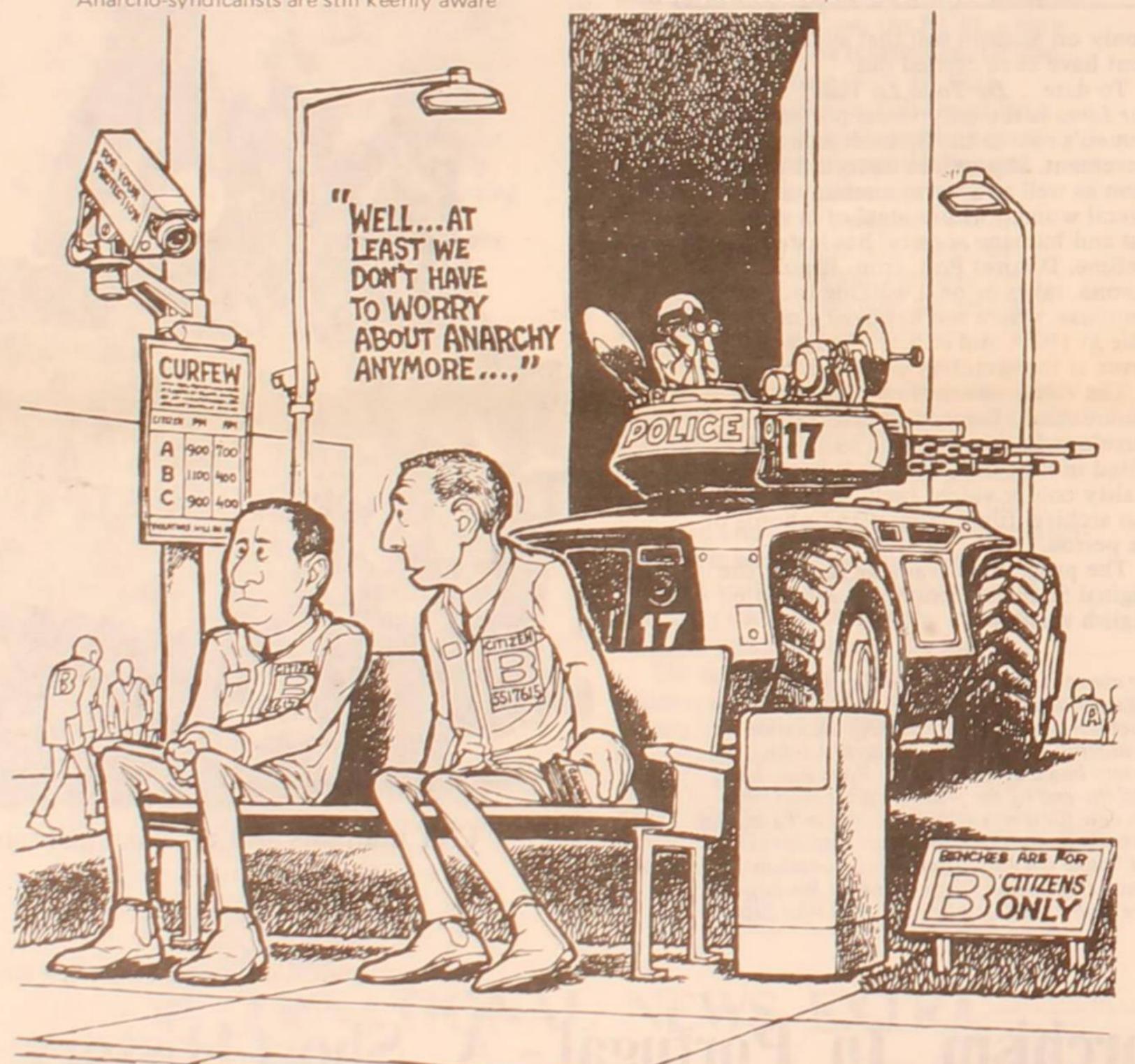
an accumulation of our labour after all). They also produce a lot of what we don't need.

In the present it is workers who put poison into our food and build freeways. But they also have the power to change that. They have a vital contribution to make to the transformation of society by taking control of the workplace.

Given the world economic organisation, not to have a class analysis in a country like Australia, where class consciousness may appear to be waning, is to betray those workers in places (some not 2000 miles from here) where 19th century working conditions (12 hour days, child labour, frequent crippling, uncompensated injuries, workers sleeping beneath machines) are a daily reality.

A modern class analysis recognises that ideology and culture (the ideas a society has of itself and the way people live in that society) are material forces in the reproduction of that society. The concepts embodied in language and the experience of domination and exploitation, whether it is of workers, women or the environment, are intimately part of, and have developed out of, the long history of class societies. As anarchists we believe we must create the concepts and culture of opposition in our daily lives capable of contesting the structures and the

people that exploit and oppress us. Anarcho-syndicalists have always recognised the importance of understanding power relations. Rudolph Rocker, one of the early theoreticians of anarcho-syndicalism, and an activist involved in the founding of the International Workers Association, is also the author of a major study of culture and power - Nationalism and Culture. Anarcho-syndicalists are still keenly aware



of the use of power by the state and the effects of domination and passivity in all aspects of our lives.

INTERNATIONALISM

Oppression is international. Governments co-operate tacitly or otherwise to isolate any mutual threat. The 'Non-Intervention Agree ment' between the governments of Britain France, Germany, and Italy during the Spanish Civil War is a good example.

Capital is organised internationally, e.g. General Motors' 'World Car Concept' where components are produced in Third World countries where labour is cheap, shipped elsewhere for assembly, then shipped for sale in affluent Western countries.

In order to combat State and Capital in country we must combat State and Capital everywhere. Therefore we must organise internationally and our perspectives must be international. Anarcho-syndicalists are organised internationally in the International Workers Association which formed in 1922 at Berlin. The IWA is currently experiencing a resurgence.

WORKPLACE AND COMMUNITY

Anarcho-syndicalists see the work place and the community as intimately intertwined,

Anarchism And Anarcho-Syndicalism Today

AUSTRALIA

and organise on the basis of local groups and industrial associations. This is a logical consequence of our dual aim - to struggle for better conditions within existing structures and to build now the structures necessary for the establishment of an anarchist society.

Anarcho-syndicalists clearly see the need to have workplace activity supported in the community, and community activity supported in the workplace. Either without the other in ineffective. For example, how can environmental issues be promoted successfully in the community without the assistance of the workers who work in the industries which are environmentally destructive.

There was an interesting example of this attempted co-operation between the community and the workplace at the last Roxby Downs protest. Workers didn't mind having the road blocked on the way to work, and were pleased to be paid for standing around and talking, but they did mind if the road was blocked on the way home. Stealing the bosses time is fine, but stealing the workers time...?

In the future anarchist society the emphasis will be on the production of socially useful commodities. Workplace and community co-operation is an essential element of this possibility.

MILITANCY

In our attempts to achieve worldwide social revolution there will be violent resistance to our desires. Thus we must face the fact of violence, and retain the option of retaliation, of self-defence, of resistance. To think otherwise is to not accept the ramifications of

RCOBB

our desire for a different society, which means contesting the power of those who control society now. Of course it is easier to believe that if we all just change our minds, This does not mean that we desire, or glorify violence. It simply means that we resist violence, and continue our activities in the face of violence. Our actions then become a question of tactics – when is this action most useful, what is the best way to intervene in or respond to a situation?

We feel that a belief in pacifism and non-violence is in fact a desire to avoid confrontation (by labelling it violence and rejecting the use of physical force) and a failure to come to terms with fear. We all know what the state can do, and torture in Bolivia affects political process in Australia just as much as the jailing of the Ananda Marga does. Direct action puts your body on the line. To not be afraid of this is suspicious, and to not talk about it is evasion. Nonviolence and pacifism are not the same, and non-violence has little to do with being passive, submissive or cowardly. However, the equating of violence with destruction of property, civil disobedence and non-cooperation is simply to avoid one's own fear. It is a question of practice. There are many who want a different society, one that is anarchist. But to concentrate on all the 'nice' aspects of this future society (cooperation, mutual aid, ecological awareness, a living community) can blind us to the realities of struggle here and now.

Part 2

ORGANISATION

Most of our experiences of organisations in this society are negative ones - school, work, sporting teams, political groups, movements, even 'anarchist collectives'. Hence organisation is easily equated with regimentation and loss of identity.

There is in a rejection of organisation a fear of losing individual freedom, and identity, the fear of being submerged and dominated, which in turn stems from an underlying lack of trust in our own personal strength.

This society alienates ourselves from ourselves. A fear of others is what drives the individualistic and competitive elements of our culture. We are all encouraged to believe that co-operation and mutual activity is only possible within the confines of a hierarchy. Anything else has no chance of success because, after all, people can't be trusted.

Co-operation with others through federation, assemblies and delegation implies a trust in ourselves and in others, while providing the mechanisms whereby this trust can be realised. Everything about our culture attempts to destroy both of these - trust in ourselves and our own strength and trust in others (and ultimately trust in others to consider our equal voice and equal rights).

Federation is a form of organisation that allows large numbers of people to organise on the basis of equal decision making and genuine participation. This is the preferred form of anarchist, and therefore anarchosyndicalist organisation.

In a federation power remains at the base, in the assemblies. The assembly is the place where discussions occur and agreements are made in a face to face situation, with all those involved being able to raise issues. have their voices heard and take an equal. part in the decision making process.

The decisions of the assembly are carried through or taken to other groups by a delegate. The delegate is given a specific responsibility by the assembly. They carry out the tasks delegated and report back to the assembly.

When a delegate is sent to a meeting of delegates from other assemblies, she or he presents the position of positions (other decided from a previously circulated agenda) and any relevant information.

They discuss the information and positions and come up with a synthesis of the positions of the assemblies, or a number of options. The decisions from these meetings and the information from other delegates then comes back to the assemblies for

further discussion and ratification of decisions. Thus information and decisions pass both ways between the different constituents of the federation from local assemblies, through regional meetings of delegates to continental and international congresses.

Collective action achieves more than individual action. Organised activity implies a threat to the power in society. Individuals and small, isolated groups need never face the ramifications of their beliefs precisely because they never become a threat. (Ultraleftist violence is often the result of being small, ineffective and isolated with no community support.)

Genuine anarchist organisations are the place where empowerment and equality are possible, where divisions can be transcended, where attitudes and practices such as sexism and racism can be confronted and surmounted. If anarchist organisations are not confronting these, then they aren't anarchist.

We consider that we cannot organise the future society without organisation, assemblies and delegation, where equal decision making is possible. This organisation will have to cope, for instance, with the concentration of large numbers of people in cities. The prospect of a world of small communities of like-minded people does not come to terms with this actuality.

We believe that people begin to exercise their full potential in a human community based on equal power, participation and federation.

CONCLUSION

What we are seeking is a basis for taking action with other anarchists to bring about what we want - an anarchist society. Anarchism is a body of ideas, a theory of a possible social organisation. Anarchosyndicalism provides a method for achieving anarchy, and a way in which it is possible to practice anarchy along the way, in the present. Through organisation, federation, assemblies, and delegation, we can practice anarchist decision making and collective action.

This is what we want, and this is why we are anarcho-sy ndicalists.



CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

INTRODUCTION TO 'NOTES BY ALBERT MELTZER'

When the idea for this paper was first put forward, I contacted Albert Meltzer requesting any contribution he might like to make. In response to my letter I received the following notes, which we have decided to reprint in full. We extend thanks to Albert for his effort.

NOTES BY ALBERT MELTZER

L.K.

1. Anarchism was built up and invented by the working class to meet with specific problems in working class organisation and to point the way to a society free from oppression. It differed from Marxism or authoritarian socialism in that it saw that copying bourgeois forms of organisation or government was a mistaken tactic; also that governmentcould form a new tyranny It was not generally realised at the time that there could be two forms of aspirants to tyranny - capitalists and bureaucrats could take over a new government, but prior to that the middle classes were also divided in their attitude to socialism. The middle class as defined by Marx - the profit making class - had a corollary in the mandarin class aiming at power and its class tyranny, and just as the middle class profit makers were originally divided in two (Liberal/progressives; and the Tory landlord elements gradually incorporated into the capitalist class), so the mandarins were divided between those who were successful and passed examinations to go on to power, and those who were not, and looked to the working class to provide them with support.

The whole of the Marxist 'intellectuals' represent this type of 'failed mandarins'. who on the whole disdained anarchism as utopian, and wished to show the working class how to do it. (Typical is the Red Army trained German Marxist leadership, which failed dismally even to formally resist Hitler, and went to Spain to show the 'ignorant Spaniards' how to fight!)

2. Since World War II there has been

disillusionment with the old left and some of the new left - equally failed mandarins - have seen that there is an alternative to Marxism. For them to take over the anarchist movement would be a disaster. In the main they regard themselves as the 'unofficial anarchists' though also proclaiming themselves part of the anarchist movement even if denying it and degrading it (e.g. George Woodcock). Such 'failed mandarins' are generally more honest than their Marxist counterparts who glorify the workers while pushing out of their own movement, and taking over their history, anxious to use them but not allow them to lead. The 'anarchist' type denies the working class has anything to do with its own movement, takes over the history and rewrites it as something entirely different. A very early type was Dr. Eltzbacher, actually a judge, who rewrote the theory of anarchism according to what he thought were the various 'schools of anarchism' something which neatly fits in with this type of 'unofficial anarchism'.

3. Prior to World War II it was almost unknown and certainly bizarre to have non-workers in the movement (unless like Kropotkin they had abandoned their class status) though there was always, it is true, the tendency for 'intellectuals' - but actually failed mandarins, sometimes genuine ones - to try to write themselves into the movement. During World War II, the phenomenon of pacifism grew rapidly. In most countries pacifism had to be revolutionary. It remains in some countries

Black Cross News

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD APPEAL FOR HELP

My name is John Perotti. I'm a prison organiser with the IWW here at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, Ohio. Because I help other prisoners and speak out and stand up for our rights, I have been the victim of many beatings by the guards at this prison. Another successful organiser and jailhouse lawyer, Dennis Wolfel, won \$25,000 in a lawsuit against this prison for the beatings he withstood. (The money has been held up pending an appeal). The only way to stop this type of fascist brutality is to fight back. We must say no to their targetting of political 'trouble-makers' for constant harassment and mind control in this prison and around the country.

For this reason I am about to go to trial to win compensation for the beatings inflicted on me. While handcuffed and in leg irons. on the 42nd day of my 1983 hunger strike, I was beaten by several guards. Punched in the face and hosed with the fire extinguisher, I joined a long list of victms of guard brutality for no rational reason. I wo months before this, I was beaten by five guards while in handcuffs in a wheelchair on the way to the infirmary. They have bribed other prisoners to kill me. censored mail and cut off my parents' visitation rights for six months on a framed-up charge. They are desparately trying to break all of us in here til we lost every ounce of our humanity and sanity.

In order to fight the system, I must raise \$1,000 to pay the minimal costs required to compensate two dedicated lawyers. Due to the generosity of relatives, friends, and IWW members, over half of the money has already been raised before even one appeal letter has been sent out. I wish to emphasise that I am fighting this case on behalf of all of us who are beaten up almost every week in this nightmare world of guards who put Ku Klux Klan robes on and turn high-pressure hoses on prisoners confined to their cells for 23 hours per day. I have done a tremendous amount of legal work on this case and in many others on behalf of Jellow workers.

If you would like any more information on the Lucasville situation, feel free to write to Bruce Kayton at the address at the bottom of this letter. If you can help out financially in any amount possible, please make cheques or money orders out to: General Defense Committee No. 1, Perotti Fund. Mail to Southern Ohlo General Defense Committee, PO Box 26381, Davton OH 45426.

Thanks for your time. There is a fight going on in this country both inside and outside the prison. I hope you can join with me in breaking down these prison walls so that one day we may all hold hands together in a world free of brutality, exploitation, racism and sexism.

Yours in solidarity. John Perotti, No.167-712 (X333145) PO Box 45699, Locasville, OH 45699-0001. USA.

Bruce Kayton, External Secretary, 99-12 65th Road, Apt. No.5-J, Rego Park, New York 11374 USA.

LETTERS FROM USA

Greetings People at ABC, I received copies of your paper from the publishers of Fifth Estate in Detroit. I read your article regarding the ABC and its interest in prisoners, prisoner's conditions etc... a good article. Prisons are fertile ground for Anarchist thought since the people confined are subjected to totalitarian power and their eyes are opened to it, if they were not aware of its evils before they got incarcerated.

Being of true Anarchist spirit I like my freedom so I'm considered an 'escape artist' and I'm kept locked uptight for the last three years, so I have plenty of time to read and you can help me out by sending me reading material.

Remember when you send me anything to read it reaches many people since it gets passed around. I will be the ABC contact in this area and would like to be made aware of any Anarchist organisations in this country or region. I'm interested in any information and publications you might be aware of. I'm also interested in others confined in the US and other places. I like to have various contacts since I do a lot of travelling when I'm out(smile).

A brother in solidarity, JJ Szulczewski,

301 Troy Dr. Madison, WI. 53704.

I obtained your address from THE DAILY IMPULSE – a San Diego California sheet. I am 17, locked in a youth center in central Kansas. I would like to get my hands of a copy of BLACK FLAG. I have no IRC's, and to send you American stamps – would do no good. Let me know how I can obtain a copy.

I was visited by the secret service while here. Handwriting samples etc. etc. Somehow they got wind that I was going to make an attempt to take Mr Regans life away. Wild, eh? I guess that it was because I told them that, jokingly. Being 'restricted' and 'paying my

debt of society' (I love that one) has been quite an experience, one that I am willing to share with those less fortunate, ro: being able to have the State cater to their needs. Correspondence welcome. Thanks,

Tad Kepley,

YCAL-Sellers, Box 89, Larned, KS USA.



a major step if one refuses to join the army, one's whole life is changed to rebellion. In Great Britain, owing to the liberalconformist tradition, conscientious objection was widespread in World War I and it won the battle for recognition. So that by World War Two it entered into a dialogue with the State and formed part of the establishment. Nothing prevented or prevents Establishment figures being pacificists. Pacifism is advocated in peace time by judges and journalists, but even in war time by many leading figures, who thus made pacifism into a collaborationist doctrine. The anarchist movement attracted those who, from bourgeois or mandarin circles, did not want to join the army, but felt the nationalist urge to do so - it provided them with a moral excuse. It did not make them into anarchists or revolutionaries, they remained liberals, and one can see the liberal influence in all of 'unofficial anarchism'. A similar thing happened with socalled individualist anarchism. In America originally, later exported, some individualists from bourgeois or mandarin circles saw that the profession of anarchist ideas was the perfect moral excuse for avoiding taxation. Here one sees the conservative influence in a different sort of 'unofficial anarchism'.

4. One must distinguish between (a) Anglo-Saxon pacifism which is pure liberalism and has its own offshoots. (Liberalism seeks freedom within capitalism; anarchism implies there can be no freedom within the State). Liberalism without its political connotations, though sometimes with, seeks to establish 'rights' (to an authoritarian or even a liberal, rights are GIVEN; to a libertarian they are TAKEN - hence liberals can talk of rights of animals or foetuses but not libertarians - though it's true they do so by a sheer misunderstanding of words). Libertarians do not necessarily oppose reforms, but Liberals live by them. (b) Ghandi-type pacifism - which as Gandhi himself said, has more in common with war than Western pacifism. It is elitist, as it implies an elite who can take non-violent resistance and be clubbed to death. . . the surviving elite takes power, and Gandhi indeed always had it. It requires much more of an elite even than Marxist-Leninism, and an elite which takes power is by definition elitist. (c) The pacifism that consists of struggling against militarism and imperialism, which is not necessarily liberal nor elitist. But where there is no conscription this does not exist.

5. Ecology is of course a vital issue today. Many people want to jump on the bandwagon, eg the Green Anarchists here (in Britain). Anarcho-syndicalists are for ecology. The argument by many 'Greens' that anarcho-syndicalism is against ecology, because it does not take up one issue that is trendy against all others, is false. We in the Anarchist Black Cross do not say that anyone who doesn't support it must be in favour of anarchists being imprisoned!

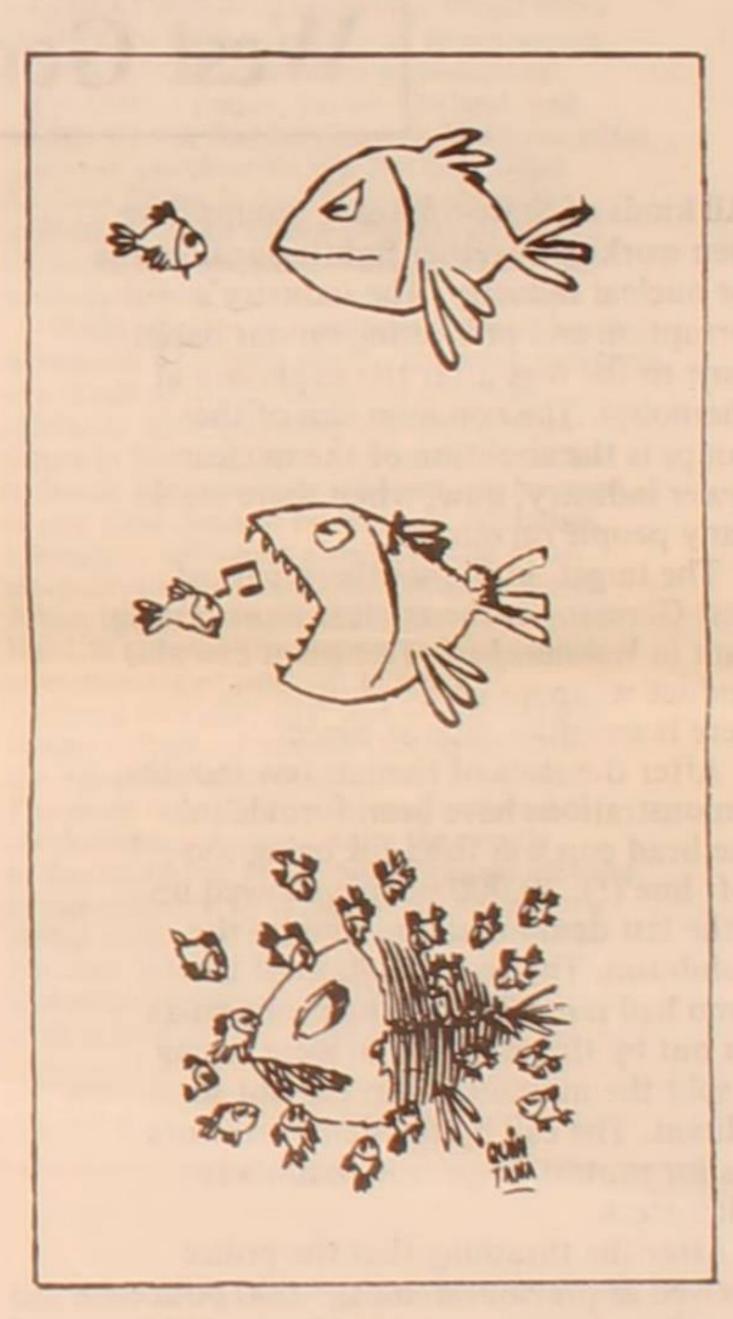
6. It is false to say there is a distinction between one form of genuine anarchism and another. The anarcho-syndicalist movements of the world are all anarchist communist, the suggestion that collectivism was not communism has vanished nowadays (since collectives take communistic forms, and the question of works management and participation has resolved itself in international experience). Anarcho-syndicalist movements such as the CNT or the IWW in its heyday were patently individualistic, a darn sight more so than Benjamin Tucker who was nothing if not a conformist! However, there is a distinction between genuine anarchism and the pale pink variants of it. This Freedom Press type anarchism has distinctions between Individualists and Communists which it seriously debates; and the Alternative Bookshop for its part has its distinctions between Agorism, anarcho-capitalism and mini-statism. If you lump all this together and call it the anarchist movement it is a pretty mixed bag and everyone quarrels with each other - something the academics love to say. If you take away what I have for convenience sake called the 'genuine anarchists' then it is fairly homogeneous.

7. The 'sanitised' anarchism of the Freedom Press type attracts more people, because it asks nothing to them but to sustain a paper managed by others. It is of tremendous damage to the growth of anarchism because it encourages people to talk of their 'brand' as 'non-violent anarchism' thus strengthening the bourgeois myth that anarchist is of necessity violent. Because one does not accept the nonresistant brand of 'non-violence' does not make one (in normal speech) 'violent'. Ninety-five percent of people are not Gandhians, nor are they mad axemen. Yes, they defend themselves if they can, many of them unfortunately even defend their oppressors if they can, but that still does not make them 'violent' in the mormal sense of the word. It is a regular feature when anarchists are on trial for counsel or judges to bring in the facts that they are not pacifists to imply that they are thereby 'violent'. It is part of the propaganda against anarchism. Also, this total commitment to non-violence breeds its own reaction, in that we see many young people learning about anarchism only from its liberal caricature, who reject 'non-violence' because it is ineffectual and think the alternative is the glorification of violence,

e.g. the animal rights people go from extreme pacifism to talking about poisoning. food etc. One London doctor, owning a fortune, proclaimed herself an 'anarchist pacifist'. Asked for support for the Spanish resistance, she declined, claiming it was terrorist. Instead she gave a fortune, to the IRA. Non terrorist because it was nationalist!

8. Many projects sound 'anarchistic' and the trouble is that anarchism can't progress because it gets put by the public to whom it normally appeals into a 'left ghetto'. The workers in the main hate the left which has been totally taken over by the failed mandarins, whose special inerests may sound anarchistic but are basically power seeking. 'Gay Liberation' for instance in the 20's and 30's the Communist Party attracted those who could not become successful mandarins because of sex discrimination, but remained in the 'closet' now they are able to advance and come out of the 'closet' but need to assert power. This type of homosexual politisation is totally alien to working class homosexuals, but is part and parcel of modern socialist politics. The support for nationalist movements to which students everywhere are devoted is another aspect of power seeking. It is the swiftest way of gaining power. I conclude there is a total distinction between the anarchism traditionally known, and that which has grown up in recent times, critical of it always, yet seeking always to steal its history and clothing.

It is unfortunate that no clear-cutdistinction has been made (such as the words Individualism and Communism, which which are not applicable). For this reason I prefer myself to use the word Anarchosyndicalism, which seems to be the one



word they do not usually appropriate (or if they do, like Woodcock and Sansom, afterwards reject, as being too redolent of working class association).

There is however, another distinction. Quietists are those who are against action of any kind which can lead them into challenging the present order. They may be pacifists but not necessarily, and pacifists (e.g. the Greenham Common women) need not be quietists. Quietism, in which the Freedom Press tendency specialises is the main characteristic of those who are not militant liberals but mere use the anarchist philosophy as a handy armchair to flop on. They are far from intellectuals. Quietism leads on to cynicism and one can say that this cynicism which includes socrn for working class aspirations. is inimical to anarchism. To me, an anarchist is someone who believes in anarchism, believes it is possible, and takes action to bring it about. This definition excludes the quietists and the liberals, whatever their insistence that they are anarchists too, on one, two, or even all three counts. Against this they postulate that

anyone is an anarchist who calls themselves an anarchist'. On this basis the word becomes utterly meaningless, and one may as well extend it, as the bourgeois press and Marxists do, to be anyone is an anarchist who are referred to an anarchists by the media and the Marxists! The Marxists love to denounce the anarchists on the basis not only of what some people calling them selves anarchists might have done or said. but on what anyone, whether calling themselves so or not but whom they consider anarchists, have done or said; while insisting they only be judged on paid up members of their own particular sect. Anarcho-syndicalist contacts in Australia: Rebel Worker Group, PO Box 92, Broadwa. Sydney NSW 2007

Anarchist-Syndicalist Federation Melbourne, PO Box 1066, North Richmond. Melbourne, Victoria 3121

On Friday May 16th I went on one of the weekly demonstrations of 'Grupo de Apoya Multo' (the Group of Mutual Support) - GAM. 'Gam' was formed by the families, mainly the mothers and wives, of people who had disappeared in Guatemala.

On this demonstration there were about 200 people – most of them were very poor indigenous peasants - mainly women with children - many of them were barefoot. They carried huge reeds mats with lists of names of some of the thousands of people who have disappeared in Guatemala. They also carried the words 'Donde Estan' (Where are they?) and 'Donde Retein A' (Where are they held?) They walked through the streets stopping traffic and chanting 'They were taken alive we want them back alive' and 'No amresty for the military'. They stopped by a main door of the National Palace, chanting and singing. It was a very moving demonstration.

In-Guatemala there are thousands of people who disappear every year. It is difficult to know exactly how many because in rural areas where most of the kidnappings and murders happen the peasants are often too poor to afford to get to the city to report any disappearances. They also fear reprisals if they do.

The peasants in Guatemala mainly work as slaves on the cotton and avocardo plantations. If they so much as mention land reform or bad work and living conditions they risk being killed by the death squads as 'communist subversives'. Most of the death squads are formed by the military who completely rule many of the rural areas. If the peasants give food to the

INTERNATIONAL

Letter from Guatemala

guerrillas who need aid, they may be killed by the army too. Many of the others who have disappeared in Guatemala have been political figures from the

cities, including many students. 'GAM' is the only group of its kind in Guatemala to have survived. The other groups dissolved after the murders of their leading figures. 'GAM' was set up by a group of 25 mothers and wives of disappeared people, when at least 19 students, many involved in political action, disappeared in early 1984.

On October 12th they held the first demonstration in Guatemala since May 1st 1980 when 28 people were kidnapped off the streets. About 1,000 (very brave!) people took part, mainly indigenous women.

Because the march got international attention the President set up a smokescreen commission which 'GAM' would not deal with because the army was not part of it. After their meeting with President Meija, two of 'GAM' 'disappeared'; later one showed up with his eves gouged out and entrails removed.

On November 14th 1980, 'GAM' occupied the National Assembly hoping for some replies. The United Nations sent a representative for Human Rights, English Viscount Colville Gross who refused to talk to 'GAM' (the only organisation dealing with the main violation of human rights in Guatemala) until they forced him. Gross spent his time flying around in a private plane as a guest of the dictator. His report applauded the fascist dictatorship for being 'on the road to democracy '(!). The 'GAM' asked him if his report was inspired by 2,000

West Germany - The Struggle Continues

All kinds of State-opposing groups have been working together fighting against the the nuclear industry. The industry's corruption and prfiteering on our backs came to the fore after the explosion at Chernobyl. The common aim of the groups is the abolition of the nuclear power industry, now, when there are so many people on our side.

The target in the southern part of West Germany is the nuclear reprocessing plant in Wachersdorf. This plant can also produce weapons-grade plutonium, so there is an anti-militarist aspect.

After the riots of the last few months, demonstrations have been forbidden. The head cop was fired for being too 'soft-line'(!). 30,000 people showed up at the last demonstration despite the prohibiton. The co-ordination of the demo had not followed the propaganda put out by the police, who were trying to split the militants from the not-somilitant. The call by the demonstrators was for protest to go from ballots to boltcutters.

After the thrashing that the police received at previous demos, 5,000 police were placed inside and outside the fence. Forty-five water connons were stationed to protect the construction equipment, which was the target of the militants. The protest was peaceful until the police used CS gas to chase demonstrators away from the fence. Their strategy brought people together on the side of the militants. They gave shelter in the crowd for the fighters, supplying them with stones, disobeying the police order to split from the 'violent criminals'. Holes were sawn in the fence, despite the gas warfare.

More than two dozen pits were injured and lots of demonstrators were poisoned by gas. Two police cars were set on fire. A tragic accident happened when a woman tried to throw back an object which she thought was a teargas grenade. It was a 'dazzling shock grenade' (an anti-terrorist weapon), which exploded in her hand. She lost four

On Sunday too there was heavy fighting, but again it turned out to be just a sumbolic act because the real aim, to set the construction equipment on fire was not achieved. There were scenes of civil-war. The tendency of the pigs is to use harder weapons, which cause more and more severe injuries. There were 200 people injured and 150 arrested.

The nuclear power-plant at Brokdorf near Hamburg should be the place for activists in Northern Germany. It is supposed to start running in June, but nobody can tell who's going to need the electricity and it will endanger 10

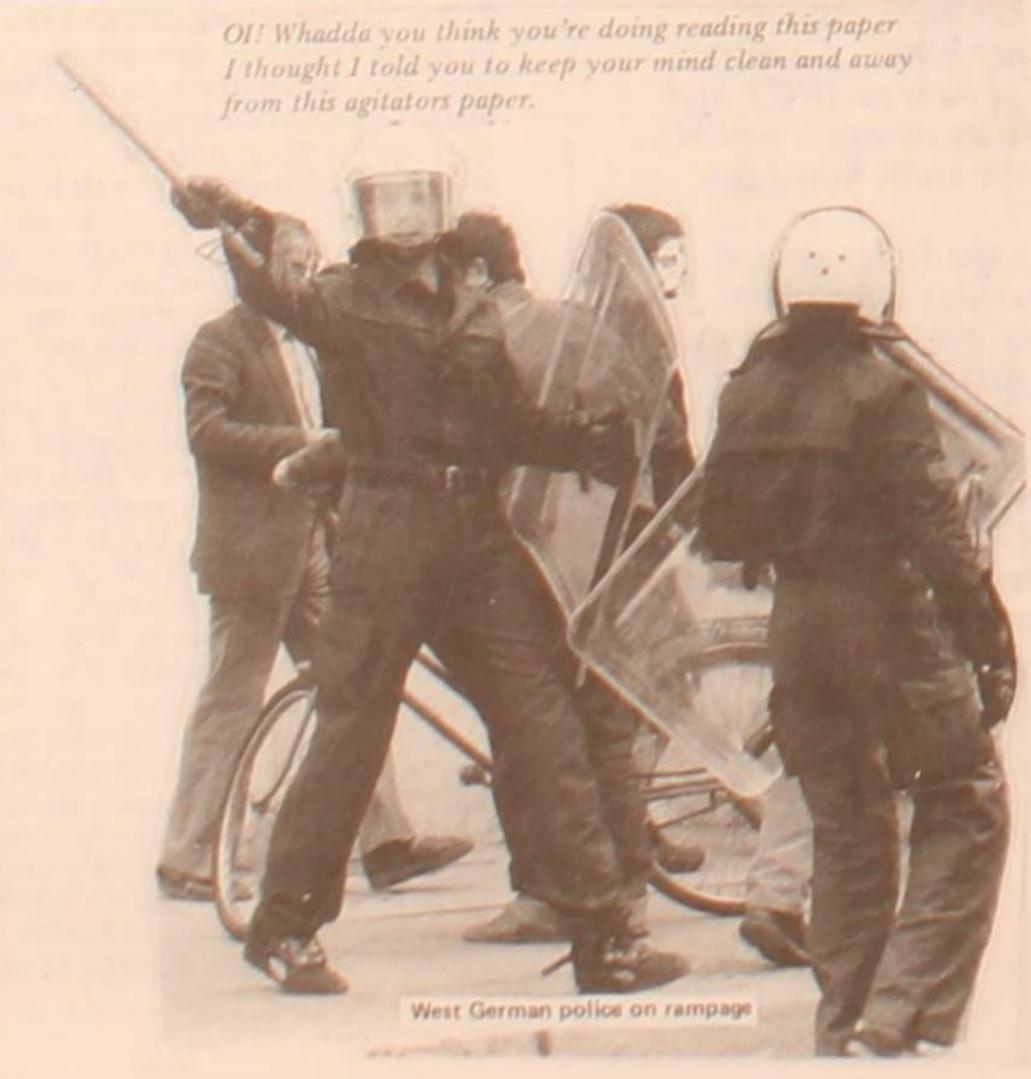
million people if there is an accident.

The factory is located at a huge river and surrounded by dozens of canals with very few streets to reach the place. The pigs used that to hinder demonstrators from reaching the place. To avoid this, convoys were organised but the pigs blocked them already before the start so they lost a lot of time. About half the people (30,000) didn't reach the place in time or at all. These controls caused some heavy fights with people not willing to get searched. In Kleve, the Hamburg convoy was trapped. They fought back and the little city was shaken by the following riot. The pigs were so angry at the courageous resistance, that they took revenge on the cars of the convoy. Sixty were destroyed by the bastards (windows smashed and tires slashed). Two were even burned out.

At Brockdorf itself the protest ended violently too. It was caused once more by the pigs, who used CS gas for no reason. The plant was protected by 5,000 pigs in and outside the four fences, special forces operating with helicopters, barbed wire, an 8 metre wide canal and lots of water cannons.

The hatred turned on the pigs and had some quite good results. To attack the plant itself was impossible. A whole bunch of people got injured by the CS gas which was used excessively. More than 100 people were arrested.

In reaction to the police oppression, a demo took place the same evening in Hamburg. For the first time in Germany there was a whole demo arrested. 840 people were caught for 13 hours, at very low temperatures, and kept outside. This



'disappearances' a year or by the beauty of Lake Altitlan (the major tourist sight in Guatemala)!

In 1985 'GAM' asked the government to enact a law by which political prisoners would be imprisoned (instead of murdered) pointing out that this law exists even in El Salvador and Chile.

From the beginning 'GAM' members received death threats. Government spies went to their meetings; men would kick down their doors late at night and shoot guns in the roof. They would receive death threats, telephone calls saying their relatives were dead.

In some areas the army would stop women going to 'GAM' meetings and take their names. In many places people were afriad to join. Headlines in the newspapers said 'The police will act against GAM'. A journalist asked Meija how security forces would deal with 'GAM' and he replied 'You'll see'.

A few days later on May 30th 1985, Hector Gomez Calito was abducted, severely tortured and murdered by the government. On April 4th. Rosario Goday de Cuevas was found raped and murdered, with her two year old son who had his fingernails pulled out. They were two of the most wocal and visible 'GAM' members.

On April 13th 1985, an already planned march commemorated their murders. About 1000 people took part, two thirds were Indian peasant women. Many had to go without food to afford to go after hearing about the deaths on the radio. There were about two hundred students who wore scarves over their faces for

nazi method (in order to prevent violence, like they said) caused a riot in the

Other cities followed the next day. In Berlin three neighbourhoods were in uproar the whole evening and night. The pigs intended with all means to crack down on the assembly. Bashing people down in the streets. Again a demo against police terror was stopped with brutal aggression by the state terrorists. Although there have been 65 arrests some good news can be reported: 15 construction company trailers were turned over and four set on fire. Lots of shop windows smashed, and nine pig cars destroyed, two set on fire.

The events in the last weeks, especially this weekend caused discussion about the future of this fight. Some militants think that the open confrontation is not effective enough, even that it is being put forward by agent provocateurs. The number of injuries is way too high (caused mostly by cs gas) and there are too many arrests as well. Most of the time the action is not much more than symbolic.

Another perspective is decentralised action. Some groups now have attacked the infra-structure. The number of cut down electricity-poles is rising. Millions of marks worth of damage was done to construction companies involved in the nuclear programme.

On the 8th of June a science lab of the third biggest weapons multinational was burnt down. Ten million marks worth of damages was done. The group responsible expressed their solidarity with the fighters of Wackersdorf, Brokdorf, Kleve and Stuttgart. Nobody was arrested or hurt.

fear of reprisals. Foreigners were warned not to attend - diplomats received death threats and the Government printed warnings in newspapers saving the 'Security Forces Will Be Watching'. Since the murders some of the 'GAM' have had 24-hour foreign escorts in the hope that this would discourage reprisals, but many 'GAM' members have had to flee the country.

In January 1986, a new President came into power. He is attempting to ward off revolution by allowing guerrillas to use newspapers and allowing some demonstrations. He has attempted to set up a commission headed by a Red Cross President to look into 'disappearances'. 'GAM' has refused to deal with it because when 'disappearances' were reported to the Red Cross, during the era of the Secret Courts (1982), the names of those reporting were passed on by the Red Cross to these courts.

The guerrillas held a cease-fire to see what results the government would have, but whether the murder of political opponents will cease is very doubtful. Still, so far only three people have 're-appeared'

On January 14th the Central American Peace March (Europeans) joined 'GAM' on a huge demonstration.

In Britain Guatemalan refugees/GAM solidarity group can be contacted: Guatemala Working Group, c/o Latin American Bureau, 1 Amwell Street. London EC1R 1UL.

News In Brief

The Australian Labour Government has been having trouble getting some wageslaves to 'accord' with State strategy of wage restraint. Strikes by Builder's Labourers (whose union has been 'deregistered') Waterside Workers, oil & petrol delivery drivers and even pilots have occured recently. State plans to cutback Childcare facilities and to get those on the dole to 'work' have also aroused some sectors of the working class.

Troops ran emergency bus services from Cairo in Egypt after an 'illegal' pay strike by railworkers disrupted trains on 9-7-'86.

Israel's 11,000 hospital nurses on strike for a month were joined by doctors in industrial action for better pay and conditions.

I n Holland a bank and manufacturer were hit in arson attacks. A fire in Amstelveen which caused \$300,000 damage to the Van Leer packing company was claimed in letters to the media by 'Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action'. On July 9th the Nederlandse Middenstrandsbank office in the Western city of Leiden was extensively damaged by fire.

NIGERIAN STUDENTS RESIST! Students went on strike and marched at the end of May the State's response was to ban all demonstrations and police to kill six, injuring many more. The National Union of Nigerian Students called on its members to defy these measures.

Students from Kaduna Polytechnic, in the north of the country, set fire to a police barracks during a protest against the murder of students in Zaria. Police shot dead two of the rioting students and secured the Kaduna State police command.

The reasons behind the outbreak of violent protest include disciplinary action taken against two student leaders in Zaria at Ahamadu Bello University; a new policy banning male visitors from visiting female student dormitories (as a direct result of membership by Nigeria of the Organisation of Islamic Conference), the deteriorating economic crisis and the prospect of unemployment at the end of studies. Also President Baban Babangida's backing for the cop killers outraged many.

At Ife in Oyo State students stormed the Ibowudu prison and set free 218 inmates. . . The Nigerian Labour Congress came out in support for the students, and workers joined a nationwide demo on June 4 to 'mourn the students killed by the police during the recent student unrest'. The NLC boycotted a Government Enquiry which investigated the troubles. Some sources say that thirty people were killed by the police. After a period of closure by the State some of the study centres were reopened.

CAPITALIST SANCTIONS FOR CAPITALISTS ?

Economic sanctions against South Africa are to protect Capitalism from Revolution, to manipulate popular protest into symbolic and manageable channels. To leave the big nations and the great industrialists to act it out on the world stage is merely an abdication of our responsibilities to see that change, not just in South Africa, is to the detriment of Capitalism and furthers its collapse.

The economic sanctions that most of the Commonwealth politicians are pushing for will hurt the South African economy eventually, and may well encourage reforms. These reforms are now desired by capitalists everywhere to prevent a collapse of the South African economy in the wake of the growing civil war. The British capitalists would lose most should the South African economy collapse, and therefore sanctions are now seen as an answer to stop that happening. Delays in implementing sanctions have been used to buy the SA regime time to shore up against some of the consequences. Already, for example, it has been revealed that South Africa has taken steps to buy up several shipments of oil on the market; other contingency measures, including the stock-piling of coal and other fuel reserves have been under way for some time.

The trump card which Botha's Western friends have up their sleeves lies with Chief Buthelezi, the Zulu chief who is in alliance with Botha. Speculation is now abroad that a likely 'negotiated solution' will involve constitutional reforms that incorporate some form of power sharing involving Buthelezi, possibly the release of Mandela (now made by friends and, especially foes, into a figurehead, symbolic and valuable in the bartering process), and possibly, too, the decriminalisation of the ANC, whose political, but not military force is now needed by the SA capitalists to keep some form of control over a growing rebellion in the townships and to act as a counter to the increasing power of the anti-apartheid unions. For the ANC, political control of the unions is urgent, before others do or the unions go independent.

A CUT IN THE GOLD RATE? What is required instead of sanctions is a real shutdown of all economic relations. The most damaging immediate action that could be done is a cut in the Gold rate. This would not worry many Western Governments too much as it would invariably lead to a bolstering of certain Western currencies. Outside South Africa a cut in the Gold standard would have the most effect on the economy of the USSR, the world's second largest Gold producer (and which liases with the South African regime on

BOOK REVIEW

The Russian Tragedy by Alexander Berkman reproduced by Phoenix Press, BM Bookserv London WC1N 3XX Price £2.50 Berkman is one of those writers who 'can present situations very vividly. In his work The Russian Tragedy he presents an excellent summary of the Bolsheviks aganst the workers and peasants who brought to reality the revolution in Russia. For those people who are sure that the counter revolution did occur in Russia but are not sure when it occurred, this work will provide an answer or two.

The suppression of the Kronstadt Revolt between March 7th and 18th in 1921 contains lessons for all those who see the need for a revolution to put an end to the old order of things and how we as anarchists must view all governments whether they are fascist, capitalist or state communist. To quote Berkman:

'No reactionary regime ever dominated the life and liberty of its citizens with such arbitrariness as the alleged "Dictatorship of the proletariat"... 'Gross and barbaric contempt for the most elementary human rights has become an exiom of the Communist Government.'

It is over sixty-five years since the counter revolution was finally brought about under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev and many people, expecially the so-called educated are

the cartel arrangements). To put the importance of Gold into perspective, Gold production is in fact 50% of the source of all export earnings for South Africa (the next biggest export earner is minerals - ie diamonds, uranium etc) While policing sanctions might well prove to be difficult, a world cut in the Golf rate will not. But again, is this a realistic proposition to expect Western capitalists to adopt, considering the effect such an action would have on the investment earnings and trade generally by



It is generally agreed that perhaps the most important sanctions that can be used against South Africa would be to ban all imports of machinery and machine parts (of which SA imports one third) and on all oil and oil products (SA imports 60% of its oil supplies) although the latter embargo, without taking into account recent spot buying, would not begin to take full effect until after 18 months at least. It is also generally agreed that the mos most effective sanctions that would damage the SA economy would not be sanctions against South African imports but against exports to South Africa. To date most sanct-

ions have been applied the other way around. On the question of divestment, so far this has had little effect because there have always been companies who are prepared to buy in at cheaper prices where others have bought out for political reasons. This means that investments have continued and have had a temporary affect on the SA economy but with Western investors coming up trumps. Another factor that has dissuaded many businesses not to disinvest is the obvious knock-on effect in the rest of their business. The same argument has been used by Western capitalists against sanctions. In the UK for example, capitalists argue that sanctions will lead to massive redundancies in firms that have SA connections. Pessimists posit a figure of 250,000 unemployed upwards in the UK alone. The firms most affected will be GEC, ICL, ICI etc. Loss of export earnings

would be must significant for GEC, which produces machinery for South Africa's power plants. On the other side British industrialists argue that a ban on South African imports, especially on minerals, would affect the British steel industry, which relies on South African chrome as well as industrial diamonds. What really worrries these firms is the prospect of wage levels for SA workers rising if the current SA regime were toppled and the effects on profit margins.

Currently British investment in SA amounts

LATE NEWS

still stupid enough to believe a revolution can be carried out and sustained by authoritarian marxist parties.

At £2.50 this little gem will fill a historical if not intellectual gap for those people who are willing to read about and understand the defeat of the greatest revolution ever carried out.

SOUTHWARK

Mass Evictions – the aftermath Southwark council finally went ahead with their de-squatting tactics last month when they attacked three heavily squatted estates near the Elephant and Castle. About eighty squatted flats, that went through the county court in April 1985 were on the hit list.

In the early hours of the morning on the 10th June a convoy of police, sub-contractors, bailiffs and removal vans came on to the Pullens estate to start the evictions. They were met by a large group of squatters and sympathisers on the streets who poured buckets of water, paint, etc over the police and other scabs, snapped a few of the boards that were to be used to seal up the evicted flats, let down tyres of the removal vans and generally made a lot of noise and obstruction in an attempt to stop the evictions. Unfortunately the bailiffs succeeded in evicting all 26 flats although 19 were resquatted almost instantly. On the same day evictions were also happening on the nearby Rockingham estate.

COMMENT

to 45% of all foreign investment, with the US, W. Germany and Japan next in line. The latest trend is for indirect investment to take over from direct investment. Indirect investment is thought to be less politically visible. Indirect investors can also get away with supporting low wages (less than the Eurocode, for eg.). None of the sanctions on offer restrict the activities of investors. If they did the biggest revenue earner of all - the City of London would be affected. Last year the City earned

more than £1.9billion as a result of investments in SA. An embargo on investments would cause a major crash in the City and have repercussions on the banking system worldwide. Is such an embargo, therefore, likely? THE FRONT-LINE STATES

While the Front Line states call for sanctions, privately they are hoping Thatcher's line will hold. They of course want a change in South Africa, but not if that means their own too. Their own economies are dependent on SA's. Three Front Line States - Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland – are all current full trading partners of South Africa. They are each members of the South African Customs Union, a trading organisation that enables SA to reap most of the profits. But if that trading organisation ceased because of sanctions, none of the thee Front Line states would desire the consequences unless the Western powers can provide compensation or an alternative set-up for trading (around 90% of all imports to these

countries comes through South Africa). Other Front Line states are less dependent but are just as concerned. For Mozambique, where a famine is spreading - feared to grow to the proportion experienced in Ethiopia if not checked - South Africa is still the main outlet for trade. The majority of workers in Lesotho don't even work in Lesotho, but are migrants in South Africa. Any retaliatory acts by SA against that country and other Front Line states should sanctions be imposed on a massive scale would arguably have even more disasterous effect on the populations of these countries, creating mass starvation to which such consequnces no Western power has yet shown little heed.

But it would be totally wrong to use any of these factors as argument for inaction. While the SA regime not only enforces its repression inside the country, its neighbours are also under its stranglehold, facing raids for 'harbouring terrorists' etc. - a stranglehold that has to be broken if they are to ever be free of it. A revolution in SA will therefore automatically imply a political upheaval in the whole of Southern Africa, affecting the economies and the political structures of the

Front Line states, and beyond. As for significant, massive direct action by workers sympathetic in the West to Black aspirations and the aspirations of all those who oppose Apartheid, this is yet to come. When it does, then sanctions will be as a result of action taken by those who are fighting the class war, on a different scale, but in a different part of the world, not by their respective oppressors.

As shown so clearly by the targetting of the

On the 24th June the same kind of operation occurred on Kinglake estate were approximately 24 flats were evicted.

During these evictions about 20 arrests were made. A benefit gig was held at the Pullens Centre on 12th July and raised £175 for people arrested at the Pullens and Kinglake evictions.

To date out of all the flats evicted on the Pullets estate about 1/3 of them are still resquatted and negotiations are taking place between the council and the squatters over giving them tenancies.

On Kinglake estate about a half of the evicted flats are still resquatted although squatters still fear that warrants of Restitutions might be used to re-evict them, despite the fact that the local councillor has assured them that the Chair of Housing has no intentions to use them.

AN APPEAL FOR ASSISTANCE The Red Star Club in Leicester is located in an area in which 21,000 Asians have been allocated to live. The Club evolved from the Asian Youth Movement and widened its membership to all local immigrants. The purpose of the group is to counter harassment of their community. To help with this a building was acquired, the second floor of a disused school. Initially it was funded by the City Council (Labour controlled) but disagreement arose because the Club refused to adhere to restrictions that the Council wanted to place upon it. This led the Council to withdraw funding and the members began an occupation. This

trade union activists and organisers in the latest clampdown in South Africa, what the SA authorities fear most is concerted and mass industrial action. What will have the most damaging effect on the SA economy is a prolonged General Strike, combined with a mass boycott inside & outside SA, as well as an escalation of violence. Sanctions might well prepare the ground for industrial action, this despite the desire by Western leaders to avoid like the plague that course of events. And for that reason sanctions must of course be increased, but direct support for industrial action is also a main priority. And for those

of us outside South Africa that support can begin through direct links with unions such as those affiliated to COSATU. It can also be shown by direct action on boycotts at workplaces in the West on South African goods (imports) or on the supply (exports) of goods to SA. And in those workplaces where companies are directly linked to SA industry, sympathetic action - such as go-slows, sabotage, etc. - can be used to put pressure on the company to disinvest, or to provide moral support to Black workers employed by the company in their SA subsidiary.

In this respect the SA National Union of Mineworkers has recently begun a campaign aimed at joint solidarity action between workers in SA and workers in the UK against the company Consolidated Gold Fields. The campaign is aimed primarily against CG's more visible UK subsidiary, Amey Roadstone. C.G. is a UK owned company and is the largest foreign employer in South Africa. It also has one of the worst employment records, paying the lowest wages in the Gold industry in South Africa and having employed many campaigns against unionisation. Other firms which have escaped concerted direct action in Britain include Babcock International, Thorn EMI, Lonhro, British Leyland, and British Tyre & Rubber/Dunlop. (With the latter company members of the Metal & Allied Workers Union in South Africa recently undertook strike action covering all four of its South African plants because of several workers sacked for taking strike action.) While workers in countries outside South

Africa can play their part in imposing sanctions as a result of direct industrial action in solidarity with industrial action the workplaces in South Africa, ultimately liberation in South Africa will be achieved not because of any false concern by Western capitalists. Liberation will come about because of an intensification of anti-state action in South Africa itself. As in the Philippines and in Haiti, it was not the intervention of outside governments or even the support of 'national liberationists' that brought about change (albeit reformist), but the efforts of the oppressed class inside these countries. The main task to promote and undertake revolutionary change awaits the people of South Africa. In the meantime we all have a responsibility to bring about change on a global scale. After all, if we can't even win our own battles against an enemy that knows no boundaries, how can we expect to provide effective solidarity to others?

has now lasted two years. The first year being a 24 hour sit in.

The Club decided to take the authorities control to Court and there won a High Court mandate that funding should continue. The Labour Party/Council up till now have ignored this saying the 800 -900 members of the Club should join the Labour Party and argue their case from within. The people are desperate that they should keep their building and

Consequently a picket of the City Labour Labour Group has been called for August 4th at 7pm. They expect to meet up in the local Town Hall and welcome those who support their struggle for their own Club.

SOURCE: Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign marcher.

VIRAJ MENDIS MARCH

The Viraj Mendis March from Manchester to London has reached Luton as we go to press. Viraj's final appeal against deportation to Sri Lanka has been refused. The marchers say the campaign will continue after the march. A report will be in the next issue of Black Flag.



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