

withdrawal of US imperialism tactically and strategically unavoidable - the so-called displacement of the strategic centre of gravity towards Western Europe."

"For the social-liberal government under Schmidt that means that the Social-Democratic project of covert warfare, which has already miscarried when applied against the RAF, has been bungled."

"It is internationally seen as a political party which conducts open warfare."

"Ever since we arrived on the scene NATO has been evolving its counter-measures against the armed resistance of the RAF. The cadres held in West German prisons are executed in accordance with its directives, just as there are now orders to shoot on sight those who struggle on the outside."

The struggle goes on regardless.

ANDREAS BAADER COMMANDO.

RED ARMY FRACTION.

Smash US imperialism and its bases throughout the world!

Organize armed resistance in Western Europe!

Build the anti-imperialist front in the metropolises!

Solidarity with the struggle of Palestinian resistance against the final solution of imperialism!

Solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle in Turkey!

It is sad that with all the courage and daring of the "commandos" of the RAF they are still unable to make the necessary break with the boring ideology of third-worldism, glossing over all the crimes of Sovietism by omitting to mention them and harping constantly on those of America.

The acceptance of selected Soviet-favoured nationalism at face value and failure to question the bourgeois nature of Leninism also helps to weigh the balance against them, and enables the penetration of their ranks by police spies from the very governments they are innocently supporting. Must they always wait

until they are in prison before they accept the truths of anarchism - with which the Springer press tries to label them in the first place?

.....

WE STILL HAVE HOPES OF TRANSFORMING TO A FORTNIGHTLY SHORTLY - THIS WILL ENTAIL ALTERING THE FORMAT THOUGH NOT THE CONTENT. THIS WILL BE A MAKE-OR-BREAK EFFORT SO WE'RE STILL GOING CAUTIOUSLY. BUT LOOK FORWARD TO IT IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AND MEANWHILE WE'RE GLAD AT LEAST TO HAVE ACHIEVED REGULAR MONTHLY RATHER THAN EXCITINGLY IRREGULAR MORE-OR-LESS EVERY-OTHER-MONTHLY.

Due to the pressures caused by the 'Conspiracy' trial of the four anarchists at the Old Bailey (two of whom are members of the Black Flag collective) the typesetting and layout of this November issue has been delayed. The trial now looks like continuing into December!

"Criminals aren't anarchists. In fact, criminals are pillars of society."
Enoch Powell.



BLACK FLAG



Vol. V.

No. 12

DECEMBER 1979

20p

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

RAF COMMANDO

A statement received from the 'Andreas Baader Commando' of the Red Army Fraction (RAF), in which the commando claims responsibility for the abortive attempt on the life of the NATO commander-in-chief in Europe, US General Alexander Haig.

"On 25 June 1979 the ANDREAS BAADER COMMANDO carried out a bomb attack directed against the commander-in-chief of NATO, General Alexander Haig.

of a second. Our mistake lay in thinking that we would be able to explode the charge by hand and at the same time achieve sufficient accuracy despite the high speed.

"We undertook this action because Haig represents and executes with particular precision the 'new course' or 'modified style' of American strategy.

CLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR ATTEMPT ON HAIG

"The explanation for our failure to accomplish the specific aim of this action, that of killing Haig himself, is as follows:

"Below the road-surface of a bridge on the route from Haig's residence to NATO Headquarters we had excavated a tunnel 1.80 metres in length and installed the charge (20kg of plastique) at a depth of ca. 40 cm. Detonation was effected by means of an electric cable 200 metres in length, at the moment when the front door of Haig's mercedes was directly above the charge. We had calculated previously that his car travelled at a speed of two metres per tenth

"What has changed since the political and military defeat of the United States in Vietnam is that their aggressiveness has increased, not decreased, and that the peoples of the world are confronted by a new American offensive which at the same time marks a qualitative leap in the unfolding of power relations between revolution and counter-revolution.

"Or as we have said before: in the world-revolutionary process of encirclement of the cities by the villages.

"The victories of liberation in Africa and South-East Asia have pushed the front closer to the centre, to the metropolises themselves, and have made the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

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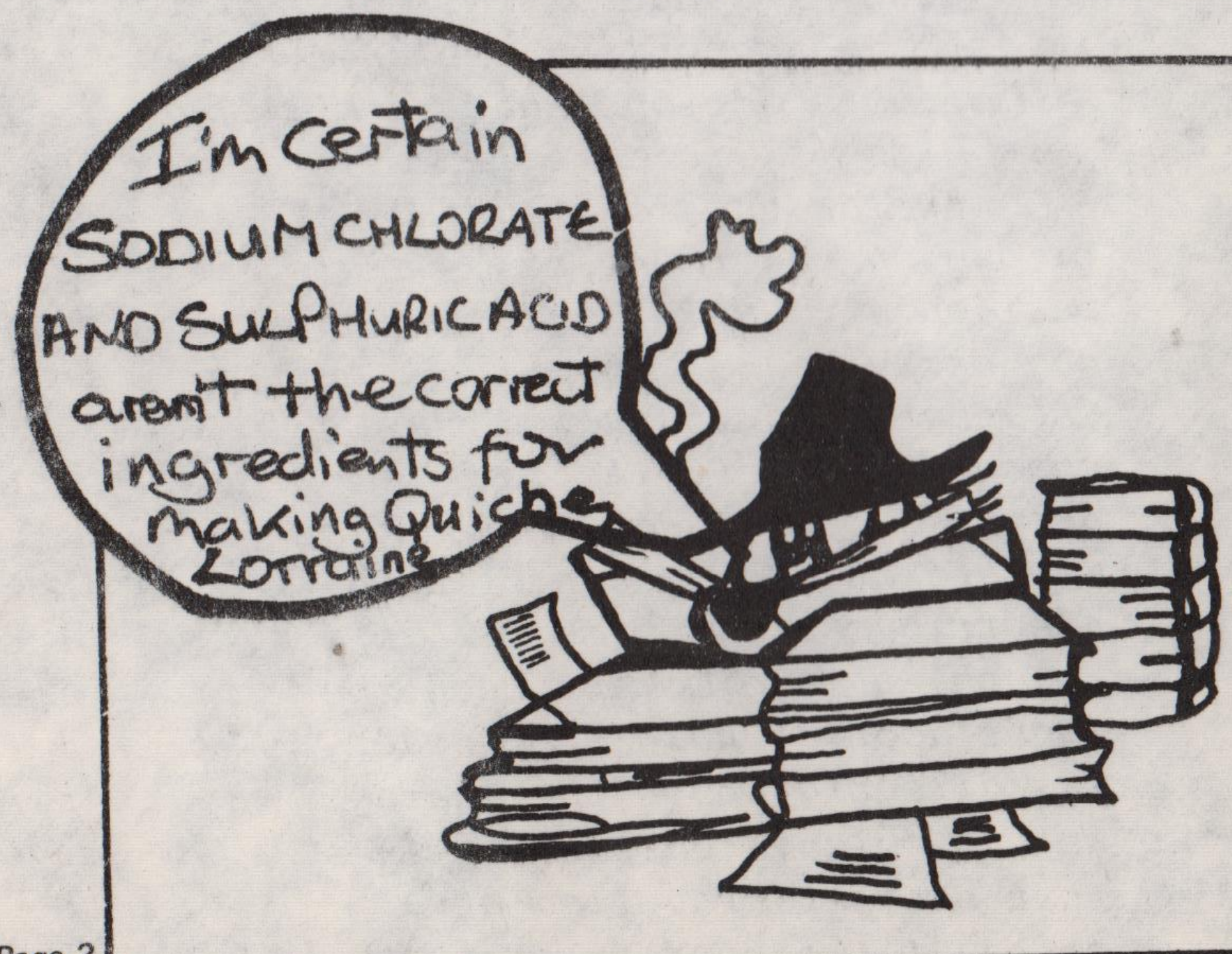
Deficit looks alarming but grew because of our purchase of electric typewriter (being paid by credit card); though we have a printing bill or so still out, most of our income from sales hasn't come in, but the moral is still: if we only got paid for every copy that goes out, and subs. were promptly renewed, we'd actually break even at the very least. Our postage bills are still high because we carry the Anarchist Black Cross postage as well as that of Black Flag (and this looks like growing with the new rates).

ALBERT MELTZER apologises to all who feel he may have neglected them - he's been on his back with sciatica - hopes to clear up his correspondence soon!

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. In which Western country was prostitution not only legalised but compulsory, until just over a century ago, with daughters compelled to yield sexually, if required, even to their own fathers - who fought hard to preserve their privileges in the name of Christianity and democracy?
2. Why did Colonel Barker falsely claim, in the twenties, to have cancer of the penis; and how did this wreck the (original British) Imperial Fascisti?
3. Which Manchester cotton manufacturer of the last century was an avid foxhunter and considered himself a special authority on military matters; and is now revered throughout half the world for his supposed infallibility in economics?
4. What is the fallacy about J.M. Keynes's theory that State spending cures depression, because it creates jobs which in turn cause bigger spending and so gets the economy moving again?
5. Why was Sir Norman Angell's economic theory of the "Great Illusion" (War) warmly welcomed and later generally derided?
6. Chinese piracy in the early nineteenth century was suppressed by a lady referred to as Mistress Ching. How did she do it?

answers on page 27



the age of treason

Nobody need be surprised that a Russian intelligence agent has been discovered working in the Royal Household. allowed to continue after he had been exposed, with immunity, in exchange for information implicating others. The security forces thrive on secrecy, and secrecy is what constitutes the British State today. Sir Anthony Blunt went over to the KGB service during the war whilst working for British Intelligence. He was effectively discovered to be still acting for the KGB fifteen years ago only now, when his name has been dragged in the open, is he suddenly stripped of his knighthood and deprived of his royal post (no great punishments even so, when you think of the way political dissidents are treated - if it's only to hold them for a year or two before placing them on trial and then being acquitted).

Is this the last skeleton in the cupboard, is there a Fifth (and only a fifth, not a sixth?) man?

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

The truth is that the whole of military intelligence and security is rotten to the core, it is a hot-bed of the most audacious treason and it gets away with it because of the impenetrable wall of secrecy - which even Prime Ministers cannot surmount.

The actions taken constantly not only by military intelligence but also by police agencies subservient to them go beyond the wildest dreams of the creators of James Bond and his ilk. Is it to be wondered that there are show trials and political frame-ups and that the word of judges is accepted when they say that, so far as they are aware, there are no such things as political prisoners in this country?

IT STARTED IN WARTIME.

During the

war the Polish Resistance was betrayed to the Germans by the Russians in order that potential opposition to them would be wiped out. The British collaborated with the Russians and after the war deported thousands into the hands of the KGB. From then until now Russian resistance fighters have been handed over to the Kremlin. These actions were not taken by a few "disaffected intellectuals", the Burgess, Maclean and Philby type. They were handed over as direct policy. But one decided by no Government. America during the Cold War period was screaming its head off against Russia - it still goes on - but their secret services still co-operate in the suppression of revolutionaries.

RUSSIAN REPRESSION

Can one wonder that a few Intelligence agents during the war, and subsequently, who had so-called "left wing" sympathies - that is to say, pro-Russian (they were totally divorced from the working class) may have gone now and again a bit beyond their directions? Who makes these directions anyway? - successive governments are left in ignorance. What wonder if British agents during the war, given the clear instruction to wipe out the Resistance against Hitler if it became so powerful that it could pose an alternative to the Allies, made an exception in favour of the Communist Party - even though it might be this, rather than libertarian forces, that Whitehall was aiming to destroy?

In cases as in Egypt, and perhaps Iran today, Russia has helped to suppress Communist Parties for the benefit of other countries. Generally they are useful for espionage purposes and occasionally "subversion". But it gladly takes the help of the secret services who betray Russian resistance movements. One is not talking of the show dissidents, whom America appreciates, but of working class resisters, whom it doesn't. The U.S. Government

does not want the overthrow of the USSR. It does not want it transformed into a gigantic capitalist state that would out-leap the USA. Far less does it want libertarian socialism to triumph and cause international repercussions. Better the devil known than the devil unknown; and so the anti-communist security forces of the world are effectively pro-communist. If an agent makes a bias one way - as Blunt did during the war when Russia was a "great and honoured" ally - is it to be wondered at? Is it a cause of surprise? Or is it in the nature of things?

The business of espionage is, of course, greatly over-rated. One might think cynically that if we are spending money on spies in Russia we might get from them the secret of how to make trains run when there is a bit of snow about. There are really no military secrets worth bothering about.

The Burgess-type probably did more for world peace at the time - by persuading the Russians that Britain was not going to war against them - than any of the Foreign Office gentry who collected their OBEs and inflation-proof pensions. Why should they not trust the people they were paying? Why not publish everything openly and invite spies over on cut-price package trips? Only because the real business of security is the betrayal, not of governments, not of military secrets, not of "plans" or know-how but of peoples. It is the people in resistance that were betrayed during the war by the British Foreign Office time and again. The Dutch have recently had a great inquest into the "Englandspiel" - the way Dutch resistance workers in touch with Whitehall were delivered into the hands of the Gestapo. The codes were broken again and again; the whole movement was betrayed to the Gestapo. Why? Perhaps because as military agents, spies and saboteurs they had become dispensable; and the Foreign Office was out to crush the Dutch resistance just as the Russians crushed the Warsaw resistance, by letting the Germans do the job for them, by betraying their identities.

IN SPAIN

There is a clear cut case of this in which the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in Spain was involved. During the Second World War the British Embassy was spending money like water subsidising anti-Nazi activities - the sabotage of German ships and information, and the help given to escaping Allied soldiers and other refugees over the border. In the fullness of time the Embassy announced to the backbone of the Resistance - the CNT regional committee in Catalonia - that it wanted to canalise and heat up support, and invited the CNT to send its delegates, without commitment, to a joint meeting with the Royalists under Embassy auspices. Cipriano Mera said he saw no point in it - there was no possibility of co-operation with the Royalists, it seemed a waste of time. But it wasn't. A few weeks after, all the CNT regional committee was arrested by Franco. They had been betrayed to the Franco police. By the Foreign Office or by a traitor in it? Shall we ever know? Was this done by a Communist or a Fascist in the Embassy? If such traitors were there - or if it was official policy - they put at prejudice the whole of the escape route into Spain and the sabotage of Nazi installations and ships. But perhaps Whitehall thought the destruction of the one labour movement that resisted totalitarianism was worth it. Was this a Foreign Office decision, or a traitor's?

Nobody ever dared put it to the English public. For long after the war the British government could not work with Franco or it would face electoral disaster. So the Atlee government handed over former Spanish Resistance fighters (against both Hitler and Franco) to Franco without making it public; and French and Spanish police later came to London to raid homes of Resistance workers. Has Special Branch, or a traitor within it, ever invited the KGB? Shall we know? Does the Prime Minister know?

The security forces are a hard taskmaster for governments. They are the equivalents of a dictator's trusted corps of bodyguards - indispensable to the holding of power, but always the source from

which danger may be feared. Their interest above all is not the interests of the people. They are unreliable in war, a source of major catastrophe in peace. It is not a "climate of treason" affecting a few lefties of the thirties, as the Conservative Press will have it; nor an old school tie network, as the Left will say. It is a whole geography of treason, and it is so firmly embedded into the system of government that it can be impervious to any form of democratic action. What a joke when it is said - as journalists will have it - that trade unions really rule the country! What action can trade unions take against the secret service? But what formidable action has the secret service not taken against the unions, especially when they got too tough for the bosses to handle! You think what happened in Barcelona couldn't happen here?

But they are owls which fear the daylight. Let it pour in upon them. There is nothing they fear so much as a camera.

Albert Meltzer

JOSE BILBAO KILLED BY COPS ABEL AND SWIFT

Over seven years ago, on June 20, 1972, Jose Bilbao a 45 year old Spanish migrant was arrested by cops Terry Swift and Peter Abel, taken to Central Police Station (Sydney) and charged with unseemly words. In court the next morning Bilbao complained to the magistrate that he was ill as a result of being assaulted by police. The magistrate had him sent for medical attention to Sydney Hospital, where he died the next day - the post mortem revealing he died of extensive abdominal bleeding.

An inquest was then held (1972) resulting in two cops being charged with murder - the charges however were then dismissed by the magistrate who ruled there was not enough evidence to go to trial.

For the last seven years Jose's sister has been fighting the court

system appealing for another inquest. Finally she got it in June this year. The coroner hearing this second inquest, Waller, found "there was a prima facie case of manslaughter against cops Abel and Swift. He then referred the matter on to the NSW attorney general Frank Walker for further action. That was June 20, 1979 - what are you doing about it Walker?

Evidence produced at the second inquest included various prisoners who heard a skuffle or fight outside their cells, including "dull thuds" and "someone screaming" and saw a cop kicking a man on the floor - when queried, the cop responded; "oh, he had a bad fall." Even the police matron present at the station admitted she heard a "disturbance like a fight, a voice with a New Australian accent", and later saw a cop "mop the floor and wash out of the mop what she thought was blood". Several prisoners gave evidence that the next morning Jose was moaning, clutching his sides, vomiting and generally acting as if he was ill.

The double standards and class bias of our system of justice are once again made obvious for those who are not too scared to open their eyes. When a cop or a warder is killed, (e.g., Det. Bob Lane in Victoria and Officer Mewburn at Long Bay), all hell breaks loose. The media, cops and public opinion leaders, (politicians, priests, etc.), launch a witchhunt. But when cops kill someone, (such as Abel and Swift beating Bilbao to death in a cop shop), there is a cover up. As the U.S. Government Institute of Defense Analysis demonstrated back in 1969; "For every cop killed by a citizen, six citizens are murdered by cops." Compare the cases of Bill O'Meally and Jose Bilbao. Back in 1952 a Constable Howell was killed - revenge required a victim. O'Meally was made to take the blame in a rigged trial and nearly executed. He then spent the next 27 years inside. Bilbao was killed back in 1972 as a result of a police beating. Seven years later no

GREGORY P. MAXIMOFF

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK - TWENTY YEARS OF TERROR IN RUSSIA: VOLUME 1:

THE LENINIST COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

Cienfuegos Press, 1979 (reprint of 1940 ed.).

THE GUILLOTINE

In 1940, at the same time that the Communist Party, Party-line organizations, and fellow travellers were flip-flopping to accommodate the Hitler-Stalin Blood Pact, the Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund published the Russian Anarchist Gregory P. Maximoff's THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK: TWENTY YEARS OF TERROR IN RUSSIA, detailing and documenting the origins and development of State Repression in Soviet Russia. Long out of print, Cienfuegos Press has now made this classic study available. A very valuable addition to our understanding of what went wrong, it is well written and scholarly researched.

What makes THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK unique? After all, by now there are many treatments - excellent ones, it might be added - of political repression in the U.S.S.R. Most of them, however, deal with the Stalin era - material on the Lenin era is relatively sparse; in the popular (and conventional Left) mind, repression in Soviet Russia is seen as beginning with Stalin's accession to power after Lenin's death. The entire apparatus of oppression, is usually referred to as "Stalinism".

We are given to believe that somehow, overnight, Stalinism developed out of nothingness, the bizarre creation of an evil genius - in much the same way that Nazism is seen as the sole creation of one madman, Adolf Hitler. Both cases were the results, not of evil genius, but of what went on before (we are not, of course, absolving either dictator of guilt).

In the case of Germany, the manifold reasons included worldwide depression, a totally split-up Left, a reformist-minded working class, a severely desperate petit bourgeoisie and a panicky haute bourgeoisie. In Russia, the seeds were sown under Lenin. They were not only sown, but had reached full flower by the time Lenin died. Stalin

charges have been laid against Abel and Swift.

And now the Police Federation has called for the reintroduction of capital punishment - especially for "cop killers". Who is going to police the police and save us from our paid protectors?

merely increased the crop - and good "scientific" socialist that he was, rationalized the whole affair, increasing the size of the bouquets through careful pruning.

This is where THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK is so important. Maximoff demonstrates, year by year, from 1917 to 1923, the development of the Terror, paying special attention to what Lenin said, wrote, demanded and did; only the last few chapters discuss Stalin - but from what was written before, it is readily apparent that what is today called "Stalinism" is really Marxist-Leninism on the 60+ Year Plan. Maximoff is careful, however, not to fall into the "evil genius" syndrome. He notes:

...our aim is not to tell the full history of terror in the Russian Revolution, but merely to expose its sources and nature. For that purpose we chose the Leninist period, during which the theory of terror was established and its practice institutionalized. We cherish the hope that our aim has been accomplished in the present work, and that we have enabled the reader to realize that terror in the Russian revolution was not the result of the wicked will or personal cruelty of Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, or those whom Stalin executed; not was it the result of the Asiatic character of Russian life, its coarseness and lack of culture. It was, rather, the logical outcome of the European social philosophy followed by Lenin and by the Bolshevik leaders executed by Stalin. It is the same philosophy now professed by Trotsky and Stalin alike; it is the social philosophy of consistent political Marxism whose practice necessarily results in terror and absolutism. It is precisely because of this that Stalin continues to act as Lenin had acted, and in Stalin's place Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Bucharin would have done likewise. Wherever this social philosophy is put into practice, whatever the

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personnel, it must necessarily create an absolutist regime and yield the same results. (p.293f)

Certainly the history of the past thirty-five years alone has borne Maximoff out. The Terror continues in the Soviet Union - for this no source need be cited. The same goes for the satellite countries of Eastern Europe. In Yugoslavia - on the outs with the USSR - free thinking is a crime (the treatment of Milovan Djilas is the most well-known example). As for Cuba, readers are referred to Sam Dolgoff's THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1976) for accounts of the Terror ala Fidel. The Khmer Rouge tyranny over Cambodia was one of the most brutal in the entire history of this planet. (2)

As for China, while the downfall of the "Gang of Five" has meant that many of those who were persecuted under Mao's reign have been "rehabilitated" (and note, please, that word "rehabilitation" - the word itself presupposes prior wrongdoing), persecution continues. To be sure, there has been liberalisation. How long it will last is another question. But by now there are several things that we can be positive of: (1) the liberalisation was an important part of Teng Hsiao Peng's climb to power, mobilising mass discontent and desires, repressed aspirations and rage, to discredit his opponents; (2) the liberalisation will not last. Already the official organs of the regime, echoing Lenin's comments about freedom being a bourgeois luxury, are writing that poster demands for human rights are "a slogan of the bourgeoisie and not of the proletariat." (3) Those putting up anti-repression posters have been arrested. (4) And one dissident - Li Cheng-tien, whose crime was denouncing the "Gang of Four" when they were still in power - was given life imprisonment. After Teng took power. (5) According to an Associated Press story, the editor of a radical magazine in Peking was arrested in March after printing an article exposing conditions in a Peking jail for political prisoners, where torture is Standard Operating Procedure. He has not been heard of since. (6) And all of this as the hopeful illusions of "socialist legality" and a Brand New Democratic Constitution (yet to be written, much less followed - look at Stalin's constitution!) - still float around.

The phenomenon we are dealing with, then, is clearly not one of specific evil geniuses, but one of an ideology in power.

Maximoff concentrates primarily on the repression of Anarchists, Left Social Revolutionaries and non-Party people. The book was written with the hope that similar studies could be published to trace the history of the Terror against all of the various factions. Maximoff's scholarship is above reproach; the book is well footnoted. There are two major deficiencies: first, there is no index, and one is desperately needed. Secondly, the publishers decided not to reprint part 2 - the "Data and Documents" section. References to the second section are made throughout the book - and although the reader does not need the second part to comprehend the first, still there is the feeling of being left high and dry. It is to be hoped that the publishers will decide in the near future to put out "Data and Documents" - perhaps a special fund for this purpose should be set-up.

It is important that THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK be read. As people search for solutions to the social problems of our time, revolutions of the past will be that do: this book was first published in 1940 to lay bare the roots of repression and end the conspiracy of silence surrounding criticism of a so-called "socialist country" - where violations of human rights had occurred and were occurring. Every time there has been a revolution, there have been those who say we mustn't criticise; they keep their well-fed mouths shut while the "people" in the "peoples' republics" waste away in jails, concentration camps, labor camps. The facts must be made known - and the international hallelujah chorus exposed for what they are - public opinion partners in tyranny.

Shelby Shapiro.

NOTES

(1) As reported in TIME (Asia ed.), 11 June 1979, p.27 and NEWSWEEK (Asia ed.), 11 June 1979, p.13.

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- (2) See, for example, "Horror in Cambodia" NEWSWEEK (Asia ed.) cover story, 23 Jan. 1978, pp. 6-11.
- (3) "Wilting Flowers", TIME (Asia ed.), 2 April 1979, p.11.
- (4) "Turning Back the Clock", TIME (Asia ed.), 23 April 1979, p.9.
- (5) Simon Leys, "China: How Far, How Fast?" NEWSWEEK (Asia ed.), 27 March 1978, p.40.
- (6) AP Report, "Political Prisoners Tortured in China?", in PACIFIC DAILY NEWS, Agana, Guam, 10 May 1979, p.21.

Our nominee for the Leon Trotsky Ice Axe Award of 1979 ("the noted Lev") is none other than the American "radical" attorney, William Kunstler, gallant defender of the Chicago 7. Mister Kunstler deserves the Axe for the statement he made when refusing to sign a NEW YORK TIMES ad protesting against treatment of political prisoners by the Hanoi regime. Placed by Joan Baez, it was signed by many other prominent figures from the antiwar movement of the 1960's, including Dan Berrigan, I.F. Stone and James Michener. Kunstler's prize-winning statement is a classic of its genre, apologia pluperfecta ("Lev and let Lev!"):

"I do not believe in public attacks on socialist countries, even where violations of human rights may occur."

(1)

Among those that refused to sign were Phil Berrigan, Daniel Ellsberg, actress Jane Fonda, and her hubby, that former "student for a democratic society" (apparently he never graduated) Ton Havden.

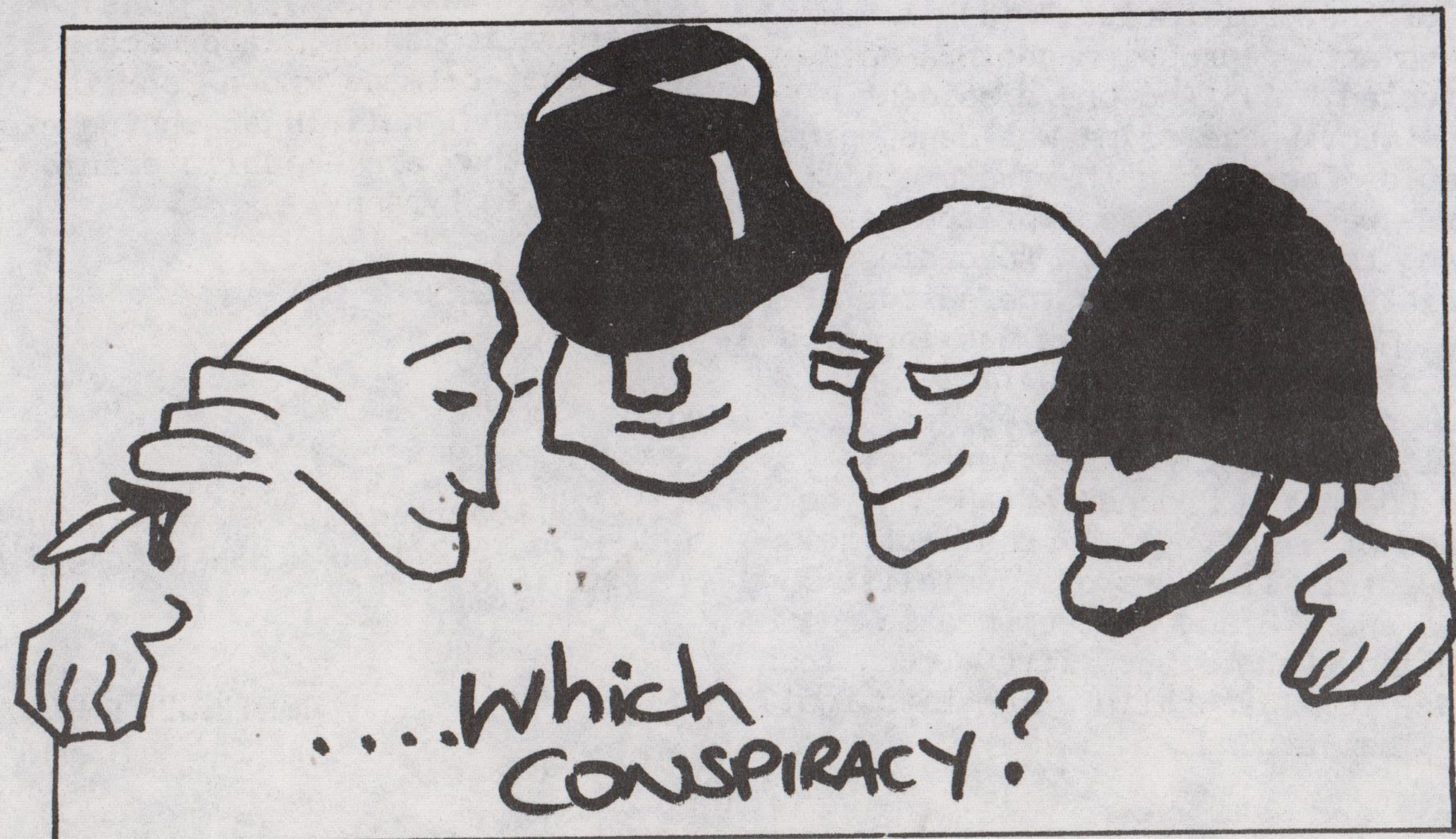
The Lev is awarded to those whose actions and statements shall - or should! - ultimately come home to haunt them. Remeber Totsky's threat to shoot the Kronstadt rebels down like partridges?

Kunstler - we have seen your kind before! Seeing the Future that Works, marvelling that the trains run on time, and piously whining about how to those under tyranny, filling their bellies is the number one priority - freedom being only for the well-fed.

Does Czechoslovakia 1968 mean nothing to you? Hungary 1956? Hitler-Stalin 1939? Kronstadt 1921? Do the words Gulag Archipelago mean nothing to you? How about Vorkuta? Lubianka? Butyrki? Kolyma? How about the murderer Stalin? Vishinsky? Beria? Yagoda? Trotsky? Lenin? Even Nikita Krushchev - whose hands were far from clean-acknowledged that "violations of human rights" occurred.

"Even where violations of human rights may occur..." A nice turn of phrase. "Even where..." - in other words, a rose by any other name is not a rose: persecutions, oppressions, murders, tortures, etc. when done by so-called "socialist countries" in the name of the so-called "people" are NOT persuectuions, oppressions, murders, tortures, etc. Pray tell, advocate, what are they? Rehabilitation? Socialist Reconstruction? "Petit Bourgeois lies"? (That means that the accusations really are true, but the Discriminating Radical won't mention them... 'taint cheka, I mean, chic..)

For services rendered the cause of humanity, for condonation of repression, the Lev is awarded to you, William Kunstler.



komboa

PRISONER FILES \$ 5 MILLION DOLLAR CLAIM AGAINST GOVERNMENT, CHARGES HE WAS POISONED BY TB.

Lorenzo Edward Ervin, Jr. (a/k/a KOMBOA) is a 32-year old Black prisoner confined at the Leavenworth (Kansas) Federal Penitentiary. In a claim for compensation for \$ 5 million dollars, he charges that the Federal Bureau of Prisons intentionally infected him or allowed him to be infected with Tuberculosis, through the gross negligence and madical malpractice of prison medical personnel at the Medical Centre for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri.

He states that in early 1971, shortly after he was committed to federal custody, he was transferred from the U.S. Penitent-iary at Terre Haute, Indiana to the Respiratory Disease section of the MCFP-Springfield, Missouri, after he had contracted Pneumonia while in solitary confinement there.

There he was housed with patients who had active TB (some of whom were even in the advanced or terminal stages of the disease), and, who, since they were not isolated from non-TB patients or even forced to wear a face-mask to cover the spread of germs, caused him to be exposed to and infected with the disease.

However, he was not informed that he had the disease until 1975, when he transferred from the federal prison at Marion, Illinois to the Atlanta (Georgia) Federal Penitentiary, where a routine physical examination disclosed the disease. Yet even then he was falsely informed that it was not serious, "about like a cold" and "nothing to worry about". The dangerousness of the disease was covered-up and he was intentionally given erroneous information about his medical condition. He was told that if he just took the prescribed pills for a year then he would be "cured". This, however, has proven not to have been the case. A medical examination in January 1979 disclosed that he still had the disease. He had been placed back on Chemotherapy treatment program in retaliation for his filing the tort claim. The medical doctors of the Bureau of Prisons were grossly negligent for allowing him to be infected with TB in the first place, as well as for not properly treating him for

the disease and for depriving him of vital medical information about his condition. In fact, the evaluation and treatment of him by Bureau of Prisons' medical personnel at the Medical Centre for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, Missouri; Atlanta, Leavenworth and Marion federal penitentiaries was (and is) grossly inadequate, and the standards of care at such facilities are on a level beneath that condoned by society and the medical profession. The mistreatment amounted to medical mal-practice. The prison officials, at Marion, for instance, said nothing about the disease during the two occasions he was confined there (1974-75 and 1977-78) and they did not give him any medication and/or treatment. In fact, the prison officials at Marion did not even give him a routine medical examination upon his committment to the facility. The other prisons misrepresented the seriousness of the disease in order to cover-up the legal liability of the government.

For a number of years after his 1971 stay in Springfield, he constantly complained of chest pain, obstruction of the throat and lungs, bloodied sputum, diarrhea, dizzy spells and nausea, night sweats, swelling of the extremities, and other such TB symptoms; and had been told by prison medical personnel that he was merely "nervous", "had a cold", or "was imagining things". This was grossly negligent and callous of the prison medical officials when they knew the facts.

Ervin was charged that the medical personnel of the Bureau of Prisons intentionally infected him, negligently allowed him to be infected with TB, by forcing him to live in filthy and inhuman living conditions while in penal confinement, and by needlessly and recklessly exposing him to prisoner-patients already in the acute or advanced stages of the disease, and who acted as human plague carriers to expose and infect him with TB. He further charges that this is criminal negligence and a violation of the 8th Amendment to the United States Constitution, which prohibits "cruel and unusual punishment".

The fact is that the Bureau of Prisons routinely and callously allows prisoners with infectious diseases such as TB and Hepatitis to roam among the prison population at will, until such a person becomes critically ill and obviously must be then isolated. This is contrary to standard medical practice and ethics, and is a deliberate threat to the lives of all federal prisoners.

Ervin further charges that the filthy conditions in federal prisons like Leavenworth and Atlanta - especially in the solitary confinement units - is a direct contributing factor to the spread of disease, and more specifically the TB that he is now infected with. As an example, he cited the fact that all the prisoners on the Springfield Respiratory Disease section - tubercular and non-tubercular - were given the same linen and bedclothes, and were forced to use the same shower and toilet facilities, food trays and other eating utensils, and other materials, instead of disposing of or sterilizing such materials, which is standard medical practice in even the worst hospital in society. Also all types of diseases rage in the crammed cells of the "holes" of Atlanta and Leavenworth, where as many as 6-8 prisoners are thrown in together. Finally, he says that since he has been a federal prisoner for over 10 years and did not have the disease before he was committed to prison, it is then undeniable that he received it while serving his current prison sentence. The Bureau of Prisons is totally responsible for his receiving the disease; no other conclusion is possible! TB is a life-threatening disease which can only be transmitted by a human carrier and/or unsanitary living conditions.

Tuberculosis is one of the most deadly and infectious diseases known to medical science. Thousands of persons die in America and the rest of the world each year. There is no cure, and the disease is permanent and progressive, meaning that it can and will be a cause of disability and death - sooner or later. Ervin says that he has been robbed of his future life - even though he is now confined - by the gross negligence and callousness of the federal prison officials in infecting him with TB. It will doubtless be another few years before this TB infection starts to sicken and kill him; just as those soldiers forced to observe nuclear explosions during the 1950's did not become sick with cancer and start to die until the 1960's and 70's; or soldiers in Vietnam poisoned with the herbicide 'Agent Orange' becoming sick ten years later; and we still don't know the effects on people subjected to low-level radiation, such as those at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant, though we do know that asbestos dust causes cancer and many shipyard workers have been dying from it for over thirty (30) years.

The Bureau of Prisons is legally libale for its damage and negligence in causing him to contract the disease. But the mere fact of just contaminating his system without even a showing of life-long harm should deserve both a financial award and to set him at liberty where he can receive proper treatment. That is why he has filed this claim. He says that he has been the victim of medical assault and a form of poisoning which might well be considered murder.

However, Ervin is serving a life prison term, and has been denied all possibility of early parole because he was a Vietnam anti-war and Black revolutionary activist during the 1960's (confined for hijacking a plane in protest of the Vietnam war), and for having engaged in prisoners' rights activities since he has been in prison. The prison officials plan to keep him in prison until the disease consumes him entirely, with apparent hopes that he will then quietly die behind bars. They have poisoned him, now they want to slowly watch him die! Please don't let this happen, write to:

Norman A. Carlson
Director
Federal Bureau of Prisons
320 First St., NW.
Washington, D.C. 20534

For more information, contact:

Mrs. Audrey A. Myers, National
Committee to Support the Marion
Brothers, 4556A Oakland,
St. Louis, Missouri

Ron Brokmeyer, Dir., FREE LORENZO
ERVIN COMMITTEE. 343 S. Dearborn, Rm.
-#- 1001, Chicago, IL. 60604.

~~~~~

THERE WILL BE A MEETING AT CONWAY  
HALL, RED LION SQUARE, WCL, ON  
SATURDAY 8th DECEMBER AT 7 p.m.,  
on 'SEX IN THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT'.  
THIS IS BEING ORGANISED AS PART OF  
AN ANARCHIST FEMINIST WEEKEND TO BE  
HELD AT THE CENTRO IBERICO, HARROW  
ROAD, W9 on 7th, 8th & 9th DECEMBER.  
DETAILS FROM BOX 33, RISING FREE,  
182 UPPER STREET, LONDON, N1.

# leningrad left opposition

THE DISCOVERY OF A LEFT OPPOSITION IN LENINGRAD MAY SURPRISE THOSE WHO IMAGINE THAT OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION IS CONFINED TO RELIGIOUS GROUPS WHO WANT FREEDOM OR WORSHIP WITHIN THE SOVIET SYSTEM, OR NATIONALIST SEPARATISTS WHO DENY CONSPIRING AGAINST THE SOVIET STATE, OR SHOW BUSINESS AND SCIENCE PERSONALITIES WHO JUST WANT OUT. IT IS LESS SURPRISING TO THOSE WHO KNOW OF WORKING CLASS ACTIVITIES OVER THE YEARS, THOUGH THIS IS SOMEWHAT ON THE PERIPHERY OF THAT MOVEMENT; IT MAY NEVERTHELESS BE LIKENED TO A SIMILAR MOVEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY AND THE UNITED STATES. VADIM NECHAEV ('LABOUR FOCUS ON EASTERN EUROPE') WAS A MEMBER OF THE WRITERS' UNION UNTIL HIS EXPULSION AND ASSEMBLED THE FACTS ON THE 'LENINGRAD LEFT'.  
(TRANSLATED FOR 'LABOUR FOCUS' BY HELEN JAMIESON).

In October 1978, the leaders of the 'Left Opposition' group, Aleksandr Skobov, aged 20, and Arkady Tsurkov, aged 19, were arrested in Leningrad. These arrests were followed by numerous searches and investigations and heralded the start of the crack-down on the 'New Left' anarcho-syndicalist youth movement.

The previous history of the group goes back to the opening day of the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1976. On that day, Leningrad was seething with half-cautious discussions of strange events: the distribution of anti-government and anti-Party leaflets in Nevsky Prospekt, in the Underground stations and in various institutions. The leaflets declared that the CPSU had completely compromised itself in the eyes of the people, that its policies were bankrupt, its methods Stalinist and its current 25th Congress a complete bluff. The leaflets called for pluralism and humane socialism.

Despite the terror and periodic purges, Leningrad, a city of 3 revolutions, has to this day retained

its oppositional traditions. For this reason it is heavily guarded by the KGB and the militia. Very few people know that the workers' demonstrations in Dvortsovy Square on the revolutionary holidays of 7 November and 1 May are observed from two vantage points: by the Party leadership from the platform and by machine gunners from the garrets of the Hermitage. But everyone knows that on November 7th, May 1st, on election days and during Party conferences, the army is called into the city, the strengthened ranks of the militia are on patrol around the clock, and the voluntary 'vigilantes' are also mobilised.

In such conditions, the leafleting action was especially dangerous. It was staggering that, although the leaflets were scattered in the most public places, not one of the youths involved was caught and handed over to the KGB. Indeed, the security organs needed more than a fortnight of strenuous activity in order to track down the participants. COMMUNE

Reznikov was 17 years of age when he was placed in the strict regime camp. Because of his age, he was drafted into the army for two years after he had served two months in the camp and he stayed in the army until June 1978.

By this time, Aleksandr Skobov had organised a commune on 37 Primorski Prospekt, a small wooden house on the outskirts of the city. The second floor of the house was inhabited by the Vinogradovs. Felix Vinogradov's father worked in the ranks of the KGB and was therefore well off.

After Skobov had organised the commune, his parents - intellectuals and also prosperous people with a luxurious flat and a wonderful library - kicked him out of the house. Thus did social fears force 'decent' people to repudiate their own son even before the storm broke.

The commune on Primorski Prospekt was open to anyone. The location of the key was known, the address was easily available at the 'Sphinx' cafe.

In the small, smoke-filled flat, where independent youths gathered, the atmosphere was comfortable. Long-haired, in army overcoats - the most chic was considered the overcoat with respirator bags from 1914 - these people spoke a language incomprehensible to the average person: "I've just come out of the Kashchenko (a psychiatric hospital). There were dissidents and pacifists in there." A youth, on whose back was the slogan "don't go into the army, the army is evil", in a melancholic manner added: "Yes, I know. They have doctors-fascists, who inject sulphur. One woman even wrote her thesis on this."

ANARCHO-MARXIST \*

Skobov's appearance was colourful. Anyone on the street could have seized him and said: "You are an anarchist! You have a bomb in your bag." He wore a long, curly beard that served to conceal his youth and the simple lines of his face, and he went about in an old torn overcoat and a VOKHR peaked cap with a star. He was a mild-mannered and kind-hearted individualist who would not hurt a fly. In his political convictions he was an avowed anarcho-Marxist.\* In economics an adherent of the early Marx. His programme included a pluralist economy, full democracy in politics and ideology and pacifism. He opposed all forms of violence and represented the most peaceful wing of the youth organisation, in which he was recognised as the movement's theoretician. Skobov sympathised with hippies, although he was not one himself. He was enrolled as an external student at the Department of History and he also worked as a night-

watchman. He used his meagre earnings to support the commune, paying the rent and buying tea and sugar, because the inhabitants of the commune - young artists and hippies from the Baltic Republics, Moscow and Belorussia - didn't usually have any money.

#### ARRESTS AND SEARCHES, DEMONSTRATION AT KAZAN.

The conference of oppositional youth was being prepared for September 1978. But events moved much faster. In August, the commune was smashed: the militia broke in and turned everything upside down, carried out a thorough search and confiscated the typewriter. In response to a demand for a search warrant or a least some grounds for the raid, they stated: "We are the masters here and we do what we like!"

The interrogations began. People were summoned to the KGB headquarters or 'interviewed' at schools, institutes or work-places. The KGB used these interrogations to try to find out about the personality and politics of those being questioned, particularly Skobov and Reznikov. They wanted information about the conference - where, when and how it was being held - and about the journal 'Perspektivy', which had been confiscated in one of the searches. They wanted to know whether the articles 'Theses on the Present Situation' and 'A Critique of the Theses' were considered to be the programme. And they were interested to discover any links that Skobov might have abroad.

\* Whatever that is!



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## Spain

### VALENCIA

The city of Valencia was closed down by a General Strike June 27, 1979, in protest against the murder of a 19-year-old CNT striker, Valentin Gonzalez, who had stepped in front of his father, also on strike, to protect him from the charging National Police. The strike, called by the CNT, was the greatest demonstration of labor strength and solidarity in Valencia since before the Civil War.

The murder occurred at 10 o'clock at night on June 25th to break up the peaceful concentration of workers who were there to prevent the delivery of supplies to the Municipal Market by strike breakers. The legal strike was called by the CNT union which represents the majority of the workers in the Market.

Half a million people attended the funeral, according to the local papers, including the Mayor of Valencia, the President of the City Council and other political notables. Enrique Marcos, National Secretary of the CNT, came from Barcelona to attend the funeral. He spoke at the cemetery.

### ANTI-NUCLEAR

From a manifesto of the Tudela Federation of the CNT (printed in CNT - national organ of the CNT - July, 1979) we learn of the brutal, unprovoked murder in Tudela of the young militant, Gladys del Estal Ferrero. She was killed during a massive International Anti-Nuclear Day Demonstration. The killing aroused wide protest. In Tudela 7,000 people gathered at the spot where she was shot down, with many more attending her funeral. To emphasize their determination to stop such atrocities and dramatize their continued opposition to nuclear installations and war preparation, the workers in Tudela staged a two day general strike.

### MALAGA: HOSPITAL WORKERS WIN STRIKE

Dissatisfied Malaga workers are increasingly turning to the CNT because the Communist Party's "Worker's Commissions" (CC OO) and the Socialist Party's labor union, UGT, are not responsive to the needs of their members.

When the Municipal Hospital workers went on strike for a better contract, their officials urged them to discontinue the strike and wait for the election of a pro-labor municipal administration to grant their demands.

The union officials also urged the strikers to scale down their demands in conformity with the wage ceiling worked out by the "Social Pact" between the government, the employers and the government-collaborationist unions.

Although the majority of the unionized workers, 500, belonged to the CC OO and only 100 to the CNT and UGT, the workers repudiated their leaders by electing a majority of CNT members to the strike negotiating commission.

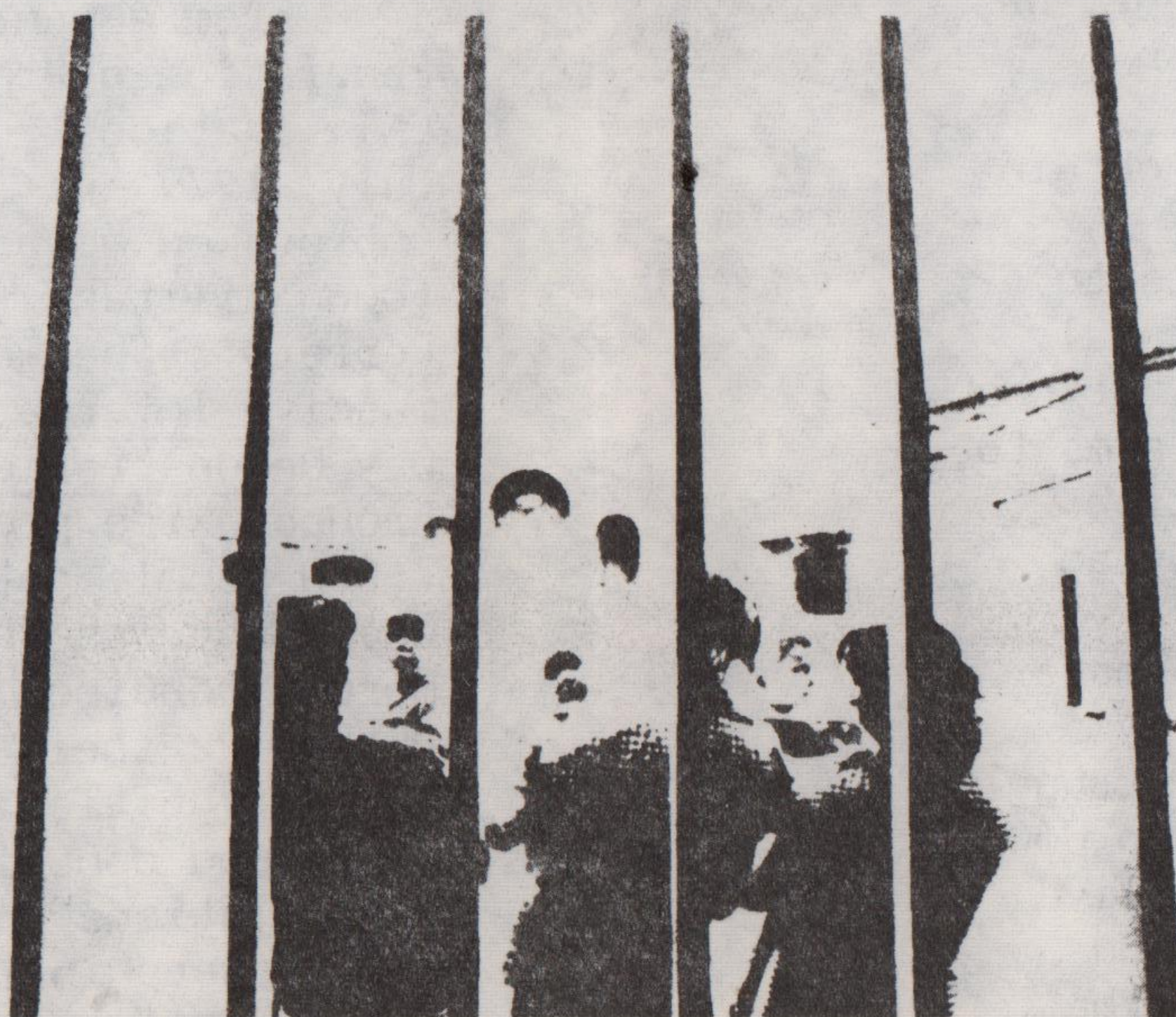
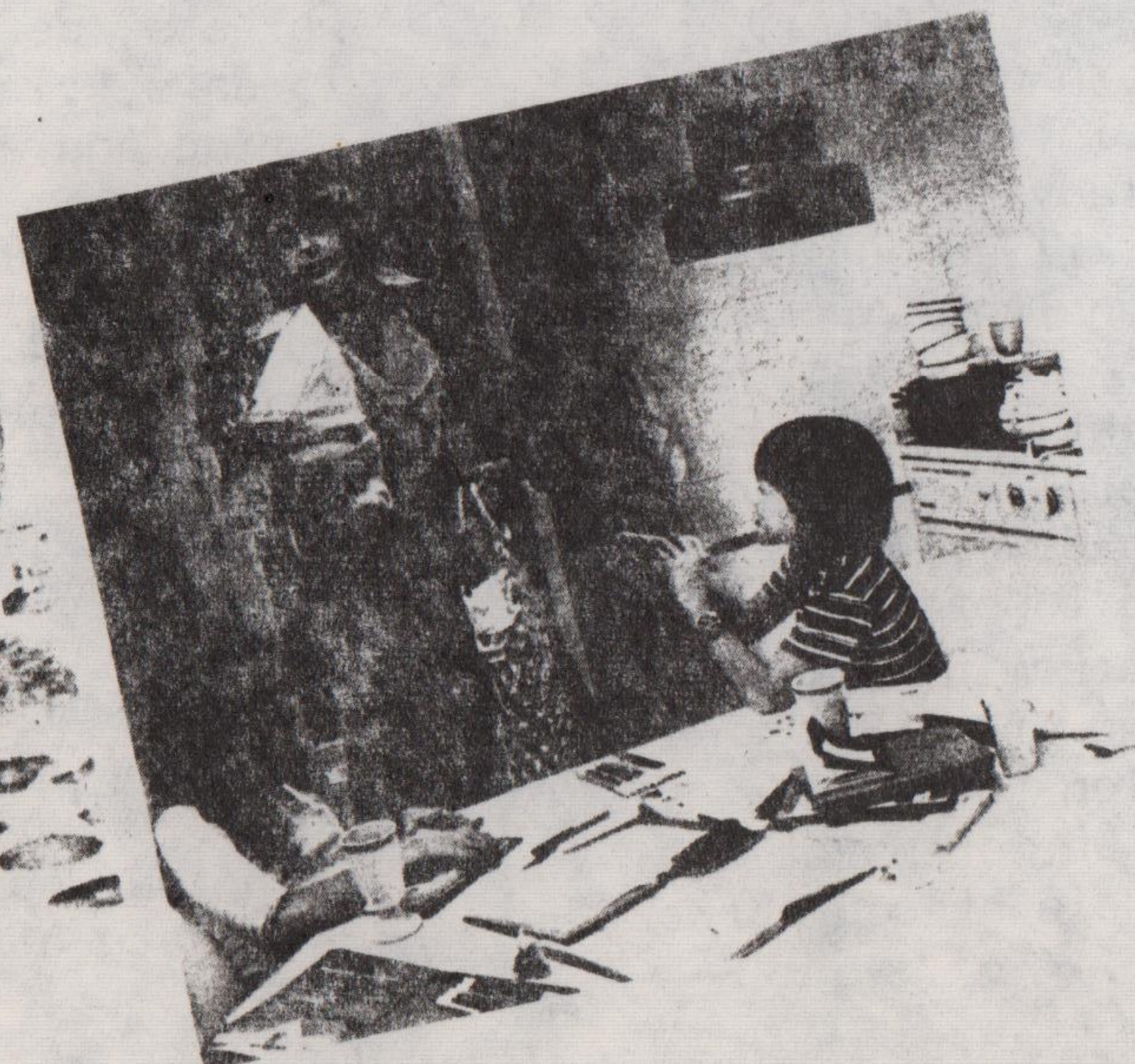
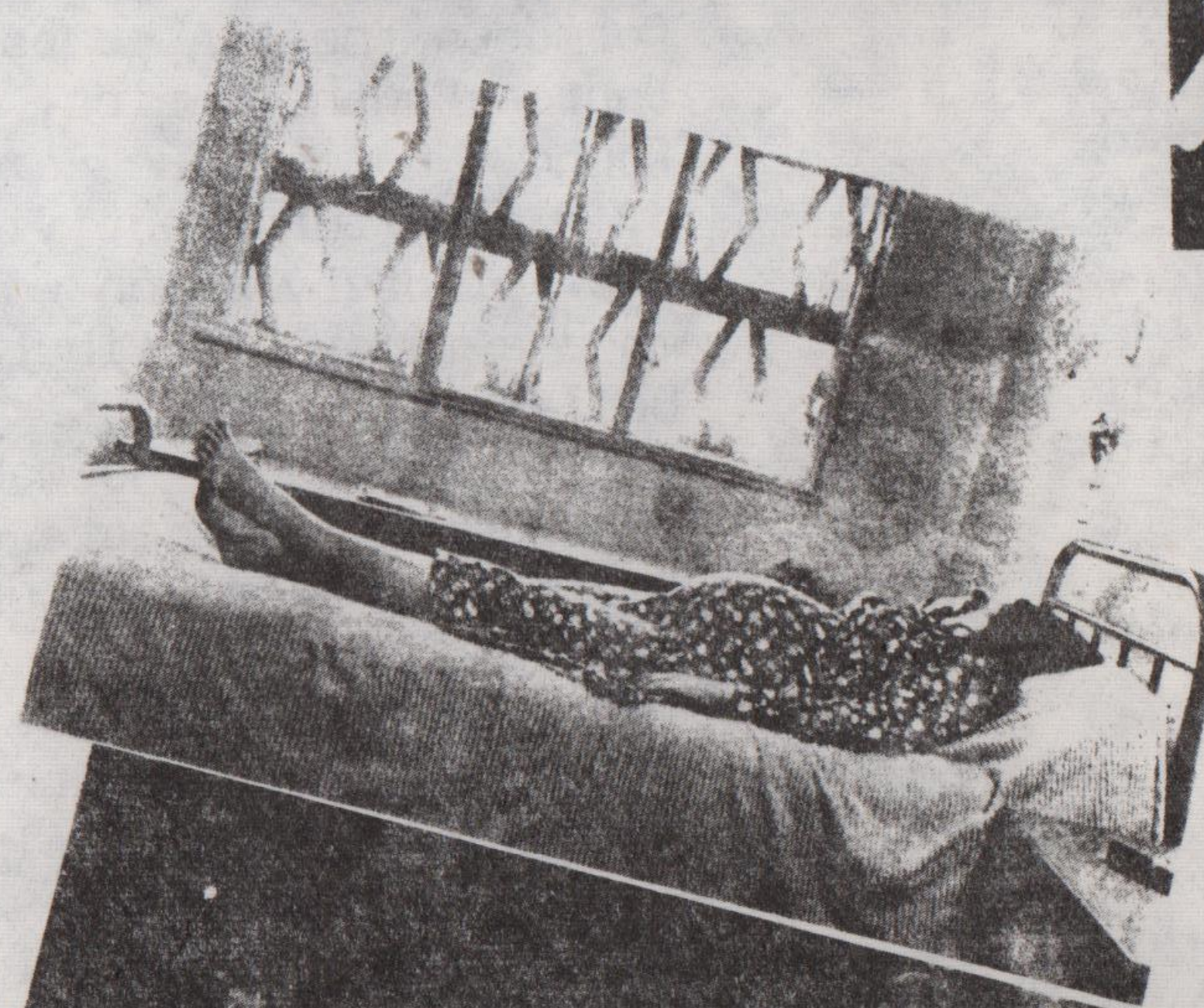
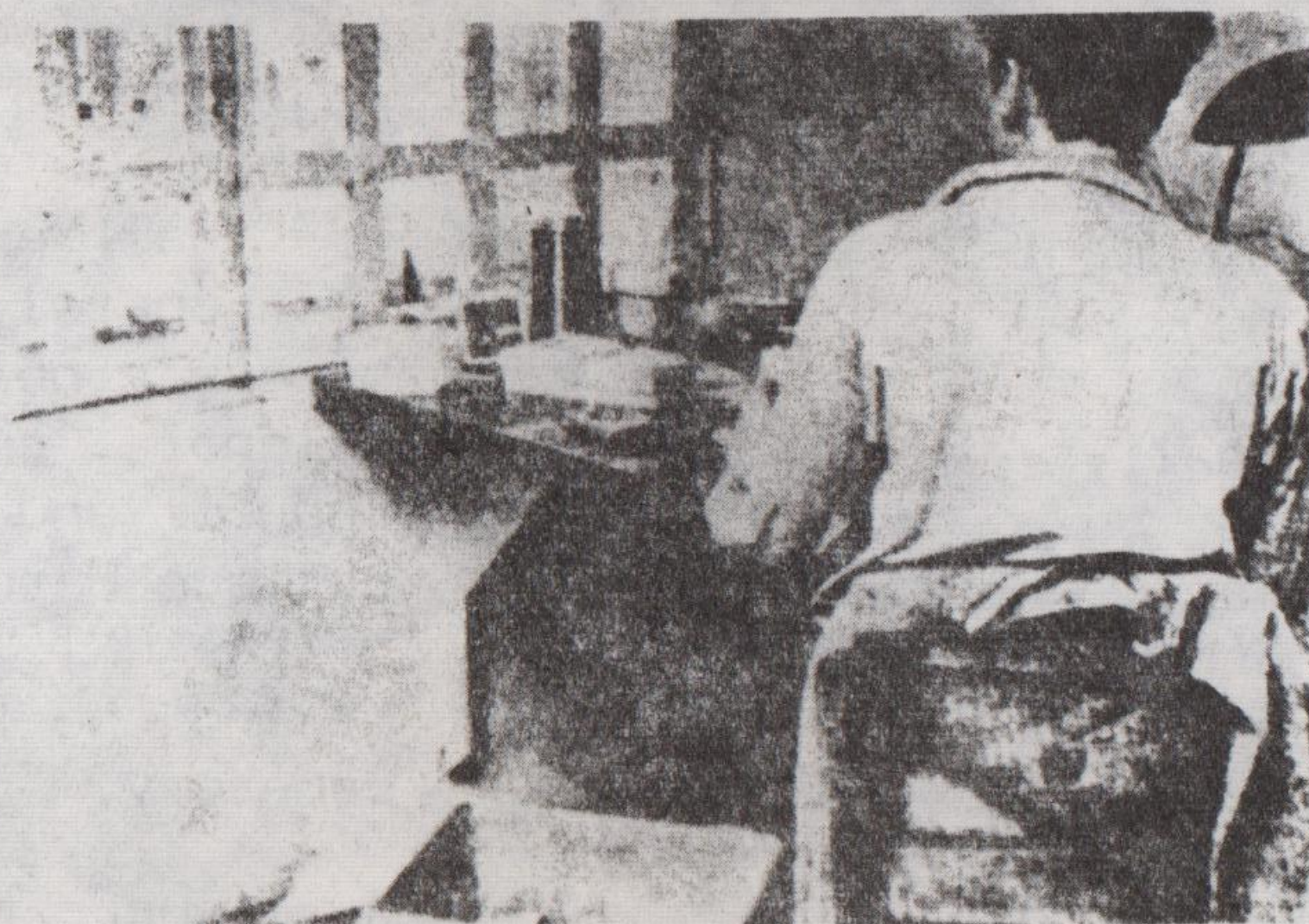
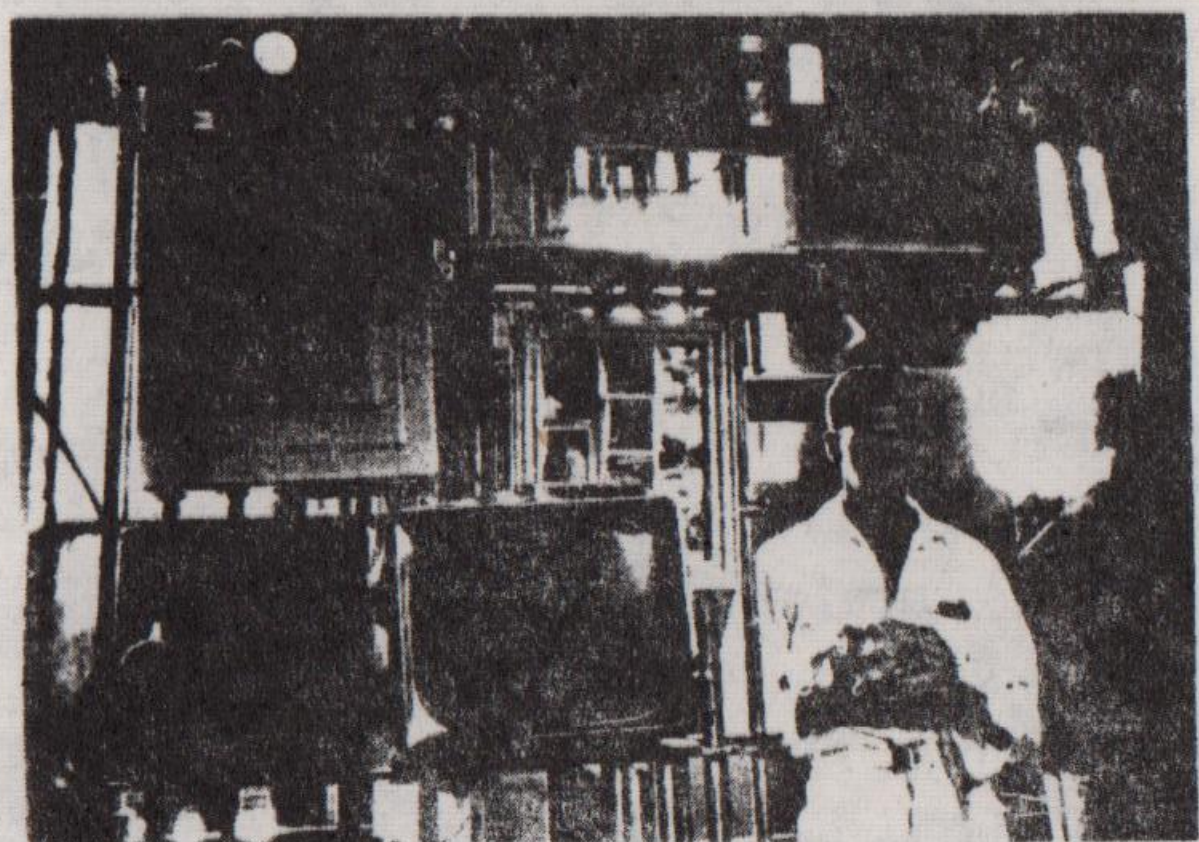
After the victorious three month strike (the strikers occupied the city hall) the new agreement smashed the wage ceiling, raising wages by 26%, with 34.8% for the lowest paid workers; reduced the work week from 38 to 30 hours; provided for 33 days annual vacation and pension of 5000 pesetas for each year of service; 5000 pesetas a month for very young children; control of overtime schedules by the workers; permanent employment after 15 days trial period; control over hiring and employee lay-offs etc.

### MALAGA: UGT MORTUARY WORKERS SWITCH TO THE CNT

UGT workers deeply disappointed with their bureaucratic officials trying to manipulate the members, and with the very poor, unsatisfactory agreement made without their consent in 1978, affiliated en masse to the CNT. The great majority of Malaga mortuary workers are now organized into the Hospital and Sanitation Syndicate of the CNT.



Eulàlia



The Malaga Federation of the CNT includes the following syndicates: Education, Health and Sanitation, Clerks and Office Workers, Hotels and Restaurants, Transportation, Bank, Metal, Construction, Wood and Cork Workers. A campaign to organize other trades is now under way.

\*\*\*\*\*

A new local federation of the CNT has been organized in Irún.

\*\*\*\*\*

CNT shipyard workers held a national conference in Gijon last March with delegates present from Catalonia, Galicia, Andalucia, Cantabria, Asturias and Leon. Because of critical labour problems in their regions, delegates were unable to attend from Valencia, the Canary Islands, Murcia-Albacete and the Basque Province.

#### TURKISH TROOPS STAND BY TO REPEL ANARCHISTS

"Thousands of troops are at the ready throughout Turkey after reports that anarchist groups might try to disrupt today's mid-term elections on which parliamentary democracy may depend."

An exciting piece of news, in the Observer. But is it true? No journalist should be employed who gives the reader this to ask. In a dispatch to the Guardian, Kenneth Mackenzie showed he did not know the difference between Marxist-Leninists and Anarchists (see our last issue).

Which does he now mean?

How important the difference is here! Is it merely a pro-Russian vaguely leftist movement, as in Syria (with what that implies in Turkey, adjacent to Russia); or a Maoist-type movement, hostile to Russia, or an anarchist movement with what enormous potentialities that implies for Turkey?

Important to know - yet the Observer hires a cretin who can't tell a waltz from a tango - Anarchists, Marxists, schmarxists, what's the difference? Picture a man like this in Northern Ireland, not knowing the difference between Protestants and Catholics!

Can one visualize a printer being employed who knew his trade as superficially as a journalist can do? Who didn't know an offset from a Heidelberg?

#### BOLIVIA

Following the coup of Col. Alberto Natusch Busch in Bolivia, with its massacre of more than sixty people in fighting, there was a general strike. Miners fought soldiers in the tin mines, and troops raided the homes of union leaders. (Nov. 5).

The miners' union leaders in La Paz are largely libertarian. Juan Lechin, its secretary, has been in hiding for some time but continues to be active in the struggle setting a heroic example to union leaders everywhere - which they are unlikely to emulate, but which they might help by more positive action to help the tin miners of Bolivia who have been so ruthlessly exploited for so long.

Liber Forti, administrative secretary to Juan Lechin, was also seized by troops. An Argentine by birth, he was active in the anarcho-syndicalist labour movement there until he retired, when he formed a theatre company that toured South America, but finally found a home in La Paz. Both by his cultural activities, and his voluntary union work, he has made a major contribution to Bolivia.

Immediately he was arrested, the national delegate of the French Socialist Party, Jacques Lanz, was pressing for him to be given asylum in France. But the Bolivian miners managed to obtain his release immediately.

That the military wants to take over in Bolivia is natural. Like the police in Britain, it has political ambitions and it aims to realise them by drastic action. Why, however, should the Bolivian tin miners be so ruthlessly exploited? Their lives are made a constant misery, in poverty and imprisonment, as every struggle for wage betterment is beaten down, so that Jimmy Goldsmith can live the life of Riley in Paris and London with the proceeds of the

tin mines he once married. In places like London and Paris, where the polished side of Bolivian exploitation is seen, the pressure can be applied. It is well within the power of British trade unionists to intervene for freedom of association for the tin miners, and normal union rights, by making it unprofitable for any resulting industry to prosper. 'Secondary picketing'? Perhaps. But the minimal duty of any union.

Footnote: Liber Forti was the intermediary in the 1949 trials in Barcelona, involving the elder Sabater and several others - including our collaborator Miguel Garcia. As an Argentine citizen he was able to enter Spain, arrange for legal representation, etc.

\*\*\*\*\*

UPI sent out a story that Franco Freda, notorious fascist (or as they say "neo-fascist", as if there were a break in continuity), was re-arrested in Costa Rica and flown back to Italy. Freda was convicted for the 1969 Milan bank bombing in which sixteen people were arrested. "He now faces life in prison for his part in the bombing of the Bank of Agriculture in Milan in December 1969," states the UPI report as given in the Evening Standard (London). But it then goes on to an incredible re-writing of history, to cover up more recent repeats of the same situation.

"The attack was the bloodiest terrorist outrage in Italy since the war. Officials at the time said it was part of a neo-Fascist scheme to cause chaos and eventually a coup."

This is a downright lie and a cynical propaganda cover-up. Officials at the time blamed the anarchists. They exculpated the fascists and denied they could be responsible. Secretary of the Anarchist-Black Cross in Milan, Giuseppe Pinelli, was thrown from a police station window (or as the Times, that voice of the cultured Establishment, put it, "fell from

the window of a block of flats"). Valpreda entered a long calvary of imprisonment awaiting release and so far as one can see it is still not over though the whole world has known that he is innocent and the murder of Pinelli and false imprisonment of Valpreda has been shouted and sung through Italy ever since. When the Anarchists finally could not be blamed, when the police, secret service (in alliance with a foreign power, thus committing treason, by acting with the Greek police) and fascists were inculpated, the police hastily put the fascist perpetrators on trial.

The British Press, corrupt and venal as ever, have never come out and admitted they were lying by acting on Italian police information in blaming the Anarchists for the bombing. It still forms part of a general myth against the Anarchists used over and over again particularly in show trials such as the current one in London. Yet the truth has been established long since, including two films on TV which put the record right for those who cared to know.

#### LAST FRANCOIST TRIAL

France: The ten comrades awaiting trial on the Suarez kidnapping charges in Paris have still heard no further news as to when the case will be heard. The French government have refused to abandon the charges in spite of the inordinate length of time which has passed since the events took place, and the death of **Franco**, but neither do they seem particularly anxious to proceed with it, presumably because of the embarrassment which will be caused when it is made public that they were the instruments of the Francoist security services and agents-provocateur operating in French territory.

## Greece

PHILLIPAS AND SOPHIA KYRITSIS.

They were arrested in May 1978, after a tip off by an informer that they had explosives. The "explosives" were bottles, oil and rags in a common use room at the ground floor of the block of flats where they were living. They were accused of illegal possession of explosives (!) and of forming a terrorist group (according to the anti-terrorist law two persons are enough to form a "terrorist" group). However the reason behind the arrests is that they both were anarchists - which is virtually outlawed in Greece. They were sentenced last September to nine years in prison for Phillipas, 22, and five years for Sophia, 21. The prosecutor in their trial, who asked for even longer sentences, was appointed by the junta; in fact a month ago it was him who asked for the release of six neo-fascists who had put bombs into two cinemas wounding more than fifty people.



PRISONERS TRANSFERRED.

On the 24th of August 1979, six prisoners were transferred from Aegina Prisons to the Corfu Prisons (infamous among the Greek political prisoners). These prisoners were:



\* George Yokaris, student in Athens Polytechnic, serving six months for his taking part in the events for the support of Phillipas and Sophia Kyritsis.

\* Yannis Skandalis, serving five years for his being a member of the "terrorist" group of Dr.V. Tsironis.

\* Theodore Tsouvalakis, serving seven years for attempted robbery in Pireaus.

\* Panagiotis Georgiadis.

\* Costas Stefas \* ...Hatzis.

We don't have at the moment, further information from the last three prisoners.

The reason for the transfer was the protest by Georgiadis about the quality of their food, which is in a permanent bad condition in the Greek prisons. Despite the fact that the rest had no immediate involvement, they were all beaten and kept in isolation and quickly transferred to Corfu prisons.

Phillip Kyritsis who was in the same prison started a hunger strike in protest at the treatment which they suffered and the transfer of the fellow prisoners. He is already at the 30th day of the strike and has been urgently transferred to the hospital of Korydallos prison in Pireaus.

Skandalis, Tsouvalakis, Yokaris and Kyritsis had in the past repeatedly protested against the conditions and treatment in the Greek prisons.

The Socialist Book Fair (held November 2 and 3 at Camden Town Hall in London) was again a huge success, reaching a very wide section of the radical bookbuying public, by the whole spectrum of commercial and political publishers of radical literature. The anarchist section was greatly enlarged from last year - including a wide libertarian display by P.D.C. on the stage, Black Rose Books (represented by Bas Moreel of Holland) and a prominent stall by Cienfuegos Press with current publications. We made a large number of new contacts and obtained some good orders for books - plus meeting old and valued friends - and selling £143 of literature, managed to break even financially.

PERSONS UNKNOWN TRIAL continues.....



"I don't believe in kidnapping. I was kidnapped twice myself." - Iris Mills.  
"You weren't kidnapped, you were arrested under due process of law." - Mr. Justice King-Hamilton.

The trial should end around the 7th December; it's already in its third month. Ronan Bennett appears to have quite a natural talent for bar work!! At the time of going to press the prosecution had started its summing up. Ronan was the last to present his case and the final few days of his defence were taken up with the charge of 'Possession of an Explosive Substance'.

A worker in the Compendium Bookshop, Camden Town, was a witness to the fact that the 'Anarchist Cookbook' had been on open sale for some five years now. To this the prosecutor (Worsley) said (seriously!!) "Do you sleep well in your bed at night?!!" Another witness, an articulated clerk, testified that he went to the same shop where Ronan had bought the weedkiller; asked for a weedkiller, specifically for use on weeds and was offered and bought, a tin of sodium chlorate weedkiller. He pointed out that he was offered no choice of weed-killers by the shopkeeper.

Most of the so-called 'Left' has, judging from the support given to the 'Persons Unknown' support group, largely ignored this case (probably because the defendants are anarchists). They don't seem to realise that if a conviction is secured in this case it will just be the beginning - it will give the police/State the opportunity they need to go to even further lengths of harassment and intimidation of anyone or any group that opposes the status quo. And when this happens will the anarchists sit back and watch, as the so-called 'Left' has done up to now?

A detailed account of this 'Anarchist trial' - with a critical political analysis - will be contained in our next issue.



'Jobs Galore', an employment agency for the City of London, on Ludgate Hill is directly opposite the Old Bailey (street) and a second's walk from the Old Bailey (central criminal court). In its window it is now displaying photocopied pound notes, with the advertising slogan "Many Pounds" replacing the "One Pound" and "Greetings" written over them.

Similar photocopied notes, with similar but appropriate slogans on them, were made by Terry Chandler (in a protest against Greek tyranny) and Stuart Christie (against Spanish tyranny). Both were sentenced at the Old Bailey (though the terms were suspended) for the same 'offence' as 'Jobs Galore' is perpetrating... one which has also been copied by the Young Conservatives.

"There are no such things as political trials" - says who?

# Letters

Dear Black Flag,

In latest issue of B.F. you mention trouble with typewriters. Well, the latest copy I got seems to have been printed white on white on pages three and fourteen. Since I presume you're not paralleling Anarchy D.I.Y. poster campaign do you reckon I could have another copy?

Ta, Dave Carr.

*Explanation: Nothing to do with typewriters! Sometimes our printers print sheets blank on one side (so it's their fault, according to us) and these aren't noticed when we collate the pages (so it's our fault, according to them). Choose which to blame - but we'll gladly send another copy when this happens.*

\*\*\*\*\*

Dear comrades,

To say, that the student movement "can offer nothing but leadership, another word in this context for betrayal" is not only absolute bullshit, it is also going to alienate all Black Flag readers who happen to be students - probably a large proportion of the total readership! Student politics has severe limitations, but there is a lot of work that can be done in schools and universities. People get most of their ideas about the world through schooling and the mass media and if we are going to change these ideas we must have anarchists working within and against these institutions.

A syndicalist movement in industry may be a tactical priority, but it does not make other forms of action useless.

Like students and "petty bourgeois intellectuals", other deviants come in for rough

treatment from the revolutionary cadres. The Flag has never had a high opinion of "peaceniks" but things are really getting ridiculous when pacifism is described as "a cop out for liberals who don't want to get arrested or who 'respect property'". If your correspondent had bothered to read the June 8th issue of Peace News he would have found that many of the so-called "peaceniks" were actually the ones wrecking the machinery! There are objections to non-violence as an absolute rule, some of which I have already voiced in Peace News, but slander never gets anyone anywhere.

Finally, it seems that the Flag will graciously accept that "middle class feminism has made some major points and will not go away" despite the "student movement influenced package deal left" which we are told "brings all women into ridicule". Apart from the stupid idea that the student movement contaminates everything it touches, it implies that it would have been very nice if "middle class feminism" had gone away, instead of obstinately criticising the Flag. Of course, anyone who dares to criticise the Flag is not a real "revolutionary anarchist" but just a "quasi-anarchist" like those nasty people who used to print Zero. I didn't mind the cover of No.8 myself, but I object to the snotty answers to readers' letters which appeared in No.9.

Long live the broad anarchist movement!

Down with revolutionary arrogance!

Winston Smith.(Crabapple, Shrewsbury)

\*\*\*\*\*

My family were pro-suffrage and I was in the womens movement most of my life, especially the women's co-op, also the Women's Institute which is at least as much representative of women as the feminist movement. I left the feminist movement because of its sneers about women. Especially,

my daughter worked hard to be a model and I don't like the attitude that says femininity degrades women. The Mary Whitehouse type was kicked out of the front door by us pioneers only to come in through the back door by middle-class people. I agree with Emma Goldman about free love and against the 'Zero' idea of sexual apartheid. Black Flag's attitude is an oasis of sanity, women like me are put off views we have held all our lives by this American idea defining women's attitudes.

Anna May Dobell

Dear companeros,

The infamous cover of the Flag did not contain any kind of hidden meaning, nor was it sexist - it was quite simply funny. It is Thatcher however who is sexist, and who genuinely degrades women. As the Letters editor correctly points out, one cannot say "there is no anarchism without feminism" without first defining anarchism and feminism. In algebra,  $a+b$  may or may not equal  $x+y$ , and one cannot say which until the stated variables are properly defined. Full definitions of anarchism and feminism would occupy many more pages than an

## GREAT ANARCHO-BORES

Nos. 1 & 2

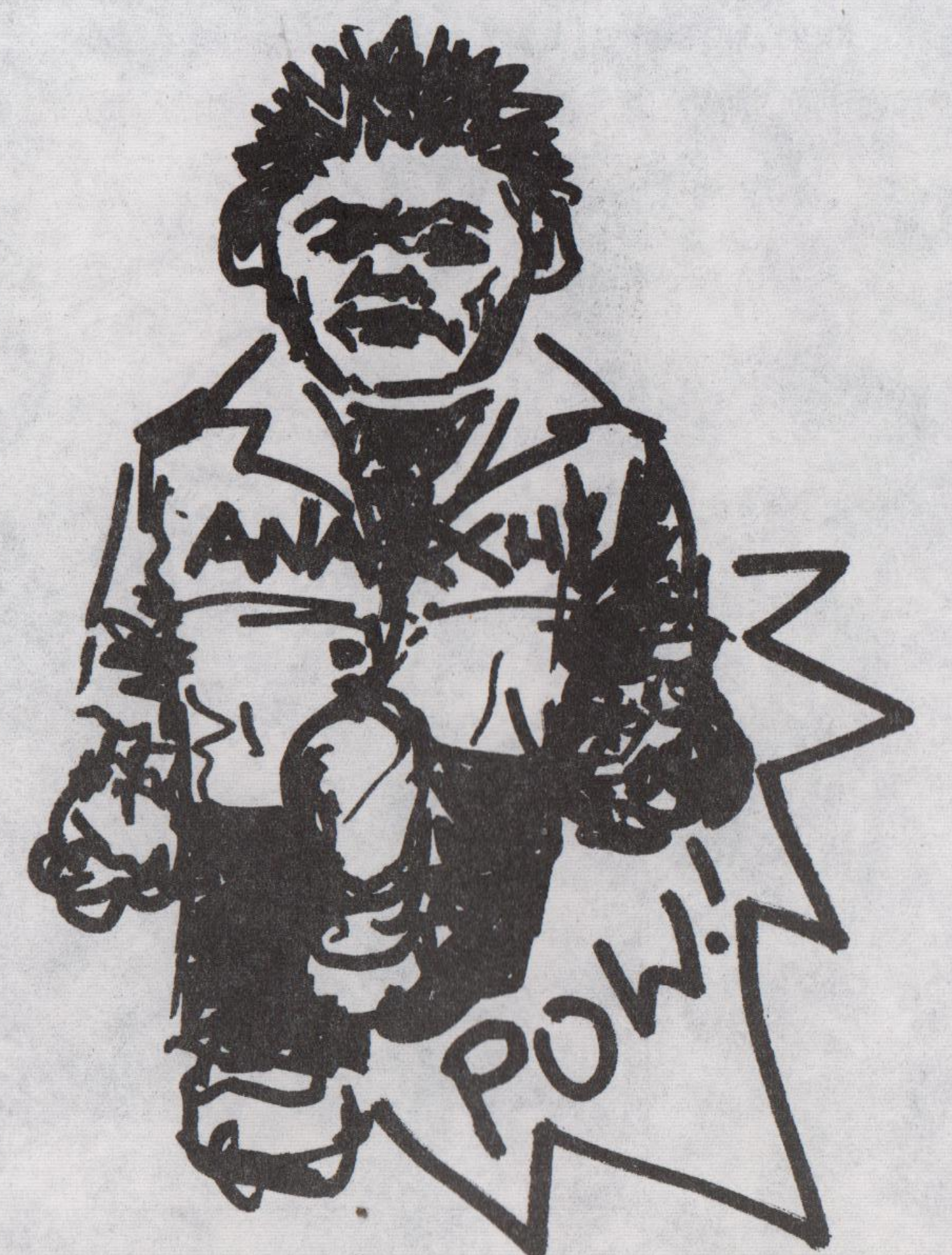
### ANARCHO-FUDDLEHEAD

Hi! I'M COMMONLY KNOWN - IF YOU CAN KNOW ANYTHING COMMONLY - AS 'FUDDLEHEAD' - I'M INTO FUDDLING STRAIGHTER RATHER THAN BEING A STRAIGHT FUDDLEHEAD. I'M SURE THAT IF WE ALL JUST FUDDLE ON TOGETHER IT'LL ALL HAPPEN ONE DAY - I THINK - THAT'S WHY I'M ALSO KNOWN AS AN ANARCHIST TOO...DO YOU SEE WHAT I MEAN?



### ANARCHO-BOOT

I'M THE BOOT - THE AUTONOMOUS BOOT - AND I HELP TO BRING ANARCHY BACK ON TO THE STREETS. WITHOUT ME THERE WOULDN'T BE ANY ANARCHISTS LEFT TO FORM DEFENCE COMMITTEES, WRITE FOR PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS AND DO ALL THE OTHER WANKY THINGS THAT 'ANARCHO-LIBERTARIANS' DO.



issue of the Flag, and as we only get one issue a year...I will however say this; anarchism and feminism are not ends in themselves, but ways or paths towards certain ends. There are points where anarchism and feminism appear to come close, and this seems to result in what is called anarcho or anarcha-feminism, the confused and inconsistent thinking of those who are sympathetic to both anarchism and "womens' lib". But the fact is this; anarchism leads to anarchy, feminism leads to gynarchy.

We all have aspects of the masculine and the feminine in us. The rise of Christianity and authoritarian religion has been responsible for the polarisation of aggressive masculinity in men and passive femininity in women. In Pagan times this was not the case. Men and women strove for a balance and a harmony of the masculine and the feminine within themselves. This was represented by the pagan view of the sun as the generative male force in life, celebrated at the four equinoxial/solstitial festivals in the yearly cycle. The female force in life was represented by the Earth, and the matriarchal mysteries were celebrated on the four fire festivals; Brigantia, Beltana, Lamas, Samhain. These were celebrations of learning from which men were often excluded, and at

which women practiced their craft. This was not, as we are told by modern historians and iconographers, a form of primitive religion. These festivals were about an attitude towards life and wo/man's place in the work of the universe and the nature of all things. It is very difficult in these modern times to even imagine what the pagan philosophy and attitude was like, but that they strove for a harmony of the masculine and the feminine in their thinking is clear. This is what we must do also. Struggle against sexism by all means, but do not deny sex. Sisters, do not make yourselves into a parody of masculine aggressiveness, but struggle to make your thinking androgynous and then you will find real support for your ideas. But above all, don't be such prigs and puritans. Our whole culture is permeated with threads of beauty from a time when things were different. It is mainly carried on in the language, in particular the wonderfully erotic language of agriculture: seed-time, the ploughing of the furrow, the germination of the seed within the fertile womb of the earth, the hairst of gold, and the distilled essence of work and sustenance of life - a poem contained in one word - bread.

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## afterPunk

This is intended as a follow-up to an article which appeared in 'Black Flag', No.13 (February, 1977) entitled "Listen Punks" by Henry Black. Instead of the press appraisal of new wave at that time - either hysterical opposition (the tabloids and Melody Maker), or gushing, illogical, bandwagon-jumping praise (New Musical Express - the others were to follow later in similar vein) - the article was concise and objective, a trend followed only by Sounds at that time.

Two and a half years later a number of questions need answering. What is the state of new wave/punk at the moment? What has caused the situation? Has new wave succumbed to the temptations of the system? Has anarchist thought influenced the new wave and have any anarchists come from their bonded-trousered ranks? How does any anarchist success compare with that of authoritarian movements?

When new wave became newsworthy for the tabloids in December '76 (after the Pistols TV appearance) it was regaled as the potential downfall of our Great British way of life. However these frenzied outpourings merely created new support for punk as the criticism was based on personality rather than any intelligent musical critique. The music press, perennially used to dictating the styles and canons of acceptance to any music movement, found the situations reversed and so hedged their bets, backing every band, but with reservations. With increasing audience support for new wave and the fact that few punks had contracts, both music press and record companies realised they were missing out on a very lucrative scene and reacted accordingly.

The music papers were instrumental in the steady annihilation of the new waves' original tenets. Whether by design or not they hit the 'Critical Overkill' button and the result was a headlong rush to deify the idle esoteric rather than the toiling extrovert, the blurring of previously distinct demarcations between new wave/rhythm & blues/heavy metal, saturation reportage on this weeks Messiah and some of the most appallingly substandard, cliched journalese ever typeset. The disaster that this has caused has been reflected in the abysmal music produced since late '77 as, apparently, quasi-futurist electronics is more important than "Kick Out The Jams".

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It is worthwhile remembering that new wave did not originate as a politically-motivated music movement, but as a straightforward reaction against the dinosaur hippie bands of the early '70's and their apologists. Although it had plenty of political undercurrents, these were too disparate, so a cohesive stance never formed. Anarchism was thought of only in its most fashionable context, its necessity and practicality was virtually ignored, and even the vaguest definition was beyond expression.

The Clash, when they know what they are writing about, are capable of producing magnificently scathing, cynical diatribes against the state ("Career Opportunities", "Capital Radio", "White Riot"), but when the topic of anarchism arose they effortlessly placed their collective feet in it. "Anarchy is just chaos", according to one J.Strummer, an opinion shared by The Damned - "Gimme fun, not anarchy". Fortunately a few punk bands did not share this monosyllabic approach. The Saints, "Rock and roll is meant to be revolutionary aggression. We're probably the most anarchic group around. We're not into glorifying violence but we are realists. We could probably sell out and make a mint", is not the most profound ideology but the meaning is clear. The more violent attitude is expressed by Metal Urbain, French new wave anarchists, whose lyrics contain the notions of shooting the president, bombing of prominent landmarks and open confrontation with the state. In view of the adverse, or lack of, opinion passed by new wave bands on anarchy and the fact that anarchic bands are comparatively unrecognised, it would be correct to assume that anarchist thought has not influenced the new wave.

Sharply contrasting with this is the fact that the scene has definitely proved a fertile breeding ground for new anarchists. What is even more unfathomable is the reason for this favoured situation. To me, the most plausible is the Sex Pistols' 'Anarchy in the U.K.'. Without wishing to deride anyone in the movement, this record brought the word 'anarchy' to probably more youth than any amount of well intentioned and positive anarchist action. The Pistols, though, said they were not going to inflict their views on the punks and so were unwilling or incapable of expounding their interpretation of anarchy. Those interested in looking behind the tabloids facade of rampant mayhem were forced to find out for themselves and it would appear that much of the reception was favourable. However, even this is too

To summarise: depending on your definitions of new wave it is either creatively producing or pushing up the daisies and abjured its ideals, where they existed, for a very inexpensive sum. Anarchic thought did not prevail amongst the groups but new wavers certainly have swelled the anarchist numbers, a state of affairs that did not occur within the fast-fading authoritarian parties.

Neil. D. Springate.

Finally, I don't like the bit where you say that you want to hear the views of the Black Flag tendency, but not of the quasi-libertarian school, (though prepared to include them). What if you happen to be a life-style libertarian and subscribe to revolutionary anarchism at the same time? Would it be too much of a shock for you to stand?

\* Would it be pedantic of me to point out that I am referring to an essence of sensuality, rather than to insouciant or hedonistic screwing?

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Incidentally, it's quite possible to be both a quasi-libertarian and a libertarian (all whites are half-white).

You say "any photograph or cartoon shows a body". This hollow phrase ignores all the anger feminists feel when women are insulted by the images using women's bodies in the media, especially in advertising. You include a cartoon which is sexist in itself in portraying a woman who is supposedly hysterical and paranoid while completely missing the point that flashers are one aspect of sexual terrorism of women on the streets. You abuse the term "sexist" to make it appear vague and ridiculous and you seem to have a very naive view of feminism equating it with a puritan reaction to sex. Believe it or not, "sexual arousal" doesn't equal sexism (in reference to your answer to one letter), but ridicule and manipulation of the female body does.

N. Mooney/ D. Cohen  
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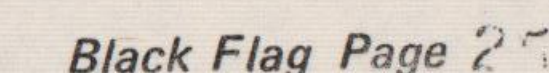
We should correct several correspondents both in this issue and in letters still arriving. The complaints are not all, or necessarily from anarcho-feminists but show a leninist tinge; and please, the late Zero's views notwithstanding, they are all diametrically opposed to the ideas of Emma Goldman and it is really time Emma Goldman's own view were examined.

Received the July issue today and just finished reading the letters to the editor. Please, doctor, tell me if there is something wrong with me! As a "normal" heterosexual male human being, why was my response to the Thatcher/Wonderwoman cover hysterical laughter, instead of a drooling leer and an impassioned cry of "HUBBA HUBBA!"? Monteur's humble mea culpa only made it worse. Michael Spring's patronizing - you should pardon the expression - "he is on our side" almost made me puke. "A personal attack on one human being" - what the hell does that mean? That "Thatcherism" is a force inhabiting the body of Margaret Thatcher somehow beyond her control?

Outside of the editor, the only one making any sort of sense was Martha Johnson. Her story of feminists suggesting that any woman be voted for reminds me of the arguments that - and I have heard these arguments from so-called feminists - somehow because of their sex, women will make more benevolent rulers. Like Indira Gandhi...

I will not feel guilty because I have a sense of humor. I am sure that if you had superimposed Thatcher's head on the body of Superman, you would have been attacked for ignoring feminine superheroes... Yours for Sanity,  
Shelby Shapiro.

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**CIENFUEGOS PRESS STOCK LIST — SEPTEMBER 1979**  
Over the Water, Sanday,  
Orkney, Scotland. KW17 2BL.

**THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW (ISSN 0 309 7285)**

An international forum for libertarian thought and criticism. "... the only political magazine worth reading today." New Worlds, New York. "... the most important in the world today." D.A. de Santillan, ed. Encyclopaedia Argentine. (Nos. 1 & 3 o/p; No. 2, £1.00, No.4, £3.50; No. 5 — ready October 1979; £1.50). A CP subscription entitles you to all CP titles published in calendar year (£12.00/\$30.00).

**ZAPATA OF MEXICO**, Peter E Newell (0 9045 64 24X) £2.95p/b, illus. Emiliano Zapata, born one hundred years ago and murdered just sixty years ago, has been described as a bandit — the greatest outlaw known to the Western Hemisphere, as well as the purest embodiment of the Mexican Revolution. This book attempts to describe what Emiliano Zapata aimed to achieve — and just how much he and his comrades actually did achieve in Southern Mexico between 1910 and 1920. It also contains an account of the common lands, 'los ejidos,' of that country.

**LAND AND LIBERTY: ANARCHIST INFLUENCES IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION**, Ricardo Flores Magon, ed. Dave Poole (0 904564 16 9), £2.50p/b, illus.

A succinct biography of Ricardo Flores Magon together with a collection of his essays, a history of Mexican anarchism, and a chronology of the Magonist movement.

"... It contains the finest collection of Magon's writings yet seen in English. It also presents important evidence in support of the argument that Magon's influence within the Mexican left between 1910 and 1920 was far stronger than we have previously recognised." John M. Hart, Hispanic American Historical Review.

**THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK. Vol. I:**

The Leninist Counter-Revolution, Grégory Maximoff (0 904564 23 1) £5.95p/b, £12.00h/b.

The Guillotine At Work develops the theme that the stalinist terror of the thirties, the bureaucratisation of Russian society, the imperialist escapades, through to today's lack of human rights in Russia and other East European countries are not aberrations in the development of a socialist society, but rather a logical development of marxist philosophy which finds its orientation in the writings and actions of Lenin, had Stalin as one of its chief protagonists, and today has a host of faceless sophisticated control of the hearts and minds of the peoples of Eastern Europe. It serves one main purpose: "To dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror."

**A NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS:**

**THE FACES OF SPANISH ANARCHISM**, ed Albert Meltzer

(0 904564 16 5/19 3) £2.00p/b, £5.00h/b.

While anarchism is historically recognised as having been the main driving force of the Spanish labour movement the world's press makes no mention of anarchism in Spain today. This book offers the reader a brief history of Spanish anarchism, its aims and achievements, and also a critical but constructive look at the failures and shortcomings of a movement with a current membership of over half a million Spanish workers.

**MAN! AN ANTHOLOGY OF ANARCHIST IDEAS, ESSAYS, POETRY & COMMENTARIES**

ed. Marcus Graham (0 904564 01 0), £7.00 h/b.

Probably one of the finest anthologies of Anarchism in English. Sections include ideas of Anarchism, Crime and Criminals, Fascism, Marxism, Spain, Religion, Resistance, Controversial Issues Among Anarchists, Art & Life, Literature, Poems, Government Persecution of Anarchists, Anarchist Biographies and more, including a history of the Government persecution of the paper MAN! and its editor, Marcus Graham.

**THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY**, Alexander Berkman (0 904564 118) £2.00p/b £5.00h/b.

As Chairman and Manager of the Museum of the Revolution, the author travelled widely throughout Russia where he acquired the background material for this analysis of the revolution and its betrayal by the Communists.

**THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT:**

A Study of the Origins and Development of the Revolutionary Anarchist Movement in Europe, 1945-1973, with particular reference to The Angry Brigade and the First of May Group, ed. Albert Meltzer (0 90456 08 8), £1.50p/b.

"I read this book last night and was wishing the whole time that my comrades and I had known what was happening with the revolutionary activist wing of anarchism before we went into action." Ross Little (referring to the Symbionese Liberation Army), San Quentin Prison, California.

**THE ANARCHIST IN LONDON,**

1935-1955: A Personal Memoir of Anarchist Activity in London from the mid-thirties to the present day (With appendices on the movement in Scotland and Wales), Albert Meltzer. (0 90456 12 6), £1.25p/b, illus.

**THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT:**

A Chapter of the Revolutionary Movement in the German Navy, 1918-1919, Icarus (Ernst Schneider) (0 904564 04 5), .45p p/b.

**PETER KROPOTKIN: HIS**

**FEDERALIST IDEAS**, Camillo Berneri (0 904564 07 X) .40p p/b.



**NEW ANARCHIST LIBRARY**

**AN ANTI-STATIST, COMMUNIST MANIFESTO**, Joseph Lane (with a biographical introduction by Nicolas Walter) (0 904564 20 7), .75p/b NAL I  
The most important writing of one of the little known founders of the libertarian socialist movement in Britain.

**TOWARDS A FRESH REVOLUTION**, Friends of Durruti (with an introduction by Jaime Balius of the FOD group) (0 904564 21 5), 75p p/b NAL II  
An analysis of the disaster caused by the counter-revolutionary movement in the struggle for power in Spain 1938. A message of hope for the future in the struggle against international capitalism, state socialism and fascism.

**A WOMAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY**, Emma Goldman, & **PARABLES OF AUTHORITY**, Multatuli. (0 90456 27 4), 40 p p/b, NAL III.  
Reprint of the beautiful limited edition published by Joseph Ishill at the Oriole Press, New Jersey, USA in the 1920s.

**A VISIT TO THE ISLAND OF SANDAY** Rev. Alexander Goodfellow 10 X) .75p, p/b.

A history of the small Orkney island of Sanday, the present base of Cienfuegos Press, with an introduction by Stuart Christie on the current problems facing Orkney and Shetland.

**CHARLOTTE WILSON ON ANARCHISM, 1888**, Charlotte Wilson (Introduction by Nicolas Walter) (0 904564 26 6) .60p p/b  
Three major essays on anarchism by one of the best-known of the group of middle class intellectuals who played an important part in the emergence of the British anarchist movement in the 1880s, with an invaluable biographical introduction by Nicolas Walter.

**WINTER/SPRING 1980**

**THE POVERTY OF STATISM: ANARCHISM AND SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM**, Nicolai Bukharin, Luigi Fabbri, Rudolf Rocker (0 904564 28 2)

Anarchist critique of the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organisation of production, etc., are among the themes of these essays intended to highlight the basic difference between anarchism and marxism.

**THE STRUGGLE TO BE HUMAN: CRIME, CRIMINOLOGY AND ANARCHISM**, Larry Tifft and Dennis Sullivan (0 904564 0/30 4)  
The first contemporary work to examine crime, punishment and social harms from an anarchist perspective. The work emerges amidst the recurring failure of both academic and marxist sociologies to provide insight into ways to live harmoniously.

**TITLES IN PREPARATION**

Anarchism — For and Against, Albert Meltzer; Facerias: Anarchist Extraordinary, Antonio Tellez, The Story of the urban guerrilla resistance in Nazi Europe and Franco's Spain; Red Years: Anarchist Resistance to Fascism in Italy; Class War: The collected Writings of Camillo Berneri, ed. Mintz; Bourgeois Influences on Anarchism, Luigi Fabbri; Dictatorship and Revolution, Fabbri; The Friends of Durruti, The Trotskyists and the Events of May, 1937, Mintz and Pecina; Memoirs of an International Terrorist, Joachim Klein; The End of Anarchism, Luigi Galleani; Revolution, Gustav Landauer; The Daily Life of the Worker in the USSR and Eastern Europe, Martin Zemliak; Marxism and a Free Society, Graham; Tiempos Libertarios — The Magonist Movement in Rio Blanco, Cananea and Bajo; California, Salvador Hernandez; Towards a Global Libertarian Alternative, Mikel Orrantai "Tar"; Short Stories, Ret Marut/B. Traven.

The Christie File: An Enemy of the State by Stuart Christie will, it is hoped, at last be published during the course of 1980 by Partisan Press in the USA and Cienfuegos in the U.K.

Anarcho-quiz answers from page 2.

1. In the United States, until slavery was abolished, "poor white" slaveowners regularly bred their own children as slaves and there was no bar to selling them into prostitution; and no lack of Bible texts or democratic phrases justify-ing the institution either. with two eyes".

2. Col. Barker was in fact a woman transvestite who persuaded an exceptionally innocent convent-bred girl into marriage (explaining away the lack of a penis) and lived with her for some time until arrested on another charge; subsequent public ridicule of the Fascisti, to which he belonged, killed the organisation off.

3. Frederick Engels, collaborator of Marx.

4. The cure comes not from the jobs created but from the issue of money; the same result could be obtained by giving the money out gratis.

5. Angell tried to prove in his book that it was an illusion that war was profitable — but he was generally assumed to have said (by people who had not read the book) that it was an illusion war was possible. This was naturally very appealing but after World War One broke out it was laughed to scorn. The catchphrase that took over was from H.G. Wells — "a war to end war" — which suffered the same fate in due course.

6. Shih, widow of Ching-yih (by which name she achieved notoriety) was a woman pirate who not only achieved supremacy in her band of outlaws, but a confederacy of all the water thieves against the Mandarin Government. It nearly overthrew the Emperor, but, unable to beat him finally decided to join him. Mistress Ching took a Government position, her former pirate fleet wiped out the other pirates and the provincial Governor who accepted her submission was allowed by a grateful Government "to wear peacocks' feathers