

BLACK FLAG

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Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

COMMUNIQUE

THE BRIGADE IS GETTING ANGRY — AGAIN!

ALMOST TEN YEARS have passed since the political situation in the UK called for the type of direct action as practised by the Angry Brigade. The wheel has turned full circle and we are obliged, once again, to prepare to defend ourselves against the provocations of a virulently anti-working class state and its multi-national manipulators, such as the Steering Committee of the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission.

SINCE THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT came to power, we have seen a rapid increase in the power of the repressive organs of the state, with a correspondingly obsessive and paranoid emphasis on perfecting its machinery for 'counter-subversion' and 'law and order', political euphemisms for the control and elimination of all real, potential, and imaginary dissidents. The increased expenditure on police, prisons and army, the constant surveillance of trade unionists, harassment of investigative journalists, whistleblowers, environmental, ecological and community activists, the extended deployment of the SAS in Northern Ireland with their assassinations of outspoken socialists such as Miriam Daly and, probably, Noel Little and Ronnie Bunting, the overt terrorising and intimidation of anyone remotely connected with the struggle in Northern Ireland, the emphasis on population control in police training and the increased number of armed police patrolling the streets of Britain, the new picket laws, etc.; all these things indicate that the consensus in British politics is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

THIS GROWTH IN STATE SECURITY is necessitated by the political and economic policies of the Thatcher government and its supporters. They know only too well that the economic situation is unlikely to improve without a reversal of their policies. This, in turn, is going to lead to large-scale social unrest. There are no workable economic remedies available to them within the monetarist ideology with which they are obsessed. Unemployment will rise steeply, inflation will worsen, more factories and businesses will close down or go bankrupt, apathy and tension will pervade social relationships, the trade union leadership will be unable to restrain the rank-and-file, people will get angrier and more frustrated, and stronger and more desperate forms of control will have to be imposed as the system starts to fail, go hopelessly out of control, and finally collapse all together.

WHY NOW AND NOT BEFORE? The late sixties and seventies saw a similar period of strident anti-working class hysteria and legislation which led up to the infamous and unsuccessful attempt to control organised labour through the **Industrial Relations Bill**. This led to the downfall of the Heath government. Having failed to break the labour movement through the courts, the Tories have now turned to a more oblique approach: a **deliberate policy of mass unemployment**! No doubt the Thatcher clique will be strengthened in their resolve with the election of Reagan, and begin to intensify their policies with each concession made to them.

WE ARE NO VANGUARD, nor do we claim to lead or represent anyone other than ourselves in our resistance to the arrogance of the present government and the misery, frustration and despair created by its selfish and inhuman policies. It is simply that we as individuals are approaching the limits of our tolerance. We see ourselves as an expression of the anger, resistance and hope created by the impending failure of this rapidly polarising society.

IN THE PAST TEN YEARS we have operated mainly in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and North America, and have acquired new skills, expertise, personnel, and access to information sources. The more recent actions of **Action Directe** indicate the strategy and tactics we should employ. As before, there will be no 'mindless terror', no deaths, no hijackings, no hostage-taking of innocent bystanders. We have nothing in common with the tactics or policies of the Red Army Fraction, Red Brigades, PLO, or any other authoritarian group committed to a struggle for power or control of the state at the expense of the man and woman in the street. The social revolution will not be built on the corpses of the old rulers or their functionaries; it can only be built by people taking control of their own lives, asserting their independence, their rejection of the state, of power politics, of authoritarian lifestyles and the competitive values of consumerism forced on us from birth to death.

In fighting these evils we also have positive aspirations. We wish for a self-managed society as the only possible basis on which we can build a more just, equitable and libertarian world for ourselves and our children. The increased power of the state, the aggressive confrontation policies of the Thatcher government, the breakdown of free collective bargaining and consensus in everyday life, the ever-increasing estrangement of people from the decision-making processes, etc., indicate only one course of action. We must reject and resist this inexorable erosion of our humanity and hopes with whatever means are available to us.

WE KNOW WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT - DO YOU?

THE ANGRY BRIGADE II (I.R.S.M.)

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Though we are waiting for
practically all of two issues to
be paid for, this is a terrible
balance sheet - thanks to those
who did help. All work on the
paper is voluntary - our type-
setting costs are now nil
(having bought the electric
typewriter our typesetting is
done voluntarily, like the
writing of articles); if it
were not so, the paper could
not appear. Alas, the
robberies beloved of the
bourgeois press are a myth...
does a note of wistfulness
creep in?

WHICH WAY BLACK FLAG?

Should we revert to the
tabloid style, as Black Flag
used to be, or continue with
the present large style? A
few readers have expressed
different opinions. There is
in fact no difference in
content or size; it is margin-
ally easier to send the
present way, but on the
whole easier to lay out the
old way. *What do you think?*

We hope to have a report of the
trial of the Scottish Republicans
in our next issue. This has been
a gross miscarriage of justice
not reported fully in the
press. As part of the nature of
the trial, in itself a second-
rate touring run of Persons
Unknown, we may quote the words of
the Procurator that the accused
possessed: "a copy of the
notorious Anarchist Cookbook,
otherwise known as the Citizens
Militia".

What do journalists know
about the Spanish Civil War?
They failed to report it
correctly at the time. They
have learned nothing since.
Perhaps there are some who
think Orwell was a general and
that the International Brigade
made a decisive intervention.
Listening to that interesting
and colourful BBC Scotland TV
interview with Stuart Christie,
I heard them say that the
"Christie story" began in
Spain. Flashback to the civil
war, when he was about minus
twelve, and we were told that
General Franco, who commanded
the Loyalist forces, was
everything that anarchists
hate ...but he defeated them.

This is the way it might well
be told in Madrid, but for the
record, the late General was
not only everything
anarchists hate, he was a
general who sold out on his
country: so far from comman-
ding the Loyalists, he was
a rebel. His followers were
called rebels - this was
later softened by sycophants
to "nationalists" - a word
which the press now uses to
describe all opponents of
his and the successor regime.

We have on video cassette
tape the three BBC TV features
on and around Black Flag - the
Persons Unknown case, the
Christie interview in Current
Affairs, and the longer Angry
Brigade case. Truth to tell,
Black Flag comes out of it a
lot more stable than it really
is (at several points it is
actually referred to as a
fortnightly, when we have as a
matter of fact a struggle to
get it out monthly). But they
do point out what counts in
Black Flag.

In the Scotsman (December 18th)
there is a half-page interview
with - guess who? The "foreign
subsidy" bogey actually comes
into it (journalists love that
one, it stems from the way they
live) - Christie "denies out-
right" there is any, "yet there
is no doubting that the quality
of production of Cienfuegos's
many titles do not indicate a
financial crisis". What a pity
publishing is not like the old
music hall days - when they
could tell you had a fin-
ancial crisis by the tatty
scenery, the outdated dresses,
or the number of the chorus
girls!

But don't let's knock them too
much. It's hard for them to
shake off lessons of years and
be objective in speaking of non-
Establishment politics.



REMEMBER BLOODY SUNDAY

DEMONSTRATE 1.30 SUNDAY JAN 25

FITZALAN ROAD CARDIFF

Buses leaving at 9.00 am from
Kilburn Sq. and Kings Cross.

JANUARY 30th, 1972. 20,000 Irish
people marched in Derry for
civil rights. The British Army opened
fire and killed fourteen.
**SELF DETERMINATION
FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE
TROOPS OUT NOW**



The 1980 Socialist Book Fair at the end of November, as usual in Camden Town Hall, London, showed a bigger anarchist presence than ever (testimony to the non-partisan approach of Bookmarks, the organisers). Cienfuegos Press/Black Flag again had a stall and there were also Freedom Press, and Bas Moreel (distributor for many American libertarian publishing houses) and a number of anarchist titles - of varying quality - shown by commercial publishers. After paying the £65 stand and giving full discount to the organisers, we broke even as regards bookselling profit and loss, but sold £200 worth of literature which was a shot in the arm for Cienfuegos.

Unfortunately many of our older titles and all of our new titles were not available at the Fair (for one reason or another). We missed particularly 'The Struggle to be Human', of which copies did not arrive; and 'The Christie File', somewhere on the Atlantic, or we would have had a runaway success; but the new catalogue, when it came, was impressive. Thanks to all who helped.

New Reality Komix is a new mag as an outlet for anarchistic art . . . (first issue just out) and is being circulated by the new A-Distribution, or can be obtained from Box A, c/o 14 Southgate, Bradford, W.Yorks. BD1 ZDF - 55 pence.

A-Distribution is working quite well with the new method of circulation of libertarian papers which it's taken over from PDC. Shops, or groups, can obtain copies in bulk with a great saving to the publishers in postage or transport (some of the papers pass it on, some don't - but they all feel the effects of the saving). Amongst those issued are the Cienfuegos Press publications including the *Anarchist Review*; *Black Flag*, *Xtra!*, *Anarchy*, also Freedom Press publications (though not Freedom itself owing to speed - Freedom being fortnightly).

anarcho quiz

1. For what eminently practical reason did British sailors once tattoo crucifixes upon their backs?
2. What highly topical military rebellion took place in Burford (Oxfordshire) 300 years ago?
3. Alfonso XIII of Spain had a favourite sport, which stood him in good stead when the Republic came in 1931; but what did he forget?
4. In which London public library is there a prominent portrait of a lifelong anarchist?
5. Of which emperor was it written that "he killed nobody, robbed nobody and deprived nobody of his country - which is more than can be said for most fellows in his trade"?

6. General Saturnino Cedillo was said to be a Mexican bandit who kept the line from San Luis Potosi to Tampico blocked for six years. When President Obregon sent to ask him what he wanted, what was his surprisingly libertarian (if hardly revolutionary) answer?

Answers on Page 12



BERLIN RIOT

On December 12th police forcibly evicted a squat, arresting seven people, in a heavily squatted area. A crowd gathered and rioting broke out. It was reinforced as sympathetic broadcasters on Berlin's two local radio stations gave more or less a running commentary, which attracted support from left wing bars and other parts of the city. Street barricades were erected and defended against police counter-attacks. One barricade was smashed by police driving through it and crushing a guy's leg in the process. The rioting lasted eleven hours. Banks and shops were attacked, sixty-six police were injured, and seventy-five people arrested. The following day (13th) a spontaneous demonstration, in response to the police brutality and arrests as much as the attack on the squatters, took over the centre of the town. Since it wasn't an "official" registered demonstration the police were not expecting it and traffic was brought to a standstill and banks and department stores on Berlin's main street were attacked and looted. The police surrounded the area, and with difficulty, and after some hours fighting broke things up.

those injured so that many were afraid to use them. The Krezueberg area was totally sealed off using armoured cars and water cannon and open season declared on anyone on the streets. Sporadic incidents followed all night and many more arrests were made. Many of those arrested were badly beaten up. At the moment twenty-seven of those arrested have still been refused bail and put in indefinite detention "pending investigations".



Monday 15th

The following Monday (15th) another demonstration had been called outside a church in the centre of town. 3-4000 people turned out but were prevented from forming up - any large groupings were baton-charged and savagely beaten. Over two hundred people were injured - one person blinded, many left with broken bones. The police refused to let the injured out of the sealed off areas and had instructed hospitals to take details of

More Protest

This detention and the police violence aroused widespread protest. On Saturday 20th 15,000 marched in solidarity with the squatters and demanded the release of those arrested. All expressions of solidarity have met with heavy repression - the radio broadcasters have been disciplined over their reporting, the 'phone number given out for those injured needing treatment and for those who had witnessed arrests, was cut off. The issue is seen as extending beyond the cause of the squatters to the criminalisation of protest and the arbitrary use of police violence and as such has aroused widespread support. It was comparatively quiet over Christmas - many people leave the city over the holiday - with occasional outbursts. On Christmas eve for example banks were molotoved. It is only a lull, however, awaiting the next inevitable confrontation between police and squatters.

HAIGHT-ASHBURY

The surge of "mindless thug" vandalism in the Haight-Ashbury prompted the Chamber of Commerce to offer rewards yesterday under its Secret Witness program.

"We're not going to let our San Francisco merchants be ripped off," said Mel Wall, the chamber's vice president for special projects.

He said \$200 will be paid for each vandal arrested and convicted. The number to call is 956-TIPS.

Since mid-June there have been 22 store windows broken, most of them in the 1400 and 1500 blocks of Haight Street, said Police Inspector George Bodrov.

Damage is in the thousands of dollars, because many windows cost \$500 to \$700, he said.

Bodrov blamed a group of anarchists who call themselves the "Mindless Thugs Association of the Haight-Ashbury".

Bodrov said merchants have been verbally intimidated, and have had bricks thrown through their windows wrapped in fliers with such messages as, "You are tolerated only inasmuch as you provide a genuine service for the Haight community. Street people are part of the community."

Bodrov said store owners are so afraid of retaliation that they are unwilling to come forward to identify the vandals.

The Haight-Ashbury Merchants Association and other business groups have offered a \$300 reward to try to catch vandals who have been breaking windows, knocking down fences and spray-painting graffiti.

This prompted a sarcastic response by the "mindless thugs" who circulated a flier saying, "Put an end to \$300 rewards. Reward yourself by helping to arrest and eliminate the proliferation of authoritarian and capitalist relationships."

So far the only person to be arrested for malicious mischief, Bodrov said, was Gary M. Crethers, 26, who has pleaded innocent to charges he threw a brick through a window of the Haight Street Deli on June 18.

Calling himself an "anarchist but not a Marxist", Crethers said there is "growing anger" among street people and minority groups at the commercialization of the neighborhood.

S.F. CHRONICLE

THE SUPERGRASS STRATEGY

PART 2

This is the second in what was originally intended to be a two-part review of the way in which police informers and "grasses" have been used in recent years. The article will, however, be extended into a third part in the next issue of Black Flag.

As early as 1975, only three years after Smalls had signed his statements, Scotland Yard was able to boast that at least twelve major criminals had supergrassed some one hundred and fifty accomplices. The advent of the supergrass was due primarily, said Assistant Scotland Yard Commissioner Jock Wilson, to the high sentences which were a frequent premium for armed robbery. (The normal sentence for straight-forward armed robbery was determined at fifteen years by the Appeal Court when it considered the sentences in the Wembley bank robbery case. Those sentenced after these robberies received sentences ranging up to twenty two years). "The possibility of doing ten or more years inside is obviously making men think hard about their behaviour if they should be caught".

The Sunday Times article (June 6th 1975) which quotes Jock Wilson, made much of the fact that in this kind of circumstance at least, it could be seen that long sentences did deter the criminal. This argument though, was meant only for home consumption to an audience which was not fully conversant with the undercurrents of strategy in the war against crime. Not only did the apparent solution of the supergrass not deal with the nub of the problem; that the crime had already been committed by the time the villain was put out to grass, but it also avoided the other central issue, that those most likely to become supergrasses and earn their statutory five years maximum sentence were those very people who had instigated and committed the most serious crimes.

During the supergrass boom of 1978 and 1979, Scotland Yard representatives indulged in a good deal of posturing about the gentlemanly agreements between detectives and supergrasses; no inducements could be given, it was said, and the informer would ultimately have to throw himself upon the mercy of the trial judge who would hopefully make sharp distinctions between those who had helped the police and those who had not. Nothing was said during this period about the absolute immunity which was given to some criminals whose offences were either not charged, or put on file. Nothing was said about the behind the scenes negotiations carried out on behalf of supergrasses, between police officers and the offices of the Director of Public Prosecutions. Not a word was spoken publicly about the manner and style of custody utilised for long periods by the police, while supergrasses were waiting to give evidence.

King Squealer

By 1978, bizarre but explicable stories had begun to circulate in the criminal world about the jet set life of various informers, who, while waiting to give evidence, were escorted by detectives to drink in pubs, frequent old haunts and be entertained by women.

After Smalls, though there were others, Maurice O'Mahoney was publicly accoladed as 'King Squealer', a name which he gave himself and even entitled his resultant paperback. His claim to the title was put under a slight shadow, when in 1976, Lord Justice Lawton, weighing up the respective merits of Smalls and O'Mahoney at the Appeal of Ronald Cook, stated, "It's a matter of degree, but I think Smalls has the edge over O'Mahoney". Lawton's adjudication in this matter - cleverly setting rat against rat - carried some weight, after all no one is better equipped than an Appeal Court judge to decide upon the finer degrees of intellectual hypocrisy.

O'Mahoney attended ten trials to give evidence, named two hundred men and received five years after admitting to one hundred and two offences. At the time of his arrest in 1975, when the supergrass blueprint was still being developed, the rules of the game appeared fairly straightforward. His twenty three months in custody were spent in Chiswick police station where his memory was aided by the provision of "colour television, stereo, drinks and visits from his wife and mistress". After his release, O'Mahoney claimed that the police had found him a new identity, a job and a house.

After O'Mahoney came Charlie Lowe and in his case the scenario assumed a greater complexity. It was the case of Lowe which brought to public attention the way in which the police were not only willing, but able, to subvert the court system when they had a supergrass in hock. Though it now seems probable that Lowe had worked for the police for some time, he first "came out" during the original trial of George Davis and co-defendants for the robbery of the LEB offices in Ley Street Ilford. Lowe had worked with Davis and his associates and at the trial which ended in

March 1975, he was named by the prosecution as the missing "fifth man". Some time in 1976, Lowe talked to Commander Bert Wickstead who was then investigating the Torso murder case. Lowe gave Wickstead information about his previous activities and workmates. At this time, Davis was still in prison and it seems more probable now that Davis was released in May 1976 because the Met and the Home Office knew that Lowe, who they were keeping on a long leash, would testify against Davis as soon as he was released.

Following Davis's release, Lowe was "arrested" by arrangement, it was however to be some time before the police were to admit to holding him. Lowe had been involved in a series of lucky bail applications since early 1974 - the LEB robbery took place in April 1974. In October 1976, when Lowe was supposed to appear on charges at the Old Bailey, the police told the judge that his whereabouts were unknown, he was according to the Police Gazette, a "most wanted man". In fact his arranged arrest had taken place four months earlier in June 1976 and he had been in police custody since that time. While there were four bench warrants outstanding against him from London courts, the Regional Crime Squad, using Southend Magistrates Court, were remanding Lowe each week under the false name of Chapman.

Guardian report

Eventually, after the courts had apparently ceded their power to the police in this series of contempts, it was the Guardian newspaper who "blew" the story of Lowe's whereabouts. The Guardian story was followed by a propaganda panic at Scotland Yard, who, fearful that their activities would be revealed, were precipitated into issuing a series of stories to the press, such as the one which appeared in the Evening Standard on October 6th. "Squealer: Police Rush", "Now that the cover of an important informer has been blown", the police were concerned that attempts would be made, "to silence him before he can give evidence in court". In fact, the police had been caught out perverting the course of justice and had escalated their "crime war" propaganda in order to safeguard themselves from proper judicial criticism.

Lowe was finally sentenced to eleven and a half years, lowered to five on Appeal. He served only sixteen months of the sentence; he had admitted to ninety one crimes and given evidence to the fact that "coshing people and robbing them" was one of his pursuits (Daily Telegraph, January 12th 1978). Lowe never went to prison but was kept in police custody for the whole of the period during which he gave evidence. While at Chelmsford police station, different defence solicitors, claimed that on at least two occasions Lowe had made threatening phone calls to witnesses.

In April 1978, Lowe was awarded the Royal Perogative of Mercy by Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, who was quoted in the 'Daily Mirror' newspaper as saying; "It is right to make use of every available legitimate means to fight crime", (April 21st 1978). On the day of his release, to add to the legitimisation, the 'Evening News' carried a £30,000 hit-man story, which claimed, "A London underworld gang is waging a campaign of terror against the families of people who are helping the police". The 'Daily Mirror' quoted a police spokesman as saying; "Lowe is a frightened lonely figure who is nervous every time he turns the corner".

Given Lowe's problems with corners, one would have expected him to go straight, but on his release he underwent plastic surgery and then declined to appear in a final set of trials on the grounds that his new identity would be exposed. In November 1978, only seven months after his release by Royal consent, he was arrested again under a new name after attempting to smuggle large quantities of cannabis into the country. It was said at the time of his release that the police had found him a new name, identity and job!

The Home Secretary's bizarre and corrupting use of the Royal Perogative of Mercy, gave the official stamp to the supergrass practice and all that it entailed at that stage of its development. But by the beginning of 1978, and during the period that Rees was making that decision on the basis of Lowe's arrest in 1976, supergrass practice had escalated beyond all public knowledge and far beyond the boundaries of the law.

A stream of career criminals were making statements, and the moral superlatives of the popular press were beginning to lack lustre. In order for the police and the DPP to succeed in prosecutions, whole areas of accepted court practice were demolished. Defendants were being convicted at an incredible rate on evidence which stretched no further than one or two statements of violent criminals who had defected and thrown in their hand with the State. At the start of the supergrass phenomenon, a common strategy for a defence counsel in cross examination would be to ask the witness on which other occasions he had pleaded not guilty and yet been found guilty. This had often been used by the court as a measure of a witness's, or a defendant's honesty. Increasingly though, this defence tactic has been undermined as judges have come to treat supergrass evidence as if it were police evidence. Many of the offences which the prosecution has gained information about go back seven or eight years, so making it impossible for the defence to counter with alibi evidence. Frequently in supergrass cases the police have attempted

Cont. on Page 14

'Towards a Citizens' Militia' has stirred up a lively controversy: not since 1940 has the general subject been aired, and the climate has changed a lot since then. The furious reactions of the gang of would-be betrayers has already been commented on in Black Flag: it must always be remembered that times of military defeat may be times of setback in terms of nations as powers, but they are also times of opportunity in terms of politicians, and the seizing of initiative from politicians is something that they naturally regard with the greatest of abhorrence. It is no coincidence that excess of patriotism produces the most national traitors.

In France in 1940 it was not the fascists who had knocked heads in the streets (and had their heads knocked in, too) who came to power. Neither Petain nor Laval were fascists. Petain was the arch-patriot, respected by all nationalists (which in France meant nearly everyone); Laval was centre MP and an opportunist. Looking from the vantage point of history, we can see why Winston Churchill MP, Ian Sproat, and Labourite James Wilson did all in their power to have Cienfuegos Press banned, and stigmatised its productions as "books of terror". Though in theory these people are for the defence of the regime against foreign enemies, foreign conquest is something which they take into account in their personal plans for power. It is significant to note how, when asked what they would have done in the event of Hitler taking power in England in 1940, almost all British politicians (and every one on the right) said (a generation later) that they would have committed suicide, and presumably murdered all their families too.

Enoch Powell put it, "The key question is the king". If the king retained power, but the government moved to Canada, "we" could fight on. If the government had submitted, and the only alternative to foreign domination was illegal resistance, there was no alternative they could fairly state (a generation later) but suicide (and family murder). But it may well have been that they would have desired to live, or to spare their families, and the alternative then would have been collaboration, since illegal resistance was out for them. The present Churchill has underlined this well with his denunciations of a citizens' militia, and distortion of self-defence as terrorism.

ALTERNATIVES TO SUICIDE

Mass Terror does not Terrorise?

Irrespective of the tactics and programme of such a citizens' militia (and there is a wide variation in peoples' ideas as to what they think of the tactics advocated in the manual: those with military experience viewing it as highly practical, those without military experience viewing it as quite naive and those with experience in Northern Ireland falling into the second category, about which more later), it cannot be denied that a citizens' militia of one sort or another is essential if one is not to fall into line with the super-powers whose tactics and programme are instant death.

It is a comment on those who speak of "books of terror" that they categorise this pamphlet as one of "terror", yet the alternatives - NATO or the Warsaw Pact? allow only for mass death and genocide of the entire population with only the outside "Afghan" possibility of capitulation or minor localised resistance.

An interesting comment was that made by a reviewer in 'Tribune' that those who opposed lining up with super-Powers in the pact with death had to consider citizens' militias as a viable alternative; but

pointed out that it involved the acceptance of conscription for all. This is not valid. One must bear in mind that the only basis for a citizens' militia is trust. Any resistance to a super-power implies that it has won; and that resistance is therefore either illegal (the government having sold out) or technically legal but in practice illegal (the government having escaped and denied legal imprimatur to its successor); and for resistance to be effective it has to take place between people who can trust one another.

Volunteers

Conscription is the diametrical opposite of this. Resistance must be of those with the will to resist. Those who "have no stomach to the fight" are better out of it, as they will be in practice anyway. It is a mistake to think that resistance to a dictatorship (whether it seized power as the result of a military coup, or is imposed by foreign powers) can only be of the whole people. Never will the vast majority voluntarily move to resist tyranny at one go: there are too many temptations to postpone, too many excuses to think it might get better, or one might get overlooked and too many and too vicious means of repression.

The left, on the whole, while talking about revolution, sees it as an open operation; if it can't be done perfectly legally (as, by coincidence, the Spanish revolution, since the fascists were in rebellion against the government) or in a position where nobody is more illegal than anyone else (as in Russia 1917), then at least let it be by general spontaneity so that it legalises itself automatically. But things don't necessarily work out that way. The rearguard has to take action against the oppressors, and then the tyrants call it terrorism. It is because none of the issues are clear-cut in this way in Northern Ireland that the booklet viewed from such a viewpoint looks unrealistic. Most of the population is going about its daily business in the normal way - subject to annoying body checks in the centre of the city and exposure to indiscriminate bombing or shooting. What has all this talk about uprooting trees and dislodging cars to do with urban fighting? Nothing in this context.

In order to establish a dictatorship - either because a foreign enemy can only rule that way or because an internal group has made a coup - exceptional methods are needed. The population cannot go about its business in the normal way: if it were allowed to do so, it might by industrial action bring the whole society to a standstill and prevent the coup. What must be done by the dictators are spectacular actions, massacre being the most obvious. The Nazis did not fill up trains with Jews just out of malice: they did it to impress the rest of the population into subservience. The Spanish falangists - who were faced with the problem of wiping out social revolution - went to the factories and shot one in ten; or rounded people on the streets and for years filled the railways with prisoners - travelling from one jail to another - for precisely the same reason: to impress the population and dominate. Such terror tactics have to be countered by more spectacular actions than can be, or need to be seen, in anything other than a dictatorship. Occupation over the years, even accompanied by police repression, does not amount to a dictatorship: nor does it evoke the same responses which amount to those of war.

This is why those with Army training can recognise elements of basic survival skills in the book, and those with experience of Ireland find themselves, on this issue, as sceptical as those who have no military experience at all.



ACTION-DIRECTE

There has been speculation as to whether Action Directe is now, to all intents and purposes, dead following the arrest of Jean Marc Rouillan and Nathalie Menigon in Paris, at 62 Rue Pergolese. The couple appeared at first to have been caught in a neat trap by the police of the Renseignements Generaux branch. Closer examination, however, suggests that they may not have been the real targets. The Renseignements Generaux branch does not normally effect arrests, this being left to other branches. One of the arresting officers described the pair as merely suspects under observation and went on to add ... 'Had we known they were members of Action Directe we would have sent for the anti-terrorist brigade who are better equipped than we are for this type of operation'. Rouillan and Menigon were tailed by police. Spotting the tail they tried to shake off their pursuers. Rouillan was captured, but Menigon managed to elude them and fired sixteen

shots at them before she too was taken. All sixteen shots passed harmlessly through the leg of one policeman's trousers! The couple, after abandoning their car made for No. 62 Rue Pergolese. By some odd coincidence a number of Renseignements Generaux men were inside waiting for them.

Under questioning the pair accepted responsibility for the attacks claimed by Action Directe. Rouillan having been so central to Action Directe activities, there is now some speculation as to the group's ability to survive his capture. However both he and Menigon were carrying phoney ID cards - part of a hoard stolen by an armed gang from a Paris district mayor's offices. Both, however, deny having participated in that raid. How many Action Directe members are still at large?

The spate of arrests of alleged members of Action Directe, has done much to remove the embarrassment the Renseignements Generaux was caused when it was discovered recently that it had been infiltrated by the Corsican separatists of the FLNC and the neo-Nazis of FANE. The R.G. have even hinted that they managed to plant a man in Action Directe and win the confidence of the man portrayed as the moving spirit of the group, Jean Marc Rouillan. This would explain some of the curiosities surrounding the capture of Rouillan and Nathalie Menigon. Soon afterwards Laurent Louessard and Maria Arago-Eltur were charged in connection with offences claimed by Action Directe. According to the R.G. themselves, Rouillan refused to talk but Menigon and Arago-Eltur did.

There was a further sensational development in the campaign against Action Directe when police swooped on a commune-farm at Trynas in the rugged countryside of the Ardeche. There in underground concrete bunkers they discovered no less than 1,250 kilos of explosives, plus eight assault rifles with ammunition. The explosives were part of a two-ton load stolen in the 1976 raid on a roadbuilding project.

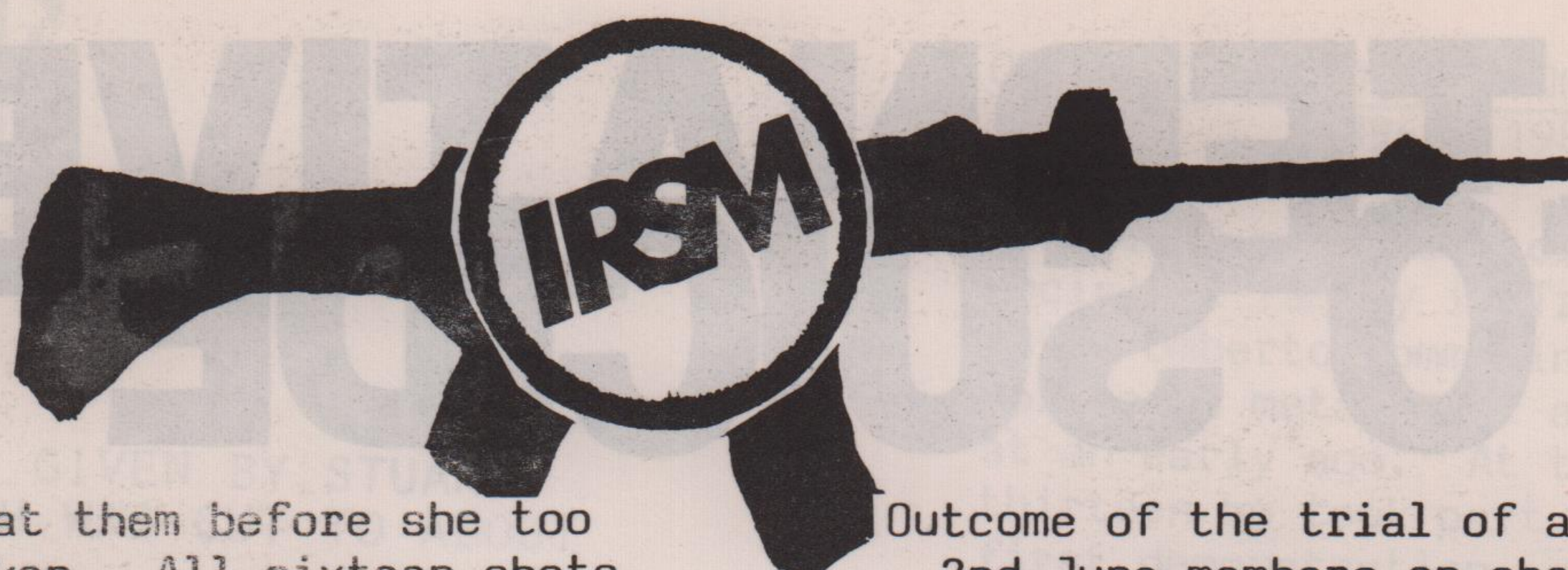
The discovery of Trynas was followed by the arrests of Maite Merliou, Jean-Pierre Bolognini and Bruno Daribere, residents on the farm. Philippe Marc was picked up at Hauteville-sur-Mer. The arrests and the seizure of the arms and explosives have all the makings of a press sensation involving 'Terror International' and one of the 'stars' of modern French crime, the mysterious Pierre Conty.

CONTY

In March 1980 600 kilos of explosives stolen in the same batch as the 1,250 recovered recently, were discovered in a Paris flat belonging to Olga Giroto, allegedly a member of the Italian guerrilla group Prima Linea. Police speculate that the 600 kilos were moved to the capital by Rouillan, Louessard and Philippe Marc. There is also talk of liaison with ETA through Arago-Eltur and Louessard. Maite Merliou is a former (?) girlfriend of Pierre Conty who vanished while police were hunting for him in 1977. The press are now having a field day. Was Conty the mysterious mastermind behind Action Directe and Prima Linea and ETA-militar?

Who is (was?) Conty? Known as the "killer of the Ardeche", Conty was the 'leader' of a commune in the Ardeche. With two companions he carried out a hold-up in Villeport in 1977. There was some mix-up with the getaway and Conty and Stephane Viaux-Pecatte scurried away as best they could. A policeman, Dany Luczac, was murdered. Later, two farmers, father and son Cyprien and Roland Malosse, were also killed and their car seized. That was on 25th August 1977.

Viaux Pecatte was later seized by the anti-terrorist squad in Groningen (Holland). Jean-Philippe Mouillot, the getaway driver, was also captured. On 21st May 1980 the former was sentenced to eighteen years in prison and the latter to five years. Conty, who was never caught was sentenced to death in his absence. What became of Conty is a mystery. No proof exists that he is dead. His girlfriend with her children, stayed on at the commune. Now she has been arrested. It may have been Conty who built the bunker where the cache was hidden. Locals speak darkly of his still being "...out there, but in hiding". Was the bunker his hiding place? Conty seems heaven-sent for sensational reports of the Mr. Big of European terrorism...Action Directe, Prima Linea and ETA-militar. Some locals, however, believe that he is dead "...and not of natural causes".



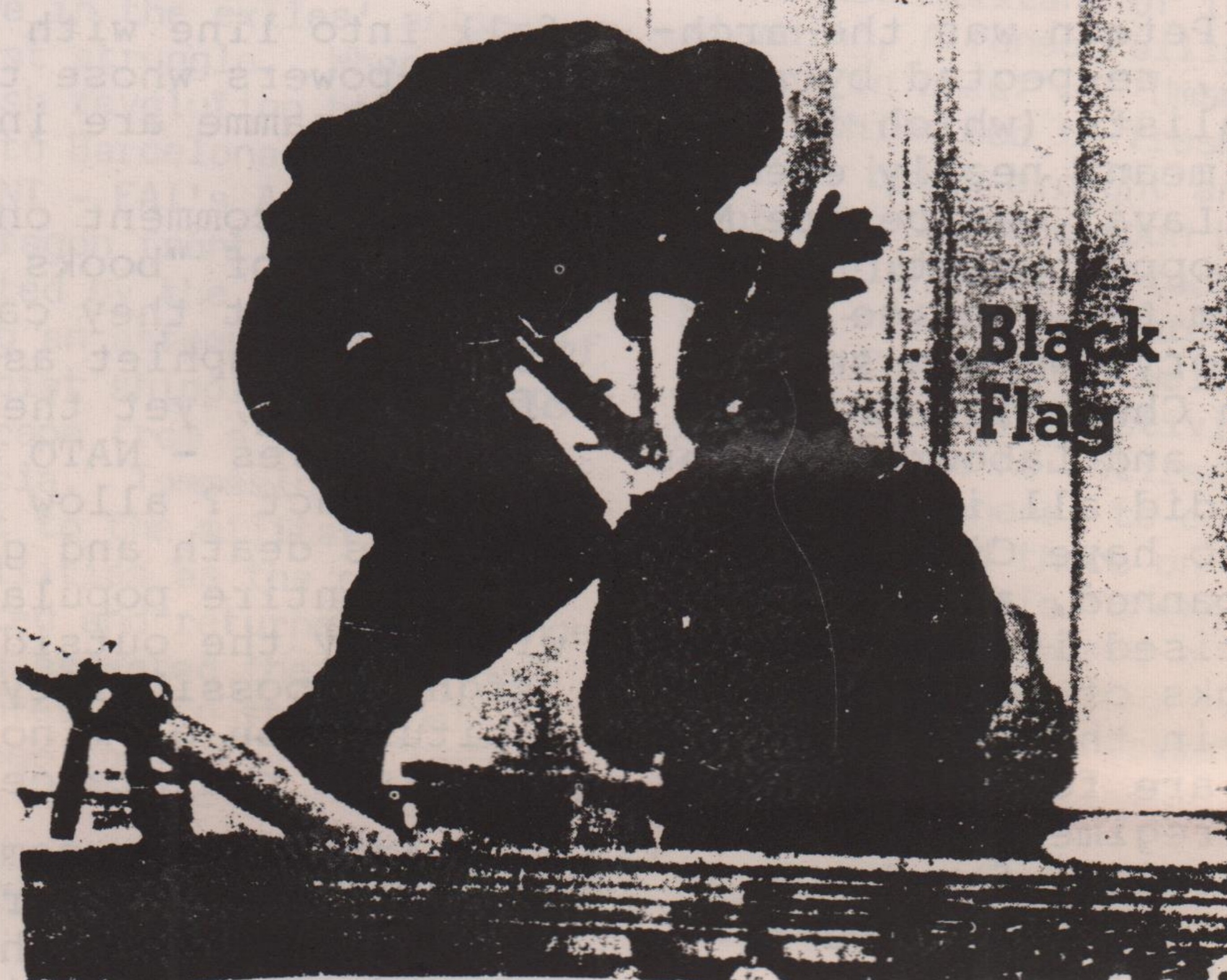
JUNE 2nd: EXPOSÉ

exposed the sham that the trials have become. He announced..."I have an alibi for the Lorenz kidnapping, for the murder of Judge Drenkmann and an alibi for the attack on the arsenal." Teufel held all this in reserve until near the end of the trial. He explains: "To show at last the real face of terror... That was my aim and I seemed a great opportunity to expose the methods of State Security and the courts. Where urban guerrilla activity is concerned they invent proof if none exists and make do (and this is the rule, not the exception) with vague innuendo and circumstantial evidence to condemn anyone who is unable to prove his innocence and is unwilling to dissociate himself from the actions criticised."

Outcome of the trial of alleged 2nd June members on charges of: (1) membership of a terrorist group (2) killing of the chairman of the Berlin CDU, Peter Lorenz (3) assault on an arsenal in Berlin (4) two bank robberies.

Sentences were Ralf Reinders and Till Meyer, 15 years each. Gerald Kloppe, 11 years 2 months. Ronald Fritsch, 13 years, 3 months. Andrea Vogel, 10 years. Fritz Teufel, 5 years. (Having been already in custody that long Teufel is now free). At the trial Teufel, known as the 'Politiclown' of the extraparlimentary opposition, dismantled the prosecution case and

All because the hostages love...



GARI CASE—POSTSCRIPT

When the MIL was smashed in Spain in 1973, a number of actions were carried out in solidarity with them. These were claimed by the GAI. (Autonomous Intervention Group). After the execution of Puig Antich this group evolved into GARI. (Internationalist Revolutionary Action Group). GARI claimed around 20 bombings and hold-ups against Francoist targets. They kidnapped Angel Baltasar Suarez for 3 weeks before releasing him unharmed on payment of a ransom by his employers, the Bank of Bilbao. Only once did any GARI action cause an injury. On 28th July 1974 a bomb placed on the roof of the Spanish consulate in Toulouse exploded while being defused. Twelve people were injured - three firemen, seven police and three others. GARI sent a crate of champagne and a note of regret to the fire-station. Earlier, in August 1974, GARI's members met in Italy where they decided to dissolve the group.

ARRESTS

On 29th July 1974 Pierre Roger was arrested in Toulouse and charged with membership of GARI. On 18th September 1974, Victor Manrique, Jean-Michel Martinez, Mario Ines Tarres and Michel Camilleri were arrested too. After police picked up Floreal

Cuadrado, Raymond Delgado and Jean-Marc Rouillan in Paris in a car carrying explosives on 3rd December 1974 they concluded that GARI was thus no more. The accused were referred to the Court of State Security - a sure acknowledgment of the political nature of the offences. On 27th December 1974, seven of those charged went on hunger strike for recognition as political offenders. On the 43rd day of the strike their demands were granted "...on humanitarian grounds". After a few months, Manrique, Cuadrado, Martinez and Roger were freed. One and a half years after the arrests the Court of State Security declared itself incompetent to try the case which was referred to the Paris court. On 6th June 1979, the latter referred the case to the Assize Courts. In the meantime, the remaining GARI suspects had been released in June 1977.

Jean Marc Rouillan, it is alleged, has since joined 'Action Directe' and is wanted for questioning in connection with the machine-gunning of the Ministry of Co-operation and the Ministry of Labour and Participation. There are now ten accused who will face the Court d'Assizes and try to explain, in criminal proceedings, the political nature of the offences...an explanation that the jury cannot take note of in that type of court.

There is a possibility that the current conflict between Iran and the USA may have drastic consequences. Hence it is especially important that a serious attempt be made to understand what issues are at stake and to respond to them in an intelligent manner. When human lives are involved it is only natural that temperatures should rise, especially when "national prestige" is allegedly threatened.

CHOMSKY

iran/ U.S. imperialism



It is worthwhile recording other incidents which led to popular hysteria being inflamed. For instance, the alleged North Vietnamese attack on the US torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964, which the US government exploited as a means of whipping up popular support for its massive assault on Vietnam. Only years later was it discovered that if the attack did in fact take place, it was most likely a response to the US military actions that the government had been keeping covert. The widespread readiness to swallow official versions and rally to the chauvinistic hysteria had horrendous consequences which we need not examine here. History has many such instances to offer us.

Media

A propos of the Iranian crisis, the media have lent anything but sterling service to the public at large. Media comments have not gone any of the way towards laying the foundations of any understanding of the reasons why Iran erupted in an orgy of hatred for the Shah and the US government. The Shah was toppled by a massive popular upheaval in which virtually all sectors of Iranian society (a society which lost 20,000 dead in its confrontation with one of the mightiest armies in the world) were participants. The Shah was portrayed by the media as a liberal reformer who could not quite get his noble intentions over to his backward subjects. However, his Iranian victims saw him, more accurately, as one of the bloodiest tyrants of modern history with... "a record of torture that defies belief", as Amnesty International noted. Amnesty went on to say that "no country in the world has a worse human rights record than Iran".

The Shah's "modernisation" programme brought huge profits to the wealthy and the state bureaucracy and to foreign investors, but it reduced to poverty a large part of the population of Iranian society which was potentially wealthy but looted by the Shah and his foreign friends. The USA, which had placed him on the throne in a coup mounted with CIA backing was trainer and advisor to his bloodthirsty secret police and flooded the country with weapons and technical assistance in order to reinforce and entrench the Shah's brutal and corrupt regime. For all his talk about human rights being "the moving spirit of our foreign policy", President Carter praised the Shah for his benevolence and spoke of the "... respect, admiration and affection which the people feels for his Majesty..." whilst continuing to supply him with the means by which

to put down the popular revolt aimed at freeing Iran from the clutches of the tyrant. Omission of this historical background might create the impression that the Iranians are acting in an irrational and inexplicable manner. But when the facts are taken into account, the picture is radically different.

In a painstaking study of the media, Professor William Dorman, of California State University at Sacramento, concludes that "... Americans are persistently and insistently informed that the Iranian revolt can be wholly ascribed to religious fanaticism and to agitation by the left. We have not been able to discover one single leading news source that presents events in Iran in a slightly different light." Only towards the end when American government policy began to vacillate and it became apparent that the US-backed regime of the Shah could not be saved, did the media make some slight adjustments to the policy of silence or distortion which they had hitherto pursued. Even now, current developments are still being presented without any real consideration being given to crucial historical factors.

Issues

The issues raised by the current conflict are three. First is the Iranian's insistence that the resources pillaged by the Shah be returned to Iran; (this pillaged wealth amounts to thousands of millions of dollars); the second is their insistence that the Shah be extradited. The third is the issue of the hostages. Let us examine these one by one.

Concerning the first, all the arguments seem to be on the Iranian side. As for extradition, there can be no question but that this is a principle accepted by the United States. The US government is itself trying to obtain the extradition of Chileans accused of complicity in the murders of Letelier and Moffitt in Washington DC, and the US and other Western powers have frequently resorted to the extradition of wanted persons (sometimes on very dubious evidence) in connection with crimes that could not be compared, even remotely. So, it is hard to discover in the record of the West, the slightest grounds for a refusal to countenance extradition in this instance, especially if we bear in mind the US government's complicity in the crimes of the Shah. It might be argued that proper procedures have not been followed but then the rational response would be to recommend that these procedures are followed and not to reject their application as unacceptable or absurd.

What can we say on the matter of the hostages? From a humanitarian standpoint the taking of hostages is reprehensible. But when judged according to standard Western practice, the issue is somewhat more complicated. The United States is consistent in its objections to the taking of hostages...in small groups. But the US is equally consistent in approving the practice of holding to hostage whole nations under the direct threat (actually not a threat, a fact) of hunger and death on a large scale. From Laos missionaries report that hundreds of thousands are threatened by starvation in an impoverished country where the agricultural system was destroyed by US violence. However, the USA refuses to allocate more than the merest drop of aid, holding the population hostage to the changes it seeks to have made in the Laotians' politics. In Vietnam, too, the economy was virtually destroyed by the USA, which refuses to pay any sort of reparations and rejects any sort of trade with, or aid to, Vietnam, and even refuses to normalise relations whilst the people there die of starvation. The US have successfully driven Vietnam into alliance with the Soviet Union, an alliance which it probably does not desire. In June 1977 the US Senate decided to issue instructions to US representatives to block proposals that international agencies should offer aid to Vietnam. Senators voted in favour of cutting the US contribution to the World Bank by 20 million dollars, precisely the amount of the US share of the funds involved in the Bank's only development scheme involving Vietnam. Furthermore, the Bank's director, Robert McNamara has gone so far as to cancel loans to Vietnam, alleging cynically that Vietnam's projects would not be beneficial to it people. The US policy of imposing suffering and death upon societies brought to ruin by US violence is aimed at achieving the goals frustrated by the resistance that proved successful. Such instances in which an entire nation is held hostage, costing death and suffering on a massive scale, are particularly grotesque in that the USA is directly responsible for much of the distress and devastation faced by Indochina today. Furthermore the instances we have quoted are far from being unusual.

Another surprising case is that of East Timor, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and since then subject to unbelievable destruction and bloodletting with the blessing of the USA, which has been supplying the weaponry and

diplomatic assistance needed by the Indonesians whilst the media have covered up the butchery. Deplorable it may be, but it can be shown that the media tend to ignore the atrocities of which their own State is the perpetrator. Indonesia's Foreign Affairs Minister recently admitted that the position in East Timor may be worse than that of Biafra or Cambodia and the few independent observers whom Indonesia has admitted to Timor tend to be of the same opinion. The same Indonesian spokesman, a year ago, asserted that Indonesia would admit aid for East Timor, but only if the countries lending the assistance recognised Indonesian sovereignty over the territory. For well nigh four years even the International Red Cross was denied access to Timor by the Indonesian invaders. In short, the population has been held hostage whilst tens of thousands have perished and all in an effort to extract international recognition of the results of Indonesian aggression. The USA continues to back Indonesia in its monstrous stratagems, just as it has been doing from the very outset.

Manipulated

To sum up: the USA indignantly opposes the defence measures of the weak, such as the seizing of a small number of hostages, but she herself employs and tacitly approves the much more horrible defence measures of the mighty, such as the holding of hostage of entire nations and the causing in the meanwhile (and not just threatening to cause) an enormous amount of suffering and death. This should come as no surprise. The USA is not the only nation to act thus, nor are the US media the only media that cover up crucial facts concerning modern historical events such as those we have mentioned. But reflection upon real historical practices reveals that the spectacle of a highly moralistic indignation is the ultimate in cynicism.

This article is too brief to permit us to reflect the true nature of the current situation in Iran and elsewhere; but they do suggest guidelines that Americans may wish to follow when reflecting on how best they should react to events which are currently taking place. Whatever the outcome, substantial efforts will be made to win support for the policy of intervention and subversion that has brought immense suffering over the past few decades. US citizens should think carefully about the way in which they are having their emotions manipulated and how their perception of events is being deformed. The results could be extremely serious for us and for many others in a world that is daily more troubled.

H BLOCKS: REBUILDING

The failure of the hunger-strikers in the H-Block at Belfast to take the final step and fast to death illustrates the lengths to which one can push the human body - as if such tests were needed in this century - and how the mind can still pull back the body at the last minute, but it does not alter the point they were trying to make, and the hunger striker uses the last desperate appeal to morality, and the highest.



GARDAI OUTSIDE BRITISH EMBASSY, DUBLIN (Photo... Derek Spiers (I.F.L.)).

During the war German airmen committed the most terrible crimes against civilians - British airmen did the same thing over there. It was generally accepted that this was a cross we had to bear, though the control by the civilian population over whether there should or should not be war and least of all how it was to be conducted, was nil. When airmen crashed, the population did not rush to lynch them. It was more likely, that after bombing Coventry, London or Liverpool, they would be offered a cup of tea.

Was this invariable? No, sometimes people did jeer at captured POWs (usually soldiers rather than airmen). It was considered bad form by most. Those who did it could generally expect a tongue-lashing from someone or other. In fact, people who did nothing at all in the war came off worse than those who committed crimes - there were far more incidents of German civilians being ill-treated (though more generally in the first world war than the second) than of POWs - and certainly not air bombers. This was a touch of civilisation in war in England, which was far from universal.

But in the Irish dimension today it does not exist. Why?

No Irish Republican - nor all put together - ever caused as great an atrocity than a single air bomber on a one-off mission. But there is so great an antagonism to them that the government can afford to sit back and watch prisoners starve themselves to death covered in their own excrement. Is it that they are volunteers and not conscripts? But so, generally speaking, were airmen, even in Germany, and they were the ones who came off best. Did people admire those who took their lives into their own hands even though detesting the cause for which they were fighting? The same goes for the IRA and not even a hardline Unionist would say the cause they represent is equally detestable.

The prisoners in H-Block are demanding the right to wear their own clothes; the right to refrain from prison work; the right to free association amongst other political prisoners; the right to organise their own educational and recreational facilities and receive one visit, letter and parcel a week, and the right to full remission of sentences.

Demands

These are scarcely revolutionary demands. They amount to a demand to be treated as POWs. We do not ourselves accept the idea of political prisoners (it invariably means worse treatment than for others, and opens the way for further political sentences). But in practice H.M. Government *does* accept the idea of political prisoners. After every prison riot we hear of "political and Irish" prisoners; every Governor can say how many "IRA prisoners" he has; convicts are asked "if they object to mixing with IRA prisoners" or how they feel about them. All that is in question is simply how such prisoners should be treated; and while we have no great faith in prison reforms - believing in the abolition of prisons - almost all the demands made could easily be granted. Granted by Governors to ease the pressure within our overcrowded prisons, and only refuted by the government because they are pandering to public opinion (as manufactured by the media) which is hostile to the prisoners.

Faced with the fact that they *do* have Irish political prisoners, whether they regard them as "British convicts" or not, the government has to make up its mind how it is going to proceed. It could proceed by giving these demands to *all* prisoners. The right to wear their own clothes is a demand granted in a great many countries. The right to work at something other than prison is nothing new. In Spain, even under fascism, they worked on a system of private enterprise capitalism in

the new reformism

"The Acceptable Face of Dissent. As the young people of Germany become disillusioned with radical politics and witness the horror of terrorism they are increasingly turning to other forms of protest against the wealth and materialism which they believe is threatening their health and peace of mind. James Hogg looks at the Green Movement, which has become so influential it could decide who could form the next Government".

(Description of a TV Programme)

In those few words is summed up the case against the Green Movement, the Ecology Party and all the saplings of the Nuclear Disarmament, Alternative Society and libertarian new left tree which was planted by the Quakers and the Garden City pioneers. Theirs is an "acceptable" form of dissent ... but by whom? That the young people of Germany need to protest against "wealth and materialism" is clear enough -- but they are also in revolt against the history which they have inherited.

The Government found itself in a tight spot. The revolt that expressed itself in consistent struggle for years, forced it to drop its mask of liberalism. The activists started dropping out of the militant movement in Germany, faced with Nazi-type repression: the rump of the Red Army Fraction has drifted to Marxist-Leninism; others drift off to the "Green Movement" - in the vain hope that they are "doing something".

Revolutionary Struggle

In the absence of revolutionary struggle, those who want to be active in changing the world turn to side-shows like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or Ecology Party type organisations, which all come down to what the Liberal Party, or at least its radical tendency, once was. These organisations can generate a lot of support, without ever making the least impression whatsoever, because everything is in the clouds and nothing affects the economics or behaviour of everyday life. Ban the bomb? - by all means. Who, though, is being asked the question? Who is going to ban the bomb? The power-mad leaders of the world who are the only ones to have the bomb? This is a variation on Woodrow Wilson's idea of a League of Nations in which all the governments combined to "outlaw war" ... like having thieves sit round a table and agree to "outlaw burglary". If we sat down for long enough in Trafalgar Square, they once said, "they" would have to ban the bomb. But they didn't ban it - however long the banners sat, the bombers sat them out. And the protest wore itself out.

Now the demand is pitched in a much more minor key. Instead of trying to save the world from nuclear destruction, they try to save whales or seals; instead of trying to preserve the human race, they at least try to preserve the environment, no doubt thinking

that one may get the lesser demand. But why should the governments listen to such pleas? "Let them protest. If that's all that they do!" the criminal statist may say. You may say that at least the protesters are doing something in the absence of a revolutionary struggle. But you shouldn't take for granted the absence of revolutionary struggle.

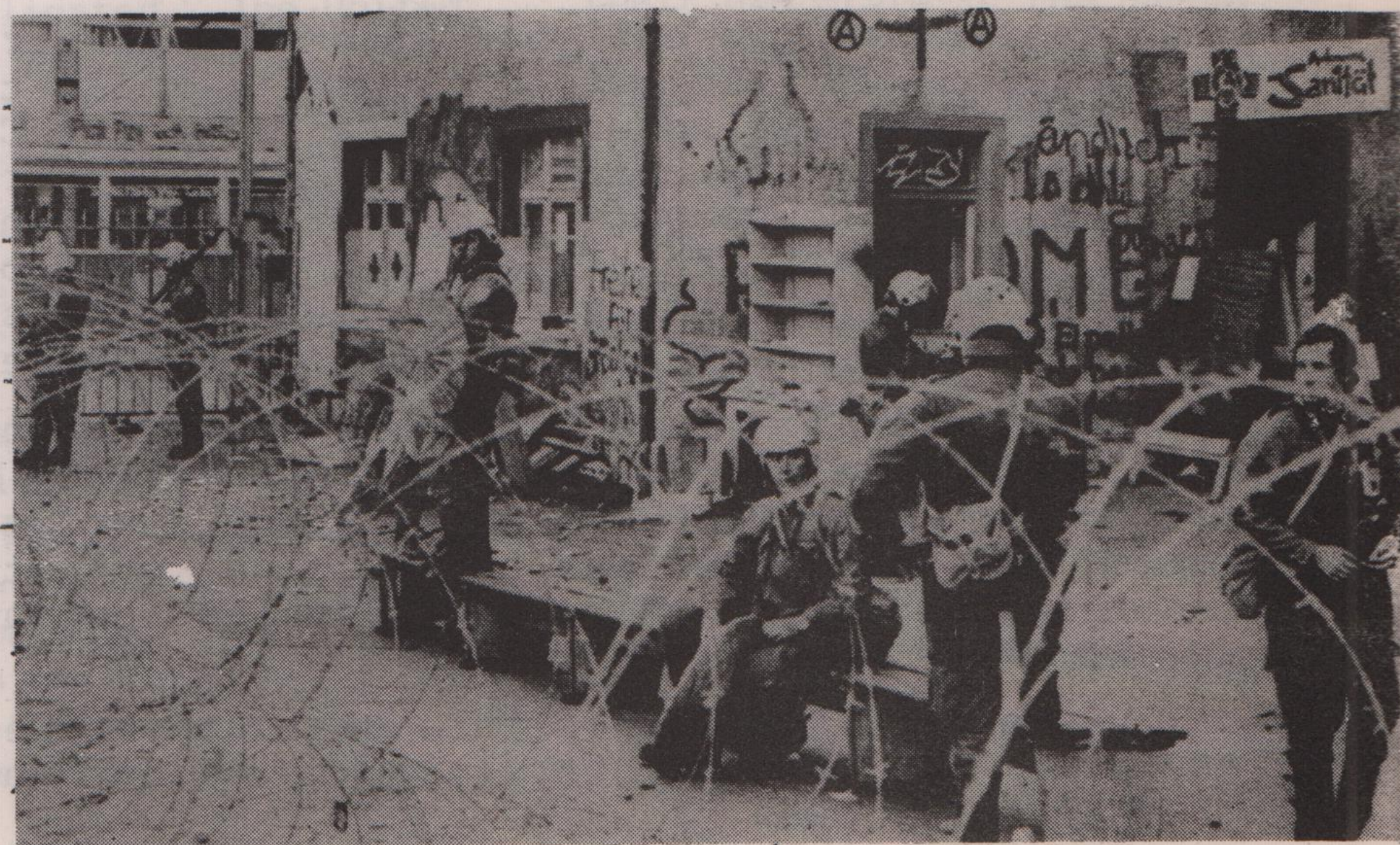
Reformism

What has happened to West Germany - and spread throughout the world - is that in the face of repeated disasters (the disappointment with the failure of the Russian revolution, the rise of State Communism and fascism, and the development of capitalism, in short, the whole rise of criminal statism) the working class has abandoned its principles and the movement it built up. The working class movement is totally derelict, and what remain are monuments, (and usually monuments to what was worst in the old movement); of what was best, there remain only archaeological digs.

For any new left, or new reformism, to pretend to the ideas of the traditional movement is a farce. The object of a socialist movement was to overthrow the economic system by those who produced the wealth of nations, taking it over and running it for themselves. The anarchist movement augmented this with a warning that there must be no parasites whatsoever or a new leisure class - ultimately a new ruling class - would evolve. The warning was not heeded and this has happened.

There is no reason to scoff at those whose hearts are at least in the right place when it comes to protesting. But we have got to get back to effective struggle. That struggle is only effective in the area where despair is most profound: the places or work upon which all industry depends, on the running of which all governments rely.

the new zurich



ATTACK ON SPANISH UNIONISM

Few modern trials in any State observing a democratic facade have been so openly politically manifest as the one which has just passed in Spain, in which two members of the CNT have been sentenced to seventeen years imprisonment each. Others have been acquitted in the notorious 'La Scala' episode, where a public place of entertainment, almost wholly unionised by the CNT, the anarcho-syndicalist union, was bombed and its employees blamed, only because they were there.

The nature of the corruption can be seen in the fact that prominent witnesses, including the secretary of the CNT in Catalonia, were arrested and charged with different offences - so far unclear - and have been kept over while the case has been proceeding, unable to give evidence.

A regular feature of the ballyhoo attending the trade union elections in this country is that, while the voting is in progress several militants of the CNT should be arrested and charged with ghastly terrorist crimes. The newspapers give over their front pages to the news of the arrests but can spare only the tiniest mention later for the news that those arrested have been released for lack of evidence.

"This is an attempt to place handcuffs on the abstentionist posture, discrediting the anarchists by crediting them with dark and never quite disclosed terrorist motives. The idea being to get over the notion that the CNT is a group of crazies instead of an exemplary union.

"Basically what strikes terror into the authorities is anything they cannot control, anything in hands other than their own.

"For this reason the CNT is, and seems fated to remain, a union proscribed by the present government."

(El Papus, 1st November 1980)

Jose Martin Artajo:

"Speaking personally, but confident that a large segment of the membership will endorse my beliefs, let me say that it seems crystal clear to me that the Scala affair was a police frame-up aimed at discrediting the CNT and at dividing the CNT itself. From the Scala affair down to the recent arrests in Barcelona (aimed at another similar frame-up) the repressive offensive against the CNT in every part of the Spanish State has followed one phase upon another, so that it can be stated that the recent arrests of Luis Andres Edo, Galo Sanchez, Jose Ros and the two female comrades picked up at the same time, are no more than the opening and closing gambits of a consistent and continuous police action.

"The CNT's campaign against the union elections has been a magnificent success, given the proportion of abstentionism so far, which is close to 50%. The Confederation has committed itself totally to this campaign, with the obvious result that it has cut to the quick all of the forces in or around the government. I see these elections as a brazen fraud against the working class, the aim of which is to have the workers swallow unions which are no more than transmission belts."

(From Mundo Diario, 5th November 1980)

It is easy to see mass abstentionism as support for an abstentionist policy. But the overwhelming majority of Spanish workers have no use for the so-called trade union corporate state, in which different, approved political tendencies (as represented by their unions) are voting in a works committee with supreme power in collective bargaining.

The Rightists Organise

Many Ministers have expressed their fear of the growth of the CNT at the present time. For a long period the Franco press tried to represent it as dead and the Franco police and army did their best to make it so. After that long period of genocide it comes as a bitter blow to them to find the hated libertarian movement rearing its head again. Every blow is now being struck against it: police frame-ups, armed attacks by the so-called fascist bands (in reality, off duty police) and political intervention.

The fascist bands have taken full advantage of the activities of GRAPO and ETA to organise themselves, and represent themselves as anti-terrorist, when in reality dozens are being killed by the 'right-wing' as well as the murders and rapes it is carrying out on ordinary people for every one policeman or politician who is attacked by nationalist groups. In the climate of the attacks made by the 'rightists', there is bound to be armed defence.

Every resistance to the 'rightists' is treated as 'terrorism' and people are arrested and held indefinitely. In an obvious juggling trick, Supres, the newspaper, and other media have for months been trumpeting news about the "smashing" of "terrorist" groups. But it has placed a great deal of importance on the union elections: the only way to keep the workers quiet (they think). The arrested people have been told frequently by the police "Get wise to yourselves, we have completely smashed the CNT as an organisation," "Even your general secretary, Jose Bondia, will be locked up the moment we feel like locking him up. We've more than enough evidence against him," and even, significantly, "But you're not the real CNT at all. The real CNT is the other one, the serious one, the ones who came out of the congress in Valencia".



This political intervention by the police is directly inspired by the Generalitat in Barcelona, the Catalan administration. They are not responsible for the schism in the CNT. But they are taking full advantage of it to try to dilute the CNT if it cannot be crushed.

The Schism

The "anti 5th congress" of the CNT met in July in Valencia. It had a larger number of syndicates than expected - 120 syndicates and 500 delegates claimed, plus 150 guests, with every regional confederation, but three (Extremadura, Galicia, which refuses to take sides in the split; and Rioja). But the CNT is hardly cloven in workplaces. Many of its members do not understand what the differences are. Many oppose - as we do - any influence of the "old gang" referred to variously as "the exiles", "Toulouse", sometimes "the FAI"; but actually, however one may criticise them for past actions, at present they are solidly for independence and action, whereas the bright young students who want to take over, with Catalanist, trotskyiste, Maoist or political catholic sympathies, using criticisms of the Civil War culled from Felix Morrow, are precisely the ones who are trying to sell the organisation out.

It has nothing to do with the split; but the "official" CNT has remained totally impervious to the infiltrators; whereas the rawer, 'renovated' CNT has let them in with vengeance. They are accepting participation in the union elections and so-called "collective bargaining" - and in return, whether this deal is open or not, are not getting the force of police repression. This is how the UGT was originally built up under Primo de Rivera: it got government recognition and was protected while its rival was persecuted. Thus the government is trying to smash the only union centre which stands for direct workers struggle, direct workers control, and keeps itself aloof from the State. It thinks it has all the winning cards now: repression plus infiltration, with the world approving. Under Franco it didn't.

Whether they will succeed or not is another matter. Meanwhile they have visible hostages in the form of people sentenced to 17 years; others lying in jail waiting until they are safely away so that they cannot give evidence. The Spanish government thinks it has lived down its Franco past sufficiently to be able to trade with the rest of the world, and enter the Common Market. It has got another think coming. We must make one more world protest against Spanish fascism, the heirs of Franco.

alberola

SUAREZ AFFAIR

Dear Comrades,

You will recall that for upwards of 5 years now, I have been kept in assigned residence by the French authorities, awaiting trial for my alleged complicity (and that charge was not preferred against me until over 3 years had passed from the time when we were released on bail) in the abduction of the Bank of Bilbao's Paris director, on 3rd May 1974. Said abduction was claimed by GARI...its aim was to press for the release of political prisoners in what was then Franco's Spain... Well, we have just been informed that we are to appear before the Cours d'Assises on January 19th, 1981.

You will appreciate that such short notice affords us little time in which to prepare our defence or to mount a campaign on our behalf since aside from the little time allowed us for these purposes, that time will be largely eaten up by the period of end of year festivities and holidays.

Even so, we must not let the opportunity pass to turn our trial into a platform from which to speak out against the complicity of all their forces of repression with the camouflaged fascism of yesterday and the neo-fascism of today. Spanish fascism is turning the European law enforcement area into an antechamber to the concentration camp world which authoritarian and totalitarian regimes of left and right persuasions have always dreamed of.

Our defence and the campaign on our behalf is based on the following points:

1. We, the ten persons (two Spaniards, one Scottish girl, five French girls, and two Frenchmen, plus another Frenchman who has since died) charged in connection with the 'Suarez affair', deny the charge of "complicity"...the sole basis for this charge are our beliefs and ideological persuasion and the placing of subjective constructions and implications upon quite normal everyday facts (all unconnected with the Suarez case) concerning people who were alive to the struggle of the Spanish people at a time when Franco was still at his murderous work.
2. Thus, in addition to dismissing these charges of "complicity" (which is the only thing the courts have been able to devise as a pretext for sending us for trial before the Cours d'Assises), I for my part, have from the outset denounced the complicity of the French police with their Spanish colleagues in the frame-up which the Francoist authorities have cooked up against me. As proof of this I cite the fact (noted in the prosecution brief) that the French police allowed the Francoist agent Inocencio Martinez to slip away quietly. It was Martinez who had prepared and supervised the execution of the frame-up for the purpose of compromising me in the kidnap of Suarez... having failed to do so successfully

italy

ANARCHY/AUTONOMY

Following the various blitz operations carried out by the anti-terrorist divisions of the carabinieri and the police, some of which succeeded and others fortunately failed, the situation of struggle in Italy has become more schematic in recent times.

One of the clamorous attempts that failed was the one against the comrades involved in the review *Anarchismo*, which began with the arrest of twenty-one comrades and finished with one sentence only (Massimo Gaspari), for possession of explosives. The others, as is known, have all been released and charges dropped due to complete lack of evidence against them. Only in the case of the comrade Alfredo Bonanno has the charge of propaganda against the State remained.

In the article published in No. 3 of your paper there appeared to be a certain amount of confusion concerning the Italian area of autonomy and the anarchist movement, which we shall try to help clarify in this intervention.

At the end of 1972 there was a profound change within the Italian revolutionary movement. The reaction against the provocation initiated by the secret services and the Ministry of the Interior and police forces with the Piazza Fontana massacre and the anarchist-hunt at the end of 1969 pushed many comrades towards an awareness of the problems of revolutionary organization.

In this period *Potere Operaio* (Worker Power) gave their maximum contribution to the struggles and to the elaboration of an insurrectional theory. Then, followed in this by various other formations of post '68 origins, they dissolved into the so-called movement, taking with them the contribution of their own experience and their own militants' actions of struggle.

earlier, despite numerous efforts to that end.

3. The most paradoxical and grotesque aspect of the case against us is that we are to be brought for trial for alleged "complicity" in a kidnap, the authors of which the French police and courts have not been able to determine... aside from granting that it was the work of GARI, since the kidnap was claimed on behalf of those initials. Which is to say that the authors of the kidnap have been neither arrested nor identified... yet we are to stand trial for our alleged "complicity" with these unknowns.

4. Another grotesque paradox. Ours will be the last Francoist trial, heard some five years after the death of the dictator, at a time when, inside Spain itself, all those anti-Francoists caught up in cases that arose whilst Franco still lived, have long since been amnestied. And the most grotesque, most paradoxical thing of all is the fact that our trial will be mounted by the French authorities who expressed themselves so pleased to see the advent to "democracy" in Spain.

5. To all of the above must be added the personalities of the accused in this "affair". We are all well known for our libertarian ideas and feelings of solidarity for all the world's oppressed. Add to that, we are all persons of good standing in our professions, etc.

6. Now the worst fuck-up of all is this threat hanging over my head (regardless of whether I be found guilty or innocent). For

the French authorities have only delayed my deportation for the duration of this trial. Which means that once the trial is over they will try - unless they can be forced to back down on this point - to proceed with my immediate deportation from French soil. And since there is nowhere else in Europe where I can go, I will be left with no option but to go back to Spain under circumstances which are such that the frontiers of Spain will mark the limits of my freedom of movement.

So, should you wish to be of assistance to us you must get to it without delay. To that end, I suggest you use the points outlined above as the basis on which to draft press releases and communiques concerning the imminence of the trial, the risks involved, etc. and request that protest telegrams be sent on our behalf, stressing our being anti-francoist militants caught up in a police frame-up devised by the French police and Franco's police at a time when Franco was still murdering those who were fighting on behalf of the freedom of the Spanish people.

Such telegrams or letters should be sent to the French President: M. Giscard d'Estaing, Palais de l'Elysee, 75008 Paris.

Also, if possible, send a copy of all such letters, etc. to:

Faustino Llosa, Cercel Garcia Lorca, 15 Rue Gracieuse, 75005 Paris, France.

Octavio Alberola

LETTERS

It is the period in which *Collettivo metropolitano* was formed in Milan, from which the first military formations of the *Brigate rosse* originate.

Revolutionary practice meanwhile (we are around the years 1976-1977, before the *Convegno di Bologna*, a meeting against repression where over 100,000 comrades were present) expanded with large mass demonstrations and bloody battles with the police.

At the Bologna meeting, where the revolutionary forces confronted each other with all their various differences, but where the last moment of a historic period of the class struggle in Italy was signed, the area of autonomy was present in two different currents:

- a) current of autonomy as a movement, represented by the theses of the comrades of Rome, supporting autonomy as the absence of whatever closed and centralized structure.
- b) current of autonomy as a party, represented by the theses of the comrades of Padova and Milan, who supported the formation of an "autonomy party" of a strictly leninist character.

Both of these currents can be defined as being of marxist-leninist observance, even though breaks with the orthodox tradition have become more evident, especially in recent times. Among these changes are: suspicion of the dialectical analysis, reconsideration of the *lumpenproletariat* as a revolutionary element, and re-evaluation of the function of the minority organization including the clandestine one.

Still at the Bologna meeting, the different forces of the anarchist movement were also present, in a more or less bilinear component: on the one side the various expressions of educationism, pacifism, pluralism, individualism, etc.; on the other side a numerically inferior but more competitive side, who insisted on a greater penetration in the reality of the struggles, territorial roots in the interventions made by comrades, and the organization of armed and clandestine struggle, revolutionary violence and insurrection.

CHRISTIE SPEECH

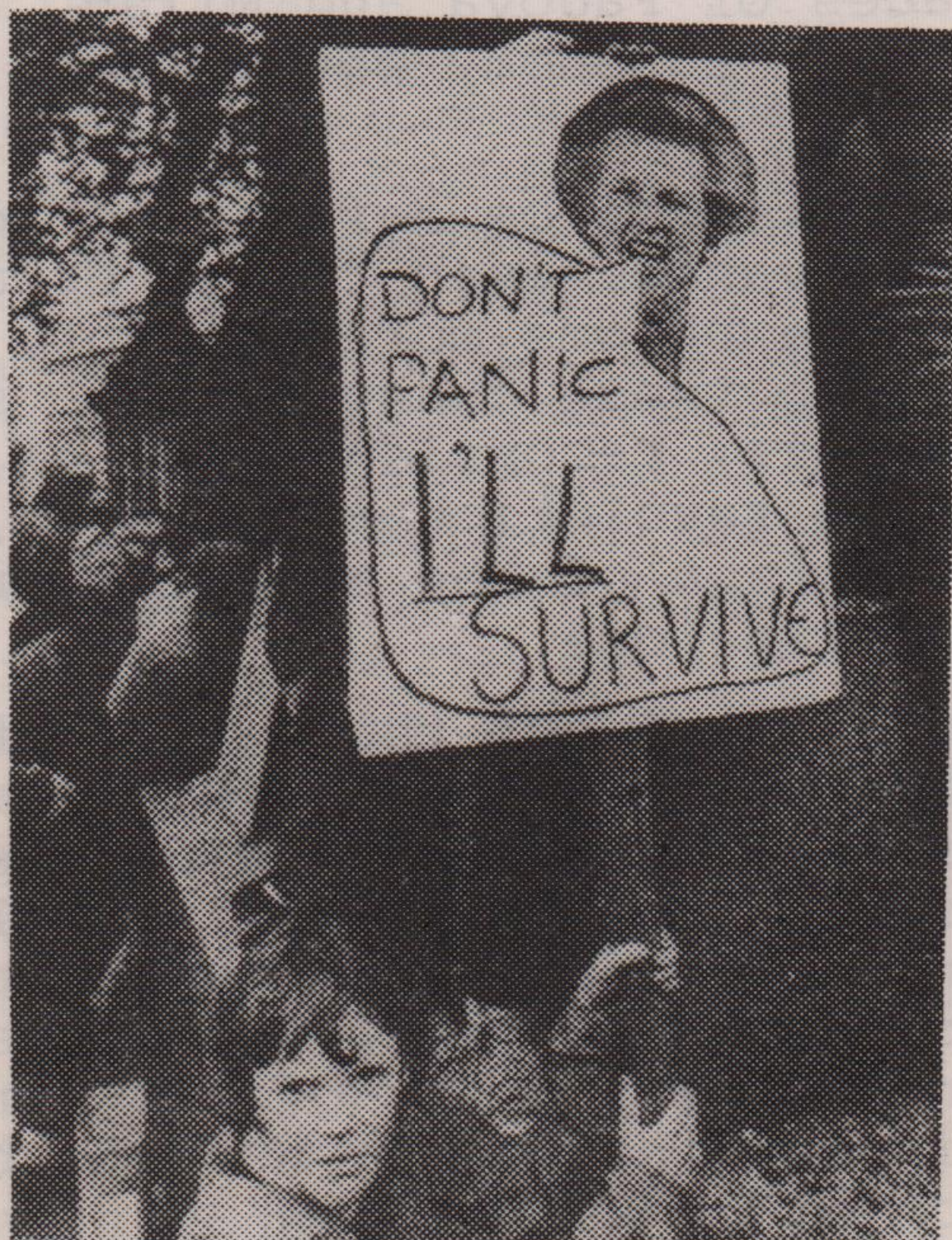
THIS IS THE TEXT OF THE SPEECH GIVEN BY STUART CHRISTIE ON TV, BUT WHICH WAS CUT TO ABOUT 30 SECONDS:

"The reason for publishing TOWARDS A CITIZENS MILITIA AT THIS TIME is because we believe there is an alternative to the threat of nuclear holocaust or world-wide genocide as a result of chemical and biological warfare, from both East and West, (perhaps in the event of Reagan being elected in the USA) and that alternative is one of a citizens defence force along the lines of the Yugoslav, Swiss and Israeli models. An organised and defended population would be a lot more difficult for an aggressor to subdue than a professional elite subject to all sorts of class, political, and personal interests - After all, it's now the 40th anniversary of De Gaulle's call to the people of Occupied France to disregard the Petain Government's surrender to the Nazis and continue the struggle against the invaders. Perhaps if the peoples of Europe had been organised in Democratic Citizens Militias the rise of Fascism, militarism and all the attendant horrors of war, genocide, torture, then the history of the 20th Century and the future for civilisation would have been a lot healthier. In fact, a good topical example is the Russian invasion of Afghanistan; if the Afghan people had been organised along the lines suggested in our manual, perhaps the aggression might never have taken place.

The other possible scenario, however unlikely or improbable it may sound is that a cabal of ultra-right wing politicians and Army officers seize power tomorrow at 4 o'clock in the morning. What could the ordinary man and women in the street do to prevent this happening, in an organised fashion - very little at first. It's all very well saying that this is a fantasy, but history is full of such examples and no doubt there'll be many more to come. Living, as we do, in a society rooted in obedience to Authority it is safe to assume that by mid-day there would be people clapping them in the streets....by three we'd have citizens loading other citizens - the so-called social security scroungers and non 'right minded' people in the first batch, probably - on to three ton lorries....on Grampian Tonight there would be a well-known politician oozing assurances that all was for the best and that it was our constitutional duty to accept the New Order. By 10.30 the following morning we'd have respected members of the Bench setting the seal of Legality on the Authority of the new regime and packing the Opposition, social layabouts and scroungers off to the Uranium mines up here in Orkney or to Hamden Park to await whatever their concept of Justice demanded. It happened in Chile and it can happen here. Both Governments share the same economic and (fortunately here to a minimal extent) political ideas.

I, as a publisher feel very strongly that it is my civil duty to defend those few democratic freedoms we have left and I feel that there are many more people who would feel the same if and when faced with tyranny and injustice.

This is a book primarily relating to the strategy tactics and organisation of irregular warfare for people with absolutely no military training or discipline. The diagrams are used to explain as graphically as possible to the lay person how to effect the information in the text. Military textbooks have the same - and a lot more detailed information, but as with most textbooks they are designed to be used in conjunction with classroom theory and highly trained instructors. To dwell on these illustrations at length is to miss the whole point of the book - that to defend ourselves against aggression we must be prepared to act on our own initiative and to not depend on others for our defence - a point Mr Francis Pym was making quite strongly the other day."



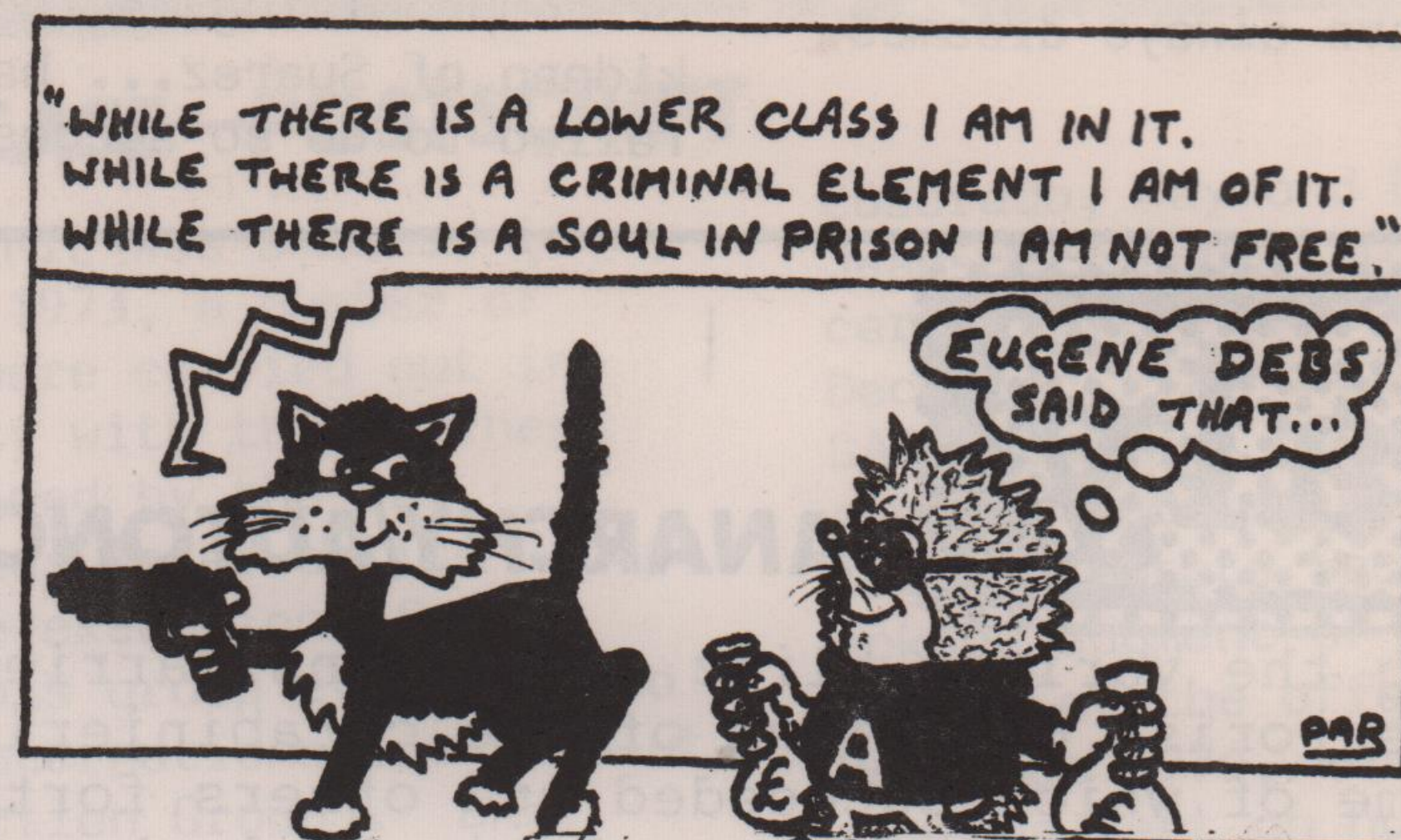
OBITUARY: UMBERTO TOMMASINI
(1896 - 1980)

Born into a working class socialist family in Trieste in 1896, Umberto Tommasini started work as a metal work apprentice at an early age. At the age of thirteen he took part in his first demonstration, a protest against the execution in Barcelona of the anarchist educator Francisco Ferrer. During the first world war, Tommasini was a POW in Mauthausen. Returning to Trieste in 1918, he joined the anarchist movement. He played an active part in the various struggles of the heated years that followed, especially in direct action against strike-breakers and the rising wave of fascist attacks. In 1925 he was involved in Gino Lucetti's abortive assassination attempt on Mussolini's life. In 1926 he was among the first anti-fascists consigned to internal exile on Italy's prison islands.

For six years he was a 'guest' on Ustica and Ponza. In 1932 he slipped across the border into exile in France where he was active in the exiles' anti-fascist struggle. When the Spanish revolution broke out, he went to Barcelona to serve with the CNT - FAI's Ascaso Column on the Aragon front. In 1937 he was arrested by the Stalinists during an attempted sabotage of Francoist shipping, but managed to escape from a CP prison in Valencia. Tommasini refused to submit to the militarisation of the militias as the communists insisted and returned to France. He was arrested there in 1940 and interned in the Vernet d'Ariege concentration camp,

whence he was extradited to Italy. From 1941 to 1943 he was one of the hundreds of anarchists in confinement on the island of Ventotene. After the war he returned to Trieste, where he joined with other anarchists who had been through the experience of exile and partisan activities, to found the Gruppo Criminal and its journal of the same name. Always to be found in the front line of anarchist activity, he was sentenced to the Allied military court in 1954 for anarchist propaganda.

In the wake of the libertarian outbursts of 1968, Tommasini was active and available for talks with interested young people; his group's numbers swelled, its premises re-opened and its activities redoubled. Tommasini was always among the most active of its members. At the age of 74, in 1970, he repulsed a fascist attack on the group's premises, chasing several of the attackers into the streets and seeing off several others. In 1972 he took over from another anarchist militant of long-standing, Alfonso Failla, as editor in chief of 'Umanita Nova' which led to fresh charges being brought and new sentences imposed upon him. In his eighties, he took part in anti-militarist marches and the FAI Congress as well as his group's local activities. Some time ago he retired to Vivaro (Pordenone) to convalesce. He died there on 15th August 1980; his funeral was attended by a hundred of his comrades, most of them young people. Flags and tributes were carried.



ANSWERS TO QUIZ (from page 2)

1. In the days when lashings were frequent, bo'suns frequently had qualms at putting the lash into the effigy of Christ, and making it bleed, but never into unadorned human flesh.
2. Cromwell's soldiers rebelled in the churchyard against further military service in Ireland which was blackening the name of the English Revolution.
3. His hobby was racing fast cars, which ultimately proved extremely useful, but he forgot in his hurry to take the Queen with him and she never forgave him.
4. Rudolf Rocker's portrait is in Whitechapel Public Library. He is described as a libertarian philosopher and organiser of immigrant labour.
5. Joshua Norton of San Francisco, (1819-1880) who claimed to be Emperor Norton 1 of the United States and Protector of Mexico, with at least as good a claim as Napoleon III, Emperor and 'Protector' of Mexico too, around the same time.
6. Cedillo's reply was "I want land, I want ammunition so that I can protect my land. I want ploughs and I want schools for my children and I want teachers and books and pencils and blackboards. And I don't want any church or saloon." He got the land and the blackboards, and the railway re-opened.

SPAIN: latest

SCALA—provocation

The paper 'CNT' (Madrid) in its September issue charges the police with complicity in the Scala nightclub arson, that cost the lives of four workers, and which the police themselves have been trying to pin on the CNT. The paper wishes to keep most of its evidence back, because of the imminent trial of CNT members on the Scala arson charges, but it points a finger at the arsonist himself - one Joaquin Gambin Hernandez, accused of being a police provocateur who infiltrated the CNT for the purpose of discrediting it.

Gambin, curiously, escaped the police dragnet that followed the fire and which saw dozens of CNT members arrested. Instead, he "miraculously" vanished. Only nine months later was he arrested by police in Elche in connection with a fraud and was sent to Alicante prison.

In February 1979, whilst being moved to Murcia Prison (and not yet having stood trial) and despite the fact that he was "wanted" in connection with the Scala outrage, he was freed without any papers being signed. The reason for his release was unknown even to the governor of Murcia prison who merely received orders from "high up" to release Gambin.

Gambin is described in a police report reproduced by 'CNT' as having been going by the alias of Manuel Garcia Gomez. Gambin was born 17th July 1929. He is described as a single man without fixed abode and without steady employment.

ERAT

Six alleged members of ERAT (the Workers, Revolutionary Support Army) were sentenced recently to a total of 150 years' imprisonment. They were alleged to have been involved in seven robberies. The sentences were as follows:

Manuel Cruz Cabaleiro: 4½ years in prison.

Jose Hernandez Tapias, Manuel Nogales Toro, Gabriel Botifill Gomez: 31 years 4 months each.

Agustin Garcia Coronado: 6 years 9 months 12 days.

Jose Ramon Sanchez Ramos: 4 years 9 months 12 days.

Although the offences involved no bloodshed, libertarians have received sentences in excess of ETA members found guilty of murder, sometimes being given sentences twice as long as ETA members have received.

Prisoners

The viciousness of the courts when dealing with libertarians can be seen from the following case:

On 27th February and 12th March 1979, Jose Orive, Ramon Marin and Francisco Mayo were arrested in Barcelona and Grenollers. Taken to police HQ in the Via Layetana

(Barcelona) they were subjected to the whole gamut of physical and mental tortures, the object being to extract signatures to ready made confessions.

Jose was incommunicado for twenty-one days; Ramon and Francisco for ten days. They were arrested under the anti terrorist laws and sent to the Model prison.

Subsequently Jose Sanchez was arrested whilst attending a clinic for treatment to a gunshot wound in the buttocks, received while leafleting near Moncada. He joined Ramon and Francisco in the Model Prison. Jose Orive was released on 40,000 pesetas bail after four months in prison.

Orive, Mayo and Marin are due in court soon. The prosecution has demanded stiff sentences for each on flimsy evidence and on a ragbag of charges.

Ramon Marin: 33 years 7 months 6 days

Francisco Mayo: 26 years 7 months 5 days

Jose Orive: 12 years 6 days

MANZANARES

On 24th July 1980, CNT member Jorge Rafael Benayas Manzanares was found hanging in a cell in Segovia Prison. His friends and fellow prisoners contend that he was suicided. They argue that he was driven to this by the pressures of prison and there are also signs that the suicide was not so straightforward as at first seemed. He had, just before his death, exposed a massive fraud in the Post Office Bank involving 1,000 million pesetas. Many people would have been reassured by his death. The coroner refused an autopsy on his body. An autopsy was held privately at his family instigation, on 28th August. A number of questions surround Benayas's death.

1. Why did the coroner refuse an autopsy?
2. Why did the coroner's report say death by strangulation when an autopsy found no supporting evidence?
3. If the deceased died by hanging, why was his skull bashed in?
4. Why did he have marks on the collar bone and not around the neck?
5. Why would he have taken his life just when he had been promised a week-long parole?
6. If he intended suicide why had he arranged to borrow 4,000 pesetas from the bursar that morning?
7. Why did warders speak of nail-marks on the walls when Benayas's nails were short, as warders themselves confirmed.
8. How could he have hung himself from the bars when his feet would still have been touching the ground?
9. What lay behind the harassment the isolation and solitary confinement to which the judge condemned him?

One possible answer to the last point: one of the people alleged to have perpetrated the

fraud, exposed by Benayas, was ascertain Pedro Marugan Gomez and the judge, Gomez Pantoja, was once legal advisor to a firm owned by Marugan's brother. With Benayas gone, no one could prove that Benaya's signature on a phoney withdrawal slip had been forged by Marugan and his accomplices.

MURDER

Sixteen year old Belen Maria Sanchez, daughter of a striking

Barcelona docker was killed when a car, an Alfa Romeo, ploughed into the picket line of which she was a part on 24th July this year. She was dragged for one hundred yards and died in hospital next day. Other picketers, women and children among them, were also injured. The driver had exchanged some words with police in the docks then accelerated straight into the pickets.

..H BLOCKS *cont.*

prison, rather than on the State socialist principle applied here. Surely the present government, with its monetarist principles handed down by Milton Friedman, must agree with this?

The right to free association does not upset prison discipline a bit; and visits, letters, parcels and proper remission are a feature of most prison services. Perhaps there might be some doubt as to whether organising "their own" recreational facilities would mean allowing authoritarian bodies to drill their own armies within prison. But on the whole these principles, for which the H-Block men were prepared to die, can easily be conceded by the government to all prisoners not just those suffering from the power politics of Northern Ireland.

Fighting

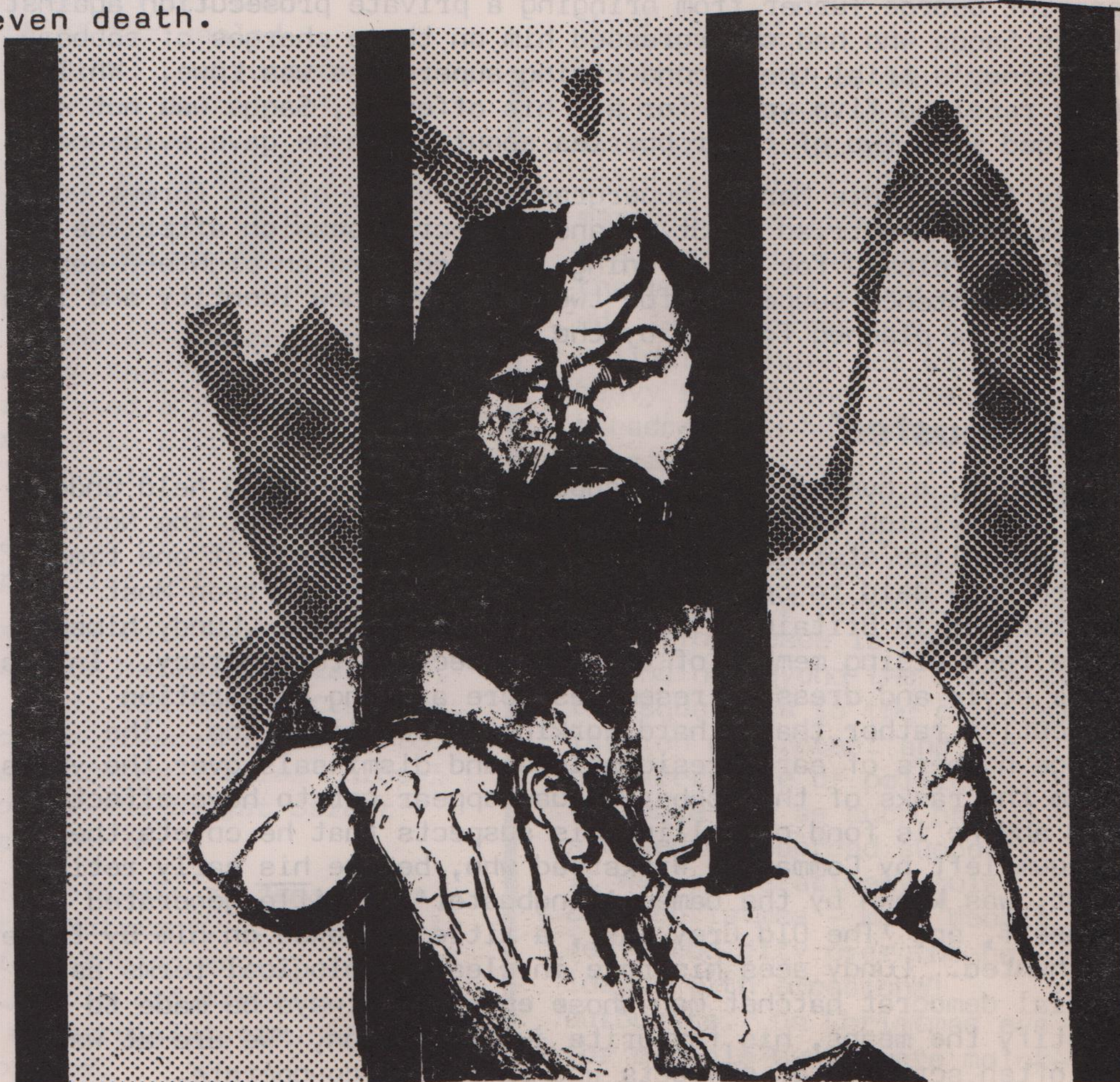
People who have died in terrible circumstances in prisons throughout the years, have always fought for improved conditions, even in the most dreadful prisons. Few have voluntarily accepted worse conditions in defence of a principle as the H-Block men. They had a modern prison; they chose to go "on the blanket", living naked, unwashed and untended in their own filth in order to gain recognition that they are precisely what they are.

Loyalists

The Protestant Loyalist prisoners made a spontaneous decision to go on strike too, but were held back only by political considerations imposed upon the prisoners - thus showing that the differences are external.

Solutions?

Nothing will ever be solved in Northern Ireland while it is plagued by racialistic memories, nationalistic aims and mediaeval religious slogans, with differences between people that are no longer taken seriously in any other part of the world, including Ireland. But how it is to break away from these associations except with a new generation is another matter. There is just an outside possibility that such a generation might come out of the struggle against conditions of imprisonment, which evoke the choosing of even worse conditions and even death.



DON'T REGISTER

Many Black trade unions in South Africa have taken ever-increasingly radical stands, not only in resisting apartheid and economic oppression, but in the nature of their organisation. This is why the South African Government required unions to register under the labour laws (similar to those of Spain) where nevertheless many have declined to register as unions.

Legal non-recognition of a union does not mean it does not exist, as many employers are finding to their cost. It merely means that the union is not subject to government pressure and control on its internal policies - though it is of course subject to external repression.

At Chloride Holdings, the South African subsidiary of the British battery manufacturers,

reported the Financial Times, faced in East London (South Africa) "unprecedented black labour unrest", and the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) had majority support among its five hundred strong workforce. But it refused to register. Despite a move by the Minister of Manpower, Mr. S.P. Botha, to urge employers to refuse recognition to unregistered unions, it was felt, as a company representative said, it is more important (for them) that a union represent the workers than that it is officially registered. The Government argued that it cannot permit two industrial relations systems, one registered and the other unregistered; i.e. one legal and subservient, the other illegal, semi-legal or unrecognised yet militant. The Spanish Government feels

the same about the CNT.

Faced with the fact that one union contains the majority of workers, and that their skills do not permit them being replaced, the company's interests clash with the Government; and they are prepared to negotiate with the union the Government wants to crush. (This exactly reproduces the dilemma of Spanish capitalism in the old monarchy and under the republic).

Most of the multi-nationals have agreed to recognise the other unrecognised black unions, "but they have all applied for registration under the new laws which permit black as well as white Unions". In the case of Chloride Holdings and its black workers, the union is determined not to be registered. It stands for independent unions.

On Thursday evening, the 1st January, in West Berlin, there were demonstrations outside two prisons presumably demanding the release of those previously arrested. Bricks and burning debris were thrown at police.

Money is needed urgently to help those arrested and the address is:

Account No.: Sparkasse
Berlin West, Angelika Grau,

Account name: Ermittlung-
eausschub, Kto.no.067 014 8733



supergrass CONTINUED

bolster testimony with two types of corroborative evidence, both recently under question, that of identification and verbal admissions.

Verbals

In March 1978, George Ince, at that time serving fifteen years for the 1972 Mountnessing Silver Bullion robbery, was charged at Highgate with a robbery which took place seven years earlier. The charge was eventually dropped when it became evident that identification parades held so long after the robbery would not carry weight with a jury. Ince though was fortunate, others have been picked out on parades for offences which took place around the same time. The Robbery Squad's use of 'verbals' as a means of corroboration has frequently led to complex attacks on police veracity by defence barristers, who have claimed on behalf of their clients that whole interviews have been fabricated. Through-out the supergrass era, verbals have steadily entrenched themselves, and for the police they constitute a singularly successful way around the refusal of the legislature to abolish the right to silence. If a man in custody refuses to confess and make a statement, the police on their own initiative simply write long scripts which include confessional material.

In March 1978, the Director of Public Prosecutions met head on the first attempt by a convicted man to seek legal redress against a supergrass. Thomas Hetherington, now Sir Thomas, stepped in to prevent George Turner from bringing a private prosecution against Colin Saggs who had supergrassed him on three charges of robbery. At Turner's trial the second string supergrass was Lowe. While Lowe received five years for all his offences, Saggs was not even charged with two of the robberies about which he gave evidence.

In July 1978, Eddie Martin supergrassed seventy of his former work-mates, and was tried at St.Albans in secret session after the court had closed for the evening. He received an eighteen month prison sentence suspended for two years. A new identity and life style were planned for him by the police.

'Gangbuster'

By mid 1979, a number of major supergrasses were being held under the supervision of Detective Inspector Tony Lundy at the North London police stations of Finchley and Whetstone; at one time, there were said to be as many as fifteen ("The Fifteen Most Wanted Men in Britain", 'Daily Mail', July 26th). Lundy himself is a fast rising member of the new detective technocracy. In his life style and dress he resembles more a young corporation executive rather than a hard working Metropolitan cop. The large numbers of early resignations and dismissals over the years from the ranks of the Robbery Squad appear not to have affected him and he is fond of telling his suspects that he covets the vacuum left by Commander Wickstead who, before his early retirement, was known by the names 'Gangbuster', a title generated himself, and 'The Old Grey Fox', a title bestowed on him by those he hunted. Lundy sees his role in clear ideological terms as a social democrat hatchet man whose ends can always be made to justify the means, his favourite justification, "We are at war", is often screamed at suspects who refuse to co-operate.

The most important of the supergrasses held at Finchley and Whetstone in 1979 broke all previous records for intrigue. It was this group who, more than any other in the period since Smalls, threw the criminal world into a state of confusion. The use of these particular men and the deals which were struck left London's criminal milieu reeling with a sense of outrage. But for the first time since the Thief Takers of the 18th century, the normally well regulated criminal world was brought face to face with the moral duality of the State in a period of crisis.

The names of the key men held by Lundy in 1979 were William Amies, Segars, Dowling, Keith Warne, David Smith and George Williams. The struggle which ensued between Lundy, his stable of supergrasses and those who gave evidence against was a sorry spectacle. Not only did the criminal fraternity fail to resort to the much publicised mafioso techniques accredited to them in the popular press, but they were decimated by a series of below the belt legal moves which turned any concept of justice on its head.

By their reliance upon legal argument, most defendants showed that they were unable to grasp the fact that in the hands of the State, the law is a mercurial weapon which can be changed and morally redetermined at any convenient time. Of course, many defendants knew the truth about not only their own wrongdoings but those of the supergrasses as well. They felt, as many had before them, that the exposure of these truths would end, the corruption and deceit which was beginning to be the watchword for police-supergrass relations.

Despite the fact that the police claim most professional criminals are motivated to inform by high sentences and a natural ambivalence to the morality of robbery, it seems more probable, at least as far as the last batch are concerned, that for every supergrass there is a crime of such magnitude that their release from it represents the *raison d'etre* for their confessional statements. Even Smalls had to fight hard to refute claims by those whom he accused, that he had taken part in a robbery at Cornhill in 1970 when a security guard was shot and killed. Natural psychological weakness and a lack of commitment to the relatively small and unsupporting criminal milieu afloat in a sea of alternative ethical values no doubt plays some part in a psychological collapse into supergrass consciousness. But regularly one can see the fear of being indicted on exceptionally serious matters at the fore in their decision making. In many cases it is this motivating crime or crimes, together with the promise of maximum immunity which provides the material for deals struck between the police and the criminal.

What is disturbing is the serious nature of immunity gaining offences and the resultant lowering in police and prosecution standards, which have superceded the straightforward bargains previously struck. In the final analysis one has to ask questions about the victims of such crimes; do for instance, the widows and children of men killed by supergrasses who receive five year sentences, agree with Merlyn Rees that, "It is right to make use of every available legitimate means to fight crime". "Legitimate means", is anyway a concept continually stretched and tested by the police, and in the war against crime, the dialectics of legitimacy take them far beyond the law as most ordinary people understand it.

ALTERNATIVES TO SUICIDE cont.

Who should take up arms?

Finally, it should be recognised that the basic right of self-defence is implicit in a democracy: this was recognised in America from the beginning to distinguish itself from the monarchical principle that only the privileged could bear arms. However, in most modern capitalistic states, and in all feudal states up to the present, there is an acceptance of the monarchical principle caused by an understandable fear that if the people have arms, they will not tolerate the government.

The left finds itself confuted with its own logic on Israel, when it tries to say it is a fascist state: it is basically a democratic state which can allow its citizens to have free access to arms and to take the arms for a conscript army home with them. Fascism, as in fascist Spain, is frightened to let even conscript soldiers learn too much and relies on an "old guard", select-SS, Praetorian guard or the like. Of course, saying that a country is democratic is not to say that it lacks aggression against others, or is a free society, least of all that it lacks police

repression: all these things exist in Israel as in other democracies. What distinguishes a democracy from a dictatorship so much is not freedom - that is only achieved by a libertarian society - but voluntary acquiescence. Fascist countries cannot allow people to take arms home with them. South Africa can allow it to its white population only; like Israel its democracy is one-sided. Britain retains the monarchical principle against the bearing of arms but at a pinch, in 1940, could allow home defence if it came to it. (Of course it never did).

Does Revolution need arms?

Social Revolutionary change is to do with a change in the industrial relationships: it means an alternation in the way the property system works, and an anarchist revolution means an abandonment of the idea of enshrined property rights. Industrial relationships can only be altered by people who are concerned with them. It is a matter of occupying the places of work, of changes in the way society is run, of an alteration in the way power is directed from above so that it is levelled and control comes from below. Libertarian social revolutionary change means a widening of conceptions so that such attitudes

spread to all social relationships and prevent authoritarian tendencies developing in the way people relate to one another.

This has nothing to do with taking up the gun and nothing to do with sabotage or "violence", notwithstanding the media-induced image. Such resistance is needed not in order that a libertarian social revolution would take place, but to prevent authoritarians from outside (or inside) the country, from destroying the revolution or taking it over.

As conventional war means mass murder, let the discussion on Citizens' Militias continue!

A.M.

POSTSCRIPT

As a postscript to the saga of 'Towards a Citizens' Militia' (now in its second edition), we had a report from a comrade travelling the bookshops in Scotland and getting a somewhat frosty reception. In the Hope Street, Glasgow, bookshop of the Workers Revolutionary Party he was told flatly that they didn't want to have anything to do with Cienfuegos titles because "the police were out to get Cienfuegos and if I didn't realise that I was a fool" and that "stocking the titles would establish a pretext for a raid on the bookshop".

This attitude to threats is reminiscent of that adopted by some minority ethnic groups who in doing so yield their enemies a position of power which they have not yet legally acquired. All that has happened with Cienfuegos press titles is that certain reactionary MPs have demanded that this book be banned and the press closed down. Immediately a civil liberties lawyer (an NCCL official) advised PDC to stop distributing the book! Yet these are the people they call on us to oppose. However, when the same book was advertised - with quotations from these self-same MPs - numerous orders were received, from all over the country and elsewhere, from shop stewards and others, all saying to the same effect: "If these people are against it, I'm for it". Yet the so-called "vanguard parties" are afraid to cater for their demand - an obvious lesson. It may be mentioned that as regards "closing down" the press or banning it, notwithstanding the media, no legal machinery for this exists. A publisher can - rightly or wrongly, successfully or unsuccessfully - be prosecuted for publishing a book. The penalties do not include "closing down" the press. The people who are calling for this are too stupid to know their own stupid business.



..letters contd.

But both these tendencies shared suspicions towards all the more or less marxist thesis, and also agreed in the rejection of any ideological identification with the area of autonomy. For both these tendencies in the anarchist movement the theory and practice of struggle continue to be those of the libertarian tradition.

The fact that on the operational level of the struggle anarchists and autonomists may sometimes have acted together should not necessarily lead one to believe that the substantial differences that divide these two parts of the Italian revolutionary movement have been overcome. Each has contributed within the limits of their own operative possibilities, remaining independent as organizational structures and, more obviously, as theoretical heritages.

We consider that this clarification is sufficient to show more clearly the relationship existing today between anarchists and the area of autonomy in Italy.

A final clarification seems necessary to us. In the article published by Black Flag on the blitz against *Anarchismo* reference was made to Alfredo Bonanno's book *La Gioia Armata*, translating the title as *The Joy of Arms*. We think that this translation of the title is not only literally mistaken, but could also create a mistaken impression and distract the interest of comrades from a book which is far from being a hymn to violence but is a thoroughly examined critical inquiry into the problem of armed struggle. The correct translation which we are bringing to comrades' notice is therefore *Armed Joy*.

Some comrades of 'Anarchismo'

Dear Black Flag,

When converting myself to Buddhism years ago I kept coming across mention of the Great Illusion. Eventually I tracked down its meaning; intellectual speculation without action; the misconception that Truth will appear before one's armchair after a long period of nattering her out.

Isn't this just Horst Mahler's Great Illusion? Let him reflect further on the mediaeval Chinese philosopher's words, Wang Yang Ming.

"Thought alone does not lead to knowledge. Action invariably does. But as Acting is harder than Thinking we must do the most difficult first!" Act-Think is correct; Think-Act is not.

Let him reflect also on this piece of knowledge from an academic logician like myself who spent years unearthing it. Since thought and action are logically distinct it follows that no act can be supported one hundred percent by reason; acting always involves a leap in the dark no

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who spent years unearthing it. Since thought and action are logically distinct it follows that no act can be supported one hundred percent by reason; acting always involves a leap in the dark no matter how prolonged the thinking before it. So it is a logical fact that war-war changes things like States, and not jaw-jaw, which is the Great Illusion that words will melt melt tanks and deflect bullets.

L.H. (Fire Horse Associates)
Dyfed

P.S. Lest it be thought that Buddhism ill fits an activist anarchist - the Gurkhas were Buddhists!



NEWS IN BRIEF

Ronald Street, who lived in Banstead, Surrey, was a right wing nutcase. He was formerly in the SAS. He boasted to friends that he was a "mercenary". It is not hard to trace his political convictions through his fantasies, especially when we learn that "He used to get the kids around here to line up against the wall, and then he'd frisk them . . . when some coloured people moved in opposite he did a war dance in the street . . . an old man parked his car in the wrong place . . . Street marched out of the house and just smashed him in the face."

In his house he kept, like many others on the right wing rearguard (which may yet become its advance guard), a "small armoury" including Sten guns, automatic rifles, hand grenades, a sawn off shotgun, gunpowder, plastique, detonators, hundreds of rounds of ammo . . . "But police said they did not think Mr. Street was a terrorist". (Evening News, September 26).

The police spokesman admitted that "he had enough guns and explosives to start a small war but we don't know what he intended to do with them"; and when he came to their attention as having no licence for his gun, "several" — note that word — of his weapons were confiscated.

Following a domestic dispute when he threatened a woman, police went to his house and he shot himself. Exit Mr. Street. But how many more of his kind are there?

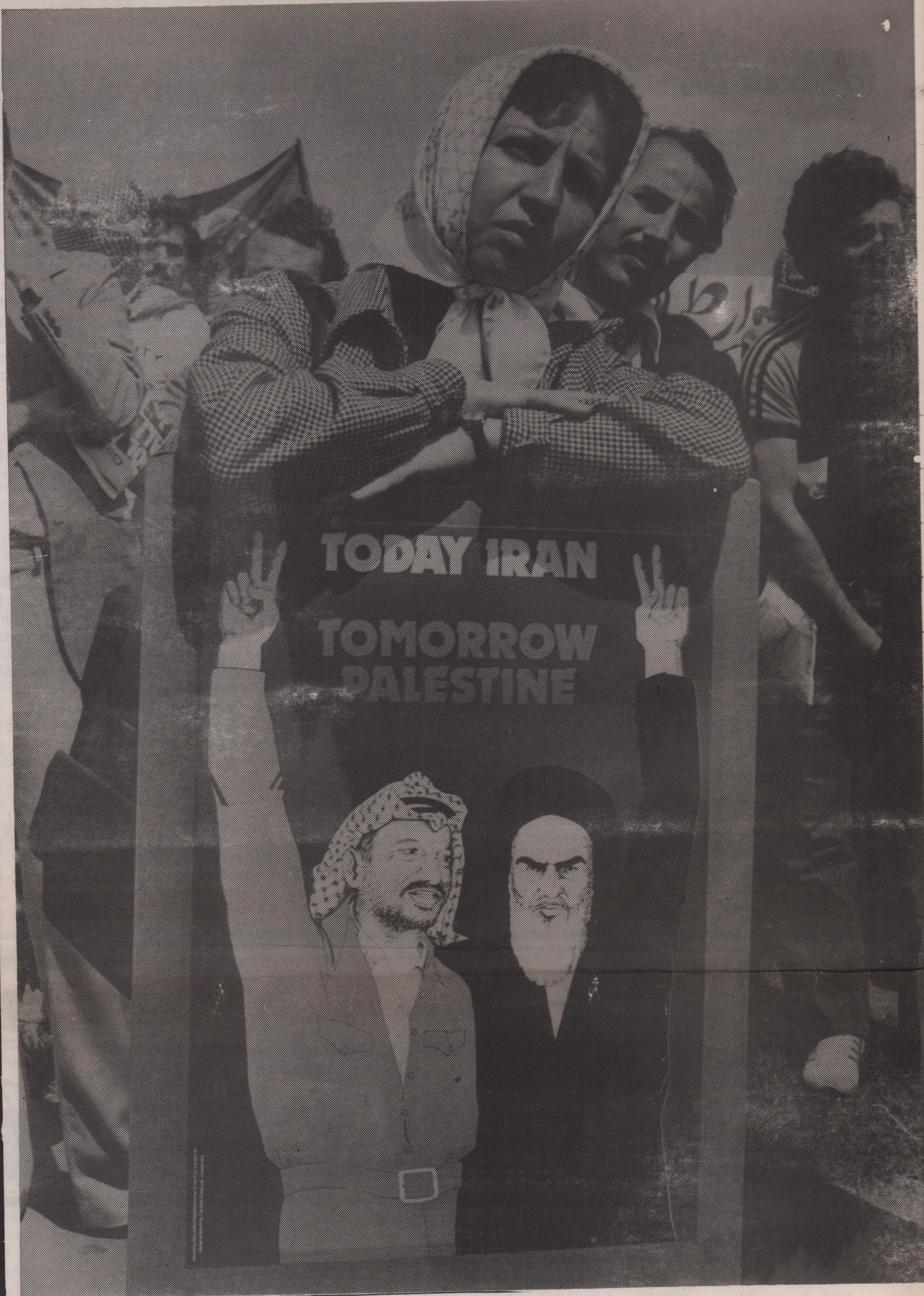
Mr. Street, being such a loyal good citizen, obviously wanted to save the country the expense of a trial.

Leyland — Management Gets the Message?

Leyland workers at Longbridge, Birmingham, smashed their way through the plant in November, damaging cars and breaking windows. This occurred when five hundred men were laid off because of a dispute over the new Metro car. It is good to see a revival of the old IWW spirit of direct action.

As working conditions get worse and unemployment increases we should encourage a bit less talk and more of "hitting them where it hurts".

A week-long anarchist congress in Oslo was arranged by ANORG — visited by 400 to 500 people including Danish and German anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. Among participants were a smaller syndicalist group of Norway (NSF, with thirty members) and also groups into the 'alternative culture' movement. The main anarchist paper is Folkebladet (The People's Journal). This autumn a new activist anarchist group with monthly action-campaigns has emerged. The ANORG has collectively joined the Anarchist Black Cross. There are many comrades who have been imprisoned for refusing to pay the male blood tax (military service); others consider it a useful way to gain knowledge of arms. Kjell Vesje is one comrade who has refused to pay the tax: letters to him can be sent to the Svarte Kors (Black Cross, Norwegian Division), Hoxtedtv. 31b, N 1430 As, Norway.



DEMONSTRATION, HYDE PARK, LONDON (Photo... Carlos Auguste (I.F.L.).

Hanging in the Republic

Three men — Peter Pringle, Colm O'Shea and Patrick McCann — were sentenced to be hanged in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, by the Special Criminal Court. The Court has no jury — it is presided over by three judges. The judges found the men guilty of murdering a policeman last July when police intercepted a gang who had raided a bank in County Roscommon. They were also convicted of armed robbery. The three men pleaded not guilty to murder and armed robbery.

Three policemen have been murdered in the Republic this year compared with four in the previous ten years.

The vigorous campaigning that was conducted for Noel and Marie Murray helped save them from the death penalty, but in this case the men's fate may lie with the Prime Minister, Charles Haughey, who is believed to be against hanging. Now is his chance to prove it.



A BELGIAN ANARCHIST CONFERENCE is to be held in GHENT on 21st-22nd February.