### Review Film

**REVIEW LETTER TO BREZHNEV** Director: Chris Bernard, 1985. As you all know by now, an excellently acted, low-budget British film about two young Kirkby women who meet a couple of Russian sailors on a night out in Liverpool. Unemployed Elaine (Alexandra Pigg) and Peter (Peter Firth) spend the night up talking in a hotel room and 'fall in love', while Teresa (Margi Clarke), who spends her working life in a factory with her hand 'stuck up chicken's arses all day' romps in the next room with Sergei (Alfred Molina). The following day the ship sails and the rest of the story concerns Elaine's efforts to get to Russia in order to marry Peter which is where the title, Letter to Brezhnev comes in.

There are two main themes in the film: one is 'personal', concerning love and friendship, the other political and concerned with exposing some of the Western myths about Russia. While it is the former that keeps the plot moving and is intended to hold our interest, it is on the political level that the film really succeeeds. There is a brilliantly ironic scene in a Chinese take-away where a bored and miserable couple try to pick a fight with the Russians who, to avoid a fight, make a quick exit, to be followed down the road by cries of 'Fucking Communist aggressors!'

In fact there are several very good supporting and cameo roles in the film, where characters like Elaine's sister, her 'friend' Tracy, and a slimy reporter are made the mouthpieces for all the usual uninformed cliches about Russia and the Russians – cliches which are cleverly and systematically knocked down, usually by reference to what is going on in Britain. The film doesn't say that there is no truth in these cliches about Russia, but that they are at least as true, if not more true, about Britain. The film doesn't say that

For instance, on the question of the supposed food s'iortages in Russia, the film does not assert or offer any evidence that there are no food shortages; instead, Elaine says, glancing around a run-down area of Kirkby, that 'there are plenty of food shortages in kitchens round here' and there is a reference to the miners' strike in the form of Coal not Dole posters on a wall in the background.

The film does not in fact examine Russian society at all, it has more to do with exposing the boredom and poverty of working class life in Britain, both unemployment and employment. This means that there is a certain ambiguity in the film in the sense that although on the level of what is explicitly stated the minimal

claim of the film is simply that Russia can't be any worse than Kirkby (at least as far as Elaine is concerned), on the other hand, Elaine's trip to Russia is unequivocally portrayed as exciting and right for her, the start of a new life of hope and so on. By the time we're half-way through the film we very much want to go to Russia, we see it as the best thing for her, and we admire her for taking such a bold step. Elaine's friend Teresa calls her the 'lucky' one and is herself portrayed as the loser left behind. Of course, we never know what happens to Elaine when she gets to Russia so there is no way of resolving this tension in the film.

One other quibble about the politics: though as I have said, the film is not really about Russia, except very indirectly, it could be argued that it is too soft on Russian style communism. When Elaine asks Peter about the 'food shortages', in Russia, his reply is that there are no food shortages, only (sometimes) 'cretins' in charge of administration. The film does not challenge this statement at all, although it could have done so without necessarily implying that there are food shortages in Russia. In short, it could have raised the issues of class and power-relations in Russia, but it didn't.

The two central characters, Elaine and Teresa, and the friendship between them are treated with humour, sympathy and respect so that they both come across as strong and very human characters with a genuine and important bond between them, despite their differences. 'Romantic' love, however, fares less well. Letter to Brezhnev has as its centre a highly conventional notion of love and no attempt is made to question precisely what it means to 'fall in love' overnight. What does it mean in the context of Elaine's life, her boredom and alienation, her desire for a better life? We wait in vain for answers to this question; clearly we are just meant to accept that Elaine has 'fallen in love' and that's that. Thus a film which is so successful at debunking certain kinds of myths is, in the final analysis, itself built around a myth.

Having said this, I must admit that I thoroughly enjoyed the film and went to see it twice! If you can ignore the slushy centre, Letter to Brezhnev can be seen as a timely corrective to all the crap that is written and spoken about Russia, for as Elaine shrewdly observes, 'Communists aren't exactly flavour of the month, are they?'

> Tracy Walker Canterbury DAM

### **Bits and Pieces**

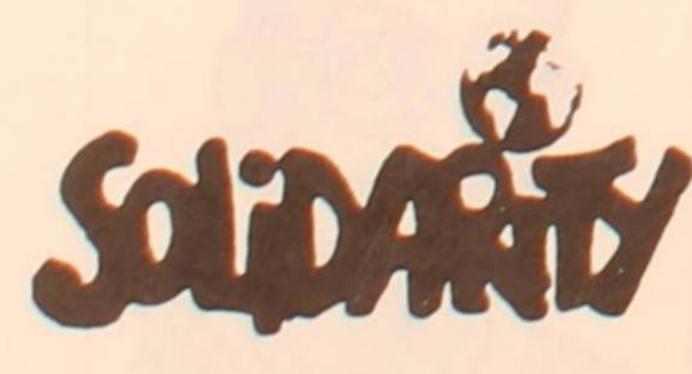
### POETRY REVIEW

The Battlefield by Milton Smalling ISBN 0 95086 10. This is Milton Smalling's third poetry book. The forty four poems cover subjects and countries of interest to rebel workers everywhere. Those that stand out for me are The Sixties Brigade (Some of them are back with their own class - now -); No God on the Road to Justice (praying will not change the world), The Noble Animal Hunter (They only understand profit and chemicals - The land does not belong to them); The Rich Barbarians (Trust them at your peril) and Class Prisoners (But we will fight to the end). Milton Smalling, born in Jamaica, has like the better known Linton Kwesi Johnson and Benjamin Zephaniah also taken to recording his poems, and become well received in Europe, Africa, the USA and Caribbean. Unfortunately judged on this volume – he seems to be unaware of the struggle for women's and gay liberation. Still unlike the pretentious or passive poetry that usually puts me off 'Poets', Milton Smalling comes across as angry with social injustice. Published in 1986 by First Class Publications, P.O. Box 85, London W9 2BU England'

### SYNDICALISTS ORGANISE IN AUSTRALIA.

An Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation (ASF) with provisional aims and principles has been formed in Australia after class struggle Anarchists and Syndicalists held a founding conference in Sydney, Australia at the end of January.

Enquiries can be sent to: ASF clo PO BOX 92, Broadway, 2007, Sydney Australia.



## FEEDBACK

### **Publications Received** -

ESLABON (Dec. 1985). This is the first issue of a magazine published by inmates at Segovia prison and should be of interest to all those involved in the struggle to abolish prisons. The issue contains an interview with the prison governor, a short history of Segovia, poems and local jail news. Copies can be obtained for a donation from:

Alvaro Alavaro del Rio c!o Apartado de correos 113, 40080 Segovia, SPAIN.

MAGAZINE LIBERTAIRE (no. 8). This issue of the quarterly magazine published by the French Anarchist Federation, who also publish the weekly Le Monde Libertaire newspaper. Each issue of this magazine is on a specific theme and issue 8 concentrates on the French Far-Right. Price is 20 Francs. Available from: 145 rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, FRANCE.

COME AND WET THIS TRUNCHEON The role of the Police in the Coal Strike of 1984/85 by David John Douglass, NUM Branch Delegate, Hatfield Main Branch Doncaster. 40 pages 80p. This pamphlet is excellent to give to anyone who still thinks the police are neutral or can be 'accountable'. Following the miners strike, Stonehenge peace convoy was attacked by riot police; a 5 year old child in Birmingham was shot dead; Cherry Groce was shot and crippled in Brixton; Cynthia Jarret scare to death in Tottenham. The grim list continues. This pamphlet is free to prisoners on request. Available from South London DAM-IWA, 121 Railton Road, Herne Hill SE24 and from better bookshops and street sellers.

### THE SYNDICALIST

No. 2 20p Anarcho-syndicalist paper produced by Tyneside Revolutionary Syndicalists. Contents include: contracts dispute, miners; Morris lock out; Fibrmat strike; Health Service; Housing; Silent Night Update; Dunnes Disputes; Education Action Law Centres and Where We Stand. Available from DOH 62 Thornton Street,

Newcastle Upon Tyne. **RANK AND FILE MINER** 25p

Paper of the National Rank and File Miners Movement. Good to see another issue of this interesting and lively paper. Articles on the current miners wage claim; the situation of the miners support groups; current trands in Tilmanstone, Kent, Warwickshire; there are letters, reviews and more plus an update list of jailed miners, to appear in the next issue of Black Flag. The Nat. R+FM offer speakers to address branches and support groups to spread the campaign to stand by the victimised miners. To get the paper and contact speakers write to: A. Robe, 74 The Crescent, Donscroft, Doncaster, South Yorkshire' Tel/(0302) 844 446. Letters & contributions to D. Moore, P.O. Box 3, Earl Shilton, Leicestershire

### **RED & BLACK An Anarchist Journal.**

The latest issue of this journal to reach us includes articles on the Failure of State Communism by Rudolph Rocker; An Anarchist Critique of Trotsky & Trotskyism by G. Hill, and The Indians by Ruben Prieto.

\$2 Australian. Make all cheques to: J Grancharoff, PO Box 115, Enmore, NSW, 2042





The essence of fascism is not its racial intolerance nor its suppression of liberty nor its violence. It is the smashing of working class organisation and of trade unionism incidentally. It gains popular support by demagogic appeals either nationalist or racialist; it suppresses liberty because its policies are too unsound to bear criticism and it is liable to evoke major dissension; it uses violence to gain and keep power, usually by singling out an unpopular minority (or a minority made unpopular by singling out) and then another, and another, until it gets the reputation for being invincible. But it aids half the class struggle in the first place by smashing trade capitalism with a homoeopathic dose of state communism. When fascism gets above itself, it develops into Nazism – the leadership of the state turns against the capitalists who built it up, financed it and gave it power and go their own crazy way.

by the capitalist class because the allegedly democratic parties are using its methods. The scapegoats of media populism have been the trade unions; trade unionists have been divorced in the public mind from the mass of ordinary workers and even those who in the course of work belong to unions have this image of greedy, lazy, overpaid workers trying to grab as much as possible. They are and one union after another has been tackled. The transport workers – whose strikes are unpopular because of the public inconvenience - having long since been dealt with. The teachers - once a proud profession - are reduced proportionately to salaries they once paid their domestics. The catering workers long since ceased to have any actionable legal rights at all, never mind any trade unionism. The miners were defeated. Now the strongest union of all, the printers, finds itself outlawed with its assets stolen by the State, and has woken up to find that all legal rights for workers are in suspension

What is the use of 'legal rights' for pensions and redundancy if any crooked employer can get round it as is being done now? It was a shrewd move of the Government to ban 'secondary action' you can't picket or boycott someone in

### LATE NEWS – PRINT DISPUTE

Bundles of News International papers were destroyed with oil being poured over them at Newsagents in Ealing, West London.

The TNT distribution centre in Cannoch, Staffordshire was successfully blockaded by three hundred printworkers and miners causing TNT to set up facilities elsewhere. Workers in the newsprint supply industry in Finland and Scandanavia have refused to export newsprint to Wapping.

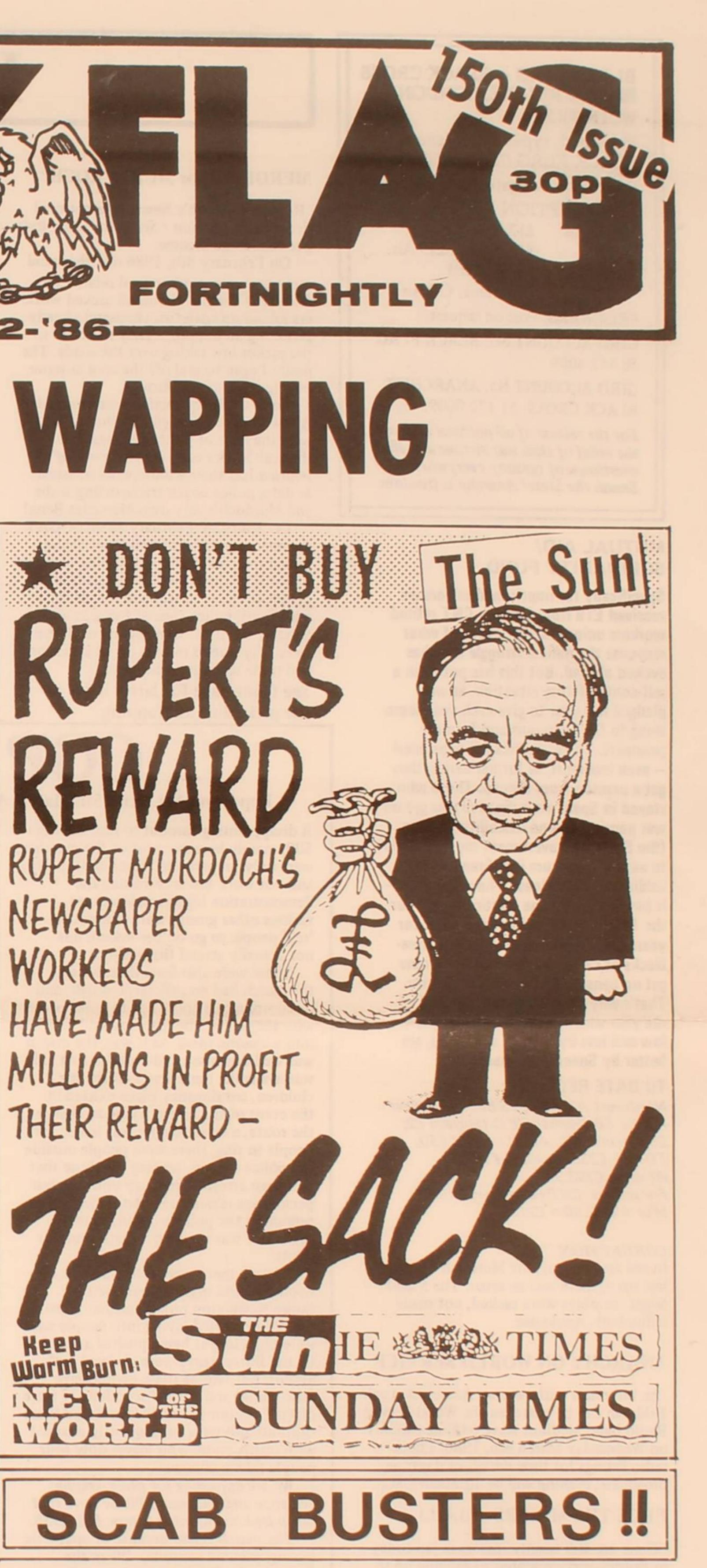
Postal workers still refuse to cross picket lines.

someone will be writing how sad it is that we don't have good old-fashioned peaceful strikes as we did then in the 70s and 80s. . . how it's all bombs and violence this century whenever there are labour disputes, just like it was a hundred years before . . . why can't we get back to the peaceful protests we once had? Perhaps Mrs Thatcher has exorcised one devil and seven other devils will fly in.

At 3.30am on Sunday February 16th, a TNT driver refused to cross picket lines he was beaten up by TNT scab drivers back at base for 'cowardice' (ie. scabbing is tough work for real macho men?)

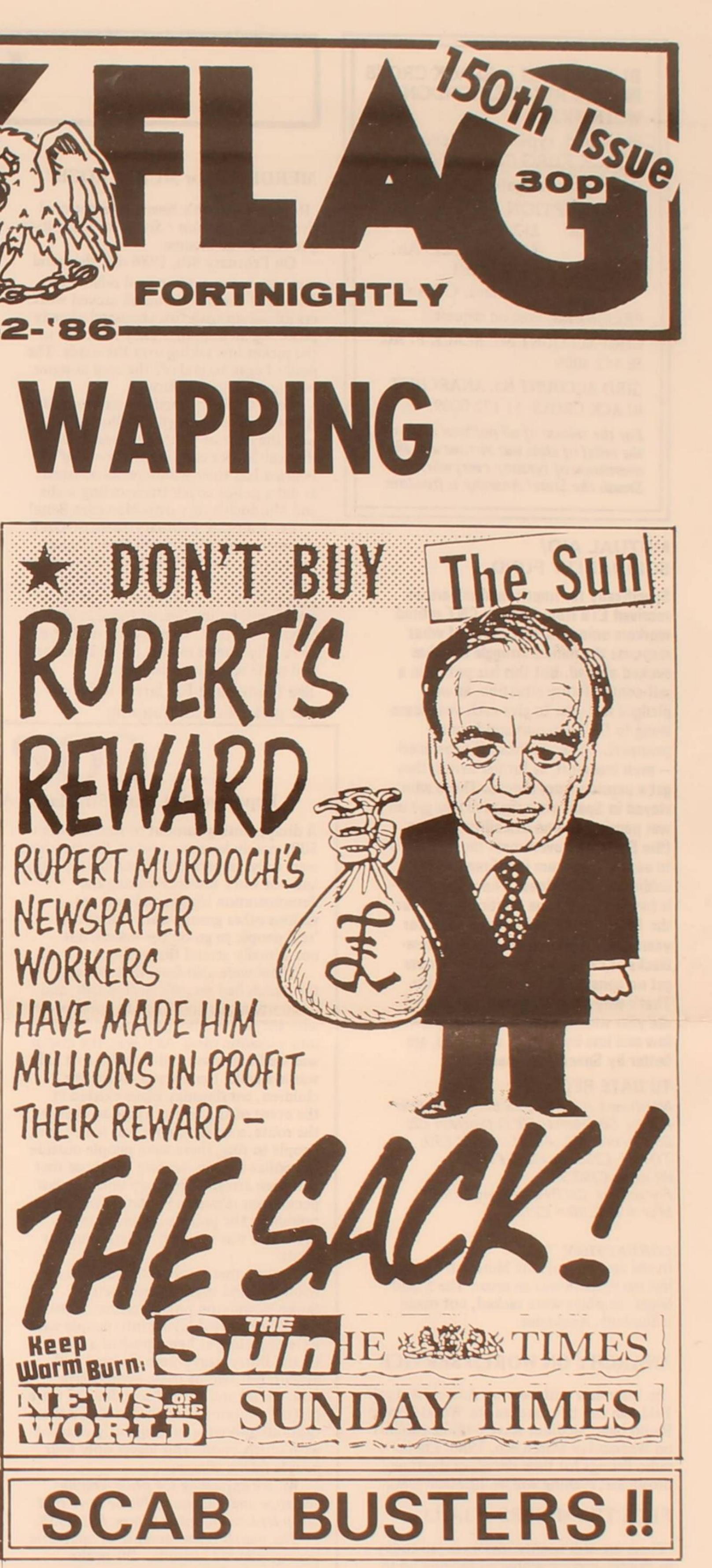
In Wolverhampton and Fulham, TNT vans were attacked and smashed by groups of people.

In Swindon, Wiltshire, on Monday 17th of February, thousands of copies of The Sun and The Times snatched from seven newsagents shops and found later burnt.



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so far massed at Fortress Wapping, where scab electricians were producing another batch of lies known as 'the Sunday papers'. Every night there have been pickets at the entrances to the printworks, but after a march from Tower Hill, the area was surrounded by approximately 5,000 pickets. People milled on the road outside the gateway nearest to the plant, where trucks could be seen loading behind barbed wire and rows of mounted riot police and ordinary bobbies. There were rumours of SOGAT officials trying to do a deal with police, that pickets would leave the road as soon as the march finished, but this did not succeed. Kent National Union of Mineworkers members who had come to support the printworkers were told to stand back out of the way by a SOGAT official. Crowds of people, split by rows of police, overflowed the area, and police made

On the night of Saturday 15th February, the largest mass picket

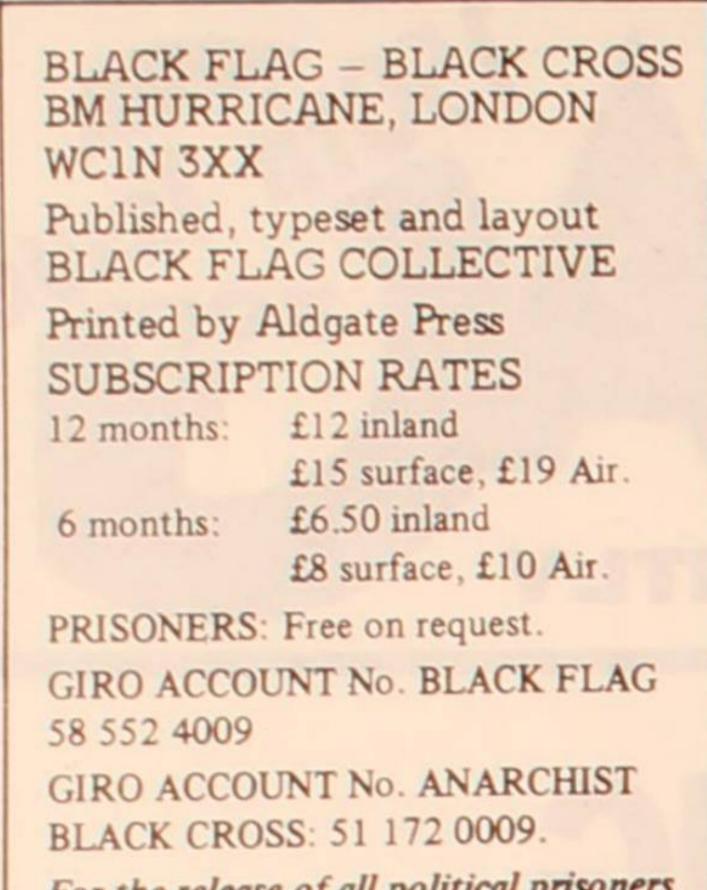
snatches into the crow<sup>1</sup>, arresting 25 people at one time. Later in the night, mounted police were prevented from making charges by crowd barriers thrown in their path.

Meanwhile, at one of the eastern entrances to the printworks, small numbers of picketing printworkers were abusing the scab cars and smaller numbers of the police.

Most people had seemed fatally attracted by the large numbers of police at the other end – it seemed to be prearranged that while this was going on, trucks could go in and out of the smaller entrances. Attempts to get more people up this end failed, mainly, as Socialist Workers Party members marched in formation, up and down a stretch of road, chanting slogans and waving papers.

The loaded vans came out of the eastern entrance – their windscreens were smashed and there were some arrests as police hustled away a team of TV

Continued on Page 6



For the release of all political prisoners, the relief of class war victims and the overthrow of tyranny everywhere. Smash the State! Anarchy is freedom.

### MUTUAL AID/ SOLIDARITY FUND

Specifically for imprisoned miners we received £19 from Spanish CNT retired workers union, further proof of what response the miners struggle here has evoked abroad. But this has put us in a self-contradictory situation, as we pledged last year to give each year something to CNT veterans and former prisoners. These are lucky if pensioned

- even luckier if, as former exiles, they get a pension from abroad. Those who stayed in Spain after the civil war get no war pension and no disability pension (the Socialist Government says it 'wants' to extend this from just Franco's exsoldiers but just doesn't have the cash it has money for the politicians and for the Fascist army and police). Most for years existed on low-paid jobs as shoeblacks or car park attendants and now get no pension and no social security. That's why we send gifts at the end of the year which, though unfortunately few and low by English standards, are better by Spanish standards.

### TO DATE RECEIVED:

Northwest A's £100; JS 50p; Aberdeen A's £5; SB (Hants) £3; D (Surrey) £2; SS (Guam) £75; AM (London) £50; TOTAL £235. In Hand £18.93. Which is £253.93. For miners CNT Pensioners £19.07;  $M'cr A's \pm 2.50 = \pm 21.57$ 

### CORRECTION

In the article 'Boycott Murdoch' in the last issue, there was an error. The 5,000 Sogat members were sacked, not made redundant. Apologies.

### ANARCHY ON WORLD SERVICE

An interview with veteran Anarchist, Leah Feldman can be heard on the World Service Radio band Medium Wave 648khz (463m) on Wednesday March 4th, 1986. Check radio listings for time details of daytime broadcast, evening will be 12.30am GMT.

### FREE THE MINERS in JAIL!

There are still twenty miners in jail today in Britain, serving sentences ranging up to eight years. The NUM & National Womens Support Groups are campaigning for their release and the reinstatement of those sacked during the 1984/'85 strike. A rally as part of the campaign is being held in London on March 2nd.

Durham Mechanics and Miners Support groups backed up by trade unionists and unemployed from around the North East held a vigil outside Durham jail on Xmas

On January 19th, miners at Westcoe Colliery, South Shields voted to strike if there are any more sackings or victimisation at their pit.

### WESTLAND WORKERS 'ODDS'.

Forget the careers of Heselswine and the like, the real productive industrial workers at present number some three thousand. If the European deal won there would have been 375 workers kept on for three years. The victorious US - Sikorsky deals just 250 not redundant for five years.

### PAGE 2 BLACK FLAG

**MERDEOCH** or **MURDEROCH**? Rupert Murdoch's News International depends on the Sun ! Scum for some sixty per cent of its income. On February 8th, 1986 one thousand sacked women workers and relatives or friends of the five thousand sacked workers joined up with two thousand already picketing at Wapping. They marched to the picket line taking over the roads. The police began to seal off the area as more people tried to get through.

For a while the lorries were stopped. A few hundred pushed and shoved it out with the lines of police. At least five of the scab lorries carrying the News of the Whirled had their windscreens smashed, as did a police coach transporting scabs and Murdoch's very own Mercedes Benz! On Thursday February 13th, SOGAT

members and others from Fleet Street joined the picket line at Wapping pushing upwards of three thousand. Again some people in the road stopped lorries for a while until police cleared the area and tried to seal it off to newcomers. There were fifty arrests mostly for obstruction and some scabs got a beating.

See front page for latest news on the picketline at Wapping.



A disappointing turnout of just less than 500, mainly because most of the marchers were only prepared to attend on the day, and not work towards making the demonstration bigger, and because various other groups were content to 'tell' people to go on the march, but not actually attend themselves.

There were also fears that, because the march had no official stewards, and its coordinators chose not to collaborate with the police, the march would turn into a chaotic mess. As it was, the march was well-organised and orderly; first aid was available, there was a creche for children, contingency plans existed in the event of the police trying to change the route, a legal number was issued for people to ring, there were people outside the police station, waiting for those that had been arrested, right up until the last person was released. Solicitors were also present at the police station, to make sure there was no great violation of our

Overall, there were thirty arrests, all wrongful, and made shortly before Stoke Newington police station, when the police started laying into people who were objecting at being pushed around. Of the thirty, three were charged with assault, but two of these people gave false names and have absconded, 27 were offered cautions, 3 of these refused their cautions and were subsequently charged with obstruction. This leaves only four people facing charges.

We are appealing for photographic evidence and witnesses. Please note that our telephone number is now 881 2938.

The march failed because of apathetic, narrow minded attitudes. When the Public Order Bill becomes law and we are on the receiving end of the sentences, we only have ourselves to blame.

### What Next?

The only way to defeat the Public Order Bill is to make it unworkable, to carry on exactly as before. First, this must happen on a mass scale, blatai tly defying the law. It will only work if people get up off their arses and start organising. A march has been planned for the Saturday after the Bill becomes law – this will automatically make it illegal, since there will not be seven days' notice to the police. Where this march will be and what form it should take is yet to be decided, at a Conference, at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn on Saturday March 1st, at 1pm. This is to be a planning conference, and we want no time-wasters or people who just want to boost their bloated egos and then go back home until next time they are invited to a meeting. Amongst other groups, those invited are: Anti-Fascist Action; Broad-

# HOME NEWS

### 'CONTINGENCY' PLANNING

A letter has been 'leaked' by a 'mole' which documents planning by Murdoch on how best to ride roughshod over the workers.

In it his lawyer suggests - this is some 12 months in advance it should be noted - that it would be cheaper to provoke a strike and then sack them. This would save £40 Million in redundancy payments. The plan worked and now redundancy payments are not on, unless

### NCB BOMB?

fought for.

The National Coal Board in Wales is alleged to have had a bomb found on its premises. They were warned beforehand and SAS/Bomb Disposal squad took the 'device' away. Nobody has claimed responsibility.

Either the alleged bombing or someother mysterious goings on has brought the NCB a new private security firm in London where its Headquarters are now patrolled 24 hours a day. This is alongside the Metropolitan Police already in place.

### Report on Sat. Jan 25th March Against Police Repression

water Farm Defence Campaign; Campaign for Homosexual Equality; City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, CROWD; East London DAM, Green CND, Irish Freedom Movement; Lespop and Red Action.

It is important that everybody attend. Are we going to sit back, or fight this bloody thing?

### Confession' Forms

The police have already started to label individuals as 'organisers'. It is clear that for a campaign like this, no individuals must be seen as such – everybody is an organiser

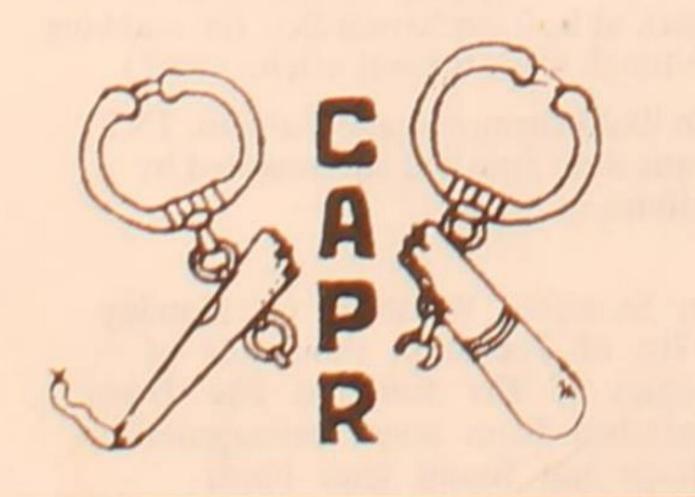
This being the case, we have enclosed 'confession' forms in our mailout, where as many people as possible must 'admit' to organising the next demonstration. Filled-in forms must be kept at a secret address, and will only be used if at least a thousand names are given. So fill in that form, and send it right back!\* The maximum penalty for 'organising'

an illegal demo is a three month prison sentence and a £1000 fine. We must make sure that there are so many 'organisers' that it is totally impossible for them to implement this.

This newsletter is supposed to collate and exchange information. Apart from one or two items sent to us, which are now out of date, we have received nothing. If you want an information exchange, then start writing to us; otherwise, everyone better forget the idea.

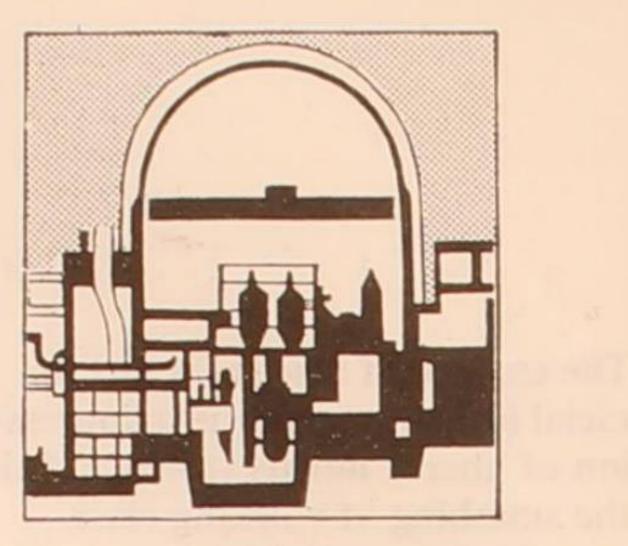
day, March 8th, at Centerprise, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E1, for people to discuss their experiences of mis-treatment from the police; advice will be exchanged, and people who wish it, will have their views recorded. For info, ring 806 4956.

Campaign Against Police Repression, Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, London N4. Phone Tony 01-881 2938. \*'Confession Forms' are available from the above address.



### LEAKS WHAT LEAKS?

Two leaks at the nuclear waste re-processing plant in Cumbria (once called Windscale, now Sellafield in an image changing exercise) have occured recently. British Nuclear Fuels have been accused by everyone of lying including its building workers who went on strike over contam ination from the leaks despite their poker faced bosses assurances that all is well.



### CARLISLE GETS CLOBBERED!

On his way to Bradford University to. speak on behalf of South Africa, racist Fory MP John Carlisle was met by a few locals who differed with his views. The beating prevented him from being able to apologise for Apartheid. Nevertheless the not yet punch drunk MP is going in for another round soon. Check outraged bourgeois press for details as he comes a cropper a second time?

### HOW TO BE A JOURNALIST

M AN IS ACCUSED OF VICE GIRL'S MURDER AND TWO RAPES – headline, The Sun, November 13th. The vicious murderer is referred to as 'a man'. The innocent victim is a 'vice girl'

### LATE SPORTS NEWS

A Football Association Trophy Match between Southport and Scarboro on 27th January was interrupted when three hundred youths ran onto the pitch shouting the name of Raymond Moran.

Raymond Moran was a nineteen year old youth from Southport who died in police custody on January 23rd.

There followed a pitched battle as the locals and police fought outside the football ground. This was the third night of anti-police rioting following the death of Ray Moran.



### SHORTS

### WHAT'S GOIN ON 'ERE THEN?

Five police cars got wrecked, a policeman had his jaw broken and four others were hurt when police clashed with youths armed with bottles, stones and bricks at

Stainforth, South Yorkshire in late Jan. Police were looking to arrest a fifteen year old who had escaped from a detention centre at the time.

In Bristol, police chasing an allegedly stolen car nearly crashed into a crowd of locals in the St. Pauls area. Angered by the police action locals gathered and put one cop car over attacked others before dispersing from the cold and police backup in the area.

Twelve weapons (including pistols, rifles and shotguns) recently seized by police in Scotland, have found their way back onto the market. Firearms experts were cataloguing some guns, seized in Edinburgh when they discovered that some had serial numbers which tallied with guns that the police should have already destroyed!

### COP OUT

Also, this kind of stuff costs a lot of money, so donations are appreciated.

### Video Meeting

A meeting has been organised for Satur-

## Letter from Argentina

### Friends of B.F.,

We hope to re-establish contact with you and the DAM-IWA with this letter. We've suffered from financial and organisational problems recently, preventing us from carrying out our regular activity. We've just managed to overcome our organisational problems, allowing us to carry on as before, but our lack of finances still impede our activities. Despite all this, we've managed to launch a bi-monthly bulletin (Ideaccion) thanks to donations from you and a Canadian comrade. Many thanks for your generosity. We are sending you the first issue and the latest copy of La Protesta in a separate

Thanks also for your newspaper and for publishing our articles in previous issues. We hope to publish information about you in the next issue of our bulletin. We'd be interested to receive articles on industrial struggles in Britain and on the Falklands/Malvinas war in exchange. We could publish them in our bulletin or send them to our friends at the R. Barrett Study Centre (a libertarian centre), who would also be happy to publish them. We'd be interested in exchanging articles on the Falklands/ Malvinas question, about the future of the islands especially, with you before April 2nd if possible too. One joint demand could be for the de-militarisation of the Falklands and South Atlantic territories, plus the 'de-nationalisation' of the islands, replacing the present system with a self-managed society and allowing in anyone who wants to settle there. We'd appreciate your opinions on this matter. Meanwhile we're thinking of staging a series of talks around the Falklands theme towards the end of March or the beginning of April. We'd also like to stage some kind of anti-- militarist action on April 2nd to emphasize that our common enemy is the State and the bourgeoisie (Argentinian, English, Yankee, etc). The exploited and oppressed from all parts of the world must unite and not fall into conflict with each other, something their respective dominant classes would want. Every country's bourgeoisie has always tried to push those it exploits into war against another country's bourgeoisie. This was true of the two World Wars, the Falklands War and the Iraq-Iran War (still going on today). Those of us who believe in anarchist and proletarian internationalism must destroy all links between the bourgeoisie and the exploited and fight for an international alliance of exploited and oppressed people against the state and the upper classes (in the western world as well as in the socalled 'socialist' countries).

One more important event, for us at least, was our participation last year (December 1985) in a march organised by the 'Madres de Plaza de Mayo' and other pro-Human Rights groups against the government's plans to go ahead with an anmesty for those soldiers involved in genocide here. We've had to wait a long time for the re-establishment of an anarchist presence in demonstrations here in Rosario (the second biggest city in Argentina).

This letter will undoubtedly arrive late as post office workers here have been on strike for over a month in support of a wage claim.

We're sending you an article on the Malvinas war and another article on Rafael Barrett with this letter. We hope to write a third historical article on the FORA (Argentina's legendary anarchosyndicalist union) soon.

We hope to hear from you soon. Libertarian greetings to you all. Salud Ricardo (Rosario, Jan 28th 1986)



In a recent issue of 'Black Flag' it was shown how the always implausible Bulgarian Connection in the plot to kill the pope was part of a wider destabilisation conspiracy. The US connection was also referred to. Below we elaborate in more detail on this connection and indicate how other terrorist actions are no less a continuum of the same strategy.



Michael Ledeen

The Bulgarian Connection was first developed by members of two thinktanks, one well-known, the other more obscure. The idea itself was first floated by a CIA agent. These three all had one specialism in common: disinformation, or the science of false propaganda.

Michael Ledeen played a prominent role in the development of the Bulgarian Connection. Ledeen was a CIA-Italian Intelligence liasion agent and in addition had worked as a journalist in Italy for some years. His contacts extended to the Italian underworld, including Licio Gelli, the godfather of P2 (Masonic underworld). Ledeen is currently an advisor to Ronald Reagan on matters concerning terrorism. But at the time of the attempt on the pope's life, Ledeen was involved in the setting up of a dirty tricks unit in Italy, known as Super S, or Super SISMI (Italian Military Intelligence). Super S was so covert that even many top SISMI officers knew nothing of its existence. The reason for all this secrecy was that Super S was no ordinary covert operations group, it was a group whose brief was to work (by infiltration of using the old 'pseudo-gang' technique). with any organisation – left or right – to promote destabilisation. This policy was merely a continuation of previous campaigns that involved, via the Camorra (Mafia), liasions with the Brigatte Rosse, and, more directly, neo-fascist groups such such as Ordine Nuovo and the Revolutionary Armed Nuclei (NAR).

Also involved in the setting up of Super S was Francesco Pazienza, who was a close friend of Gelli and Ledeen and who was known to have connections with the Cammora. Pazienza, apart from being wanted for embezzelment of \$200,000 from the Banco Ambrosiano, is also known to be one of the chief organisers in the Bologna railway station bombing. Former SISMI director, Pietro Misumeci has been named as a co-organiser of that bombing.

While Ali Agca was in Ascoli prison, and several months prior to his revealing the so-called Bulgarian collection, he received visits from Pazienza as well as Don Raffaele Cutulo, the Cammora leader. Cutolu in the past had been used by Italian intelligence as a link man with the Brigatte Rosse.

Agca, after several attempts had been made on his life in the prison by fellow prisoners, and after several visits from Pazienza and other intelligence officers,

INTERNATIONAL

Claire Stirling was one such associate. She specialised in anti-communist propaganda and sensational innacurate reporting on terrorism and terrorists. As a members of the Jonathan Institute, yet another think-tank involved in antiterrorist studies, she was able to associate with fellow propagandists Brian Crozier (of the CIA-backed Centre for Conflict Studies), Robert Moss (now based in Washington, but formerly of the Daily Telegraph and The Economist magazine) and the infamous - finger in every pie -Ray Cline (World Anti-Communist League, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, ex-CIA, etc). It was mainly through the writings of Stirling that the Bulgarian Connection caught on. Interestingly, Stirling was also in direct contact with Judge Martella, the presiding judge who headed the judicial investigations into the assassination attempt. Throughout the hearings Martella consistently ignored the glaringly obvious fabrications in Agca's evidence, preferring to promote the Bulgarian Connection despite even Agca's own admissions that his evidence had been deliberately falsified. What is perhaps not quite so widely known is that during the hearings Martella made a brief journey to the USA to consult with, amongst others, an associate of Ledeen, namely Arnaud de Borchgrave, another member of the Georgetown based Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

But is was from neither Stirling or Borchgrave (or even Ledeen) that the actual idea of a Bulgarian Connection was first mooted within the intelligence community. That honour goes to Paul Henze, the former CIA desk officer for Ankara, whose offices were just a few floors away from those of the MIT (Turkish Intelligence), who are known for their active links to the National Action Party, the political wing of Agca's Grey Wolves. Henze also has an ignoble past in the world of dirty tricks propaganda. As a one-time head of the CIA front, Radio Free Europe, he is by no means a stranger to disinformation techniques. During the time when Henze served in Turkey, the CIA was working closely with the MIT in a campaign to destabilise the country in order to prepare the way for a military coup. Having used Grey Wolves agents in the past to do the dirty work it is little wonder that Henze considered that Agca, whose dream is an expanded Turkey covering most of the southern USSR, must be seen by the world's press not as an agent of fascist destabilisation, but as a 'mad loner' who had been used by the Bulgarians in a crude attempt to kill a symbol of resistance for the Catholic dominated Solidarnosc.

Agca's allegations made against the Bulgarians have been thrown out, mainly due to his own ineptitude for telling lies and also because those who briefed .im hadn't done their homework properly. For example, Agca at first claimed that Antonov accompanied him to St. Peter's Square and that he organised an escape route. Later Agca changed his story completely and admitted that it was Turkish accomplices (namely Celik

## TALY - DESTABLISATION AND DISINFORMATION

finally sucummed to pressure and agreed to the Bulgarian Connection story - one reward being the promise of a lighter sentence. This was made 12 months after his arrest. It took him a further 6 months to begin to name names of socalled Bulgarian accomplices - in other words after security agents had managed to put together a plausible story. As a result Bulgarian Airlines

official, Sergei Antonov was arrested and it was not long before a complicated story explaining the Bulgarian connect ion began to unfold – but not initially from Agca himself, whose claims were constantly refuted by contradictory evidence, but by associates of Ledeen.

In the judicial hearings virtually all of

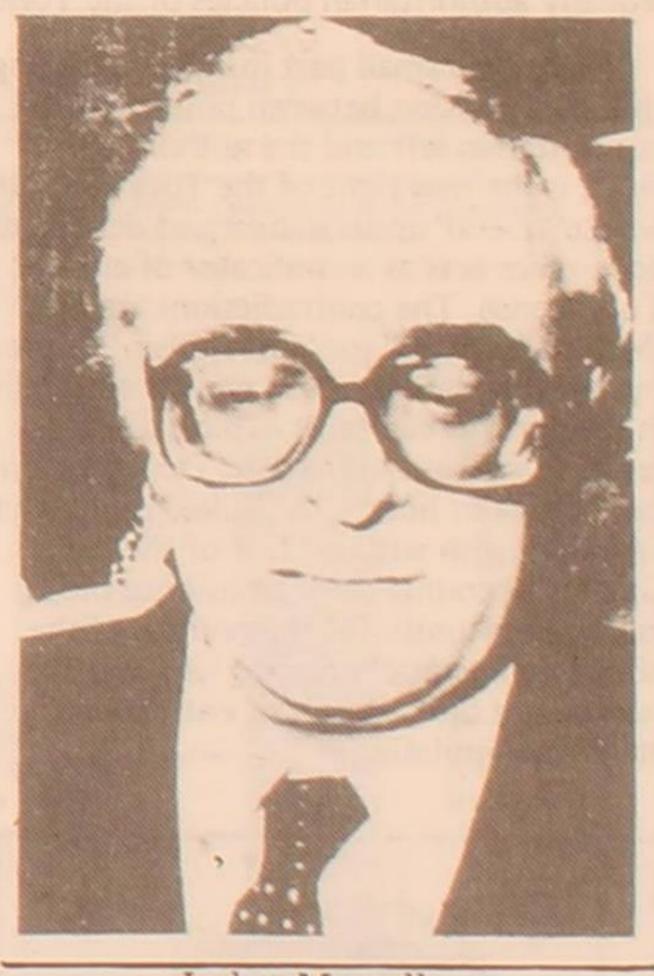
and Catli) who had accompanied him, and

that the escape route was to West Germany. It was also revealed that on his arrest, Agca had in his possession a note indicated that he was to make a train trip, after the assassination attempt, to Naples, the home of the Cammora.

The West Germany story sounds more plausible when one considers that it was a West German based organisation that provided Agca with funds and that it was to West Germany on a previous occasion that Agca fled to after being sprung from a Turkish jail by his friends in the Grey Wolves Malatya Gang. He was safe-housed by members of the Federation of Turkish Idealists Association (sic), who also provided the contacts for supplying the resources for the attempt on the pope. The Association, which claims over 50,000 members in Europe alone (mostly in West Germany) is in fact, a front organisation for the Grey Wolves. It has had several known links to West German neo-nazi groups, in particular the Hoffman Gang. The Frankfurt head of the Association is Musa Celebi, who organised the West German end of the Grey Wolves with Abdullah Catli and Austrian arms dealer, Horst Grillmaier – that supplied Agca with

the actual weapon used for the attempt. As a postscript Michael Ledeen has been implicated in the 1981 attempted Milan train bombing. In fact he is widely suspected of playing a prime organisational role, using the fascist connection to draw heat away from the intelligence

community, although the full truth of Ledeen's role and the wider strategy of destabilisation has yet to be fully revealed – only those involved in the outer layers of the conspiracy have so far been caught, some sentences for the Milan



Judge Martella

bombing attempt have already been metered out to two high-ranking officers, namely Colonel Misumeci (9 years) and his associate Colonel Belmonte (8 years), both of SISMI. Also two Terza Posizione (Third Position) members (the bombing was planned in a flat of a TP member) was also being sought, namely Adinolfi and Roberto Fiore, the latter currently at liberty in Britain and rumoured to be safe-housed by Michael Walker. The reason why Fiore is allowed to remain at large, despite extradition demands from Italy, is that he, small-fry that he is, could surely prove an embarrassment to the Italian Security Service and to those further up the chain, should he be allowed to testify; and given the Ledeen connection, the Western Intelligence community has no wish to see him put under pressure. Perhaps Fiore will not be allowed to be free for much longer and that he is to be 'disappeared'. And what better way to get rid of him than to fit up an ideologically opposed grouping with such a deed. When will the fascists learn that they are but expendable.

# WHAT IS THE 'LIBERTARIAN'

This article examines some of the connections between far-right groups and certain strands within both the mainstream and the right of the Tory party. The question, what is the 'libertarian right?, to some extent can be answered by a further question: WHO are the libertarian right and whom do they associate with? Deliberate misrepresentations and an almost total inversion of meaning does not help. to the Anarchist, the terms 'right' and 'libertarian' are unassailable opposites, but Toryism is deliberately invoking a reinterpretation of classical liberalism (19th century 'free marker' economics) and in the process has invented an anti-statism that is clearly statist and a 'libertarian philosophy that has nothing to do

with liberty, but instead finds favour with those who are within the fascist milieu. Confused? Then read on. . .

### INTRODUCTION

The idea of privatisation versus state control has been falsely presented as a choice between two evils to the extent that the continuation of welfarism is to be preferred to 'survival of the fittest' in a 'deregulated' labour market, that labour-intensive industry and less unemployment is better than the abolition of repetitive work, and authoritarian class politics more expedient than the equally exploitable liberal consensus. These choices are represented as though truths, not political interpretations, and has led the labour left to take defensive positions – hence nationalisation, municipal bureaucracy hierarchical unionism, protectionism and state intervention; all are adopted by the anti-Thatcherite left in preference to the equally authoritarian policies of the Tories.

Playing no small part in stage-managing this class division between politics of the authoritarian left and the authoritarian right, is the new right of the Tory vanguard, whose 'liberal' understanding of deregulation economics acts as an indicator of current Tory trends. The contradictions are rife. 'Minimalist State' (or 'anti-statism') is used by the new right to mean greater emphasis in support for capitalist exploitation as a result of changes in law, etc. Deregulation means greater liberty for bosses to do whatever they wish without fear of the courts. Greater 'accountability' in essence means more opportunity for the politics of the liberal-democratic' order to win over consensus, as a direct result of entrenched media manipulation.



Trinity College

Old Torvism was no better, only apparently more palatable and less harshly presented. The new Toryism is far less fudged and is perceived by those of all classes who seek irresponsibility and a secure routine, to be the only answer to decades of Tory and Labour social-democracy, characterised by the top heavy corrupt bureaucracies of central and local government. New Toryism seeks liberty for the individual, but not where individuals freely decide to unite in opposition to the 'liberties' of capitalism.

### This, like all government policy, is selective liberalism, masquerading as 'libertarisnism'.

THE RIGHT TO MANAGE The in vogue by-line, 'the right to manage' is nothing more than the (divine) right to lead, but extending and applied to all aspects of economic control. The right to manage, translated into everyday economics is the old High Toryism, warned of in the 'Victorian Values' speeches of Thatcher.. High Toryism and New Toryism, there is no difference. But the justification for 19th century exploitative economics is given some credence by the gurus who have both preceded and are now devotees of the Thatcherite right within the Tory Party. These innovators of antiunion legislation, deregulation, etc., began by attempting to distance themselves from the Conservative Party and have ended up as the 'darlings' of its fringe. They refer to themselves as 'libertarians', a term used more by individualists and still so. The 'radical right', the 'libertarian right', or even 'anarcho-capitalists'. . . the corruption gets wilder.

They are against the closed shop, but for wrong motives. They are for 'less State control', but only as long as the capitalists (who have nearly always worked both with in and without the State system - in both power blocs) fully gain from this. They are 'against monopolies', in order that competition may dominate and solidarity perish. They are for free trade and internationalism – which is no distortion, since through history the exploitation by capitalism has always been genuinely internationalist (unlike the protectionist and deeply nationalist communist bloc). Their vision of the future is a nation (or nations) where liberty is paramount, to the detriment of all other ideals. It is a philosophy that has been in the ascendency for several years and has now become modus operandi of the government in power, as well as the current generation of industrial entrepreneurs at large.

The New Right is not of itself fascist, in terms of the Italian or Nazi models, nor is it authoritarian, as with Chile or any other of the South American tyrannies. But the consequences of its policies, despite its 'freedoms', lead to the same ends. Unlike the authoritarian right – which deprives people of both equality and liberty the 'libertarian' right is far more selective in its approach as to how liberty is defined and with whom in mind.

### THE NEW LIBERTARIANS

Fascism is a means of getting populist support for measures against the working class. The New Right is not 'populist' though prepared to use appeals to patriotism – but an aristocracy, sometimes of old aristocracy, more often of the newer professional ascendency. The aim is the same as fascism.

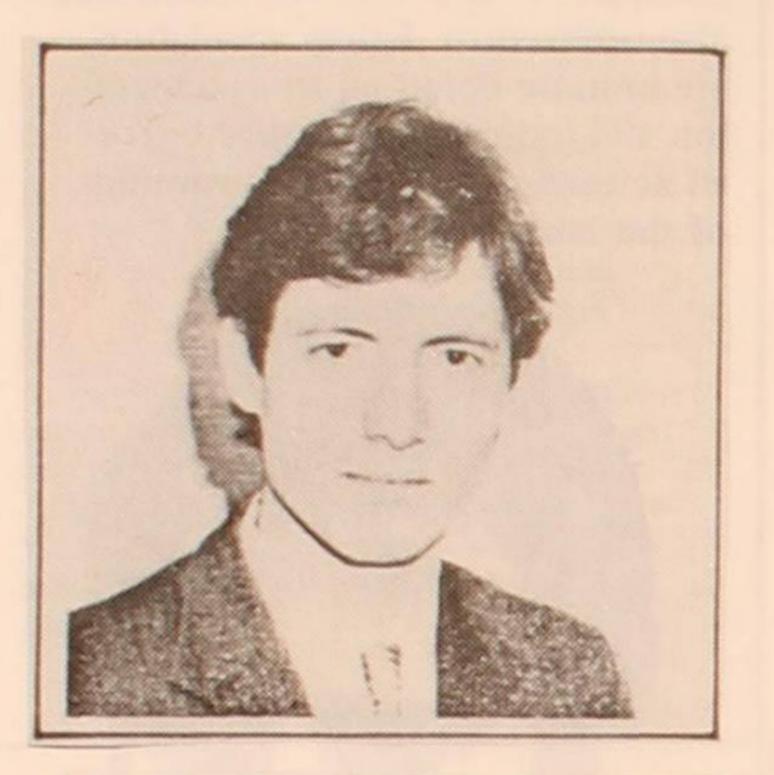
The libertarian idealists of the right can be found propagandising within several noteworthy groupings each overlapping with the other. Representing the philosophical wing, is the Libertarian Alliance. The Tory Old Guard, new to the libertarian approach, but now part of its camp, is represented by the Monday Club. The antiunion bashing, 'radical right' faction is the Freedom Association. The Federation of Conservative Students has also joined the 'libertarians', but remains very much loyal Thatcherities – her very own embryonic Brown Shirts. Other pressure groups are the Adam Smith Institute (and Club), the Institute for Economic Affairs, the Centre for Policy Studies, the Selsdon Group, Tory Action, the Economic League, Aims of Industry, the Centre for Conflict Studies

### POLICY STUDIES

Taking the Centre for Policy Studies as a starting point. In 1980 the CPS (based at 8 Wilfred Street) published a report entitled Liberties and Liabilities – the Case for Trade Union Reform'. The report based on the findings of the Trade Union Reform Committee (chaired by Sir Leonard Neal) opens with a quote from the well known

## COMMENT

Fabians Sidney and Beatrice Webb, on 'industrial Democracy', that argues for the repeal of trade union immunity: We see no valid reason why, if the law were not put into a proper state, Trade Unions, should not be liable to be sued for damages. . . if



Andrew M Fox Pembroke College

a Trade Union or its official deliberately persuades or induces men (sic) to break legally binding existing contracts of service in to which they have entered, the Trade Union deserves to pay damages. Sir Leonard Neal is referred to in the report as 'having been a well-respected trade union official for Britain's biggest trade union (the Transport and General Workers Union), and an adviser to Barbara Castle during the 'In Place of Strife' period (prelude to the infamous 'social contracts' between the then Labour Government and the unions)... and a former chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations' (set up by ex-Tory Leader, Heath and whose recommendations lead to the short-lived Industrial Tribunal). The reports introduction makes a number of preliminary statements, including CPS approval for the Bill to limit picketing, a recommendation that TUC Days of Action be declared illegal (and for the TUC itself to be made subject to legal injunction), and a recommendation that unions be compelled to secret ballots.

On the subject of picketing the CPS' report made the following recommendations Firstlt, that 'An offence of unlawful picketing or disorderly picketing should be created (this reform is now the subject of a government White Paper). 'It should also cover inciters or organisers' (Again, this is under the White Paper). Secondly, that 'First offences should carry fines – a maximum of £300' (the White Paper recommends £400). Vehicles used should be forfeited (to stop flying pickets), Convictions should carry an automatic five year disqualification from union office, from picketing and should provide adequate grounds for fair dismissal from employment'.

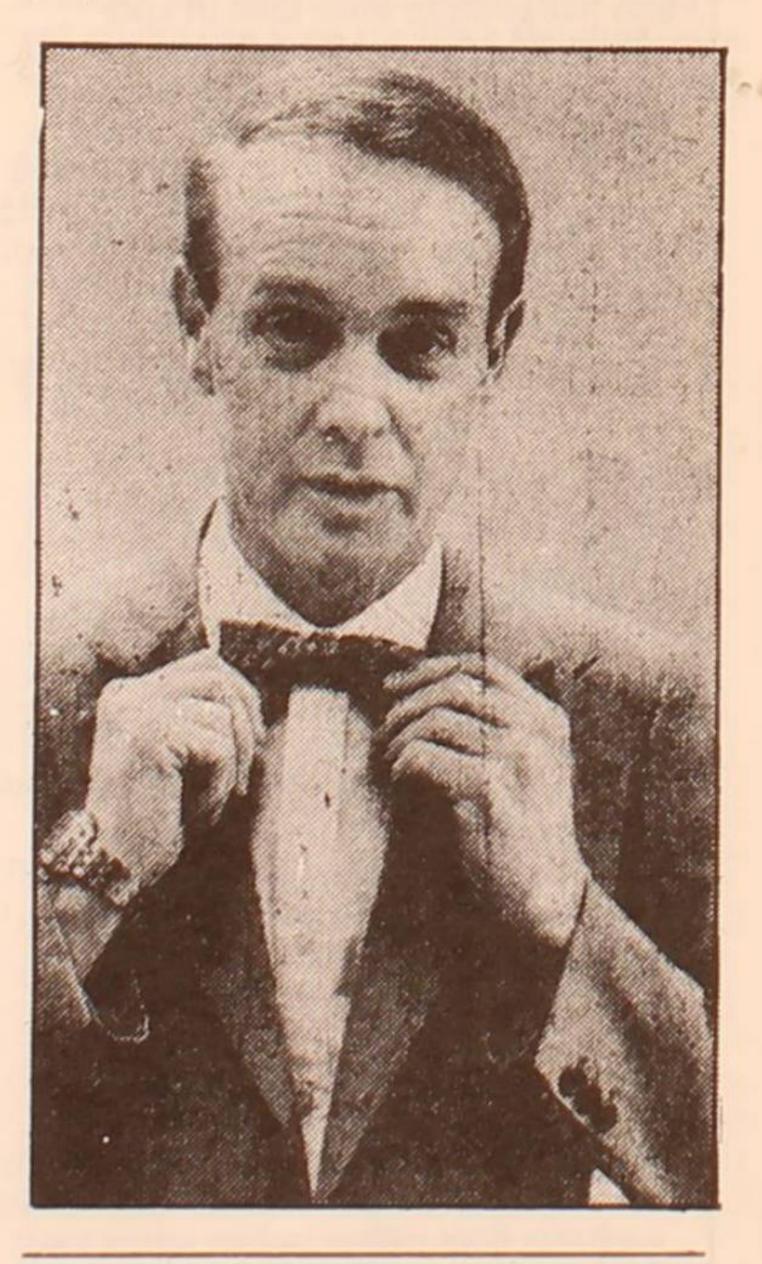
Section 2 of the report deals with Picketing and includes the following (consider the subsequent series of events that took place during the '84/'85 Miners Strike): The technique of the 'flying picket' pioneered at Saltley Gate in 1972 Miners Strike, when 15,000 Miners joined by local workers shut down a coking plant, would be effectively outlawed by this ban on outsiders manning the picket lines. It would be possible for police to enforce it by intercepting and turning back coaches carrying pickets just as they intercept motorcycle gangs of young hoodlums. . . The virtue of dealing with this problem at the departure and jouney stage rather than at the arrival stage, is that the potential pickets are dispersed in the former case but concentrated into a huge mob at the latter stage.

The CPS was set up as an all-party advisory group. Its recommendations however, preceded Tory practice and legislation by four years. The CPS has today more or less become a mouthpiece for 'radical right' philosophy.

### **ADAM SMITH & SCABBING**

On the same level – in terms of being a 'think-tank' and in terms of advocating 'libertarian' right reforms in advance of Government legislation, is the Adam Smith Institute, based in Lord North Street next to the offices of its twin, the Institute for Economic Affairs. The ASI has recently produced several reports on privatisation and Social Security reforms (known collectively as the Omega Report). Selling off state industries, paring down industry generally, cutting Social Security and other Welfare benefits, abolishing industrial legislation, et c have all been reported on since the Tories have come into office and many of its recommendations have been acted upon.

The Adam Smith Institute spawned the Adam Smith Club, whose Honorary President is Frederick von Hayek, libertarian economics guru of the Libertarian Alliance. The Libertarian Alliance chief, Chris Tame, is currently also Secretary of the Adam Smith Club. To show that everything is truly within the family, the Club's Honorary Vice-President is Professor Arthur Shenfield of the Institute of Economic Affairs. On the 22nd of May, 1985, the Adam Smith Club organised a meeting at the IEA offices, in which a talk was given by David Hart (The Times columnist, friend of Saatchi & Saatchi who do the Tory Party election adverts, an advvisor to Mrs Thatcher, member of the Centre for Policy Studies, and eminence gris behind the organising and financing of the National Working Miners Committee, now evolved into the scab union the UDM). Hart's talk was on 'libertarian' economics. which is not too surprising since his Honours dissertation at Kings, Cambridge was on the 'Anti-Statist Liberal Tradition' - later published in the journal of Libertarian Studies (sic).



Madsen Pirie Adam Smith Institute.

Hart's role in the 1984/'85 Miners Strike was well documented in Paul Foot's expose in the national press, although Foot did not mention that Hart, apart from fund-raising, setting up meetings, and even designing advertisements (together with his friend Tim Bell, property developer, who also happened to be personal advisor to NCB chief Ian MacGregor), Hart also arranged the legalities for the NWMC through his close friend Jeremy Ware (of the solicitors Hodgkinson and Tallents). Nor did he mention that another NWMC advisor was Sarah Hogg, a Channel 4 News reporter, columnist for The Times and The Economist, and married to the Tory MP for Grantham, Douglass Hogg (ex ITN presenter and

# RIGHT?

editor of the Daily Express). The Tallents and Hodgkinson group not only provided legal advice but also acted as a collection point for funds for the NWMC. One of the biggest sums that found its way to their offices was forwarded by Sir Hector Laing (committee member, Aims of Industry) of United Biscuits. He personally fundraised £20,000 through business contacts and helped to raise much more.

### FREEDOM ASSOCIATION/MP's

Another major scab fund raiser, and an old stalwart of the Tory right, was the Freedom Association. Plenty has already been said about the FA both in previous Black Flag issues and in other publications. But recently we also reported on a talk, the platform of which was shared by Gerald Hartup of the FA, Brian Crozier of the Centre for Conflict Studies (CIA) and Marc-Henri Glendenning of the Federation of Conservative Students – a 'nicer' trio one could not imagine! The FA has always insisted on being outside the Tory Party crowd, but contradicting this its paper Free Nation, regularly gives details of the various (and numerous) Tory MP's who often speak at FA events. 'Fringe' Tories like Leon Brittan (Home Secretary), Nicholas Ridley (Cabinet Minister and chief planner of the long-term Government strategy to beat the miners), etc. . .

### FEDERATION OF CONSERVATIVE STUDENTS / FASCISTS

But of the new wave of 'libertarians', perhaps the Federation of Conservative Students has gained most notoriety. Like the Freedom Association, it too has its sponsors in Parliament. Marc-Henri Glendenning for example, is researcher for Edward Leigh MP; David Holl (FCS and vice-Chair of the Conservative Friends of Northern Ireland - founded by Glendenning) is researcher to John Carlisle, MP. Henry Greenaway MP is a close friend of Martyn Taylor (FCS and Young Conservatives, publishes Dreadnought, Uxbridge Young Conservatives paper). Taylor is a self-confessed Odinist and has also worked on League Review, the publication of the neo-fascist League of St George. In his position as a YC organiser Taylor, together with Uxbridge Branch Chair, Mike Stannard, set up a meeting addressed 'y British Union of Fascists veteran, Jeffrey Hamm, and later a meeting at which he welcomed LoSG chief, Keith

### CAMBRIDGE LIBERTARIANS

Thompson.

Edward Leigh MP is a regular contributor to the FCS paper, New Liberty, designed by fellow MP, Piers Merchant and edited by FCS leading contender, Mark MacGregor The FCS also has a variety of regional papers, such as Cambridge Liberator published by the Cambridge Libertarians and edited by Andrew Fox and Rory Maw who claims that 'central to the (libertarian) philosophy is. . . the rejection of collectivism'. In Issue 2 of the *Cambridge Liberator* – a class example of true blue 'radical' Toryism – Michael Fallon MP advocated that unemployment can be eased by the abolition of the Social Security system, Housing Benefit, rent controls, the 'minimum wage', etc; as stated above, Fallon is Back Bench coordinator for the Northern Group of MP's. In the same issue an attempt to 'resolve' the dichotomy between liberty and equality is made. A Simon Leary says: Class war took the place of the cry for 'liberty' in its traditional sense and the Rights of Man' became a casualty of the 'Right to Work'... The twin goals of Equal-Ity and Freedom, are, then, incompatible. It was well known to antiquity that the 'state as tyrant' rose to power through the support of poor people, and that the greatest chance to keep power lay in the masses desire for equality of condition. . . It was only one step to Lenin and the dictatorship of the proletariat as a permanent fixture of egalitarian politics;. . . These doc-

trinaire collectivists who offer a pretence of liberty clothed in 'socialist equality' must be combatted'...

### YOUNG MONDAY CLUB

As for the non-student, non-academic Tory yobbo, there exists another cabal to enter. if the ranks of the FCS or the Adam Smith Institute lie barred. Namely the Young Monday Club (mailing address c/o 4 Orlando Road, London SW4 or c/o Andrew Smith, 80 Levett Rd, Leatherhead Surrey). Its paper is called Capitalist Worker subheaded 'This Paper Is Not Suitable For Wets!'. It is edited by Harry Phib ( a libertarian alliance member) and Geoff Winnard In its Where We Stand column it states: 1) Total opposition to Communism and support for the anti-marxist liberation struggles. 2) Solidarity with loyal Ulster - no surrender to the IRA - INLA. 3) Firm law and order policies including the restoration of the death penalty for terrorism and murder. 4) Defence of the family, Property and Private Enterprise. Capitalist Worker regularly contains advertisements for the Freedom Association and the Institutue for Economic Affairs. In a recent issue it also included a story about the ongoing violence campaign against the Alternative Bookshop (Libertarian Alliance). One contributor to CW is Libertarian Alliance stalwart, Brian Micklethwaite - the LA's 'expert' on anarchism and who wrote on 'libertarian economics' for Freedom, 'the anarchist monthly'. Prolific writer and anarcho-capitalist, Micklethwaite penned one article for CW in which he advocated setting up a new Imperialist International, headed by Reagan, Thatcher, Kohl, Botha and Pinochet! as a new initiative to counte the Soviets.

CW's programme for advanced capitalism (of the 'libertarian' kind of course) would involve: more privatisation of state owned companies; the repeal of employment legislation, trade union immunities, planning restrictions, rent controls, Health and Safety at work legislation, the introduction of vouchers for health services (instead of it being free), the complete privatisation of all education, abolition of the social security system, municipal government, taxes. . .etc.

### INSTITUTE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

None of the above is that far removed from current Tory Party policy. But where as the Young Monday Club functions as a starting point for those on the 'radical right' for the more well established Tory 'libertarian', the Institute for Economic Affairs is eminently more suitable. Its administrative offices are situated at 2 Lord North Street, just around the corner from Tory Party H Q. Lord Ralph Harris is the General Director, Arthur Seldon ( of the Adam Smith Club) is the Editorial Director. Other renowned IEA members include ex-Liberal Party chief Jo Grimmond, current SDP chief, David Owen and Labour Party ambassador to the USA (and Jim Callaghan's son-in-law), Peter Jay. Like the Centre for Policy Studies, this think-tank is supposed to be all-party, and to a certain extent it is, although again on examination of its ideas and recommendations, one would think that its membership was at least to the right of Thatcher. The IEA has in fact been around for some years – launched by a von Hayek devotee, Anthony Fisher, using profits made from a factory farming concern he exploited. Since then the IEA has existed mainly on massive contributions from private industry Firms like ICI, Unilver, Shell, Lucas, Courtaulds. Its advisory committee contains a whole wedge of peers of the realm. According to a report in New Society, the IEA: 'remains bitterly hostile to the unions'. Seldon and Harris want to remove the legal immunities to strike without damage'... Most of the IEA are libertarians (sic), at least Seldon believes adults (though not children) should buy pornography, if they want to without harassment'. New Society also went on to say, 'There is more of a touch of anarchism about their tirade. .

### LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE

## COMMENT

The IEA, as well as having good fraternal relations with the Freedom Association and, naturally, the Adam Smith Institute, also regularly acts as hosts for Libertarian Alliance meetings. The LA seminar, for example, on 'Anarcho-Psychology to the Free Network', by Andrew Spies and the 'Conservative Contradiction' by George Watson both LA talks - were held at the IEA HQ. As well as the IEA, the Libertarian Alliance regularly hold meetings in the Churchill Room, London House, Mecklenburgh Square, London WC2. Planned meetings at this venue include talks on the need to drop the Minimum Pay regulations and the unfair dismissal laws, etc (given by Teresa Gorman, who writes for the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph and has had a pamphlet published by the Centre for Policy Studies); free market radio (given by Peter Stremes, ex-Chairman of the Scottish Federation of Conservative Students and now station coordinator for the commercial MOR pirate radio station, Radio Jackie); and libertarian economics (given by Brian Micklethwaite, editor of the LA's Political Notes series, assistant manager of the Alternative Bookshop, contributor to the Capitalist Worker, Freedom, Free Nation (Freedom Association), Economic Affairs (IEA), etc).

Looking to wider horizons the Libertarian Alliance helped to organise the Second European Libertarian Convention (SELC-ON), which was held in early August 1985 in Norway (co-ordinated by Libertariarsk Allianse, Camilla Collettsvei 7, 0258 Oslo). The LA also helped organise the Libertarian International, which included Chris Tame and Brian Micklethwaite as speakers. The Libertarian International quotes an address of 824 West Broad Street, Richmond, Virginia 23220, USA. Tame, a finger in every pie – the LA, the Lib. Int., Adam

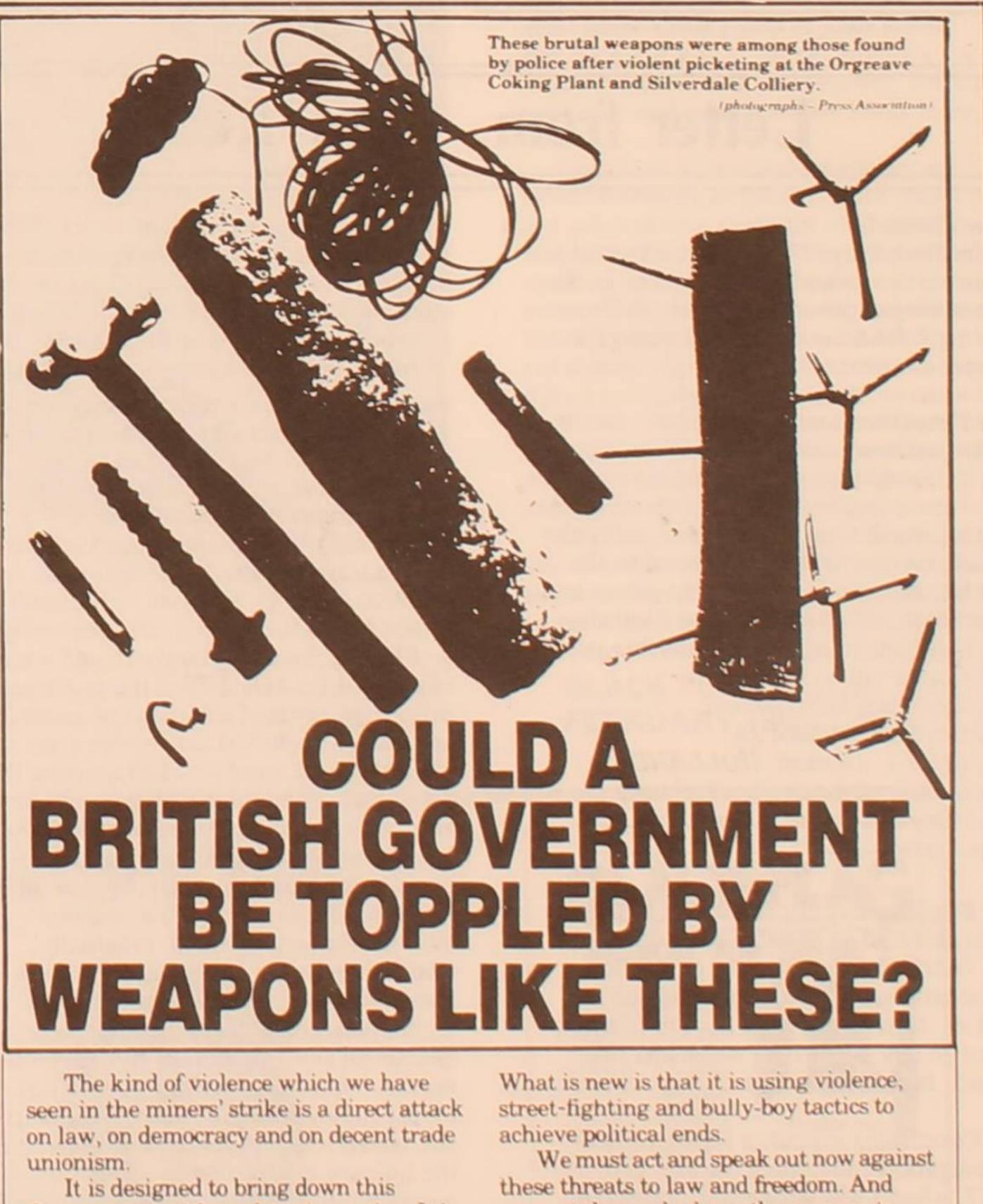
Smith Club, etc – has recently got himself on to the steering committee of the International Symposium of the Open Society (20 Thorncliffe Rd, London SW2), whose advisory council includes von-Hayek and Arthur Shenfield. They are currently working towards an international forum of the ISOS (one took place July 25-29 at Queens College, Cambridge). The ISOS, like the Libertarian International, is far-right Toryism/Reaganism (eg. free market economics pro-Capitalist, anti-Soviet, anti-union/ collectivist, etc.) and promotes the politics and practice of the New Right on an international level, especially to academics, advisors and those who graduate to thinktanks.

### Maxwell Stirner

N.B. The British launch of Western Goals, a US based international body personally supervised by World Anti-Communist Chairman, Major-General John K Singlaub, was organised by non other than Andrew Smith (Young Monday Club/FCS libertarian faction). Western Goals, originally founded by far-right US Congressman, Larry McDonald (John Birch Society, etc), specialises, among other things, in setting up computer banks of lists of known 'subversives' of the left – a sort of extra-statist intelligence gathering agency. Western Goals has now a branch in Britain and its work will no doubt complement that of the intelligence gathering activities of the Economic League and Aims of Industry. Privatising State intelligence work is something that the Libertarian Alliance, who support privatising the police, the prison service (sic) etc would easily contribute to Privatisation has been going on for some years at several levels.

As this article was written over six months ago. some of the information may be out of date.

Sick propaganda from Aims of Industry.



Government with trade union action. It is one step in a revolutionary campaign. The miners' strike is clearly political.

support those who have the courage to stand firm and oppose the violence of the bully-boys.

SUPPORT THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE Send for our free pamphlet, Revolution and Privilege: some questions to the NUM, Arthur Scargill and the Government', From Aims of Industry, 40 Doughty Street,

London WC1N 2LF (Tel: 01-405 5195). Please enclose a stamped addressed envelope.

PAGE 5 BLACK FLAG

### Letter from **Brent Taylor** BRENT TAYLOR MAIL BREAKS THROUGH AT LONG LAST!

### Dear Friends,

All things considered I have had a pretty good autumn – I've been keeping healthy and well occupied with my studies. I won a grievance regarding the censorship of literature being sent to me. As a result, I received a large bundle of literature that had been witheld the past year and, as well, I will be able to receive almost everything sent to me in the future. If I was placed back on mailing lists to receive Black Flag, Anarchy etc. that would be much appreciated.

North America is on a big health and fitness kick these days. I recently read that business men were all excited now as fitness equipment sales reached a Billion Dollars last year! There's nothing particularly significant about that, but it does make an interesting comparison with the figure of one billion dollars sales for war-toys for children last Xmas in North America. And it is the Vietnam war generation that's raising kids these days, and despite what idealists might have hoped for fifteen years ago, they are raising their kids on war toys and Rambo, not 'peace, love and good vibes' Patriotism has really come back into vogue - lock stock and barrel in the good ole USA. Some of the TV shows would bkow your mind - super heroes joining up with freedom loving guerrilla forces in Central America to fight a Soviet Total Totalitarian puppet regime - real overt propaganda. And advertisements sell using patriotism as such as sex these days. And Christian fascists even worse than Reagan could be in the White House in 1988. G.I. Joe for President!

Brent Taylor, Millhaven Prison, Box 280, Bath, Ontario, Canada KOH 1GO

SOURCE: Anarchy magazine.

n September 23, 1985 the B.C. Court of Appeal heard Julie Belmas, former member of the Canadian clandestine organizations Direct Action and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, appeal her 20 year sentence. During her testimony, she said she had renounced her activities, and described how she became involved with armed struggle and events leading up to and including the firebombing of Red Hot Video and Litton Systems of Canada. She named and described the activities of her former comrades Ann Hansen, Gerry Hannah, Brent Taylor and Doug Stewart, including activities for which some of these political prisoners have not been charged. The head of the three member panel, Judge Nemetz, ordered the transcripts of the appeal seized so that they could be used against Brent and Ann when they come up for appeal (before the same panel). The court's decision on Julie's appeal has yet to be handed down.

A classic example of the prison and justice system attacking the weakest link, breaking the will of Julie and reducing her to a pitiful, whining and sobbing spectre of her former self, Julie announced her 'rehab bilitation' saying how she would

like to teach criminology courses so that young people wouldn't follow her wayward path. Blaming her youth and impressionable nature, (introducing a pamphlet on 'Identity, Youth and Crisis') she criticized Brent and Ann for misleading and misdirecting her, and completely accepted the prosecution's portrayal of Ann and Brent as the leaders and herself as a lowly soldier. She spoke of pressure being applied to her due to her debts, and how she spoke tough on the phone only because she couldn't bear Ann and Brent's scorn. She asked the court to show her leniency because her guilty plea had started the whole ball rolling and how she had saved the justice system so much money by not proceeding with a trial by jury. All in all, a pathetic spectacle.

Julie's turnaround did not surprize the Vancouver political community supportive

### Letter from Alan Reeve

### Dear Comrades.

In Black Flag (27/1/'86) you carried a report of the riot which took place in the Scheveningen prison on January 6. I'm writing from Scheveningen to correct a couple of errors:

(1) The prisoner who was injured, Jan de Rijke, suffered concussion and sever bruising to his right knee, wrist and elbow; he is recuperating, but a recent letter informs us that it will be several months before he is fully recovered. He was moved to the punishment wing in Maastricht prison and kept there in isolation, but on Thursday 0/1/\*86 was transferred to another ja His current adress is:

Gevangenis Schutterswei, Prins Bernhardlaan 16,

1815 JG, Alkmaar, HOLLAND Cards, in English, simply expressing solidarity and concern, would be appreciated.

(2) Brigadier Bal, the screw involved, has been absolved of possible consequences; the Dutch OM (ie. Director of Public Prosecutions) decided not to pursue the matter. Most of the cons are too frightened to go any further, so we've lost this round: next time, better...

(3) Concerning myself: a report of the investigation concerning the events of 1967, when I was wrongfully convicted of killing a fellow prisoner (Billy Doyle), is being written by detectives from Thames Valley Police and will be passed onto the DPP for further consideration. We won't know anything more for several months. Regardless of what the DPP decides, we'll be publicising the way that the original trial was a parody – and the fact that, regardless of physical evidence

which demonstrated my innocence, the DHSS and the Home Office ignored my innocence as a means of justifying my continued detention on the grounds of my political activities in Broadmoor.

Injustice is so common in England that we don't really expect much response when the facts are finally made public but perhaps we will be able to force through a few re-examinations of other people's cases. Incidentally, the 'we' is myself and other comrades working with me – I leave Elizabeth to employ the regal pronoun, after all, it would be an insult to add her to the ranks of the unemployed.

I'll take this opportunity to add a note of support for SOLACE - the psychiatric prisons, in England and other countries, are a much neglected area of oppression. It's not only a question of supporting the prisoners – something which should be automatic for anyone committed to working against Statist ideas and practices but also of examining the way that all penal institutions are used as testinggrounds for tactics which, eventually, find themselves in the armouries of the statist anti-people units. Interrogation techniques, controlled schooling techniques, social and community control techniques – most of these are worked out by psychologists and forensic psychiatrists and tested in the psychiatric prisons. It is the military establishment which dominates research into the effects of sensory deprivation – and the police/prison officers who put this research into practice in order to consolidate and refine it.

Keep publishing information which people can use in the struggle not just for human rights but for a human world. The struggle continues. .

Love & Solidarity, Alan Reeve.

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Julie Rats Out



Julie Belmas

of the Five. There had been enough signals indicating in which direction she intended to go, her rejection of the Free the Five Defense Group's financial and political support (money sent for Julie's appeal instead will be spent on Ann's and Brent's), her slide into religion at the Kingston Prison for Women where she and Ann were imprisoned and where Ann remains, her failure to answer correspondence, and her break-up with Direct Action member Gerry Hannah. And it was only the liberalism and naivete of the Vancouver revolutionary community that continued to accept Julie following her plea of guilty in June 1984 accompanied as it was by a signed confession implicating Brent in a number of activities. At that time, none of the other defendants had pleaded guilty, and while the Defence Group tells us that Brent was not overly disturbed by this betrayal (he being much more concerned with an upcoming court decision on the use of wiretaps) a betrayal it was, one which was not negated by Julie's subsequent recanting on the

pages of the Vancouver Sun, the major daily in the metropolitan area.

Whether it be an 'upright citizen' befriended by, and acting for, the cops; a sleazy informer working for the police for money or to avoid charges; or a former member of the guerilla organization who has broken down under the stress of capture, confinement or torture, an informer is one of the guerillas worst fears. Look at the supergrasses of Northern Ireland and Italy and the destruction they have caused to the struggle there, or, closer to home, to the role of traitors in the trials of the Brinks defendants, the New York 8, and the Puerto Rican patriots in the U.S.

The use of informers as one of the most effective weapons in the counter-insurgency arsenal means that we, as revolutionaries, have to take special care with whom we work, discouraging those we feel haven't reached the political and emotional maturity to engage in this line of activity, to look deep into ourselves to see if we, ourselves, are capable of withstanding the onslaught of the state and to take structural precautions to limit the amount of damage that can result

from the turning of a comrade. After all, to inform is to betray. To betray your comrades, to betray the revolution, to betray the people. If there is one transgression that cannot be countenanced it is that. On that score there is no forgiveness, no mitagating factors. It is the bottom lineone can't get any lower.

So if Brent did stand up, as Julie testified in her appeal hearing, and said harshly to her that she "was out to sabotage everything he had dedicated his life towards" and that she "should be very careful" he was

For that is the destructive power of the informer and the proper attitude that we need to have towards them.

SOURCE: Open Road Resistance supplement.

SUPPORT THE ANARCHIST **BLACK CROSS!** 

### **Resistance and Anarchy in Finland**

More and more people are being jailed in Finland for refusing to do their military service. At present, military service in Finland is compulsory and can last up to eleven months although you can opt for a 'civil' service, lasting fourteen to sixteen months.

Esa Yritys is just one of about twenty five people who have gone to prison for refusing both military and civil service. He also recently went on hunger strike and would welcome support. Letters of

Continued from Front Page

newscasters. A lighting man was arrested - he had been arrested 3 days before

when the police used similar tactics. Then, most of the picketers made a sudden run up the road, away from police lines, and to our joy, coming towards us was a convoy of lorries, on their way to pick up the night's papers. Bricks hailed on the trucks as windscreens smashed and the drivers swerved, nearly running people down. As the trucks limped into the printworks a feeling of joy arose amongst the picketers. No police had made it there, and vans continued to be the victims of surprise ambushes along the road, for some time.

During the night there were 58 arrests and it is clear that the police will learn from events and in the near future will probably swamp the area, subjecting residents in nearby housing estates to the seige atmosphere of the pit villages during the miners strike. There are already reports of police stopping coachloads of picketers, in the north. They will try to

solidarity can be sent to:

Esa c!o Hameenlinnan Laaninvankila, Hameenlinna, FINLAND.

Anarchism in Finland is threatening to take off too after local Anarchists organised an Anarchist weekend in the Spring of 1984 at Oulu (Northern Finland) to launch an Anarchist magazine called Sirpale. The second issue is out now and can be got from:

Juha Alakulppi clo Uusikatu 40 A21, 90100 Oulu, FINLAND.

### Scab Busters

make Wapping into a no-go area except for themselves and the scabs.

As effective union organisation is being made illegal by the use of the courts, and union dues are seized by the State, now is the time to take action in solidarity with the sacked printworkers.

There are reports of people intercepting scab papers in the early morning, either nicking them or making them unsaleable, before the newsagents open. TNT drivers have been attacked and their vans wrecked. The more that distribution is disrupted. the more it will hurt Murdoch and his cronies who will be waiting anxiously to see the outcome of the dispute. The picketing must not be limited to mass symbolic actions and set-piece battles which only end up giving the riot police practise in crowd control.

As money and food were needed during the long miners strike, so is solidarity action by other unions, mass picketing, and disruption of distribution of the scab papers needed now. NB. The sacked printworkers have been refused DHSS payments, so are existing on strike pay only.

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS HISTORY OF THE BLACK CROSS

### ORIGINS

The Anarchist Red Cross started in Tsarist Russia. It was active on two fronts - the organising of aid for political prisoners and deportees, and organising self-defence against political raids by Cossacks. In this latter capacity it helped start Jewish worker's self-defence against pogroms. It was sustained economically by Russian Anarchists in America, particularly in Chicago.

During the Russian civil war, when the Red Cross was active in organising relief, it was thought better to change the name to avoid confusion, and so it became the Anarchist Black Cross.

After the Bolsheviks seized power, the organisation moved to Berlin – still with its main aid Chicago-based - and continued to help Russian prisoners (now of the Soviet Union) with the added task of helping the victims of Italian Fascism, and prisoners of the post-war German reaction. Finally when Germany succumbed to fascism, and the depression hit America, the decline in the amount of financial aid and the huge wave of people need ing that support, broke the back of the organisation. Nevertheless, Chicago remained a source of strength for years up to recent times.

There were other relief organisations set up too, such as the International Anti-Fascist Solidarity (SIA) set up by the CNT (the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists) during the Spanish Civil War, the Mutual Aid for Asian prisoners (Indian and Chinese), and the Orphans Fund (Spain and the World -the British Anarchist paper - children's colony) during the Spanish struggle, and

### REVIVAL

many others similar.

The revival of the Anarchist Black Cross as such however took place as a result of Stuart Christie's imprisonment in Spain. With the publicity attracted, he received solidarity from a great many countries, and shared this with fellow-Anarchist prisoners. As a result of which we found that aid to Spanish prisoners was possible.

It was felt that the then existing facilities for working for Spanish prisoners were inadequate – for years we had given the impression that nothing could be done for them and the then existing pro-prisoner groups were an active barrier.

When Christie returned, he wanted to aid prisoners in Spain and began to work with Albert Meltzer who for some years past had taken over the Mutual Aid from M.P.T. Acharya in India working for Asian prisoners.

Almost exceptionally, in Spain it was possible to aid prisoners financially (the capitalist system operates in Spanish jails - work, if permitted to do so, or starve! support your family or friends outside if

allowed, or be supported by them - unlike the State socialist system in most prisons -`work as directed and eat as provided). The Black Cross first worked for the

release of Migual Garcia who was near to the end of his sentence (which did not mean automatic liberty), and when he came out, he joined them in London to organise the International Black Cross.

### AIMS

The aims of the Black Cross as reconstituted was to provide a 'springboard' effect - get people to work for the release of, and where possible the assistance of, political prisoners and Anarchists in particular – and in turn get inspiration from them in carrying on the struggle.

Help came immediately from many comrades at home and abroad. In particular during the last days of Franco numerous food parcels went to Spain - these meant a great deal as prisoners were being refused the right to work if they engaged in demonstrations against the regime, which were breaking out throughout the prisons of Spain as the Franco regime was cracking. It meant that they had to get help from their none too affluent families, or starve. The encouragement that the parcels brought or the financial assistance received, meant they had more heart to struggle.

A different form of activity was that involved in the social liaison with Spain. Many young women were breaking with Catholic dominated tradition and becoming liberated; but giving birth to children outside marriage was still a major social disaster for them. A lot of young women were then coming to England, usually London, for abortions, or for contraceptive advice we couldn't provide either but we could put them in touch with the right sources and help financially where needed (this was the heaviest financial burden of all). For some reason this brought us the stern disapproval of the then so-called feminist movement which was why we couldn't work with it. We were told we were underwriting private medicine and the girls had better wait until the Spanish State put abortion on the National Health Service - which it didn't have even privately

Also we trained a lot of Spanish friends in the craft of offset litho printing (the

late Martin Page, Ted Kavanagh, and Anna Blume helped particularly in this); in later years we managed to send duplicators, Xerox and offset litho machines to the reconstituted Anarchist groups and CNT locals.

### INTERNATIONAL GROUPS

It was not our intention to set up Black Cross groups in other countries. Our idea was that we could channel the information to groups about prisoners, concentrated on Spain – at a time when the Anarchist prisoners were still a sizeable proportion and they could act directly. We hated the idea of becoming a bureaucratic charity in which money goes to upkeep. We resisted that. Other Black Cross groups sprang up in other countries, particularly in Germany and Italy -since then almost everywhere, some with slightly different ideas to our own, others the same.

They have had their own problems major ones too - for the railway man, Pinelli, the secretary of the Black Cross in Milan, was murdered by the Italian police in being flung from a window (which still amuses the bourgeoisie as shown in 'Death of an Anarchist' - deaths of Statists never

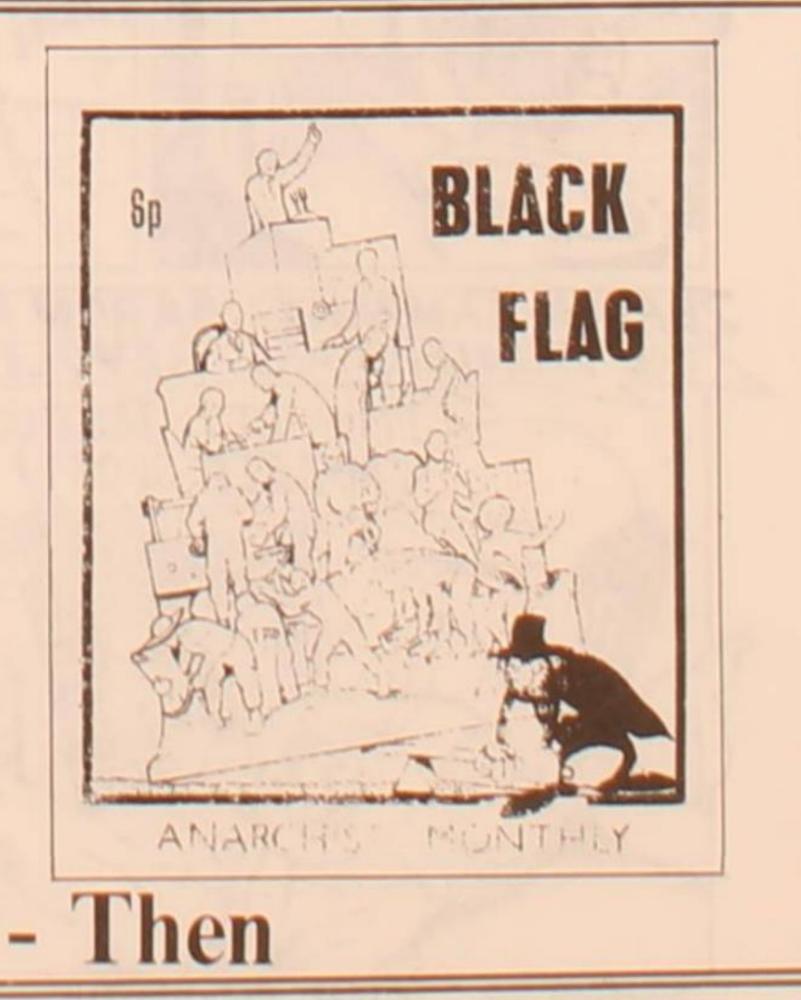
The greatest satisfaction we had was the release of Goliardo Fiaschi. Released from 20 years imprisonment under Franco he was re-arrested and charged on deportation to his native Italy under an old Fascist conviction. Our intervention apparently brought his release (it happened barely a week after we approached the authorities). There were a number of other cases where we managed to obtain the release of people either already sentenced or on trial. International protest probably saved the lives of the Murrays, but so far alas they are still in an Irish jail. We were delighted to find that our protest swelled the many protests of others which, with his own heroic stand, secured the release of Black American activist Martin Sostre. Our greatest disappointment was to be able to do nothing for the other Black American anarchist prisoner, Lorenzo Komboa Ervin, still in jail for his part in resisting the American involvement in Vietnam - ironically the only 'war criminal' in US jails for Vietnam. His prison governors have locked him up behind a wall of silence as effective as anything in

the Iron Curtain. Prison governors or examining judges have sometimes been overwhelmed by the response stirred up. When Brenda Christie was arrested on a trumped up charge in Western Germany, the judge protested that he had never been so deluged with complaints from all over the world. The French examining judge in another case - involving Jean Weir and Octavio Alberola – claimed a nervous breakdown as a result of the same 'mistreatment'.



### Black Flag

Black Flag began as the Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross in 1968 and changed its name to Black Flag in early 1971. It was a monthly paper at that time. It remained a monthly paper in the seventies until early in 1983 when it became a fortnightly with a quarterly magazine. Although the quarterly magazine had to be suspended due to lack of finances, the fortnightly is still going strong in 1986!



do). Georg von Rauch, secretary of the Black Cross in Berlin, was murdered by the armed police. But who would believe these people – anarchists – against the word of officers with forty years experience in the force, asked the Berlin police chief, which statement identified them pretty clearly as Nazis.

Miguel Garcia

### NOW

One offshoot of the Anarchist Black Cross in this country was the transformation of the Bulletin of the ABC into Black Flag.

Like the Black Cross, it was intended as a ginger group among what seemed to be the anarchist movement at the time. It had to move into the mainstream despite itself for many reasons. Now the Black Flag Collective and the Anarchist Black Cross are not precisely identical and we haven't got down to working out our 'constitution' - it means most of us who are involved in Black Flag have two hats. Most of the Black Cross work is into action rather than administrative, and that's how we like it. With Black Flag we faced the fact that many of our readers were asking to join an organisation, so we finally abandoned our stand of being an independent group within the anarchist movement and recommended entry into the Direct Action Movement, the anarcho-syndicalist organisation, which represented the largest and most potent force nationally. (For the benefit of our critics: we didn't take it over nor has it taken over us over; but most of our collective are in it and a lot of our readers members or sympathisers.)

While Black Flag is produced in London contributions come from all over Britain and the world. The Anarchist Black Cross exists in all the regions of Britain, North East, North West, MIdlands and South East England, Scotland, Wales and North and South of Ireland. The ABC keeps good contact with Anarchists around the world and we exchange Black Flag with the many publications from the anarchist press today. Black Flag, and publications we have gone on to produce are sent free, on request to prisoners anywhere in the world where it can be received.

Through the pages of Black Flag and by protests, pickets, petitions etc. we go on struggling for the freedom of class war prisoners and encouraging anarchists to organise. Currently we are trying, along with many others to save the life of K. Omori, a Japanese comrade facing the death penalty in Japan.

### WHAT CAN I DO?

Anarchist prisoners need support, get in touch with us if you want to contact the local Black Cross group in your region, and we'll put you in touch. Publicity for prisoner's situations, fund-raising, writing solidarity and protest letters needs to be done.

For Black Flag letters or articles of news or reviews, preferably with graphics (eg. photographs, drawings etc.) are always welcome. On the production side we are open to volunteers in all spheres of the paper. From editing material, typesetting, layout, printing to collating and folding for distribution. We produce the paper on a fortnightly basis, this usually means we layout etc one weekend and distribute the next. If you are in London and willing to help then phone (01)274 6655 from 12 midday on Saturday for details.

Most importantly you can not forget the comrades in jail. Just because the walls divide us the struggle is not over. In the end it is an Anarchist goal to abolish the prison system and its creator the State

BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE FEBRUARY 1986, LONDON.



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