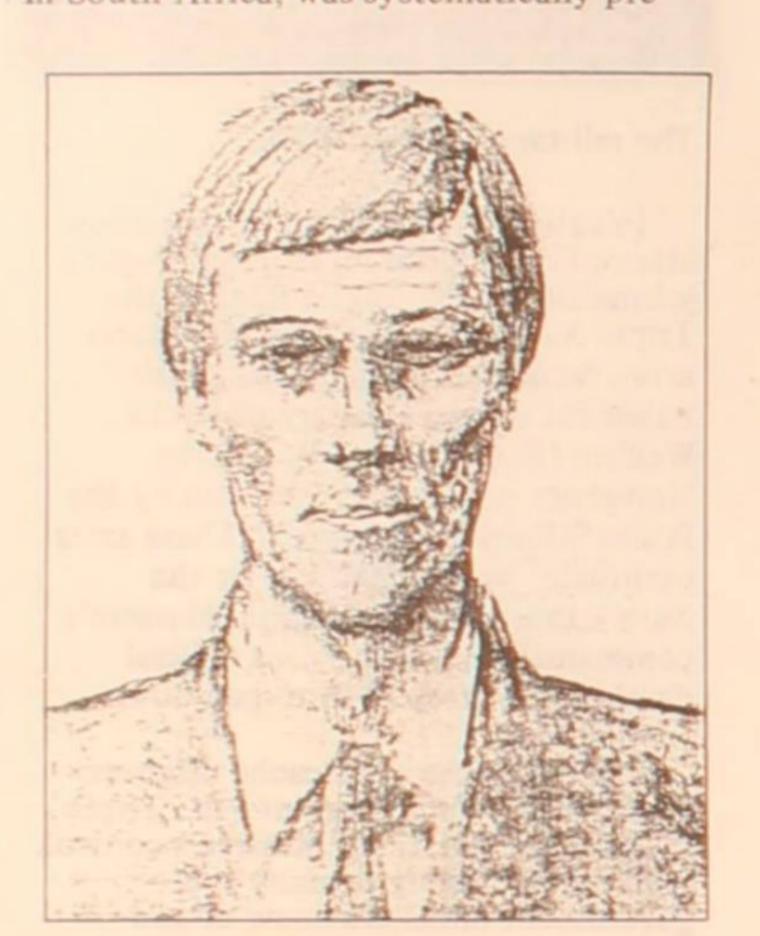
## BOOK REVIEW

#### WITH EXTREME PREJUDICE \* Martin Walker. Canary Press '86.

This book appears at a time when the British government is mounting a campaign to protect the rights of those who hold racist and extremist views to speak freely. Only recently Enoch Powell, well known for his repatriation of immigrants views, was successfully prevented by a group of anarchists (see separate article) from speaking at Bristol University. At the same university a lecturer who has articles published in the scab newspaper The Sun (Murdoch's Wapping product) has been held accountable by locals. John Carlisle MP, who holds extreme views in support of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, was systematically pre-



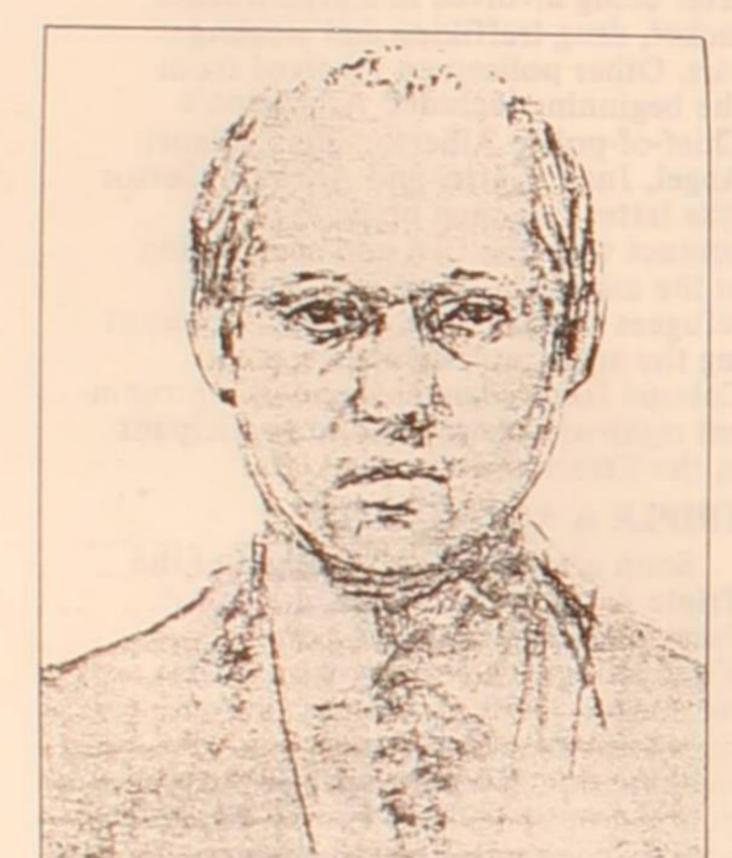
vented from speaking at several venues on a nation wide speaking tour. And, back in March 1985, the then Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, spoke on Law & Order at the University of Manchester Students Union. Coming in the last few days of the Miners' Strike, the government was determined that Brittan would speak without interruption and that any demonstration against him would be dealt with ruthlessly.

This book is about what happened at the anti-Brittan demonstration, about the police tactics used against people, and about the year long campaign of systematic harassment and violence used against several witnesses and people involved in a subsequent enquiry. Two people in particular, Sarah Hollis and Steven Shaw. It is the sort of book that will make you angry; you will not want to put it down until you've read it to the end.

The author provides a detailed account of events relating to the specific acts of harassment and violence. He also goes much further, placing the campaign and the violence into context. The Greater Manchester Police force comes under scrutiny, and the specific tactics of paramilitary policing. The deployment of the Tactical Aid Group and officers of the local Special Branch (under direct control of the recently reinstated Deputy Chief Constable, John Stalker) in the assault is also detailed and the hardware and tactics

of riot control and paramilitary policing are examined. As a result of the current policing programme virtually every police officer in the UK will have received training in paramilitary policing. We now have a nation wide police force that is a virtual standing army in its own right, able to take on a full paramilitary role at the drop of a hat, constantly on tap to meet any national emergency.

Nor does the author fail to criticise the stance adopted by so many left groups both inside and outside the Labour Party, and of the LP itself, in their notion that the police can somehow be made accountable by democratically elected bodies. He stresses the point made so often by Anarchists that all governments, regardless which political party is in power, are



Two police officers responsible for the harassment of Steven Shaw (artist's impression).

tied to the needs of a police state. The truth of what happened in Manchester, as the book clearly demonstrates is useless if the system is weighted against it and where corruption has been so institutionalised to the degree that the police have virtual immunity to do whatever they like. Knowing 'the truth' but being unable to do any more than reveal it, is really, perhaps, one of the underlying themes of the book. Inevitably, as policing itself becomes more paramilitary (more weaponry etc.) then measures, other than the purely defensive, will be matched to counter this trend by those who are the subject of increased police oppression and brutality. In many parts of the country the always fragile confidence given to the police and policing has broken down and police officers have become literally fair game. A war against the police though has yet to start in earnest. At the moment we are only seeing

As a postscript, although not the final postscript, it has been reported that Steven Shaw has been forced to leave the country to protect his life. How many members of the Greater Manchester Force we ask, have been forced to leave the country because they fear retaliation on a similar level? Outside the arena of parliamentary and bourgoise politics this is where 'the truth' starts and ends.

Available (£3) c/o Canary Press, BCM Canary, London WC1N 3XX.

## The C.I.A. And State Terror

#### Continued from page 7

covered up. Nevertheless, the investigation failed to disprove Lopez Rega's obvious involvement and in July 1975 he fled the country. The Triple A continued to function while Rega settled first in Madrid, then in Switzerland. He enjoyed CIA protection and in 1981 his name turned up in a list of P-2 masonic lodge members during the Lucio Gelli scandal in Italy along with Emilio Massera! (The man appointed to investigate Rega's links with the Triple A several years previously!)

Thanks to such connections Rega managed to evade justice for eleven years. In 1978 when the Argentina government was informed by the Swiss authorities of Rega's location

they not only refused his extradition, but also refused to authorise his arrest. Then earlier this year, Rega finally ran out of luck. The CIA lost interest in him and many of his military friends back home had ended up in prison after the military dictatorship collapsed in 1983. He was arrested in Miami and extradited back to Argentina to face

The Triple A is still active today under new leadership and as part of the Black (fascist) International, including the CAL (Latin American section of WACL – see separate article). It still enjoys an understanding with the police and armed forces in Argentina and concentrates these days on assassinating and intimidating human rights activists. Source: Various

## A Letter From Denmark

Friends,

During the Ryesgade 58 eviction in Copenhagen-14-23rd September-the following also happened.

At a nearby building site, the multinational company Sperry had its crane burned down and lots of tools and building materials were taken for better purposes (reinforcement of barricades). Sperry has provided the Army of Guatamala with hightechnology in order to make extermination of native indians more successful; as well as favours to the South African apartheid regime.

The media gave us a brilliant example of how powerful they in fact are, as tolls in the hands of the rulers. Many were the accusations against the squatters. They were 'sons and daughters of the upperclasses, throwing stones at badly paid working class policemen'. They had 'taken the common local people in the street as hostages' in a fight which 'looked more like terrorism than traditional political activism'. The media also cracked down on the fact that youngsters of twelve to fifteen helped the BZ (squatters) getting valuable information about police activity outside the barricades.

Danish Secret Police (PET) used zoomlenses to spot everyone (though covered in ski-masks) who moved inside the barricades. This was accepted in the media as 'necessary for the good of national security'. Production of Mollies (petrol bombs) was solved by the use of a gasoline station inside the barricaded area. When helmets ran low, for the many sympathisers, the military stocks nearby were cleaned out so by the end of our 'black week' everyone wore a helmet. Local leftwing radio stations called upon solidarity among their listeners. Many - including many old people - responded to the requets. At night one had to patrol the nearby area outside the barricades. The guards would make loud noises in order to alarm patrols if they saw any suspicious persons looking like cops. Quickly fifteen-twenty well-armed squatters would arrive with huge batons and jump over the barricades in order to clear the area of cops - in Denmark civil cops are called UROPAT-RULJEN - 'URO meaning unrest.

A popstar, Kim Larsen, offered two million Danish Kroner in order to buy the house and give it away to BZ. Also a big Danish socialdemocratic union (SID) offered 200,000 D.Kr. so that a nonviolent solution could be found'.

The mayor rejected this and claimed these proposals to be 'unrealistic' granting forty people autonomy and selfownership. The squatters said they would accept the solution if the municipal authorities would keep on adminstering the

house - formally only 'on paper'. Acknowledging that one should not accept private solutions on public problems in other words, municipal authorities are responsible for solving the problem of housing.

The tactics of the city-hall politicians were to exhaust the squatters by drawing them into vague negotiations. This worked. After nine days the squatters left the area. They were disillusioned about the rotten game of party politics, tired after a long tense week of fighting and playing chess with the invisible bureaucrats of the Establishment. At one time fighting cops and next, struggling with local racist groups who tried to destroy institutions inside the barricades (they were thrown out by armed BZ-patrols!)

On Monday September 23, nobody knew that the squatters had any intention of leaving the area. Press came to an appointed press meeting at 9 o'clock in the evening but found the house and the area deserted.



The squatters made a statement pointing to the fact that they could negotiate without barricades but leading city-hall politicians stated that no negotiations would be taking place with BZ (previously the city-hall said they would not talk across barricades!). The squatters' response was the hijacking of a bus and an attack on Mayor Weidekamp with stinky butric acid at a social democratic meeting. BZ believe that 'only direct action can make these swines understand that we're serious about our wishes to live freely in autonomy!'.

Gaspar (Denmark).

## LATE NEWS

SPAIN: FIDEL MANRIQUE FREE! After eight years in prison for expropriation on behalf of the CNT-AIT, Fidel Manrique Garrido, an occasional contributor to Black Flag, has been released.

STOP WESTMINSTER GASWORKS On October 23rd at 11am Anarchists met up in Trafalgar Square, London to protest the opening of Parliament.

The contact for the demonstration, 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Road SE24 was telephoned by the police previously to say any demonstration was illegal. Banners saying Abolish Parliament @ and Never Trust a Politician! attracted some tourists, the police and pickets from the non-stop picket of South Africa House. Leaflets were distributed until the police gave a caution to one person and began stealing our Guy Fawkes and other placards. A tactical withdrawl was made to the anti-apartheid picket where anarchist ideas of liberty and social justice were compared to the tyranny of all governments, in Britain an elected dictatorship. After awaiting the late arrival of other anti-parliamentarians we held a meeting away from obvious police surveillance and decided to hire a sight-seeing coach

and tour Whitehall and Parliament Square The cops guarding South Africa House jaws dropped open as the open-topped bus with forty people waving flags, throwing leaflets, banners waving, all yelling drove past. A good time was had until the police pulled the coach over threatened to arrest us all and then forced the

coach driver to drop us off over Waterloo Bridge. A meeting decided to call it a day until the next opening of parliament when we'll be back, you are welcome too! Would-be Show stopper.

The death in Peking is announced of Field Marshall Ye Yianying, aged 90. This criminal originally worked with the local warlord in Fukien province against Sun Yat Sen, but later switched over, and his major military achievement in his early years was to wipe out the Anarchist forces in the north, switching sides variously from local warlords to the Republic, from Chiang to Mao, but always against the workers and peasants, not a terribly difficult task since they were largely unarmed. Later he joined the Long March of 1934-35 and fought against the Japanese until rising in the Politburo as Minister of Defence. After Mao's death he helped topple the government of Mrs Mao.

#### POWELL MEETING DISRUPTED

No, we haven't ignored the fact that Enoch Powell was disrupted from speaking at Bristol University recently by Anarchists. Unfortunately, due to lack of time, we are unable to give a full report of the incident in this issue of Black Flag. Watch out for details in our next issue!



# 

point.

The furore following the suspension from duty of John Stalker, deputy Chief Constable of the Greater Manchester police, while investigating police conduct in the North of Ireland has not only confirmed the existence of an R.U.C. (Royal Ulster Constabulary) 'shoot-to-kill' policy. By

shining a spot-light on the RUC's less

savoury activities Stalker has indirectly

encouraged journalists to uncover the

sponsored fascist death-squads in, say,

RUC Chief Constable Sir John Hermon,

murdered at least six unarmed men in

cold blood in 1982 and is suspected of

murders committed by RUC and British

According to a recent article in the

armed forces in Northern Ireland since

Observer, the death-squad went under

the name of the RUC Southern Region

Headquarters Mobile Support Unit (HQ-

MSU) and was composed of twenty four

were British ex-soldiers. They were train-

ed at Bally Kinlar barracks by SAS-trained

RUC command based at Gough barracks

men, a considerable number of whom

instructors and weren't answerable to

ordinary RUC officers but to a special

(Armagh) who in turn were answerable

involvement in another twenty eight

Latin America.

existence of an RUC/Special Branch death

squad, run no differently from government

The death-squad, under the control of

to Special Branch Chiefs. It can be safely assumed that Stalker was suspended from duty when he came too close to the discovery of this death-squad. Since his suspension at least three separate incidents involving HQMSU Squad personnel, all taking place in 1982, have been exposed.

> near the shed. Soon Martin McAuley, who was being tailed by Special Branch, arrived at the shed. An MI5 bug planted inside the shed picked up the noise of McAuley's arrival at which point the HQMSU squad was ordered to storm the hayshed and open fire. After the shooting, which McAuley survived, the RUC discovered the dead body of seventeen year old Michael Tighe. He had nothing to do with the Republican movement and had simply accompanied McAuley to the hayshed for the ride. An immediate cover story was issued to the effect that two armed men had been seen during a routine patrol going into the shed and that they later pointed rifles at the HQMSU squad. In the third incident (eighteen days

to a ditch. All three of the unarmed men

had been murdered. An RUC statement

broke through a routine police check-

later claimed the men were shot as they

In the second incident, thirteen days

later, an HQMSU squad was ordered out

again. This time to a hayshed allegedly

being used as an IRA explosives store.

Two cars, each containing three armed

HQMSU men, were ordered to patrol the

area and then wait behind a high hedge

later) on 12th December, an HOMSU squad was sent to mount a road-block in Armagh, near the home of INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) suspect Seamus Grew, along with an Army red Granada. Their orders were to expect INLA suspect Dominic McGlinchey from across the Irish border. Events as usual were being controlled by the Armagh Command. A Special Branch car had been tailing Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll's car that day as it crossed the border into Ireland and picked up McGlinchey briefly before dropping him off later while still in the Irish Republic. As Grew and Carroll's car reached the Northen Ireland border on its way home, the HQMSU squad hurried itself into position at the road-block.

It was at this point that the Army red Granada crashed accidentally into one of the HQMSU cars, breaking one policeman's leg. As the cops milled about the road block Grew and Carroll passed what seemed to be an ordinary road accident. Behind them the Special Branch tail car reached the accident spot and stopped. An HQMSU man with a machine-gun got into this car and sped up after Grew and Carroll. Having over-taken Grew's car further down the road they slowed down and the HQMSU man lept out, pumping fifteen shots into the car killing both men.

The RUC man's broken leg was put to

good use: the cover story was that Grew's

car had crashed through a normal roadblock, injuring an officer and the squad had fired at the fleeing vehicle. WHOSE ORDERS? What is clear from all these incidents is that the British government has been collaborating with the police and armed forces in N.Ireland in a 'dirty war' campaign similar to the one waged against ETA -Militar (the Basque Nationalists) by the Spanish government and like the Triple A campaign in Argentina waged during the

1970's (see seperate article). From the beginning of the Stalker affair it was always obvious that something was being covered up. Now the cover up has finally been exposed. The British government, under Thatcher's patronage, uses death-squads to silence its political opponents, just as Pinochet, Stroessner and other 'tin-pot' dictators

> in Latin America and elsewhere use death squads to silence theirs. What remains to be seen is whether or not Thatcher can disassociate herself successfully from the death-squads when the spot-light is focussed on her. After the Brighten bombing Thatcher should be aware that 'those who live by the sword die by the sword'. All future attempts on Thatcher's life should be seen in this light.

> > Source: A little birdy.

## Supermarket Gives In To Anarchist Pressure



The latest issue of Solidaridad Obrera

ed in July by representatives of the twenty six employees at the HIPER supermarket (belonging to the huge Mare Nostrum

Continued on Page 6

#### AMBUSHES

The first incident occured in November 1982, a fortnight after three policemen were blown up by an IRA (Irish Republican Army) landmine at Kinigo embank-

After a payment of £20,000 was made

by the police to an IRA informer the names of three possible suspects behind the bombing - Eugene Toman, Sean Burns and Martin McAuley - were passed onto the RUC. On November 11th two of those suspects, Toman and Burns, were being driven by Gervaise McKerr along the Tullygally East Road in Lurgan Unknown to them an ambush was waiting for them at the side of the road. As the car approached the ambush two HQMSU men on foot opened fire without warning The car turned right in an attempt to escape the gun-fire, at which point a waiting armour-plated Cortina, containing three more HQMSU men, took off in pursuit. As the Cortina closed from behind all three RUC constables, including the driver, opened fire with pistol, machinegun and rifle. The chased car careered in-

(magazine of the CNT's Catalan section) has got an interesting report on a bit of direct action here in Barna. The offices of this anarcho-syndicalist union in Santa Coloma (north-east Barcelona) were visit-

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

Published, typeset and layout BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE Printed by Aldgate Press E1. SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

12 months: £12 inland

£15 surface, £19 Air. 6 months: £6.50 inland £8 surface, £10 Air.

PRISONERS: Free on request. GIRO ACCOUNT No. BLACK FLAG 58 552 4009 GIRO ACCOUNT No. ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS 51 172 0009.

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

#### ATTENTION ALL READERS

Black Flag is of course free to prisoners and strikers. After some discussion we can now offer claimants, pensioners, low-paid, unemployed, unwaged & children a copy of Black Flag for the price of a second class stamp ie. 12p. If you can send us a series of stamped self-address envelopes all the better as you'll go on receiving the Flag until they run out. This offer is open to genuine low-income people and we ask all our subscribers to take note of this offer as their subs help keep the Flag on the streets, in the shops and homes and cells of many. Any readers willing to ask local newsagents to take the Flag on sale or return basis (they keep 10p of the 30p cover price, as do streetsellers, bookshops etc.) please contact us sooner than later.

# HOME NEWS

## WORKERS IMPOSE SANCTIONS

able to act inside. One-day disruptions

such as the three Stop the City actions

were experiments. Sabotage, the proved

to be effective. City investors need still

their electricity to run their computer

to send electronic messages. With the

hiving off of British Telecom services to

campaign of sabotage in this area would

While there may well be means of

sabotaging the financial links to South

Africa, would there in fact be the will?

unions officially. Certainly not from un

unions like EETPU (the electricians union),

which stood against the miners during the

political campaigns like the backing of de-

1984/'85 strike and only supports safe

unionised GCHQ employees. But there

members from organising unofficially or

would be nothing, of course, to stop

concerned. If the campaign developed

into something bigger than arbitary or

boycott on the movement of certain

even coordinated sabotage - say, a total

goods in certain industrial (e.g. tools and

tool parts to South Africa, the import of

certain companies with trading links (e.g.

etc) - then injunctions and the sequestrat-

concerned have not done what they can to

British Petroleum, Cadbury Schweppes,

ion of funds (where the trade unions

coal from South Africa, etc) or against

even individually where sabotage is

It could hardly come from the trade

be more difficult to organise.

and tested syndicalist tactic, is most likely

terminals. They need telecommunications

the City to Mercury Ltd. any coordinated

A form of anarchy was the informed comment by Tory MP John Carlisle when told of a grassroots campaign by trade unionists to impose sanctions on South Africa in the face of State intransigience. The campaign in question is being organised by members of the civil servants' unions, the SCPS and the CPSA. The campaign is currently planning a series of actions against 'official, commercial and private links between Britain and South Africa'. Specific targets include the Passport office and the Inland Revenue.

This campaign has been closely followed by a similar ban by members of ACTT the television and film technician's union. In the Grampian TV area, ACTT members have announced that a ban on advertising South African products on ITV and Channel 4 will be enforced, despite the threats that such a ban contravenes Independent Broadcasting Authority guidelines. If legal injunctions follow which no doubt they will (Carlisle has already stated that the imposing of sanctions by trade unionists in defiance of government policy 'is illegal') - the sanctions hypocrisy game played by the

government will be exposed for what it is. The power to impose massive boycotts and organise punitive and widespread sanctions can be achieved without government approval, and despite government protestation. The actions already taken by the civil servants and ACTT members demonstrate clearly just how paper thin is the power the State wields over us, in trying to prevent us from achieving our objectives. Any number of workers in other industries could take similar action Crucial to such a massive campaign is the support of dockworkers and air-cargo handlers. Also civil servants in the Dept. of Trade & Industry, where export and import clearances on trade with South Africa prevent industrial action) will undoubtedly occur. But that would happen in any case is processed. The real jewel in the crown is the City with any major strike action that does not of London, in the banking and investment come before a ballot or does not get official approval from the trade unions. and exchange houses. There would only So one way or another that bridge has be the minority of banking clerks who to be crossed and the battle fought and work for the Public School entreprenaurs



JEFFREY'S LIBRARY JEFFREY'S RD. TUES. 18TH. NOVEMBER 7.30 PM

MOUTH WEST LONDON DAM-IWA c/o.121 Hailton Rd. Herne Hill SE24.

The winning of that battle and the crossing of that bridge would mean the rejection, once and for all, of reformist practices and the right of the State to intervene in industrial affairs. Whether it is fought in the name of breaking apartheid or in the name of smashing capitalism, the fight is one and the same. And to organise on these lines and meet that confrontation head on would, as Carisle quite right said, indeed be'a form of anarchy'. But not in the way we know it.

## Broadwater Farm Resists

The weekend of 4-6 October saw the first anniversary of the death of Cynthia Jarrett during an unwarranted police raid into her home, and the uprising by locals on the Broadwater Farm Estate which

Today some seventy-five people face trial for offences allegedly committed during the uprising. The majority of them have been charged with affray which carries an eight year sentence. A recent (Gifford) Independent Inquiry confirmed that the cause of the disturbances was 'racist and insensitive policing' but instead of tackling the social injustices at the root of the conflict in Tottenham (and elsewhere) the police seek to present a number of individuals as responsible for the violence and make them pay for it with lengthy jail sentences.

The Gifford report also raised grave doubts about methods used by the police in Tottenham. Lengthy interrogations of suspects denied access to solicitors, family, friends or social workers have produced pages of worthless 'confessions' which provide the main evidence to be

offered in Court against the defendants. For example, Howard Kerr, a youth of seventeen, signed a fifty page confession implicating himself and twenty others after being held by police for two and a half days. Later, this confession was shown up as worthless and dismissed in Court when Kerr proved he had been

miles away - in Windsor - on the night of the disturbances.

The first person to be convicted of involvement, nineteen year old Simon MacMinn, has already been sentenced to seven years custody. Sixty one people are still to be tried, six of them with the murder of PC Blakelock.



Simon MacMinn:

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, formed after the riot to defend the residents of Tottenham who had come under police attack, is calling for all the charges relating to the disturbances to be dropped. It can be contacted at:

c/o No.12-16 Tangmere, BWF Estate, London N17.

## Keep It In The Family

As reported in Direct Action (the best agitational paper around, and getting better with each issue) the son of police Commander Anthony Speed, James Speed, was recently convicted of viciously attacking a black man. James' father is currently in charge of riot training at the Hendon Police College, but before he took up that post he was deputy Commander at Brixton where he made a name for himself during the '81 riots and for his personal vendetta against anarchists.

In fact it was deputy Commander Speed who was responsible for organising the raid on the anarchist bookshop in Railton Road. Armed police invaded the shop as well as anarchist squatted homes, on the pretext of looking for guns. The police afterwards put out a statement saying that they were trying to 'establish a European

connection'. In other words they were attempting to smear the local anarchists with false claims of links to terrorist groups in Europe. They failed, of course, to find the alleged arms - in fact they apparently were acting on a malicious tip-off. Speed later was reported to have stated that he was determined to get the anarchists come what may. He never succeeded in his ambitions. Clearly Speed is now putting his talents to use on a wider scale training police on a nationwide basis

in the techniques of counter-insurgency. He has also succeeded in maintaining his racialist tendencies in the family. His son is an active member of the National Front. Perhaps he passes on useful inform ation to the NF via his son, or it could be the other way round.

## Direct Action Threatens Sell-Out

In our last issue we included a late news item proclaiming that the Ferry dispute, which has spread to all the major ports in Britain, was over and that all those involved had been reinstated. Out statement was in fact true on the day we went to press, but Sealink management, the employers in the dispute, did an about turn within 24 hours and the dispute continued. Throughout the convoluted negotiations, and despite the false promises made by management, the occupation of the ships by those threatened carried on uninterrupted.

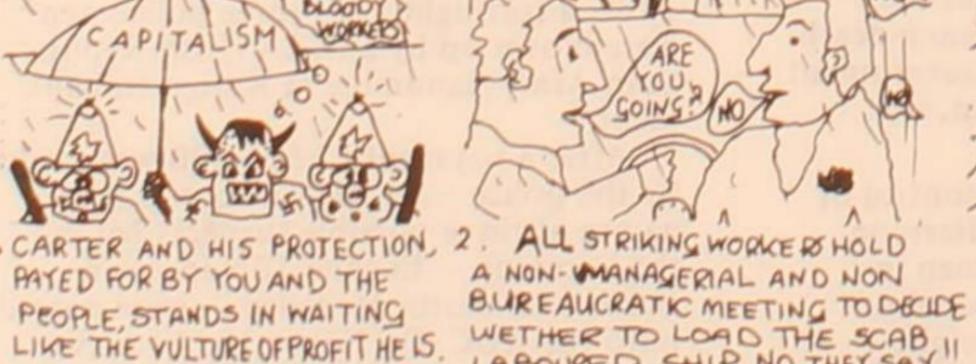
Within a matter of days, the situation had been reversed yet again, but this time the classic British compromise was presented as a fait accompli. The deal in question had been negotiated by the executive of the National Union of Seafarers – negotiated at a point in time just as it was beginning to escalate, gaining increasing support at rank and file level amongst members of the National Union of Railworkers who had been affected by the lay-off ultimatum.

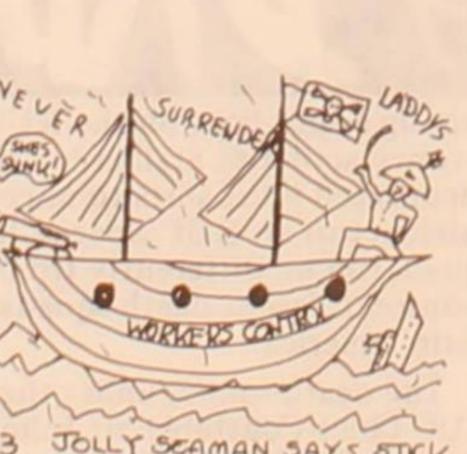
The Deal presented by the NUS in fact meant a loss of over 100 jobs for NUS members; and there was uncertainty too about a further 200 jobs involving NUR members and officers. Nor did the NUS make any bones about the fact that the deal they negotiated had agreed further redundancies next year for the Harwich route, although it was claimed that the threatened lay-offs on the Bolougne route would not now go ahead but instead the service would be subject to 'cost saving charges'. The Euro-communist led NUS executive recommended its members to accept the deal and cease all further direct action. Whether the deal they came up with could have been improved upon had the occupations continued, can now only be a matter for conjecture.

Meanwhile in Jersey (Channel Islands) local Anarchists put out a strike bulletin in support of the workers, part of which is reproduced below.

EPISODE Nº 1







JOLLY SCAMAN SAYS STICK TO YOUR GUNS LADS, WE CAN BEAT THE BOSSES AND THEIR GREED FOR PROFIT AND POWER!

#### SOLIDARITY WITH MINERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

LABOURED SHIP, NO, THEY SAY

On Saturday November 8th 1986 assemble 11.30am at Gunness Corner (beside Jolly Sailor pub) Gunness, South Humberside. March past coal importing wharves. Rally at 12.45 opposite Flixborough Wharf. Called by Hatfield NUM and the Doncaster anti-apartheid group. Vehicles from the M1 should take M18 then M180, turn off at Junction 3 then

turn left at roundabout on A18 towards Doncaster. Gunness corner is about a mile and a half down the Doncaster bound A18. Miners and supporters are returning the solidarity shown by the NUM in South African mines during the 1984/'85 miners strike in Britain. Details contact: PO Box 96, Doncaster South Yorkshire DN4 00U

# INTERNATIONAL

## -CANADA -Direct Action Stops Uranium Shipments

A series of occupations, demonstrations and civil disobedience actions organised by the Direct Action Network Against Nuclear and Military Racism has caused South African representatives of Rio Tinto Zinc Ltd., a British Crown corporation which mines uranium from South Africa and occupied Namibia to stop uranium shipments through the Port of Montreal and to look for another shipping company to transport them into

At this point it is unclear whether the decision to stop doing business was made by Christensen Canadian-Africa Lines (CCAL), a Norwegian-based company, or by Rio Tinto Zinc. Peter Senton, the Senior Vice-President of CCAL's North American agent, March Shipping Ltd., is 'under the impression that the decision was made by CCAL itself', whereas David Baumann, CCAL's Canadian representative says that 'we got very close to making that decision, but it was made for us by our suppliers because of the problems it (protests) was causing us'.

Uranium arriving in Montreal is taken by truck or Canadian Pacific Railway to Port Hope, where it is processed by the Canadian Crown corporation Eldorado

Nuclear. A concerted campaign to stop Namibian uranium shipments to Canada began after the April, 1986 founding of the Direct Action Network. Composed of five affinity groups, including a women's group and a gay/lesbian group, the Network has been doing actions on a monthly basis. In 1979, Greenpeace discovered which ships were transporting uranium to Canada, allowing the Network to accurately predict and publicise arrivals. Although pleased with the recent announcement, members of the Network consider it a partial victory because RTZ's contract with Eledorado Nuclear remains

intact and presumably alternate shipping possibilities are being looked into. New shipping arrangements would entail a good chance of their being kept secret because Eldorado Nuclear, as a Crown corporation, is not required to divulge secrets under the Freedom of Information



Members of the Network stress the interconnectedness of different forms of oppression, and that they should not be considered uniquely an anti-apartheid group. Activities against Namibian uranium shipments will continue but actions concerning a broader range of issues can be expected in the near future.

Network, 211 Milton Street, Montreal, Quebec, H2X IV5 CANADA

### GREECE-2,000 Attend Anarchist Conference!

On April 18th the first panhellenic Anarchist congress was held in Patra. The congress lasted for three days and two thousand Anarchists attended.

On the first day there was a long intro duction on the historical basis of anarchism in Greece especially in Patra fifty years ago. Afterwards the first subject was taken: the press; a letter from a comrade who works in a newspaper sent us information about how the press operates and how we can deal with it in order to make our voice get heard and get truth to appear in the newspapers.

On the second day our second and most important subject was taken: violence; there was a lot of confusion and argument over what violence is caused by anarchists; on justifying violence for defence, violence for attacking purposes and defining the anarchist role and

Some were totally against any type of violence, others accept some violence depending on the occasions. Others think and most of them believe that anarchists fight everyday for their ideas and if they have to defend themselves then they will use violence against the police violence (which is a product of the authority controls society eg. M. Kaltezas killed by the cops on November '85 in Athens). The usual problem with violence is that some types of violence for defence purposes is acceptable by anarchists on a theoretical and practical basis but is not acceptable to society, this can be negative for the movement. .

Third issue was: organisation of the groups in city centres and organisation of the groups outside the centre within city

The groups no matter where they live should intervene in society, they should keep organised and also maintain contact with groups in the city centres.

Both groups, outside and inside the centre should inform society about the activities and interventions its group accomplishes. Another issue, familiar to the above, was discussed at the same time: small towns should keep in touch with the capitals (Athens, Salonica). Comrades from small towns don't give up and go to the capitals, but stay and fight in your areas for the movement. This way the voice of anarchists can be heard all over Greece, something which is positive for

the movement.

Next issue discussed was new: free schools in experimental basis. Lots of comrades were interested in forming free experimental schools (especially for the children under twelve). From the discussion it was found that such a move is very dangerous at the moment because there's no experience, economic problems will occur along the way etc. At the end we saw that the formation of a free kindergarten class would be a good step.

At the end of the second day, a film was shown with the title: Themroc (in French).

On the last day the first issue was the problem in Cyprus: comrades from Cyprus attended the Congress and talked about the anarchist movement in Cyprus. Then anarchist groups from all over Greece talked about their problems in their towns (Volos, Crete, Kavala, Hios, Amaliada, Trikala, Agrinio, Naoysa, Larissa, Komotini).

In the afternoon two more issues were taken: anarchofeminism and the formation and publishing of a panhellenic anarchist paper.

At present there are a few magazines and papers published – but there's no paper or maga zine that will take care of everything that has to do with anarchists their answers and opinions and criticisms to the problems society faces, and to be published in a large number for the public.

The last issue of the congress was drugs: the narcotics problem; we all agreed that we are against drugs (especially heroin, cocaine, LSD, morphine etc.) and we show the public who are the real dealers of the 'white death' (the police and authorities).

These few words about the first panhellenic congress of anarchists cover most aspects and shows how the situation on a theoretical basis, exists at the moment. Our anarchist greetings to all federat-

ions, groups, autonomous comrades. G. V. for the Group FAKA.

NB The Anti-authoritarian Committee of Information(Salonica) wants to exchange information, magazines, newspapers, fanzines, books, photos, future activities with others, contact:

ACI c/o Canathos, Ifestion oe 15, 54632 Salonica GREECE

## SPAIN CNT Launches Major Boycott Campaign

The CNT-AIT (Spain's Anarcho-Syndicalist union) has just launched a major campaign urging workers to boycott the coming union elections, held throughout Spain during October, November and December.

At a meeting of CNT regional delegates in Madrid on 2nd August, it was unanimously agreed to put forward the CNT's abstentionist position regarding the elections through the distribution of 210,000 posters, 50,000 stickers and 300,000 leaflets.

#### WHAT ARE 'UNION ELECTIONS'?

Union elections are an attempt to bring bourgeois parliamentary practices into the work-place. As well as voting for a politician at a general election, workers throughout Spain are also being asked to vote for candidates to represent them in front of management for the next four years (or until the next union elections are held).

Like members of parliament, those elected in the union elections are not instantly recallable by the work-place. Once elected, the successful candidate takes his/her place on the 'company committee' (or 'works committee') through which all negotiations between the unions and management must go. They therefore deprive workers of the right to negotiate directly with management and hope to make obsolete the idea of workplace mass meetings where every worker can put forward their point of view and decisions can be made by consensus in front of everybody.

Like members of parliament, those elected onto the 'company committees' enjoy certain priveleges. They are less likely to be made redundant, they get 'time-off' to do their work, and eventually they lost touch with the shop floor. They are a new elite, set up by the State to divide the working class. Inevitably, the 'company committees' become more and more bureaucratic and soon become a mouthpiece for the management's point of view.

The setting-up of 'company committees' is no coincidence. For years, the ruling class has feared direct negotiations with workers and are constantly looking for intermediaries who will act as a break on workers demands for better pay and conditions. With the 'company committees' they have found what they were looking for!

Like in a general election, the union elections reduce a person's participation



A spanish worker gives his response to the up-coming vertical union elections.

cross on a piece of paper. That is why the CNT-AIT is boycotting union elections. After all, haven't anarchists always boycotted elections. . Source: Michael Parkinson

N.B. Regular readers of Black Flag will remember that it is over the question of union elections that the CNT split in 1979. The breakaway union, the so-called 'CNT-U', will cf course be fielding candidates in the coming union elections. (Along with the Communist CCOO union and the Socialist UGT). The pretence of the 'CNT-U' (and its supporters) that it represents anarchosyndicalism once again contradicts its

#### NEWS IN BRIEF

The CNT-AIT has at last reached an agreement with the National Film Archive, under which the anarchist union will get copies of all the films it made during the Civil War (over a hundred, kept under lock and key by the State until now).

El Periodico has announced the launching of a new book on the anarchist guerrilla Durruti. 'It should be remembered' says the paper (a large circulation conventional daily) 'that anarchism is one of the main influences in Catalan culture; to ignore the fact is ridiculous'.

### RIOT BEACH PARTY

Five police vehicles were set on fire when a crowd of about 100 young people chased police into a Life Guards headquarters on a beach 35 miles south east of Los Angeles.

The police had tried to arrest 6 young women who were sunbathing without tops at a surfing championship at the beach. The riot continued for about 3 hours.

### BRAZIL. ANARCHIST ORGANISE

The Anarchist Research and Documentat ion Center in Salvador (Bahia) commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Spanish revolution by holding a series of debates, which took place at the Bahia University fine arts school.

Numerous themes were discussed, such as pre-revolutionary Anarchist experiences in Spain, anarchist experiences during the revolution, the international counterrevolutionary conspiracy, the history of the civil war, etc. About a thousand people attended the debate. The commemoration ended with a demo through the streets of Salvador.

The Centro Social de Cultura of Sao Paulo is organising a series of debates concerning feminist questions, including: feminism - taking back our bodies; feminism — reinventing the masculine and feminine; feminism - taking back our memory. Beginning in November, the

Center will be organising a series of workshops on libertarian education, and starting in 1987, there will be a series on 'power and psychoanalysis'.

Novo Tempo Editora has begun activities by publishing two excellent books: Proudhon, Pluralism and Self-Management by Jean Bancal, and The Anarchists Judge Marx, with texts contributed by several authors. In the next few months, Anarchists and Elections will be published. Their

Novos Tempos Editora, Caixa Postal 07 1047/C.E.P. 70359 Brasilia, Brazil.

On August 8th, nearly a thousand peop people attended an anti-militarist demo organised by the Sao Paolo libertarian collective and a punk group. Forty years ago the Enola Gay dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima.



Centro de Cultura Social RUA RUBINO DE OLIVEIRA, 85 - SÃO PAULO - BRASIL CAIXA POSTAL 10.512 - CEP 03097 - SÃO PAULO - SP

BLACK FLAG PAGE 3



roughly speaking 'Trotskyist' though un-

It is remarkably stylishly printed, (like

characteristically it rarely refers to 'wiz'

the New Musical Express) as too are the

Manchester, Birmingham and Bradford

areas in London. It gained support over

its defence of the Handsworth riots, and

the Party's 'Workers Against Racism' is

spread mainly by Manchester University

It supports the IRA and has the

support of the rock band Easterhouse.

Opposed to trotskyism is the Commun-

ist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)

founded by the veteran Maoist and ex-

shop steward Reg Birch upon leaving the

CPGB in 1966 because of his 'China line'.

Since then it has published a weekly The

Its Stalinism can be matched by THE

Worker, of very poor quality in layout

and content. Like all Maoist parties,

NEW COMMUNIST PARTY which

It boasts its 'finest achievement' the

The WORKERS REVOLUTION-

Leader Gerry Healy. He was expelled

from the party by a caucus around the

Sinhalese industrialist Mike Banda and

the influential 'Ceylon clique' of the

WRP. There was a lengthy court battle

when the Healy group (including the

party out of their theatrical earnings)

Trotskyist daily in the world but more,

Gaddafi, possibly under the impression

paper' (which was true in a way), and in

remarkably reactionary pro-Islamic line

(they hailed Khoumeini's takeover as 'the

turn causing the Healy group to take a

The rump of the party, though

small weekly paper Workers' Press and

accuses Healy and Co. of running off

with the funds, though these came from

or through the Healy partisans, and not

so much from the membership. Naturally

most of the counter-revolutionary policy

probably larger, can only muster a

this part of the party has made the

over Iran by the Healy faction.

MILITANT sprang from the old

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST

PARTY which for a time united them

from South Africa by Trotsky himself,

perturbed at the fact that the British

section of the Forth International was

composed of ex-CP 'intellectuals' and

Anglo-Catholic clergymen (who had a

working class following that has never

TU and Labour bosses, not criticising

Party, with the financial help of the

extremely wealthy Sri Lankan trots,

of Mrs Bandaranaika, one of whose

relatives (Mike Banda) is still a guru

of British trotskyism.

Militant for years went soft on the

them, and working itself into the Labour

who at one time entered the government

Exploiting the undemocratic structure

been exceeded, nevertheless).

all. Its leadership was assigned to Britain

Like all the other trot groups,

revolution').

paper News Line. This is the only

it has attracted the financial aid of

he was getting into an 'English daily

Redgraves, who have heavily financed the

won control of the daily Trotskyist news-

ARY PARTY split in 1985 with a series

of sexual allegations against its long term

weekly The New Worker, and it has

centres in Lancashire, Wales and

broke away from the main Communist

Party on the issue of 'Euro Communism'.

they do not live up to the austere

ideology they urge on others.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF

BRITAIN (Marxist-Leninist)

but it shows a presence in some Black

posters they distribute. Its following -

large by ultra-left standards — is in

Trotsky's texts, but it does rely upon

' If Communists are seeking a father figure, Trotskyists must have the biggest Oedipus complex of all time.'

> Prof. Ludwig Gans (A Freudian Analysis of Parasociological Phenomena)

> > his formulations.

THE SPARCACIST LEAGUE is a Trotsky ist organisation centred in this country in London. The SL publishes two papers, the one which I have read is a monthly, Workers' Hammer. The paper is diabolically printed with faint typing and badly spaced headings. It is a mundane collection of predictable communist diatribe.

Possibly the one thing which distinguishes the League from countless other trotsky ist groups is its uncritical support of the USSR. Though the SL abhors the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union it considers it is a 'socialist' nation and so the Sparticist League proclaim 'Defend the Soviet Union!'

It is also distinguished from other groups by having, however meagre, an international network. There are branches in the USA and Australia. The US branch is the nucleus and publishes Workers Vanguard and the international periodical Spartakist (available in this

It has no connection with the old Spartacus League of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Though nearer to Trotsky in its 'defence of the Soviet Union' line, than most trots dare go now, its line is nearer that of the other 'Opposition' Leaders like Zinoviev, Kamenev etc.



THE REVOLUTIONARY

COMMUNIST GROUP began in 1974 with the breakaway of a group from the International Socialists (later SWP) who wanted a more revolutionary and less autocratic party. Since then the RCG has made inroads into the anti-apartheid movement, taking over the London City anti-apartheid grouping — it had in the seventies been active in the Troops Out movement and the Chile Solidarity Committee. It publishes a party paper Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! (a monthly) concerned with racism and third worldism, also serving party propaganda.

Like many Marxist-Leninist groups of current student intake, the RCP seems to specialise in attacks on 'imperialism', equated solely with America, and its publications make considerable use of exclamation marks to show how agitated they are. It should not be confused with the THE REVOLUTIONARY

C OMMUNIST PARTY which is not the famous one of 1939-45 which under the charismatic leadership of Jock Haston (a professional butler, burglar, Trot Guru and in the end like so many a Labour Party hack) and Gerry Healy, for the first time in any country united all the trots under one banner.

The origins of the present party are obscure. Their weekly The Next Step is silent on their history so far. It is

# 10

of the Labour Party, it has managed to de-elect 'rightist' Labour MPs - many of them to the left of the trots insofar

movement. It trades on the faded glories of Russian 'Communism' but tries to avoid 'Euro Communism' and so has



as this means anything — and select trot MPs. It asserts its willingness and eagerness to enter into any bourgeois Labour Government and denies the Leninist concept of 'supporting a Labour government as a hanged man is supported by the rope'; its protestations of innocence at being trotsky ist are now the stuff of Labour Party politics, and they carry the cult of Trotsky into the Law Courts, where they are challenging the reactionary Labour Party with writs and threats of sequestration if successful Naturally their watchword is 'No witch hunts', a careful hunt would reveal no witches, but plentry of latter day trots paying high subscriptions, Tammany style politicians in local govern ment, and long term bureaucrats living on very high subscriptions from the large turnover of Labour Party youth. It followed the Ceylon line and Pablo's Forth International (until Pablo got

It is symptomatic of the pathetic malaise of the COMMUNIST PARTY in Britain that it has to swallow its pride and history into co-operating as the 'Broad Left' with Trotsky ist groupings such as IS and 'Militant' when one thinks that in the thirties, forties and fifties their catchword for those to the 'left' was 'Trotskyist-Fascist'

'Trotskyist traitors' in their book were agents of the Mikado, or of the Nazis, before the ubiquitous CIA got into the act!. The Communist Party clearly saw the trotsky ists as being a right wing tendency, if it could never quite prove the Nazi connection; but it used this to slander the whole workers movement independent of Moscow as 'troyskyist' (some of which, e.g. the POUM in Spain, never lived it down and were ultimately destroyed by it). The Communist Party following the 'British road to socialism' i.e. reformism, has in places such as Wales become part of the Labour establishment and in Glasgow part of the rightwing conspiracy against the trade union

more in common with the New Communist Party as distinct from the 'French line' (Communists under the influence of Sidney French) who have divided from the 'tankies' (Stalinists) and split the Morning Star (whose horse racing tips, once made it avidly read by many thousands of workers, are no longer what they were, and the circulation is down to the usual university level, still selling well however in Moscow hotel lobbies where it is the only 'English morning daily'

available). The Communist Party, among the 'vanguards' available is certainly not trotskyist and perhaps neither is the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY. Its origins are obscure. It began as the

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

publishing Socialist Worker, the brainchild of a group whose origins seemed to lie in the Irgun Zvai Leumi (the rightwing Zionist revisionists) of Israel Some former Trotskyists in Palestine 18 went into the Nationalist Right during the struggle for independence and emerged from it as anti-Nationalists (which Trotsky was not) but Trotsky ists once again. As Marxist Revisionists they then came to England and founded a party more tinged with the ideas of Rosa Luxemburg than Trotsky, - through Tony Cliff - which appealed to many on the 'New' (i.e. student) Left, attracting many capable journalists such as Paul Foot who built the paper to professional standards and built a party round it. Naturally they fully exploited student grant aids as do all vanguards. They work their people hard and they usually get burned out early, or turn to professional careers once they are tired of lecturing the workers on the 'trade union mentality' which they are 'only capable of achieving' without the help of the educated socialists.

VANGUARDS LEFT BEHIND ON THE WAY

Outside these main Marxist-Leninist groupings many factions come and go,

# WORKERS

usually between University vacations. libertarian views. It is generally reckoned that one factory shop steward, preferably with press notoriety, can gather round him sufficient students — say a dozen or so — to create a new vanguard party. All have a common policy in that they attack the Communist Party but act in the event as a loyal opposition to it; all the lines they follow are usually the lines emanating from Moscow which they impose as part of the left-wing package deal of approved principles. Ultimately they all drift around and end up in the intellectual divide. Labour Party; this was the fate of the vanguard of the student left - it never quite came to pretend it was a vanguard of the workers — the INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP, (Tariq Ali's quote: 'piss in the polling booths' in the '60s is forgotten with Labour Party membership). They played the tactic of infiltrating 'issues' like the Troops Out Move-



ment, to take them over, which meant

their death — asort of game of takeover

bids which left them in charge of nowt.

The Communist Party, notwithstanding its major setbacks with almost total lapses from its membership, tries to pick up the student movement tactics from their former deadly rivals, and occasionally disavows one or another aspect of the Russian regime to show its independence - something the Comintern has never understood or tolerated.

Every so often, there are attempts at building Marxist-Leninist vanguards under totally false fronts - e.g. the old, discredited and disappeared ORGANIS-ATION OF REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISTS, neither organised, nor revolutionary, nor anarchist, but composed of would-be 'Anarcho-Marxist' student leaders - some of whom promptly went over to the WRP after proclaiming their 'pacifism' and 'nonviolence' while 'anarchists' - who tried a weird mixture of anarchism and marxism under the name of 'platformism' and by constant denunciations of the no longer existent — Anarchist Federation (there were six unsuccessful attempts at forming an Anarchist Federation, only one of which lasted more than a few years). Its pretence of being a mass organisation having failed, it now gets occasional left-over members trying to

reviveit in other forms. It cannot be

considered seriously, bit it would be

unfair to suggest the mania of vanguard-

#### WHAT IS A VANGUARD?

In the sense we are using it here, a vanguard is a group of people of higher, or more applied, education who seek to create a party which they think is essential to workers' liberation, but which they also think workers cannot achieve for themselves. It is orthodox Leninism, and expressed most succinctly by Lenin, but it is plainly untrue. What it does is to push the workers out of their own movement and cause and create an

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN does not pretend to be a vanguard. It expresses more orthodox Marxism, that it wishes to 'educate' the workers up to the point of understanding socialism, when they will achieve it by the evolutionary process. (Marx compared his theory with Darwin's and would have dedicated Das Kapital to him had he let him). Real vanguards are in the Leninist tradition which, like the SPGB, claims there is only one Party of the working class and that is it.

Leninist vanguards being the party of the working class have the right and duty to suppress the rest, as the working class must disallow the class enemy the right to re-group — so Lenin said, and it was a handy excuse to bump off everyone else - but we have seen the fallacy of that with Portugal when after the fall of the dictatorship the 'one party' of the workers could have taken power but for the fact that there was another, and another, and another, all under-cutting one another and proclaiming themsevles to be the only decent stall on the market, Of course they finally suffered the fate of market raders that engage in that tactic: they all went bankrupt.

#### LENINISTS

The total impossibility of repeating Lenin's achievement in imposing the vanguard on the people by military force does not in the least deter - they proclaim that once the workers wake up to reality they will accept its domination voluntarily. They all unite in denouncing Anarchism for its impracticability though they maintain anarchy is perhaps feasible when their Party has had time: generations (or perhaps centuries) of power, as the State will then 'wither

The Russian State shows not the slightest sign of doing so; what withers away (apart from the people) are the functions of the State that impose capitalist repression, what flourish are the functions that impose state socialist repression. Above all they hate anarchosyndicalism because it undercuts vanguard ism by saying not only that the workers are capable of more than a trade union mentality but that by workers organisat-

VANGUARDS

STHE THE NEW WORKER

NEWSTHE WORLD

SUNDAY TIMES

ion the new society can be built, and this would obviate the need for vanguards.

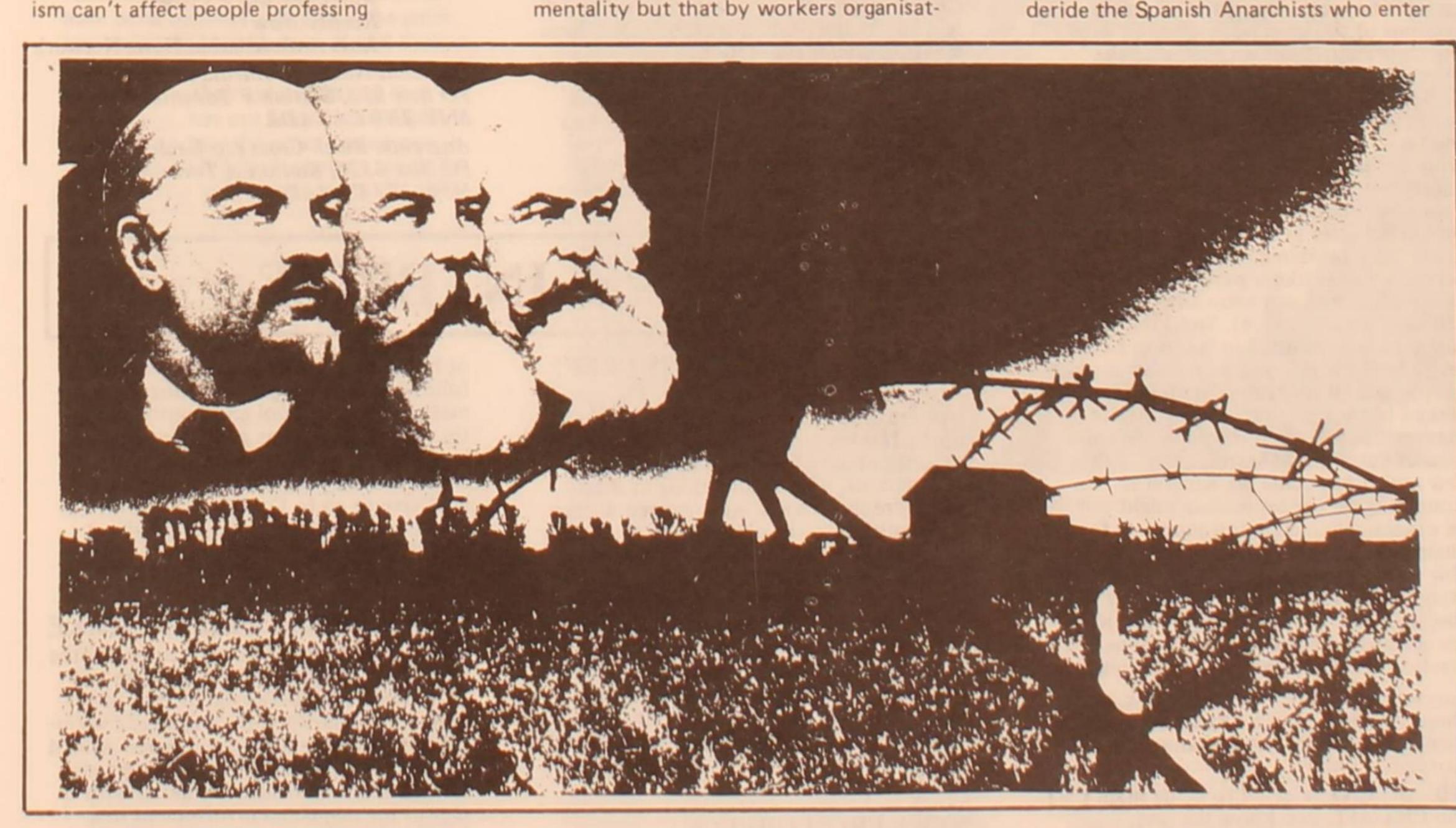
All vanguardists (not just the trots) point to the deficiencies of Spanish style anarcho-syndicalism in action (some even denounce its achievements in workers collectivisation in 1936) though not all are agreed what their actual crime was (Maoists say it was their not cooperating with the Stalinists, Trots that they co-operated too much).

Even Trots with a Broad Left approach to the Stalinists (with writs in hand on their way to the High Court trying to force the Labour Party to allow them to enter a bourgeois Monarchist government) deride the Spanish Anarchists who enter

ed the Popular Front and the bourgeois republican government. But given the choice after Franco between supporting the re-building of a revolutionary union (the anarcho-syndicalist CNT) which had compromised with the republicans during the civil war, or the reformist union (the socialist UGT) which had compromised with the earlier dictatorship from the beginning, they chose the reformist union. It suited them much better to sabotage the union in which the workers were in control, and build with foreign money the union in which the workers were not in control, as they stood a better chance with the latter.

The choice of a vanguard usually depends on the social life offered and the character of the people already into it, and this is understandable when one realises their true role as a sort of gang; their inter-relationship often degenerates into gang war, but in the main they try to offer an illusory participation in the affairs of the world and a lively interest in political struggles, often pursuing the latest topical cause with vigour and enthusiasm, always demanding an effort from their young members which often leaves them apathetic and lifeless when the pursuit of a career removes them from the gang. Most of their activity, however diverse the causes they pursue, centres around the distribution of the party's newpaper, and socialist students tend to be selling papers to people who are fighting the police, which casts doubts on their credibility as a vanguard.

Yet their enthusiasm, often misplaced, should not be dismissed lightly; too often young workers drift off into apathy from the word go, or the attractions of drink and sport, without making any effort whatever to alter their condition by political struggle and endeavour, and this is why Anarchism remains a misunderstood and unappreciated cause deprived of its natural base.



PAGE 4 BLACK FLAG

# ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

## FRANCE-Letter From A Refugee

I would like to begin by thanking all the comrades and all the people who have supported me since my arrest on September 18, 1985 until my release on July 2, 1986, which took place after a two-month hunger strike I had undertaken.

Today, along with all the other refugees who have been arrested and released, I am awaiting my final Court judgement and am presently under judicial control, in that I am obliged to report once a month. I also have to report to the police station every two months to renew my provisional status in the country.

I would now like to bring up a number of problems which are common to most of us refugees, and consider the state of tension and insecurity in which they live. The policies of the new government have quickly manifested a new outlook: repressive laws have been approved, special measures toward the refugees have been adopted, chain expulsions have taken place and the refugees are being crushed in spite of the right of asylum and due legal process.

For the moment we have been targetted (Basque refugees in particular), and are being conducted to the borders of our native countries in accordance with the new emergency laws. Although many of us have been in France as refugees for several years, not one of us has been able to obtain political refugee status, which would permit a certain security and the

possibility of stabilising our situation. By now this status has become worthless and simply represents a useless 'piece of paper'. The new emergency laws have created a climate of tension, not only amongst Basque refugees, but in the refugee community as a whole, including the Italian one. I ask myself who's next! what should I do?; how do I get out of

Almost all of the refugees find themselves in an illegal situation, without identity cards or papers that allow you to stay in France for a certain period of time, without regular employment, and are having trouble integrating themselves because of the instability of their legal status. All are at the mercy of the government's new repressive laws: identity checks are taking place which are leading to arrests because people are in an illegal situation and refugees are being taken to the border and extradited.

As an example of certain abuses of power and the ever-present danger of extradition, it is sufficeint to consider the fate of the Italian refugee Salvatore Cirincione. On July 10, 1986 he became the object of an extradition warrant signed by the Minister of the Interior and was arrested in Lozere. At the same time, Cirincione is still awaiting the definitive verdict which will decide on whether Italy's demand that he be extradited is to be acted opon!

I believe the preceding facts will give an idea of the policies which Pasqua (the Minister of the Interior) intends to implement concerning the refugees. Who will be the next person to face expulsion or extradition? No one knows, or people try to avoid the question in order not to face that the next time it might be him or her. Reality is kept at a distance while at the same time remaining close at hand, much too close, a reality which can destroy you and lead to mistakes, precisely the climate of tension Pasqua wishes to create. What may well take place in the future will be of little importance because it will already be too late. Are there any alternatives left?

> Orestino Dominechelli Translated from Le Monde Libertaire 629

by the communists, called an emergency

committee meeting to decide the original

dispute. Their offers were initially reject-

picketing. Finally management, workers

and the CNT met in front of the 'Work

- who did nothing at all, except marvel

Councillor' of the Catalan government

at what management were finally pre-

pared to concede: back pay; year and a

half contracts for all the workers at the

time of the strike (thus guaranteeing for

most workers the necessary extension of

employees); the company was then pen-

alised, and obliged to pay anyone sacked

within the one and a half year limit the

definite and complete victory in the dis-

pute for the supermarket workers and

the CNT, using direct action, picketing

sections of the local population (a work-

The Soli dedicates a two-page spread

and the boycott, supported by ample

ing class district known as one of the

to the dispute and is - not without

from anything else, it shows how the

anarcho-syndicalist methods (direct

being 'non-unionised' (none of the

reason - chuffed with the result. Apart

action, solidarity, mutual aid) can work

on a small scale in sectors notorious for

supermarket workers were what pundits

someone who worked in shops in London

on and off for five years, and saw many

sacked for not getting on well with the

manager, pay docked for petty reasons,

salaries cut without warning etc. - this

something on the same scale might not

chains like Pizzaland, which pay miser-

ately, at the time I was working as a

the difference between an anarcho-

shop-assistant, I wouldn't have known

syndicalist and a Seventh Day Adventist).

Anyway, whichever way you look at it

there you have - in a district of Barcel-

ona – a touch of practical anarchy that

the CNT-AIT, you know the one.

NB: the CNT referred to is the main CNT

MT (Barcelona) October '86.

be organisable in London shops, or food

able wages for ludicrous hours. (unfortun

Soli report has made we wonder if

call 'politicised', nor were any of them

affiliated to any union). Speaking as

people sacked for trying to unionise,

'poorest in Barcelona).

full salary for that time. . . In short, a

contract needed to become permanent

ed by the CNT and the supermarket

workers, who responded with more

## SPAIN: Supermarket Gives In To Anarchist Pressure

Continued from front page

hours unpaid overtime a week, received no social security benefits from the company, weren't being given proper breaks, and weren't being given fixed contracts, despite having worked long enough to receive them. Not members of any union themselves, they'd gone first to the big CCOO (Communist) and UGT (Socialist) unions, only to be told that any complaints to the HIPER manager would result in dismissal, and nothing could be

The CNT people tried to do something about the problem. As the HIPER workers themselves had to go to work to avoid being sacked, CNT militants stood outside the shop, leafletting, talking to people from the area, convincing them not to go in. At night windows in the supermarket were broken, and @ signs sprayed over the front. The workers, meanwhile, sat quietly at their tills, which within a week of the boycott

starting, were taking only £50 a,day (as opposed to £20,000 a day which was the normal take). After a fortnight, once the issues at stake had been gossiped around the area, the take went down to

The company then went to the police and made a variety of threats to the CNTers outside the store. Over the five weeks that the dispute went on for, almost all the supermarket workers and CNTers involved passed through the local pig farms several times, subjected to all kinds of threats. The press ignored the affair. After two and a half weeks of losing money, the company threatened to close down that branch. Other CNT units were informed around Barcelona and they began to stand outside the other branches of the Mare Nostrum chain, explaining the situation through megaphones to shoppers - sales accordingly went down. This time the management got nervous and hired thugs with sticks and bars to clear the pickets away from one of the other supermarkets (in Sant Joan Despi) - but the public, seeing what was happening, formed a line infront of the picketers and refused to let the thugs through. (Other neighbours denounced the thugs to the police, who arrested them briefly along with the

Then the Town Council, controlled

**CUBA** 

#### No Criticisms Please We're Marxists

A faithful marxist who kept a picture of Che Guevara on his wall said 'Cuba is not living up to the ideals of the revolution' and has been sentenced to eight vears as a result.

A 41 year old orthodox Marxist, who won praise for his earlier writings in support of Cuba's revolution and against American imperialism, is serving eight years in prison because he extended his criticisms to Cuba's rulers whom he characterises as a new managerial elite. Ariel Hidalgo was arrested on August

19, 1981, charged with violating a law prohibiting 'inciting against the social order, international solidarity, or the socialist State by means of oral or written propaganda, or any other form'. Members of the local neighborhood defence committee, part of Cuba's network of grass-roots political informers, testified at Hidalgo's two hour trial that 'he talked too much'. Hidalgo's troubles with the police began in 1980 when he was arrested for defending a student at the workers' high school where he was teaching who was assaulted by a rockthrowing mob for having sought a visa to leave Cuba.

According to information gathered by the Amnesty International group, the human rights agency which has adopted Hidlalgo as a prisoner of conscience, the probable actual reason for Hidalgo's second arrest was that he was working on an essay titled Cuba: The Marxist State & the New Class; A Dialectical Materialist Study.

Excerpts from the essay, smuggled out of Cuba after Hidalgo's arrest, appear in the book The Heresy of Words in Cuba by Carlos Ripoll, published by Freedom House. Hidalgo charges that control of the society has fallen into the hands of a 'managerial class, and that ownership of industry by the people is a mere sophism, and workers' control of the State a mere slogan'. He also points an accusting finger at 'lavish homes of these functionaries with their luxurious furnishings, their pantries bulging with many foods, their yachts, automobiles and sumptuous parties, while the majority or workers must resign themselves to coping with deprivation under the guise of 'proletarian austerity'. Foreign visitors are only shown model schools and hospitals which are used only by the upper echelons while 'there exist dozens in more wretched conditions which are utilized by the children of the workers'.

Hidalgo spent his first 14 months in Combinado del Este prison in solitary confinement Then his wife, but not his daughter, was allowed to visit him for two hours a month. However, in August 1984, the visits were cut to three a year and in December 1985, Hidalgo's wife was told he could not be allowed any visitors or mail for a year as punishment for continuing to write in prison. The prisoner has repeatedly refused to accept 'rehabilitation' procedures which could ease his prison conditions or hasten his release. Letters in Spanish, if possible, asking for

Hidalgo's release should be sent to: S.E. Commandante en Jefe Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz/Presidente de la Republica / Ciudad de la Habana/ CUBA

> SOURCE: New York Teacher 1/9'86. (article written by Antonio Ramirez).

## CANADA-MEANWHILE IN TORONTO ...

The Toronto branch of the Anarchist Black Cross is now working full pace to expand its publications and services. We function essentially as a prisoners support group to aid in the defence of political prisoners and POWs in North America and the world. We also work to support anarchist and other liberation struggles everywhere through solidarity and publicity for their situations.

What do we do? Well, we recently held our first demonstration at the Japanese Consulate in Toronto in support of the Japanese political prisoner Katsuhisa Omori. We managed, with only a small number of demonstrators, to close down their Consulate for the day.

We publish many things but mostly we focus on publishing our magazines, Reality Now and Dissident News. Our next issue of these, issue 6 of RN and issue 21 of DN, will be published jointly as one big package of important info. This should be out soon so keep your eyes open. If you want to be sent a copy, write to us and send \$2 and your address. This next issue will be a 32 page tabloid with a poetry supplement for \$1.

Also in store is a new issue of Bulldozer (the only vehicle for prison reform) which will be the last, unfortunately. It will have a best of Bulldozer section.

Another important project is the Ecomedia reports on CKLN 88.1 FM radio. We are now broadcasting anarchist news reports every Monday, Wednesday and Friday between 11am and 12 noon. If you live in the Toronto area please give

us a listen, and keep up to date on the worldwide and local anarchist movements.

Sometime in the fall(autumn) we will be opening an anarchist bookstore in the area which will be the home of the ABC office. Please write or get in touch with us to find out more and to see how you can get involved.

All of these projects need input in the form of volunteers and money. Even if you can't give much, every little bit of help does a lot. The radio show will need a lot of information, a constant supply, so please let us know if you're planning something, or if you can write a succinct report about a topic, send it to us. The bookstore will need volunteers to staff it and contributions to keep it open. And our leaflets and magazines take money and effort, so please give us a hand.

We feel that all of these projects are invaluable in the building of a strong anarchist resistance movement in Toronto and its surroundings. If we're going to seriously resist the State and all authority its going to take your effort, your determination, and our solidarity to do it. Please get involved and help us out. Smash the State and have a nice day!

Anarchist Black Cross Reality Now Anti-Authoritarian News Network Dissident News/ Ecomedia Reports PO Box 915, Station F Toronto, Ont. M4Y 2N9 CANADA

Anarchist Black Cross c/o Reality Now PO Box 6326, Station A Toronto, Ont. M5W 1P7 CANADA

NEWS IN BRIEF

BELGIUM- CHANTAL IS FREE! After spending more than a year in prison (see previous Black Flags), Chantal Paternostre has been released and all charges against her have been dropped. Chantal, an Anarchist who was working at Radio Air Libre in Brussels, was arrested during an enquiry into the activities of the CCC (Cellules Communistes Combattantes a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group) and was later suspected of being an active member of FRAP\*. Ultimately she was never brought to trial, and for a long time she was kept in solitary confinement and denied mail, although towards the end of her stay in prison, confinement conditions were eased somewhat. Chantal

NEWS FROM GREECE Of the eleven comrades who were accused

wishes to thank everyone who has offered

moral support.

of bombing a police car in Thessalonika following the occupation of the Physicomathematical School and fighting with the State forces, nine have now been released but two still remain locked up. Sixteen more people have been accused and have to go to Court.

We hope to have more detail about their situation for the next issue of the

JAPAN: OMORI DEMO MISTAKE We have been informed that three photos printed in Black Flag No. 156 were not of an Omori demo (as stated) but of a demo in solidarity with five alleged members of the 'East Asian Anti-Japan Armed Front'. The 'Tokyo 5' – as they are also known – are on death row along with Omori for suspected involvement in a bombing campaign against the Japanese

# INVESTIGATION

## THE C.I.A. AND STATE TERROR IN ARGENTINA

1986 marks the tenth anniversay of a military coup that brought a fascist junta to power on 24th March 1976 in Argentina. During its seven year reign of terror, thirty thousand people 'disappeared' as a result of the junta's policy of genocide. This article attempts to chart the origins of that military coup to the return from exile of Juan Domingo Peron in 1973 and to a terrorist organisation linked to Peron – whose 'strategy of tension' between 1973 and 1975 eventually paved the way for the military coup one year later.



Jose Lopez Rega

That organisation was called the Triple A (The Argentina Anti-Communist Alliance) and its founder was Jose Lopez Rega, a minister in Peron's own 'constitutional' government.

The Triple A literally shot its way to notoriety on 20th June 1973, the day Peron (Argentina's ex-dictator) returned to his native country after eighteen years in exile to replace

Hector Campora as President. Waiting for Peron at Ezeiza airport (just outside Buenos Aires) were thousands of young 'left wing' peronists plus real leftists connected to the Monteneros. Just before the plane touched down a gang of armed men opened fire on the waiting crowds without warning, slaughtering fourteen and injuring three hundred and sixty-five. Only later did it emerge that the man who organised the attack, Jose Lopez Rega, was a close friend of Perons and that the organisation who carried out the attack - the Triple A had Peron's blessing. It was the first of many atrocities committed by the Triple A against groups and individuals who posed a threat (real or imaginary) to Peron's government.

#### ORIGINS

According to journalist Horacio Verbitsky (who has recently published a book about the Ezeiza massacre), the Triple A was set up by the CIA itself after talks between Lopez Rega (as 'Minister for Social Welfare' in Peron's government) and Robert Hill, US Ambassador to Argentina and CIA agent.

When Peron dropped his government's

moderate policies for more right-wing ones soon after taking power in 1973, he provoked resistance within the workers movement. The CGT, Argentina's most powerful and highly bureaucratic union, began to lose its credibility among workers after siding with the government on too many occasions. Rank-and-file initiatives flourished within the union during the early seventies and culminated in a 24-hour General Strike against Peron's regime on 27th July 1975. Such acts of independant working class

Something had to be done. Under the pretext of an anti-drug smuggling/anti-guerrilla campaign, Hill suggested setting up a CIA backed terrorist group that would strike fear

resistance scared the CGT leadership as

much as it did Peron and the USA.

into Peron's political opponents. Lopez Rega agreed and the Triple A was born. Between 1973 and 1975 the Triple A not only assassinated Communists and Socialists, but 'troublesome' leftwing Peronists too. When the Armed Forces took power in a military coup in 1976, Triple A gun-men simply integrated themselves into official government sponsored death squads (called 'Grupos de Tareas' or GT's). Now that the military is no longer in power the Triple A has gone back underground.

Lopez Rega was given a fairly

reign to recruit whoever he wanted into the new terrorist organisation. He chose Juan Ramon Morales and Rodolfo Eduardo Almiron as his closest advisors. Both men had been thrown out of the police in disgrace after being involved in a prostitution racket, drug traffiking and stealing cars. Other policemen involved from the beginning included Argentina's Chief-of-police Alberto Villar, Miguel Angel, Juan Gattei and Antonio Gettor (the latter two men being in direct contact with the CIA and specialising in the assassination of political refugees living in Argentina). Representing the army, among others, was Colonel Jorge Manual Osinde (a prominent right-wing Peronist and participant in the Ezeiza massacre).

#### TRIPLE A ACTIVITIES

Soon after the Ezeiza massacre the Triple A tried to assassinate Radical Party politician Hipolito Solari Yrigoyen with a car-bomb on 21st November 1973. It was the first of many assassinations and assassination attempts against the political opponents of Peron. Triple A activity soon extended throughout the country. In Cordoba the Army's Intelligence Service (SIDE), the police and the Triple A coordinated a campaign of repression under the 'Comando Libertadores de

America' (American Liberation Commando) moniker. In Tucuman and elsewhere, similar agreements between the Triple A and the Armed Forces were reached.



The military coup in 1976.

In early 1975, after an assassination attempt on Radrizzani Goni (a lawyer), journalists finally linked Rega to the Triple A. At the same time two secret army caches were uncovered in the basement of the Ministry of Social Welfare (Rega's ministry) and the University of Buenos Aires (run by the fascist Alberto Ottalagano). These arms eventually were 'inherited' by the Navy (under Emilio Eduardo Massera's command), and used by his official death squad after 1976 to gun down

Following the arms cache discovery an official investigation into the Triple A was launched under Massera's control. Predictably, seeing as many top government ministers knew of and approved of the Triple A, the investigation was a white-wash and links between the Armed Forces and police

Continued on page 8

## BUSH LINK WITH DEATH-SQUAD CONFIRMED

The downing of a helicopter supplying Contra forces and manned by US citizens with past connections to the CIA and the National Security Council has spurred the national press to speculate just how extensive those links are. But there has been virtually no real investigation into the recent history of how CIA aid to the Contras has continued, despite Congress disapproval, and how that aid has been literally privatised by the sponsorship and support of specially set up agencies in the mercenary and supply business. Names of prominent figures in this drama, like Colonel Oliver North of the National Security council and General John Singlaub of the American Council for World Freedom, have been bandied around by the press, but precisely how these men and their associates are connected and just exactly how they are organising the private war, has not been entered into.

Singlaub has of course denied any involvement. Singlaub chairs a special White House committee, set up in 1983, that prepares strategy on support activity to the Contras. That committee was devised by General (retired) HC Aderholt, formerly of the US Air Force, now president of a supply organisation to the Contras known as the Air Commando Association. In recent months the Air Commando Association has sub-contracted supply missions out to a front organisation called Refugee Relief International, which is affiliated to the mercenary organisation Soldier of Fortune. Singlaub's boss, incidentally, is Colonel North.

Another avenue left unexplored by the press is the possible involvement of the mercenary organisation Civil Military Assistance. The CMA has been sending in supplies to the Contras since 1983. In fact it was CMA operatives who were discovered in the helicopter shot down in a similar incident in August 1984. CMA members are trained at Fort Bragg, the US Joint Special Operations Command, the US equivalent of the SAS. The CMA's liason officer in Costa Rica (where the Contra organisation FDN are based) is John Hull, who is the CIA desk officer. Every month Hull receives

\$10,000 from Colonel North for Contra actions. Much of the arms the CMA supplies to Contra forces comes from Miami and purchased from Steve Carr (former CIA agent), who in turn acts as go-between to the Cuban exile community.

Nor of course did the press make any mention of Singlaub's role as head of the World Anti-Communist League, or point out that the American Council for World Freedom is its US chapter.

Paraguay under the patronage of the Nazi dictator Stroesner. Many former CAL officers are in senior positions in FEDAL and the Nazis are back in control and have a direct line to the White House.

More lately, another dimension has been added to the whole helicopter incident in that there has been press reports that one of the organisations providing assistance to the Contras is headed by Luis Posada, who was jailed in Venezuela for his part in the 1976 bombing of a Cubana Airlines plane



Eugene Hasenfus, the only man to sruvive the helicopter crash, in Sandinista hands.

Neither did the press reveal that of late Singlaub has been instrumental in the revival of the Latin American arm of WACL, the CAL (Latin Anti-Communist League), which was banned by WACL in the mid-70s after embarrassing revelations that it was dominated by leading fascist terrorists. At that time the CAL also acted as a front for a group known as the 'White Hand Gang', which organised death squads in Central America. The CAL has now been renamed the FEDAL (Federation of Democratic Latin American Groups) and its headquarters are in

(in which 73 people were killed). This piece of information is perhaps the most significant to emanate from Intelligence sources for some time in that it provides a direct link between the Contra activities of the mid-80's with the anti-Cuban terrorist campaigns of the mid-70s.

Posada - or to give him his full name, Luis Posada Carrillo - was a Bay of Pigs veteran and was trained by the CIA; he later worked for Venezualan Intelligence. The joint organiser of the Cubana Airlines bombing was Orlando Bosch, one of the most important terrorist organisers in Latin America at that time, involved in numerous

campaigns extending from the mid-60s onwards. During the early 70s Bosch set up a terrorist group, Dubana Action, based in Venezuela, where he worked closely with agents of Venezuelan Intelligence and where he first came into contact with Posada. Later his operations moved to Chile, under the patronage of Pinochet, then onto Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic. In 1976 Bosch founded an umbrella terrorist organisation called CORU(Committee of United Revolutionary Organisations) that included several affiliates such as Brigade 2506 (Bay of Pigs veterans association), the Cuban National Liberation Front, the Cuban Nationalist Movement, etc. From July to October of that year CORU became responsible for many terrorist attacks on Cuban and Cuban-related targets in central America, including the assassinations of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt (later attributed to the CORU affiliate, the CMN, and to agents of Chilean

The Cuban Airline bombing was carried out under the auspices of a wider continental campaign - Operation Condor - involving agents from six South American countries. Condor was thought up by the head of DINA (Chilean Intelligence), Manual Contreras. Its number one operative was Michael Townley, who was later arrested in connection with the Letelier/Moffitt assassination conspiracy. Condor's activities were by no means confined to South or even Central America, but were later linked to similar terrorist campaigns in Europe.

Interestingly, at the time of Operation Condor the CIA director was George Bush, now Vice-President of the USA and connected by recent press investigations to one of the organisers of the fated helicopter mission to supply the Contras. According to an investigation into the Letelier/Moffitt assassinations, Bush was fully aware of Operation Condor and knew of its and DINA's involvement, but suppressed the information from the press.

If the current reports about Posada are true, then the implications must surely be that a CORU-type organisation or a Condortype operation has been re-activated - this time not directed primarily against Cuban marxists or enemies of Pinochet, but against Nicaraguan marxists and leftists generally in the Central and South American region. A reformed CAL, providing global funding to such an organisation/operation, also forbodes an escalation of the death squad activity in Central America that witnessed its peak around ten years ago and which is beginning to take off in an international organised form once

BLACK FLAG PAGE