

BLACK FLAG

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

21-3-88

30p

THE RIGHT TO A GENERAL STRIKE

The right to organise for a General Strike is one that was hard fought for by workers over decades of struggle, paid for by imprisonment, transportation and death. That right in the UK no longer exists, thanks to the anti-union laws that forbid, among other things, sympathetic action. Recent militancy by trade unionists in the Health Service, in the car industry, by miners, and not least by Ferry workers, have shown that the will to reverse the repression is alive and strong. If reaction is to be confronted the whole trade union movement must re-organise and rediscover its own heritage. And central to such a re-organisation must be a campaign to seize back the right to organise for a General Strike.

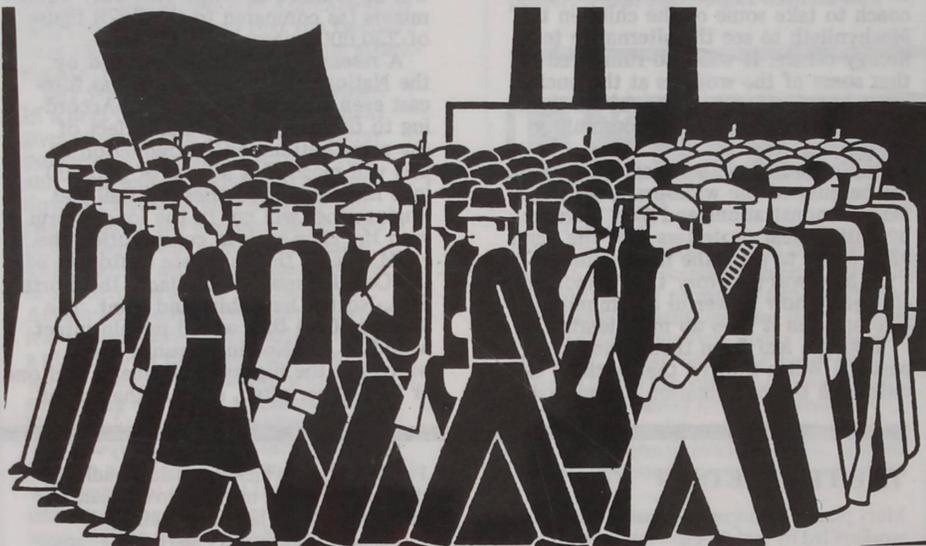
Rank and file ferry workers took the anti-union laws into their hands and united for nationwide industrial action. The dispute was triggered off by the sacking of 150 ferry workers by the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company. But there were other disputes - eg, ferry workers at Dover against P & O over the threatened redundancy of 500 ferry workers, and ferryworkers in Aberdeen in a pay dispute with P & O - as well as a clear indication that massive job cut-backs were to take place within the industry as a whole, that dictated that the dispute and the industrial action had to be escalated nationally if these threats were to be countered. The rank and file, as usual, led the way, and the National Union of Seafarers made the national action official.

However the employers, and the courts, were to see things differently and the inevitable legal injunctions were issued and the union served with court orders for contempt. The NUS Executive backed down almost immediately, but were unable to control their membership, who continued to stay out despite the threats of sequestration. Rank and file NUS members at Fleetwood, Dover, Harwich and Holyhead decided to continue with the dispute despite their own union's protestations. The NUS Executive argued unsuccessfully in the courts that the disputes were about a national issue and eventually were forced to concede that their sympathetic action was unlawful. This became the turning point of the dispute as it became clear that the NUS Executive had thrown in the towel. Retrospectively it also became clear that the real reason why the NUS Executive declared the dispute national was in order that it could retain some degree of control over its own membership.

Having lost the impetus, the NUS Executive finally succeeded in persuading its membership to accept negotiation, not direct action, as a means to solve the dispute. The strikes disintegrated.

A few years ago and the dispute could have continued without the interference of the courts. Now the unions will not challenge the courts in fear of sequestration - they have totally forsaken the right to escalate a dispute or generalise it on a countrywide level.

This was not to be the case though with the healthworkers. Their dispute is



as much about pay as it is political (eg the disintegration of the Health Service). Workers from different unions united in taking strike action - albeit on a limited basis - and rank and file members took the lead in calling wildcat actions in areas all round the country. Throughout the month of February, and continuing into March, there have been a series of one day strikes, unofficial stoppages, protests, demonstrations, and sympathetic actions. The Government, on this occasion, has been scared to step in and put an end to the action because of the weight of public support for the healthworkers. At the same time, though, it has relied on the healthworkers unions, such as COHSE and NUPE, to ensure that the action is restricted to one-day, or even a few hours, stay-aways. And of course the no-strike Royal College of Nurses has done its utmost to persuade its membership not to take strike action - and largely it has succeeded.

Nevertheless many hospitals throughout the country have been affected in one way or another. Perhaps one of the most heartening pieces of news was that concerning two nurses from Leeds who decided to hand out leaflets outside nearby Frickley colliery: miners there decided that this constituted a picket line, and refused to cross it with all the miners at the pit taking strike action, in sympathy, for half a day.

One of the most militant areas was Scotland. There healthworkers have taken strike action over several days on different occasions. This culminated on February 24th with a mass demonstration in Scotland of over 35,000 healthworkers. Regional protests and stoppages have also taken place in the South East, in the North West and in Wales. On March 5th more protests and demonstrations took place and as we go to press COHSE and NUPE are organising a one-day strike and protest for March 14.

In spite of all this activity, however, the Government has made it clear that the Health Service is to be wound down. Clearly the Government is provoking an escalation of the industrial action.

On this occasion, as on most occasions, the healthworkers have been positively restrained: they could easily decide on indefinite action. In Australia in 1986 the nurses in Victoria went on strike, apart from emergency cover, for three months - and public sympathy was still with them right to the end (when most of their demands were met). But there is still significant disagreement amongst the rank and file of healthworkers in Britain - especially amongst the nurses - that strike action can serve any purpose. Clearly the one-day affairs haven't worked - neither has the behind the scenes lobbying by the RCN and the other unions. If nurses are worried by the consequences of an indefinite strike, then they should look at the general support and sympathy they have had so far. In pre-anti strike law days healthworkers could have appealed to other workers to take sympathetic action to force the Government to meet their demands. But, of course, such sympathetic action is now illegal and unions are scared to contravene the laws.

While all this has been going on there has also been an upsurge in militancy amongst car workers. This was perhaps provoked by the relative success of Ford workers in getting most of their demands met after a week long strike. The Ford strike ended with an improved pay offer - one that could have been improved even further had they stayed out longer. Union negotiators persuaded the membership to accept the offer, even though there were strings attached (a reorganisation of working conditions - a la Japanese style). Management were clearly cornered, especially as the strike was having a major effect on Ford plants across Europe (the Genk plant in Belgium was closed down, others in West Germany were on the way too).

Despite the victory only being a modest one the good news is that it inspired car workers in other firms to follow suit. 6000 struck at Land Rover, engineers and supervisors are threatening

strike action at Ford's, 700 took strike action at Renault, and 19,000 came out at Vauxhall (returning after a few days when they had got most of their demands met).

These strikes by car workers were all legal under the anti-union laws - yet the workers were still able to force their respective managements to give way and grant concessions. This upsurge in militancy got the press speculating on a new 'winter of discontent' and the right-wing think-tanks in a panic. Compared to disputes as they used to be they were small-fry, but in the context of the last few years they were indeed a demonstration of a radical shift in how far workers are prepared to go to regain lost ground. The car workers' strikes also clearly showed that in this age of reaction disputes can be won and management can be sent running. The crucial question now is what happens next?

Then there has been the industrial action that has escalated in the coalfields - this time by the pit deputies, taking crippling one-day strikes that had the effect of closing down virtually the whole of the national industry - something the NUM, because of scabbing, was not able to achieve.

The militancy of NACODS, the pit deputies' union, has finally emerged - three years too late! They are demanding a 10% rise in pay, yet the industry is collapsing all around them! What use is a pay rise if there are no jobs? If the pit deputies had stood with the NUM during the 84/85 strike then by now both unions would be in a stronger position and the industry might not have been decimated.

But, in the coal industry, sectionalism still rules. British Coal has offered pit deputies' jobs to UDM (scabs) members although they have yet to respond positively to this offer.

The NUM is now realistically faced with the problem that alone it cannot challenge the bosses. With the support of NACODS it can at least close down most of the pits. In the unlikely event of UDM members coming to their senses and taking into account the interests of the industry as a whole, then the miners can close all the pits. But with the industry depleted as it is, after 2 years of massive pit closures, and now with major customers such as the CEBG threatening to buy cheaper coal from abroad, then the miners and all who work in the industry have little choice but to turn to sympathetic action by those in related - and even non-related - industries. As long as cheap coal can be imported into the country unimpeded then the coal bosses can always rely on scabs to defeat any national dispute. Clearly an alliance must be sought between miners and dockworkers as well as TGWU workers in the docks, and the NUS, to establish a blockade against imports in protection of the industry as a whole. And any alliance, by its very nature, must be two-way, or even three way.

Continued on page 9.



BEHIND THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE

'THE 250 DAMNED'

see page 7

Free Omori Meeting

Sat, March 26, 7.30pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 - talk by a member of the Omori Support Group, Japan. Will cover capital punishment in Japan and the case of Katsuhisa Omori. Organised by the Anarchist Black Cross.

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For a social system based on mutual
aid and voluntary co-operation -
against State control and all forms
of government and economic res-
pression. 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.

LEEDS ABORTION FUND

Just recently, a fund has been set up
in Leeds for women, who need money
to help pay for abortions. The fund needs
a regular flow of money so please help
by sending donations to the address
below. Also women who need finan-
cial help for abortions, get in touch.
Correspondence to: Leeds Abortion
Fund, c/o Box 32, 52 Call Lane, Leeds
LS1.

**THE ROAD SHOW OF
LES MISERABLES**

A young Frenchman, despairing of finding
food for his hungry brothers and sisters, stole
a loaf of bread and was sentenced to a term in
the galleys, which outlasted dramatic changes
of regime. Victor Hugo made it into an epic
novel, which was sneered at in modern times
as being melodramatic, until recently it got
changed into a hit musical.

Even while the musical is rocking them in
for years ahead, a man who served fifteen
years of a life sentence for stealing something
like 35p—armed with a starting pistol—lost
his appeal for compensation. Robert Weeks,
17 when the judge said 'an indeterminate
sentence' would be merciful, as the Home
Secretary could then let him out any time, is
now 38 and asked for compensation, since
without this quality of mercy the most he
would have got would have been three years.
He's been to Strasbourg and the High Court
to no avail—this is the stuff of Statism.

ANOTHER APOLOGY

Sorry for another delayed issue. Usual
problems. To make up for it we have
made this issue bigger. Donations and
offers of practical help will ensure
regular frequency.
Black Flag Collective.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What had Frederick II of Prussia and
Philip III of Spain in common?
2. The terrorists of the 19th century,
who had little in common with the
word as used today, are often described
as 'bearded Russians'—but was this
true?
3. H. B. Warner played a very conven-
tional Jesus Christ in the silent film
'The King of Kings'—but who wanted
to play it and would have been so
original he scared the studio?
4. What American, brought up as a
Christian pacifist, admonished
Anthony Eden, at the time of Suez
War, for 'accepting force as a neces-
sary method of dealing with inter-
national relations'?
5. What was Lenin's reaction when
informed in Switzerland of the Russian
Revolution?
6. What did the revolutionary socialist
Victor Grayson, hope of the left when
MP for Colne Valley before the First
World War, do after it?

ANSWERS TO QUIZ ON PAGE 8

HOME NEWS

RIGHT TO SURVIVAL- Before and After

The decision by the Central Electricity
Generating Board (CEGB) not to go
ahead with an experiment at the Traws-
fynnyd nuclear power plant in Wales
proved a remarkable victory for a whole
regional army of anti-nuclear community
activists who mobilised to ward off this
threat.

In preparation for the experiment,
(timed for February 12) teachers threat-
ened to go on strike, schools for miles
around were to be closed down and child-
ren were to be evacuated. Miners in South
Wales raised money for the evacuation
of the children. At Penallta pit, in the
Rhymney Valley, miners organised a
coach to take some of the children to
Machynlleth to see the alternative tech-
nology centre. It was also rumoured
that some of the workers at the nuclear
plant had decided to 'go sick' for the
day in solidarity with the community
protest.

In the end the experiment was called
off because of the widespread resistance.
Mass demonstrations and long marches
by anti-nuclear protesters over the years
have failed to stem the nuclear menace
- yet here was a victory that demonst-
rated clearly how powerful a community
can be when it rises up in solidarity.

Taking a leaf from their syndicalist
past the Welsh showed that nothing can
outmatch the combination of industrial

action and community resistance. This
traditional form of organisation is alive
and well and can be called upon in times
of danger.

A recent fiscal report has shown that
with the privatisation of the Electric-
ity Industry up to 50% of pits in the
British coal industry could face closure,
with a further 60,000 jobs going. A
major factor will be the import of coal
from abroad. The Electricity industry,
after privatisation, will be able to go to
any market for cheap coal. It could mean
that within 12 months the coal industry
will be reduced to employing only 50,000
miners (as compared to the 1979 figure
of 230,000 miners.).

A research paper commissioned by
the National Union of Miners has fore-
cast even worse consequences. Accord-
ing to the paper the overall effect of
the privatisation and the reduction of
pits will mean that a total of 200,000
jobs in related industries (eg Rail and
Engineering) will go. In the longer term
with the claw-back in consumption the
NUM foresee the complete shutdown of
the Coal industry in Scotland, the North-
East, North Derbyshire and Kent. The
only coalfield that would remain intact
would be the Nottinghamshire area,
which has the highest investment, and one
or two 'super pits', such as the one at

Selby.

These may sound like exaggerated fore-
bodings, but previous predictions by the
NUM have proven correct.

With this level of massive job cuts
its in the interest of workers in all the
affected industries to unite together
and fight this decimation as one. Already
there have been boasts of tactical alli-
ances between the NUM, NACODS,
the NUS, the TGWU, ASLF, and the
NUR, bringing together seafarers, dock-
workers, railworkers, and mineworkers.
But how seriously can these claims
be taken? It would certainly make sense
if workers in these industries were to
take industrial action in concert. The
effect of such concerted action would
be much more than the rescue of the
Coal industry, it would mean the col-
lapse of the Government, its anti-union
legislation, and the re-emergence of union
militancy.

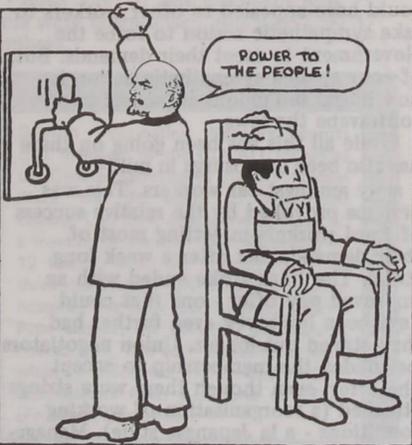
If the union executives haven't got the
will to organise and implement such
a grand alliance, then it's up to the rank
and file to do it instead.

At some point the tide has got to
turn - leave matters too late and there
won't be any unions or workers organ-
isation - apart from the no-strike 'sweetheart
unions - to fight back. The warning signs
are there.

THE TROT SETS IN

Marx placed his hopes on a mass party of the
workers led by middle-class intellectuals.
Lenin, despairing of leading the 'mass party',
had the notion of calling his minor party the
mass party (Bolsheviki) and breaking from
the majority party which he labelled the
minority party (Mensheviki). Trotsky did not
want to take such a gamble and stayed within
the bigger party until the last moment, when
other events had made Lenin's party the
bigger.

Trotsky pursued this policy of a cuckoo
within the nest, remaining in the Bolshevik
Party after Stalinism, as a minor functionary,
until expelled. With the creation of a cult of
Trotsky, originating with Max Eastman, the
US writer, a limbo of Trotskyist parties have
existed basically as cuckoos within the nest
(or fifth columns?) Stalin alleged this led to
treason and economic sabotage on behalf of
the fascist powers within the Soviet Union,
but as he blamed everything on it, his
claims were naturally suspect and we shall
never know what grains of truth there were in
them.



Trotskyist parties in England have always
been vehicles for political corruption, some of
which is not legally accounted as such. For
instance the manipulation of students union
funds which have supported such a fringe trot
party as the SWP is perfectly legal and only
from a working class point of view can it be
held as corrupt. The State is subsidising a
Marxist takeover of working class traditions.
Tories are divided as to whether to stop this or
encourage it!

Derek Hatton in Liverpool acts on behalf of
Militant—the organisation which has at least
fulfilled Lenin's prophetic view that they
should 'support the Labour Party, as a rope
supports a hanged man' (they have also made
the word 'militant' stink)—and the
accusations of municipal corruption will
reverberate in the courts for months to come.
Meanwhile his Litigant Tendency pursues the
road to socialism by suing the Labour Party
it is trying to rid itself of the municipal smell
of jobbery.

In Newcastle the bankruptcy of John

Poulson—from which Reginald Maudling,
the Tory Minister, managed to extricate
himself -involved his minor municipal
associates, as the bribery and dealing came
out, and the Labour leader of Newcastle
council, T. Dan Smith. Was T. Dan Smith
really a Labour man? He was then (and still
is) a Trot who had come into the Labour nest
and proceeded to foul it. The vision of a
'Venice of the North' (with motorways
replacing canals) soon went sour when the
would-be Doge went to jail. The economic
mismanagement of Newcastle would have
been accounted economic sabotage in the
'workers fatherland' (as trots still reckon
Russia) and T. Dan Smith would have been
rotting in a Siberian grave long since, no
doubt accounted one of Stalin's innocent
victims, as perhaps he was Maudling's.

POST OFFICE BID FOR POLL TAX

The announcement that Post Office
Counters - a division of the Post Office
- has bid for the collection of Poll Tax
payments to get more business and save
the Government costs on collecting has
failed to spell out the longer-term im-
plications.

Currently post offices are being com-
puterised, with terminals being installed
at counter positions for all main post
offices. As stated in an earlier issue of
Black Flag these terminals are designed
to be connected to the DHSS computer
system and possibly the Driver & Vehicle
Licensing Centre computer system. It
might not even stop there!. The post
office computers therefore have the
potential to check off Poll Tax payments
against stored data in other government
computers - direct, with immediate
verifiability. Other stored data, if accessed,
could be used as a means of checking
off non-payeers.

In this way post offices could well
become the High Street version of
Big Brother, and I/D checks. So far
there has been no reaction from Post
Office employees to the plan. Will they
collaborate or will they join the growing
community resistance to the tax?

In Scotland, where the Poll Tax is
to be introduced first, already a growing
number of anti-Poll Tax groups have
sprung up to help organise community
resistance and a mass boycott. One
such group is advocating sabotage by
spoiling the Registration form. The
Labour Party is getting in on the act
through its 'Stop It!' campaign, which
proposes open refusal, but Labour Party
leaders are privately hoping that the
Poll Tax goes ahead in the hope that
the Tories will be discredited and lose
the next General Election.

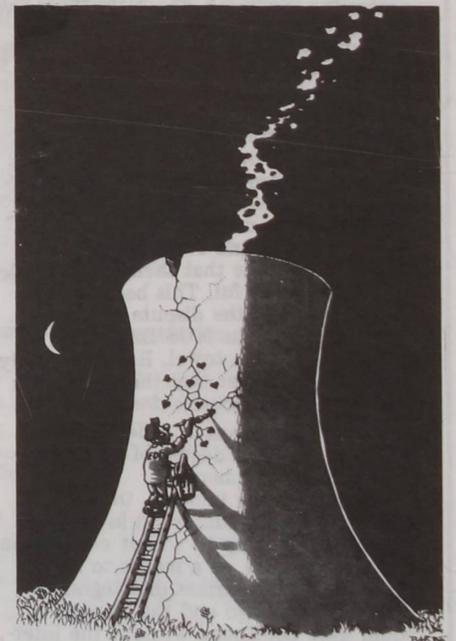
All around Scotland groups have been
set up suggesting out-right resistance,
non-registration and a complete boycott.
Registration begins in April.

NEW CRUISE MISSILES COMING

Up to 60 additional F-111 jets, capable
of carrying air-launched Cruise missiles,
are planned for the UK nuclear arsenal.
They are likely to be based at Upper
Heyford and/or Lakenheath air bases.

The air-launched Cruise missile is
more accurate than the ground-launched
type, which are allegedly being scrapped
under the INF agreement. The air-
launched missile would effectively replace
the ground-launched types at Greenham
Common and Molesworth.

The arsenal could be further added
to with the deployment of sea-launched
Cruise missiles, which are also not covered
by the INF agreement, and which
have been referred to as possible replace-
ments in recent statements by the Min-
istry of Defence.



Q & A ON ANARCHISM

Q—Is revolution and insurrection necessarily
part of anarchism—or is yours the only true
version—and if it is, how come you're legal?

A—As we live under Statism and capitalism,
both must be abolished if we are to have a
non-statist and non-capitalist society—we
think that is obvious. If there is an alternative
view of anarchism, as is suggested, it can
only be a sci-fi vision of a planet without
this one's pre-history. Just as the sneer, 'If
you're so clever why ain't you rich' is really a
capitalist-populist assertion that wealth is
caused by intelligence. The barb in this tail is
the assumption that liberties are granted by
governments, not taken from them.

LONDON SQUATTERS RESIST

The last six months or so have seen a spate of mindless evictions in Lambeth and Hackney.

numerous homeless people have been kicked out of their homes onto the streets simply because they've had the 'nerve' to take the problem of getting somewhere to live into their own hands, and out of the bureaucratic clutches of the local councils. The council's mentality seems to be 'get rid of the squatters who are the basic problem and then think about what we're going to do with the properties'. After the evictions, the toilets and sinks, etc., are smashed up, and then the house or flat is left empty, normally for at least six months, or more. This is Labour's 'solution to the housing crisis'!

If you think that's crazy, Hackney Council have spent over £1,000,000 in the last year on 'security screens' (steel doors to me and you) to prevent homeless people from living in the houses and flats that the council have neglected to put to use.

Needless to say, the squatters are not taking this lying down. In Lambeth, evictions have been resisted using direct action such as: barricading doors and windows and attacking bailiffs and housing officers with buckets of piss, fireworks, paintbombs, etc. When the bailiffs have bothered to return after such humiliation with reinforcements in the form of cops, after having smashed down front doors and windows with sledgehammers, they have found no-one in the premises, creating a bad atmosphere between the bailiffs and cops, the latter believing that the bailiffs have been wasting their time - not a bad situation at all! It seems now that a lot of bailiffs are scared shitless of evicting squats, as they know that every now and again they will come under heavy fire from those people who are pissed off with being kicked out of the houses that have been disregarded by the council, that they have turned into their homes.

At present, Hackney Council have 1127 empty habitable properties, which they could use now to house the 785 families that they have on their waiting lists. The solution is obvious isn't it? Evict 120 flats which are currently being lived in by otherwise homeless people to make room for these bed and breakfast families. Remember at school when you were taught that $2 + 2 = 5$??? Of course, you know what the council is going to argue - 'these undesirable squatters are stopping genuine homeless people from getting a home for themselves'. We know that this is not the case, as do most people who stop to think about the situation for a moment. The truth is that Hackney council is playing one under-privileged group against another to try and distract people away from the fact they are the people directly and ultimately responsible for the mess that a lot of people are currently in.

Last year, Hackney Council evicted two blocks of flats which had a high proportion of squatted flats. The first block was evicted a day earlier than the date that the squatters were told via the usual County Court Interim Reports (called a D777 - I think). As a result of this the squatters' possessions were thrown down to the ground from the balconies, destroying a lot of people's personal possessions. When the squatters complained to the courts about this, they were told that it 'was a mistake'. The following day, the second block was evicted by the same 'day-early' method, despite assurances that the evictions would be carried out according to the original schedules.

This is the sort of shit that the Hackney squatters (and others) have had to put up with, for the right to have a secure roof over their heads. It came as no surprise that the (now homeless) people of Hackney decided to go on the offensive against the so-called 'socialist' Hackney Council. As the squatters rightly say, 'Hackney Council - Working for themselves'.

Several occupations of the town hall soon followed as a protest against such treacherous tactics against their 'own people' (sic).



In Lambeth, an occupation of Linda Bellos' office took place at the town hall in Brixton as the final act in the 'Week of Action Against Homelessness' that took place between the dates of 22nd - 29th January, including pickets of estate agents, squatters advice outside the housing office, and the resisting of evictions. (In Hackney the windows of 20 estate agents were bricked in).

The reason for the occupation was that the council had evicted homeless people from their homes, smashed them up and then left them to rot. During the occupation, council workers within Bellos' office ripped phones out of their sockets and tried to physically intimidate us so that we would not be able to inform the local press and radio stations that we were there and why we had gone there. Strangely enough, the only person injured during the 45 minute occupation was Linda Bellos herself when the police kicked the doors down to get past our hastily erected barricades made out of filing cabinets. One of the doors flew into her face at which point she cried out 'It's me!' You could tell from the look on the cop's face that he couldn't have cared less who it was! Ironically, in an interview in a local newspaper, Bellos said that she deplored the squatters'

'macho use of violence to put across their grievances!' (NB. Linda Bellos is appearing on 'New Faces' next week as a stand up comedienne).

On to more recent events. At the last Hackney Council meeting, there were representative delegations from an Afro-Caribbean group who have been campaigning for years for Hackney Council to give them a grant to set up an Afro-Caribbean Youth Centre; Hackney Housing Action Group about evictions (see later on in this article); and a delegation from a local Lesbian group, hoping to get support from Hackney Council against Clause 28 of the new Local Government Bill that is currently passing through Parliament.

The spokesman for the Afro-Caribbean group received a good response from the 40+ group of squatters in the public gallery (who only managed to get in after a tedious, drawn out 'confrontation' with the cops and security guards), especially when he warned that if the centre wasn't agreed upon that the council was 'playing with fire'.

It was then the turn of the delegate from the Hackney Housing Action Group. The arguments he put forward to the council as to why they should not evict the squatters were so strong that the councillors had no answers for them, although they did try: 'You know that if more than 15% of all properties on an estate are not occupied by tenants then private speculators then have the right to buy the estate and become the new landlord?' (Loose translation). The universal response to this was 'give us tenancies then!' Surprise, surprise, the councillor sat down and shut up. When the head of the housing department, Brynley Heavens, was asked, 'Where do we go?' after the evictions, he had absolutely fuck all to say. After the recess called as a result of all the noise the squatters were making, the local lesbian group put forward a delegation of five women, speaking against the introduction of clause 28, hoping that the council would come out (sorry) against it. As it was, the council passed a resolution that said that they were against clause 28 'in principle'. It turned out that not one of the delegations received the support that it hoped to get from the council. By this time, the squatters were starting to get a bit pissed off, and after about half an hour of the Labour councillors wanking themselves stupid over how great ILEA was, the squatters decided to storm the council chambers from the public gallery. The immediate target was good old Brynley Heavens. He was quickly surrounded by angry squatters and had to be taken away by the cops for his own protection. There were no arrests.

The reason for this confrontation is the eviction of 100+ squats in the Stamford Hill Estate, North London on Monday 7th March. After the crap that was meted out in '87 during the evictions (see earlier in article) the squatters have decided that enough is enough and that they will not take any more shit from Hackney Council. From council documents obtained by the squatters it appears that 100 bailiffs and 250 cops are to be used over a 5 day period to clear the estate of squatters once and for all. (The cost of cops alone is estimated to be in the region of £220,000. It would take Hackney Council 14 months to get this money back in rent if they managed to fill every flat that they evict and charge £30 per flat a week - let alone the steel doors, bailiffs, etc.).

There was a time when this would have gone down well with tenants when the typical stereotype of a squatter was a drug-crazed dirty scruffy punk. More

and more people are realising that this is not the case; that most squatters are working class people who simply can not afford to get private accommodation and are not eligible for council housing - and anyway the council waiting lists are closed.

On the Stamford hill estate there is a lot of grass roots support (2 squatters are members of the tenants association!). The tenants have seen too many good neighbours evicted by a council that has its head in the clouds instead of the real world. Have you ever tried borrowing a cup of sugar from plywood and steel doors? By the time you read this, the eviction will probably have taken place - and will probably have been successful - I hope that I'm wrong. See the next issue of *Black Flag* for the outcome.

A lot of support for the squatters has been gained from both tenants and council workers - The local union has said that it will discipline any member who is involved in the actual eviction of squatters. It appears that the only people who don't realise the truth about the housing crisis in London are the people who actually administer it. The sooner that all working class people organise around such basic issues as housing the better off we'll be. The time is right for us to start taking back what is rightfully ours - we have the collective strength to do it.

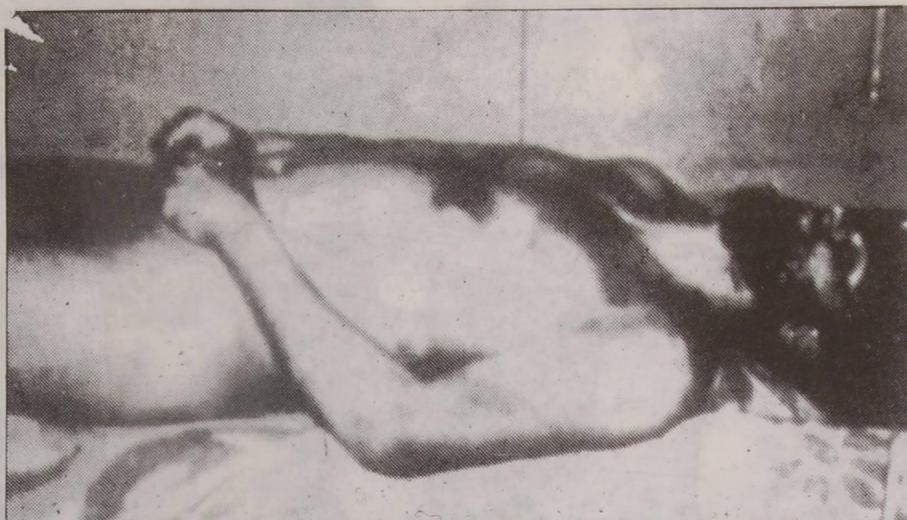
STOP PRESS: Since the above article was written, there have been a number of further incidents on the Stamford Hill estate in North London. On Monday 7th March, the entrances to the estate were barricaded using skips and cars, one of which was set on fire, in response to the cops and bailiffs turning up at 4am to carry out the eviction. Because of this the estate became a no-go area for the cops until Wednesday 9th. On Tuesday, Hackney Council agreed to go into discussions with the squatters over the possibility of rehousing them in high-rise flats unsuitable for families, the elderly and disabled. The meeting was arranged for Wednesday morning at 10am. Guess who actually arrived at 10am for 'discussions'? The cops and bailiffs! They then started to carry out the evictions. As there were 500 cops compared to about 100 squatters, the squatters decided to leave the estate peacefully, with only two people being arrested, both later released on charges of obstruction. No squatters were allowed back onto the estate, and the cops have decided to set up a temporary police station there for the next few weeks at least so as to prevent the flats from being resquatted.

Intelligence Service Behind Rueda Murder

Agustin Rueda, the anarchist (an affiliate of the CNT anarchist labour union), who was beaten to death by prison guards under orders from the governor of the notorious Carabanchel prison, Spain, in 1979 - and whose murderers are now on trial - may well have been murdered on direct orders from Spanish Intelligence. At the time of his capture Rueda had discovered the identity of an agent provocateur within his (clandestine) group: namely Eduardo Soler, the only member of the group not eventually arrested, and the man who tried to offer the CNT 300 kilos of dynamite in 1979 (a proposal that wasn't taken up, needless to say). Soler later became involved in other attempts to discredit the CNT, not least the mysterious 'bank robbery' that took place in the centre of Barcelona in 1981, and which has never been accounted for by the Spanish authorities.

After his murder Rueda's cellmates (still serving sentences), Pedro Garcia Pena and Alfred Corral Ortega, both tried for years to implicate Spanish Intelligence in the supposedly accidental killing. For their pains they have met with a wall of silence on the one hand, and a surprisingly consistent 'special treatment' handed out to them, in the various prisons they have been transferred to, on the other. They have been discriminated against, in other words, by the authorities, whereas the nine people now up on trial for conspiracy to murder Rueda - including the prison governor, the assistant governor and two of Carabanchel's doctors - have been at liberty for ten years. Although suspended from their normal duties they have received three quarters of their normal salary all that time.

As for Eduardo Soler, still alive, he is nowhere to be found. The Press, while giving fairly good coverage of the trial - still in progress and revealing more



Agustin Rueda

inconsistencies as the days go by - have said nothing about this embarrassing 'other side' of the Rueda story. CNT affiliates have been expelled from the court, however, for daring to witness the trial.

On February 5 the CNT-AIT and members of other anarchist organisations around Spain joined in a series of demonstrations to protest against the murder of Rueda. In Barcelona 800 people marched from the Placa de Catalunya to the New Courts, where they blocked the traffic, smashed courthouse windows, and covered the walls in red paint. In Bilbao the CNT-AIT, the MOC (conscientious objectors) and the MLA (Autonomous Libertarians) called a meeting outside the Palacio de Justicia. Roads were blocked and a cop car stoned. In Palma de Mallorca the court-houses were paint-bombed, their windows smashed, and

the city graffitied. The new anarchist collective, Estel Negre, flyposted the city. In Madrid, CNT-AIT, anti-NATO groups, CASPA (prisoners aid - similar to the Black Cross), squatters' collectives, and other groups, making 500 people in all, demonstrated outside the Ministry of Justice. At the head of the demonstration an anarchist group carried a blood-covered cage surrounded by thugs (actors) dressed as prison warders. The cage was made the centre of a street bonfire at the end of the demonstration. All these demonstrations took place at the same time, used the same slogans ('Agustin Rueda, murdered by the State) and were ignored - with the same thoroughness - by the media without exception.

LATE NEWS.

On February 10 the trial of those responsible for Rueda's death finally came to

an end after three months. The director of Carabanchel at the time of Rueda's murder, Eduardo Cantos, was given 10 years. The sub-director and four of the prison guards involved got 6 years and 6 months. The other warders were sentenced to between 8 and 9½ years each. And finally the two doctors who falsified the medical reports on Rueda got two years each.

It remains to be seen how much of these sentences will actually be completed.

SPANISH ABORTION NEWS

In Spain, abortion can only be obtained in very few circumstances, like 'proven' rape, and women must go through a long, humiliating bureaucratic procedure. This has forced the formation of clandestine abortion services, and the feminist movement in Barcelona announced that they are performing their own secret abortions. On Nov 6th, the Caspe Clinic in Barcelona was raided by the police and was closed down. Two dutch women, Tosca and Anna Valckx, were arrested and held for two days on suspicion of giving abortions. They were released without charge, although the police claim that the clinic had performed over 4,000 abortions and had given the women fake certificates to say that the abortions had been performed in Holland. While the two women were in custody, feminist groups picketed the police station, and the following week, 500 women marched through the city, spray-painting graffiti and demanding the right to free, legal abortions on demand.

On the weekend of 25th Nov., the Women's Assembly of Iruna mobilised people to protest the trials of women who had had abortions, and 60 women chained themselves up in front of the courthouse.

Source: Ekonomia.

The CNT's Hour Of Need

Spain's anarcho-syndicalist union, the 'CNT-AIT', came one step closer to being made 'illegal' on 2nd December 1987 following confirmation of a 1986 court decision recognising the much smaller and reformist 'CNT-U' (or phony CNT) as the only 'legitimate' CNT. The case now goes to the Supreme Court where a final decision - almost certain to go against the CNT-AIT - is expected within the next year. But while the future of the CNT hangs in the balance, an international campaign - comprising both anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists - is being organised to safeguard the survival of the CNT and the wider Spanish anarchist movement. As a recent issue of the CNT-AIT's newspaper ('CNT') pointed out in December:

...the CNT is prepared for whatever happens next, and if the bourgeois courts declare us outside the law, we will declare them crazy... Legal or illegal, with a split (the phoney CNT) or without one, the CNT will continue to act at the service of the working class. All militants of the CNT come together as one and like an iron fist, we will defend what is ours to its ultimate conclusion".

Since its foundation in 1910, the CNT has been plagued by state repression and dirty tricks. For many years of its history, it was an illegal organisation, not least during the period of fascist dictatorship under Franco from 1939 until 1975. Many thousands of its members have been, and are still, blacklisted, persecuted and murdered by the state and its agents, yet it has always continued the struggle towards an anarchist society and has inspired workers around the world to do the same.

In 1979, a group of 53 delegates, representing around 10% of the CNT's membership, broke away from the CNT-AIT after the union decided at its 5th Congress to boycott state-sponsored 'union elections' in line with its anarcho-syndicalist principles. It is this phony CNT group - originally calling itself the

'Comision Tecnica Impugnadora', then the 'CNT - Congreso de Valencia' and now the 'CNT - Unificado' - which is set not only to take over the name of the CNT, at least in the eyes of the law, but is also set to gain the CNT-AIT's archives and both its 'historic' and 'accumulative' patrimonies.

Splits in the CNT are by no means new. At the end of the last century, Paulino Iglesias left the 'Federacion Obrera de la Region Espanola' (from which the CNT is directly descended) to set up the UGT - Spain's state socialist union. Ex-CNT militants later helped to found the Communist Party in Spain and the independent marxist party, the POUM (now defunct). Perhaps the most famous

split of all, however, was that initiated by Angel Pestana and his 'Treintistas' followers. (The latter eventually coming back to the CNT in 1936.) What differentiates the latest split from all the others, however, is the refusal of the present split to stop calling themselves the CNT, so that they can claim the

CNT's patrimony and history. The consequences have been disastrous. For 8 years, a total state of confusion has reigned within Spain over which 'CNT' is which, what the difference between the two is, why there was a split in the first place, etc., etc. Ironically, this confusion has since spread abroad, and has now engulfed the international anarchist movement. How much of this 'confusion' is genuine and how much of it is deliberately provoked by statist elements remains to be seen. Suffice to say that any 'anarchist' organisation, group or individual who supports the phoney CNT or 'sits on the fence' over the issue, should be treated with the utmost suspicion.

Meanwhile, both the Spanish government and the media in Spain have bent over backwards to accommodate the 'CNT-U', while continuing its strategy of 'criminalisation' against the CNT-



AIT (culminating in the latest court decision).

In turn, the phoney CNT has shed all pretensions of being an anarcho-syndicalist, or even anarchist, organisation. Its general secretary, Jose March, declared last year that his organisation 'was not the property of the anarchists', while a 'guest appearance' was made by the head of Spain's CP controlled union (the CCOO) at the phoney CNT's last congress. Many of its leading members are also in the socialist party and the UGT. Even the 'Vitoria six' (six CNT-U members arrested and charged with complicity in the assassination of Spanish industrialist Hergueta in 1980) have been pardoned, in contrast to the 40 or so CNT-AIT/anarchist prisoners currently rotting in jail.

Having failed to destroy the CNT-AIT by police infiltration, media smears, the Moncloa Pact, or the murder of militants such as Agustin Rueda, the present 'socialist' government in Spain has decided to fund an artificially created, reformist 'CNT' and recognise it as the only 'legitimate' CNT, leaving the real CNT outside the law. It's now up to the international anarchist movement to do all it can to defend the CNT-AIT in its hour of need.

N.B. Ironically, the CNT-AIT's present predicament is not entirely due to external forces. It should be pointed out that it was the CNT-AIT who initiated legal action against the phoney CNT in 1984 in an attempt to stop the latter from calling themselves the real CNT.

ABORIGINAL DEATHS INQUIRY

A Royal Commission into Aboriginal deaths in prison and police custody opened in Canberra last November. When the enquiry was announced in August the number of cases to be investigated stood at 44, but by mid-December they had risen to 98.

Three days after the commission began, 20 year old Bernard McGrath was found hanging by a towel from a cell door in the Kalgoorlie lock-up in Western Australia. A non-Aboriginal prisoner has since been charged with his death. On November 18, Peter Williams, aged 25, was found hanging with an electrical cord around his neck in Grafton jail, northern New South Wales. Darren Wouters, aged 17, died in Brisbane watch-house on November 16. Also in Queensland, at Townsville's Stuart Creek jail, Philip Weara, a 35 year old Maori man, was found dead on November 8. In December, 19 year old Edward Hilsley was found hanging in Melbourne's Pentridge prison.

James Muirhead QC, who heads the Royal Commission, has stated that the federal and state governments should not wait for the enquiry's findings to come before them before acting on the death toll, and implementing ways of preventing further deaths. The governmental response has been in the form of a draft national code of practice for cops dealing with Aboriginal people. The code, agreed to by a meeting of state and federal police minister in Hobart in late November, includes putting Aboriginal prisoners in multi-prisoner cells, preferably with another Aboriginal prisoner; not detaining Aboriginal people for drunkenness or other minor

offences; allowing an Aboriginal liaison officer or staff from Aboriginal legal services access to Aboriginal prisoners; giving a medical examination within an hour of an Aboriginal person being taken into custody if s/he shows signs of mental or physical distress.

Paul Coe, chairperson of the National Aboriginal and Islander Legal Services Secretariat (NAILSS) says that this code will fail because Aboriginal people have not been consulted about its implementation. "There is an assumption in the code that police themselves are not racist towards Aboriginal people", he said. "There is an assumption that police are a helping hand, while the evidence is quite the contrary." He noted that Aboriginal people will still be arrested for all the wrong reasons, and will still die in custody.

Meanwhile the Western Australian Police Union is trying to stop the Royal Commission's investigation into the death of John Pat, the 17 year old Aboriginal man killed by cops in Roebourne in September '83. The four cops and one police aide involved were charged with manslaughter, but were acquitted in May '84.

The idea that Aboriginal people are committing suicide in prisons and police lock-ups still holds sway in the mainstream media. It seems that non-Aboriginal journalists are only too eager to publicise any theory coming from non-Aboriginal so-called experts as long as it doesn't involve looking at the ways in which the white legal system treats Aboriginals or the racist attitudes and practices of cops and prison warders. Paul Coe rejects the suicide theory and NAILSS will challenge the definition of suicide before the Commission. At least five possible causes of death have to be looked at: genuine suicide, murder, criminal neglect, ill treatment, and induced suicide.

The Commission is to report to the federal government by the end of the year. And only £1 million has been set aside for the Commission, compared with the £6 million spent investigating the disappearance of one white baby at Uluru in 1980. Clearly as far as the Government is concerned Aboriginal lives are expendable.

BOLIVIA -

MINERS UNDER ATTACK

Taking advantage of the falling price of tin, on which they have made fortunes, to smash the pugnacious miners union of Bolivia, mines have been closed down and the people working there thrown out to starve. For a year now there has been a struggle in the Paz Estensoro area to go on working and living near the Matilde mine. They have now been surrounded and attacked by police who want them to abandon their self-management venture in the form of a work co-operative set up since the mine closed.

In June 86 work began on dismantling installations inside the Matilde mineworks. Facing unemployment, the miners decided to set up a co-operative to provide work once it closed down for good in July. A feasibility study was drawn up and placed before several non-governmental agencies.

A first contribution of 4500 dollars was received from Oxfam, UK.

In September 86 peasants on the shore of Lake Titicaca were awarded an order to build a launch. An outboard motor was purchased for the launch, due for delivery in January 87. In November 86 a first planting of potatoes was made on a two hectare area. In the same month the last of the mines was withdrawn from the Matilde mine. Letters were sent to their Director General of the owners, Comibol, to the president of Comibol, and the Minister of Mines applying for the lease of arable land, carpentry workshops and dwellings, to the co-operative. (To get people into the mines in the first place, the company had seized the land once held in common).

In January 87 verbal promises were received with a verbal go-ahead for the co-op

to proceed. In February the National Institute of Co-operatives issued a certificate of legal recognition for the co-op to be in the pipeline.

In March a Comibol team arrived at the Matilde works and a further application for lease of assets was handed to it. It refused to hand over any assets for the time being but left open the possibility of future negotiations. Work began on the construction of a farm, complete with pigsties, chicken houses, rabbit hutches and winter quarters. Fishing trials went ahead, with assistance from Denmark and Holland. Talks were entered into with the Emergency Social Fund, seeking financial help.

In July 87 a contract was made with the Social Fund. Danish volunteers in Bolivia agreed to act as supervisors of the scheme. Chicken farming began on an experimental basis.

In September this was extended to pig-breeding.

In October the manager of the Matilde mine began to issue notice of suspension of the work on the grounds that Comibol had not given authorisation. Construction work nevertheless continued, until the following month, when the police were called in to stop the work. The co-op reported this action to the Minister of Mines, who gave the go-ahead for the co-op by word of mouth, and said he would instruct Comibol to seek a 'positive solution'.

In December, on behalf of Comibol's Director-General and the Minister of Mines, and following receipt of reports from its delegates despatched to the Matilde mine, the Comibol Board gave the go-ahead for the

signature of the lease agreement for the assets sought by the co-op: the manager was charged to see to this. Within four days of the signing of the lease being approved by the Board, another commission turned up at the Matilde works where, on the pretext of a claim by local peasants against the Co-operative, workers were assaulted. But again the Minister of Mines ordered a solution to be found.

On 21st December a team of engineers obstructed any such solution, and tried to set into motion a transfer of the 're-located' miners to other tropical areas; they refused to lease dwellings to the Co-operative or to let it construct its pigsties. The allegation was that the camp area is to be handed over to the Bolivian Naval Force...regardless of all the work done, money invested and the decision of the Comibol board, let alone the instructions of the Minister of Mines.

'This is a petty-minded attempt to do down the people organising the co-operative so as to equip themselves with a source of work to fend off unemployment,' said Guklermo Dalence S, chair of the co-op, in a statement.

The miners are now in a battle with police. They need solidarity in the form of telegrams—calling for 'solidarity with the re-located miners from the Matilde Co-operative' from trade union bodies and co-operativesto: Sr Ministerio de Minas, Ministerio de Minería, avenida 16 de Julio, La Paz, Bolivia.

From our correspondent: (translated PS)

BEATINGS AND TORTURE—WHAT DOES A SOLDIER DO?

Israel was once the idol of the Left and the hope of world pacifism, now it's become the darling of the Right and the ultra-'hawks'. It was always inevitable that if you created a State in what was never a vacuum, there would be a clash between the created State and the rest of the people who had to be either without representation, or the majority of the State. Now we are being presented this dilemma as if it were something out of the blue.

One can hardly blame the Israeli politicians for being cynical about the visiting foreign worthies who are getting in on the act of absolving their consciences. 'What do you expect young soldiers to do when they are being stoned?' they ask and none of the worthies dare answer 'disobey orders, fraternise with the enemy, make a revolution'—they don't expect their own soldiers to do that, not even, or especially, the Arab governments. Keep it on a national collective level, please!

Meanwhile the Palestinians get the worst of it—not only a dispossessed minority in their homeland, or in concentration camps in Arab lands where for forty years their cause has been welcomed but not their presence—alternately wept over by the world or disdained as terrorists. They turn to stones and torches against tanks, while the oil-rich 'fellow Islamic' countries give them sermons and their youth fancy themselves as revolutionaries when they follow feudal lords.

Of course soldiers should not beat or torture, or for that matter murder. But that is not accepted in Ireland, nor in South America, nor in Afghanistan, nor on the borders of Iran and Iraq: until it is, international protests remain crocodile tears. Maybe some individual soldiers, even in Israel, will show the way.

NEWS FROM CANADA

A dispute over a taxi fare in Montreal came to a bloody end when a 19 year black youth was gunned down by a still unnamed cop in what the Police initially portrayed as an escape attempt.

The incident began when a taxi driver radioed in to the Police because of a disagreement about the fare. His passenger, Anthony Griffin, waited until the police arrived, and when a computer check was run on him it was found (the Police claim) that he was wanted

on a breaking and entering charge. He was taken into custody and Constable William Bumbray of the Police public relations department has admitted that he was unarmed, had not displayed any aggressive behaviour and was not handcuffed while he was being transported to the station. Outside the station, according to the initial Police version, Griffin bolted and was shot trying to escape (cops are allowed to use their weapons only for 'self-defense' not for shooting escaping suspects). This account, however, underwent considerable modification by the time the press conference was given by Montreal Police director Roland Bourget. It was revealed that when he tried to run away, Griffin was ordered to halt. He did so and turned around to face the cops who had arrested him. He was then shot in the forehead.

At the press conference Bouget stated that 'I am personally convinced that this act is not related to racism'. The same incident could have happened if the person was Asian, black or white'. The next day it was revealed that in 1981 the Police had payed 2,400 dollars in an out-of-court settlement when the future killer cop was involved in an incident in which he was found to have used 'racist remarks' and excessive force. The Montreal Police Department's notorious reputation for racism is underscored by its inability to attract visible minorities to the force, despite an ongoing public relations campaign. All but 18 of its 4,518 employees are white.

Anthony Griffin's death, as can be imagined, is only the tip of the iceberg. So far this year 43 damage suits have been filed against the Police, who have been obliged to shell out 236,000 dollars.

BHOPAL X8 IN THE US ?

In recent reports from the Centre for Disease Control (CDC) in America, it is revealed that four out of the eight towns in the US with nerve gas arsenals are not prepared to deal with emergencies in the form of gas leakages, etc. One such location is Newport, Indiana but the CDC will not reveal the names of the others due to fear of embarrassment, public outrage, etc.

The US government now has over 50,000 nerve gas cannisters stockpiled at eight locations on the mainland and one on Johnston Island in the Pacific. (See map).

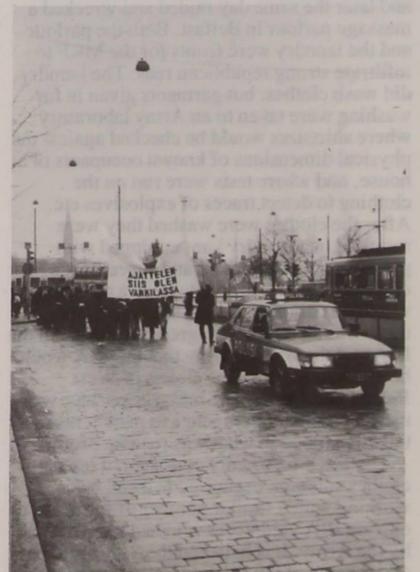
Congress has ordered the Pentagon to destroy all of these nerve gas cannisters, of which 994 are 'leakers' according to the army. The current plan calls for the Pentagon to build rotary kiln incinerators at each site to burn the gas. Rotary kilns are notorious for 'puffing', ie., emitting gas from the combustion chambers before being completely burned, not so clever when you consider how dangerous nerve gas is...

Whether the US government will reconsider its plans to dispose of the gas safely remains to be seen. If not, the US might well have 8 'Bhopal's' on its hands.

Source: The Survival Network Newsletter

NEWS FROM FINLAND

On Saturday, 13th February, there was a fifty people strong demonstration in Helsinki over human rights. The demo was organised by Vox Populi (Anarchopunks), Aid for Political Prisoners and the Arms Resisters Union. Two main streets were jammed for over half an hour as a result of this, several speeches were made and leaflets were handed out.



Source: Group 65, c/o Noviliskilita, 00801 Helsinki.

UNDERMINING WAR & PEACE

The revelations by former Intelligence officers Fred Holroyd and Colin Wallace have thrown new light on the British State's covert war in Ireland north and south of the border. Holroyd claims that after his recruitment as an officer in MI6 what he calls their 'reasonable ethics' were thrown to one side when Intelligence operations in Ireland were taken over by MI5 in 1975. Both Holroyd and Wallace allege that the activities of the Intelligence services (and right wing groups) were part of a wider plot, intended to undermine the leading political parties and institutions, and create the circumstances for the rise of a radical right-wing government—the so-called 'quiet coup', which climaxed in 1979 with the election of the Conservative Government.

Holroyd claims that the MI5 takeover was led by MI5 personnel who were strongly influenced by the ideas of General Frank Kitson, well known for his ideas on counter-insurgency and subversion in his 1972 book, 'Low Intensity Operations'. Kitson had some controversial ideas on how to deal with those whom he described as 'wishing to overthrow the state': he advocated assassination squads, such as the Echo 4 Alpha Units of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the shoot-to-kill units of the SAS, counter-terror groups—a term easily applied to Loyalist paramilitary groups such as the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) as well as the first undercover Army units in Ireland (also constituted with members of the SAS), the Military Reconnaissance Force (MRF).

Kitson was aware of the lessons learned against insurgencies in other British colonies since the war, where the use of agents-provocateur and other 'dirty tricks' operations had been put to good use.

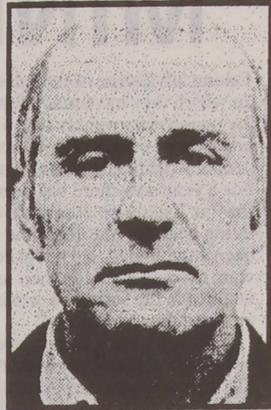
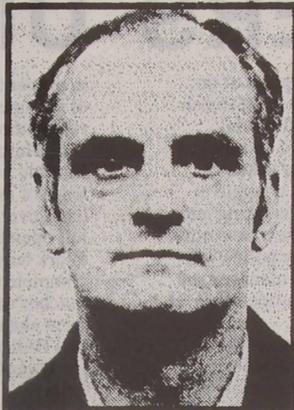
However, it is clear that far from Holroyd's idea of 'reasonable ethics' which he claimed it had at the time of MI5's takeover in 1975, this was not apparent during 1972, when the first covert operations began in Ireland, with MI6 operations in the Republic, and the emergence of the MRF in Ulster. This article looks at first the MRF, and then the two separate events in Ireland and in Birmingham in 1972—both identical, as in both cases it would look like repressive legislation was brought to the statute book by bombings, both of which were blamed on and denied by the IRA.

THE MRF

On 22nd June 1972, on the day the IRA declared a cease-fire with Harold Wilson's government, four Catholics were shot dead in Andersonstown, Belfast, from a burst of gunfire from an unmarked car. However, the RUC, who were in the area, soon gave chase and apprehended the two men in the car—one a captain, the other a sergeant, in the British Army. They used Thompson machine guns which were not used by the Army, only by the IRA. The sergeant was a member of the MRF. Neither man was ever charged with any offence. This incident, planned and timed to foment sectarian warfare during the cease-fire period, was one of the first Army known under-cover operations in the province during the recent phase of trouble.

Later, on 2nd October 1972, the IRA shot and killed four members of a laundry van, and later the same day raided and wrecked a massage parlour in Belfast. Both the parlour and the laundry were fronts for the MRF to infiltrate strong republican areas. The laundry did wash clothes, but garments given in for washing were taken to an Army laboratory, where shirtsizes would be checked against the physical dimensions of known occupants of a house, and where tests were run on the clothing to detect traces of explosives etc. After the clothes were washed they were returned in a laundry van, equipped with photographic equipment and surveillance devices, which was able to keep a day-to-day watch on nationalist areas at a time when there was an unofficial agreement between the IRA and the British Army that the IRA would be allowed to patrol the streets of West Belfast and Derry. The massage parlour was used by British Intelligence to put clients in a talkative mood in what was really a brothel.

The MRF reportedly consisted of ten plain clothes soldiers, organised in a cell basis, working with a similar number of former and current IRA volunteers who had been 'turned' by the Army. It is believed the SAS used the cover name of the MRF to carry out their first undercover operations in Ireland. Not all members of the MRF were male. In 1973, posing as cosmetic saleswomen, British



Top: Patrick Hill, Hugh Callaghan, John Walker
Bottom: Richard McLikenny, Robert Hunter, William Power

The Birmingham Six

soldiers with Irish accents were doing door-to-door sales in Andersonstown. They also organised 'underwear parties', where local women were invited to try on slips and nightgowns, and exchange a bit of local gossip with the friendly 'saleswomen'.

It seems Ireland was going through its own 'strategy of tension' similar to what Italy experienced in the sixties and early seventies. The operations of the MRF helped undermine a delicate peace, and ensured war returned to the streets of Northern Ireland, during a year which had already seen Bloody Sunday and the abolition of the Loyalist Parliament at Stormont, and which was to claim almost 500 lives—in what now stands out as one of the most violent years in the present twenty-year conflict.

BOMBS, BANK ROBBERIES AND LEGISLATION: Ireland 1972-1974

During September 1972, two English brothers (ex-criminals) Kenneth and Keith Littlejohn, who in the previous summer had been recruited as agents-provocateur by MI6, petrol-bombed two Gardaí police stations and carried out a number of bank robberies, which their controllers knew would immediately be blamed on the IRA. In the same month, a large bomb was found in Dundalk town hall, and defused amidst a barrage of publicity. The IRA denied they had planted it.

In October the two brothers, this time accompanied by members of the IRA, held up the Allied Irish Bank in Dublin's fashionable Grafton Street, and stole £67,000—the largest bank robbery at the time in the Republic. The tension caused by the Littlejohns' activities led the Irish government to consider more repressive legislation against both the IRA and Sinn Féin.

DIPLOMACY—MI6 STYLE

MI6 kept up the pressure. On 25th September 1972 the first of three car bombs exploded in Dublin, causing serious damage and injuring forty people. The IRA denied responsibility for the explosion. Two days later the Irish government announced a draconian amendment to the Offences Against the State Act which would widen the Gardaí's powers in combatting 'terrorism'. (For example, if a Gardaí officer suspected a person of being a member of the IRA, or any illegal organisation that would be sufficient to convict).

There was widespread opposition to the amendment in the Dail (Irish parliament). Just when it looked like the Opposition would vote against it, on Friday night Dec 1, two booby-trapped car bombs exploded in the centre of Dublin killing two bus conductors

and injuring 127 people.

Five hours after the explosions and in a wave of anti-IRA feeling, the opposition voted with the government, and the amendment was passed. The IRA immediately denied they had planted the bombs and pointed out that they had no reason to kill civilians in Dublin.

It later emerged that four Army officers attached to MI5, two of them later identified as Major Thompson and Major Fleming, had been directly involved in the bombings. They loaded the explosives into the two cars in Enniskillen, drove to Dublin and placed them in the City centre. They both returned to Enniskillen an hour before the bombs exploded.

Just after the explosions, a taxi driver claimed he gave a lift to a man with an English accent, who had hired his cab in the city centre and asked to be driven to the border. When they arrived, he pulled out a pistol and refused to pay. He ordered the driver back to Dublin. Some months later, he saw the man again at a horse race in the Republic, and summoned the Gardaí to arrest him for the unpaid fare. The Gardaí were shocked to find he was a Brigadier in the British Army. The bill was settled without any other charges being brought. Could he have been one of the two other officers involved in the bombings?

It wasn't long after the bombings that rumours began to surface in the Republic that the bombings and bank raids were the work of British Intelligence. The British government panicked following the arrest in late December 1972 of the two brothers, who had fled to England. The brothers claimed 'extenuating circumstances' when charged with the Grafton Street robbery, and stated they had been recruited by MI6 as agents-provocateur when they had gone to Kerry, southern Ireland, to live in 1971. They claimed their MI6 controllers had ordered them to infiltrate the IRA, then to engage in criminal acts, which the Irish Government would blame on the IRA and then pass repressive legislation against it.

MI6 AND THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

The Littlejohns later admitted, after their release in 1981, that they were recruited in England by Lady Pamela Onslow—a cousin of ex-MI6 officer and Tory MP Cranley Onslow. Then they were introduced to MI6 by the then Tory MP and Defence Minister Geoffrey Johnson-Smith.

At first the Heath government denied they had any connections with the Littlejohn brothers, either through MI6 or the Ministry of Defence. However the two brothers were finding out what promises from MI6 meant.

Their immunity from prosecution, promised by MI6, was withdrawn.

Following the admission by the British Government, on 3rd January 1973, that the Littlejohns were MI6 agents, the Director of Public Prosecutions flew to Dublin and met the Irish Attorney-General, Justice O'Malley, to secure an affidavit which would ensure the Littlejohns would not be charged with political offences. In this way, their role as MI6 agents-provocateur involved in criminal violence was suppressed.

Two other MI6 agents were exposed and faced charges at the same time. Sgt Patrick Crinnion was allegedly an MI6 informer inside the C3 subversion branch of the Gardaí. John Wyman was another agent-provocateur, arrested soon after the Littlejohns. A deal was struck so that Crinnion and Wyman would be allowed to leave Ireland, in return for the extradition of the Littlejohns to Ireland to face charges of armed robbery.

The Irish Attorney-General demanded a number of assurances from H.M. Government, which could be used to silence public concern in Ireland. The assurances were made public on August 13th 1973—the day after the Heath government had issued its statement on the activities of MI6 in Ireland.

These assurances were:

(a) That the Littlejohns had not been employed to 'suborn' (i.e. blackmail) the Irish security forces.

(b) That the Littlejohns had not told the UK any information they obtained from the Irish security forces.

(c) That the affidavit issued in favour of the Littlejohns would not be used as grounds for a protest against Wyman's trial.

(d) That there would be a declaration that there was no connection between the Littlejohn case and the Wyman case.

However, the assurances demanded by the Irish Government were in reality intended to deceive the Irish public, and underplay the seriousness of MI6 operations. The Irish Government was fully aware that the Littlejohn operations were intended to infiltrate the IRA as agents-provocateur. They also knew it was Wyman's role to 'suborn' the Irish security forces, and that Wyman was the Littlejohns' MI6 controller, which made the wording of the fourth clause completely misleading—as were the rest of the assurances demanded.

At their trial in Dublin in July 1973 the two brothers repeated their claims made earlier that year at the time of their arrest. They claimed they had committed criminal acts on behalf of the British State to 'encourage' the Irish Government to act against the IRA. They also claimed that the attacks and bank robberies were carried out with the full consent of the MoD. They also stated that their MI6 controllers had ordered them to kill leading members of the IRA, do away with their bodies, and then spread rumours that they had absconded with large sums of money. After their release in 1981, they revealed the existence of a 'top 30' Army assassination list, including top IRA men like Seamus Costello.

The Taoiseach (Irish PM), Jack Lynch, at first denied all knowledge of the Littlejohns' activities. He later retracted this statement, claiming he had forgotten certain details, and admitted that the British Government had informed him of their activities. Lynch also stated later that he suspected British Intelligence involvement in the earlier Dublin car bombs.

On 12th August 1972 the Heath Government issued a statement through the MoD in which, contrary to the Littlejohn claims, it said it met Kenneth Littlejohn only once, when they told him any information on the IRA would be welcome. The MoD also denied that MI6 had been letting off bombs in Dublin. On the 13th August, the Lynch government made public its previously-mentioned 'assurances' from the British Government.

However, there can be no doubt that MI6 were behind a wide range of highly illegal covert operations in the Republic. It is quite clear that they sanctioned the bank robberies and bombings to destabilise the Irish State and to jog the legislature into repressing the IRA south of the border.

DUBLIN BOMBED AGAIN

Again, on 21st May 1974, Dublin was the subject of bomb attacks carried out with the

Continued on page 10.

Last year the Economic League, the far-right organisation that specialises in monitoring 'subversives' and drawing up blacklists, was responsible for employing Peter Shipley, who works as a researcher for Conservative Central Office, in putting together a list of '100 Damned' Labour Party MP's/candidates who had 'left-wing' connections. We have decided to imitate the Economic League's practices by publishing a list of '250 Damned' companies that use and subscribe to the Economic League.

Altogether, though the Economic League has around 2000 companies on its books and therefore our list represents only 10% at the most of all its subscribers. In total the subscriptions the Economic League receives each year from companies amounts to around £1 million. This excludes donations from non-subscribing companies, via conduits. One such conduit is an organisation known as the British United Industrialists, which acts as a channel for individuals, organisations and businesses who wish to contribute funds to the Tory Party or right-wing organisations without drawing attention to themselves. We have also obtained details of the 1987 contributions of British United Industrialists, which we reproduce here.

The Economic League, which employs around 60 full-time officials, last year alone checked out 200,000 names against its files held at its office at 99a, Thornton Heath High Street, south London. In the past we have published lists of Economic League directors and their personal addresses. We are now in a position to publish a complete list of their directorship and their regional officers and addresses, in the form of an organisational chart published by the Economic League (dated 1986, but still 90% accurate).

BUI 1987 CONTRIBUTIONS LIST

Aims of Industry - £15,000.
Coalition for Peace through Security - £7000.
Conservative Board of Finance (Scotland) - £18,900.
Drummonds Bank - Free Enterprise - £230,000.
Economic League - £18,000.
Progress Trust - £7,500.
Scottish Conservative & Unionist Central Office - £3,300.
Lothian Conservative Association Rates Campaign £500.

THE LEAGUE'S ORGANISATION

Central Council

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VICE-PRESIDENTS: JOHN S. DETTMER
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PETER SAVILL

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Liaison Director: J. O. Udal, JP, MA

7 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London EC4A 3BY
Telephone: 01-353 7672

Bankers: The Royal Bank of Scotland
Auditors: Ball Baker Leake

Regions

EASTERN
President: Major-General T. Brodie, CB, CBE, DSO

Trustees of the Tory Reform Group - £2000.
Truemid - £6000.
Young Enterprise - £10,000.
TOTAL.....£318,400.

NOTES:

1. Aims of Industry is a right-wing organisation that specialises in producing propaganda on behalf of anti-union businesses.
2. The Coalition for Peace through Security was an ad hoc propaganda/dirty tricks organ-

isation set up by DS19 (under Michael Heseltine) to counter CND.
3. Truemid was set up in 1976 by SAS founder David Stirling as a successor to his 'private army' GB75. It provides covert assistance to right-wing trade union leaders and has recently been revived.

Chairman: Major W. J. Bridge
Regional Director: E. P. Thackery
7 Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, London EC4A 3BY
Telephone: 01-353 7672

MIDLAND
President: D. Fahey
Chairman: W. P. Evans, BA
Regional Director: P. R. Sullivan Tailleur, VRD
108c Alcester Road, Moseley, Birmingham B13 8EF
Telephone: 021-449 1594

NORTH EASTERN
President: P. G. Edwards
Chairman: B. J. Whitehouse
Regional Director: S. J. Bromley, BA, FBIM
PO Box 11, Skipton, North Yorkshire BD23 2HW
Telephone: 0756 69813

NORTH WESTERN
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Regional Director: R. T. Brett
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Telephone: 0925 54391

SCOTLAND
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President: Sir Maxwell Harper Gow, MBE, CBIM
Chairman: G. A. Lean, OBE
Regional Director: T. N. Douglas, FBIM
15 North Claremont Street, Glasgow G3 7NR
Telephone: 041-332 9108

SOUTH EASTERN
Chairman: R. R. Rowles
Regional Director: A. L. P. Weeks, MBE
PO Box 14, Leatherhead, Surrey KT22 8JH
Telephone: 0372 378963

WESTERN
Chairman, West of England: M. Knight
Chairman, South Wales: E. Rea
Regional Director: E. Dover, FIPM, MBIM
Bakers Row, Cardiff CF1 2AL
Telephone: 0222 382428

250 DAMNED

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Compass Services
Cape Industrial Products
Cape Boards Ltd

Cementmakers Federation
Compair Broomwade
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Coalite Group
Coldflow
Charlton Leslie Construction
Commercial Union
Charter Trust
Coutts & Co
Consolidated Goldfields
RM Douglas Construction
Delta Enfield Cables Ltd
Distillers Co
Dickenson Robinson Group
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Group 4 Total Security
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Hanson Trust
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Herbert Ferryman Ltd
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John Lang Construction Ltd
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Walter Llewelyn
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Norwest Holst Ltd
T & E Neville
Nove Leather
North Sea Ferries Hull
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Powers Samas
Pilkingtons
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Powell-Piggott Ltd
Phoenix Steel Tube Co Ltd
Power Steels
Penrith Door Company
Press Offshore Ltd
Precision Cast Parts Corporation
Phoenix Insurance
Rush & Tomkins Group PLC
Reliance Security Services
Ruberoid
Ransome Simms & Jefferies
Racal Guardall (Scotland) Ltd
R & M Fabrications
RCO Contract Services
Rosser & Russell Building Services
Redland Engineering
Ross Foods Ltd
Royal Bank of Scotland
Royal Insurance
Reckitt & Coleman
Bernard Sunley & Sons
Sulzer (UK) Ltd
E C Stenson
Skefco
Stockholders Investment Trust

Storeys of Lancaster
Sprungrove Ltd
Shepherd Hill & Co
Standard Continuous
Charles Stevens Funeral Directors
WH Smith Electrical Engineers Group
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Spear & Jackson
Stockbridge Engineering Steels
Sinclair & Collis
Smiths Industries PLC
Sun Alliance
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Daniel Thwaites
Trafalgar House
Taylor Woodrow
Tarmac Construction
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Transmanche Link
Tilbury Contracting
C Percy Trentham Ltd
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Turiff Corporation
Tysons (Contractors)
TI Domestic Appliances
Total Oil Marine PLC
Thomas Grice & Co
Tallent Engineering
T C Harrison Ltd
Taskman Security Services
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ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

BLACK CROSS CONTACTS

If you wish to be put in contact with your nearest Anarchist Black Cross group, simply write to *Black Flag* and we will pass on your name/address. There is now a growing network of ABC groups in Britain. Also ABC sections in other countries.

In Britain there are established ABC groups in London, Leeds, Sheffield, Bolton, Bristol, Manchester, Plymouth, Bradford, Leicester, Oxford and York. There are also many individual contacts in other parts of the country.

Other sections include Canada, Denmark, Australia, with contacts in Greece, Spain and Japan.

ANTI-PRISON DAY

The Anarchist Black Cross (British section) decided at its recent national conference to appoint March 26th as Anti-Prison Day.

The London group of the ABC is preparing a leaflet for distribution. A small number of copies of this leaflet will be made available to other Black Cross groups, who will either reproduce further copies or do their own, localised version. Groups will also undertake their own actions, picket their local prison and generally distribute anti-prison propaganda.

£60 has been received for the Anarchist Black Cross (London), for prisoners, raised by a bar collection at the Anarchist Book Fair.

OMORI DAY OF ACTION

The Danish section of the Anarchist Black Cross has sent out a communique urging international participation in an international day of action in support of our imprisoned Japanese comrade, Katsuhisa Omori, who is facing the death penalty after being convicted of a bombing of government offices (to which he denied involvement).

The day chosen for the international day of action is March 29th, the fifth anniversary of Omori's sentencing to death. The Danish Black Cross suggest that actions be aimed at Japanese embassies and consulates as well as Japanese financial and cultural centres. Post-action reports/photos, etc should be sent to the Omori Support Group, Chitose PO Box 35, Setagaya-ku, Tokyo.

MUTUAL AID: New internal bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross (British Section)—first issue now out, produced by Sheffield Black Cross, c/o Palm Tree Box, Sheffield Peace Shop, 5-7 Exchange Place, Sheffield, S1.

Imprisoned miners Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland are still in jail for their part in the miners strike.

Thank you for your kind letter and money for my son Dean (Hancock). We are very grateful to you and can assure you that any money that we receive for Dean is put into an account for when he comes home to us, as he won't have a job waiting for him and (thanks to Thatcher) no job in the future. I expect you have heard that Dean and Russell's parole was turned down in August. It did not come as shock to him because as you know, it's political; so I expect they will have to do the whole sentence. Best wishes to you all. (from the parents of Dean Hancock)

From Russell Shankland: *As we complete our third year in prison, it's quite morale boosting to know that people out there are still showing continual support to us. Fraternally, Russell (South Wales NUM).*

DAYS OF ACTION FOR MARTIN FORAN

The Northern Anarchist Network has called for two national days of action in support of Martin Foran on Friday May 6 and Saturday May 7.

Latest news is that the Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, has announced that the Government is seriously considering privatising remand prisons.

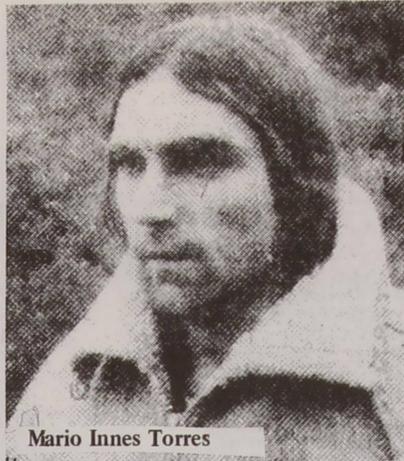
ABC NEWS

Roberto Gemignani is an Italian anarchist currently rotting in prison in France since December 1986 and under threat of extradition to Italy. Like literally hundreds of other Italian political refugees, he is falsely accused by the Italian authorities of various offences, including that of 'belonging to an armed gang', and faces several years more prison if successfully extradited.

A support group, the Comite de Contre-Information et de Solidarite, has been formed in France to campaign for his release and can be contacted c/o 65 rue de Bichat, 75019 Paris.

Messages of support can be sent directly to Roberto Gemignani, Ecr. 765204, 2e Div., Maison d'arret de Fresnes, 1 Avenue de la Division-Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes.

Another political refugee currently facing extradition is Mario Ines Torres, a Spanish anarchist rotting in jail in Finland since October 1987. Like Gemignani, the authorities claim that he has links with various groups, including



Mario Ines Torres

Action Directe.

Originally arrested in March 1984, he was held under Spain's notorious 'Anti-terrorist Law' and savagely tor-

tured by the police before being sent to Carabanchel prison (Madrid) to await trial.

On 22nd October 1984 he was released on bail but was soon receiving death threats from GAL - a state-funded fascist death squad which specialises in assassinating ETA militants. Fearing for his life, Mario fled to France, where he was the victim of an unsuccessful assassination attempt in the spring of 1985.

More recently, in February 1987, he was kidnapped by three police agents from the Resignments Generaux (equivalent to the special branch) who told him to either co-operate with them or run the risk of being taken back illegally to Spain. It was at this point that Mario decided to move to Finland where he was once more arrested in September 1987 and held/interrogated for two weeks. In October he was re-arrested and now awaits extradition.

Protests to: the Finnish Embassy, 38 Chesham Place, London SW1. (Tel: 01-235 9531).

MARTIN FORAN UPDATE

Martin Foran's health continues to deteriorate - he is suffering constant diarrhoea and the acids and enzymes from his stomach are leaking out through his colostomy aperture and onto the skin of his abdomen, which is being eaten away. At present, the skin is replacing itself every two days, but as Martin admits this cannot go on indefinitely, and he lives in fear of getting gangrene. Because of the diarrhoea, Martin was on a special diet of six boxes of Complian a week, to ensure that he got essential nutrients and vitamins. For some 'inexplicable' reason, the prison authorities have seen fit to reduce this to only one box per week. As a result, he is losing weight steadily, and will not be fit enough for the surgery he expects to have around May.

The intended operation will remove all of Martin's lower intestine and colon, leaving him with a permanent colostomy. This is an eight hour operation, normally followed by at least three months in intensive care. The prison authorities, however, are planning to return Martin to his cell in the segregation wing at Parkhurst immediately following the surgery, where he will not receive the medical care he so desperately needs.

Under the circumstances we do not expect him to survive such an operation, and if he dies, the state will have yet another murder on their hands and conscience.

As well as his appalling physical injuries, Martin has also been harassed in other ways by the authorities. He has been prevented from making copies of any of his documents, and is no longer allowed to send these out with his letters, not even the originals. Newspapers and magazines sent to him by his supporters on the outside frequently don't reach him. When he is visited by his family, they are searched and the visit is often held in a separate room. After one recent visit by his wife, Valerie, Martin was searched so rigorously that the prison officer even put his hand inside Martin's colostomy bag. Nothing was found there, but the screw concerned got sprayed with excreta for his pains.

In spite of all the health problems and hassles that Martin has had, his spirits are still high, he refuses to be broken by the authorities. He is currently receiving around 200 letters a week from people around the world - a source of support he derives a lot of strength

from. Unfortunately, owing to the restrictions on sending letters out from prison, Martin is unable to reply to every one. To rectify this, his support group, The Martin Foran Support Fund, is planning to start a monthly newsletter to keep people informed on his situation. He sends thanks to everyone who has written to him so far.

N.B. The Martin Foran Support Fund, which was set up to assist Martin and his family financially, is now functioning well. The account number is 50102770 at the co-op bank., 41 Vicar Lane, Leeds 1. People wishing to make donations should make cheques payable to the fund and send them to Leeds Black Cross, Box JAG, 52 Call Lane, Leeds 1. People wanting to receive the newsletter are requested to make a donation to the fund to cover costs.

Please note that the Martin Foran Defence Fund Trust, based on the Isle of Wight, as reported in the last issue of *Black Flag*, is no longer functioning and people should send no further money to it, but send to the Leeds fund instead.

Prison Expansion Programme Confirmed

Black Flag's allegations that the new prison expansion programme will lead to a tripling of the number of prisoners held in UK prisons has been confirmed by a recent report by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO). Our earlier reports on the political use of electronic tags for prisoners, as a form of Public Order control, is also beginning to look like a reality given recent statements by government ministers.

According to the NACRO report, *The Prison Population - Recent Developments*, the number of prisoners in UK prisons rose by an average of 387 a week in the first seven weeks of this year. If this trend continues the prison population will increase by around 20,000 by the end of the year - which will mean that the total prison population will have increased by a staggering 40%. This is despite the increase in remissions (3000 prisoners on early release since last August). Also the report takes no account of the threatened use of electronic tagging and the creation of a new class of prisoners under this scheme.

NACRO has announced that to reduce prison overcrowding 'it would mean opening up a new Wormwood Scrubs every three weeks' (literally). To a certain extent this is being taken up by the Government, under the new prison expansion scheme, which is falsely being hailed as a humanitarian programme to decrease overcrowding. In reality it is being undertaken to prepare the way for a vast increase in the prison population as a whole.

On tagging a number of reports have been circulating in the national press, some conflicting but on the whole lending support to the notion that the

scheme will be introduced into the UK fairly soon (when we first put forward this three years ago, our claims were met with cynicism).

Electronic tagging has been defined as such so as to give the impression that it will be more humane to be put under electronic house arrest than to be imprisoned. True, but not if the scheme is introduced as an addition to conventional imprisonment, not as an alternative. Again, here we refer to a recent Home Office statement suggesting that electronic tagging will be used for prisoners on remand - an alternative to the usual bail conditions, we ask? Also we have queried the political uses of the scheme. Will it be used for minor offenders, such as those convicted under Public Order offences, thus making electronic tagging a means of controlling political dissidents?

In the USA, where electronic tagging was invented, there are now up to 60 different electronic tagging schemes in existence. All the schemes utilise the same basic system. A central computer monitors a prisoners movement via signals relayed via the telephone line. Some systems involve the computer randomly telephoning the prisoner during the hours he/she is supposed to be at home. The prisoner is then meant to answer the query by the phone or by inserting a special electronic I/D, strapped to the wrist, into the computerised monitor. In other systems a radio transmitter strapped to the prisoner's leg automatically sends out a continuous signal to the monitoring device attached to the phone. Violated curfews are automatically logged by the central computer. Violators are then punished by being given their original jail sentence. With some of the schemes

the prisoner is actually charged around £7 a day to pay for the privilege of being placed under electronic house arrest!

House Arrest Perfected.

The CONTRAC Supervisor Monitors Offenders Electronically.

Our jails are bursting at the seams, and there is little relief in sight. The solution? Minor offenders can now be kept under house arrest in their own homes with the new CONTRAC Supervisor.

The principles involved are simple. The Supervisor Transmitter is attached to the leg of the offender. The monitor is placed in his home, and if the offender attempts to stray more than 200 feet from the receiver, the monitor sounds the alarm. Automatically, it telephones the appropriate law enforcement authorities and records the offense on the monitoring receiver. The rest is up to the authorities.

Extensive field testing with actual offenders has resulted in a device which is both reliable and easy to use. The transmitter is rugged, water-proof and resistant to false alarms. In short, it works! Special seals ensure that the transmitter and monitor won't be tampered with, and the alarm will be called in if the monitor is unplugged. Installation is quick and can be handled by virtually anyone with only basic instructions. At last there is a proven, effective way to alleviate overcrowded jails without simply releasing offenders or constructing costly facilities. The CONTRAC Supervisor is the sensible, economical solution.



For additional information contact:
CONTRAC
Controlled Activities Corporation
8028 Overseas Highway
Tavernier, FL 33070
305-842-9642

So, 'pay as you rot', as we have termed it, returns once again, under a new guise.

But who, we ask, will fit and install the telephone/computer monitoring systems in the homes? British Telecom workers? And how will they respond to this new job definition?

N.B. For 1988-89 the Prison Service (sic) is to get an extra £67 million and a further £94 million in 1989-90. The current prison expansion building programme is to provide a further 17,500 places.

SEARCHLIGHT ADOPTS McCARTHYISM

In one of the worst examples of sectarianism and smearing *Searchlight*, the pro-Soviet anti-racist magazine, has published a story accusing anarchists of being in alliance with fascists.

The story centres around the resistance by squatters in the Stamford Hill and Morningside estates, north London, against mass evictions by a Labour-controlled borough (see 'London Squatters Resist' elsewhere in this issue). *Searchlight* alleges that fascists have become involved in the resistance, but offers no concrete evidence of this. They also allege that squatters - and here for reasons not developed they single out anarchists, who are only a small part of the squatters resistance - have shown 'indifference' to the fascists alleged presence. Who do *Searchlight* mean by anarchists anyway - or do they regard any punk with a circle A on their clothes as an anarchist? Its more plausible, though, to believe that *Searchlight* is acting out of the lowest of motives.

Searchlight states that the Morningside estate is infiltrated with fascists and has been the base for two gun-runners, one a UDA member and the other in the NF. *Searchlight* also refers

to Steve Martin, a UDA and NF activist also wanted for gun-running, and who apparently lives in the Stamford Hill estate (as a tenant, not as a squatter). This means nothing, apart from the fact that fascists live in some estates: if *Searchlight*, has the addresses of these people maybe they could publish them, instead

of simply whining on about their presence. And if fascists have infiltrated the squatters resistance then they must be seen to, not least by the squatters' groups themselves. But to label squatters, or anarchists for that matter, as being in alliance with fascists merely because they have allegedly been infiltrated by them - well, you might as well say CND is fascist because the anti-nuclear movement was infiltrated by fascists at one point. Acting in this way *Searchlight* falls into the very trap that the fascists have set: to get one set of people attacking another.

But *Searchlight* goes much further. In a neat bit of conjuring *Searchlight* goes on to equate attacks on Labour policies (eg, implementation of cuts and mass redundancies, and the run-down of housing, etc) with fascism per se! Obey the party or be labelled right-wing, is the name of the game. This fawning attitude is most apparent in a scurrilous attack on the Direct Action Movement, the anarcho-syndicalist organisation. The article features a picture of a Brixton DAM poster which equates Bolshevism with Fascism, suggesting that both merit attacking. To *Searchlight* this is obviously heresy. Yet to equate left totalitarianism with fascism a few years ago would have met with approval by most intelligent socialists, including the readers of *Searchlight*. At the height of Stalinism, or after the invasion of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the repression of Solidarnosc - most labour activists condemned the Soviet Union and

anti-state and socialist resistance in the Eastern Bloc. Kulak Press never 'employed' Malcolm Astells, who was briefly in the NF in his youth, but disowned the fascists and is now very much active in anti-fascist activity. *Searchlight*, however, wishes to imply otherwise, but offering no justification.

Searchlight rarely acts out of ignorance (although if this is an example of the quality of their reporting then how can we continue to trust the quality of their other stories?). However *Searchlight*, in this instance has clearly gone out of its way to disinform and to smear, by inuendo, an active anti-fascist organisation. It has even employed stalinist practices to support its lies. For example, the story included the anti-Bolshevik poster, which *Searchlight* implied was

given out at the Stamford Hill estate (so what if it was!), but was in fact taken by a *Searchlight* contact from 121 Bookshop

These stalinist tactics do not do *Searchlight's* reputation any good whatsoever, which is sad considering that *Searchlight* does much valuable work in reporting on racist attacks, etc. It would be in the interests of everyone if *Searchlight* took a non-aligned position. But that looks near impossible. Instead it seems that *Searchlight* has re-defined McCarthyism in its zeal to monopolise the antifascist movement.

Despite all of this we know that the DAM and anarchists generally will continue to play a leading role in the war against fascism and fascists - right or left.

LETTERS

Dear Comrades,
The person who wrote 'How to Beat the Poll Tax' said: 'The second priority must be...to set up some kind of permanent network of community councils organised by and for the communities themselves' Acting as Devil's Advocate. I should like to ask him or her whether such a network doesn't already exist in the form of parish (or town) councils in the immediately locality and, covering a wider area, in the form of district councils. After all, anyone, representing any interest, can stand for these.
All the best,
TM (Devon)

Eds: The devil's right, of course—a free society would consist of unions represented within local councils—but parliamentarism has supplanted democracy so much that neither non-hierarchical unions nor local councils as they stand are much good either for resistance or social change.

Dear Black Flag,
I was beginning to think you had gone the way of Xtra!, Zero, Labour Weekly, IT, News on Sunday, Leveller etc. Still, better late than never, as the saying goes.

Some extremely good articles have appeared in the Flag during 1987. Irangate/Contragate... Totalitarianism in the UK, Economic League, Thatcher's Final Solution, M15 Tendency, Big Business Terrorism. Polltax and the Spycatcher 'rewrite', to name but a few. Where else would such useful stuff appear?

A pity that fortnightly publication has been suspended. At least the courts cannot seize the profits!

RB (Manchester)

Dear Flag,
The most important thing Black Flag has done so far as I am concerned is to bring the Spanish Resistance to the attention of English-speaking workers. I got worked up when young punks think that 'Spain' was something in the thirties. The post-war Resistance may have looked back to the Revolution but it was unique. All the average English reader knows of is nationalists and CPers! International solidarity still inspires.
EAS (London)

Dear all at Black Flag:
Just to inform you that my incarceration at Her Majesty's most obvious pleasure is now over so you can use the postage costs to send a copy of your excellent journal to other unfortunate friends behind bars for crimes against Maggie and her caring cabinet and in dire need of something to keep their minds from completely cabbageing.

The biggest problem I found whilst inside was the loss of A contact with the outside world and keeping up personal spirits and strength to maintain one's principles. Therefore any form of communication from decent thinking folk on the outside worked wonders for the ailing soul.

To this end I sincerely thank everyone and anyone who does any prisoner support group work; it's greatly appreciated. From my own position I would like to offer huge thanks to Leeds Prisoner Support Group for their visits, gifts and letters of support; Sheffield As who I think arranged for me to receive a daily paper and even a chrissey card; and all my friends

and family who bothered, especially my close friends Helen and Fiona—without the support and solidarity of these people my fairly trouble free passage through the British penal system would have been far less bearable. With solidarity and anarchist resistance and hopes for a better future,
Andy

Hello Black Flag People,
Happy new year to all, hope everyone's OK. Here's the latest bit of news from up this way.

Firstly, at time of writing, four prisoners have gone on hunger strike (though prison officers say that they've eaten chocolate, etc., from the canteen) in the 'cages' at Porterfield Prison, Inverness, over the beating of one of them by screws (another report said that it was over conditions so it's likely to be both!). The 'cages' are nothing less than punishment blocks designed to break down 'trouble makers'.

It's also come to light that the screws guarding the 'cages' are now wearing riot-gear, same goes for Peterhead and probably others (and the screw's union are now calling for more equipment to be available and for permanent riot squads to be set up).

Unfortunately, Inverness had it's first (at least well-publicised first) overtly racist attack recently. A Pakistani family had their house, windows and walls painted with racist and NF graffiti.

Shock-horror in the local press for a day or so but nothing else, and not suprisingly the cops haven't found who was responsible. Unfortunately, I haven't yet either!

The Earl of Leven (Lord Lieutenant of Nairnshire - 15 miles east of Inverness) recently appeared in Inverness county court because he bashed a small dog over the head with his stick that both the stick and the dog's skull broke (well, fractured anyway). It was being taken for a walk on the moors but lagged behind it's owner and was unfortunate enough to bump into this bastard. He said that he thought it was hunting grouse. The dog survived fortunately.

Because it was his first offence, the scum was fined £75 and made the press for the next few days - people and MPs demanding that he should be sacked and writing to the queen to say so.

However, anarchist, dog-liking, Earlhaters could send abusive letters to: Alexander Robert, Earl of Leven, Glenferness House, Glenferness, Nairnshire, Scotland.

Apart from that, things have been fairly 'normal', quiet, etc.

I sent out quite a few greeting cards to prisoners on the list and have had three replies so far: one from the Omori Support Group, one from Larry Giddings in the USA, who seems to be quite cheerful despite his situation, and another from Brent Taylor in Canada. Hopefully there'll be more to come. (I sent one to the Soviet prisoner and the Solidarnosc prisoner. Is it naive to expect a reply? Has someone written before and got one?)

That's it for now,
Pete, Inverness.

THE RIGHT TO A GENERAL STRIKE

Continued from page 1.

But is such an alliance feasible, and if it was set up by the unions would it be any more than a paper alliance? To be effective it would need to be.

And, having set up such an alliance, would the unions concerned be prepared to flout the law and organise sympathetic action? Without sympathetic action such an alliance would be meaningless.

There would obviously be many casualties. Workers would be imprisoned. Assets would be seized. But if the stand were a united one, it would be the workers and the trade unions in the end that would be victorious. The state can hardly lock up thousands of workers, although it can intimidate them with police action. And even if assets are seized, is that really important if at the end of the day the anti-union laws are broken once and for all?

The old syndicalism that is the foundation of the unions has to be re-discovered if the mould is to be broken. This means the members have to take back control over how the unions are run. It means that sacred laws will have to be broken. It means that sympathetic action will once more become the norm. And it means that the right to escalate a dispute into a General Strike, either within an industry, throughout a region, or across a country, will have to, once more, be won through concerted action by all workers, whatever their trade or industry.

For this reason at some point in time there has to be a campaign to win back the right to organise for a General Strike. This is a right that has been stolen from the workers by legal chicanery and parliamentarianism. It is a natural right that we all have - to withdraw our labour in concert with others in order to improve the quality of life.

And should the trade unions deny such a right to their own members because of cowardice or misplaced loyalties then the workers will have no other recourse than to re-organise along the lines of a 'one big union', controlled by the members, and united in purpose.

N.B. On March 5th there were several mass rallies around the country to demonstrate in support of the healthworkers. At the London demonstration around 100,000 turned up. Nurses at the Hyde Park rally heckled TUC leaders and shouted 'We have got a problem - Norman Willis', in an attack on the TUC head. There was a good turnout too from workers in other industries, echoing the earlier examples in the dispute of secondary action (eg walk-outs by ICI workers in the north-west, miners at Frickley coming out, a one-day strike by Vauxhall workers and walk-outs by firefighters in Liverpool - all taken in support of healthworkers.) It's secondary action like this - but which needs to be extended - that will lead the way in breaking the back of the anti-union laws.



Bolshevism, pointing to the concentration camps, the crack-down on trade unionism, etc. But suddenly, with Gorbachev's PR coup on Glasnost, all is forgotten. We, however, are not so fickle. We are not swayed by pragmatism or the trickery of politicians. The attitude of the left, though, changes with the current, in vogue, politics that is the order of the day. When *Searchlight* states that the anarchist propaganda 'contains images that in the past have been used only by the nazi type groups', what they are referring to is simply a generalised attack on Bolshevism. But they do not openly state this, but leave it to the imagination of their readers to guess what this means.

Behind all this, however, lies the real reasons why *Searchlight* has a vendetta against the anarchists (apart from crude sectarian and partisan ones). Quite simply they have never forgiven the anarchists for exposing their guru, Gerry Gable, who was shown to have intimate links with Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, the head of the right-wing group FARI (Foreign Affairs Research Institute) and the then head of the UK section of the World Anti-Communist League. *Searchlight* also resents that the anarchists played a leading role in the fight against fascism, but using direct action tactics instead of sucking up to the Labour Party and looking to the police to solve the problem through legal means.

For the record, too, we should add that Kulak Press, which *Searchlight* refers to, is an imprint used by Terry Little (who *Searchlight* also has a vendetta against), a Labour supporter and anarchist sympathiser who specialises in publishing news, via *Volya*, on

UNDERMINING WAR AND PEACE

Continued from page 6.

aid of British Intelligence. During the Ulster Workers Council general strike, the UDA planted two no-warning car bombs in Dublin and Monaghan, killing 34 people during the evening rush hour. The RUC special branch had given help to the UDA in the operation. Afterwards a UDA spokesman told the press that he had been pleased with the 'attacks'.

Colin Wallace claims the strike was being used by the Army and MI5 as part of their destabilisation programme and the bombings were intended to discredit Harold Wilson's Labour government, then involved in trying to set up a power-sharing executive in Northern Ireland, as well as to increase tension in the Republic. Wallace and Holroyd supplied the names of the four men behind the bombings in April 1987 to the Irish Government, but no action has been taken.

The UDA let off bombs in Dublin again in November 1986 and January 1987. In December 1987 the UDA second-in-command John McMichael was shot by the IRA because the UDA were intending to launch another bomb offensive in the Republic.

BOMBS AND LEGISLATION, BIRMINGHAM 1974

The Littlejohns were sentenced to fifteen and twenty years apiece for the Grafton Street robbery. But in March 1974 both escaped from Mountjoy prison. Keith was immediately recaptured, but Kenneth escaped to England, though he was on the 34th day of a hunger strike! It was later claimed he escaped from prison to be in Birmingham on the night of the bombings: in fact, on that night (21st November 1974) he was staying at the house of another agent-provocateur and NF sympathiser, Thomas Watt.

Watt, who had been recruited as an agent-provocateur by the Birmingham police six months before the bombings (just after the Littlejohns broke out of prison) became the key witness for the prosecution during the trial of the six Irish people accused of the bombings. He had worked as a spy in the area, where he could find out from pub talk who supported the IRA.

There had been a lot of IRA activity around Birmingham. The six arrested for the bombings were returning to Northern Ireland after being involved in the funeral of an IRA volunteer killed while planting a bomb in Coventry. They were seriously beaten and tortured and then convicted on what is now admitted to be flawed forensic evidence, and jailed for life.

The two Birmingham bombings killed 21 people and injured more than 150. The IRA did not claim responsibility and maintained its

members were not involved in the bombings. A wave of anti-Irish and anti-IRA emotion followed widespread revulsion at the outrage. Wilson's government took advantage of the event to pass the Prevention of Terrorism Act (1974) in two days. It has now been recognised by the Labour Party itself as one of the most repressive and discriminatory pieces of legislation to have been enacted in any Western democracy during the seventies.

The Act had been drafted well before the bombings, suggesting the State was waiting for the right moment to put the Bill before Parliament. The repressive nature of the PTA shows the bombings were to prompt a Labour government to act swiftly on such instances as the 'right' to hold someone for a minimum of seven days (without access to a solicitor) and in most cases, without subsequent charges being made.

Such an authoritarian measure as the PTA could not have been passed under less emotional circumstances. As it was it was only passed as a 'temporary expedient' to the Birmingham bombings, to be renewed each year (in January 1988 made permanent).

STATE TERRORISM?

Kenneth Littlejohn claimed later that MI6 broke a promise to help him once he got to England, implying they knew of his intention to break jail. How he escaped on the 34th day of a hunger strike, with the Gardai on his tail, and crossed the Channel, has not been explained. Possible help from MI6 cannot be ruled out. Though there is no evidence that Littlejohn or Watt were involved in the bombings, the State's use of agents-provocateur both by MI6 in Ireland in 1972 and the Birmingham police in 1974, would indicate their activities were more of a coincidence. There is a strong correlation between the two events: lots of innocent people killed, the unlikely nature of the attacks (blamed on and denied by the IRA), and the repressive legislation passed as a result.

It should be noted that British Intelligence have ultimately been responsible for the deaths of 36 innocent civilians in the Republic, when car bombs planted either by MI6 or the UDA exploded there in 1972 and 1974.

Though Labour MP Chris Mullin says he has met the men behind the bombings, the question of exactly who planted the bombs in Birmingham in 1973 has never been established satisfactorily. A largely Labour Party backed campaign has shown there is overwhelming evidence that the Six are innocent, and two appeals have gone through the courts. The unlikelihood of judges granting an injustice was done added to what would be admitted were they now acquitted, has ensured the international scandal of their remaining in jail.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

Black Flag got a less than flattering mention in a recent issue of *Libertarian Labor Review* - an 'independent anarcho-syndicalist publication' emanating from Champaign, Illinois.

In a letter published in the fourth issue, signed by 'Hull Syndicalists', *Black Flag* is accused of being a 'bizarre vanguardist organisation which had come to control the DAM (the Direct Action Movement).

Such shit is by no means new. Mick Larkin (see below) has been pushing the same theory for a number of years to anyone who has been stupid enough to listen. Such 'people' seem to need to believe that the whole anarchist movement is controlled by small cells or sinister extremists bent on destruction. Sound familiar? The same theory has been pushed by the police for over a century. Makes you wonder, doesn't it?

Another piece of shit, this time published in *Freedom* (sic), also caught our eye recently, simply because of the number of factual inaccuracies and lies contained within it. This time the CNT-AIT (Spain's anarcho-syndicalist union) is the victim. For the record:

- 1 - The editor of *Solidaridad Obrera* is Josep Alamany, not Luis Edo.
- 2 - The general secretary of the AIT is Fidel Gorron, not Manuel Plaza.
- 3 - The AIT (better known here as the International Workers Association) is an anarcho-syndicalist international with a proud tradition of libertarian struggle. To suggest that it is CIA funded is an insult to all IWA members, past and present, who have suffered imprisonment, persecution and murder at the hands of the secret/state services.
- 4 - The CNT has no national headquarters although its national committee is based in Granada, not Barcelona.
- 5 - There was no attempt to break up a meeting of the CNT-U on 12th March.

When CNT-AIT militants turned up at the meeting they were verbally abused, barred from entry and then set upon by 'CNT-U' members carrying clubs and tear gas sprays, while the 'CNT-U' leadership remained seated in the hall!

6 - Both 'CNT-U' and CNT-AIT militants were hospitalised, not just 'CNT-U' members.

Spanish Information Network reports that members of the CIA-AIT including the General Secretary of the AIT, Manuel Plaza, and the editor of *Solidaridad Obrera*, Luis Edo, attempted to break up a meeting of the CNT-U in Barcelona on 12 March. They did not succeed, but three members of CNT-U were taken to hospital, one with stab wounds. Perhaps Pepe Gomez, the CNT-AIT secretary at Puerto Real, had such incidents in mind when he advocated the removal of CNT headquarters from Barcelona to Bilbao (*Freedom*, September).

Freedom could do themselves a favour in future by checking the accuracy of their international 'news' or at least asking the CNT-AIT for their version of events before going to print. Instead they prefer to rely on Mick Larkin and his 'Spanish Information Network', which is where this particularly nasty piece of 'information' originated. Mick Larkin, it should be remembered, is a past master of deception, not above doctoring photos of CNT-AIT demos (a la Stalin) and claiming them to be 'CNT-U' demos in his publication *Sinews*. Portraying CNT-AIT militants as mindless thugs and terrorists or CIA controlled morons, may be funny to the likes of *Freedom* and Mick Larkin but in a country where not so long ago membership of the CNT-AIT meant the death penalty its about as funny as a kick in the teeth.

BOOK REVIEW

MAUS by Art Spiegelman (Penguin)

This remarkable book was published a couple of months ago, and details,

MAUS A SURVIVOR'S TALE



art spiegelman

in cartoon format, the terrible and true story of the Holocaust, as experienced by Spiegelman's parents - Vladek and Anja.

Moving back and forth from Poland to New York, the story unfolds on two powerful levels. The first is Vladek's account of how he and Anja survived the ghettos in Poland, brushing with death and the terror of betrayal. The second depicts the author's tattered relationship with his father as they attempt to lead a normal life and put history behind them, and how he tries to come to terms with his inheritance of survival.

We learn of the events leading up to deportation of Vladek and Anja to Mauthausen (a sequel is to follow) and gain insight into what it means to be a Holocaust survivor, directly, or indirectly as the child of a survivor.

The story is charmingly told, in Yiddish/American dialect, and the drawings are superb and wittily detailed. The Jews are all depicted as mice, the Germans as cats and the Poles as pigs, leading to some nice touches - as when the Jew-mice cross to the Aryan side of the ghetto and don pig masks to disguise themselves as Poles. The cartoon format works brilliantly as a way of shocking us out of lazy familiarity with the events described, without trivialising those experiences. In fact it is the sheer humanity of the story that shines through above all else.

Maus is humorous, educational, moving and very special. Buy it or steal it - you won't be disappointed.

Tzeitel

BOOK REVIEW: Spanish Front, writers on the Civil War. Ed Valentine Cunningham. (Oxford University Press, 1986. 4.95 pb.)

This book is good for probably only one thing - as an illustration of the intellectual poverty of the Left in general in the 1930's. How so many, supposedly intelligent, educated young writers, could swallow and regurgitate the Stalinist line, even after their experiences in Spain, is unbelievable (unless you believe that they deliberately backed the Communist Party line because they considered it the best strategy to protect their class position: the most vehement attackers of the Anarchists and defenders of the CP had a tendency to have double-barrelled names and/or have been to Oxbridge).

The vast majority of the contributions in this book are from Communists or fellow-travellers, yet the editor, Cunningham, didn't find it necessary to write some kind of historical corrective, in the introduction (beyond mentioning 'Soviet cultural imperialism...'), to the Stalinism that pervades most of the contributions on Spain.

Just how strong the Stalinist influence was in England is provided by George Orwell's insight into his problems in getting articles printed after his return. Just a short reading of Boloten (The Spanish Revolution) would've provided Cunningham with an indication of how wide 'Soviet cultural imperialism' was in

Spain, and of its murderous consequences. Such lack of historical analysis is also missing in Cunningham's introduction to Ralph Bates *The Olive Field* (Hogarth 1986), when he sets out Bates' belief that the Anarchists were responsible for the whole failure of the '34 revolution. Such omissions could be due to ignorance or a lack of desire to provide a corrective to the Communist Party version of Spain in the '30's. This could also be the reason for the lack of contributors with Anarchist 'taintings' in Spanish Front. Herbert Read's contributions are a sterile debate with Blunt on the worth of Picasso's work and a single poem. However there is a large number of writers included, from big guns like Orwell, Koestler, Hemmingway to relative unknowns (to me anyway—a short biography of each contributor wouldn't have gone amiss.) like Lunn and W.E. Johns.

There is a section 'Women Writing Spain' but ironically the best description of what the Revolution meant for Spanish women comes from Borkenau. In fact, it is amazing how little that word, revolution, is used throughout the book; there is an element of surprise in Auden's tone when he writes in January 1937: 'For a revolution is really taking place...' But then again, the Communist myth that the Spanish Civil War wasn't about revolution but bourgeois democracy is still fairly widespread—51 years on. And this myth is really what the book is part of. It shines more lights on the 'intellectual' Left of '30's Europe than it does on the revolution and struggle in Spain.

Eddie May.

Answers to quiz

1. Both were martyrs to royalism—Frederick died of cancer of the throat because his doctors wouldn't lay hands on his sacred person, and they finally, too late, sent for a Scottish surgeon; Philip burned to death in his chair because nobody around would commit the sacrilege of dragging him away.
2. The majority of terrorists in Russia were women, either Social-Revolutionaries or Nihilists.
3. Charlie Chaplin.
4. Field Marshal President Eisenhower.
5. He thought it was an Anglo-French plot to keep Russia in the war (the Tsar was pro-German).
6. He sold out to Prime Minister Lloyd George, who, afraid of revolution, used him to address meetings explaining that the brave new world was just around the corner and it would take a few months to build the promised 'homes for heroes'.

OBITUARY

The dearer press contained extensive obituaries of Leon Goossens, the distinguished musician, at the age of ninety. One might discover all of the facts of the distinguished career of this Liverpool-born musician, bar one. Like his sister Sidonie, equally distinguished in her day, he was an Anarchist, and that's why no titles were accepted by this leading classical music

family. Though the Goossens family never quite resolved the dilemma of being made into court musicians, as it were, to the Establishment, in the early thirties they endeavoured to introduce libertarian ideas into their circle, and during the Spanish war they actively supported endeavours for the CNT-FAI, and adopted Basque (CNT—not Nationalist!) orphans. The press discreetly passed over this aspect of Leon Goossens' life.

Late News

On Monday 6th March, over 26 Shell petrol stations in over 20 different

towns in Holland were attacked in protest against Royal Dutch Shell's refusal to withdraw all its trade from South Africa.

Source: *Guardian*.