

BLACK FLAG

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

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SPAIN - GENERAL STRIKE

ANARCHIST MILITANTS ARRESTED AT GUNPOINT

THE RECENT General Strike in Spain - the first in over fifty years - saw a turnout exceeding 90% in the industrial areas. It was a response that confounded the two unions, the UGT and the CCOO, which initiated it but which also helped to create the conditions that caused it. But the level of response did not surprise the anarchist union, the CNT-AIT, which had organised Spain's two previous general strikes and which supported this current manifestation of popular anger to the full.

Despite the large numbers who took part in the strike there were a number of attempts by the forces of reaction to provoke the sort of fascist attacks more reminiscent of the pistolero gangs of the early '30's. In Saragossa workers affiliated to the CNT-AIT were threatened at gunpoint by their boss the day before the strike - but the cenetistas went on strike anyway. In Bilbao a massive demonstration was attacked by police firing rubber bullets. And in Barcelona anarchists were arrested at gunpoint.

The Barcelona incident happened when six strikers - all members of the Poble Sec anarchist ateneo (social centre) saw a bar open to the public in defiance of the strike. So they threw in a harmless firework to wake up the customers to the fact that the rest of Barcelona had risen up. The next thing that happened was that the occupants of the bar rushed out waving pistols and ordered the six strikers to lie face down on the floor. The six were then arrested (the occupants of the bar turned out not to be just ordinary scabs but plain-clothed police looking for trouble). As we go to press some are still being held in custody.

The General Strike was taken in response to government measures in pursuing free market policies, and in particular the newly created youth 'training' scheme, known as the Plan de Empleo Juvenil (PEJ). The strike was also against unemployment generally, which in Spain has risen to 22%, the highest in Europe excepting Portugal.

The pathetic one-day call-out by the reformist UGT and CCOO unions stands in sharp contrast to the Social General Strike



Anarchists arrested in Poble Sec (Barcelona)

as organised by the anarcho-sindicalists. The practice of the CNT has always been to take the maximum advantage of a general strike and not simply to leave the place of work but to take over the workplaces and occupy and even collectivise them. With a one-day affair this is hardly possible.

Nevertheless the CNT-AIT gave full support to the strike but made it quite clear that they considered the strike was just as much against the reformist policies of the UGT and CCOO which have had a social pact with the PSOE (the ruling Spanish Workers Party) for the past six years.

The strike began in a spectacular way at midnight on December 13th. On the pro-PSOE Channel One TV show a presenter announced that the strike was expected to draw only a 50% turnout and that most services

were expected to be running as usual. At that point the TV screen suddenly went blank, as the TV production workers had pulled the plug out. That was the signal for the strike to begin. In contrast on another channel the TV presenter signed off by announcing that the strike would prove to be a great success and then wished all the viewers a 'good rest' the following day.

When dawn broke it was clear Channel One had got it all wrong. In Barcelona no newspapers appeared; taxis, buses tubes, trains were at a complete standstill. Every single bar and shop in the city was shut. The industrial area of Baix Llobregat was 100% shut down. All schools were closed - both state and private. The same for theatres and cinemas. The main market stopped at 3 in the morning, which meant that farmworkers also

stopped work for the day. The few shops that attempted to open were stopped by pickets. The giant Corte Ingles department store in Plaza Catalunya attracted several hundred pickets and riot police and after several charges and counter-charges the store's management agreed to close (the store is owned by the late General Franco's widow).

The UGT, the CCOO, and the phoney CNT marched together - it was a peaceful affair. In contrast the CNT-AIT organised a separate march (originally banned by the police) which drew attacks from the police. At Plaza de Universidad the cenetistas sang A Los Barricados ('To The Barricades') while simultaneously barricading all the roads in the area. They then marched towards the Ramblas, bricking banks as they went. Once in the Ramblas the anarchists set up more barricades, blocking off Placa Catalunya. The police attacked and there was hand-to-hand fighting. The newspapers referred to the conflict as 'guerrilla warfare'.

This was how the day ended. Clearly from the mood of everyone it could easily have been the beginning. It was the same, too, in other parts of Spain. In Madrid, for example, all public transport was brought to a halt after scabs were attacked with stones; there too strikers were attacked by police, who fired bullets over their heads.

For some it was like going back in time. The 'one day affair' was but a glimpse of what could have been. The CNT-AIT distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets calling for more radical action, and in consequence drew most of the media attention despite the fact that it was the reformist unions that had called the strike in the first place.

No doubt the government will now make the odd concession to placate the reformist unions, but their real dread are the workers who prefer direct action to political negotiation. It was the spirit of direct action that was the real victor of the General Strike. The people had a taste of revolution. And they decided it tasted good...

SOURCE: MT & S (CNT-AIT, Barcelona)

CAPTIVES OF CAPITALISM

THERE ARE now at least 14 states in the USA where private prisons are employing prison labour on minimum pay. In Britain, meanwhile, the far-right Adam Smith Institute has published a booklet arguing the case for prison labour schemes over here. Neither the US or projected UK schemes envisage incarcerated wage earners being unionised. In the USA the only prison unionisation scheme going is that promoted by the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) in Ohio; and in Britain prison unions are a non-entity. In some countries prison unions have been run on different lines—in Spain the CNT (the anarchist labour union) organised its members in prison on labour strikes and in order to get association; they also provided on-going aid to prisoner's

families.

Now it is the capitalists that are taking the initiative. They believe that prisons should be self-financing, be run as a business, and even make a profit. We examine below some of the ideas on prison reform pushed by the far-right, how the schemes work in practice, and the possible response that prisoners could consider.

In Leavenworth prison in the USA Zephyr Products employs a small number of prisoners inside the prison in sheet metal work production. Another company, Heatron, employs prisoners in the manufacture of heating systems. They pay them the equivalent of £2.20 an hour, which is the minimum wage in the industry and five times the average pay of prison labour in the USA. In

another prison Tensen Engineering employ prisoners as draughtsmen and pays them around \$5.50 an hour. From this they deduct money for 'bed and breakfast' and contributions to a compulsory scheme for victims. The pay is also subject to tax. All in all, after deductions, the prisoner-draughtsman keeps around 40% of his original pay. In one California prison TWA, the airline company, employs 50 prisoners as customer service clerks whose job is to answer all the phone enquiries from customers seeking information about flights. TWA, known for its long history of strike-busting, reckons it's cheaper to employ prison labour at minimum pay because they don't have to pay fringe benefits. The prisoners reckon it's worth it as when they eventually leave

prison they are assured of a job with TWA. In fact out of 17 prisoners released who had worked as prisoners with TWA, 15 got jobs with the company.

In Britain the situation is totally different. Most prisoners are banged up and not allowed to work. Those that are (around a third of the prison population) end up doing unskilled work for a few pence an hour, averaging £2.25 a week. A few years ago the main organisation that ran prison industries was a company called Prindus. But this company was closed down as it never made a profit and was full of corruption.

The Adam Smith Institute wants the prison system in Britain to learn from the American experiments, particularly now that some of the new prisons will be privately owned and possibly privately run. The ASI argues that it costs over £14,000 a year to keep someone in prison and this money goes down the drain as the prisoner, once released, will not be

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QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ON ANARCHISM

Q Why do you regard the working class as revolutionary? If it ever was, it certainly isn't now!

A No class or section can be permanently revolutionary—that is to suggest a permanent seething cauldron of protest and change. When classes have struggled to become free of constraints from classes above them, they have used revolutionary change—as nations have. Such revolutions have brought economic freedoms (e.g. the bourgeois revolutions against feudalism) or political ones (nationalist risings against foreign oppression). These have sometimes turned sour, often inevitably.

The anarchist case is not that the working class is exceptionally revolutionary, or in any way imbued with all the virtues, but is a class that does not need to exploit any other class because it does its work itself, and in the course of achieving economic emancipation it can—not necessarily will, but can—dispense with any political repression whatever.



No other class can dispense with government because every society outside science fiction needs someone to do the work for it, and any class other than a working class needs a stick or a carrot to compel others to do it.

Under any State the working class is bound to contain reactionary elements because it inevitably is prey to ruling class propaganda; sometimes conditions make it want revolution (though they do not necessarily make it possible to take over society). Good or bad economic conditions, and the powers of force and persuasion act as a brake upon change, and revolution often looks remote. In fact huge revolutions have been made within living memories: whether advantage has been taken of them is another matter.

HOME NEWS

RENEWED CALL FOR ID CARDS

The parliamentary Home Affairs Committee has called on the Home Office to consider using the back page of the new computer-readable UK passport as an identification document in place of a formal I/D card. The committee proposes that its dual function as an I/D card would be limited as holders would only be required to carry it on a 'voluntary basis'. However, the committee also points out that on mainland Europe everyone is expected to carry I/D cards and the UK is expected to fall in line with this requirement, especially by 1992.

The committee also recommends that the British Visitors Passport be phased

out to encourage more people to be become full passport holders. Even though a great number of people do not hold passports the committee hopes that a dual-functioned passport would replace 'the growing number of cards being issued by football clubs, public houses, and other private establishments for the purpose of identification'.

The committee's proposals are totally impracticable and even downright daft. Can they really see hordes of youngsters taking their passports with them to soccer matches, or youths out on the town for a piss-up flashing their passport to gain entry to a pub? While their recommendations are clearly open to

ridicule, their intentions need to be more coolly questioned. What the committee really wants to do is get the public, especially the young, used to the idea that I/D cards are the norm. If young people are expected to carry I/D cards whenever they go out on the town or to a sporting event then, the theory goes, it won't be long before they get used to carrying them all the time.

First the authorities will talk about the need to 'voluntarily' carry the cards, then the cards will become compulsory. The signs are the cards will be phased in over the next three years. But the compulsory element of the programme will only work if the voluntary one succeeds...

NF LINK TO BIRMINGHAM PUB BOMBINGS

IN OUR last issue we referred to evidence published in *Black Flag* in 1974 linking the National Front to the Birmingham Pub bombings. With renewed interest in the six Irishmen framed for the bombings, and given the possibility of an appeal being heard into the Guildford Four case, we have decided to re-examine this evidence in the hope that it may help to throw some light on these incidents—which in their day were not subject to a 'fair hearing'. The facts at our disposal, to date never published elsewhere, are given in full below.

At the end of October 1974 the Press Association received a call from someone claiming that the bomb attacks on two pubs in Guildford as well as on three private clubs in London were carried out by a group called 'Red Flag 74'. The caller added that Red Flag 74 was a 'militant left-wing group' and that all its members were ex-IMG (International Marxist Group). The caller used the sort of terms and phrases normally associated with the right in describing those on the left. The same group (Red Flag 74) later claimed the planting of two bombs attached to magistrates cars (they failed to go off) as well as a bomb attached to the car of Denis Howell, minister of sport. On this occasion the caller claimed that there would be a huge demonstration in Birmingham where the IRA and the UDA (sic) would participate. Needless to say this demon-

stration didn't occur.

A further claim was also made by Red Flag 74: namely responsibility for the Birmingham Pub bombings. None of the claims, nor the existence of Red Flag 74, were ever made known to the general public. We ourselves came to know of them via a contact in Fleet Street. However within days of the Press Association receiving these calls the National Front blamed an arson attack on the car of one of their prominent members, Roy Painter, on the group Red Flag 74. This in itself raises a number of questions. For example, how had the NF heard about Red Flag 74? What evidence had they to blame it on that group? Was this an attempt by the NF to bring the name Red Flag 74 into the public domain?

The claims by Red Flag 74 were all made after the bombings, and no technical details were ever given. This would indicate that the claims were false. But they were made for a reason—namely, to associate blame with the left, in particular with IMG. They were never credible claims and the amateurish way in which they were made would indicate that the caller(s) was not an agent of the state. All the signs point to the NF being behind the claims and of Red Flag 74 being a phoney organisation invented by the Front as a vehicle for spreading disinformation.

All of this takes on a different meaning when it is recalled that on the night of

the Birmingham Pub bombings MI6 agent Kenneth Littlejohn was staying in Birmingham at the home of Thomas Watt, a local prominent fascist. Littlejohn had been involved in a number of bombing attacks in Dublin on behalf of MI6; they had been carried out to discredit the IRA and to force new repressive legislation through the Dail. The Birmingham pub bombings achieved just that in the UK.

Kenneth Littlejohn had the knowledge and skill to carry out the Birmingham pub bombing; he had contacts in MI6 to supply the explosives. Most of those killed in the bombing, it should be remembered, were Irish Catholics—hardly a suitable target for republican paramilitaries? As for the fascists, they are always useful to agents of the state to provide safe-houses. And once the main target (the Irish community) had been hit, then why not a lesser target like the IMG? If fascists did have a hand in the bombing, we believe their role was purely secondary. To date, though, no investigation has ever been made into Red Flag 74 (or its creators), and no real investigation has ever been made into the real reason why Littlejohn was staying in the house of a well known fascist in the city where a pub bombing resulted in one of the most draconian and repressive acts ever being passed, as well as the life imprisonment of six men who have consistently sworn their innocence.

WHOSE DEFENCE?

A plane gets blown up with a huge loss of life and a Scottish town is decimated. The politicians and press set up the cowardly and hypocritical wail that this is an act of terrorism; would someone have to wipe out an English city before they came to recognise that this was an act of war?

For years there has been a political pretence about 'terrorism' by which they meant national warfare masquerading as resistance, and used the pretence to discredit resistance. They used to equate this with 'anarchism', now they can hardly deny it is statist.

But what to do about it? The atom bomb and the delicate preservation of peace to preserve the status quo have made it impracticable for the Powers to use war except where they can barge in on a smaller State, and then only with connivance between the superpowers.

They still go on with the expensive farce of national defence for all that. The main excuse for having a State at all is that it provides national defence. If it is no longer able to do so, should we not think of doing so ourselves?

DINGLE BELLS

On 19th Dec I was walking back from Plymouth Hoe after a function and as we approached Royal Parade we couldn't help noticing crowds of people and flashing lights. Dingles, Plymouth's first posh departmental store completed after WWII, was well and truly ablaze.

After ten minutes of watching as the smoke and flames leaped high in the sky we noticed how bored the dogs were with their extended walkies, and took a taxi home.

The next day the local CID chief announced at a press conference that the fire 'was highly suspicious' but that the police were not going to pursue the sabotage/arson angle yet.

About an hour later there was a bang on the door. Two plain clothes cops holding their ID cards asked to come in. I demanded to know what it was about. After a bit they said it was to do with the Dingles' fire. They wanted a full account of my movements the previous day. Why was I a suspect?... Because I'm an anarchist, and anarchists like to burn things down or blow them up and just to prove they are nice people, they say they like animals too!

I was sorry to disappoint the plods' stereotype views of anarchism. I could provide a full account of my movements the previous day with alibis and fortunately for me I'd gone nowhere near Dingles (otherwise that would have been sufficient evidence?)

One cop asked me inevitably 'Are your politics peaceful?' to which I replied 'Are yours?' They asked me to 'co-operate' if I heard anything. 'It's only property. I don't give a toss about animal lib and hunt sabs, etc. as it's a diversion from the class struggle, which when won, will change everything!' He zoomed in on the workers' angle and asked if I thought it bad that 450 workers had lost their jobs. 'Of course,' I said, 'but you might as well be asking me about the IRA.'

The cops followed up the alibis (my father, who is 71, thought they were Mormons) and checked with my daughter that I had been home that afternoon. They also interviewed other local anarchists.

That day all the animal rights campaigners from anti-vivisectionists to the RSPCA were pontificating about the ALF. There was concern for the mice in the building and the pigeons nesting on the roof, as well as mentioning firemen's lives. Some redundant workers claimed 'they'd work for nothing' to keep things going, while C & A took all their leather goods off the shelves... then the jokes began. 'What did the firemen sing on the way to the fire?' 'Dingle Bells, Dingle Bells, Dingle all the way'. But the main point I noticed from the media and the general public was that though they thought they had gone too far, they were sympathetic to animal liberation, whatever that means, contrasting sickeningly with their opinions of the miners strike and people's rights.

Graham Short, Plymouth.

RUSSIA'S PERESTRIKERS

EVERYONE has heard about the 'perestroika' programme in the USSR but few know about the hundreds of thousands of workers who are falling foul of it and are seeing their pay slashed and jobs disappear. The casualties are enormous, but some are fighting back. They are dubbed the perestrikers and are growing in number, even encouraging the growth of independent unions and 'workers clubs'.

During the Brezhnev era full employment meant hundreds of thousands employed in phoney jobs, producing nothing and adding to an already monstrous headed mandarin class. The average wage in the USSR was 60 roubles a week. But all that has now changed, with pay running at around 15 roubles for a weeks work. But the bureaucrats—at the height of their power there was one for every six workers—are also being cut down to size and the phoney jobs axed in their thousands. This is the age of perestroika, and nothing and no one is immune. One immediate effect of restructuring is a massive rise in unemployment. In Uzbekistan, for example, the number of jobless has increased by 15% and a similar story is told in Azerbaijan where the number of unemployed now come to more than 250,000. In its capital, Baku, it is estimated that around 200,000 homeless live in shanty huts; they survive illegally without paid work and without state assistance. According to one Soviet paper, 'Sotsialisticheskay Industriya', the shantytown dwellers, known as 'Baku's Sowelans', are forced to turn to crime.

Prior to perestroika unemployment was hidden and was caused more by a stagnant economy. These days, though, it is admitted to and is a result of official policy. In 1986 Gorbachev began stringent cuts in jobs in the civil service. Workers were dismissed on three months pay. Press reports at the time indicated that as many as 19 million people might have to be dismissed from civil service work if perestroika is to take full effect. Other industries were to suffer too. Thousands of railworkers suddenly found themselves thrown out of work. In Odessa alone 5000 railworkers were laid off and by the end of 1986 up to 200,000 railworkers had lost their jobs throughout the USSR as a whole. In 1988 and 1989 more massive job cuts took place.

Those who found themselves jobless were unable to get welfare relief and often lost their homes in the bargain as under the Soviet system homes are generally available only to those who have a proven work record. Perestroika, ironically, is also about privatisation. Many state-run services that have been withdrawn are now being made available to the emerging private sector. An example here is the state-run creches. The restructuring of the economy has also led to a major increase in the imprisoned. Soviet law makes 'laziness' and slackness at work a punishable offence and with stricter

guidelines to improve productivity more and more workers who cannot keep up are finding themselves prosecuted. Then there are the growing number of 'guest workers'. These are mainly workers released from labour camps who are unable to get permits to return from their own towns. In Moscow it has been estimated that upwards of 40% of workers are 'temporary' guest workers (or 'limitchiks', as they are known colloquially) living in ghettos on third rate pay.

Under perestroika wages are linked directly to productivity. Some estimates show that around 37 million workers are paid in this way. This has resulted in what are called 'disputes' but is invariably strike action—'unnecessary' in the Soviet Union where workers are not supposed to strike against a 'workers state'. Loss of bonuses for poor quality production has been, in many cases, the main cause of industrial action. In October 1988 workers at the massive car plant at Likno, in the Urals, went on strike for three days because of such bonus losses. Glasnost has not so far got around to seeing that news of strike action is being made available outside of the Eastern bloc.

Those firms that cannot keep up with the new productivity targets are being wound up and individual workers who fail to keep to targets lose the right to get food subsidies. Under the new Enterprise Law and labour code, affecting 65% of all Soviet industry, central control of industry, as practised under the Brezhnev era, will be withdrawn. The firms are now on their own. They are expected to become self-financing, with wages being paid out of profits, without subsidies. In effect they are being sold off. The authorities refer to the process as transferring over to cooperatives, but the reality is that they are being transformed into independent businesses that have to learn to sink or swim.

Interestingly, partly as a result of glasnost and partly as a consequence of perestroika, workers are now bypassing the state-corporate 'unions' and are beginning to set up their own. Workers clubs, also known as socialist civic clubs, are emerging in different parts of the USSR, particularly in the Baltic states and in the main cities. These clubs, which are really embryonic unions, are demanding better pay and improved job conditions. Members of the clubs are the industrial militants arising out of the restructuring process. They are the new strikers of perestroika, the 'perestrikers'.

Perestroika itself is not simply a move away from Stalinism, or merely a move towards Capitalism. It is undeniably allowing the dead wood to be cleared away. The old bureaucracies are going, the stifling centralised economy is being swept away, and the almost medieval production methods are being replaced

by something more akin to the 20th century. But these moves for the good are bringing in their wake all the horrors

of Western-type capitalism. The needs of the company are outweighing those who produce and, in the spirit of the new individualism, the casualties who fall to the wayside are left to fend for themselves or turn to anti-social solutions.



Gorbachev's conversion may well be to the free market, but it is patently not to the free worker. Beneath all this upheaval, however, is at least the opportunity for those who see another alternative to a state or privately run economy. Let us not forget that outside of Spain, Italy and certain other countries, the anarchist tradition held strongest in Russia, the Ukraine and, to a lesser extent, the Baltic states. That tradition was suppressed, but did not die. The anarchist vision of a society that is based on the needs of all, and not of a state or a privileged few, is as much alive and well in the Soviet Union as it ever was. The only restructuring that the Soviet people need, as do we all, is to bring about an economy where the workers and the communities directly control both production and consumption and all aspects of daily life. Gorbachev's capitalist experiment will do nothing for the aspirations of the workers who desire far more than a job tied to production figures or the opportunity to one day get a credit card.

CNT INFORMER RUNS AMOK

A police informer, who has been implicated in the bank raid frame-up against the anarchist labour union in Spain, the CNT, ran amok in a shoot-up in a Catalan coastal town.

In November two cops were shot dead in Vilanova i la Geltru while trying to arrest Jose Martinez Gomez, a prisoner on the run. Martinez escaped from Ocana-2 jail over a year ago while on a six day passout. The fact that he was given a passout in the first place has raised some questions: he had over 20 convictions, including armed robbery. The truth is he was a police informer, and he was allowed to escape.

Martinez is known to have worked as police informer within the CNT during the period 1976 to 1978. This was exactly the time when the growing anarcho-syndicalist movement in Catalonia was beginning to worry the authorities. The interior minister at the time was Martin Villa, a politician given to plausible denial (ie state terrorism) activities. In 1979 Villa organised the Scala frame-up (the burning of a Barcelona variety hall in which six people died and which, initially was blamed on the CNT, but later was shown to be the work of state agents). The Scala operation involved the use of infiltrators into the CNT.

In May 1981 a raid took place on the Banco Central in the Placa Catalunya in Barcelona. The raiders locked themselves in the bank, keeping 263 people as hostages. The organiser of the raid called himself 'Numero Uno', and the authorities once again spread rumours that the CNT was behind it all. Anyway, the hostages were released and 'Numero Uno', namely Jose Juan Martinez Gomez, was jailed.

What is now known is that Martinez, after he went on the run, did not go into hiding. He was arrested immediately after the shootings in Vilanova and is now being treated as a 'mental patient', which in his case means light treatment.

ANARCHIST MINI-SERIES

A six-part TV docudrama has begun on the Catalan channel of Spanish television, and is dedicated to the urban guerrilla resistance to Franco. It is scripted by an anarchist sympathiser and includes contributions from Antonio Tellez, the author of the well known biographies of Sabate and Facerias.

The programme is shown at peak viewing hours on Sundays and began with an episode on Ponzan, the cenetister who was there at the very beginning of the resistance. Ponzan is also known for his work in helping over three thousand victims of Nazi-occupied France escape into Spain. He was murdered by the Gestapo in Toulouse in 1944, only two weeks before the city was liberated.

Tellez, in fact, has just spent the last ten years on a book about Ponzan, but has so far been unable to find a publisher because Ponzan - unlike Sabate and Facerias - is relatively unknown to the public at large.

Episode six of the series will be dedicated exclusively to Quico Sabate. If any of our contacts in Spain videotape the series and send us a copy we will be glad to make the series available to audiences here and elsewhere.

PRISON UNION LEADS TO LAWYERS ARREST

We have received a press statement from a group of 35 solicitors in Hamburg, West Germany, concerning the plight of lawyer Ute Brandt who was charged in October for 'supporting a terrorist organisation'. The 'offence' related to her sending defence material via an official censor to her client Rolf Heissler, a Red Army Fraction prisoner.

Brandt was originally charged in 1987 with 'soliciting for the RAF' and the later charge substituted after a series of raids. Early last year there were more raids and another lawyer was similarly charged. Then last October a third lawyer was raided.

The reason for all of this has nothing to do with legal infringements but because the solicitors in question were suppor-

ting their clients in their hungerstrike for better prison conditions. The authorities reason that a RAF prisoner is still a terrorist and therefore support from any quarter—even from a solicitor—is deemed to be a criminal offence. The interesting aspect of Brandt's case is that it has nothing to do with the hungerstrikes: the papers she passed on to her client were legitimate defence papers which her client was entitled to see. Her prosecution, therefore, signals the West German authorities' determination to treat any legal support for RAF prisoners as being in itself criminal.

Observers believe that this clampdown is a reaction to the growing interest in a prisoner's union as advocated by 'political' prisoners in West Germany.



MI5 and the war in Ireland - part two

THE SPECIAL Air Service (SAS) was first deployed in Ireland as far back as 1969, but operating under the cover name Military Reconnaissance Force (MRF) in 1972.¹ The MRF was said to be 40 strong and organised on a cell basis. They were trained by the SAS and most came from them. It should also be noted that former and serving members of the IRA were also in the unit.

It is known that the MRF shot dead two Catholics during the 1972 truce using IRA weapons and unmarked cars. When British Intelligence organised and carried out a campaign of destabilisation south of the border in 1972, in order to encourage greater repression of the republican paramilitaries by the Irish Government, they used ex-convicts from England to do the dirty work. The Littlejohn brothers were sent over to infiltrate the IRA and they succeeded in carrying out at least 12 bank robberies as well as two attacks on Garda stations. Soon afterwards the Irish Government presented a repressive amendment before parliament. Immediately the strategy of tension escalated with a car bomb exploding in Dublin injuring 30 people. In December of 1972, just before the crucial vote on the amendment, two more car bombs went off in the Irish capital, killing two people and injuring over 150. The desired effect was obtained and the amendment was passed. The IRA disclaimed all responsibility, pointing the finger instead at British Intelligence. A confidential report by the Irish Special Branch implicated the SAS in the bombings—but this report was suppressed by the Justice ministry.² During the same month David Seaman, who claimed to be a member of the SAS, stated at a Dublin press conference that the SAS had been detailed to cause explosions to discredit the IRA. Not long afterwards Seaman was found dead, shot in the head.³

SHOOT-TO-KILL: ITS ORIGINS

Rumours of Army assassinations began to filter through to the media in 1973, a year after the deployment of the MRF. Another 50 members of the SAS were sent to Ireland in 1975 to work with MI5 in intelligence gathering, although this may have been a cover for the creation of another SAS front—4 Field Survey Troop. In the same year the existence of an army Top Thirty hit list was alleged after six unarmed members of the IRA were shot in separate incidents involving the security forces. The Littlejohn brothers confirmed the existence of the hit list, which included Seamus Costello (a former IRA chief of staff) who was later assassinated in Dublin in 1977. The Littlejohns also claimed that they were ordered by British Intelligence to assassinate leading members of the IRA and dispose of their bodies, and then spread false rumours that they had absconded with large sums of money.⁴

The SAS unit Captain Nairac (see last issue) was attached to was 4 Field Survey Troop, Royal Engineers, which was formed in 1973 and disbanded two years later just prior to the SAS 'officially' arriving in the province. Captain Fred Holroyd (see last issue) has confirmed that this unit was a SAS cover organisation based with the Royal Engineers at Castledillon, Armagh. The unit's two commanding officers were both attached to the SAS; other members of the unit were known former, serving or recently trained SAS personnel who used unmarked cars fitted with sophisticated communications equipment linked to the operations room at Castledillon. Members of the unit were equipped with non-regulation weapons, were always dressed in civilian clothes and were encouraged to grow their hair long. Holroyd worked closely with these people and even got to use some of their weapons in his work with the SMIU (see last issue). Holroyd cut his links with them when he became fully aware of the nature of their activities. In a rejected letter to *The Guardian* newspaper Holroyd commented: 'Your readers will recall that this was at a time that many individuals and organisations were claiming that both Catholic and Protestants were being murdered and the Government were claiming that there were no SAS in the province. SAS by any other name?'⁵

A clear description of the SAS's activities can be found in the Army handbook *Land Operations, Volume Three: Counter-Revolutionary Operations*. Their tasks are described as:

1. The collection of information on the location and movement of insurgent forces;
2. The ambush and harassment of insurgents;
3. Infiltration of sabotage, assassination and demolition parties into insurgent held areas;
4. Border surveillance;
5. Limited community relations;
6. Liaison with, and organisation, training and control of friendly guerrilla forces operating against the common enemy.

The shoot-to-kill operations of the SAS have claimed 46 lives since the killing of John Francis Green in January 1975 (34 members of the IRA and INLA and 12 civilians—see below). When operating within the UK the SAS works with MI5, the exception being the killing of three IRA active service unit members in Gibraltar last year when they again worked as a team, to the exclusion of the Intelligence Service.⁶ The SAS are in effect an armed wing of the Security and Intelligence services. In succinct terms the 'philosophy' of the SAS was spelled out to *The Guardian* in 1976 when an SAS member noted 'We were all very enthusiastic about going out and wasting a few of the IRA'.⁷

John Stalker, the Deputy Chief Constable of the Greater Manchester Police Force, resigned in 1987 after unsuccessfully investigating six deaths in Armagh in 1982 by an RUC unit alleged to have conducted a shoot-to-kill campaign against members of the Republican paramilitary forces.⁸ The RUC unit was codenamed Echo 4 Alpha and was trained by the SAS at their base in Hereford.⁹ The SAS also trained the Eire anti-terrorist unit 'The Rangers'.

The 'Badger' was recruited by the SMIU in 1974—Holroyd, his MI6 handler, alleges that Loyalist paramilitaries were used to carry out a murder, two kidnappings and south-of-the-border surveillance missions. In March of that year there was an attempt to kidnap INLA member Seamus Grew, who was later to become a victim of the shoot-to-kill operations in 1982. For the kidnapping three Loyalist paramilitaries were briefed by the SMIU, who provided the three with surveillance photos (some taken by Garda). The three were promised 500 if they delivered Grew (and a man he lived with in Monaghan) to a rendezvous point at the border. The 'Badger' was to ensure that no Garda patrols would interfere in the operation. However the operation fell foul when the Loyalists were spotted behaving suspiciously outside Grew's house by neighbours. The Garda was called and the leader of the kidnap gang escaped leaving his two accomplices to be arrested in possession of maps and photos. The leader was so convinced that the Garda was in on the operation that he then walked into a Garda station and demanded the release of his two friends. To his surprise he was promptly arrested and, with the others, jailed for seven years by a Dublin court.¹⁰

The 'Badger' is also believed to have played a part in other Loyalist attacks south of the border, such as the bomb attack at Dublin airport in November 1975 which killed one worker, and a UFF (Ulster Freedom Fighters) car bomb outside a Dundalk pub that killed two customers. As late as 1982, on the night that the Echo 4 Alpha unit assassinated Grew and another member of INLA, Roddy Carroll, the 'Badger' had ensured that the border would be clear for the RUC to follow their victims as they crossed over. It should also be noted that one of the RUC officers investigated by Stalker was named by Holroyd as being involved in one of the kidnappings of 1974.¹¹

SAS ESCALATES CAMPAIGN

After the murder of ten Protestants in Armagh in 1976 it was decided that more SAS would be deployed in the province. On January 4 of that year five Catholics were killed by the Protestant Action Force (PAF) in Armagh; the next day a bus carrying eleven people was stopped near the village of Whitecross: the passengers were ordered off by armed and masked men and asked what religion they were. One passenger, a Catholic, was allowed to go. The remaining ten were then gunned down and the 'South Armagh Republican Action Force' claimed responsibility for the massacre. It later emerged that the IRA was behind this group to 'stop the sectarian killings'.¹² A few days later Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced a further detachment of 150 SAS members would be deployed in south Armagh. On March 12 the SAS abducted an IRA member, Sean McKenna, from his home south of the border and he was later sentenced to 24 years imprisonment (he died on hunger strike). On March 15 five members of the SAS were arrested by a Garda patrol south of the border: two were in civilian clothes and all were carrying a variety of shot guns. On April 15 the SAS shot dead Peter Cleary, an IRA member living in Eire: on that night he crossed the border to visit his fiancée but after he arrived the SAS broke in, dragged him outside, stripped and beat him and then, according to a witness, took him to a field and shot him three times.¹³

Three weeks later the body of Seamus Ludlow, a 48 year old not connected with the IRA, was found in a ditch in Eire. Local people on both sides of the border claimed that he had been abducted and shot by the SAS who had mistaken him for someone else.¹⁴ Holroyd says that the SAS intended to kill an explosives expert and that they also sabotaged an IRA explosives dump, killing two IRA members.¹⁵ On May 5 another SAS unit was intercepted south of the border at a Irish Army/Garda road-block: two SAS members were arrested; one was a Fijian (interestingly, a Fijian member of the SAS was identified in the SAS assault during the Iranian Embassy siege—Eds.). A few hours later another six members of the SAS arrived at the same point: they were all heavily armed, carrying maps of the border area, knives and daggers as well as fist-steel gloves. Clearly they were on an assassination mission. After appearing in court in Dublin they were released with a 100 fine.¹⁶

In July 1976 the IRA assassinated the British ambassador to Ireland, Christopher Ewart-Biggs, claiming he was an MI6 officer who had been overseeing intelligence-gathering on behalf of the SAS death squads.

MI5's 'MAN' TAKES OVER

In April 1976 Wilson resigned and Callaghan, MI5's 'man', took over as prime minister in preparation for the Thatcher era. In the CO2 (Clockwork Orange 2) study Callaghan received a top recommendation (ultimately from MI5): 'He would be a good choice (as leader of the Labour Party) because of his role as Police Federation representative'.¹⁷ Colin Wallace (see last issue) later stated that 'MI5 personnel in Northern Ireland were working against Wilson...MI5 objected to both Wilson being Prime Minister, and to his Government's Northern Ireland policies'. He added that MI5 had been angry in 1975 that secret talks had been going on with the IRA.

With Wilson gone new hard-liners were moved into the top political and military positions in Northern Ireland. MI5 and the Army were to have their way. In 1976 Kenneth Newman became Chief Constable of the RUC and in August of that year Merlyn 'I know nothing' Rees was replaced as Northern Ireland Secretary by Roy 'stone' Mason. Soon afterwards Major-General Tim Creasy was appointed C-in-C in the province. Each of these three had the right kind of experience that the hard-liners respected. Newman had experience in combating civil unrest in several British colonies (after Northern Ireland and his stint as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police in London he returned to his counter-insurgency work as a board-member for the security firm, Control Risks). Mason had close links with the Army and had previously held the Defence portfolio; he had also spent some time in Oman. Creasy had commanded Army units in Malaya, Kenya and Aden and had commanded the Sultan of Oman's army from 1972-75 (during which time a large contingent of SAS troops had been stationed there, on Mason's orders, in the war against the Omani guerrillas).



Sean Savage, shot dead by the SAS in Gibraltar

The stage was set. MI5 were now in control of intelligence operations in the province and the SAS were to be given a free hand. Holroyd was later to make extensive allegations against MI5 and the SAS in a 900 page dossier presented to the Director of Public Prosecutions in Northern Ireland. His allegations also included the claim that he was offered hush-money by a British subsidiary of an American company, which he believed was infiltrated by the Security Service.¹⁸

On 12th December 1977 Colin McNutt, a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), the political wing of INLA, was assassinated by plain clothed members of the SAS in a car park in Belfast.¹⁹ On 26th February 1978 Paul Duffy, an IRA member, was shot dead by the SAS after they had staked out a hay shed containing arms. Duffy was unarmed and had his arms in the air when he was killed with a burst of 18 bullets. An Ulster TV news bulletin claimed at first that Duffy had been 'murdered by the SAS', but 30 minutes later the newsreader apologised and said that Duffy had merely been 'shot dead'.²⁰ In June 1978 the SAS began a series of shoot-to-kill operations against the IRA in Belfast. On June 10 Denis Heaney was killed by the SAS (he had earlier claimed that whilst in detention he had been warned that he was to be assassinated). One June 21 three more members of the IRA and one civilian were killed in an SAS ambush in Belfast—the SAS fired over 200 rounds at the car, hitting one of the occupants with 63 bullets and killing an innocent bystander, a Protestant.

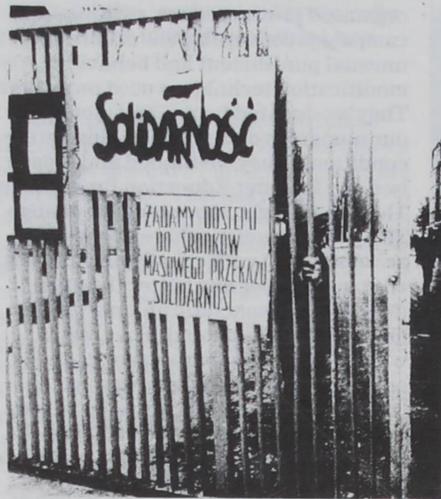
On June 11 the SAS shot 16 year old John Boyle at a graveyard in Dunley, County Antrim. He was shot as he went to the spot where he had found an arms cache a few days earlier. His father had informed the RUC, who alerted the SAS who in turn staked out the area in the hope that members of the IRA would return to pick up the weapons. Instead Boyle returned and two SAS soldiers shot him 3 times in the back. In July 1979 the two SAS soldiers were acquitted of murder and the judge observed 'Probably they did act correctly given that the SAS—as is widely known—are allowed to shoot to kill and ask questions later.' Another civilian was killed by the SAS on 30th September 1978—bringing the total killed by them during the last Labour government to 12. A Protestant, Simon Taylor, had been out shooting wildfowl near Lough Neagh with two friends when they returned to their car to find the tyres let down. After going to a house to get

WALESA'S MANDATE REVEALED

The following statement by a worker, Stefan, in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk was passed on by a local anarchist group and has since been published by *Umanita Nova* (Italy) and *Le Monde Libertaire* (France). Translation courtesy of PS, Belfast and Pascal, Norwich.

I WAS INVOLVED in the May and August strikes. The May strike was a spontaneous thing and the August one a rather more organised affair. It has been said that it was Walesa who launched that strike—this was a lie. Following the stoppage in May we had set up the DYM group. It needs to be said above all that after May Solidarnosc was not dead: it was talked about on the buses, trams and trains and in the press. When the Silesian miners' strike began the leaders of the union made no move and it was the DYM group that suggested holding a meeting on the shipyard premises in support of the striking miners. To this end we had printed and distributed a leaflet. Our suggestion was received rather coolly by a meeting of the works council held on August 18th. The comrades had spoken of provocation and asked us 'What gives you the right to do as you please?' There was a lot of talk about our leaflet and in the end, on the Friday, a meeting went ahead during the midday break. Walesa showed up at the meeting. He looked sideways at me and said 'You know how to kick up a racket, but as for anything else...' He did not finish but I could easily imagine what he meant to say. Walesa told the workers assembled outside the workshop K1 that unless the situation changed the strike was to begin on the Monday. We had taken him at his word. Then we discovered from a second and very different statement by Walesa that the start of the strike was being put off until the week after. We paid not the slightest heed to this and during a meeting of the works commission we agreed again on the Monday (August 22) as the date for the commencement of the strike.

On the Monday I arrived at the yard at 6.30pm and set about making ready for the service. The workers had begun to assemble in the changing rooms. I very soon realised that we could not be able to stay long in the changing rooms because the foreman had arrived with the apparent intention of chasing the men out to work. Just then the director



had showed up and he asked me 'Who authorised you?' I told him that I was acting on behalf of the strike committee and that from then on the strike committee was assuming full charge of the shipyard. I added that the strike committee was inviting him to leave the changing rooms. We picked up banners and flags and stepped outside. At the same time other workers were leaving their workshop, C5, and were mustering in the yard. We joined them, but there were not many of us.

We went to the bridge (the shipyard is situated on an island). People stared at us as if we were mad. Then a group—whether from C4 or C3, I cannot say—joined us, but we quickly realised that, once again, organisation was what was missing. We went to workshop K1 to find that the whole workforce there was working normally. I remember turning to a worker and saying to him 'Shut

down your machine and come with us, we are on strike'. He answered that he could not do that. Then a comrade said we'd stop the machine if we knew how. So he showed him and once we stopped the machine he came with us. Thus workshop K1 joined the strike.

We then returned to the bridge where we came upon another group of workers that included Alojz Szablewski, the spokesman for the May strike committee. From there we made straight for the shipyard gates to take control. Then it occurred to us to inject a bit of organisation into the strike. So we organised press-releases, which wasn't easy as at the start all we had was one ink-roller. We could not even get our hands on a typewriter! On the food side it was all right as the outside supplies were arriving without any problem.

Then a group from the KPN (Confederation for an Independent Poland) showed up. It was the young woman who spoke to volunteer their support. The workers were delighted, although the union leader was rather critical. As for me, I belonged to the strike committee but there were a number of things about it that displeased me. Scarcely had they obtained responsibilities than they began to squabble. By contrast the atmosphere on the gates was fantastic: people were convinced that at last they were fighting to some purpose.

Unfortunately within ten days they realised that they had been deluded yet again. When Walesa set off for Warsaw for talks with Kiszczak, the Interior Minister, we had given him the mandate to stick out for one principal demand:

that the State be forced to accept the existence of Solidarnosc and that our union no longer be criminalised. But he had been given no delegate powers and he had no right to take any other decision. Instead, Walesa went back to Warsaw and took the decision, personally, to call off the strike. And from there he issued a telex bringing the strike to a halt.

When I learned of this I was furious. I had a high regard for the man for what he had done on other occasions, but it was awful to see him so changed. The decision to end the strike arose in the MKS (the Inter-Company Strike Committee) without any consultation with the strikers and without any vote being taken. Only much later was a vote taken. At the MKS 15 voted to continue the strike, 12 voted to end it, and 10 abstained. But the decision was finally taken by adding the abstentions to those who voted to end the strike! I made it plain that I would not pass on this decision to the rank and file and this drew an angry retort from Walesa. He shouted at me, 'I'll give you shit!'

I went back to the workers in the yard. They argued that they had been sold out at who knows what price by people thought themselves more important than they were. As for myself I cannot accept it and I cannot forgive. I am convinced that whoever shouted 'Walesa has betrayed us' was right. It's hard but I know I don't want a union that's only bothered about bread and butter issues. Such a union will never fight for me and will never fight for the ordinary worker.



MI5 & the war in Ireland - cont. from previous page

an air pump they noticed two cars following them. Taylor approached one of them and was about to ask the occupants if they had seen anyone letting his car tyres down when he was killed by two bullets fired from the first car. The SAS soldiers involved were never charged on the grounds that they claimed to be in a 'terrorist situation'.

'SPYCATCHER'S' MISSING CHAPTER

There is now plentiful evidence of the precise role of MI5 in the coup plots against Wilson and the prolongation of the war in Ireland—but there has also, not surprisingly, been a sustained cover-up. The Stalker/Sampson inquiry into irregularities in the province has never been published. Stalker himself became the subject of a major smear, forcing him to resign from the police. Neither has anything come about as a result of Holroyd's 900 page dossier or Wallace's 57 files of correspondence. Wallace, referring to Thatcher, later commented 'Could it be that those who benefitted most from MI5's illegal (sic) activities in the mid-seventies could find themselves...at risk of being indicted as either principals or accessories?'²¹

The MI5 take-over of covert operations in Northern Ireland, the deployment of the SAS death squads, and the deposing of a conciliatory government in the UK in favour of one more attuned to MI5 and Army objectives: this is the 'missing chapter' from Peter Wright's *Spycatcher*. This was the coup within a coup. The war in Ireland might well have been ended years ago, but certain forces wanted to prolong it indefinitely. Ironically, we cannot rule out the possibility that the real aim of the far-right establishment is to unite Ireland within a UK federation; in other words, to take over Eire through agreement (hence the Anglo-Irish Agreement) and with the help of a united Europe. For anarchists, there is only one answer to the question of who should control Ireland, north and south. The answer has nothing to do with governments but with the overthrow of those governments. Injustice recognises no borders. In conclusion this article ends with a list of victims of alleged SAS assassinations from 1975 onwards: this is not meant to be 'proof' of the death squads—the SAS have been involved in shoot-to-kill operations since they were first set up—but simply, for the first time, to record all the victims.

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THE SAS DEATH SQUAD LIST

1975	1983	1987
John Francis Green	Brian Campbell	Declan Arthurs
1976	Colm McGirr	Seamus Donnelly
Peter Cleary	Eugene McNonagle	Tony Gormley
Seamus Ludlow		Eugene Kelly
1977	1985	Paddy Kelly
Colm McNutt	Charles Breslin	Padraig McKearney
1978	Michael Devine	Gerard O'Callaghan
Paul Duffy	David Devine	Jim Lynagh
Denis Heany	1986	Tony Hughes
John Boyle	Francis Bradley	
Jim Mulvenna	Seamus McElwaine	1988
Denis Brown		Sean Savage
Jackie Mealy	1984	Marraid Farrell
Billy Hanna	Declan Martin	Danny McCann
Simon Taylor	Henry Hogan	Kenneth Stronge
1980	William Price	Brian Mullin
Miriam Daly	Frederick Jackson	Martin Harte
Ronnie Bunting	Tony McBride	Gerard Harte
Noel Lyttle	Daniel Doherty	
	William Fleming	



Daniel McCann, Sean Savage and Mairead Farrell

The above article is based on material researched and compiled by Alexander Platow (mistakenly referred to as Plaistow in the last issue).

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

PRISONERS ORGANISING PROJECT COMMUNIQUE

THE PRISONERS Organisation Project is the organising arm of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) located within the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility in Lucasville, Ohio.

Our aims and goals are to organise and unite all prisoners confined in Ohio's prisons as ONE. As an organised arm of the IWW we can better deal with the prison administration to demand minimum wage, better working and living conditions, and to demand that we be treated as men/women rather than un-united wage slaves being forced to work for the State making 10 cents an hour, eating food unfit for consumption, and being treated inhumanely.

Organising prisoners within the IWW, the One Big Union, will give us the credibility and power to become productive workers upon our release from prison. It will give us the power within prison to demand fair and equal treatment, as our brothers and sisters in Society demand.

As a collective unit we need not fear the threat of administrative and local control for protesting unfair labour practices and living conditions. The administration cannot bang-up 2,400 of us! The IWW also has a General Defence Committee who organises and protects its members with legal defence teams to help us fight oppression related to our job and union. No longer will the arbitrary and capricious acts of prison administrators, retaliating against our membership, go unchallenged.

Think about it, brothers and sisters, who operates and maintains the prisons? We do! Without our labour the Ohio Prison Industry, the kitchens, the offices, the laundry, and maintenance, would have to be done by guards. Is our sweat and labour worth \$12 to \$40 per month that we're presently earning? We're limited to spending \$50 per week at the prison shop but those of us who are forced to live off our meagre state

pay cannot even afford to supplement the garbage served to us as food, or to buy personal hygiene articles, stamps, cigarettes, or coffee due to rising costs.

The IWW is presently fighting to have prisoners recognised as public employees with all the benefits of the same. If recognised as such we will be legally allowed to unionise and be recognised as bonafide union members. We'll receive minimum wages for the sweat and labour the administration has been getting from us for peanuts. There will be no more maiming and disfigurement, with little or no medical treatment—resulting from the mushfaked and juryrigged machines in the OPI area. There will be no more 6am sick call with inadequate/non-existent medical treatment, resulting in our brothers and sisters dying in prison. There will be no more favouritism and bootlicking to earn money. We, as an organised group, will demand respect. The administration will have no choice but to listen to our grievances and act on them, or the prison will shut down and they will be forced to hire more guards to run it.

To those of you unfamiliar to the IWW, it is the very first union, started in 1905, that recognises that all people should organise as One Big Union. That the working classes and bosses have nothing in common. That workers should only work 4 hours per day and be allowed to share the products we've sweated so hard to produce. It is a revolutionary union. IWW members are fellow workers Dennis 'Coolpop' Wolfel, JD Scott, Johnny 'ByrdDog' Byrd, Ronald Collins, Curtis Brown, John 'The Reaper' Steward, John 'Big John' Perotti, Ortiz, Paul 'MadDog' Brumfield and many others you know. All these fellow workers and prisoners are well known to prison activists: men who have put their lives on the line in numerous occasions to help change the prison system to the

benefit of fellow prisoners. These brothers are well known to you all, and we want all of you to join the IWW so that we can unite as ONE STRONG ARM, able to fight the administration to get the fair treatment and conditions we deserve.

The IWW has already done a lot for us, a lot that is not known to many prisoners due to our inability to communicate with each other in prison. The IWW have organised protest letters, petitions and campaigns concerning the cruel and unusual punishment and behaviour modification techniques used on us here. They've donated books, and money for our numerous civil trials seeking better conditions. They've funded and organised our Prisoner Education Programme. They've brought about positive change. The IWW is a union where all members are equal, and vote equally on all issues, with no member any better than the next. It is a democratic union with the members needs in mind. The IWW is what we, the members, make it, and is only as strong as our membership.

We need to organise, we need all our brothers and sisters in prison to join the IWW. It's time that we joined together to make our decisions as to our treatment. Brothers and sisters, we need the IWW and the IWW needs us. Over 400 of you have signed our petitions circulated that seek recognition of the IWW to represent us. 400 of us is not enough! There are over 2,400 of us and we need all 2,400 to stand together as ONE! All brothers and sisters who recognise the need for change, the need to decide our own destiny, the need to be treated as human beings and wish to join OUR union, should contact us.

*John Perotti, SOCF
Paul Poulos, IWW*

IWW PRISONER IN DEPRIVATION UNIT

PRISONER and Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) organiser, 'Big John' Perotti, has been placed back in J1 Super Max Control Unit, similar to the control unit in Marion, Illinois, and in Lexington (recently closed down because of the bad publicity). Perotti is being held in the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility (SOCF), as the prison is known in Lucasville.

In the Control Unit guards use high pressure fire hoses on prisoners almost daily. Prisoners are not allowed the usual cigarettes; confectionery, etc.; nor fruit, literature or magazines. Every time a prisoner is taken from a cell he is strip-searched and his orifices examined; then he is handcuffed and leg-ironed. This procedure is repeated on return to the cell. Exercise is taken in a specially built cage resembling a dog kennel and lasts for two hours a week. All areas of the block are monitored by closed-circuit cameras. Some of the prisoners are more

in need of mental health treatment and should not be in the unit.

Recently some of the prisoners tried to send out a detailed complaint to Amnesty International, listing all the beatings as well as murder of prisoners by guards. They put together over 100 pages of exhibits. However the exhibits and the dossier of complaints was seized by the prison authorities. Certain prisoners involved in organising the complaint—Byrd, Scott, Wolfel and Perotti—were disciplined with one, Perotti, put into solitary. Despite all the odds, however, these prisoners ended up getting a copy of the complaint smuggled out to contacts outside, who then sent it on to Amnesty. The prisoners now hope that there will be an official investigation called.

Perotti, and fellow prisoner Brumfield, meanwhile have lost their appeal concerning the suit they filed against the prison authorities for confiscating their

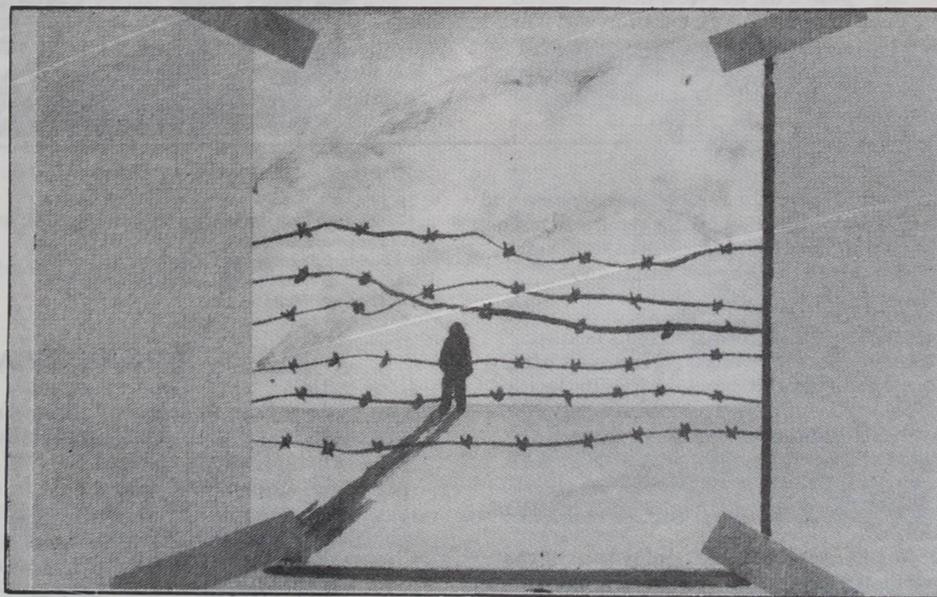
IWW union cards and literature. As a result they now owe the State \$6000 in legal fees. Perotti has also to pay over \$220 for a lost appeal concerning a first amendment violation. Donations are for General Defence Fund 3 are desperately needed and should be sent to: Perotti Defence Fund, 1142 Hall Avenue, Lakewood, OH 44107, USA (cheques payable to Perotti Defence Fund).

Meanwhile we also hear that the courts have rejected the charges by Perotti and fellow prisoners (with the assistance of the IWW) that the State Employment Relations Board was acting illegally in preventing the prisoners from organising within a union and being represented by the IWW. The court's decision was taken in the knowledge that had it gone the other way then the State would have been forced to pay prisoners minimum pay as well as medical benefits. The latest news is that the prisoners are now putting through an appeal to the District Court.

CONTD. FROM FRONT PAGE

able to 'create wealth' outside and will most probably end up back inside. On this basis the ASI sees the current system as inefficient and uneconomic. The ASI cites several US schemes where this trend is reversed. They refer to a scheme in Arizona where a hotel chain company employs prisoners to take room reservation calls; they are paid at comparable rates. The ASI quotes figures to show that the schemes enable prisons to become more economically efficient. They show that up to June 1988 prisoners in California, via the labour programmes, were able to contribute over \$62,000 in state and federal taxes, over \$130,000 for prison 'lodgings' and over \$110,000 towards victim support schemes. The ASI also refers to a Florida experiment where the prison industries were privatised. In this particular scheme prisoners have been employed in a variety of industries including sugar harvesting and optical laboratory work. Prisoners are subject to the same hire and fire policies as outside the prison. ASI sees all these schemes as enabling taxes to be saved, as providing prisoners with skills that can be used when they have served their sentence, and as a means of 'rehabilitation'. They also enable prisoners to build up savings so that on leaving the prison they don't have to rely on state welfare. ASI points out that the schemes have resulted in less violence in the prisons and less recidivism.

The ASI proposals are standard free market solutions and would have a major impact on the labour market—both inside and outside the prisons. If they are implemented it will be necessary for prisoners to organise with a union of their choice, to receive pay comparable to outside rates and subject to collective bargaining, and to provide and withdraw their labour



freely. The prisoner's union must be able to intervene on living conditions generally within the prison environment, and prison labour should never be used for scabbing or to undermine jobs or wages outside (a principal aim of the ASI proposals).

We know, though, that the ASI would not be able to agree to any of this as prisoners would then be recognised on the same basis as workers elsewhere. They would differ, however, in one major respect: industrial action on their part will only be meaningful if they are already being economically exploited (eg through lower wages) by outside employers. To prevent over-exploitation prisoners will need to organise collectively. Here is where the ASI parts company with us. Prisoner unions will not end prisons, but does that mean that we should 'wait for the revolution' and leave the bosses (and the prison authorities) to do their worst? Selling ones labour does not mean the end of exploitation but the basis of it. The ASI free-marketisers are setting their sights on a

captive—literally—audience in the hope that the very same individualism that forces people to turn to crime in order to survive will also enable the capitalists to increase their profits without the worry of union resistance. If the ASI believes this can be achieved they are in for a shock.

UPPING THE SCORE

Martin Foran at last had something to smile about over Xmas. He had brought a private prosecution against the screws who had beaten him up after his transfer to Liverpool and the case has just been heard.

In court, Martin was ironically in the dock again with a prison officer on either side and after 2 years the screws had their stories watertight. However, the photographs showing boot marks on Martin's back seemed to contradict their claims of the use of 'reasonable force' and after two days in court a settlement

out of chambers was reached in Martin's favour.

Martin's perseverance and bravery in refusing to submit to the injustice of prison brutality has at last brought him victory and paved the way for further actions to be brought against the prison service. Nevertheless Martin is now paying the price for resistance and has, since the court case, been in solitary and had his mail stopped.

N.B. Donations to Martin Foran Support Fund, BCM Foran, London WC1N 3XX.

LEAGUE WORRIED OVER ANARCHIST THREAT

Poor Michael Noar, the incompetent director-general of the Economic League, is losing sleep over the number of leaks emanating from his organisation to the extent that he sent out a hurried missive to all League subscribers explaining that the EL is still alive and well and contrary to published reports is still impenetrable. Unfortunately for Noar a copy of his four page letter was sent to us. The letter includes a section about the 'anarchist threat' and goes on to detail some of the League's new 'services'.

Dated 19th December 1988 the letter commences with a moan about 'unfair' attacks on the League in the media. Next comes a summary of the League's philosophy, which is basically corporatist. Under the sub-heading 'Support Groups' the letter states that anarchists are often active here, but that the League is able to 'identify the true background of such groups'. There's no great mystery to this: an EL employee simply purchases all the relevant papers from a left-wing bookshop and gleans the details from the articles. For this 'service' the League charges its subscriber a princely sum.

Another concern of the League, according to Noar's letter, is the possibility of groups seeking to 'put their members into key positions in companies either to steal information from them, for a variety of reasons, or to create discord or physical damage within them.

The letter ends with a list of new services on offer. These include lobbying MP's and organisations, and advice on Industrial Relations. Clearly the League is now in the business of touting for new customers and

extra revenue, especially given that its mainstream blacklisting work is having such a bad press.



Director General of the Economic League - Michael Noar

Mr Noar wants desperately to prove how 'fair' the League is - so much that he adds in the letter that the League is not anti-union. Indeed the letter even goes so far to admit that 'senior trade union leaders have participated in League functions at both Regional and National level'. Here Noar is referring to people like Sid Weighell, who'll sell his soul to the Devil if he had one and if such a creature existed.

We look forward to reading Noar's next missive. We wonder if he will be reporting to his subscribers that the letters they receive are read also by the very anarchists the League feels threatened by?

LEAGUE SECURITY LEAK

We have obtained a number of documents pertaining to the Economic League and which are useful from an historical perspective. One dates from 1983 and is a list of EL members invited to a special meeting of the Service Group; another is a list of League members who attended a 1982 meeting of the Service Group; a third, more recent, document is a letter to an applicant of a senior League post.

The 1983 Service Group meeting took place on 16th February and the 1982 meeting took place on 9th March. The documents in our possession provide a list of all the companies invited plus - which is perhaps just as interesting - the company representatives assigned to liaise with the League. Some of the names, unfortunately, are indecipherable due to the document being a poor copy. Those which we have been able to decipher (which is most of them) are reproduced below with, on the first list (1983 meeting), the company name followed by the representative's name, and the reverse format on the second list (1982 meeting).

Balfour Beatty Construction Ltd - Trevor Watcham & Charles Down
DT Bullock & Co - F Harrison
Costain Construction Ltd - AV Carter
Cubitts Northern Ltd - Jack Davis
Fairclough Northern (Civils) - Alf Minshall
Fairclough, Leonard Ltd - Brian Clayton
Fairclough Civil Engineering - Derek Singleton
GKN Mills Building Ltd - Terry Rawlings (name deleted)
Laing, John Construction Ltd - Bill Tilley
McAlpine, Alfred Sir & Sons - Vick James & Gordon Beaumont
Miller Buckley Group Services - Anthony Pascoe
Monk & Co PLC - L Ackroyd & (indecipherable)
Mowlem, John & Co - indecipherable
Norwest Holst - Frank Nolan
Norwest Holst (Mold) - Percy Bailey
Taylor Woodrow Construction Ltd - Ray Canning
Taylor Woodrow Ltd - indecipherable
Tysons Ltd - indecipherable
Willmot Group - indecipherable

The following are company representatives and their companies who attended an Economic League Service Group meeting on 9th March 1982.

Ackroyd, L - Monks Construction
Andrews, P - DT Bullock & Co

E Boswell - indecipherable
Fry, C - Norwest Holst Ltd
Gallacher, T - John Mowlem Ltd
Gatehouse, T - indecipherable
Goss, J - Fairclough Construction
Griffiths, J - GKN Building Services
Indecipherable - Alfred McAlpine
James, V - Alfred McAlpine
Indecipherable - Taylor Woodrow Ltd
Mullier, K - John Mowlem Ltd
Nolan, F - Norwest Holst Ltd
Simons, D - Dowsett Engineering

Watcham, TJ - Balfour Beatty Construction
Woods, I - GKN Building Services
Skuss, G - BM Doulgas

Our third document is a copy of a letter from H.S. MacGregor, the Director of the Economic League in Scotland and is dated 16 December 1986. This letter is of no special significance except that it does give the name and address of an applicant for the post of Advisory Services Manager while, at the same time, describing in detail the job function.

The applicant in question was a Mr W Anderson, whose address was given as 8 Herald Avenue, Glasgow G13 2DW. The letter explains to Mr Anderson that 'In recent years our efforts have been concentrated on researching the activities of extremist groups, but this is changing to some extent and we intend to become more active in the field of employer/employee relationships once again'.

The letter goes on to add that the League requires to '...monitor the revolutionary fringe and identify its supporters and their targets. This entails careful first-hand study and the maintenance and development of our intelligence network'.

Well, it's a pretty poor intelligence network that allows its internal documents to fall into the hands of the enemy. Surely the League's subscribers must be worried about its 'quality of service'? After all, if we can get hold of the League's documents easily enough then the EL cannot honestly maintain that it is offering its 'customers' value for money!

Readers who agree with our sentiments can contact Mr MacGregor on 041 332 9108.

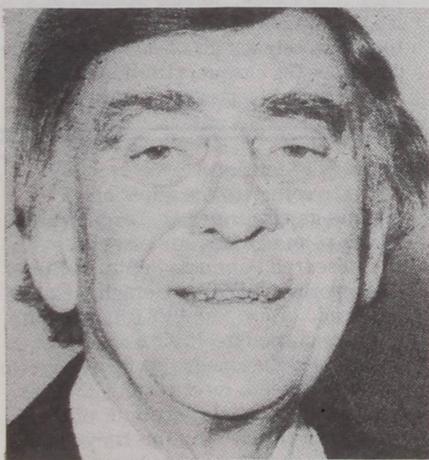
To the League and its cronies generally we have one simple message: the watchers are being watched.

Watching the Watchers

The following are names of prominent people on the far-right mentioned in previous issues of *Black Flag*—except here we include addresses and, in most cases, telephone numbers.

GENERAL SIR WALTER WALKER, Haydon Farmhouse, Sherborne, Dorset DT9 5JB.

MAJOR SIR PATRICK WALL, 8 Westminster Gardens, Marsham Street, London SW1 (Tel. 01-828 1803); 'Branlinghamthorpe', Branlingham, Brough, Humberside (Tel. Brough 667248).



Sir Patrick Wall MP, President of the British chapter of the World Anti-Communist League

PROF. ANTHONY FLEW, 26 Alexander Road, Reading, Berks RG1 5PD (Tel. Reading 61848).

REV. MARTIN SMYTH MP, 117 Creagagh Rd, Belfast BT6 0LA (Tel. Belfast 457009).

SIR ALFRED SHERMAN, 10 Gerald Road, London SW1 (Tel. 01-730 2838).

BRIAN CROZIER (aka JOHN ROSSITER), Kulm House, Dollis Avenue, Finchley, London N3 1DA (Tel. 01-326 8124).

NORRIS McWHIRTER, c/o 33 London Road, Enfield EN2 6DJ (Tel. 01-367 4567); also c/o the Gieven Group, 21-22 The Hard, Portsmouth PO1 3DY (Tel. Portsmouth 821351).

SIR JOHN HOSKYN, 83 Clapham Common West Side, London SW4. (Tel. 01-228 9505); 'Windrush', Great Wake-

field, Sudbury, Suffolk (Tel. 0787 210419).

PARRY RODGERS, 'St Edwards Chantry', Dimport, Shaftesbury, Dorset (Tel. Shaftesbury 2789); 32 Romulus Court, Brentford Dock, Middlesex (Tel. 01-568 6060).

GENERAL SIR HARRY TUZO, 'Heath Farmhouse', Fakenham, Norfolk NR21 8LZ.

INTELLIGENCE NOTES

1. Dr Stuart Butler of the Adam Smith Institute is now the director of domestic policy studies at the Heritage Foundation in the USA.

2. The Centre for Strategic & International Studies includes on its management team Ray Whitney (Tory MP and formerly of the state-run Information Research Department) and Peter Shore MP (former Labour Party government minister). Shore is on CSIS's European Working Group. The CSIS is funded by the Heritage Foundation via the Sarah Scaife Foundation (a laundering organisation), as well as the National Westminster Bank. Also involved with the CSIS are Lloyd Bentsen (who is a member of its advisory group) and his erstwhile rival Dan Quayle (who is the Chair of its European Policy Group). The CSIS acts as a lobby for NATO interests.



Ray Whitney

3. Sir James Goldsmith joined forces with Spiro Agnew and Richard Milhouse Nixon to set up Accuracy In the Media (AIM)—a lobby that acts on behalf of the right. AIM's main spokesman is Richard Mellon Scaife, of the Sarah Scaife Foundation (see above) and the Heritage Foundation. AIM is also thought to be behind one of Lord Chalfont's latest ventures, the Media Monitoring Unit.

Will The Real Pseudo-Gang Stand Up

The theory of pseudo-gangs has been attributed to counter-insurgency expert, General Sir Frank Kitson. The idea behind it is that phoney groups or organisations are created or encouraged to take actions that ultimately will benefit the state even though these groups or organisations appear to be acting otherwise. Currently there are moves to invent anarchist-sounding groups by a privately run organisation that has links to the far-right. We examine some aspects of this below.

The trouble is that the pseudo-gang theory is sometimes used to put down any form of conflict on the basis that resistance always provokes heightened repression. On the other hand there have been numerous examples of pseudo-gangs (eg the Ulster Freedom Fighters) and the theory has to be taken seriously. However there is also a grey area where an organisation acts out of conviction but which unknowingly carries out the work of the state: observers can then mistakenly claim that the people involved are agents provocateur; equally others will praise their actions regardless of consequences. In the latest issue of *Lobster* magazine two papers, both one-offs and assumed to be anarchist, have been named as being part of a State psychological operations strategy. We believe this assertion has no bearing in reality—few people take either of these papers or their rantings seriously. *Lobster* states

that these publications appear suspicious because they are anonymous, expensively produced, free, and because they place emphasis on the incitement of violence. But when *Lobster* says that it is possible that somewhere there is a prosperous groupie having 'fun with money, cow gum and typsetters'—surely such people are found in all political movements? Both papers—one is called *Attack* and the other *Flamethrower*—are put out by the same person; they are generally regarded as 'wind-ups' and read more for their entertainment value.

It may be more useful, when it comes to pseudo-gangs, if a closer look was made instead at the recent bombing campaign carried out in the name of Welsh nationalism. In recent weeks there have been claims in the national press that the arson campaign against estate agents in England selling second homes in Wales was carried out by those on the extreme right and not by left nationalists. These claims have been partly based on innuendo in National Front (Third Positionist wing) publications, which have come out in support of Welsh nationalism. This partly led to Plaid Cymru (which recently split with some right-wingers going off to form another organisation) disowning the arson attacks (being a parliamentary party they had little choice) and putting the blame on the

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OBITUARY

Juan Jose Garcia Gasco (Juanjo), Spanish adviser of Black Flag, died in London just before Xmas, when a great heart burst. A Galician in origin, though born in Santander in 1919, he came of a staunchly anarchist family. When the railway was collectivised by the unions in 1936 his father became the rail controller for Bilbao (for which 'crime' he was shot when the fascists entered) and his brother died storming a Franco barricade. Juanjo fought throughout the civil war and with the Resistance afterwards, for which he served fifteen years in Franco's jails: his sisters were charged with smuggling in a pistol to help him escape but acquitted as blood relations (English law could learn something there).

He met our old friend Miguel Garcia in prison who contacted the Black Cross: we could only send parcels then. Afterwards, when he was released, we managed to get him political asylum in England on the basis of his work for the French Maquis during the world war. He had met some of us in Paris in 1936 when he was on a purchasing mission/smuggling arms into Spain. It was a delight to make acquaintance again. He worked 'like a demon' on the routine jobs involved in Black Flag (though he never learned English), and remained loyal to anarcho-syndicalism all his life.

Typical of his jail stories: he was in with a number of Galician prisoners—one of whom had a set of bagpipes he played constantly (their national music)—which drove one of the Madrilenos crazy. Juanjo told me he unsuccessfully tried to get the authorities to change the Castilian with Stuart Christie in another part of the jail (on the excuse a Scot could hardly be expected to object to bagpipes), but really because he wanted to meet him (although he didn't until years later in freedom).

During his last years in London he was always in touch with the English-speaking movement (his wife Coimbra, a Gibraltarian, was his rapid interpreter as well as a companera in her own right; she also made the last years of his life really happy). DAM, ABC, CNT-AIT and Black Flag gave him an appropriate send-off: we won't soon see his like again.



Juanjo and Coimbra

MISCONCEPTIONS OF ANARCHISM

There are some strange misconceptions of anarchism in N. America, both 'left' and 'right' (and sad to say, these have spread over here too). For instance on the left, we have a letter from a sincere guy in the US who is 'at school that has an internship part of it' and looks for suggestions for a job possibility in 'anarchist or libertarian organisations that might be open to a seven month stint in Latin America or Spain, in prison defence or co-operatives.' Liberal and Marxist groupings thrive on that, not working class groups.

On the right, a letter to the Bulletin of

Anarchist Research says 'Last spring I graduated from a conservative law school (and dropped out)...but I don't want to waste this education and the only possible way I could do it would be in an at least supportive environment. The possible programmes that come to mind are many—industrial relations, workers councils, journalism, political economy etc. I don't suppose any place offers a degree in anarchy...is there a school you can recommend?'

We have an article on these misconceptions (ranging from thoughts that inspire the young Tories to even more bizarre extremes) by an honours graduate in anarchy, deferred owing to pressure on space.

MUJERES LIBRES

On Monday February 6th at 7.30pm, Deptford Town Hall, New Cross Road, London SE14 (New Cross and New Cross Gate Tube), there will be a showing of the *Mujeres Libres* video depicting the lives and activities of women in the Spanish Revolution. Creche available — Admission free.

Black Flag will be reporting soon on the revival of *Mujeres Libres* groups in Spain and hopefully the setting up of a sister organisation in this country.



News In Brief

BIRTHDAY ISSUE

We will be preparing for a 20th BIRTHDAY issue some time this year (as near the date as we can remember): there are some readers who remember it from the first rough old bulletin and who've followed our fortunes all through...it's grand to hear some reminiscences. It's a long time for an anarchist paper to survive without political or economic strangulation or being taken over by its enemies.

NEW YEAR GIFT FOR AVI NAFTEL?

Avi Naftel has moved to another prison—his address is given below. We hear that he is eager to get hold of a guitar (he's an experienced guitarist). He would prefer a 12 string one but a 6 string folk or classical will do. New or used.

To comply with prison policy the instrument must have a case, soft or hard, and come with a receipt (to show proof of purchase) or a notarised letter of ownership to show that it's a

gift. Send to: Avi Naftel,
ASPC -Tucson,
No. 45287
10,000 S. Wilmot,
Tucson,

AZ 85777-0005, USA



ANTI-POLL TAX BADGES

One inch button badges made to order for anti-Poll Tax groups. Three different designs: 'Can't Pay Won't Pay - Axe The Tax' 'No Poll Tax' 'Fuck The Poll Tax'.

Invarious colours, 11 pence each (post paid); any quantity.

Contact Jon Angus, c/o 22 (1F1) Luton Place, Edinburgh EH8 9PE, Scotland.

LEE HOUSE

NEW ANARCHIST CENTRE—NORTH LONDON

More than just a bookshop it is also a squatters centre, a meeting place for talks, workshops and video-evenings, and a vegan cafe. Offers of support, money, second-hand books (and new ones) are welcome. Contact Lee House, 6a Rectory Road, Stoke Newington, London N16.

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right. But there is at least one Plaid Cymru councillor who doesn't go along with this; he is in contact with the NF who are supplying him with 'useful information'. The councillor is then passing on this 'information' to another interested party (a certain, London-based, leftist group), which has been in the business of trying to provoke a similar arson campaign outside of Wales. We believe this latter group, through their own naivety, is in danger of being set up. The NF, on their part, are eager to jump on any bandwagon—Welsh nationalism is merely the latest cause—and by extension a campaign that also involved second-home dwellers in rural England, as well as their agents, would fit in quite nicely with their newly-found 'left' populism. The reality is that, not unlike real left populist groups, their involvement in the arson campaign, contrary to what the popular press believes, is only peripheral and they are more interested in getting the credit from the arson attacks, but not the blame. They are desperate to portray an image of 'class heroes' and so will hook on to anything and any group that will provide them with the right opportunities. Using cultural nationalism or left populism (eg anti-Yuppies) as cover they will launch their own version of a

HINKLEY B INQUIRY

We are informed by a long-time contact and supporter in Devon that the *Black Flag* story on Sir James Goldsmith's connections with the security company Zeus and its contract on the Sizewell protesters was formally submitted and recorded at the Hinkley 'B' Inquiry. The submission was made by our contact in conjunction with a similar submission by the journalist Judith Cook who wrote a book on the Hilda Murrell affair.



LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST SOCIAL

Liverpool Anarchists are holding their second anniversary social over the last weekend in January. The events will commence at 11am on the Saturday and continue through to the Sunday evening. There will be workshops, vegan food and a party on the first evening, followed by a gig with Chumbawamba on the following evening.

ANTI-POLL TAX ALBUM

Peasants Revolt are pleased to announce the release of a compilation album entitled *A Pox Upon The Poll Tax*. Featured are The Shamen, Dog Faced Hermans, Thatcher On Acid, Against History, Dan, Hee Haw, Llwybr Llaethog, Robb Johnson, Wat Tyler, The Cateran, Shrug, Stretch Heads, and Cheap.

The album will be handled by Fast Forward and the Cartel (catalogue number REVOLT 1). Further information from:

Peasants Revolt,
c/o Folder 7,
Acorn Bookshop,
17 Chatham St,
Reading RG1 7JF.

A CAPPELLA

Polish anarchist youth magazine. Needs donations badly. Please send anything you can to: Wieslaw Wesolek, 80-392 Gdansk, ul. Slup-ska, 32/2, POLAND. Unfortunately details of how to send the donations (eg cheque, giro-transfer, etc) are not given. Suggest you write first.

strategy of tension.

But to return to the question of pseudo-gangs proper, one organisation that is primed to invent new threats is the Research Foundation for the Study of Terrorism (RFST), to which we have referred before. The RFST has, to date, only concerned itself with anarchist groups and the smearing of those groups. *Lobster*, indeed, refers to the RFST as the 'intellectual support unit' of the 'anarchist threat'—by this they mean that once that threat has been repackaged it can be explained away by 'experts'—who include Norris McWhirter of the Freedom Association, Lord Chalfont (associated with numerous right-wing think-tanks as well as the security company, Zeus) and Michael Ivens of Aims of Industry. Last year the RFST created a fictitious organisation known as the 'Hurricane Gang' (ie ourselves and associates), whose 'exploits' were then catalogued in the mainstream press courtesy of the Economic League. The RFST then followed this up by taking the exaggerated claims of certain anarchist-associated groups and dishing these up to the press as fact.

The real pseudo-gang, in our opinion, is the RFST. They are particularly skilled at manipulating information about groups that open themselves up to manipulation. The 'glory seekers' are prime targets for their advances.