

Blake Escape
INTERVIEW! page 4

No.192

21765

BLACK FLAG

30p

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

July 1989

STATE TERROR GRIPS CHINA RESISTANCE GOES UNDERGROUND

THE PURGE of revolutionaries and dissidents across China has escalated with thousands disappearing or being openly executed by the Secret Police or so-called Peoples Liberation Army. According to 'underground sources' the total now dead is far in excess of numbers quoted so far.

It all began as a 'peaceful protest' by students against the 'old guard' of the Chinese Communist Party and the perpetuation of the shameless corruption and nepotism that was a hangover from the centuries-old Empire but which survived it for seven decades. Suddenly the old guard received a jolt—a reverberation of the shackles apparently being thrown off in the USSR—and they saw the rebellion as a threat not just to their power, but their personally accumulated fortunes.

There was even for a moment the age-old dream of a 'non-violent revolution' as students massed in their thousands in Tiananmen Square and refused to go away when the old men pleaded with them. As to what they were demanding is another matter. Some hoisted aloft a replica of the Statue of Liberty (under whose shadow aliens, and in particular Chinese, are excluded from entering the United States freely), others raised a banner proclaiming 'Liberty or Death!'. Many made the age-old confusion of democracy with parliamentary constitutions. But many wanted the right to speak freely in order to discuss: how else could people decide what they wanted?

The rulers lost patience and turned the farce of listening and pleading into reality. The 'peaceful protest' and hunger strikes by the students thus was forced to become a popular revolution spreading outwards from the students to workers from all walks of life and people of all ages. But the People's will meant nothing, the People became the enemy of the Party and the Party the oppressor. And so it was that the tyrants of State Communism instigated the counter-revolution against the people who wanted nothing more than freedom.

The demand for change mobilised upwards of one million people in Beijing alone. They came out to join the protest, proud in their demands. Even the police and some soldiers threw in their lot by making themselves scarce. The demonstrations escalated into a near General Strike as workers left their jobs to join the marchers. And in the middle of all this just as suddenly arose the syndicalist-sounding Workers Autonomous Union, which is said by some to have numbered in Beijing 1,000.

But with the Gorbachev visit over, there came

martial law. Troops surrounded the capital, the rebels put up barricades, often with buses that were disabled for this purpose with the help of public transport workers. Then came the embarrassing attempts by troops to march into the centre of the city. The people rose up in the middle of the night, stripped the soldiers of their army clothing and sent them back. Some battalions turned back, some officers refused to attack, and there was disaffection in the ranks. But the backdrop to all this was a fierce power struggle between the conservatives (Communist hardliners). This power struggle was inevitably settled by whoever controlled the Army and it was around this time that Deng Xioping paid a secret visit to the city of Wuhan in the south to meet all the country's generals, who guaranteed their support.

Another wave of troops was sent to take the capital. On June 3rd the massacre began. The graphic details of the slaughter are known the world round. The soldiers clearly went berserk, mowing the people down with their vehicles and with their automatic fire. As they moved in, killing people in their thousands, their armoured trucks bore banners exclaiming 'The Army loves the people', while loudspeakers in the streets endlessly repeated the message, 'The Beijing government is the people's government'.

Unarmed except for stones and petrol bombs the people bravely fought back. Soldiers were captured, some executed on the spot. One officer who had just shot dead four unarmed people was dragged away, stripped, beaten, disembowelled and then hung until dead. Despite the firepower odds the people had managed to attack and demobilise over 300 armoured vehicles. By the end of it all around 1,500 troops had been killed (some by other troops, ashamed at what was happening). But a true picture of the extent of killing, especially from the Army side, had not been told. It was to emerge over the next few days.

Two days later, outside the Chinese Embassy in London, an eyewitness to the massacre, and who had arrived in Britain only hours earlier, described to *Black Flag* some of the many acts of brutality she had witnessed. She saw a woman leaning from her window in her fourth storey flat shot dead by a passing soldier; another woman had merely been brushing her teeth in a yard and was shot. A Chilean refugee, overhearing the stories, came over and said he had now lost all faith. He had been imprisoned by the Junta, had fought against the Contras, and now this had happened. He wept openly. Then a student rushed up and exclaimed that he had just received



a phone call from family in China who had told him that according to the resistance the death toll had increased to 50,000. Another student said he had been crying for three days, and now he had no more tears to cry with.

Soon it was accepted that the Tiananmen Square massacre alone had claimed more than 7,000 lives (in one incident alone a crowd of 3,000 had been mowed down by automatic fire). The cover-up began as bodies were being felled. Those killed were incinerated by flame-throwers or their bodies carried away by helicopters. Outside of China there was mostly condemnation, or offers of sanctions, but little else. It is repulsive to note the hypocrisy of the Western governments who would commit precisely the same massacre if the police were no longer capable of continuing the State repression. If in Britain thousands took occupation of Trafalgar Square, refusing to leave, inspiring thousands more to combine in (illegal) strike action, then the Army would be brought in (as has happened in similar situations before, and in Northern Ireland today) and if the resistance was too great the State would spare no mercy in the name of 'democracy'.

In the aftermath of the massacre in Beijing has come the purge, headed by the Discipline Inspection Committee. Thousands of homes have been raided, people dragged out and interrogated and then summarily executed. But, as before the massacre, the protest in China's other major centres continued. In the city of Lanzhan the provincial governor ordered all protesters to be 'exterminated like rats'. In Shanghai over 100,000 people took to the streets. In Hong Kong rioting preceded a massive General Strike, its first for decades. In Chengdu at least 500 people are now known to have been killed by troops. In different parts of China the rebels have regrouped, or gone into hiding. Some dissident leaders are now saying that the movement may be forced to adopt guerrilla tactics and go underground.

This newest Chinese revolution may indeed take many roads which we neither can nor wish to predict. But we can hope that the headline traditions of Chinese Anarchism (which the present ruling party first emulated in decades past and then rejected) will be revived among Chinese workers. Then we can really talk about revolution.

NEXT ISSUE: The Anarchist Tradition in China

ANTI-BLACKLISTERS DECLARE WAR

WITH THE successful launch of League Watch, an anti-blacklisting research agency, enquiries have been pouring in from victims of blacklisting as well as unions and the media for more information about how the agency, run entirely on a voluntary basis, can assist in curtailing the practices of the Economic League, the market leader in the blacklisting business.

Supporting League Watch at its press conference Roger Lyons, the assistant general secretary of the MSF (Manufacturing, Science, Finance), stated that he hoped that all unions opposed to blacklisting would support this new initiative. Lyons told journalists from the major newspapers that a concerted campaign against blacklisting, and the Economic League in

particular, was needed if it is to be beaten. Earlier on the day LBC radio broadcast an interview with the Mr Lyons on the launch of League Watch but were unable to get any comment from the Economic League. However a group of researchers from League Watch later paid the blacklisters a visit at their head office

LEAGUE WATCH BLACKLISTING THE BLACKLISTERS

and took photos of Economic League personnel, including their research officer, to whom they presented a 'declaration of war'.

Also attending the launch conference were victims of blacklisting by Ford, the Motor

company, who have been forced to admit that they use the Economic League's services. One victim employed at Ford's Dagenham plant had been employed with the company for eight months and was summarily dismissed without any adequate explanation. Another was sacked after only three days because Ford discovered he had been involved in industrial action at Austin Rover. But management never state the real reasons for dismissal—union activity—and invariably come up with some minor technicality to get rid of the 'troublemaker'. On June 20 the London Transport District Council of the National Union of Railworkers held a meeting to examine a concerted attack by management on NUR members who have been identified as being opposed to management policy or who have

merely criticised safety standards. Workers on the oil rigs in the North Sea are all checked via their National Insurance numbers, to see if they have any 'political' record or have been involved in any industrial disputes. Any workers who criticise safety on the oil rigs are particularly singled out. A representative from an NUR campaign to defend workers against political discrimination told League Watch that it is important that the full facts about the blacklisting business are revealed.

Since its launch League Watch has been interviewed by Radio Belfast, whose listeners are worried about entering the job market in mainland Britain, and approached for advice by a leading Gay magazine, whose readers have been threatened with industrial blackmail by the

continued on page 7

**BLACK FLAG
BM HURRICANE
LONDON WCIN 3XX**

Published, typeset and layout by
BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE

Printed by Aldgate Press, E1

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Inland:

12 issues...£6 : 6 issues...£3

Europe (except Finland):

12 issues...£10 : 6 issues...£5

Rest of World:

Surface:

12 issues...£10 : 6 issues...£5

Airmail:

12 issues...£15 : 6 issues...£7.50

Prisoners free on request. Non-earners
free on receipt of sae's or postage.

Black Flag Giro account no.58 552 4009

London Black Cross Giro account

no.51 172 0009

*For a social system based on mutual aid
and voluntary co-operation — against
state control and all forms of
government and economic repression.*

*To establish a share in the general
prosperity for all — the breaking down
of racial, religious, national and sexual
barriers — and to fight for the life of one
world.*

HOME NEWS

UNOFFICIAL STRIKE MOVEMENT GATHERS PACE

THE UNOFFICIAL action by dockers is a fight not just to save jobs and conditions but for the right to strike. The courts declared that the dockers have no such right and that any strike action, official or otherwise, will be illegal. Like the miners, the printers, the seafarers, the railway workers, they have fought long and bitterly to overcome humiliation as well as low wages. Secured union rights, the possibility to strike, were taken away from them, and then one plan after another to return to the bad old days is forced upon them.

The servile media creates a wedge between them and the rest of the workers, for the time being, by stressing how much they have achieved, and suggesting this was due to the capitalist giving work, and seeking to inflame the envy of others who fell back in the rat race. This makes it harder to get solidarity with each defeat. Yet if the dockers go down so does everyone else: this is not only a destruction of job security but of whole communities, as it was in the miners strike. The way of life is destroyed, and replaced

by work theme parks and industrial museums, while the workers are reduced from being the power of society to the low-paid attendants of capitalism. In Spain it took a civil war to do it: here it has come about through legal processes in the courts.

If the union vanguard say they condemn the strike they lose the respect of their membership; if they say they support it they go to prison and the union is sequestered. To face the present conditions the Government is provoking a fight by the rearguard. The London underground railway workers, with their guerrilla strikes for which no one takes responsibility, points a way for industrial action. But action on the ports means that the police may make wholesale attacks like they did during the miners strike.

The Government wants to outlaw unofficial action too, now that it has the unions tied up. But the unofficial strikers—whether they be dockers, underground workers, or whatever—are in a position to create an alternative movement which the courts, despite the threats, will find difficulty in breaking. We are back to square one: by combining together without the deadweight of a bureaucracy that lends itself to anti-union legislation, we can revive the workers movement.

SKY IN THE PIE

THE ALMIGHTY flop of Sky TV with its glittering promises of satellite disk systems bringing the golden age of non-stop telly to mass culture has proved a costly pie for Rupert Murdoch. Disney pulled out realising what they'd let themselves in for—now Murdoch has joined forces with rival Maxwell to try to persuade the public to be bombarded with trash.

Not satisfied with bringing British journalism to the lowest level in the world, he wanted to pull British television down to his level too, but has failed.

Does this show the high taste of the public? Or does it show the contempt and detestation in which Murdoch is held? Sure, the public may buy the Sun etc in millions, but those who profit by sexual titillation suffer the fate of being despised even by the customers.

He's probably lost as much on Sky TV as he made by his disgraceful conduct at Wapping. Boycott of the Murdoch empire is only tacit but it seems to be real.

POLL TAX COUNCILS IN CHAOS

IT HAS BEEN revealed that local authorities are not allowed under the Data Protection Act to compile their Poll Tax registers using existing computerised databases; instead they can only refer to manual files, a laborious process that effectively rules out any real chacking should thousands, if not more, in each authority refuse to register. Many authorities have already admitted that they have not got the resources to check up on people and are predicting at least a 20% refusal rate.

For students who have no intention to pay already an anomaly has been highlighted. Apparently some local authorities have stated that students who default wont actually have their grants 'arrested'. The Department of the Environment has confirmed that student's grants can not be touched under the Poll Tax legislation. To get around this, however, certain local authorities, notably Strathclyde, have been registering students as non-students without informing them.

In Scotland, too, the authorities are still maintaining that around 99% have been registered—but it has been shown that this figure relates only to those people who were named on the registration forms and excludes all those who were addressed as 'the occupier' (a case of scotched myth?). North of the border the anti-Poll Tax groups are doing a great job in informing members of the public exactly what non-payment will entail. Contrary to the official impression given, non-payment is not a criminal offence and will not lead to imprisonment (at least in Scotland). Also pensioners who default will not have their state pension deducted, although anyone on a private pension could get deductions made if the pension can be identified. In all cases—and this affects everyone—savings and wages cannot be 'arrested' at the same time; nor, for some reason, are savings held in the National Savings Bank subject to arrestment.

N.B. We hear that in one Scottish borough a 'virus' has been lodged on the Poll Tax databank that is effectively deleting one in every ten entries every few minutes.

BLOODIED & DISHONoured

At the same time as the Moslems-against-the-devil/Salman Rushdie march, Blood and Honour was rallying skinheads at Hyde Park not in defence of Rushdie (!) as the *Guardian* thought, but in connection with celebrating the Hitler centenary—they were there to rally to pick up details of the Nazi concert to be held by Skrewdriver (intended to be at Camden Town Hall but cancelled at the last minute by the council after discovering that the booking by First World Enterprises was a front)—but got well and truly clobbered and scattered by anti-fascist disruption; some young Asians detached themselves from the march and joined in. No news yet as to whether the concert took place and was a financial flop through its venue being too secret. Also involved in financing Blood And Honour is Jewish collaborator Andrew Benjamin, who was recently exposed by the Jewish Chronicle. Benjamin runs a shop called Merc M in Riding House Street, W1, which sells Nazi memorabilia. It has also been alleged that he funded the blown-out gig at Camden.

Review

From ballots to bombs: the inside story of the National Front's political soldiers (Searchlight 2)

This is a bit predictable, mostly the story told from inside of the ragbag nazis of Britain who are trying desperately for acceptance by the capitalist class that doesn't now need them, and try and pass off as revolutionaries instead. Why should good industrialists waste money

and take the danger of a monkey, who like Hitler will take himself seriously when he gets power, when for the same price they can have all that fascism has to offer in smashing the workers from Thatcher, and even get consensus? They only come in useful as a political irritant.

It's quite lavishly done with photographs if you want to recognise; most of them clearly taken by or for 'friends'. It is remarkable how they all inform on each other. The text is from an insider. Strange how *Searchlight* eagerly seeks someone who may have passed through a skinhead fascist phase in early adolescence to pursue forever, no matter how they change or fight fascism thereafter; yet places credence on those who stay and take part in race-bashing for years, providing they expose others doing the same thing. But are these people to be taken seriously? Where we can judge the facts we find them still the same old scumbags. Take this piece of sycophantic nonsense relating to Hackney (where local Labour councillors fund *Searchlight* and have good reason to hate squatters): 'To add to their efforts the NF decided to encourage the local 'direct action' and quasi anarchist movement to confront the Labour Council by the political act of physically assaulting council workers and councillors. Technically, the NF does not even have a branch in Hackney...'. It was mostly Direct Action Movement and the local anarchists who made it untenable for the NF to maintain such a branch; some were active in the

squatting movement (where they came into conflict with police and bailiffs); any contact with fascists they had was purely physical. *Searchlight*'s friends were nowhere to be seen in the fight against East London fascism (except perhaps on the wrong side): they were busy taking photos of each other to send to the magazine or urging someone else to kill Rushdie for slighting their religion.

It is answered in a publication of the National Front (pro-Gadaffi wing), 'The Other Face of Searchlight: thuggery, buggery, arson and whores' in which the NF respond to mud-slinging by throwing shit. It may come as more of a surprise that they quote the anarchist press ('multi-racial' and 'hardly friendly to us'), Black Flag, Direct Action and Anarchy, which have exposed *Searchlight*'s trade-offs of inside information on the left with Special Branch for inside information on the right, tying in with its sucking up to certain Labour councils by vilifying squatters to get subsidies from bent councillors

The NF think it's really a CP-Zionist plot. Actually the CP officially regard *Searchlight* as cheapjack competitors and the Zionists loathe them as much as they do the CP. *Searchlight*, like many trot bodies, and the NF (this lot) itself, operate under the spreading Gadaffi shadow, thus attracting agents of many governments as well as (in some cases including) the 'political soldiers'. Their quirks and fantasies are all held in common.

Q & A on Anarchism

Q Who are the intellectuals? What is workerism?

A The 'intellectuals' were originally the students and graduates of Tsarist Russia, when acquisition of learning implied progressive ideas as against Tsarist backwardness and standardised culture (though most became reactionary or apathetic later on in life). Later the term spread to other countries where it was used in a wider sense now used politically, sometimes to mean all professional writers, artists and musicians; often to mean writers with 'progressive' views as opposed to other writers; sometimes (in the use of the term 'workers and intellectuals', for instance) as pure snobbery. It is also used occasionally, like the word 'philosophic', as an excuse for 'inactive but sympathetic'; its use can also be as a bid for leadership by those feeling superior because of their class or educational background.

'Workerism' is a term coined by 'intellectuals' to deprecate ideas hammered out in the course of working class struggle.

Anarcho-Quiz

1. Well-to-do layabouts are now called yuppies—which originally implied young new rich—as the popular slang term 'herberts' has virtually disappeared. Why herberts?
2. Who was the Irish Hitler?
3. What was the nationality of those who had castles (many still standing) built for them to dominate Wales?
4. We never refer to the founders of the American republic as 'Georgie' Washington, 'Ben' Franklin, 'Al' Hamilton, 'Tom' Jefferson etc—so why 'Tom' Paine?
5. Situationist International persuaded many students of the '60s and '70s that they were capable of leading the working class to liberation, and forever made superior sneers at anarcho-syndicalism. How has it reached its zenith?
6. A highly regarded 19th century writer had a child by his domestic servant, when his wife was worn out by child bearing, but avoided the scandal this would have made on Victorian public opinion by the servant continuing in his employ all her life, and his friend and literary collaborator (a single man, living with his own servant, so it didn't count) taking the blame—who were these two male chauvinists?

answers on back page

How Black Flag stands (up to June 5th 1989)

Printing bills paid up to February:.....£836. 00
Stationery:.....£104. 67
Postage:.....£584. 54
Total:.....£1525. 21

Sales & subs:.....£873. 55
Donations:.....£485. 60
Total:.....£1359. 15

Loss over this period £166. 06
Current deficit reduced to £4469. 30

* London) LR £50, Turtle £5, M & O £10, SR £2, JG £40, A & P £75, JT £10, G £6, AM £100, (Liverpool) A's £12, anon £2, (Manchester) RB £20, RSW £5, (Oxford) GM £3, (Avon) RE £20, (Barnet) CB £5, (Greenhithe) GN £14, (Reading) Liz £4, (Lancaster) P £20, (Plymouth) GS £4, (Norwich) H £4, (Corby) Alex £5, (Finland) AR £20, (Vancouver, Canada) Mike £1.40, JB £20; (USA. Mo) LC £15. (Eng) TG £3, various under £1, £10.20.
Total:.....£485.60

It's clear we've got an interest in exposing the activities of the Economic League: money starts coming in as soon as our readers get back to work! Though on the other hand, as our unpaid staff starts work they have less time to devote to producing *Black Flag*—we can't win!

Our postage and production costs are more than shown, and interest on deficit not shown at all, owing to people privately paying them without troubling to notify—for which we're grateful, of course—but though the deficit still looks disastrous, it's nothing slightly less than a thousand new (or renewed) subs wouldn't cure.

HUNGERSTRIKERS SUPPORTED BY OCCUPATION

THE ROLLING hunger strike by mainly Red Army Faction prisoners has been postponed—not ended as reported in the press—after an agreement that association would be granted in those prisons with regions controlled by the Social-Democrats. Even though the prisoners didn't get all their demands met the results of the first stage of the hungerstrike can still be seen as a victory. For the first time in their 18 year campaign association, limited as it is, has been granted. The hunger strike, which ultimately would have involved up to 50 prisoners, led to solidarity demonstrations outside prisons in West Germany and even to a one day sympathetic hunger strike by over 200 prisoners in North America. Major demonstrations, involving up to 10,000 people, took place in Bonn, Lubeck and Hamburg. In Belgium an, unreported, occupation, involving over 50 people from several countries, took place out of support for the RAF prisoners and ended with the storming of the building by a special anti-terrorist force.

The occupation took place on May 11th at a European Community headquarters building in Brussels. The protestors came from the Netherlands, West Germany and Denmark and undertook the action out of support for the hungerstrikers as well as Action Directe prisoners held in France. The occupation took place on the morning of the 100th day of the hungerstrike and on the 72nd day of hungerstrike by prisoners Gabi Rollnik and Rolf Heissler. Within minutes of taking occupation the authorities issued false statements to the Media that the protestors had taken hostages. Police sealed off all approaches to the building as well as the neighbourhood generally. The JSE (Special Intervention Squad) took control and by mid afternoon decided to storm the building with force. After smashing down barricades they found the protestors inside sitting down all chained to each other. Out of public view the protestors were then dragged through the broken



Anti - Statute 129a Demonstration, in support of a non - RAF prisoner

glass of a smashed window and then taken in a convoy to the anti-terrorist headquarters to be beaten up and interrogated. After 24 hours all but seven were released and deported. The remaining seven immediately went on hungerstrike, were held for a week and then detained for a further period. Their comrades who came to visit them were themselves beaten and arrested. Hardly any of the newspapers of the EC reported the occupation, but undoubtedly it helped to increase pressure for a relatively early settlement to the RAF hungerstrike.

Meanwhile, the harassment of lawyers acting on behalf of RAF prisoners continues. Rolf Heissler's lawyer, for example, has been accused of supporting an earlier hungerstrike by not using persuasion to end it. The West German state has the power, under Statute 129a, to ban

lawyers from contact with their clients and this power is being exercised with regard to many of the lawyers representing the RAF prisoners. During previous hungerstrikes—and the same tactic was used in this latest one—the authorities would use Statute 129a to stop the hungerstrikers, when entering the 'coma phase', from having any contact with their lawyers in order that the hungerstrikers would receive no information or news from others taking part in the action.

Harassment of non-RAF prisoners, who joined the protest in sympathy, also occurred. Under Statute 129a, again, these prisoners have now been categorised as 'belonging to a terrorist organisation' for joining the hungerstrike, even though their original convictions were minor.

Note: thanks to Grem for additional information).

IN BRIEF

Anarchists participated in a coalition of over one hundred groups to oppose the arms trade in a protest on May 22 against Canada's largest exhibition of military wares to date. In March, they joined disruption of a lecture by British fascist and war-time revisionist historian David Irving.

This summer, protests are to be made by the Innu peoples of Labrador against low-level flight training by NATO countries over their land. The Innu people have been pitching tents on the runway and getting arrested.

A prominent liberal in Denmark boasted that he 'saved the life' of an internationally renowned leader of a neo-nazi movement after a successful disruption to a television broadcast by anti-fascist demonstrators. Poul Heinrich Riis Knudsen, head of WUNS (World Union of National Socialists), was due to take part in a chat show on Denmark's TV2 when around 200 demonstrators, mainly anarchists, interrupted the proceedings with chants of 'Child murderer!'



Poul Heinrich Riis Knudsen

Immediately the lights went off and the programme cut. Later a representative from the Peoples Movement Against Nazism who also took part in the programme to discuss issues with Knudsen, boasted to the Media that he had helped the neo-Nazi fuhrer to escape from the protestors.

ANOTHER POLICE MOVE

The European Community is to have yet another 'special police secretariat' ostensibly to 'help combat international terrorism, drug trafficking and organised crime.' As all of these are run by one government or the other, it might be to cut out competition from unlicensed operators, but as the EEC meeting was held in Madrid it could well be drawing on Spanish police expertise of using non-statist crime to suppress anti-statist resistance.

The drugs industry is controlled by Spanish and some other police forces; organised crime permeates the Italian police; the use of terrorism is common to all of them.



'Some 20,000 angry people gathered there (beside the river Moskva)...an elderly bald figure tottered to the microphone. 'People have lost faith in the government. The government has lost faith in the people,' he said. A hotchpotch of flags and posters waved in the crowd. There were Estonian national flags, the pre-revolutionary Russia flag, and even a black flag with red star carried by the recently formed Anarcho Syndicalist Club. The slogan said: 'No confidence in the Supreme Soviet—form a left-wing faction'.

The Guardian 29.5.89

DOCKERS UNDER FIRE (ITALY TOO)

THE BARRAGE of criticism of British dockers and their 'outdated practises' are echoed in Italy too. The practises go back only to the end of the last war when British dockers finally overcame the years of casual labour, gaining strength from the war-time shortage of workers. In Italy it came out of the banding together of dockers in the resistance and forming partisan bands which ran co-operatives for the dockers.

Whereas here the National Dock Labour Board was a nationalised body, in Italy the dockers chose self-management and this was finally enshrined by successive governments as law.

Here the Tories led an attack on the dockers—in Italy the attack was begun by Socialist Ministers. The arguments are the same: dock labour is costing too much is what it comes down to. But in reality a prime factor is high customs costs, imposed by the State not the dockers—it costs three times more to clear in Genoa, Leghorn or Mestre as elsewhere in Europe.

Another cause that pushes costs up is the middle role of a myriad of transport companies running their own fleets: these are failing because manufacturers are organising their own companies.

The shipping companies too are financed by the State and have an active lobby in government circles to mount an anti-docker campaign to take away bargaining rights and safety standards.

They want to smash the dockers co-operatives the way the State in this country wants to take away job security. Then they can get total control of loading and unloading to the benefit of the shipping companies, incidentally cutting out the road transport companies too.

This will mean a long drawn out fight with the dockers, who have already instances of the type of slavery the shipping companies will impose: in Ravenna, without 'outdated restrictive practices', thirteen casual workers died after being suffocated in a ships hold.

Initiatives need to be taken all over the world against ships of the companies practising industrial terrorism in Italy.

Source: Lotta di Classe, paper of the syndicalist USI, trans DM

GREEK ANARCHISTS TORTURED

TWO GREEK anarchists, Yannis Petropoulos and Baraskevas Arapostathis, have been tortured, one almost to death, after a breakout. Other anarchist prisoners protested by going on hungerstrike, and they too were tortured. One, Nikos Tsouvalakis, had two ribs broken.

The prisoners concerned are held in Patras Jail. The Governor, a Mr Dasios was informed by telemessage by Black Cross groups that he would be held responsible should any of these prisoners die. When news of the plight of the two prisoners was first reported within the Black Cross it was decided to activate, for the first time, the newly formed Emergency Response Network. As a result Black Cross groups in different parts of the world demonstrated outside Greek embassies and centres of commerce; their support was reported on in the Greek press and relayed to the prison authorities. A Black Cross contact in Athens, a lawyer, has meanwhile ordered the Courts to allow access to the two prisoners, who are his clients. After the international protests it appears that the prisoners on hungerstrike were released from the punishment cells. News as to the welfare of Petropoulos and Arapostathis, however, is unavailable. Pressure on the Greek authorities, therefore, still needs to be kept up.

It appears while all this was going on another

POWER STRAINS THE GREENS

GREEN SLOGANS abound these days: having built themselves up on anarchist-sounding slogans, the German Greens have moved into political compromises quite as much as any old-style politician with a new way for ex-students to make good. From Green pseudo-anarchism they have formed an Alternative List and gone into alliance with the Social-Democrats. The new Senate in West Berlin is a coalition between them.

With the Centre-Right coalition in Bonn on its uppers, there are glances at West Berlin to see if this new formula can work as a vote-winner and be accepted by capitalism and its dupes.

The first test was the evacuation of squatters from the Kreuzberg and Schoenberg districts: as the Greens had gathered electoral support from there and themselves risen in the ranks through squatting politics, it was a test of the Greens' sincerity to capitalist partnership. They passed it, as much as the Social Democrats did seventy years ago.

Three hundred police went in to throw out squatters—there a huge community—and young Anarchists fought back. The A-force fought with the police force and left broken shop windows, cars overturned, and barricades in the wake of the battle, as Green politicians announced that this was a 'declaration of war' on anarchists and autonomists, presumably in the name of protecting the environment—or could it be the Establishment?.

The war was not just for the old houses but as a declaration of loyalty to their new and prospective allies by the Green ex-pseudo-anarchists against the real ones. For much the same reasons their Social-Democrat friends once liquidated the Spartakists.

major jail break took place, involving nine prisoners and the death of several guards. In Athens a marxist guerrilla group, ELA, bombed the Ministry of Justice.

AUTONOMIA—MORE DETAILS

WE HAVE received more details of Autonomia, the newly formed anarchist group in Hungary and whose statement we published in our last issue.

Autonomia now has groups in other cities besides Budapest and has members in Eger, Nyiregyhaza and Szekeshervar. Several members of Autonomia are founder members of the independent trade union, Munkasszolidarit (Worker's Solidarity). On March 15 several members of Autonomia took part in a mass demonstration, involving up to 100,000, in Budapest. Autonomia has also participated in international prisoners solidarity work. It hopes, too, to start publishing translated editions of anarchist classics, as well as an Hungarian anarchist paper.

Autonomia has indicated via contacts in the West that it would like to receive greetings from anarchists elsewhere, and copies of anarchist publications and books. They can be contacted at the following address: Autonomia, c/o Eotvos Klub, Karolyi M. ut. 9, H-1053 Budapest, Hungary.

Introduction: The story so far...

In May 1961 a former MI6 man pleaded guilty to five charges under Section One of the Official Secrets Act.

After a trial held completely in secret he was sentenced to 42 years imprisonment. The man was George Blake. The sentence was the longest gaol sentence in modern British history and the first time since 1887 that a court had passed a sentence of more than 20 years.

On Saturday October 22th, 1966 Blake escaped from Wormwood Scrubs. But it wasn't until December 22 that he was smuggled out of the country in the back of a camper van.

Within three days of the escape the police found the getaway car and thus had a lead on one of the people who had helped Blake—Sean Bourke. Curiously, however, they didn't issue his name or photograph of him. On New Year's Eve 1966, Bourke, travelling on a forged passport, left Britain to join Blake in Moscow.

Two years to the day after Blake escaped from Wormwood Scrubs, Bourke returned to Ireland. His return was broadcast on TV News and the following night he was interviewed on *World In Action*. On October 31th he was arrested by the Garda with a British extradition warrant. He successfully appealed and in February 1969, the *News Of The World* printed his first account of the gaol break with extracts from his tape recordings of conversations with Blake over the walkie-talkies they had used to plan the escape.

In 1970 he published a full-length account of his part in the escape called 'The Springing of George Blake'. In it he described three of those who helped him. Pat Porter and Michael and Anne Reynolds. While a few important details were changed or omitted, the descriptions were close enough for several of their friends to recognise them. Bourke died, penniless, in January 1982.

Five years later, in September 1987, H. Montgomery Hyde (a former British Intelligence officer and Unionist MP) published a biography of Blake in which he described Michael 'Reynolds' and Pat 'Porter' as members of the Committee of 100 who had been imprisoned with Blake after a demonstration at

Wethersfield RAF base in December 1961. 'Porter' and 'Reynolds' could only be Pat Pottle and Michael Randle.

Barrie Penrose, a reporter on the *Sunday Times*, began a concerted attempt to get Pottle

and Randle to confirm their involvement. Penrose has a reputation for his work in Intelligence matters. But, interestingly enough, his major scoop was the Jeremy Thorpe affair which had started out as an investigation into Harold Wilson's allegations (in 1976) of an Intelligence conspiracy against him!

On October 4th, 1987 Penrose named Pottle and Randle in a front page story. On October 30th the two were questioned by Scotland Yard. Initially Randle was asked for details, which he gave, of his family background. He was then asked if he knew Penrose; he said he did not wish to answer the question and the interview was terminated.

Back at the *Sunday Times* Penrose was elaborating his rather easy 'scoop' with malicious invention and quoting Intelligence sources. In November he suggested that Vanessa Redgrave had been involved and that MI5 were claiming the KGB had played a guiding role in the escape.

Pottle and Randle realised they could not go on neither admitting nor denying their involvement. They had already been approached by Harraps about publishing their memoirs, which they finally accepted. In November of last year Penrose received a tip-off about the book. This time Randle and Pottle spiked the Penrose scoop by talking to David Leigh of the *Observer*. In the months between then and the publication at the end of April this year of *The Blake Escape*, the Freedom Association has been waging a campaign to have Pottle and Randle prosecuted. In Parliament this campaign has been led by Graham Riddick, a FA council member, who ran the opposition to Maria Fyfe's private members bill to limit the activities of the Economic League. Five days after the book's publication, Pottle and Randle were arrested and their houses searched.

'WHY WE HELPED GEORGE BLAKE'

The Blake Escape does much more than fill in gaps and correct the misinformation provided by Sean Bourke. Whereas Bourke's motives in helping Blake are far from clear (and he went out of his way to implicate himself) this was not the case with Randle and Pottle. Both knew George Blake in prison and like most who encountered him in terrible situations (including a Korean POW camp as well as Wormwood Scrubs) they were tremendously impressed by his care and compassion for those around him.

Before they were imprisoned and met him, both had been outraged at the savage sentence Blake received after a secret trial. They both had experience of the sort of grim regime that Blake had to look forward to for at least 28 years.

Although, as pacifists and libertarians, they were steadfastly against State Communism, they understood it was significant that Blake had acted out of conscience. Even Harold Macmillan admitted Blake had not passed on information to the KGB for money. He was, as the Irish courts were to recognise in rejecting Bourke's extradition, a political prisoner. As if to underline the hypocrisy of the State's position, Blake's role in Intelligence had at one time been to identify and encourage Soviet military personnel to spy on behalf of the West.

If the government decides to prosecute them they will plead not guilty and use the trial to expose the inhumanity and hypocrisy of the 42 year sentence on Blake. If a trial goes ahead it will be extremely embarrassing for the Intelligence services. Yet if it does not there remains the possibility of a private prosecution by Norris McWhirter—who ironically works closely with the Intelligence services of at least two foreign powers (the USA and South Africa).

On May 22th, 1989 I interviewed Michael Randle about the Blake escape for *Black Flag*.

I was particularly concerned to get his reaction to a number of theories that British Intelligence were aware of, or were involved in, Blake's escape. Of course they are not the sort of theories that are easily disproved and, since they all cast Randle and Pottle as 'innocent dupes' of a cunning Intelligence service, Randle might not have been the best person to respond. If Blake indeed had escaped with the connivance of Intelligence, then any case against Randle and Pottle would collapse. On reflection, I am strongly inclined to agree that the Blake escape underlines the limitations, not the deviousness, of the Intelligence services. Though they must have discovered (eighteen years ago at the latest) the identity of some of those who helped Bourke organise the escape, it can't have done the Intelligence community's esteem much good. A prosecution would then, as now, have been acutely embarrassing. By continuing to avoid a court case they could well have been trying to suggest they were more clever than in truth they were.

Mike Hughes.

The Randle Interview...

Mike Hughes: To recap 'The Blake Escape'—the escape falls into two parts: getting Blake out of Wormwood Scrubs; second, hiding him out of Wormwood Scrubs out of the country. Your role in the first part was quite peripheral, wasn't it? Mike Randle: Yes. The basic plan for getting Blake over the wall was worked out by Sean Bourke and Blake himself, helped by one or two others inside. We looked over the plans and made a number of suggestions, including the idea that Sean should take a trip to Ireland and give the impression that he had settled down somewhere in Dublin. But our contribution to the escape plan itself was marginal.

MH: Bourke handled this part of the operation extremely well.

MR: He did indeed. For instance the instructions he gave to Blake over the two-way radio about what would happen once he got over the wall were clear and precise. He recorded them on a portable tape recorder and when he played them to us just a few days before the break, we were most impressed.

MH: Have you any reason to believe that, prior to his escape, MI5, MI6 or Special Branch (or groups within them) were aware of the plans?

MR: None whatsoever. The reason Sean came to me initially was to ask me if I could raise some money for the operation. He had no funds himself, apart from small savings accumulated during his period in prison; Blake's mother and sister had already told him they could not help. I had got to know both him and George during my time in Wormwood Scrubs in 1962-63. I knew they were friends and that Sean was sympathetic to Blake's situation. Thus Sean's explanation about how the escape plan arose is far more convincing than any of the far-fetched theories about the British Intelligence services being involved. There is no evidence at all that they were, and no reason to suspect it.

MH: There are really two questions. First, did British Intelligence set up the whole operation—a notion you emphatically reject. Second, did they discover what was afoot at an

early stage and decide to let it run to see what would happen?

MR: The book details the succession of accidents and near misses that occurred after the escape; it's very hard to square these events with the theory that British Intelligence was behind the whole operation of keeping a benign eye on it. The truth, I think, is that the police and the authorities were bemused and following a false trail. As one of the Special Branch men involved in the hunt for Blake told Thames TV in the recent documentary, they were 'running around like headless chickens'. They assumed that they were dealing with a high-powered and well funded operation and never suspected it was all the work of what he called 'three bungling amateurs'. They even searched the instrument cases of the Czech National Orchestra who were about to fly back home to Prague on the night of the escape.

MH: But there were two rather oddball individuals, with intelligence connections, in Wormwood Scrubs at the time. I'm thinking of Kenneth De Courcey and Newton—who shot Rinko the dog (in the unsuccessful case built up against Jeremy Thorpe).

MR: I don't know much about Newton. De Courcey was in Wormwood Scrubs in the '60's, though I never met him because he came in after I left. I was released in February 1963; he arrived later that year. He certainly knew both Bourke and Blake and was in D wing with them. Moreover it was statements he made that tipped off Montgomery Hyde that individuals within the peace movement helped in the escape. But I've got no reason to think he was involved in any way. Certainly Sean never suggested he was.

MH: Hasn't he since suggested that he notified—was it MI5?—before the escape? MR: De Courcey did? I've not heard that. There were of course various rumours over the years about Blake plotting to escape. At least one one of them got to the ears of the prison governor—but when he looked into it he decided

there was nothing in it. The Mountbatten Report, published in December 1966, mentions this episode but doesn't suggest that De Courcey was in any way involved.

MH: The second part of the escape went far less smoothly. Bourke's handling of it was to some degree inadequate and drew you more into the centre of things...

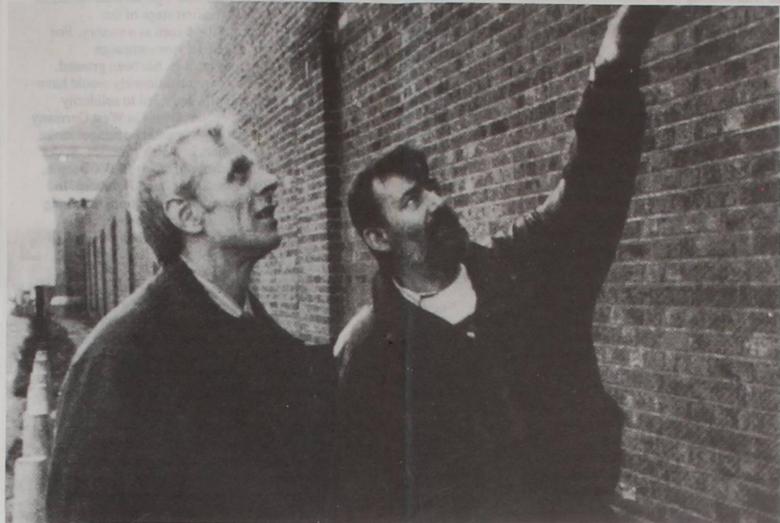
MR: Yes, there were two major setbacks. First, Blake broke his wrist jumping down from the prison wall. Sean wanted to take him straight to a hospital outpatients' department the next morning, even though Blake's picture was on the front page of every newspaper and on every TV news bulletin. We told him that was madness and said we would look for a doctor to treat Blake. Second, when we arrived at the hide-out—which Sean had assured us was a self-contained flat—we found it was just a bedsit and learned that every Wednesday morning the landlady and an assistant came to clean the room. Thus on Sunday evening, the night after the escape, we discovered we had 48 hours to find a new and safer hiding place.

MH: There were other things that happened which you only found out about later—for instance that Bourke informed the police about the getaway car.

MR: Yes. On the Tuesday after the break, we moved Blake to a friend's address so that he wouldn't be around when the landlady arrived to clean the room. Bourke stayed behind, as the friends were not in a position to hide two people.

It was only in 1970 when Sean published his book, 'The Springing of George Blake' that we learned that he phoned the police that Tuesday evening, telling them the registration number and whereabouts of the car. He assumed the police would conclude they were being tipped off by someone with a grudge against him and he says his purpose was to draw the fire on to himself and thus away from anyone else. Of course we have only Sean's word for it that he phoned the police; but it tallies with the newspaper reports of the time. The discovery of

THE BLAKE ESCAPE



Randle (left) and Pottle outside Wormwood Scrubs Prison in February 1989. Pat pointing to the spot at which Blake dropped down from the prison wall.

the car wasn't made public till the Friday, but the newspapers reported that the police had known of its whereabouts since the Tuesday evening. It all fits in.

MH: This is where the second conspiracy theory comes in. Were one or other, or both, the Intelligence services letting Blake fall into your lap to see what happened?

MR: What would be the point of that? If MI5 wanted Blake out, they would surely have wanted the operation to go as smoothly as possible.

MH: What I'm suggesting is that Blake might have been a sort of bait—to see who else might be drawn into the escape. Years later, and without any evidence at all, Tom Driberg and Vanessa Redgrave were named as being involved. We know now from Peter Wright's book that (James Jesus) Angleton of the CIA (Counter-Intelligence) was already gunning for Wilson. Evidence that might implicate Wilson, through his friends and through Labour politicians would have been very useful.

MR: But if it was a set up—and I don't give the theory any credence whatsoever—it seems to me totally pointless to have waited 21 years before doing anything about it.

MH: Well, perhaps it didn't lead to any of the individuals they were interested in. Why, in any case, do you think you were publicly identified in 1987 when your involvement must have been known to the Intelligence services since Sean Bourke's book appeared in 1970?

MR: There are two possible explanations as to why no moves were made against us in 1970. The first is that the police and Intelligence services did not know of our involvement, despite the clues in Sean Bourke's book; he did after all omit certain vital pieces of information and muddy the waters in various ways. A variant of this is that the police strongly suspected us, but had no concrete evidence to go on.

The second is that the police suspected us but that a decision was taken at some level not to follow up the leads provided by Bourke since, in the absence of both him and Blake, any trial would have been farcical. The British authorities tried—but failed—to have Bourke extradited from Ireland in 1968-69. Had they succeeded, or had Bourke decided to return to Britain any time during the 1970's, as he several times threatened to do, I think the authorities might then have moved against us.

As to Montgomery Hyde's book published in 1987—again I see no reason to assume a high level conspiracy against us. Hyde's initial source for the allegations of a peace movement connection with the escape was De Courcy. It appears he then got further evidence and clues to our identity from Nicolas Walter, the director of the Rationalist Press Association, who had been a member of the Committee of 100 and had identified us in 1970 from the descriptions in Sean's book. We don't know exactly what Nicolas told Montgomery Hyde; he wrote

by two Special Branch officers in 1987 following the *Sunday Times* articles, but there was no follow-up to that until we took the initiative by publicly acknowledging our role and declaring our intention to write a book about it. We decided on this course of action because it gave us the opportunity to state exactly what had happened and why, and indeed to take the argument to the other side. The alternative was to allow all sorts of rumours and speculations to circulate unchallenged. Now that everything is out in the open, people can make up their own minds about what we did and about the 42 year prison sentence on Blake.

MH: I get the impression that Blake was a rather impressive person.

MR: He was. This is clear too from the accounts of the people who were his fellow prisoners in the hands of the North Koreans in the early 1950s. The Minister in charge of the British Legation, Captain Vyvyan Holt, said he owed his life to Blake and Philip Deane. *The Observer* correspondent in Korea, Holt records that they nursed him and shared their meagre rations with him when they themselves were weak and hungry. Deane too, writing about the period, speaks of Blake in glowing terms.

In prison he impressed screws and prisoners alike. A fellow prisoner, who later published several books under the pen-name of Zeno, recorded how Blake would devote much of his time in prison to coaching fellow prisoners in French and German. When he escaped the prison was in an uproar. One newspaper at the time quoted a fellow prisoner as saying that 'it was like Christmas after Santa Claus has been'. Zeno, too, in his book 'Life', records the elation in the prison and notes that even many of the screws seemed happy that Blake would not have to serve out such a monstrous sentence.

Blake spied for the Russians out of political conviction; the judge at his trial in 1961 acknowledged this—as did the Prime Minister of the time, Harold Macmillan. We did not agree with his espionage activities, but you had to respect his motives and convictions.

MH: What does the future hold for you and Pat Pottle in relation to the Blake escape?

MR: We have to surrender police bail on 7th June. At that stage the authorities can decide to drop the case altogether, to renew police bail while they continue with their investigations, or, finally, to prefer charges. We just have to wait and see. The decision will be essentially a political one. On the one hand the authorities have to take account of the political embarrassment a trial could bring; on the other they have to consider the pressure of the 111 conservative MPs calling for a prosecution, and the threat of a private prosecution by the Freedom Association.



George Blake

MH I presume McWhirter will go ahead with his private prosecution if the authorities do not press charges?

MR I suppose so, although I'm not sure of the legal technicalities in that event.

If there is a trial, we will do our best to bring out the humanitarian and political issues involved—and what we now know about the way the British and US Intelligence services were operating in the 1950s and how they operate today. We've been greatly encouraged since going public by the messages of support from friends and well-wishers. This has sustained us during a difficult period and helped prepare us psychologically for the struggle which lies ahead if the case goes to court.

Note: On June 7, Michael Randle and Pat Pottle were informed by the Police that police bail would be extended to July pending further investigations.

THE SECULAR SYNOD OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE

It may seem odd that Col. H. Montgomery Hyde a retired Conservative Unionist MP and champion of Protestant ascendancy should become an Honorary Associate of the Rationalist Press Association, whose previous honorary and honourable associates included Bertrand Russell, HG Wells and Arnold Bennett (to name but a few). The RPA is an offshoot of C.A. Watts & Co. founded during the boom period of atheist freethought with great working class appeal. Some years ago the entire stock was remaindered, literally for pennies. The RPA was down to zero but with the formation (following a broadcast presenting a watered down, non-aggressive atheism) of the British Humanist Association, it began publishing the monthly *New Humanist*. Its editor had a piece of job a type familiar to old-established charities, but hardly a lucrative one. Suddenly Watts & Co came into money. It now has a large staff. Its reputation and age make it a neutral vantage point to observe the Left, a meeting ground for apparently contradictory viewpoints, unaccountable to popular control or even market forces, and requiring only a formal declaration of scholarly religious scepticism but open to a selected few given credibility.

If anyone were going to suspect the old established C.A. Watts & Co. they would be classed as paranoiac as those who thought the liberal Encounter magazine was CIA-backed. Would they bother that Col. Montgomery Hyde, a former security chief who now writes on security matters, for one, was officially named an honorary associate? And tribute has been paid to his 'progressive views' (Freedom, March 89) by the managing director and company secretary of C.A. Watts & Co. (not an employee, though he hasn't infused any capital), a seemingly prominent person in the anarchist movement, namely Nicolas Walter (though he has recently denied being a 'prominent anarchist' and is certainly not an obscure one). Walter is co-editing Freedom's companion paper 'The Raven'. He has access to all its records, and knows intimate personal details, some true, some false, going back decades of anyone known to be active now or in the past. He has claimed to be the 'third generation of anarchists in his family' (the genealogy is dubious: his grandfather penetrated the international anarchist movement and then went over to Italian fascism, but one can't blame him for constantly rehabilitating the old villain). He is always available for TV appearances, paid historical lectures and post-paper book reviews on anarchism, mostly deprecatory.

When in 1984 Michael Bettaney, the MI5 officer, 'blew' the cover of London barrister Tony Jones and accused him of spying on the Left, Nicolas Walter rushed into print defending Jones. But Jones admitted regularly dining with Sir Maurice Oldfield (former head of MI6, recalled from retirement by Mrs Thatcher in 1979 to take up the job of Security and Intelligence Co-ordinator in Northern Ireland) at the Athenaeum Club. If we look back to the 70s Walter was saying the Angry Brigade '...far from representing (let alone being) the movement, has alienated itself from the movement...it is still up to each one of us to decide whether we really feel that we are part of the same movement' (Freedom, April 1972)—it was presumed he was referring to the anarchist movement. Bramshill Police College though (which includes the study of the Angry Brigade as part of its syllabus and counter-insurgency training) saw the point clearly: they invited Walter to speak. He refused on 'principle'—was it because they saw no harm in making the invitation public? He said angrily he could not dream of having a friendly drink with people who were imprisoning his

colleagues. Like Pottle and Randle, perhaps.

It is a common assumption that those who over-rant and rage are necessarily agents provocateurs. Might it not be possible that the quiet person in the corner taking notes—the writer and observer rather than the actual participant—is the one needed by security services? Walter writes professionally on anarchism but is not accepted outside the Freedom circle. Though in no way an activist or propagandist, other than as a professional secularist, he maintains a wide documentation on anarchists, peace campaigners, animal libbers, the left generally. His information to H. Montgomery Hyde calls into question why he bothers. In the interview Randle thinks Nicolas Walter merely 'indiscreet'. But there is a track record of too many such 'indiscretions' for this to be other than a charitable view.

We received a 'reply' to our former article from Nicolas Walter too long to go in our last issue; too impatient to wait, he published it in another paper: we won't publish anything knowingly after it's been published elsewhere, so we have summarised it.

He writes sarcastically 'even vermin have the right to reply' (though it is noticeable Freedom—in which he seems to have now a controlling interest—having published various lies from him and his associates, they hastily close the correspondence to answers)—'vermin' as we used it meant people in touch with MI5 and MI6, so the answer is 'Not in an anarchist paper they don't'.

He invites correspondence to 88, Islington High Street, London N.1, without disclosing that this is the HQ of the Rationalist Press Association of which he is managing director and whose publicly advertised associates include not only Montgomery Hyde but Rupert Allason MP. (a.k.a. Nigel West, who ghosts for the Intelligence Services). Another RPA associate, since the early 1950's, is Professor Antony Flew. He is perhaps even more interesting, particularly in relation to the Randle and Pottle affair. Flew is an associate of the Freedom Association, whose head is hoping to bring a private prosecution against Randle and Pottle. Flew also happens to be a member of the Adam Smith Institute (the free market think-tank); is a vice-president of Western Goals (the Moonie-backed organisation linked to the far-right World Anti-Communist League); and has written material (in collaboration with Brian Crozier, Rhodes Boyson, Stephen Haseler and Baroness Cox) for the CIA/MI6 backed Institute for the Study of Conflict. So, within the RPA there are at least three people working for British Intelligence in one form or another, and two of these, together with Walter, are indirectly (or directly) connected with the grassing/prosecution of Pottle and Randle.

The rest of the Walter's letter is pure Jesuitry, such as saying that Montgomery Hyde is no longer an M.P. and retired from Intelligence (but he still writes exposes) and so on. He also said we falsely associated Tony Jones with Freedom, but omits to say we did so after Walter and his associate Sansom wrote post-expose denials and apologies for Jones, and Freedom still invited people to his lectures, even now declining to dissociate themselves from him or his two groups, and still allowing Walter access to address lists and files.

As a final note, we heard on the grapevine that several years ago, before the Randle and Pottle case surfaced, Walter wrote to *Peace News* stating that the Blake escape had been organised by 'the Peace Movement', but *Peace News* wisely refused to publish it. Whatever Walter's motives in confirming 'basic facts' to Montgomery Hyde, we have to ask would you trust your address lists to someone who regularly associates with past and present agents of the Intelligence Service?

Black Flag Collective



BOOK REVIEW

REVIEW

The Wilson Plot by David Leigh.
Who Framed Colin Wallace by Paul Foot.

DAVID LEIGH provides a wealth of documentation on the role of British Intelligence in the destabilisation of the political scene during the Harold Wilson era. He presents the main Intelligence allegations against Wilson, while demonstrating the conspiratorial nature of MI5, particularly in relation to the smearing of the Labour Party in the post World War II years, culminating in the coup period during the late 60's that eventually led to Wilson's resignation in 1976.

The bulk, but not all the detail, of the plot has been covered in *Black Flag* and in *Lobster* magazine. Colin Wallace (see below) can take credit for much of the revelations. Leigh has done an excellent job in completing the missing pieces of the jigsaw and illustrates just what a central part Peter Wright, the former MI5 assistant director, played in the plot. Wright has acquired in some circles a sort of hero status for 'coming clean', but his own exposes were a neat slight of hand. In many ways he was much more 'economical with the truth' than the British Government's representative was during the Court hearings in Australia. Wright epitomised a paranoid, Cold War tendency in MI5 that saw itself as the guardians of the State and having loyalty only to 'the Crown'—a get-out that allowed these extremists to act with impunity.

Leigh's book helped to clarify many aspects of the conspiracy that up until now seem perplexing. But it was some of the anecdotal 'side issues' that I found even more fascinating. For example, those of us in our late '30's and 40's might remember a children's radio personality, Uncle Max, who did Saturday morning programmes every week for many years. 'Uncle Max' was in fact Maxwell Knight, a long-time MI5 officer in 'F' division. During the War Knight was involved in the identification and internment of dissidents. His MI5 duties continued during his period working for the BBC. His interest in children arose out of a repressed paedophilia.

Another side line concerns Walter Citrine, the TUC leader whose name was linked to a leaked Economic League memo (the League always claimed it was forged by the Communist Party). Citrine later left the trade union movement to take up a position as head of the British Electricity Authority in the early 1950's and it was during that time that he sent a formal request to the Cabinet for MI5 to weed out any communists in the power industry. This request for blacklisting was duly met and Roger Hollis, who was then head of MI5's 'C' division, was called in to attend a session of the Cabinet-controlled Emergency Committee (now called the Civil Contingencies Unit) to deal with the matter.

Leigh throws some light, too, on the matter of George Blake, the spy jailed for forty-two years, but who was sprung after five. Blake, it seems, was identified as a spy by a defector, Michael Goloniewski (code name SNIPER), who was an officer in Polish Intelligence. Goloniewski, however, was regarded by his handlers in the CIA as being insane; he claimed he was the last of the Romanovs and much of what he passed on to the CIA was given little credence. While there is no doubt at all that Blake was regularly passing on highly sensitive information to the Soviets, in his role as double-agent, what has never been properly questioned is the possibility that he had a third role, which was placed in jeopardy when Goloniewski forced the British Government into taking action.

The plot against the Wilson government is perhaps best known as a result of the part played by Cecil King, the newspaper magnate. King sounded people out, but to little effect. His meeting with Mountbatten, et al is now well documented, but Leigh mentions, too, the less well known occasion when King addressed young Army officers at Sandhurst and called for the Army to take control should 'the crisis' worsen. It was around this time, Leigh adds, that one officer admitted that there had been secret plans drawn up to use the Shetland Isles as an internment base for dissidents and troublemakers in the event of a coup. Indeed, it was not long afterwards that George Kennedy Young, a former director of MI6, wrote that should the country be invaded around 5000 people would be rounded up and interned 'in a lesser Gaelic archipelago off the West Highlands.' It was also

around this time that there was a proposal from three people connected with the Army and the Secret Service to the Cunard company to hand over the QE2 liner in a time of crisis in order that the vessel could be used as a floating detention centre for the Cabinet.

Leigh adds some background on the 'businessmen' who were backing the plot. Peter Wright referred also to businessmen in the context of a meeting to discuss a takeover, but Leigh mentions that according to General (retired) Walter Walker, a former senior NATO commander, an 'inner committee of bankers, businessmen and barristers' were ready to act should there be 'a collapse of law and order' and were financing the phoney private army, Unison. Included on this 'committee', according



ABOVE: Colin Wallace with Harold Wilson at a press conference at RAF Aldergrove, 15 November 1971.



BELOW: Colin Wallace after his release in 1986.

to Leigh, were Ross McWhirter, who was closely involved with British Intelligence as well as being a close associate of GK Young, and Anthony Cavendish, formerly of MI6.

Sir James Goldsmith (who is now back in business in Britain with a consortium that includes Kerry Packer and the banker, N.M. Rothschild) received a brief mention by Leigh in that Peter Wright had thought of approaching as he knew Goldsmith was 'concerned about the state of Britain and also to be interested in Intelligence and security'. Leigh adds that Goldsmith was 'later to aid his nephew, Antonio von Marx, to set up a British security firm, Zeus, employing many ex-Intelligence and military figures' (*Black Flag* first published this connection, although the actual tip-off came from Leigh himself).

Leigh's own conclusion on the Wilson plot is that it was Wright and some colleagues in MI5, backed up by the paranoid James Jesus Angleton of CIA Counter-Intelligence, who were central to the plot proper. It was not long after Michael Hanley, then head of MI5, had admitted to Wilson he knew of such a plot that Wilson decided to resign. The smears and allegations that formed the plot were eagerly taken up and elaborated on by Intelligence contacts in the Press, but equally the State's own disinformation agency, Information Research Department (IRD), played a crucial role in the

manufacture and circulation of false stories not just about Wilson and his colleagues, but about any politician or grouping that was seen as a threat. This brings us neatly to the book by Paul Foot on the Colin Wallace affair.

Wallace was a Senior Information Officer working to Information Policy, which was attached to the Army in Northern Ireland. Information Policy was supposed to be a sort of press relations division, but in fact worked closely with IRD and took orders, too, from MI6 and then MI5. Foot's book reproduces Wallace's controversial notes on the Clockwork Orange campaign which named British politicians not just in Labour, but also in the Liberal and Conservative parties who were identified as enemies; it also named politicians on the right who were seen as the right sort of candidates for any takeover or transition towards a more hardline government. Much of this has already been covered in *Lobster* magazine as well as by ourselves, but Foot's book, written with the full cooperation of Wallace, brings together all the details of Clockwork Orange, the Kincora Boys Home scandal, and the subsequent mishaps (including a manslaughter conviction) that later occurred to Wallace.

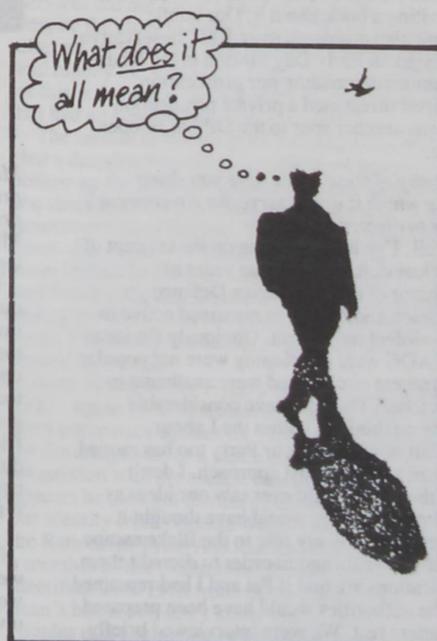
The book on Wallace nicely complements the book by Leigh in that they cover much of the

rumours to create instability within the various political factions and paramilitary groups, etc. With a growing cover-up over the Kincora Boys home scandal (which involved prominent members of Protestant paramilitary groups being protected/blackmailed) and the increasing use of Information Policy in psychological operations targeted at mainland politicians both inside and outside the Government, Wallace decided to resign from Clockwork Orange and took up a position on the mainland. He was then forced to resign his commission after being falsely charged with handing over 'sensitive' (but false) information to a journalist (this was his job!). He found himself blacklisted and after a lengthy period without work finally managed to get a civilian job in West Sussex. However, even though he had clearly become a target for smear himself because of his inside knowledge of Clockwork Orange, Information Policy, etc he decided at this point to exploit his experience in Information Policy and approached Airey Neave, the then Opposition spokesperson on Northern Ireland and the eminence gris behind Thatcher, with information about the dirty tricks business. A year after Harold Wilson's resignation Wallace also sent the former prime minister all the details of the Clockwork Orange campaign, but Wilson kept this information to himself, unwilling or unable to proceed further.

It was not long afterwards that Wallace found himself the victim of some strange incidents, but ultimately he found himself on a murder charge where he was accused of killing the husband of a colleague of his. Foot presents some strong evidence to demonstrate that Wallace was innocent of this and that another, or others, may have gone to great lengths to implicate him. Wallace was eventually convicted of manslaughter and got ten years. He believes he was framed, but he may equally have been the victim of a miscarriage in that the evidence in his favour was not given the full weight that was due.

While imprisoned the Kincora Boys scandal finally broke. Gerry Fitt, the Northern Ireland politician, then named Wallace as having information on the scandal. To the disbelief of Wallace the man who was appointed to head an Inquiry into the scandal was none other than the detective superintendent from West Sussex who had taken charge of the murder case against Wallace.

Numerous approaches were made to Wallace to testify to the Inquiry, but Wallace suspected a trap as no assurances had been given to him that he wouldn't be prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act. His hands were tied until these assurances were given. Without his testimony the Inquiry thus, wrongly, exonerated the authorities of any blame, but after an outcry another inquiry was instigated. It was then that Fred Holroyd, a former Army captain in the SMIU (Special Military Intelligence Unit—a dirty tricks outfit that ran agents and infiltrators in the paramilitary, mostly Protestant, organisations), contacted Wallace. Holroyd had also been the target himself of dirty tricks (the Army tried to get him declared insane) after he decided to spill the beans on the work of the SMIU. After meeting up with Wallace, Holroyd decided to help him put together a dossier on Kincora. This was sent to Thatcher, who passed it on to the Official Inquiry, but because Wallace had still not been given immunity from prosecution under the Official Secrets Act he was unable to add to the dossier and therefore the Inquiry discounted, and even attempted to discredit, his evidence. More 'incidents' were to take place: a copy of the dossier passed to the MP, Teddy Taylor, went missing and then



BOOK REVIEW

continued from previous page

mysteriously reappeared; another copy was sent to a Parliamentary select committee, but was 'stolen'.

Then the Peter Wright affair broke and soon after *Lobster* magazine published a story on Kincora that led to contact between the two people who published the magazine and Wallace. As a result *Lobster* published a special edition on *Clockwork Orange* and Wallace's claims that he was framed. (The only other paper at the time to pick up on this and give serious coverage to *Clockwork Orange* was *Black Flag*, which published an article by this reviewer relating Wallace's story to the wider psy-ops involving right-wing groups). But with Wright's *Spycatcher* making the headlines Wallace's story finally got a much-belated hearing in the mainstream media, despite some initial censorship. Everyone wanted to jump on the bandwagon, and even the Alliance (Liberals/SDP) put out a statement warning MI5 to leave Wallace alone. TV coverage included a Channel 4 News series (Robin Ramsay of *Lobster* assisted in the research) and an *After Dark* programme that included Wallace and Ramsay. On the Channel 4 News programme Clive Ponting (the former head of the legal department of the Ministry of Defence and who was prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act for leaking information relating to the Belgrano affair) stated that at a meeting in 1980 with two MI5 officers it was said that 'there was never any suspicion that Wallace was making these stories up'...but that he had to be stopped. Not long after this intense interest in Wallace by the mainstream media the Cabinet Office began to put out disinformation stories about him, but it was *The Independent* newspaper that curiously decided to run them. Although *Lobster* magazine published an article defending Wallace (and Holroyd) the article in *The Independent* had the effect of frightening some journalists off. *Lobster* continued relentlessly to champion Wallace's cause, but his story was not properly taken up again until Paul Foot offered to write a book.

Who Framed Colin Wallace is a very readable book, but Foot could well have expanded more on the psychological operations aspects. He fails, too, to cover a number of inconsistencies, which need to be addressed. For example Wallace claims he didn't like the direction of his job vis a vis *Clockwork Orange* and the targeting of mainstream politicians, but in his line of work, which was basically Intelligence, this is all part of the course and he should not have been surprised at some of the aspects, at least, of the dirty tricks he was asked to become involved in. The dirty tricks directed at him were apparently as a result of his disagreement over *Clockwork Orange* and his decision to resign from the campaign, but his own exemplary record in psychological operations must surely have placed him well above suspicion as a potential leaker. When he finally did come out with his story it was not to the left he went to first, but to Airey Neave, of the right and who himself, through his work in MI9, had close contacts with the Intelligence services. He cooperated fully with Neave, who he advised. This in itself is paradoxical in that Wallace apparently left *Clockwork Orange* because he thought it too extreme, but had no compunction about later working with Neave. Then, to add to the contradictions, Wallace relayed the *Clockwork Orange* story to Harold Wilson, who was one of its main victims and who was on the opposite side of the political spectrum to Neave. If the Security services were aware of Wallace's dealings with Wilson they would indeed have been wary of him. Wallace seemed unprepared for smears against himself—yet his training in this business should have left him fully prepared and able to counter them. Foot describes Wallace as being completely loyal to the Military and to the British establishment—and this would certainly appear to be the case, even today—yet Wallace must have known that his claims, even though they were mainly concerned with a faction within the Security services, would never be openly admitted to by the Government of the day. He himself would be seen by the Establishment as a rogue and ranks would be closed. His chance to get the truth accepted now seems to have passed. At the height of the Wright affair Wallace's story got sufficient coverage, belated as it was, and invoked wide interest in the whole dirty tricks period. It was at that point that the story should have been pushed further—not by those already backing Wallace (they'd already done their best) but by others in the Media, who clearly failed to act when the time was right. In the end the Government rode the storm and the dirty tricks story became a side issue and seen as just another conspiracy that had its day. Perhaps there will be another chance, perhaps another

disaffection. Either way, the full truth still needs to be told. Wallace deserves credit for telling most of that at least. He has gained nothing from coming clean, unlike Wright who has made a million by saying very little.

The story continues. In the wake of the spy expulsions at the end of May, BBC News ran the story that Labour MP's were being blackmailed by the Soviets; within a matter of days the Foreign Office was forced to put out a statement that the story was completely false. The BBC stated that the story originated with 'senior British sources', but refused to name either MI5 or MI6, and later the minister of state, William Waldegrave, admitted he had briefed the BBC but refuses to reveal his own source(s).

The need to monitor *Clockwork Orange* today, and further developments in psychological operations, is as necessary as ever.

LEAGUE WATCH

continued from front page

Economic League, which plans to compile a list of gays and lesbians to be sold to insurance companies because of Aids (which equally affects heterosexuals and rarely lesbians). A member of Anti Fascist Action, who has been active in working with football supporters to keep fascists from the terraces, told League Watch that the football 'hooligans' the Economic League also want to identify, via Court and Police information, in the lead-up to a possible national identity card system, are hardly going to take this sort of infringement on their personal liberties lying down and will be taking a greater interest in the activities of the Economic League.

By targeting particular sections of society the Economic League is making a grave mistake. Its bread and butter are so-called subversives as well as trade union activists, but difficulties in identifying industrial militants, because of changes in tactics due to the anti-trade union laws, has meant that the Economic League has been forced to seek new markets—and basically anyone goes! The Economic League will find that it has not just the unions to contend with but all those in our society who are opposed to their KGB-style tactics. League Watch hopes to assist opponents of blacklisting and industrial terrorism—for that is what the Economic League practices, when it comes down to it—by bringing together as much information about the blacklisting business as possible and supporting local and national campaigns to put the blacklists out of business. The support of the MSF and of Leeds TUC, the increasing interest from other regional TUC's and national unions, and the endorsement of this new initiative by a growing number of nationally and internationally known individuals in the media, the arts, the legal profession, etc has helped encourage League Watch in the task ahead. Researchers employed by unions, as well as independent researchers and journalists, have offered League Watch access to their files on the blacklists. League Watch hopes soon to be able to load all this information on a database that has been specially designed for the anti-blacklisting agency and which will enable labour organisations and opponents of blacklisting generally to confront organisations like the Economic League much more effectively.

It has taken seventy years for the Economic League to be faced with an organisation specifically created to put it out of business. It has been seventy years too long.

BONNANO/STASI

ALFREDO BONNANO and Giuseppe Stasi were arrested in Bergamo, Italy, in February, while staging a raid on a jewellers shop. The police were lying in wait and they were disarmed and taken to police HQ where, after a routine beating up, they were held in custody (which in Italy means for some years before trial).

As both were Anarchist activists, and Bonnano publisher of a prolific number of anarchist books, pamphlets and newspapers, there was a highly coloured version in the local press of every single unsolved robbery, insinuating their involvement and that of the anarchist movement as a whole.

Bonnano was nine years ago implicated with twenty others on charges which ranged from armed insurrection to civil war—all of which were dropped for total lack of evidence involved. Though there is no denial by the comrades concerned that they fell foul of the law on this occasion, it looks as if the authorities will not be satisfied with less than a frame-up of all known Anarchists, many of whom have already been raided, though unrelated to expropriations.

ANARCHY: BACK IN THE USSR!

DEMANDING THE abolition of the Supreme Soviet, anarchists in Russia and the Ukraine have begun to organise and recently participated in a mass demonstration in Moscow. Their black and red flag was clearly visible in the forefront of the demonstration, which was relayed on television news programmes and the presence of the anarchists even commented upon in the Western media. The open appearance in the Soviet Union of anarchists is in itself an historical event: not since the early days of Lenin have anarchists been able to raise their flag and demand that power be returned to the Soviets.

The anarchists who took part in the demonstration, that included up to 100,000 people, were all members of the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists (KAS). The KAS was formed earlier this year when anarchists from different parts of the Soviet Union met in Moscow at a secret conference. Although still a relatively small organisation they can now boast members in cities as far apart as Leningrad, Irkutsk, Kazan, Kujbyshev, Ryazan and Kharkov as well as Moscow itself. They hope to organise industrially and have fraternal relations with the independent trade union, SMOM, which is also small but longer established. KAS has members in various industries, particularly in the Education sector.

Already KAS has made links with anarcho-syndicalist organisations in the West and Danish anarcho-syndicalists have been in personal contact with them, attending their conference. The KAS has its own paper, *Obsjina* (Fraternity), and also hopes to revive *Golos Truda*, the paper of the early Russian anarcho-syndicalist movement. KAS also hopes to organise the public celebrations of the anniversary of the birth of Nestor Makhno, the Ukrainian anarchist insurrectionist.

Interest in the Soviet Union in anarchism and anarchist ideas is widening and recently a widely circulated magazine, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, published a lengthy and favourable article on Makhno. We have obtained a copy of this article, translated in English, extracts from which will be published in our next issue. However, in this issue we publish, inside, extracts from an article on the Russian anarchist, Peter Kropotkin, which was originally published in *Sovetskaya Kultura*, also with a wide circulation.

The resurgence in anarchism in the Soviet Union heralds an exciting time, with new possibilities. Links are being formed and we are optimistic that it will not be long before once again the traditional challenge to state power, that was so much a characteristic of the Russian Revolution before the Bolsheviks took over, will reassert itself. For our part we will make whatever contacts are necessary, pass on information and news, and provide support in every possible way.

GLASNOST AND KROPOTKIN

AS REPORTED in the last *Black Flag*, an article on the Russian anarchist, Peter Kropotkin, has been published in the Soviet journal *Sovetskaya Kultura*. For the first time in many decades the Soviet press is now re-examining the anarchist tradition that was so much an essential part of the revolutionary process which led to the overthrow of Tsarist tyranny. An extract from the article, discussing the anarchist tradition, is reproduced below. An English version of the article as a whole can be found in *Pravda International*.

'For some reason many Soviet historians have seemed rather confused, or rather confusing, about Kropotkin's anarchism and about the anarchism of the revolutionary movement, as though it were something vile. In fact, anarchism is the most radical of all the tendencies in utopian socialism, and was, to begin with, a serious rival to scientific socialism. It was sometimes very productive, sometimes resolving contradictions of revolutionary theory and practice. The anarchists intuitively understood one very important problem—the problem of the psychology of power, but they were unable to solve it dialectically. They believed that any power, especially power wielded in the name of the people, was evil, riddled with terrible consequences. 'It will be no easier for the people if the stick is called the people's stick,' wrote Bakunin. Unfortunately the history of Stalin's time and that of Maoist China has shown there was more sense in this argument than was at first recognised during the struggle for a theoretical foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In certain historical conditions 'people's governments' really could be turned into simple camouflage for anti-popular dictatorships, made even more terrible by the fact that the people would look upon it as something they themselves had put into place....

THE ELITE WILL SURVIVE

THE GOVERNMENT has announced that when they leave Hong Kong there will be a 'safe haven' for its leading citizens. At the same time that Sir Geoffrey Howe says (bearing in mind the date of leaving Hong Kong may coincide with British elections) that Britain could not possibly take three and a half million people, Mrs Thatcher says she 'believes Britain has a duty to a core of entrepreneurs and others' (*Evening Standard*, June 7th). It will be the policy they will adopt when the nuclear war starts—they will have a duty to a hard core of entrepreneurs and them only.

Sir Eldon Griffiths (Conservative MP) expresses the traditional Tory view likeliest to prevail (*Daily Telegraph*, June 7th). He thinks we 'must offer British passports to our fellow

Alfredo has many suspended sentences hanging over him for matters related to anarchist propaganda.

Insurrection (London) can be contacted for up-to-date news, or contributions to the defence fund can be sent to them (address: BM Elephant, London W.C.1.3XX)

N.B. Meanwhile, from Bonnano's home town of Palermo (Sicily), comes news that the police are abandoning the fight against the Mafia, the Establishment of crime in Italy and elsewhere. State prosecutor Gianfranco Garofalo states 'Italy has surrendered to the Mafia'. The acquittal of eighty leading Mafiosi, and jailing of only twenty others leading to immediate transfer to luxurious hospital rooms and speedy release, has caused anti-Mafia judges to ask for transfer north lest they seek revenge. Justice Minister, Giuliano Vassalli said the courts were releasing mafiosi wholesale on grounds of good behaviour (2,992 in six months). Said a senior police officer (*The Observer* 23rd April), 'Why should our boys risk their lives every day when well-guarded judges and politicians scuttle at the first threat?'

But if they can no longer protect the public how can they justify their salaries? Answer: by defending them against an imaginary threat.

subjects of the Queen in Hong Kong' even if it concerns a million or more British Chinese because 'Hong Kong Chinese could prove an immense human asset for Britain that, in the Nineties, will face a halving of the numbers of our own young people coming on to the labour market, as a result of the demographic trough.' In plain words, rather than have a labour shortage and higher wages demanded, bring in more people: then, when there's unemployment again and the extra labour's unpopular, maintain your power by populist cries that the 'human asset' is a 'national liability'.

It is disgraceful, though typical, that the alternative presented to three million Chinese (rightly or wrongly) is that they must be oppressed and massacred in three years time, or collectively take to the boats and become 'boat people' and refugees. If they have freedom now, they have the right to organise, they have the means to raise militias, to organise defence, to take the city for themselves. Three million united are not rubbish to be swept under the carpet: it depends whether they are three million strong or three million weak. We reject the assumption of politicians that Hong Kong must docilely accept whatever system is thrust upon them by treaties signed by 19th century statesmen benefitting only big business.

LEE HOUSE COMMUNITY CENTRE

The Centre is still flourishing, the vegan cafe is open from Thursdays to Sundays 3pm-8pm and, for women only, on Mondays at the same time. The bookshop is expanding too and on Tuesdays and Thursday evenings at 8pm there are video shows. For kids and the young at heart there is a skate-board ramp at the back. The Centre apparently faces eviction in the summer, so make use of it while you can!

Lee House Centre,
6a Rectory Road,
Stoke Newington, London N16.)

LOBSTER—SPECIAL ISSUE

Subtitled 'A Who's Who of the British Secret State', this special issue of 111 pages is a reference item containing a list of people, and their biographical profiles, involved in the Intelligence services. It is meticulously researched and essential reading. £5 from 214 Westbourne Avenue, Hull HU5 3JB.

ABC

Plymouth Anarchists ran a sponsored bike ride for John Perotti. It was completed successfully and they'd like to hear from sponsors who had forms. Thanks to those who've already sent in the cash.

Preston Black Cross need support and funds. All interested should contact them at PO Box 172, Preston 1.



Two fascists and 27 anti-fascists were arrested at Rochdale. Most of them were bound over for breach of the peace when a fascist hate demo was interrupted. Conspiracy (to breach the peace!) charges were dropped against three anarchists, but another was fined 70 for assault on a plain clothes cop who just happened to be attacking his friend at the time. Four others faced offensive weapons charges, one of which has now been heard (100 fine). Three anti-fascists face trial this month. Two have had deportation orders served on them already. Most of the defendants were anarchists, the remaining being militant young Asians.

Support to: Rochdale Community against racism and fascism, c/o Rochdale CRC, Champness Hall, Drake Street, Rochdale, OL16 1PB (tel—0706-352374)

In the letter from Tall Paul (May issue) a remark should have read: 'Undoubtedly Douglas Hurd hates communists and it is not a good idea to be one when overstaying in this country...' Inadvertently the words 'one when' were omitted.

POLL TAX E.P.

'Punk Aid—Smash The Poll Tax', the EP, is out now. Features many groups, including Chumbawamba, AOA, Sad Society, Alternative ID, Parade, Feed Your Head, Oi Polloi, and Active Minds. All proceeds to Community Resistance Against The Poll Tax. 2 UK, 2.50 Europe, \$5 elsewhere (includes postage). Cheques, etc to John Adams or Derek Allan at Punk Aid (Raw Ass Records), Pidgeonhole CR, c/o 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh EH1 3LE.

Answers to Quiz

1. It is originally a reference to the aristocratic Herbert family.
2. The question lends itself to jokey political answers, but in fact Adolf's brother Alois married in Liverpool an Irishwoman named Brigid; Mrs Hitler (imagine if she'd become a traffic warden and was named in evidence!) had a son Patrick, who avoided publicity (he may indeed still be alive).
3. Some castles were built for early Welsh princes; but the majority by the Norman-French aristocracy (like the Herberts!) who were also building them in England to oppress the English.
4. Thomas Paine, by reason of his republican and anti-clerical appeals to the British working class from which he sprang, aroused particular hatred and disdain among the English upper class which they never felt for rebels who were 'gentlemen', and 'Tom' was meant as a contemporary patronising diminutive—which has caught on through historians—not a friendly one, as with the later 'Abe' Lincoln.
5. Finally accepted by the French literary and art establishment, it has had a gigantic exhibition at the showy Pompidou Centre in Paris, and is now in London at the Institute of Contemporary Arts.
6. Karl Marx and his servant Helene Demuth, Friedrich Engels and his housekeeper Mary Burns.

LETTERS

Dear Comrades,
Psychopaths display three obvious things: destructive malice, cunning and egomania. Walter's attack on comrades combine all three. To undermine their defence of comrades on trial is vile. So is putting their livelihoods in danger. The treachery is cleverly cloaked in a 'moral' stand of truth and non-violence, which apparently deceives many. The egomania is obvious—the attacks only ever have one author, despite their supposedly principled basis, though other fools may join in later.

When Walter was a member of one left group he had his nose in their files all the time. When he had been through them he left the group covering his departure with a denunciation of its violence. He wasn't in the group for long, because they had little in their files. He must continue to hang round Freedom because their address lists are less well guarded.

Psychopaths are dangerous people. In the past they betrayed or attempted to betray whole revolutions. Revolutions, though, seem to know how to deal with them. Do we?

Harold Dancy

Dear Black Flag,
After reading the Blasphemy issue in 'Black Flag' (No 190) I felt thoroughly disgusted that an anarchist paper could write what amounts to outright racism. Clearly the BF collective has had its head buried in the sand for the last few weeks, how else could they fail to notice the racist hysteria that has dominated this issue.

In the aftermath of Iran's death threat on Salmon Rushdie, the British state used the defence of 'freedom of speech' (when normally it wouldn't give two shits about what happened to lefties like Rushdie) to attack Iran and as justification for the deportation of Iranians from this country (of course on the basis that they are a security risk) whilst other Iranians living in this country have had to put up with increasing harassment.

It is not only Iranians who are at risk, for the gutter press has used the issue to stir up hatred for all Muslims with their indignant calls that

they should 'go back to where they came from' if they don't like the 'British way of life'.

In this climate it is utterly disgusting for 'Black Flag' to write an article that refers to Muslims as 'Mad Mullahs' and declares that 'those who defend the right of others to practise their faith are liberals'. Maybe it supports the British State attacking immigrants for their religious beliefs?

To imply as 'Black Flag' does that the same level of opposition would not occur to blaspheming of Christianity and to declare that 'children in British schools—of whatever origin—must be set free from imams, ayatollahs, mad mullahs, veiled women and dancing dervishes...' is to line up with the British Establishment when it talks about the barbarism of non-Christian religions.

Clearly BF has no understanding of what religion is, or else it would be able to see that in Iran it is one stratum of the Iranian ruling class that has used religion for its own political ends. It would also see that oppressed people will often turn to what appears to be an anti-imperialist religion. BF's crude attacks on religion are hardly likely to break Muslims from their faith!

To write an article on Rushdie and not attack racism, to accuse Muslims of sneaking in religious equality with racial equality, makes BF lose all its credibility of being an anti-racist paper.

Denise Robinson (for London Anarchist Workers Group)

COMMENT: We must admit to not reading the Sun and co but the only 'racist' aspect of the 'Salmon' (sic!) Rushdie affair is the fact that anyone can be an agnostic (and even commit the dreadful sin of apostasy from Islam) and not be noticed, except, it seems, someone of a particular ethnic origin.

Obviously not all Muslims are mad mullahs—any more than all Catholics are lazy monks—but we will encourage the kids of those subject to them to disobey. In the case of most religions other than Islam, years of struggle have succeeded in getting a measure of liberation from them: no religions freely give up domination.

OBITUARY—FERNANDO DEL GROSSO

YET ANOTHER memory of the war-time Anarchist resistance was recalled with the death of Fernando Del Grosso (who died in November).

Born in the Abruzzi, 'homeland' of Italian Anarchism, as a young man in 1943 Fernando Del Grosso fought Nazi-fascism in the mountains with the partisan unit of republicans and anarchists, Giustizia e Libertà. They tried to liberate Chieti before the arrival of Allied troops, and two of Fernando's brothers and other partisans were captured by the Nazis, tortured and hung with wire from trees on the high street. Fernando cut down the bodies of his brothers and buried them when a second attack by the partisans was successful, afterwards (disguised as a priest) following the SS command to Verona where he entered the building and killed the marshal who had tortured his brothers.

Though he escaped, he was captured by the SS at Fossoli (though not recognised) and sent to a concentration camp in Germany. He escaped and rejoined his partisan unit (re-named the Del Grosso Brothers Unit) and fought on to 1945.

After the war Fernando's dead brothers were awarded medals, but he refused one because of his aversion to the new regime. With the revival of fascism in the Piazza Fontana outrage and the police murder of Pinelli, Fernando was to the fore in protests and demonstrations; he was involved with factory and neighbourhood struggles and was arrested many times. In the struggle against the Army in the early seventies, Fernando was arrested, but the case never came to trial because the judge would not proceed against him once his record came to light.

Like Pinelli, an active member of the Anarchist Black Cross, he concerned himself with political prisoners right up to his death in November, at 68. His last fight was in Paris in defence of Alfa Romeo car worker, Salvatore Nicosia, as a result of which Fernando landed in jail and lost his home, but a network of human and political solidarity came to the aid of this white-bearded anarchist veteran who had fought for a free society so long. A black flag covered the coffin from which the funeral driver had already removed the crucifixes as a mark of respect.

Source: Umanità Nova via DM

The fear of some Bradford-centred fundamentalists (who all oppose physically attacking racism) that they're losing their young caused the reaction to Rushdie's anti-racist but moderately irreligious book; they appealed to Khomeini who saw the chance of a come-back from the disastrous war against Iraq by giving out the line, since echoed by the trots, and picked up at second-hand by the London grouplet AWG.

It needs a vivid imagination to suppose the British State attacks immigrants for their religious beliefs. As a matter of fact, a good deal of the present Cabinet are non-Christian made-it-in-two-generations (which hasn't escaped the Ayatollah's groupies!)

How did the State 'attack Iran'? They could hardly let an author be killed, or even prosecute him themselves for a few remarks about a Mecca camel driver and his wives which transgressed no conceivable law; they had no choice but to take credit for defence of free speech—though his book has been all but withdrawn (a cheap edition will not be published) and he has been reduced to living underground—and they say officially his book gives 'great offence' to Muslims.

If Denise's grouplet go round peddling this sort of humbug and pretending they're anarchists, let alone workers, they give great offence to us. How do they think we should respond?

Thanks for the great writing and reporting during the past year. J. H. (Brighton)
... Glad to see you're managing to keep going against all the odds. Everything else worth reading seems to have disappeared, other than Direct Action and Lobster. Twenty years of the Flag! Surely your survival is a greater achievement than Mrs T who's had the 'assistance' of MI5, the Economic League, big business, police, military, Labour Party, David Owen, NATO etc! But maybe the celebrations can wait another ten years when you're still around and Mrs T is just another entry in Who Was Who! RB (Manchester)
... 'Happy Birthday!' comes from many... I hold deep respect for those who maintain and practise their faith and this you are certainly doing. Steve (Crewe)
... Thanks for giving a sense of solidarity these two decades—the isolation disappears when the letterbox slaps open. Roy (Bath)
... I hope Black Flag keeps alive. It certainly keeps me alive. Esther.

In Brief

We skipped an issue, due both to our rather rocky financial position and loads of other things our editorial collective was engaged on relative to our movement generally. Hopefully loads of overdue subs will be forthcoming from those thinking themselves stricken from the records! (Prisoners free; those not working, postage only). Apologies to all those whose great letters haven't been answered: we feel bad about it but it's a full time job to do so and our collective is entirely part time unpaid.

Suggestions have been made that we change the lay-out to magazine format: how do readers feel? (The ultimate decision will be governed by expense but nice to know what our friends think about it).

