Chartist Martyr

Every town has its unsung heroes, its rebels against the oppression of their times, its martyrs in the cause of freedom. The name of one such has been rescued from oblivion in recent years by the formation of a society named after him in Sheffield, the scene of his political artivity.

muel Holberry was born in 1814, the youngest of none children of a farm labourer, in the village of Gamston, near Retford, Notts. In 1832 he joined the army, but became disgusted with the life and bought himself out three years later. He then settled in Sheffield, and later joined the Sheffield Chartists, becoming one of their leaders. The Chartist movement is considered to be the first national working class movement in this country. Their aims were reformist, their object an electoral and parliamentary system which we take for granted today. Yet they were put down with all the savagery and brutality of a ruling class afraid for its privileges. Public meetings were harassed and broken up by the authorities, resulting in street fighting and the

> BEYOND THE FRAGMENTS ORBEYOND THE LEFT?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3. to bury the fundamental ten- Government has tried provocasion between reform (the self-revolutionizing tendency frame-ups, a continued policy of Capitalism) and revolution of silence; it has held on to (the abolition of Capitalism). what was confiscated, it has This tension is lost in a debate on the tangential aspects of leftism - that is other unions to get started not to deny their importance first, plus recognition. It but to assert that they reult from the function of leftism. Like Capitalism the to Government or at least left is in crisis. Its pleas political machination. Every for people to mobilise behind time a movement reaches a it fall on deaf ears (for ex- point where it looks like going ample, the 'Day of Action' fiasco of May 14th.) Those people involved in the left though lesser situation who have a greater sensitivity to the movement of the 1944, when the movement at last class and to their own frust- reached a high peak; and ration are well represented at this conference. There are also those here who are repression was also being used essentially engaged in a flight from reality - horri- to say one side or another are fied by the social decay they 'the provocateurs' - it may be, see around them, they retreat but not necessarily so, and was into even more vacuous phrase-in neither of the instances ology. Disenchanted with the quoted. But note that when left, they entertain liberal repression hit the IWW in illusions that are ridiculous America, there was equally a even by the standards of the split. This is a universal old 19th Century utopians.." factor that must always be taken (Form "Beyond the Fragments or Beyond the Left?" a leaflet some comrades prepared for the conference - copies available form Rising Free, writes, prophesying that "with-Box 666, 182 Upper Street, London N.1. We also welcome contacts with groups or

individuals.

arrest of leaders, even the more moderate ones.

Reformists were transformed into revolutionaries by this oppressive reaction, and attempts to coordinate a general uprising were supported by the Sheffield group. Action was planned for the nights of 11/12 January 1840, when Holberry and his comrades were to take over the Town Hall. The plan was betrayed by an informer, and Holberry and some of his group were arrested almost at the moment of setting out.

Holberry was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for 'seditious conspiracy', but in the atrocious conditions in Northallerton House of Correction he became ill with consumption and died in York Castle on House of Correction he became ill with consumption and died in York Castle on June 21st 1842, just as his conditional release had been granted as a consequence of widespread public agitation and support.

Holberry was hailed as a martyr and became something of a legend, before being almost forgotten. Then in 1978 the Holberry Society was formed, dedicat-

Continued from Page 7. tions, armed fascist attacks, legalised the opponents of the CNT and given huge funds to is too much to think that the split does not owe something ahead and becoming effective, a split occurs. (A parallel, existed in this country in immediately split over trivial personalities at a time when and all was lost). It is not into account.

Has "the damage been done and the death throes are irreversible", as one militant in a very short space of time the whole thing will be reduced, as in France, Italy, Britain, etc to a handful of tiny

ed to preserving his name, and to promoting the study and understanding of Sheffield working class history. With a mixture of Trade Union backing and academic respectability, and a strong working-class commitment, it seems to be achieving quite a success, with over a hundred individual members and some union affiliations. Holberry's bust has been placed in the Town Hall, and on June 28th Joan Maynard M.P. gave the annual oration by the Holberry Fountain.

So what, you may say, has all this to do with us? Holberry wasn't an anarchist, and we have our own

AN ACTIVIST

No, Holberry wasn't an anarchist, but he wasn't a marxist or a socialist or a Labour Party member either. He was simply an activist in resisting oppression and fighting for freedom, according to the understanding of his times. His heritage is non-sectarian and belongs to all of us.

Another point is that he was a local hero. His story and those of others like him up and down the country, could inspire and encourage people who wouldn't be interested in Zapata or Makhno. This could develop into an attitude towards libertarian ideas and actions far transcending the merely parochial interest which started it.

A booklet about Samuel Holberry, and more information about the society, and (on request) advice about forming similar societies may be obtained from the Secretary of the Holberry Society, 74 Emerson Crescent, Sheffield

SHEILA BLANCHARD

minority grouplets, clinging to empty structures with no social relevance"? That may be and only time will tell, but I do not think it will happen so long as there are decentralised syndicates on the present lines.

If the workers have a structure that is based on their independent control horizontally and not vertically they have something that political infiltration cannot destroy. The structure of the CNT is something that has survived the worst crises including genocide itself. It will be harmful if there arises (from one side or the other) a "reformist CNT" collaborating with the Government and engaging in "normal" trade union (i.e. vertical union) activity; but that won't prevent a traditionally revolutionary and decentralist one also existing, it will merely cause it embarrassment. Ultimately, what purpose could the hypothetical "reformist" body serve anyone that isn't equally and better served by the socialist UGT?

For this reason I express cautious optimism. There are some actions within the CNT that give cause for alarm and criticism - e.g. the business of expelling members (not so serious as it would be in British trade unionism, where with a closed shop policy, they would be deprived of their livelihood, but hardly libertarian all the

MASS MURDERER AND POLICE

MAKE DEAL

In September the trial of

total of six murders opened

It is alleged that they

Harry McKinney is charged

with all six murders. Terence

Pinfold is charged with two,

and the two other defendants

is John Childs who had prev-

iously pleaded guilty to all

six murders and was sentenced

to life imprisonment last

year. In return for a life

sentence without a minimum

judge, which could mean his

release within a few years,

Flag we will examine the

nature of the deal struck

his co-operation with the

Childs agreed to give evidence

by Childs and the results of

police in the Court Circular.

In the next issue of Black

recommendation from the

for the prosecution.

with one each. All have pleaded

The main prosecution witness

four men charged with a

carried out a series of

murders for payment, that

they were "underworld hit-

at the Old Bailey.

'not quilty'.

The fossilised AIT liked the fossiled French Anarchist Federation is taking a 100 per cent pro-"official" stand thinking the (fossilised) ready-made leadership from Toulouse is under attack. It is, but not from the split. The fossilised would-be leadership (which may be calling itself, in secret, the FAI, or not) has to be eliminated from congresses as it is by virtue of their independence from the syndicates. But beyond that, no grounds for a genuine split exists. Those who would polarise are those who want "normality" - which is to say, Statist trade unionism, not anarcho-syndicalism.

Albert Meltzer.



Vol. VI

No. 5

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

POLAND; SNATCHING DEFEAT FROM THE JAUSOF UICTORY

THE POLISH WORKING CLASS HAS PROVIDED THE WORLD WITH A REMARKABLE EXAMPLE OF HOW TO SNATCH DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY. THE EVENTS IN POLAND CAN THEREFORE ONLY INSTRUCT WORKING PEOPLE IN THE FATAL CONSEQUENCES OF IGNORING THEIR OWN STRENGTHS, COMPROMISING WITH THEIR ENEMIES AND FAILING TO CONCEIVE OF A TRULY DIFFERENT WORLD WITHOUT MASTERS.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THIS COLLECTIVE FAILURE IS ALL THE GREATER BECAUSE OF THE POLES' ACCOMPLISHMENTS. WITH-OUT TRADE UNIONS, WITHOUT A "VANGUARD PARTY", WITH-OUT ACCESS TO STATE-OWNED RADIO, TELEVISION, OR NEWS-PAPERS, THE POLISH WORKERS WERE ABLE TO INITIATE A GENERAL STRIKE. THIS STRIKE SPREAD THROUGH THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF THE NATION, PARALYSED FOREIGN COMMERCE AND EFFECTIVELY BROUGHT THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF POLAND TO A STANDSTILL. THESE FEATS WERE ATTAINED NOTWITHSTANDING THE TOTAL DOMINATION OF POLAND BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE RUSSIAN ARMY SINCE THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD

THE POLISH WORKERS COMPELLED NEGOTIATIONS AND APPARENT CONCESSIONS FROM THEIR RULERS CAUSED THE PREMATURE RETIRE-MENT OF A SIGNIFICANT POR-TION OF THE ENTRENCHED LEAD-ERSHIP (INCLUDING PRIME MIN-ISTER GIEREK) AND OBTAINED, AT LEAST ON PAPER, RIGHTS WHICH ARE UNPRECEDENTED IN THE EASTERN BLOC. YET FOR ALL THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS (AND THE STORY IS CERTAINLY NOT COMPLETE IN THAT RESPECT) WE SHOULD NOT FAIL TO OB-SERVE HOW AND WHY THEY HAVE FALLEN SO SHORT OF THE MARK OF THEIR OWN FREEDOM. IN MAKING AN ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND IT IS MPORTANT TO TRY AND AVOID THE TRAP OF SEEING ONLY WHAT FITS NEATLY WITH A PRE-EXISTING VIEWPOINT. WE HAVE NO USE FOR THE SELF-SERVING HYPOCRISY OF MAINSTREAM POLITICIANS

LIKE CARTER AND THATCHER WHO PRAISE THE "HEROIC POLISH WORKERS" FOR ACTS WHICH WOULD BRING SWIFT AND VIOLENT DENUNCIATION IF UNDERTAKEN BY AMERICAN OR BRITISH WORKERS. NOR DO WE HAVE ANY USE FOR THE POLITICIANS OF THE LEFT SUCH AS THE COMMUNIST PARTY WHO SEE ONLY THE WORK OF "ANTI-SUCIALIST ELEMENTS" IN POLAND. NEITHER SHOULD ANARCHISTS TRY TO EXPLAIN AWAY SUCH DISCONCERTING PHENOMENA AS CATHOLIC MASSES IN THE GDANSK SHIP-YARDS OR CHOOSE TO DISMISS THE ENTIRE EVENT AS INSIG-NIFICANT BECAUSE OF THE WORKERS' REFORMIST DEMANDS. HE WHOLE PICTURE MUST BE SEEN, WARTS AND ALL: WE SHOULD NOT BE BLIND TO EITHER ITS WEAKNESSES OR STRENGTHS BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT IN ACCORD WITH OUR OWN THEORIES.



WALESA: NOMINAL LEADER OF THE POLISH WORKERS BUT HOW REVOLUTIONARY?

What is remarkable about the last three months in Poland is that certain sections of the working class primarily the transportation workers, dockers, shipyard workers, workers in heavy industry and mining - spontaneously occupied their places of work, halted production, threw out management and proceeded to establish democratically-organized workers' councils to co-ordinate this self-activity throughout the country. Delegates were sent to Gdansk from various striking factories. Frequently they were rotated to permit new people to participate in the deliberations and negociations and to avoid, or at least to limit, the growth of a new representative bur-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8

eaucracy. The actual negot-

inside

THIS ISSUE....

Beyond the Fragments or Beyond the left? An Autonomous View P.3 Court Circular ... Supergrasses and RUC assassins Pages 4&5 Horst Mahler ... An Interview P.6 More on the CNT Split ... Verdict: Not Cloven P.7 Ronnie Bunting's murder ... Were the SAS responsible? Why did the SAS raid two Belfast homes? P. 10 Anarcho-Quiz P.2 Anarchist Centre P.2 Letters P.11

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

VOLUME VI. No 5 OVER-THE-WATER, SANDAY, ORKNEY, KW17 2BL, U.K.

Printed by the Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Avenue, N.5.

TYPESETTING AND LAYOUT BY BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE.

£5 FOR 12 ISSUES CANADA, AUSTRALIA, USA, (AIRMAIL) 9,50 (SEAMAIL)

STATE OF PLAY AS AT

POSTAGE (MOUNTING) STATIONERY

0 00

DEFICIT BROUGHT_FORWARD

NEW AND STAGGERING DEFICIT £3,028,53

TOTAL £56

Thanks to Crass, Poison

people who've responded.

Girls and a number of other

bands, as well as the many

to our requests for money

the Anarchist Centre now

has in its coffers about

£4,500, easily making us

the wealthiest anarchist

biggest hurdle has still

to be overcome - the find-

ing of suitable premises.

likely places and have put

in tenders for two of them.

We cannot even guess as to

how successful our tenders

hear back from the agents

"will be, but we should

soon.

In the last few weeks we

have looked at several

Be this as it may the

group in the country.

The "new and staggering" deficit | describes the attack by Mufti will, we hope, come down a bit squad forces on unarmed priswhen we get some cash in for the oners, using goutes from prisprevious issue, but, despite some good support, we are still going to be heavily in the red. A reg-THE POSTER, 16%" x 27", IS ular supporter writes to ask us AVAILABLE IN ORDERS OF NOT why the Black Cross doesn't do MORE THAN TEN COPIES FROM: anything to help German prisoners. PAC BOX 9, 2a ST. PAULS ROAD, The answer is simple - we are restricted by our lack of funds, INCLUDING POST AND PACKING; and the first to go is always £3 FOR 5 COPIES; £5 FOR 10 somewhere where a local organizat- COPIES ion exists. The Black Cross has only one source of income; we are entirely dependent on Black Flag. May we repeat our appeal that those receiving the Flag who don't of Salvo Marletta, Alfredo Bonanno and Jean Weir after 100 want to receive it should write to us. Those who were subscribers and days of detention, leaving one of the original 19 anarchist have changed their address (and wonder why they don't get it) we cannot reach; but if you know anyone pass the message on. That's on the negative side; on the positive side, thanks for those who are helping us to spread the message.

PRISONERS RESISTANCE FUND: In hand: £122.07 Received: £18.97 SS (Guam)

SB (Cosham) New total £145.04 Sent £100 for distribution to Spanish prisoners.

Balance £45.04

Thanks to our two regulars who send cash faithfully. Thanks too to those who have sent off aid to the addresses supplied, particularly to who ever it was on holiday in Greece who gave £50 direct to an anarchist prisoner's family, saying it was from the Black Cross.

anarcho Mufti Poster The poster which was printed as a centre spread in the last issue of "The Irish Prisoner" is Answers on now available in a larger ver-

sion printed on good quality

"Inside and Outside, Support

Prisoners' Resistence", the

a mufti-squad officer during

the attack on prisoners in

Smaller pictures show Irish

white paper. Under the slogan

poster's photo-montage depicts

Wormwood Scrubs in August 1979.

POWs on the roof of the Scrubs

in 1975, Hull prisoners on the

roof in 1976 and a joint Pris-

oners Aid Committee/PROP picket

of the Scrubs in 1979. The text

oners and their relatives.

LONDON N1. PRICE £1 EACH,

ITALY .

The 30th of June saw the release

comrades arrested in the "blitz"

operation carried out by various

sectors of the Italian police in

Sicily and North Italy at the end

of March, still in prison. They

were the first comrades to be

arrested and it was around the

accusations of armed robberies

designed to draw members of the

anarchist movement into the fire

against them that the police

frame-up for what it was and

50 sticks of gelignite were

constructed a big frame-up

Page 11 1. The Arghan tribes -"bandits" when they opposed British imperialism and "freedom fighters" now they oppose Russian - once included a nation, the Vizeerees, who deserved the name freedom fighters (until finally wiped out by 'independent' Afghanistan). What distinguished them from other tribes?

2. What revolutionary action is commemorated next year - which ought to be celebrated at London's Blackheath?

in any real opposition.

Also present were approx-

imately twenty people invol-

ved in the London Autonomist

milieu who attended for a

number of reasons: firstly

to observe this latest att-

our own, and to present an

leftist package deals pre-

sented for consumption: to

A group of us who trav-

elled by coach arrived late

and so apart from a quick

attending any of what was

left of the morning work-

to attend any workshops as

a group to prevent any in-

isolated voices which are

timidation and to avoid being

generally ignored or quickly

end the one chaired by some-

one who describes himself as

iously described us as fasc-

ists in the letters page of

our own views, but a common

the need to oppose the Labour

Party and the Unions as Cap-

working class, the need for

direct and unequivical opp-

osition to all the leftist

parties, groups and sects

tedious and structured as

to remain that way. We were

presented with a duplicated

sheet of paper with points

to be discussed. The paper

ists.. ", which implied the

were all basically socialists

with perhaps a few disagree-

"fragmented". Various people

ments which were keeping us

no agreement and the basis

assume that there was. Att-

empts were made to confront

people with the contradict-

ion of "socialists" working

within capitalist institut-

direction failed to elict

ions but all efforts in this

for discussion was not to

minimal agreement that we

because of their reformism.

The workshop debate was

italist institutions neccess-

an anarchist and had prev-

shops and went to a cafe

instead.

of us did not feel like

look at the gathering most

active opposition to the

empt to bring together the

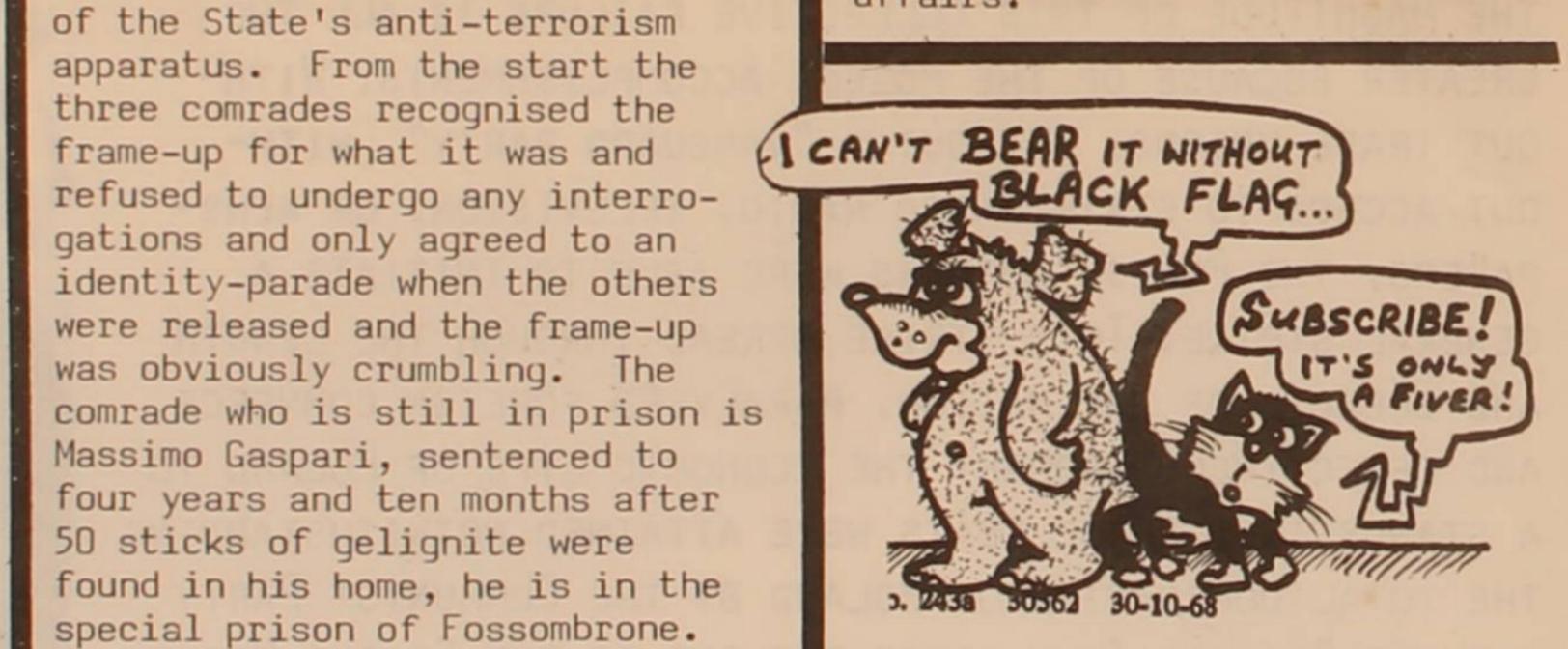
individuals and groupings

3. What had the Bheels of India in common with the MacGregors of Scotland?

4. What political philosophy inspired most of the scientists who worked on the atom bomb?

5. Which lawyer from Manningtree (Essex) made a brilliant prosecuting career, still admired by the Bar, which was built not on the conventional method of inventing the evidence to prove the crime, but inventing the crime to fit the evidence?

6. During the Depression it impossible for people living in some of the worst slums of East London to get jobs, because once they gave their home address they were turned away by employers. What typical liberal reform is said to have been carried out (some say by Bethnal Green, others by Stepney, council) to amend this state of affairs?



ANARCHIST

The cost of obtaining such a place (not to mention its upkeep once we get it) is extremely high and we will need your support if we are to open and stay open.

In order to do a proper cost evaluation it is essential for us to know how many people are likely to use the Centre, so we would welcome not only membership fees now, but also letters from people interested in the project who would be prepared to use it, help run it, or have some skill which might be useful. We

also welcome any suggestions about what use the Centre can be put, any information about possible sites, or how we can reach more people with news of the idea.

For those of you who are members or are on the mailing list, the October newsletter has been printed and is on its way. There was no September issue.

In the near future we intend to hold a meeting open to members and all those interested in the Anarchist Centre to discuss ways in which we can spped things up. News of this

meeting will be carried in Freedom and those on the mailing list will be not-

ified. For those of you who haven't

already taken out membership but intend to eventually, please do it now. The more members we get the sooner we can open.

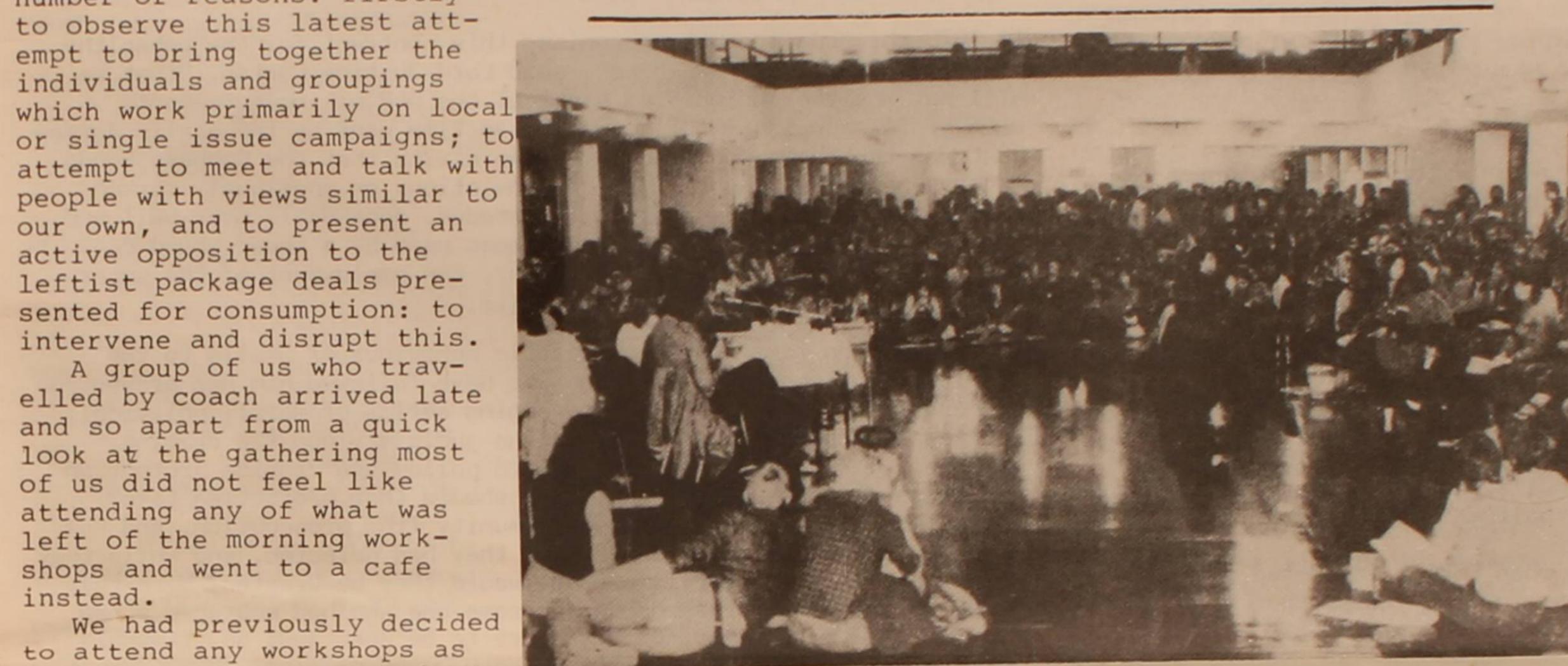
Membership: £15 for those in London, £10 for those outside. Cheques payable to: "William Godwin Memorial

Society" c/o Freedom Press, Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

page 2

BEYONDIHE On 30th August about 1,500 people attended a "Beyond the Fragments" conference. The conference was held at Leeds University and was organized for those sym-FRAGMENTS pathetic to the ideas expressed in the book by Lynn Segal, Sheila Rowbotham, and Hilary Wainright, "Beyond the Fragments". The book examines the possibilities for the "fragments" of the "lib-ertarian" left to unite out-side the major left groups, OR BEVOID THE LEFT side the major left groups, the Labour Party, the SWP, on, but extra-parliamentary and so rather than anti-parliamentthe left groups rather than

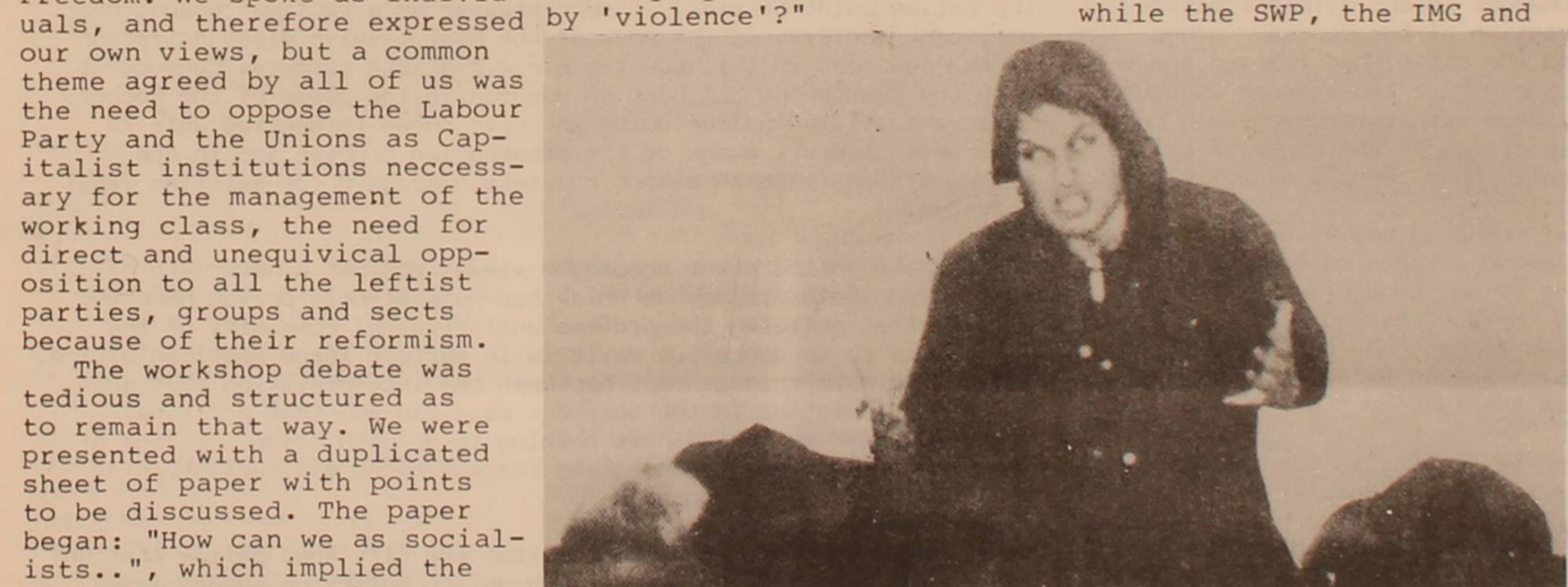
THE LONDON "AUTONOMISTS" ATTENDED THE RECENT "BEYOND THE FRAGMENTS" CONFERENCE HELD IN LEEDS, HERE ONE OF THOSE WHO ATTENDED GIVES HIS REASONS FOR GOING AND HIS IMPRESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE, THE MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS CONDUCTED, AND ITS RESULTS.



THE CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT LEEDS UNIVERSITY. AN ESTIMATED 1,500 PEOPLE ATTENDED

overwhelmed. As all the aft- any response at all. Others ernoon workshops were on org- suggested that it was time anization we decided to att- to confront the state on selected terrain and to be prepared to meet (and to use) violence, but this was deemed to be outside the scope of the conference Freedom. We spoke as individ- and anyway, "What do we mean

on our opposition to the Labour Party, the Unions, and the leftist sects because, as far as we could tell, the issue had not been raised at all. In fact the summary of the reports back from the workshops spoke in terms of working with them. We waited while the SWP, the IMG and



AFTER BEING DENIED ACCESS TO THE MICROPHONE, ONE AUTONOMIST HAD TO SHOUT IN ORDER TO VOICE HIS CRITICISMS OF THE CONFERENCE AND ITS POLITICS WHICH WERE DELIBERATELY IGNORED BY THE ORGANIZERS.

At the final plenary argued that clearly there was speeches were made by various functionaries with the obligatory applause from the passive audience. Hilary Wainright said that the stewards had slips of paper to be filled out and handed in by those who wished to speak. One of our group did so and we agreed that he would speak

the Right To Work people and others spoke, and as time was getting on, one of us went over to the platform to see when he was going to be permitted to speak. One of the organizers claimed that he hadn't handed in the neccessary piece of paper. We found the steward to whom we had given the paper but met with

the reply that the organizers must have lost it and anyway it was too late to speak as they were finishing. At this point some of the leftists gathered round our spokesperson and attempted to look threatening by weight of numbers, to even up the numbers. While we were trying to impress on these people that one of us wished to speak, Hilary Wainwright was using the microphone to explain to the meeting that there was no more time and that the persons causing the distirbance were attempting to jump the queue of people also not able to speak. Sections of the crowd shouted: "Let him speak". Then one of the women who had spoken earlier grabbed the microphone and cried: "Must we put up with this male violence?" which was applauded by a number of the spectators. The "autonomist" who had been prevented from speaking took possession of the microphone without permission from the chair and once again tried to speak. This time they switched it off. It was obvious that he was deliberately kept from speaking, unlike the SWP, the IMG and the Right to Work people (so much for criticisms of left parties) so he was forced to stand on the table and shout to be heard, which was, of course, largely ineffective. The meeting broke up and

people drifted away. We spent the remainder of the evening talking to individuals, one of whom told us that a week prior to the conference one of the organizers had contacted the Leeds Anarchist and Solidarity groups and expressed concern at the possibility of an intervention from the London Autonomists and asked them to help steward the autonomists should it occur.

My own feelings on this conference are that any attempt to continue this form of compromise must be interrupted and that insofar as the organizers clearly see some kind of new organization forming around "Beyond the Fragments" it must be resisted. I was sickened by the liberalism prevalent at the conference and the manipulative way that all real criticisms were silenced or ignored.

"The present conference has been called in the face of the critical state of decomposition that the left has reached. Its purpose is to lash together some series of compromises so that we may witness the pitiful spec spectacle of the left limping harmoniously along for a few more years ... 'Beyond the Fragments' goes no further than to attempt to reform reformism. It attempts

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE

page 3

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 28 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

THE SUPERGRASS STRATEGY

IN 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY LONDON, BEFORE THE ORGANIZATION OF A CENTRALIZED POLICE FORCE, SHADY CHARACTERS EXISTED WHO MEDIATED IN CRIMINAL MATTERS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THE COURTS; THEY WERE THE THIEF TAKERS. THIEF TAKERS AND RECEIVERS, SUCH AS JONATHAN WILD, WERE THE MOST SCURRILOUS INDIVIDUALS, RESTORING STOLEN PROPERTY TO THE ORIGINAL OWNERS FOR LARGE SUMS WHICH WERE THEN SHARED WITH THE THIEVES. HEY CONTROLLED THIEVES UNDER THREAT OF INFORMING ON THEM AND SOUGHT FAVOUR WITH THE JUDICIARY TO PRANIZE WHO WENT IN AND WHO STAYED OUT OF PRISON, UFTEN THESE

TAKERS HAD A NOMINAL POSITION WITHIN THE POLICING ISTRATION. IN 1692 THE HIGHWAYMAN ACT ALLOWED FOR A REWARD POUNDS (WORTH ABOUT £1,000 NOWADAYS) TO BE GIVEN TO ANYONE WHO CAUGHT A THIEF AND PROVIDED EVIDENCE WHICH LED TO A CONVICTION. HE ACT ALSO ALLOWED FOR ANYONE WHO INFORMED ON AT LEAST TWO OTHER THIEVES AND GAINED THEIR CONVICTION TO BE GIVEN A ROYAL

THIS PERIOD OF POLICING WAS ONE ALMOST ABSENT OF ORDER, IN WHICH THE THIEF TAKER CUM THIEF AND RECEIVER MEDIATED BETWEEN THE CRIMINAL AND GOVERNING CLASSES. ANY INVESTIGATION INTO THE RECENT PHENOMENON OF THE "SUPERGRASS" IN LONDON INVITES COMPARISON BETWEEN THOSE DAYS AND OUR OWN.

Until 1973 the 'grass', 'nark', or 'snout', the police informer or police spy was an insignificant creature. All policing and all law, necessitates mediation between the law enforcers and the law breakers Divided into two relatively cohesive and secretive camps, in order to work effectively, they both need to infiltrate. Until 1973 the police informer was a figure on the fringe, a pathetic, morally ambivalent character who gained small financial rewards or small immunities in exchange for scraps of information gained by way of tittle-tattle, by pokey enquiries among friends or those who were unable to keep their secrets to themselves. Nevertheless the role was an important one; like crime, detection necessitates information. The work which the police did on Derek Creighton Smalls, known as Bertie, in 1973, radically cannged the nature of the police informer.

No-one could have foreseen in 1973, when Smalls, defected from the milieu which he had a hand in shaping for ten years, that he represented the first member of what had become a modern criminal institution. Though the history of the supergrass is seen as beginning with Smalls, to see him as an initiator would be to credit him with a grasp of the future and the consquences of his own actions, which he does not deserve. When Smalls decided to make statements in January 1973, he was able to give the names and involvements of 27 other men who had participated in crimes of which he had often been the instigator. Rather than being an initiator, Smalls was the product of his times. He was, as most criminals are, reactive, and his form of reaction took place in relation to a series of changes which had occurred in the nature of crime during the late 1960's.

Technological changes in the field of money security and transfer had displaced the old craftsman villain who either worked on his own or with a small group of confederates. Changes in the criminal milieu itself, with the decline and disintegration of the dinosaur gangs like those run by Jack Spot, Billy Hill and the Krays, had removed the vertical hierarchy from criminal organization. These two changes inaugurated the era of the 'ad hoc' firm, a small team with interchangeable members, which came together for specific crimes on the basis of skills and which was essentially more democratic than the old dynastic gang.

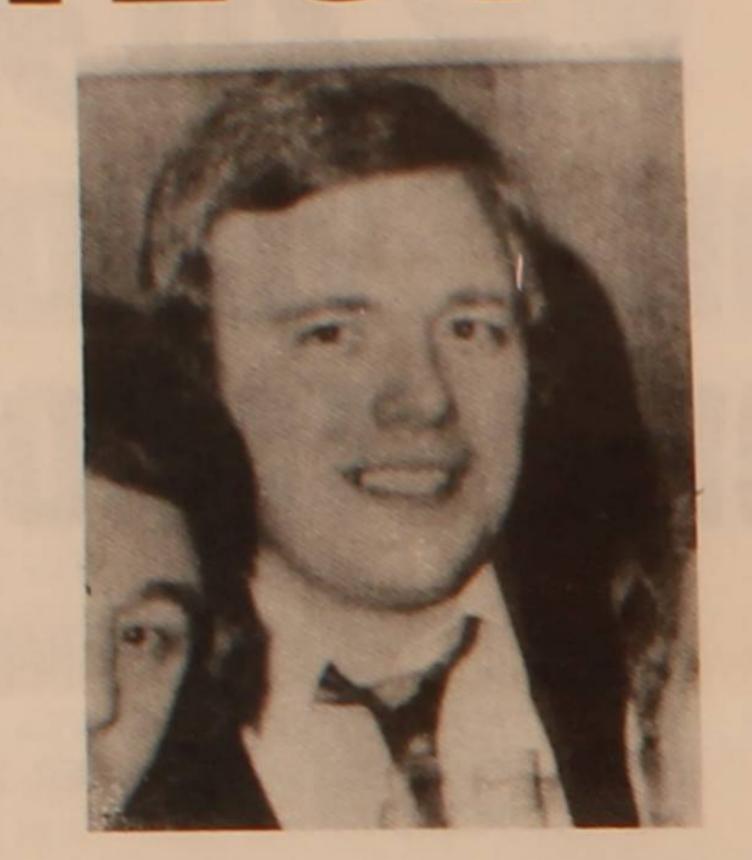
6 5

4 0

In order to pursue one of the first of these ad hoc firms, who had successfully carried out a series of armed attacks on banks, taking money at the last point of transit as it was handed over to the bank staff, the Metropolitan Police set up the Robbery Squad. The growth and consolidation of this type of armed robbery and the consolidation of the Robbery Squad, the struggle which ensued between the two, describes a new type of urban policing in the 1970's.

Despite their immediate victory, aided by Smalls, in the resolution of a series of robberies which culminated in the Wembley bank job, the concept of a robbery squad was essentially flawed. The policing of the professional criminal in an advanced urban metropolis has come to entail the same lack of higher professional skills which the policing of civil disorder demands from a riot squad. Throughout the 1970's ' detective work gave way quickly to mass sweeps and evidential sleights of hand, in which the end inevitably justifies the means.

When it became apparent that Smalls had information to recount on a large scale, there was much toing and froing between the police and the Director of Public Prosecutions. A strategy of exception had to be conjured up and it was found in a gentleman's agreement between Smalls, his solicitor and the DPP; it was an agreement negotiated around a table by various representatives and given to Smalls' solicitor in the form of a typed contract. Essentially it gave Smalls complete immunity from prosecution for any crime he admitted to with the reservation that the NPP could not sanction murder.



"The Supergrass Strategy" is the first in a two part review of the way in which police informers and "grasses" have been used in recent years. The review comes from The Criminal Research and Action Group (CRAG). Crag is now mainly involved in investigating alleged verbal confessions ("verbals"). The group was formerly called Justice Justice Against Identification Laws and was pominent in the Campaign to clear George Davis.

Charlie Lowe: In the same mould as Smalls. After being freed early from his five year sentence in return for grassing, Lowe was subsequently convicted in a drugs trial and returned

In 1975 the Appeal court recognised this contract for the unhealthy bargain that it was: "We hope", said Lord Justice Lawton, "that we will not see the undignified sight of the DPP making agreements with professional criminals again". As time went by the Smalls Agreement was to become as frequent as the claims that the Robbery Squad had "verballed" suspects, gained convictions on spuriously marked bank notes, rigged identification parades, done deals over bail and planted evidence. Of all the techniques used by a squad whose capacity for detection deteriorated by the day, the employment of the supergrass was to become the most effective.

The transition from the idiosyncratic behaviour of Smalls to the institutionalisation of the many who have followed him has presented, and continues to present, a far ranging series of moral, political, and legal problems to the police, the judiciary and the criminal fraternity. Who, for instance, was to police and provide protection for the supergrasses, and what form should that protection take? Could they all be given complete immunity from prosecution, and how long would that immunity last? When they had defected, and while they were under police supervision, how would they be treated? Were they to be given all the rewards due to some-one who had embraced a new philosophy and repented, or were they to be seen just as criminals and pawns in a law and order game? Within the criminal community individuals had to decide if their values dictated that they would take retribution against informers.

On the whole, since 1973, the media as the principle narrator of the war against crime has contented itself with frequent listings of new supergrasses, drawing attention beyond that only to such insubstantial stories as those about underworld contracts. In reality, the supergrass phenomenon is not simply another aspect of criminal activity but something precipitatedby an onslaught from the police upon the criminal community. the phenomenon can only be seen clearly in the context of a state in crisis. This bid for order has also necessitated an onslaught upon the criminal law. The success, from the police point of view, of supergrasses as a tactical weapon has only been achieved at the cost of the most massive disorganization of the law seen in this country since the 18th century. Consequent upon the phenomenon has been an upsurge in the power of the Robbery Squad and related police units who have shown themselves able to intervene at every stage of the prosecution process and in the prison system, with an almost complete disregard for existing legal

The leap in police power should be viewed against a backcloth of supportive media propaganda which has consistently driven home the message that policing the professional criminal community of the metropolis is as dangerous as it is in certain large American cities. Married in with this concept has been the interpretation that a "military" solution is the only one possible and that political structures and education have nothing to do with crime - a line of propaganda employed to legitimise thecontinuing militarization of the anti-crime police squads.

Detective Superintendent Robinson from the City Road police station was in the forefront of formulating police policy on supergrasses. In 1977, after studying the supergrasses who had appeared since Smalls, he recommended a three point plan for prising the uncommitted out of their milieu; a reward in the form of special remission, police help in a new life and identity, and a special secure wing in prison for their protection when sentenced. By 1979 all of these ideas, together with many refinements, had become accepted police and judicial policy; maximum sentences for supergrasses were fixed at five years, while gharges which could not plausibily be covered by such sentences were dropped altogether in consultation with the Director of Public Prosecutions. Reading prisonwhich is mainly a 'Rule 43' prison, containing people permanently seperated from other inmates for their own protection, was adopted to house the growing army of criminal informers.

page 4



Black Flag's Court Circular



In determining this policy, the police, the judiciary and the Home Office have worked closely with the press. While Gilbert Kelland's statement appeared in one part of the centre spread of the Daily Mail in July 79, the rest of the page carried a picture of David Smith a contemporary supergrass, and a reported a £30,000 contract on his life. Before giving evidence Smith apparently spent some time in hospital, on a female ward, being treated for hepatitis and a slipped disc, he was, the newspaper said, protected by armed police who warded off the long queues of underworld hit-men waiting to pick up the mythical £30,000. Despite all this security a Daily Mail photographer was allowed to attend his bedside for a quick picture with the hero. When Smith had been sentenced to five years in February 1979, Detective Inspector Tony Lundy, apparently acting as his impressario as well as investigating his statements, verified a story which gained the front page of the SUN (February 27th 1979). Not only was Smith in danger of his life but he had been "hurriedly moved from Finchley police station a few months ago when police heard that an armed gang were planning to attack the station and silence him".

At the height of the intrigues involving Charlie Lowe, in 1976, the Daily Express claimed that there was a £40,000 contract out on him, the Sun put the imaginary sum at £20,000 and £10,000, while the Guardian a and the Telegraph shunned the dramatic populism and only offered £8,000.

In July1978, the Daily express ran a front page supergrass story on Eddie Martin, "Squaler hides for his life". "There is a huge contract on his head" said an anonymous detective, "if he went home he would be dead within a day".

The concerted campaign run by the police and the tabloid press in the form of "life in danger" stories, has boosted the potency of supergrass evidence and made it less likely that anyone would investigate the numerous short cuts being taken to rush evidence through the courts. The unhegemonic structure of London's professional criminals, their tendancy towards ad hoc organization, their lack of centralized coordination and their separation from political organizations all militate against corporate action being taken by them against the supergrasses.

judicial wrist 5 dpping

An example of what happens when the law deals with its minions was given when five members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary stood before the Northern Ireland Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lowry, to be sentenced for a series of terrorist offences.

Three of them were accused of an attack on a bar in Keady, Co. Armagh, on June 5, 1978. One customer was shot twice in the stomach during this assault. The gunman, Constable William McCaughy, made the ludicrous claim that he'd fired at his victim's legs. This, coupled with the fact that the bomb he planted failed to explode enabled the lukewarm prosecutor to withdraw charges on what was obviously a primo facie case of attempted murder.

Apparently Lord Lowry took their ineptitude into consideration when sentencing the accused. Constable McCaughy received a seven year sentence, but as it's to run concurrently with a life term he's already serving for a sectarian murder, this constitutes little more than a judicial slap on the wrist. Two of his accomplices on that occasion were also treated very leniently.

Constable Ian Mitchell and Reserve Constable Laurence McClure were each given two year suspended sentences.

A fourth accused, Constable David Wilson, was given a oneyear suspended sentence for "withholding information" about the attack. A number of civilian motorists who've had their cars hijacked and were threatened, on pain of death, not to inform the police, have received custodial sentences of up to 18 months for a 'crime of omission' in no way different from that of Constable Wilson's.

A fifth policeman, Sergeant Gary Armstrong, also appeared in the dock with McCaughy. Both were charged with the kidnapping of an Ahoghill, Co. Antrim, priest, Father Murphy, on June 18 year suspended sentence. 1978. Apparently their plan was to hold him hostage for the release of a policeman supposedly Lowry commented that anyone who held prisoner by the I.R.A. In fact, Father Murphy was released offences committed by members of soon after a televised appeal by the R.U.C. would be making a the Rev. Ian Paisley. A man with gross mistake. no small influence amongst Loyalparamilitaries.

McCaughy received another concurrent sentence, this time three years for the kidnapping. Needless to say Sergeant Armstrong wasn't going to be



0 904564 37 I, £6.00

The literature of anarchism contains a number of fine autobiographical works. Emma Goldman's Living My Life, Alexander Berkman's Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, Kropotkin's Memoirs of a Revolutionist, Albert Meltzer's The Anarchists in London are all good examples of a genre in which publicly notorious and vilified anarchists have been able to explain and defend their actions and beliefs. while at the same time dismantling the mystique surrounding their private and personal lives, a mystique created artificially by a rabid state apparatus with the connivance of a 'bought' press.

For libertarians and the general public alike, this personalisation of almost mythical figures from history is of singular importance. For those of us who carry on the struggle for a lifestyle and a society based on a co-operative ethic and personal freedom, we can recognise the continuity between these 'legendary' figures and ourselves in the anecdotes of arguments in political meetings, nagging financial worries, good meals enjoyed with friends and comrades, fear and paranoia, and the ups and downs of such stories of what anarchism could be in practice, in terms of personal and individual quality of life, are probably at least as valuable and persuasive as tales of suffering and heroism, or the justifiable denunciations of social

It is a sad commentary on the state of things in the world that despite the fact that anarchy and anarchists are blamed for everything from the Iranian Islamic 'revolution' to crime in the streets, in our era there have been few, if any, anarchists outside of Spain with the personal notoriety, involvement, and commitment to write a compelling personal history of modern anarchism.

For those unaware of Stuart Christie's involvement with the modern anarchist movement - in spite of it having been trumpeted regularly in the international press for over seventeen years - a few bare facts will suffice to establish the subjects, times, and places. The Glasgow anarchist first became a subject of controversy in 1964 when, at age 18, he was arrested in Spain in possession of explosives which were used to attempt to terminate the life of Franco. After three years in Spanish prisons, he was released and returned to Britain. The object of continuing investigation, harrassment, and arrest during the height of political upheaval in the late sixties, he was framed and imprisoned in 1971 for alleged involvement in the massive 'Angry Brigade' conspiracy trial, Britain's first libertarian urban guerrilla organisation. After a year and a half in prison he left the trial a free man, exonerated on all charges. Continuing his political activities he was soon forced to leave London, in response to thinly veiled police threats against his life and freedom. Moving first to Yorkshire, then, narrowly missing involvement in the infamous 'Persons Unknown' case, he moved to Orkney where he lives to this day. Since 1972 he has been excluded from entering virtually every country in the 'Free' world. As this book goes to press he is once again under investigation by the Special Branch, the British legal Establishment, and the 'law and order' lobby in Parliament for the publication of Towards a Citizens Militia: Anarchist Alternatives to NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Stuart's side of the controversial events which have surrounded him and the movement with which he is so closely involved has been a long time coming, and we suspect there may be another volume to be written before he cashes in his chips, but in the meantime we're glad to be able to present The Christie File. We think

The Editors, Partisan Press

UK Order to: Cienfuegos Press, Over the Water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL U.K. US Orders to: Partisan Press, PO Box 2193, Seattle, WA 98111, USA

treated any differently from his fellow accused by the beneficient Lord Lowry. He too felt the full weight of judicial displeasure - he got a two year suspended sentence.

you'll agree it was worth the wait.

Constable McCaughy's father, Alexander, who had a conviction, and the inevitable suspended sentence, for complicity in the sectarian murder which earned his son a life sentence, also faced charges related to the kidnapping. In fact, the priest was held in his farmhouse for twelve hours. He pleaded guilty and received yet another one-

Aware of the leniency of the sentences he'd handed down, Lord thought he looked lightly on

Their sentences, particularly in the kidnapping case, are especially galling to those who know that Republican Martin Meehan has been on hunger strike since May 19th as a protest against the twelve years he and

two other men received when "fitted up" on a similar charge. The only prosecution evidence adduced in their case was the unsupported word of a known informer.

The convictions of these serving policemen also throws an oblique light on an aspect of Ulster violence which has been studiously avoided by the national press. It was well known, but little reported, that almost an entire unit of the Portsdown U.D.R. was responsible for the "Maimi Showband Massacre." The notorious "Shankill Butchers" gang also numbered members of the security forces in their ranks. Generally speaking, however, a member of the R.U.C. or U.D.R. is invited to resign if he's about to be charged with an offence which might compromise the organisation he serves in. This stratagem, and the compliance of the press, effectively protects the reputation of the "Ulsterised" security forces which are actually riddled with sectarian bigots, torturers and murderers.

page 5

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22



HORST MAHLER FROM URBAN GUERRILLATO After 10 years of imprisonment one the founders of the RAF has been freed from prison. Those 10

This interview appeared in the French Left-wing Newspaper, "Liberation"

in August.

In 10 years the man who said to his judges: "you don't talk with capitalist agents, you strike them down", has much changed. His public dialogue with the German federal minister of the Interior last January has caused a commotion. Treated as a traitor by his old friends; Mahler was a model prisoner, but always refused to collaborate with the judiciary.

ears much changed him.

Condemned to 14 years in prison, since last autumn he had been allowed out on work parole. During the day he worked in an architect's office. In the evening he returned punctualy to the prison. "It wasn't surrounded by walls just a wire fence. And the rooms were not really cells." Mahler was benefiting from a rule of the "guerilla"in Germany in for well-behaved prisoners. It had the 1970s. He spent 10 years in not been granted before to a political prisoner. However Mahler ary isolation. His treasured was a rather special prisoner. In possessions were the complete February 1975, when he had been in editions of Marx and the works of prison for 5 years the '2nd of June Movement' had kidnapped the Christian Democrat deputy Peter Lorenz, in exchange for 12 political prisoners. Mahler was high on the list. He refused to go. Clearly and publicly. So he stayed in prison. At that time he became a member of a Marxist-Leninist group called the KPD. That did not last. He searched as he has always searched. Unlike many of his comrades of the "querilla" he went back a long way. He had been a member of the SPD* since 1956, when he was 20, before he became a lawyer. During all the years of the Berlin students revolt, he was the SPD lawyer. The many trials which rained down on the militants of the new left made him a famous lawyer.

He was to be seen in the courts in some of the famous trials, those of Fritz Tenfel and Beate Klarsfield, who had publicly slapped the face of ex-nazi chancellor Kissienger. He was also to be seen in the streets, megaphone in hand, in confrontations with the police. He was a "red" lawyer who denounced the Springer press and against whom there were constant attempts to to stop him practising. With the beginning of the 70s came the ebb of the German new left movement but for one part of it, the underground movement, it was the debut. Horst Mahler, an established lawyer and figurehead of the movement was

one of them. He disappeared. And

10

when in May 1970, an armed commando freed Andreas Baader, he was hunted along with Ulrike Meinhof and Gudrun Ensslin.

Against all appearances -he was well established, married and a father - this social democrat student turned socialist lawyer had become one of the propogators prison of which 3½ were in solit-

Mahler did not stop there, he denounced the propaganda made by the RAF around the conditions of detention of the political detainees. "What may or may not be destroyed in you by the conditions of detention, depends not on them but on yourself." - he said this in a statement which immediately earned him a shower of abuse from his old comrades and also from all of the extreme left.

He was treated as an agent of "Counterinsurgency", and another detainee, the poet Peter-Paul Zahl, in whose opinion he had hop



In 1975 Horst Mahler, already a stoic and still a Marxist-Leninist, exhorted the political prisoners to give up a hunger strike: "For a revolutionary" he explained "gains nothing in

appealing to "bourgeois pity". In an open letter to another detainee, Mahler went further: "When children hurt themselves a and cry, wise parents say to them 'Indians don't cry'. If the left want to help RAF political prisoners, it must say to them: 'a revolutionary does not cry when the state treats them harshly.'

Malher, pictured here with the West German minister for the Interior, Gehard Baum. The meeting caused a new scandal.

hoped to find an echo, responded by calling him "a ventriloquist" in the service of the "Masters of the West".

But Mahler persisted - "this constant pushing of more young people into the guerilla must stop." His objective has not changed. He refused to collaborate with the judiciary but denounced

the vicious circle of an armed struggle which had no more objective than to liberate its own members; "a guerilla to liberate guerillas" as he had one day ironically called Peter-Paul

These are questions on which Mahrler has had time to reflect: is an old debate" he said, "when I was arrested, it was possible, in a very indirect way, to communicate with Baader and Ensslin, who were still free." They proposed that he do a pamphlet on detention conditions. In vain. They reproached Mahler for not taking account of the difficulties the group was in: for Baader: "you can only elicit the solidarity of the legal left by capitalising on the prisoners' situation."

The discussion became more war-like when two years later, Baader and Ensslin, in their turn were arrested. For the RAF their arrests were a mortal blow. "Without their energy, their deciciveness and their imaginative genius, no one could imagine that the rest of the RAF could continue to fight."

For the RAF "liberate Andraas and Gudrun" became the principle

objective and Gudrun" became one of their principle objectives. Mahler: "I well remember Gudrun saying 'now we are inside, we have only our bodies to create conditions of solidarity favourable to the RAF.' It was questionable - the motivations for recruiting and of giving moral justifications for liberations which could only end in bloodshed.

Thus was decided the campaign against torture. "Without reason the judiciary took a hard line to this campaign by imprisoning Ulrike Meinhof and Astrid Proll in isolated cells in the silent wing of the Cologne Ossendorf prison. It was essential to get them out of it. But even in the the RAF itself there was a reluctance to use the word 'torture' to describe the ions of detention."

About his statement that the situation of a prisoner depended firstly on himself: "It can be seen as the projection of a personal asceticism. In my cell I had read all that revolutionaries of the past had written of their different prison experiences, and I had found confirmation of my ideas. However terrible the conditions of detention may be the most important thing is how you comport yourself.

It is true that the conditions of detention were illegal and inhuman; communication with others is part of being human. And that is why they must be changed. But it is also important that one must speak precisely without creating myths."

This revolutionary without revolution has become a liberal stoic; some months ago he created a new scandal byparticipating, for the big weekly magazine 'Der Speigel', in a discussion on terrorism with the Minister of the Interior, Gehard Baum, a member of the liberal

party. "For some time I have felt that certain better governments were trying to create conditions of openness, for those who are "knocking" at the doors of this closed society without a chance of ever being let in." CONTINUED ON PAGE 8 page 6



consisted of the reformist impugned"; but it seems that, if on Toulouse.

ning"). There is no clear split between one tendency and another that can be clearly explained (and which would be healthy). Certainly, the whole ideological position of the CNT is a mishmash of libertarian ideas: the lack of clarification about anarchosyndicalism, the confusion between council communism and fascist corporativism, the new libertarianism coming in from the Anglo-Saxon countries (as exotic there as here), the entrenched 'exile' faction and the various strands of antifascism. This mishmash has had a section ('los impugnados') cut off it; neither represents something different from the other.

Impugned! - Whatever that means.

called themselves the

"impugnados" (no clearer in

Spanish than English - "the

anything, they did the "impug-

The "impugnado" commission alleges that the FAI has been reconstituted secretly and was securing control of the CNT National Committee. The FAI is illegal and banned by the Government as dangerous; yet on the other hand, if the FAI had been reconstituted in the way they say it may have

not Cloven

bureaucracy that was centred

What the "impugnados" declare is that "they have not levelled any attack on the CNT" but the CNT has expelled them because of the belief (of the FAI, presumably) that they are "entrists" or "reformists" who want to collaborate with the State in forming a new union organisation that will not be so recalcitrant as the CNT. They state that all "subscribe to the principles of anarchosyndicalism" (but confuse it with militant or libertarian trade unionism). They "admit" that there are those "who would place more stress on the trade union side of things, which tendency has a long history of presence within the CNT".

The CNT states that there are room for differences within the organisation; that the majority of syndicates do not want a split and that, while the Madrid Congress didn't solve much or go far (beyond a demonstration of the existence of the syndicates which is an important thing in itself) those who broke away afterwards flouting the Congress can scarcely talk of democracy. (Though I don't see why not).

Takeover Bid

There is certainly a reformist and collaborationist current that has tried to get inside the Cnt. There has also been persistent attempts by political groupings to infiltrate, especially by the Trotskyist splinter groups but also by Catalanist and Christian elements, all of whom want a "normal union." These groupings are not on one side or other of the split but are caught up in it, and one suspects, helped to cause the atmosphere in which it can take place. They have a strong distaste for the method of organising - based on the places of work and the local trade halls. Notwithstanding the ideological mishmash of the CNT it has never got away from this decentralist form of organisation which puts paid to any bureaucracy or political leader-

ship from the word go. One report says that "to polarise" - in view of the above - is evading the real debate which is not being faced up to -"that is, the place of anarchism in today's world, and the failure of trade unionism." But one must add that anarchosyndicalism - a term now vaguely

used in the libertarian movement when it should be precise can be anarchist leadership of trade unions (in itslef not necessarily a bad thing, as in the Miners Federation of Bolivia, but signifying a lack of dynamic in the workers who clearly still feel the need of leadership), but ought not to be so; and the

'classic' CNT was not thus. Within the libertarian movement in its wider sense, and (because of the ideological mishmash) within the CNT also, there exists what is grandly known as "a questioning of the work ethic" together with a demand for jobs, for the hanging on to safe jobs or for a struggle for higher wages. All this can go together (but we see that even in small groups in this. country, where there has been no ban, reinforced by genocide, upon discussion, confusion exists about this; how much more so in Spain!) Have those who oppose workers' organisation, for whatever reason, a place in that organisation? Maybe so; but this helps to make confusion.

Provocation

What is more serious is that the Government has tried everything to prevent the rebuilding of the CNT - which, for all its faults, remains one labour movement that has managed to remain libertarian and revolutionary and never entirely lose its base of influence in the working class. The Franco Government tried murder and imprisonment, deportation and exile, wholesale shootings and confiscation, and added to it a policy of silence. A generation grew up without hearing of the working-class traditions. The post-Franco

CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE Page 7

1 2 3 4 5 8 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 18 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 STAINLESS HARDENED 22

POLAND

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

iations with governments officials were broadcast over loudspeakers to the striking shipyard workers there in Gdansk. One has only to compare this to the secret negociations by the "free" trade unions of the West with management to

reclize how radical a situation had been created by the Poles.

Another measure of how

radical the situation had become was the extreme concern in both Russia and the West that things not go "too far". Certainly the threat of Russian tanks and troops invading Rolland held out the real prospect of a repetition of the bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 or at best repeat of the occupation of Czechoslavakia in 1968. The Russians consistently made it clear that there were limits which if overstepped would trigger intervention. The Western leaders' policy of restraint was supposedly aimed at calming the Russian dissidents. It was the bear. In fact it was directed first of these two demands at undercutting the striking workers and shoring up the shaken Gierek regime. For whatever public pronouncements about the right to free trade unions, the Western leaders were far more concerned that Poland not default on its £10 million debt to Western banks.orthodoxy is doubly dang-The possibility of a prolonged period of social upheaval or the repudiation of foreign debts by the revolutionary regime sent shivers through their pocket books. Thus the West was no more interested in unseating the Geirek regime than were the Russians. Rounding this unholy allaince, the Catholic Church made it clear early on that it had no interest in jeopardizing its institutional status by wholeheartedly supporting a popular upsurge. Once again it has far less trouble adjusting to authoritarian regimes whether facist or communist than it does to the poss-

SNATCHING DEFEAT FROM THE JAWS OF VICTORY

Shortly after the general strike got into full swing, the strike committee put froward a list of twentyone demands. The strike was triggered by a round of price increases in June and more generally by food shortages for workers and the accompanying endless queues and a hatred for the privileged "red bourgeosie" - the Communist Party elite. Notwithstanding this economic impetus, the twenty-one demands focused primarily on non-

> "The whole picture must te seen, warts and all: we should not be blind to either its weaknesses or strengths because they are not in accord with our own theories."

economic issues: the right

of workers to associate and form independent trade unions, the right to strike, increased access of the Church to mass media, amnesty for strikers and pre-strike (unions and the right to strike) which the Geirek regime resisted most strenously because they were completely inconsistent with the Communist Party's pretended representation of the working class. This violation of Communist erous (and undoubtedly causes Brezhnev and Co. great concern) because of the instability it creates in Poland by establishing a power centre in the new unions beyond Communist Party control and because of the example it sets for the rest of the Eastern Bloc. But even more dangerous to the rulers of Poland and Russia was the disorder and resistance that spread each day tho general strike continues. The continuing expansion of the strike must be seen as the ultimate reason why tre Polish leadership capitulated to demands which would have been unthinkable six ibility of social revolution. months before.

In the demands themselves we can see the very seeds of the workers' undoing. Nothing could have been worse for them than to have "won" their demands. The government's written agreement did no more than to ratify the achievements already accomplished in fact by the workers' direct action. They had already organized themselves; they had already struck; for a moment they had taken control of their own lives. By their very demands, the workers were going backwards, not forward. By seeking legitimacy from the government which had historically oppressed them, they acknowledged the right of those rulers to continue to oppress them. Thus the failure of vision exemplified by a totally reformist set of demands could not hope to result in anything other than a continuation of business as usual with new faces in high places after the dust had settled.

"Workers' councils were organized to co-ordinate activity throughout the country. Delegates were sent to Gdansk from various striking factories. Frequently they were rotated to permit new people to participate the actual negotiations were broadcast over loudspeakers to the striking shipyard workers".

The roots of this failure had at least two prime sources in the West and the cause for it was not so much that there was no vision as it was the wrong one. For years the West has bombarded the East with propaganda concerning the "free world". This source of information attained a degree of credibility simply because it contained fewer lies than the official sources of information in the East. This together with the great wealth present in the West generated the illusion that trade unions modeled on those of Western industrial nations were somehow guarantors of both prosperity and freedom. Similarly the status of the Church as the sole legimate power outside

(and to some extent against) the state and Party made it a natural focus of any emerging public opposition movement. It would be foolish to ignore this force no matter how unpleasant or disturbing it may be. Unfortunately for the Poles, the priorities of the Church are and always will be different from and in an ultimate sense opposed to those of the workers. Thus the spectacle of workers on their knees at mass in an occupied shipyard was a grotesque foreshadowing of their ultimate defeat. What more can be expected when their nominal leader, Walesa, prominently displays a crucifix and publicly calls for the bureaucrats of the Church to draft the constitution of the

tradition of management everywhere, The Polish government is seeking to take back in the courts and on the shop floor what could not be won at the negociating table. Current reports from Poland indicate that the new unions must be "court approved" before they can be recognized and that individual workers have been harassed and threatened with loss of pension rights and other accrued benefits should they join the new unions.

Certainly the story is

far from over. In the grand

new unions?

However reformist the demands of the Polish workers have been and no matter how appalling and misplaced their faith in the Church and the West may be, we cannot ignore the fact that the Polish working class has had a true taste of its own power and has lived, however briefly, under its own self-management. The power of the experience of large numbers of people collectively taking matters into their own hands is not to be underestimated because that experience creates a dymanic which far surpasses any written set of demands. It is with that profound experience in mind and that hope for the future that we continue to listen

Continued from Page 6.

0 4

The debate with the minister took a long time to come to fruition for each of the protagonists. "At first they were very suspicious about me. When I had refused to be released in exchange for Lorenz, they thought tha that I was hiding something, that I was perhaps a supertactician, trying only to divert their attention in order to get back to the underground. They believed that we were some sort of diabolical supermen. They feared for their position, then were maralused by a latent hasteria about anything relating to terrorism. In 1977 sach .. debute was inconceriy deles a

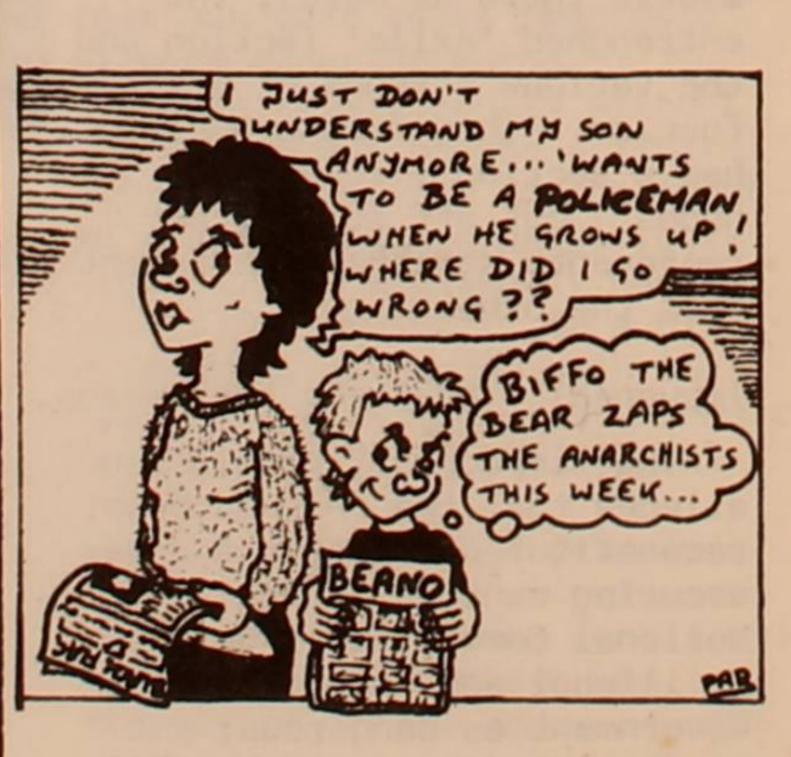
Speigel proposed it to me I had bet a case of champagne that it wouldn't happen. But they were adamant, they wanted to symbolically open the 80s with such a discussion.

It was risky. But I had had a long time to think about the consequences of terrorism. And I said to myself because I was so much identified with it, I had the opportunity to cause some stir inside the left. To break this mechanism which the left uses to discount certain positions, when confronted by them , under emotive headings - renegade reformist, opportunist, traitor

for Mahler the dilemma of the German left is that it thinks

nothing in this State can be changed: "They do not understand anymore how to extricate themselves and devoid of changing perspectives, they come, despite all thier reserves, to see in terrorism the expression of their own disorientation. This vicious circle must be broken. It must be got across that the State is also contradictory, that it is at one moment a mediator and the next an instrument of repression."

A curious reversal. After having denounced it as a supreme evil, Mahler is not far from declaring his loyalty to the State. He doesn't do it in the name of shabby oportunism, of which he is accused by many of his delractors but once again, by pure intelt-



closely to news from Poland.

PATE 8

AMARCHISM UORK

In the great propaganda war that accompanied the need to "build up production", patriotic slogans were used in the State communist countries and economic slogans were used in Britain. We were lashed not so much with cries to "work for Britain" (that was tried, but laughed out of court - something not possible in the USSR) as for the need to work harder for less money to "fight inflation" and "rebuild the economy", but always to give more for taking less to the greater glory of the impersonal State. Mrs Thatcher's return from bi-party "Keynesian thinking" (what our national saga was all about) to good oldfashioned Tory monetarism has upset a great many appelcarts but especially that of the trade

union movement. It had become accustomed to being courted as the intermediaries between the capitalist class and the workers, and well supported by the State - the classical model of fascism, actually. The TU movement is now reeling from the blow of finding itself ignored by the government. It is entirely geared to cooperation with the State. It loathes confrontation. It was given a foretaste of what confrontation could mean at Grunwick's, which might not have been entirely incidental. Some ambitious TU leaders see the struggle between the Government and the working class as a possible interlude to the return of the Labour Party, and their militancy now, they feel, might mean popularity and preferment then. But they shudder when

Against The Cuts?

It is an opportune time for minority parties to play the populist card, for demonstrations against 'the cuts' against the policies of unemployment, against everything that typifies the drift to war and poverty.

the word Chile is mentioned.

Looming over all these 'mass demonstrations' and "wonderful turn outs", be they on reduced hospitals or troops in Ireland, on redundancy or nuclear suicide. on whatever damn thing they may be, is the overlooming feeling of helplessness. How has this come about? Partly because politics in Britain is now about an elected dictatorship, and everybody feels it is a "parliamentary democracy" but knows at the same time that they have absolutely no power to do anything but protest, or vote in the alternate dictatorship. Everybody feels somebody else ought to be able to do something about it. Nobody does anything effectual.

The helplessness that is sometimes an introduction to the acceptance of mass genocide, sometimes a vote of no confidence in themselves by the people, and sometimes a mere acceptance of the facts of statist life can be overcome by an application of the good old Tory method of self-

reliance, but in aid of the Socialist principle of mutual aid - in a way with which neither will agree.

There is a new acceptance of self-help in the form of the old gang system. But trade union principles are still against it. Take the instance of the dustmen down in Essex (and it could apply to almost any group of municipal workers). They offered to take the whole burden of refuse collection off the rates, and to work it on the gang system for a minimum overhead charge sharing the proceeds of disposal (eventually it would be possible, in this instance, to do it for nothing).

How quick the work would be done - how much would be saved to the ratepayers - how much the workers would benefit - was only matched by the alacrity of conventional unionism in denouncing it. It would turn "their members" into a selfemployed collective. What would be wrong with that? In Israel during the heyday of the kibbutzim - basically a cooperative principle applied all round - this is precisely how a large number of the industries were

managed. To be sure, it has its inbuilt dangers. The co-ops can (as happened in some cases in Israel themselves become tainted with the greed of the capitalist society around them and themselves begin to exploit labour (an instance was a bus cooperative formed by the drivers, who later employed supernumerary drivers to do their work not partaking of the benefits of membership).

But it is inevitable that if the capitalist system goes on, the greed of the capitalist system will go on. Self-employment, collective self-employment is a way out of economic stagnation, not an answer to the ills of society - any more than orthodox trade unionism is, but like the TUs it can play its part in raising standards of

employment. The fact that so many selfemployee ventures, individual or collective, avoid paying tax is an added incentive. The worker is forced to pay tax - it is grabbed out of his pocket before it gets in. Not so the self-employed. (Perhaps a booklet on the means of tax avoidance is long overdue here? Would it receive as much denunciation in the Tory Press as one on resistance to coups

Back to the Artisan The vast field of motor maintenance, electrical work, house repairs, and more exotic things that I see going on, even language schools - are all indications of fields where people have decided to "have a go and do it themselves". Strange that the printing unions, for instance faced with a whole new revolution in offset printing collectives and small workshops, set their

faces against a drive for membership there (is it that they don't want to admit too many women at one go?) - yet if more newspapers close down, the future of newspaper production lies there, where no vast oil companies are needed to pump in capital, and everything can be done on a shoestring.

There are those who think that we shall never have another form of trade unionism, that what we have is too ingrained both in its members' acceptance and in the status quo ever to be altered; and that at least in this country we are foredoomed forever, short of revolution, to a single-party orthodox socialdemocratic trade unionism of which only the principle of the closed shop will ever vary, according to government pressure.

That may be so; it need not

A New Labour Movement

be, but in any case it will not stop the ever-growing number of those who are getting up to protest against lack of cash in the most practical way possible, not so much by protest as by challenge, by cooperative and collective effort, by setting up for themselves rather than a big boss, especially if nobody comes forward willing to offer his services to exploit them. Nothing could be more farcical than the pleas for capitalists to come and exploit the workers. Certainly the pitfalls of workers co-op ventures are many, and the possibility of turning into capitalist enterprises if successful are great. But nothing like as bad as falling into the apathy and helplessness of the hungry twenties. What is needed id for the union movement to enter and take over this new field; or alternatively for a new union movement to arise in this field and make its influence felt on the old one.

That'd be a lot more popular than a new Labour Party led by Mr. Jenkins!

Grab Work

The anarchist attitude to capitalist or statist employment is caricatured by someone hanging around saying "Fuck work". That is a fair reaction to useless toil but it is not what is being said by the disillusioned in the new generation who see in the "Big A" an answer to their problems. It is a fair representation of their that we should take the lot - as much as we can now. It is in line with Mrs Thatcher's policy of do it yourself? Maybe, but she will be the first to denounce it. It is no more than the social justice of the Labour Party? They will never support it. A new labour movement based on militant action coming from the 'moonlighting zone' which withdrawing its labour, tax and the unemployed margin succeeds in dispelling the feeling that one can do nothing against the State but shout rude words at its representatives, might be just the shot in the arm everybody needs.

Albert Meltzer.

THOUGHT "ANARCHA - L JEEMINISM" WAS JUST A PETIT - BOURGEOIS BLACK FLAG.

GIGNE

David Powis is Deputy Assistant Commissioner at New Scotland Yard. He has been in the police force for more than thirty-two years. In his career he has been: a Superintendent in charge of the Special Patrol Group, Clubs Inspector in London's West End and Commander of two inner London Police Divisions.

Powis recently felt that his experience as a policeman over thirty-two years put him in a position to give others the benefit of that experience. Accordingly he wrote "Signs of Crime; a Field Manual for Police" (published by Mcgraw-Hill).

It is an illuminating work, giving us an insight into the workings of the policeman's mind. Instead of a long review we decided that the book could best be judged from the following direct quotations fromit. Although entitled "Signs of Crime", we feel that it would be more appropriately called: "Signs of Rampant Paranoia"!

Judge for yourselves.

The smell of semen is very distinctive. If you are trying to make up your mind whether or not the persons you are interrogating are motor-wandering thieves, fugitive escapees living and sleeping in their clothes or merely honest travellers, this smell in the vehicle, especially if stale, can be a pointer to a depraved life style consistent with a life of thieving, prostitution or political dropout activity. I am not presuming to judge these types of people, but merely indicating useful, detectable and objective factors which a worldly policeman should consider when deciding on action that needs to be taken at the scene of a traffic 'stop'. It goes without saying that no females need be present for such an odour to be detected about the clothing, sleeping gear or general belongings of such unfortunate people. Prostitutes can be male or female, remember.

page 9 Continued on Page 11 Col.3

19 10 10 10 10 10 10 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 38 38 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60

BLACKUINGS - A REPLY

In criticising the letter from "Blackwings" in the last issue one has to bear in mind that it was written by a long-term prisoner; not necessarily labelled "political". Its deficiancies are understand able. In making a rebuttal of much of it, one hopes to make our position clearer for many - not necessarily to the writer, who probably will be unable to receive the reply.

He makes many criticisms which are based on ignorance, understandable in a prisoner but equally prevalent in libertarian circles generally. It can scarcely be a "popular fallacy" that prisoners "represent the vanguard of the revolution"! (Others talk of "fallacies" about the working class) It is like saying one's crack troops are the POW's. In reality, most people know that most crime is an extension of business by other means, that some crime is anti-social, and that therefore prisoners are bound to contain as many capitalist and anti-social elements as otherwise. The libertarian and revolutionary is just as much in a minority as elsewhere. In some countries, of course, even among political prisoners the reactionary or fascist

The importance of struggle in prisons is that prison is the last refuge of the State system, that without prisons it cannot maintain its hold and force over the people, and that stripping away the fears of prison/exposing the brutalities practised is a means of self-defence for those outside as much

0 8

10

as for those within. In the same way one does not "glorify" the workers. But it is by changing the economy that one makes a revolution: without that all social change must fail, and it is only the people who are working the economy who can take it over.

"BLACKWINGS" castigates anarchist papers for preaching

anarchist papers for preaching
the abolition of prisons
without dropping everything and
liberating prisoners. It is
far fetched to assume that
generally prisoners in bulk
can be liberated while the
State exists. One or two,

certainly, and that's been done - though hardly written about in advance. That is one thing and many who have escaped prison do not believe in the abolition of prisons, merely their own deliverance. (Winston Churchill once was glad to escape from prison). Abolition of prisons must be stated over and over again, for all reforms lead to the continuance of the system and a successful revolution that does not abolish prisons leads to a new tyranny.

revolution" is "mercilessly exploited by opportunist prisoners for material gain" sounds strange in England, though it does happen elsewhere, particularly in the totalitarian countries; but perhaps too by "Maoists" in the USA. But when "BLACKWINGS" denounces our "fine anarchist papers" for "virtually never mentioning extra judicial release from captivity" he is talking the language of desperation, of a provocateur or of lunacy. (It is desperation).

That "The theme of

isolated from the world that every paper he receives has thousands or perhaps millions of supporters -"why don't they act?" - and alas, life isn't like that. Even if this were the case, one would hardly write about it. "Our fine papers" have to confine themselves to "prisoner support work" but do not necessarily have illusions. That is a caricature of prisoner support work. On practice, because of lack of sufficient support, one can only help libertarian prisoners, regardless of their "crimes" were political or whether only subsequent to their captivity did they come to libertarianism.

It must seem to a prisoner

In totalitarian countries, mass escapes are necessary and often possible. (The U.S., it is true, is moving to totalitarianism in this respect, certainly as regards its treatment of Black prisoners). But practical considerations will always dictate that these can only be of people who know each other over a long period from working together outside (as in Spain during Franco, as in Uruquay).

ing to a long term prisoner
...especially one who is
suffering like long-terms
in the U.S.A. and who have
no knowledge of the strength
of movements outside. Yet
it would be a pity if
people were put off helping
prisoners or advocating the
abolition of prison solely
because of adopting "Blackwings" view that it would
be typocritical to do so if
one isn't at the same time
smuggling files in cakes to

This may sound depress-

Black Cross work is
(contrary to "Blackwings")
a two-way matter between
those inside and those
outside. It has achieved
the renaissance of Anarchist revolutionary struggle
whenever it has been well
supported, as well as providing solidarity with prisoners.

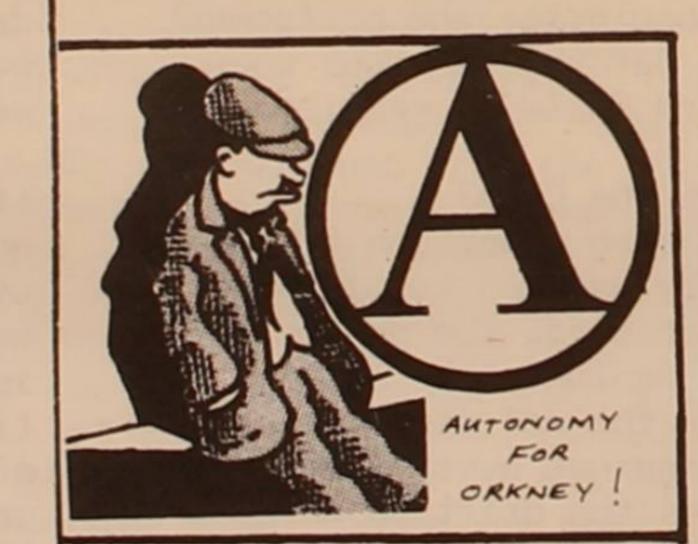


The October issue of Orkney's alternative paper the "Free Winged Eagle" is now available. Articles include news ofUranium mining in Orkney, similar news about the effects of mining in Donegal, as well as a report on the effects of toxic chemicals which are on sale in this country.

The paper is not only of interest to those who live in the Orkney Islands. It is a valuable example to the rest of us in how to produce a well written and interesting paper for the community, combining news of the developments within that community with political comments.

It is well produced, readable and informative.

"The Free Winged Eagle" is available from:
"Over-the-Water", Sanday
Orkney,
Scotland.
Vol. 2 No. 1 Price 25p.



In September two well-known Belfast republicans were murdered in West Belfast. Gunmen burst into the home of Ronnie Bunting and shot him and a friend who was staying overnight, Noel Little to death. Ronnie's wife was also shot in the face and is critically ill in hospital.

Noel Little had been held for questionning by the police shortly before his death.

Ronnie Bunting was a republican of long standing. From a protestant background (his father was at one time a close colleague of Ian Paisley's) he became involved in the Civil Rights campaign in the late '60's. It was this involvement which brought him to the attention of the police and he was subsequently interned without trial in long Kesh in 1971.

Ronnie Bunt

Upon his release, Ronnie became involved with the Official Republican movement. A committed socialist he was attracted to the Official's Marxist programme but became disillusioned with their increasingly obvious reformism.

The split in the Official's ranks came in
1974 with the breakaway
group, The Irish Republican
Socialist Party. The IRSP
was formed from former
members of both the Official and Provisional
wings of the Republican
movement.

A feud between the newly formed IRSP and the Official IRA ensued which claimed several lives on both sides. During this Bunting was shot by the Official IRA

and was badly injured,
sustaining a severe wound
in the neck.

Upon his recovery, he
became reinvolved with the
IRSP and became prominent

became reinvolved with the IRSP and became prominent member of its Belfast organization. He was the victim of the kind of police harassment normal in the Six Counties.

No-one has been charged with Ronnie's murder, but some light has been thrown on the circumstances surrounding it was a recent incident in the Twinbrook estate in West Belfast.

Two houses were broken into by men in civilian dress, wearing balaclava helmets and carrying Armalite rifles (not army issue, but a weapon used

by the IRA). They smashed the lockson the doors and tied up the occupants of one house, a woman and her young child.

It was later admitted by the Army that the men were in fact members of the SAS. No explanation was offered as to why they were not in uniform, why they were carrying armalite rifles, and why they tied up the woman and young child.

The police claimed that it was part of an anti-terrorist operation but refused to be more specific.

People in Belfast are claiming that the simil-arities between this incident and the deaths of Ronnie Bunting and Noel Little is evidence of army and police responsibility for their murders.

page 10

LETTERS

How far could we progress

towards a practical room, (the

mind boggles!?), but seriously,

I have always thought Anarchism

had a large component of rather

pragmatic direct action (in Wm

James's sense). Hence a small

even elementary 'research' area

would be an asset. This would

occasional youth or girl came

along with an Anarchist friend,

in order to do something prac-

tical...? (Armchair Anarchy

discussed at great length in

the Social area...) Such a

place might well double as a

equipment in the whole Centre.

I know that a number of other

practical base, quite success-

ful publishing groups in the

Alternatives, such as 'Under-

magazine etc.) They are not

directly Anarchist, but there

these colleagues. There must

be experience to draw on there,

form a model for other regions

establish would begin to show

the federated pattern we talk

about, actually working in

practice.

to everyone.

Anyway I hope the Centre will

'centres' that local groups might

Please keep me informed, if

it is not too much of a chore.

If there is anything I can do

then please keep in touch -

Mutual Aid and all that. So

from an individual worker some

little distance away, best wishes

Ken Smith

Canterbury.

is a great deal that Construc-

currents' and 'Resurgence'

tive Anarchism shares with

as well as points of closer

cooperation that we are not

accustomed to perhaps...?

and towns - then all the

are in existence (wholefood

shops, communities with a

groups which are Anarchist-like,

maintenance workshop for

would, of course, still be

workshop/craft/printing/yes

be especially true if the

centre

Dear Friends,

Re: The Anarchist Centre.

The comments I would like to make include the hope that if accommodation is forthcoming, a Library/Reading room could be established. I know that a large amount of Anarchist and Alternative literature is in store, could be coolected and otherwise be made more accessible to students and researchers I know that some literature is rare and may very well be of considerable historical interest. But I would still like to see at least some of it displayed as perhaps photocopies, (some of us may be able to help in that connection in a limited

Certainly a 'social area'
would be welcome, where the
usual conviviality might be
found for people visiting and
in order to meet like-spirits.
Local groups, individuals and
sympathisers might be
able to donate small amounts of
resources, (furniture and
fittings...) if and when a room
is earmarked as suitable.

Part of the study accommodation could form a meeting/conference area. This is a fairly obvious comment I know, but I envisage a largish area where Anarchist groups and societies could hold talks, exhibitions and other meetings. I have in mind the kind of thing the Scientific Societies Lecture Theatre enables, in another connection. In this hall at the Centre, we might well build up Film Projecting facilities later.

Black Flag Editors,

It is all too easy to crit-

icise, especially especially

from a safe distance. However

with irrelevant cartoots and

drawings and also some really

the drawing which appeared on

on Azione Revoluzionaria! Just

Also the juvenile drawing on

I would pickthe article which

the Court Circular page.

it was suggested was "ex-

which claimed that there

were moves afoot to ex-

change Komboa Ervin for

the British mercanaries

held in Angola. It seemed

The issue was more like a

Nick.

Wales.

like pure fantasy to me.

punk Fanzine than an

anarchist paper.

clusive to Black Flag" and

what is it supposed to represent?

As an example of the latter

page seven above the report

As an example of the former

No.4 (Sept.) was peppered

ridiculous articles.

Dear Editor,
In my opinion the new layout
of Black Flag is a big improvement, however I wish the
same could be said for some
of the articles!

The "Pygmies" article in
the last issue (no. 4) was
typical of what I feel to
be a waste of time and space.
Is it really all that important
that some Trots use the word
"pygmy" as an insult? Surely
the more obvious criticism
would be ofthe content of the
article in question. This
kind of pettiness gets us
nowhere!

SW Kent.

We don't like having to edit letters down, so please keep them as short as possible.

Letters should be sent to:
The Editors, Black Flag,
"Over-the-Water",
Sanday,
Orkney, Scotland.



Those pressurised cans that spray deodorant or 'air freshener' have themselves a slight but distinctive odour slightly differing from brand to brand. Overuse of these pressure-can sprays in a vehicle that is otherwise dirty and untidy, can be very suspicious. Are the occupants trying to mask the smell of cannibis or other pungent chemical odour? Bear this in mind on those motorway stops.

Criminals using vehicles who,

although not dishonest in the ordinary sense, may, owing to extreme political views, intend to harm the community you have sworn to protect. While there are subtle differences between these types of extremists and thieves, it is difficult to put one's finger on material distinctions. However, they seem to have a motivation or dedication, whatever their appearance (they are usually scruffy and, occasionally, personally dirty), markedly dissimilar to the cynicism of the greedy and dissatisfied thief. Most thieves are reasonably conservative in their style of dress. Their unusual appearance would be towards flashiness rather than a 'don't care' casual look. You see, political immoderates consider themselves soldiers, rather than 'smart operators' who think the world owes them a living. This will show in thier ordinary conversation, where almost unconsciously they will use the jargon and phrases of thier beliefs. This intense and extremist gabble, if spoken with a cultured voice, particularly if the speaker is a woman, should make you pause and think through the likelihood that you may have stumbled over an important matter. Is there anything else in the car to confirm a suspicion?

To express a couple of personal prejudices. First, I have never seen street or motor thieves, no matter how financially successful they might be, wearing wellpolished and well- repaired shoes They may be 'snappy' or 'flash' dressers, their shoes may be of good quality, even new, but almost certainly they will be scuffed. dirty in the welts and down at heel. You can be certain they will not have been cleaned underneath between sole and heel. Second, I have never known such characters to smoke pipes in that slow reflective way that real smokers do. Some flash confidence thieves may have a pipe in thier mouths for effect, but they still will not look like pipe smokers.

1. Though the Vizeerees were said to live solely by robbing other tribes and the government, they themselves had 'no general government; but are divided into societies, some under powerful khans, but others under a simple democracy; they are all most remarkable for their peaceful conduct among themselves; they have no wars between clans, and private dissension is hardly ever heard of. notorious plunderers as they are, the smallest escort granted by them

Answers To Quiz

2. The Peasants Revolt of 1381.
It was on Blackheath that John
Ball preached his famous sermon 'When Adam delved and Eve span'.

secures a traveller a hospitable

reception throughout the whole

tribe' (a report of 1833).

3. Having been reduced to a miserable way of life in the mountains by invading tribes, the Bheels (like the Gaels!) took to the hills and, finally, in desperation, to robbery - like the MacGregors under Rob Roy retreating before the Sassenach. They were 'reformed' in the same way as the High-landers, by being recruited into native corps, and honours being given to the chiefs, legitimate vistas of plunder thus being opened up to them.

4. Most of them were Pacifists, or at the very least enthusiasts for the League of Nations (or, like Einstein, both); all considered war as it had been known in 1914-18 should be abolished, and thought the bomb made it impossible. Many therefore believed no government would use it, and one or two had no idea it could be used in war at all.

5. Matthew Hopkins, the Witchfinder General (who died in 1646, 300 years before the Witchcraft Act was repealed).

6. They changed the names of the streets.

We are pleased to hear of the death of Anastasio Somoza Debayle, 54, the exiled former dictator of Ni aragua in Asuncion in September.

Somoza was killed as he
was being driven in his white
Mercedes-Benz from his luxurious
home in the suburbs of the
Paraguagan capital of Asuncion.
A truck pulled up alongside his
car and opened fire with aut0matic weapons. A bazooka rocket
delivered the coup de grace.

The news of Samoza's death sparked off singing and dancing in the streets of Managua, Nicaragua. One journalist, commenting on the news, said: "At last he has made his people happy."

The guerrillas who carried out the assassination made a clean getaway, although the authorities claimed that one of them was wounded.

The Sandinista regime in Nicaragua claimed that Somoza had caused the deaths of over 100,000 people.

Somoza's personal fortune

(estimated at\$100 million) was
not invested in Nicaragua at the
time of his overthrow, so he
still had access to it.