

ised to resist this confrontation. Provocatively the police drove their transits at full speed straight at the mass pickets. Then the cavalry charged. The pickets responded by rolling a workhut down the hill towards the lines of police. Another hut was set on fire. Next day the media had their field day on the violence, putting across the usual bias. A couple of days later and the seige conditions worsened. Police descended on the mining communities in mass numbers. All this in order to wear down morale and ensure a few more arrests and the usual bail conditions. Outnumbered, the response of the mining communities was to turn to hit and run tactics. At Brampton a barricade was set on fire in the centre of the village. Police were warded off with stones and forced to disperse when a huge turf roller from the nearby cricket ground was rolled towards them down the main street. A police vehicle was petrol bombed but was not set alight. Later the police claimed to have found a crate of petrol bombs ready for throwing.

Dinnington, though, saw perhaps the best violence. Police sealed off the area but were forced on to the retreat when local people took defensive action. The police station was evacuated after two molotovs were allegedly thrown, one of which is supposed to have exploded in the entrance. Large numbers of police cavalry were also thwarted when it was soon realised that wire had been strung up at a certain height across highways throughout the village. Barricades were also set alight and electricity supplies temporarily sabotaged with the uprooting of street lamps. Elsewhere in the county there was much retalliation against the seige. Cars were overturned and NCB property damaged at Rossington; lifting machinery and colliery offices were damaged at Dearne Valley; the same also at Dodworth, South Kirkby, Darfield Main,



DAY OF ACTION - in support of miners Bradford Letter

Building Society Occupied

On 5th Nov Price-Waterhouse offices in Manchester were picketted



On November 5th, as part of the Day of Action in support of the miners, our group smashed the plate glass of the DHSS Headquarters in Elephant & Castle, London, and painted the slogan 'PAY THE MINERS NOW!' @ Miners Support Group No. 5

etc. At Hickleton two management cars were overturned and set alight and two bosses were attacked by a group of people wearing balaclavas.

While all this was happening in South Yorkshire, similar things were taking place in South Wales.

On one day alone more than 1000 police were sent in to increase the seige.

for 7 hours by Bolton, Manchester and Liverpool Direct Action Movement and other anarchists from all over the North West.

The protest was to protest the plundering of NUM funds by P.W. on behalf of the government. At the end of the 7 hour picket the offices were briefly invaded. The anarchists went up to the 10th floor, closely followed by lift loads of police and occupied the Price Waterhouse offices. After arguing with the scabs and pigs for half an hour the group escaped without any arrests.

down the NCB offices. At Abernant pickets tried to overturn a mini-bus carrying four scabs. At Cwm Colliery, Pontypridd, miners were forced to defend themselves with iron bolts and bars against the police mob...

Two days later and the seige in South Yorkshire was as bad as ever. 42 police were reported injured during clashes at Frinkley, near Doncaster. At Worsborough, near Barnsley, a power line was sabotaged. Clashes took place at Cwm, Abernant and Celynen. At the latter the NCB offices were occupied; around 300 riot cops stormed the building, but were temporarily beaten back.

Black Flag Page 1

Manchester

Price - Waterhouse Picket

In Bradford on November 5th, a group of 15 people occupied the main branch of Halifax Building Society in the city as a contribution to the National Day of Action in Support of the Mining Communities on that day.

The Halifax was chosen as a target for its harassment of striking miners and their families who are unable to pay their mortgages, by threatening to repossess their homes.

At about 11.30 most of us entered the main branch, handed out a few leaflets and sat down, the others remaining outside gave leaflets to passersby. The police were called in when we refused to leave, and as we had achieved our purpose in attracting some attention to the goings on in the Halifax, this time we complied.

Outside, local radio interviewed "Emma Goldman", and the local paper took a few pictures and were given a leaflet. This paper mentioned us in passing on a front page article about the miners "surge back to work", without explaining why we did the action, although the local radio reported us on news bulletins during the day.

The response in the Valleys was the same as the response up north. At Penallta there was an attempt to burn BLACK FLAG - BLACK CROSS BM HURRICANE, LONDON. WC1N3XX

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12 months: £12 Inland & Surface, £19 Air. 6 months: £6.50 Inland & Surface, £10 Air.

We have had to increase the subs (the first time for 2½ years) because of increase in postage costs and the cover price. Current subscribers whose sub has not yet run out will get their copies of Black Flag sent as usual, without having to send on the extra money.



Questions & Answers on Anarchism

Q: What is meant by 'stateless socialism'? Is 'libertarian socialism' the same as anarchism?

A: Socialism – at least in its original meaning, as an aspiration of the working-class (the name has since been hijacked to mean anything and everything) – implied a co-operative, moneyless society. There were two sorts of socialism however – one organising downwards, with a ruling elite on top, entrusted with the task of organisation and education. This authoritarian socialism believed in nationalisation of the means of production, extended and extending State control of industry and of most other walks of life, and believed such a society could come about by parliament, some held though parliament could be a sounding board, only by a revolution would Nationalisation take place.

The other type of socialism believed that Statism would only lead to a compromise with capitalism in the first instance or to tyranny in the second instance. This libertarian socialism inversely believed that it had to be organised from below upwards, in workers control instead of State control in industry, and was anti-parliamentary.

In view of the failure of parliamentary socialism and the successful tyranny of Marxist-Leninism, one would have thought Anarchism would have grown conversely; but instead there has been some attempt to revise and revive libertarian socialism, formerly synonymous with Anarchism. Though Anarchist criticism of State socialism has been proved over and over again, there are persistent attempts to formulate a libertarian socialism which it is hoped will avoid the pitfalls of the Marxist State while retaining Marxist values. Because the class enemy has so distorted Anarchism this 'alternative' is being floated, but the working class simply does not find it credible, though still accepting the bourgeois view of anarchism.

THE DEADHEADS COMMAND

From now on it will be possible for any confidence trickster to make a fortune at the expense of previously legal trade unions. All they have to do is to join a union with a closed shop, and later declare that they have a conscientious objection to belonging to it.

If sacked from the job, they can sue the union for wrongful dismissal; if the union has failed to get an 85% vote of the workforce in favour of a closed shop beforehand, the Courts, under the tame Tory Judges, can order them to pay compensation. A dozen or more such claims could totally deplete union funds, and so the Conservative government will have outlawed unions by seemingly democratic and constitutional methods.

We regard the closed shop as a block on the workers.

Because of it bureaucracy can flourish in unions; workers cannot change to more militant unions any time they are dissatisfied with existing ones; the powers of the executive are strengthened, and though it suits the present government to pretend that the executive are revolutionists, trying to push through a reluctant moderate minority into their schemes, this is a fable.

But this does not blind us to the fact that *this attack* on the closed shop does not come from those who wish to strengthen unionism but from those who wish to destroy it. Parliamentary constitutions and the electoral system are likewise a block on the workers, but this does not blind one to the fact that when dictatorial governments wish to destroy them, as in Chile, it is not in order to substitute something freer, but to establish the government as supreme.

FALKLANDS TWO

The suggestion, by Leon Brittan, that a Law could be introduced to compel strikers to seek police permission before mounting a mass picket may be discounted by many as Tory Conference tub thumping. However, the introduction of another legal obstruction would be in keeping with the Tories anti-union stance. A position which only the most blinkered and apolitical citizen cannot have failed to notice.

By the use of existing legislation, the marshalling of antistrike groups, superb use of police and media manipulation the government made sure that the mistakes of 1972 and 1974 have not been repeated. Above all the State is batting to win the minds of a confused and frightened working class. Not since the Falklands has the public's opinion been so callously controlled.

The Government is determined to smash the NUM and with the removal of it, they hope to remove all possibility of further working class opposition to Tory economic policy. Thus confirming what we all knew to be true, that we are in fact 'two nations', but Bishops and Tory Squireens were afraid to admit. It is a sign of Thatchers belief in class politics that the Government has prosecuted this strike with such gusto. The fact that the miners haven't been obliging enough to surrender their jobs and communities to the Tory reprobates is tribute to their metal. Perhaps it was the States first and most costly blunder — they underestimated the miner.

Their dream of a pre-war utopia has been dispelled for the moment at least. The introduction of the much admired Japanese work practice, no unions (save Electricians style no-strikes can we join the CB1?), prayers for the Boss, in short human automation will have to be delayed. Mrs T. has powerful allies: the CBI, the State parties (Liberal, SDP and a slice of Labour), the Law and the national Police. Yet many within her own ranks aren't so self assured that the State is following the right path. They see the Beast of Finchley pushing the workers too far, over the precipice and into the abyss of anarchy. They wish to return to the old ways of partnership with the unions. Rather give the mob the crumbs than to risk the cake in an apocalyptical confrontation. They fear Maggie has the political sense of Marie Antoinette unaware, or unconcerned of the disaster the pit closures would leave already depressed areas in. A lot of planning has gone into the present State policy. In 1978 Nicholas Ridley, currently occupied with turning a State monopoly into a private one, published the notorious Five Point Plan to deal with any major threat to future Tory administrations. Point Three clearly expected the opposition to economic policy to come from the coal industry and furthermore recommended the State build up coal stocks make plans for coal imports, recruit non-union lorry drivers and introduce dual firing in all power stations. McGregor did the rest. By a mixture of fear and provocation he forced the miners to strike. It was up to the State media to then convince the bystanders the logic of its argument. In Medieval times the populace was kept in its place by the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. Today we have the Divine Right of the State. The more liberal the State the stronger is the determination that this principle be adhered to. In the jargon of Statespeak, elected Governments can do no wrong.

<text><text>

Answers on a postcard to the friends and relatives of: Kevin Gately murdered by a truncheon in Red Lion Square, London 1974 Blair Peach murdered by a truncheon in Southall, London 1979. Richard "Cartoon" Campbell murdered in his prison cell, Ashford Remand Centre, South London 1980.

James Heather Hayes, murdered in his cell, Ashford Remand Centre 1982 and many more. Outside London 270 deaths in custody since 1974. Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland...we lost count. Police/Prison Wardens in custody: O!

WHAT IS FASCISM?

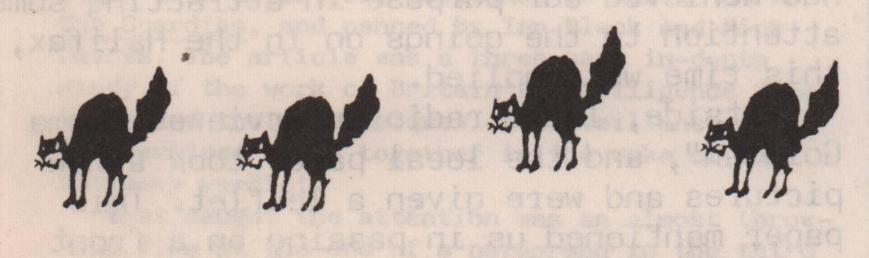
The distinguishing mark of a criminal Statist regime, such as fascism, is not brutality or torture or even racism — any of which can operate as much in a democracy especially if it is introduced by stealth or with moderation. It is the destruction of independent bargaining forces in which workers can fight to establish their standards of living, or by withdrawing labour can influence the conditions imposed upon them from above. Without such restraint those who work are soon reduced to the status of slaves.

Nobody has reiterated more than we the inadequacies of trade unionism such as the failure to incorporate workers without work into the labour movement but to acquiesce in a system which corrals them off as 'unemployed' – not to mention political greed and stupidity of its leadership. But granted this, there is no other feature so distinguishing fascism, or the criminal face of capitalism, from what can still pass as a 'democracy', as the destruction of trade unionism.

WHAT TO DO?

How are workers to face up to this threat? In Nazi Germany unions representing in total millions of workers rushed to safeguard their assets from the Nazis by such innocuous methods as endowing ex-Servicemen's Clubs which the Nazis might be hoped to respect. In Thatcherite England the story is being repeated by transferring assets to personal accounts or welfare funds in the hope that Price Waterhouse won't find them.

The reason, one may mention, why minor fascist groupings are being encouraged to put out seemingly pro-trade union propaganda is the same reason why the government refers to 'fascism' when attacking trade unions: it is to put everyone off the scent that we are now entering into an era of fascism, in its classical sense: a period in which workers' organisation will be destroyed, and some nationalist adventure or other of the Falklands nature deployed. There is no pussyfooting with this: we have to enter into a period of resistance.



FUCK LAW & ORDER - ANARCHY MEANS LIBERTY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE.

TAPEWORM TENDENCY

The "Militant" (sic) published on October 12th an article on "When the Spanish miners took power" (1934), precluding it with a comment "As Trotsky had forseen..." (without any comment that Trotsky's only contribution to the Spanish struggle was to say the workers did not need arms but only a 'marxist analysis', a thesis he maintained solidly until Hitler threatened the countries where Trotskyists lived, when they called for support for the Second World War and denounced the Scandinavian social democrats for their "cowardly pacifism and neutrality"). The article is illustrated with a banner portraying "A Spanish revolutionary poster from the 1930s. The Asturian workers were 'defeated but not conquered'." The banner is clearly of the CNT miners.

But in the article it is said, amongst numerous inconsistencies and untruths that "The Commune was defeated due to the extremely unfavourable international circumstances....and the role of the Anarchists who transported troops to crush the Commune on the railways..." Doesn't this sound a bit odd? But it is the normal Trot line on Spain, faithfully here echoed by the tapeworms. They must be remembered as the group who cashed in on the resurrection of the UGT by associating themselves with it after the death of Franco still privately denying responsibility for all its past deeds but lauding it as "the Spanish TUC" and the majority voice.

The railways were not run by "anarchists"! They were run by railway workers. True the CNT was the majority union true if the workers had been heroic enough they would have let the soldiers shoot them rather than operate the railways (no Trot ever did that!), but what is typical of the Trots is that when the Spanish workers do anything they approve or can cash in on, they are the "Spanish workers", when they are to be criticized they become "the anarchists"!

TIGER

For this reason, simultaneously with the act of destroying unionism comes Operation Tiger, ostensibly for the purpose of co-ordinating attacks on 'terrorism', in practice for facilitating terrorist attacks upon the people.

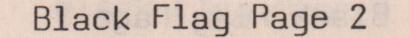
Everyone knows that there is no possible legal definition of terrorism, any more than of (say) 'poverty'. *It* is a purely emotive term — one persons terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. But the State can stir up public emotion with greater nationalist indignation at lesser nationalist attacks, and then use this manufactured indignation to then justify repression of all radical thought.

Those suffering the scourge of mass unemployment may not readily believe that enforced idleness is not the aim of the present ruling class nor is it the worst they can face. It is a preliminary to a long-cherished capitalist, and also fascist dream, — forced resettlement. By turning people out of their homes and settling them elsewhere, whether it is done by armed troops or economic pressure, one weakens any opposition and strengthens the State which is also enabled to share out the assets they have been forced to leave behind.

How quickly the closure of pits, for instance, will be then followed by the offer of dream cottages in Wales! How soon the closure of the ports has been followed by dream apartments by the Thames river, with the old-established dockland communities forced out to housing estates — not like the way the Nazis marched the Lithuanians and Latvians out of their homes and made them leave the key in the door for the new favoured inhabitants — but like enough, surely, to make people realise that this crisis will not be solved by obeying the judiciary.

Q: How do Conservative Trade Unionists negotiate a pay rise? A: They don't! Hah, Hah, Hah.

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MINERS NEWS

Hatfield

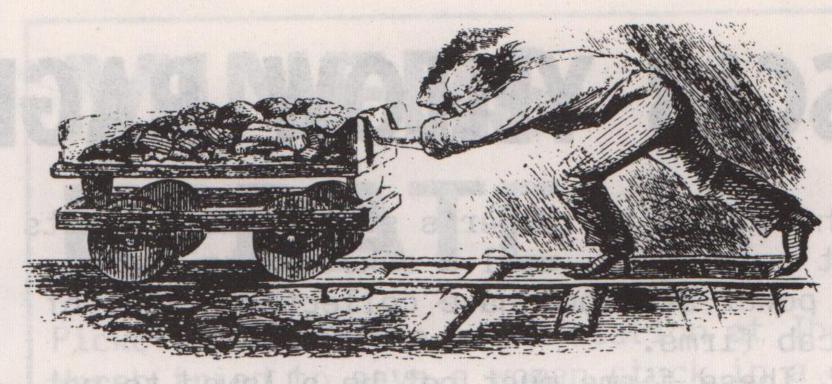
On Thursday 8th November scabs went into Hatfield pit, this led to a pitched battle and the cop shop windows got smashed. A cop horse slipped & pickets were blamed for in supporting the strikers has been busy: the possibility of it becoming blind.

Cops now taunt miners with "Why don't you go digging for coal & kill yourselves' - referring to recent deaths of people digging in slagheaps for fuel. Because people are out of fuel, many of those who have been picketing are now spending their time 'logging'. No time or energy for 'revolutionary' ferment when bases of survival are non-existent. Those who claim that if the miners weren't being given food they would be more 'revolutionary' please note!

Cardiff Miners Support Group

A mixed group of students who have no formal structure, informal meetings which are open to anyone taking an active part 7/11/84 5:15am. arrive at Nantgarw/Windsor colliery to stop a scab from crawling in. By 7am there were 200 pickets & as many cops (many 'hidden'), the scab arrived in late taking us but not the cops by surprise. In the resulting push 2 pickets were thrown onto a fire. The cops attempt to arrest a picket was stopped by 50 pickets piling in, they didn't try again.

Later that day the Uni MSG and Arts College MSG went to a Penrhiwceiber Womens MSG meeting and handed over £400 collected has come from Belgium, but the Belgian Twinned with Penrhiwceber colliery the women showed us how little each family has to survive on - approx. 3 lbs of potatoes and about 6 tins a week...if food parcels are above £4 the State will take that £4 off the family money (if they get any). Snoops look around. Single strikers get a bigger food parcel because they get no money at all. If there isn't enough of an item eq. jam, for everybody, distribution is witheld until there is enough for all. The women picket, fundraise, organise the publicity and entertainment...a bit more than soup kitchens. Their determination is strong and they are willing and able to continue for ever - your support is essential. E.M. Cardiff



Money Blood

The parents of a Yorkshire miner who died on a picketline have ripped up and returned a £250 cheque sent to them by working miners, declaring it to be blood money. Parents of David Jones say they were deeply insulted to receive the cheque through the post along with a letter of condolence for the loss of their son who died on picket duty at Ollerton pit, Nottinghamshire in March.

Belgian Mines To Close

Much support for the miners strike here miners themselves are hard pressed. At the

Returning miners are still only a small percentage of all miners. Some of those who are down as 'returned' are those on sick.

The NCB's 'bonus' (sic) is merely wages without tax - no tax payable as no money earned so far this tax year.

Womens Action

On November 7th, 20 women took over the pit-head baths at Cynheidre Pit, near Llanelli, to stop scabs working. The women stayed there that night, and all the next day.

Racketeer Exposed

Nottingham's Chief Constable Charles McLachlan has been served with a total of 10 writs as a result of police action in the miners strike. Six of the writs allege unlawful detention without charge, two assault by Police Officers, one assault, wrongful arrest and false imprisonment & one unlawful detention fo llowing arrest for obstruction.

Meanwhile Nott's cops are declining. Compared to a year ago (2,245) regular officers are now down to 2,209. Why?

A fundraising campaign in Belgium by

Oil Embargo

At West Thurrock and Tilbury an embargo has been placed on all future oil supplies to the stations by the T & G workers. Thurrock, as a result, has now been taken off the National Grid.

Other 'peripheral' power stations may follow suit. Already, however, the CEGB has begun lorry convoys to transport coal from scab pits to other blacked power stations, such as Didcot. Latest news is that the TGWU, the NUS and the two rail unions have agreed to enforce the oil embargo too. The three unions will also be making joint representation to the International Transport Federation for trade unions in other countries to respect the ban.

beginning of November Flemish, Welloon and Turkish miners came together to demonstrate against pit closures. Last month the last pit in the French speaking area was shut down. There are also plans to close pits in the Dutch speaking area at Genk, Weterschen and Winkerslag, cutting the workforce by 3,000. The Govt. and bosses are playing a 'softly softly' game because there' are elections next year.

TUC vs THE MINERS

The tragedy of the miners strike is that although a TUC/Labour sell-out is brewing there will be few in the labour movement prepared to challenge the current establishment.

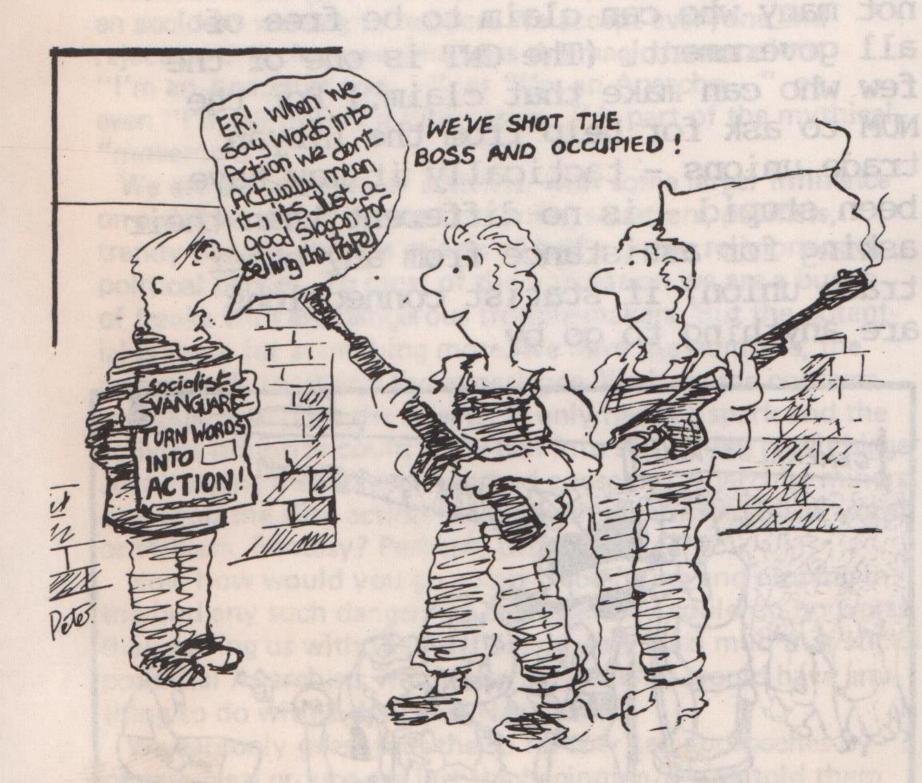
From the very beginning of the dispute the NUM wisely went over the heads of the TUC and appealed to other unions and the rank and file direct. Had they relied on TUC 'solidarity' the strike would have ended in defeat long ago.

Now the TUC are going all out to crush the NUM because they will not tolerate a victory based on direct action. Even more so, the TUC understands that if the NUM win through, the old reformist tactics will have taken a sound knocking. Under these circumstances the TUC and the Labour Leadership are sticking close together, each backing the other in their hypocritical condemnation of 'violence'. The fact is that this complicity is a major factor in the inducement to scab. Not surprisingly TUC General Secretary Norman Willis got the old noose treatment at one of the NUM rallies when he did his 'I deplore violence' bit. Needless to say his condemnation, as is Kinnock's, is part and parcel of the wider strategy to isolate the NUM and to eventually push for the rehabilitation of arbitration as a respectable means for ending the dispute. Violence, as every miner knows from direct experience is basic to the class struggle and to any industrial action that avoids capitulation. The TUC/Labour Leadership knows that State violence has to be confronted and defeated, but that won't admit it publicly. For reasons of expediency. It goes without saying that so far the police have got off lightly. As for the future, a non-reformist, non-hierarchical, syndicalist federation is a long way off from being organised but it has to come if our class is to avoid any more defeats. The support groups could form the basis of such a new

striking Notts miners raised £7,000.

Nott's Tory Council Policy and General Purposes Committee opposed an independent Inquiry into policing of the miners strike. They also turned down providing free meals during the last half term school holidays to the children of miners in hardship

Sutton trades are being forced to the brink by the miner's strike. The town's Chamber of Trade says all businesses are down 20 per cent on last year's turnover.

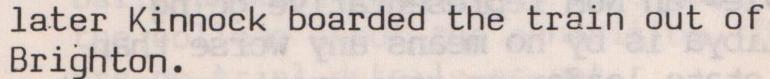


What's The Damage?

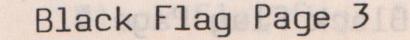
A NCB computer was sabotaged at their Exploration Unit near Doncaster. All the terminals were smashed and the building wrecked causing over £100,000 worth of damage.

Spot The Hypocrite

Neil Kinnock some years back was in the lavatory at the Grand Hotel when a young man kicked him in the elbow. The shadow Education spokesman seized the attacker and pulled him in close so Neil 'I deplore violence' could beat the shit out of him. When Kinnock rejoined his companions at the bar he told them what had happened, one went to check and found blood and vomit all over the floor. A few hours



alliance. is no different from any other countr



SCAB YELLOW PAGES Throughout the Miner's strike, NUM pickets at collieries, coal & coke depots, ports & power stations have collected a list of scab firms.

These firms must not be allowed to get away with their strike-breaking activity, either now or in the future, in the mining or any other industry...

J.W. Whitehead A. Sadler **Contract Hire** Ward Brothers Banks T.L. Haldley T. Biker P. Kelly (Armthorpe Coal Merchants) W.T. Mountain D.H. Pool **Newtom Brothers** Heanor Knifton Emelite F. Sherwood Cory Clarkes of Wellingborough R.F. & G. Bowman, Mansfield Barnes & Tipping - Clitheroe, Lancs. Pennine Haulage Co. Ltd. Wrights (wombwell) Holdens J. Brooks, Bolton A. Morris, Chester J. N. Tomlinson, Darwen B.J. Waters, Darley Dale J. Booth, West Houghton H. Brooks & Sons Kettle Wells J. Warrings Coombes J.V. Cousins Sprotsons **Colin Vains** Priory Hulse **Fearney Hough** Waley Duffin Atkinson Meeks Inghams Teasdale of Doncaster Tel: 22342 Patrick Brumpton, Bedale 50243/50445 Cassidy & Co., Holme on Spalding Moor J.B. Willey, Penrith Glasson Grain Ltd J.H. Whitehead & Co M. Woodhouse, Lancaster Yuill & Dodds, Strathaven C.T.S. Midlands Ltd, Tamworth E&J Meeks Ltd. Kirkby Days of Newark S.R. Kirkbride, Maryport Pennine. Lothersdale, Keighley Pelters Haulage Ltd Barnes & Tippling Ltd. **Commbs** Transport

YORKSHIRE

Rushcliffe R. Blenkinsop C. Warcup K. Oxley H. Ree J.H. Lee R.A. Medcalf S. Johnson A.G. Cummings **David Patrick** W. Hill W.G. Taylor Laycocus Fuel Forshaw & Bradshaw **Barnes Tipping** M.F. Hanson Thorpe Kettlewell P.E.M. Pennine Haulage H. Reid & Son C.H. Walker Whittaker Seymour Transport A.W. Biker Harrisons Dunsville **Thomas Bows** Alfred Sykes Mr. Orpwood Rainfords G.J. Booth & Son W. Smith Grahams W. G. Taylor Grove Wharf Transport James Transport C. Snow Aggregates Endeby McKelvie Wilson G.T.H. Lee F.S. Banks Mills Thomas Bros. Alfred Hymas Ltd G. Hadfield G.M. Hebblewhite Tyneside Bulk Transport **Eckington Fuels** A.H. Arrowsmith Bowmans E. Richardson Gradie Hall Reeves Cassidy Graingers Wellfield **R&K** Transport Butterfields (Barnsley) D & N Nottingham J.W. Cousins Scrutons H.W. Reed Whitaker Pennine Haulage DO K Illiantes

A.J.A. Smith T. Mulrooney, Selby J.R. Young Whieldon & Son S. Meyer G.E. Grays T & P Fuels (South Shields) J. Mulligan Transport Tony Baker Plant Hire Frank A. Stark Tetney (Grimsby) G. C. Services, Ripon Peteriee Haulage, Durham T.R. Handley Hunter Bros. Tantonbrie **Murphy Transport Services** Cannons Banks Bros. (Co. Durham) R. Gilson Bradnsbuck Robsons Kilburns, Batley Shuker Cunnah, Wrexham Farrows D.H. Jones. Wrexham **Richard Jones** A.S. Harrison, Dunsville Rushcliffe H. Reid, Thorne Gordons Gool Wright & Scotten W. Graham Horsby Carle Smith, Leicester Banks, Co. Durham Roy Gilson, Goole H.J. Waler, Rothbury Cassidy Co. Ltd R.S. Applegate, Norfolk A.S.A. Smith S. Meyer Holmes Ltd, Hepworth G. Newbury & Son Roy Clarke & Son Heap Transport, Cheshire Dixson, Kent Bayford, Leeds Robinson Chapel, Wakefield **Hicks Haulage** C. Robinson, Scunthorpe Gilbert Chapple, Wakefield German Ship: Muhlenberg Bayfords Leeds Steetley Heanor Transport **Graves Haulage** Hoveringham Owen (dinnington) **AP** Transport Hebbie Whites Haulage Hoveringham **Gilbert Chapple** Tarmac Bayford Kaybee Greaves R. Robinson South Yorkshire Carriers Hargreaves S.H. Buckley **Bulk Haulage** D.W. Stephenson Wilson Bowring **Rushcliffe Fuels** SOUTH WALES

George M. Reid Apple Bee (Wolverhampton) F.M. Francis R.J. Allen Blue Line W.H. Jakeways **Atlas Transort** Northover Michael Fowler Sheldick **Charles Footman Horace Contractors** Joint Motors Meeks C.R. Stein **Cardiff Transport** M.K. (Tonyrefail) S.R. Briggs John Raymond Jackson & Murphy (Devon) G.H. Wintle W.R, Hill **Everly Transport** Williams (Nanteredig) Jackson & Huntley-Way Transport (Devon) H & B Transport (Skewen) **Richard Reid** Steetley Transport G's Transport A.J. Watts (Somerset) B.F. I. (London) Rees & Kirkby Ltd Josephy Holloway R.J. Free Gunners (Scunthorpe) Clugston (Kingswinford) Hobbs Pantdu Hall & Pickles **Bevington Transport** G. Alcock R. James (Bridgend) H.B. Haulage Lime Valley Commercial (Staffs) Kettle & Co. (Stoke) J. Armstrong S.B. McCreedy Parker Haulage Masseys (Derby) Ken Cope (Derby) Dixsons (Derby) Corbishleys (Staffs) Moores (Ashby de-la-Zouch) Cox & Sons D.A.C. Davis of Derby Palmer & Harvey Parks Lime Valley Commercial, Newcastle Staffs. Kettle & Co. Stoke-on-Trent J. Armstrong, Dalsone S.B. McCreedy **PRIVATE COACHES** Station Road Coaches Happy Times Coaches NCB **GNR 164V** A591 GJU **TRY 445T Chapel End Coaches Nuneaton** Parker Haulage Ltd De Lux Buses Ltd, Atherstone Waynfleet Coaches - Nuneaton G.P.O. XHP 563X J. Smillie Ltd, Glasgow Co-op Milk NCB A234 GFP **ARG 217Y** HPV 285W (Mines Rescue) A274 GEP

Vendepac H. Cotterill, Pinxton Narrow Aisle UK NCB A591 GJU A234 GFP **HNR 288V MRY 649W KRY 572V VJG 549S TFT 382X** A239 JFP A252 HAY Parkes **Birch Coppice Coaches** Midland Red Delux (Mansetter) Relaint, Hipstock, Leics. Warers, Derby Pool NCB GRN 167V CTS Carl Smith, Leicester Kent Butler, Leicester Stoke Transport, Stoke F.E. Hinch, Grettham Hanson, Gt. Harwood Lancs John Williams (D/O) **Steel Stockholders** Garry Cave J. Mulford Ltd. Vendepac

Securicor

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NCB

Lowes Transport

Eardley, Chapeltown, Sheffield Corbishly, Thorncliffe Lee Moores - Ashby-De-La-Zouch Cox & Sons Newcastle Armitage Transport Slinter Haulage Co., Cromford Derbyshire Massey - Wirksworth, Derbyshire **Dixons** - Derby B.O.C. NCB **SLO 345P PEH 167**R **PEK 147L MRY 649W HBF 432V** A234 GFP A235 GFP **RJU 712W HBF 446V** A592 GJU A591 GJU **RJU 711V HAR 288V COLCHESTER - KENT**

S. Castle J. Marshall F.W. Waycock Ltd **Cliffs Transport** Rillit Ltd W.R. Jones & Son South Wales T. Owen & Sons Ltd J. Lymel (Whatton) H.M. Smith, Derby **Greys Transport** P. Newman W. Voxwell, Stoke-on-Trent **CBTA Ltd** T.H. Brown, Grimsby **RMK Transport** D.D. Dodd Cherry & Son Fernighough Farm M & S Roe & Son W.M. Rainford **KENT AREA**

KRY 572V MRY 649W DEH 606W S.T. Challis **Mick Whittle** West Midlands Transport **Proctors Bulk Cement** Selbys Garage D & A Longton A.P. Wincott Pearson Transport, Coventry M.G. Lett NCB Tranny RJU 711W E.J. Seal Bulkliner **Fred Sherwood** Jenkins Coal Merchants T.H. Smith Dowty, Ashchurch, Tewksbury Dowty Reg. YFC 749V and Trailer **CST 29** NCB GFP 234A YFP 281Y **TRY 445K GFP 235A** FJU 591A A592 GJU TJU 9X A591 GJU XEU 826S OYM 847R **TFP 328X VRB 437Y** A385 GAR AFT 217X ABA 638Y BRE 222T MRY 649W KRY 572V **VEH 352S BRY 273T WEH 337S Eurd Hire** BOC Davis of Derby **Ryder Truck Rental** Dale, Mansfield Venepac

DAC

Palmer & Harvey

Rowhedge Dock Lorries C. H. Neal & Son R.C. Bell & Son Sarllibier Ltd., Brigend Bridgend Kays Brothers R. Evans, South Wales Rowlinson

Rayners Transport Ltd. Transport Contractors, Four Rivers Thompson Transport Derby H.M. Smith Ltd Haddesdon Derby K. Gregory Wright & Son, Chelmsford COVENTRY AREA

Moores (Ashby-de-la-Zouch) Sherwoods, Long Whatton Dents Shepshed

Erewash Garage D.H. Poole, Ripley Stokes Woods Solid Fuels Lester Bros. **Glovers Ravenstone** D & E Services Overseal Miles Fox Transport **R.J. Jones Transport** Fernyhough Farms Security Cor Robirch, Burton on Trent Kennings Tyres W. Parkes, Pennington Haulage Llayton Express F.C.X. - Self Employed **Entex Spring** Caricane **Conveyor Quick Corier Services**

THAT LIBYAN CONNECTION

Just to make it all patently clear, Cementation, the firm Mark Thatcher is involved with, had a contract with Gadafi up until three years ago. British Steel (of which Ian MacGregor is still a Board Member) provided a consultancy service to a Libyan steel plant during the period 80-84.

GEC (one of whose directors was Lord Carrington, now Secretary-General of NATO) currently is under contract to Libya, as is Taylor Woodrow Ltd (a backer of the miners return to work movement).

As for the NCB it is now no secret that they too had a consultancy contract with Libya (via their subsidiary company, Compower).

One of the biggest export earners is British Telecom (earned £2m from Gadafi as a result of a computer course they designed and implemented for Libyan - as far as capitalism is concerned; and that capitalism is no different from any other political ideology as far as Gadafi is concerned.

It was of course stupid of the NUM to meet up with Gadafi knowing that the media would go to town and some miners may even be influenced to scab as a result of the adverse propaganda.

Gadafi's funds extend to all causes. A few years back, he was not only funding the WRP trots in Britain, but also the fascist Paladin organisation, based in Spain, that had known links with various state intelligence agencies, including the CIA. Why did he fund such an outfit? Because Gadafi believes in supporting destabilisation and will back any group - right or left - that can create conflict.

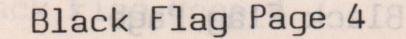
Of course from the statist point

ative visiting a counterpart (eg, Gromyko seeing Reagan, Thatcher inviting Botha, Churchill allying with Stalin, etc). Some trade unions are more in the pockets of reformist or downright totalitarian governments than others; but there are not many who can claim to be free of all government. (The CNT is one of the few who can make that claim.) For the NUM to ask for help from the Libyan trade unions - tactically it may have been stupid - is no different than their asking for assistance from any other trade union, if statist connections are anything to go by.



telecommunication workers).

The point, of course, is that Libya is no different from any other country of view an NUM representative going to Libya is by no means any worse than any state leader or government represent-



FASCISTS?

Some time ago we wrote about the perverted rantings of a Nazi group trying to gain some credibility by jumping the Anarchist/Syndicalist bandwagon. In that case we responded to the Nazi shits with a firm and simple message: FUCK OFF However that wasn't a one off approach, and more than one group is getting in on the act. In that case we can't pretend its a one off; but have to relate these incidents with the wider political scene, in this country and across Europe.

The Nazis have tried various methods of expanding from the lunatic/psychiatric wing of the political spectrum. From small groups of fanatics holding Hitler birthday parties and wanking each other off in SS uniforms they tried to form large scale organisations. SS uniforms were banished to the closet as groups like the Greater Britain Movement, British National Party and the League of Empire Loyalists formed the National Front. The NF provoked and responded to racial tensions, the group grew in strength and for a time looked like replacing the Liberals as the third-place losers party in elections. But all political parties are hierarchical mini-States, and various personalities fought for top place at the apex of the NF pyramid. In the fight to be Fuerher the NF has repeatedly been split, and the splits have split and resplit with heartening regularity. The more they infight the less time they have to out-fight.

These power struggles have usually taken on an ideological cover. It would be too brutally honest for the squabblers to admit they were fighting for personal rather than political gain. Again this is common to all political movements, how many people can actually fathom the same splits and infighting among the Trots? The ideological cover for the Nazi: squabbles has often between out and out Hitlerites or Hitler cultists of the extreme Right and the Strasserites who place themselves on the 'Left'. Its really too boring to go through all the torturous round of splits between the Hitlerites and the Strasserites who are the most dynamic and are the ones who have made approaches to anarchists among others. Most of the larger Nazi groups have both Hitlerite and Strasserite wings among the activist cadre, most of the membership are either out of it on glue or totally apathetic on the whole. When the Strasserites claim to be anti-capitalist and anti-Hitlerite there is little reason to doubt them. Hitler had Gregor Strasser shot and by no means of the imagination can Hitlerism be described as any form of socialism. The Strasserite dreams of racially pure socialism of small property owners and the self-employed, in Marxist terms they want a petit-bourgeois socialism, a socialism divorced of a real working class basis. So why the sudden interest in Anarchism by the Nazis? The answer is part of a complex whole. Firstly in the last couple of years they have been in a period of decline and internal dissension.... With record levels of unemployment and record crime they should have been cleaning up but they have been unable to even get near their 1977 level. The obvious conclusion is that their old tactics don't work. Thatcher has soaked up the support of the hang 'em birch 'em racist, (especially after the Falklands). In the last couple of years ecology, disarmament and unemployment have been the big issues that have moved people. The unemployment issue is largely sewn up by the 'hard' left and would leave little room for the Nazis to manouvre. On the other hand ecology, animal lib and disarmament represent a large hazy area where the Nazis can manouvre without too much difficulty. And in getting involved in these areas the Nazi activist with only limited cover can get out of the Rightist ghetto and into contact with activists who are often unpoliticised or simply concerned on a one off issue. For example class struggle activists usually steer clear of animal lib activities, animal lib being a grey area for most of us. The Nazi can get involved, become genuinely active and without blowing his/her cover can switch to racist activity, by attacking immigrant butchers shops and slaughter-houses. In that case immigrant communities are attocked and harassed in the name of animal lib. In another sense the disarmament issue can be easily turned into a nationalist issue. CND often uses nationalist sentiments, the Nazis have only to shift from the language and emphasis a bit for the nationalism to become the issue. And us? Why should the Nazis take any notice of us? Because we are open for exploitation, we are sitting ducks, an accident waiting to happen. We accept everyone and reject no one. Anyone who uses the magic incantation: "I'm an Anarchist too. . .", or "I'm an Anarcho-...", or even "I'd call myself a Libertarian ... " is part of the mythical "movement". We are a small core of activists, with some larger influence on a diffuse group of punks/hippies, squatters, pacifists, trendy liberals and the rejects of half a dozen religions and political parties. To most of the population we are a bunch of freaks who are dangerous trouble-makers. But the potential is there for something more. We have the numbers, the propaganda tools and the experience. We have the contacts in industry and on the streets. It only needs a spark and the activists minority could snow-ball into something much bigger. Just imagine a couple of hundred conscious Anarchist miners or a Stop the City action linking with dissatisfied black youth or strikers. Fantasy? Perhaps, perhaps not. Now how would you go about discrediting and nipping in the bud any such danger? In our case they could do no worse than tarring us with the Nazi brush. Any Nazi mud that sticks & potential Anarchists would run a mile. Who would have anything to do with a bunch of Nazi lovers?

step is for them to either come out and say they accept us as allies, (even though we don't want to know). Or they could print a racist rag and call it Anarchist, cover it with A signs and union jacks. No matter how much we deny it as part of the "movement", the mud would stick. Can you imagine how our rivals on the Left would exploit that?

All that would fit in with the State's strategy of tension. Sow confusion, create tension, violence with the aim of producing a Rightist backlash.

And even more horrifying is the thought that the Nazis could do another Piazza Fontana . For many years now it has been Nazi policy to infiltrate Left groups and movements. Anarchists would be easy to infiltrate. And that fascination with armed struggle that certain youngish comrades have could be exploited. In the after-math of another Bologna train bombing we would be rounded up by the score. Public opinion would favour increased police state activity. Exactly what the State wants.

This begs the question, what relation does the State have with the Nazi groups? It seems ridiculous to claim that the State created the Nazi groups from scratch. But the police have informers and infiltrators in all political groups, from extreme Left to extreme Right. The Nazis serve a useful function for the State at certain times. In order to divert attention from the Government it uses the Nazis to stir up already existing racial tensions. To break up Leftist meetings the Nazis are useful. To destroy the unions the Nazis are useful.

Not all the Nazis, nor all the Leaders are police puppets. It only needs a few well placed individuals to keep the Right on the police line. Well founded rumours about people like Martin Webster, or Eddie Morrison for example suggest that their strings are pulled by the filth. Only a few individuals and the police get their way. And when the Nazis have out-lived their usefulness they'll be cleaned out and sent back into the looney wing. No doubt some individuals among the Nazis are sincere. But anyone who genuinely wants a working class revolution has to reject the whole idea of the Nation. The working class have no country. The idea of the Nation has been used to destroy class unity and to spread the idea that workers and bosses have something in common. The workers and bosses have only one thing in common, class war. Either they'll keep us in our place by any means possible or we'll smash capitalism. The immigrant communities are part of the British working class. We are as exploited, just like our white brothers and sisters. Exploitation recognises no racial barriers, we are exploited along with our white fellow workers by black and white bosses. If any of the Nazis are genuinely interested in Anarchism then the first thing they must do is reject the racist logic of the Nation/State. Somehow I doubt that many Nazis will suddenly become class conscious militants. What we can do to counter the plans of the State / Nazis is to be ever vigilant. We must avoid any ambiguity, RACISM and ANARCHISM are poles apart. We must denounce any signs of racism among animal lib/ecology/Anarchist circles, we must beware of any signs of confusion. Anarchists have always been active anti-Nazis, we must continue to be active Any approaches from the Nazis must be given the twofinger treatment. More importantly we must tighten up amongst ourselves, beware of infiltration. Be careful what you say and do. And for fucks sake if you're thinking of taking armed action be very careful not to be used.

MINERS UPDATE

Pickets outside the power station at Thorpe-Marsh tried to save a woman stuck in a car that crashed into the river Don, alas she disappeared but the strikers won local hero media coverage for a change.

5 people have died already trying to get coal from slagheaps - now dangerously wet one young lad drowned trying to flee his police pursuers. On Sunday 18th November 2 children, aged 12 & 15 died in a collapse at a slagheap at Goldthorpe while digging up coal for heating.

Bentley NUM Branch have decided at a Branch meeting: "at no time, now or in the future will we represent or defend scabs for any purpose".

The NCB have said that out of a national

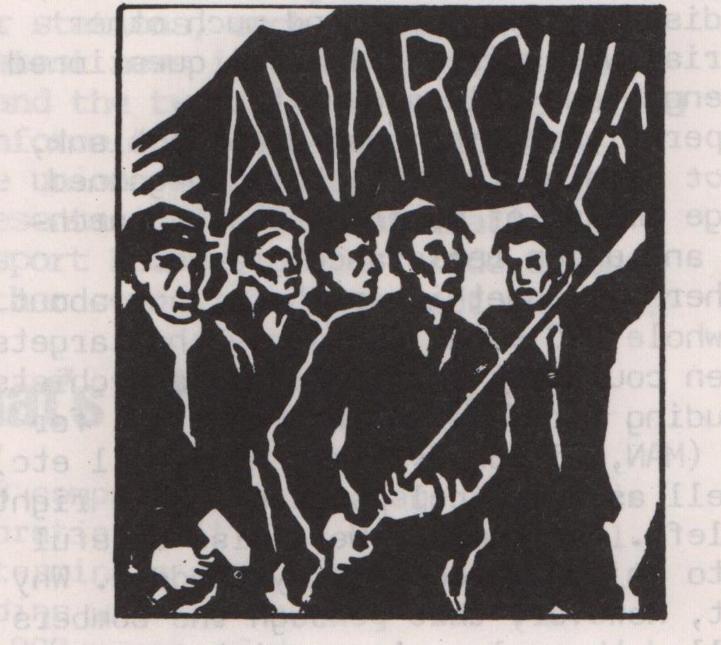
One last word, to all Nazis reading this: FUCK OFF.

capacity of 2,239,000 tonnes of coal only 581,000 is being mined. This is because of the miners strike and the overtime ban in Notts and Midlands areas which is now reducing production by up to 30%.

North Yorks area NCB is having problems with the coaches used to transport scabs. At least 2 have broken down. One of these the driver had the sense to run off and leave the coach blocking the road. The other coach driver stayed with his coach once the scabs had been taken to police station 'safety'; he was severely beaten up and required a stretcher.

Askern pickets were chased into a wood by cops with dogs. 3 pickets climbed a tree. The cops told them to get down. The pickets refused, replying: "Piss off we are having a Branch meeting!"

An Askern pit miners wife who has just given birth to a baby has been told by the Welfare that unless there is coal in their striker's home the infant will be taken into State care.



Leeds Women Attack "Art"

5 women with hammers stormed an "art" exhibition and smashed sculptures which were 'obscene and horrendous'. The plate glass window of Leeds Polytechnic and several 'art sculptures' such as a naked torso of a woman, wedged into a fridge were smashed up. Unfortunately they were caught, arrested and later released on bail. Several complaints were made to the college about the exhibition. There are no trial details as yet.

Deportation Threat

Manjit and Palbinder Kaur live in Ardwick Manchester. They are faced with the threat of separation by the Home Office. Manjit unwittingly fell foul of complex Immigration Laws and even though her daughter, Palbinder is a British citizen the Govt. want to deport her. She would have no way to support herself and her daughter in India and is therefore faced with leaving Palbinder here to go into care.

Manjit came to England in 1979 and successfully applied for supplementary benefit in 1981 just after she left her husband. The benefit soon stopped though so Manjit was forced to get a job as a clothing machinist. In December 1983 after 5 years here the Home Office told her she had 'no right to stay in England' because she did not have the correct papers on entry.

The present Immigration Laws mean that more than 50 people a week are deported and that many families have been seperated. Send letters of support (to be given to the Home Office) to Manjit Kaur Defence Campaign, c/o Sikh Family History North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester 15.

We can only guess that the so far low key approaches by certain Nazi groups are just the beginning. We've told them to fuck off but they refuse to accept the message. The next

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FRANCE,

ACTION DIRECTE

Since the 15th September five members of the French underground group, Action Directe, have been on hunger strike in various Paris prisons in protest against their treatment and their conditions of confinement.

Helyette Bess, Regis Schleicher, Vincente Spanno and Nicolas and Claude Halfen have been held for over six months without trial. All five have been repeatedly refused vists from their families and friends. Schleicher is in addition being kept in solitary confinement.

Letters and postcards of solidarity can be sent to:

Helyette Bess, 132 50/C DIIR, 9 Avenue des peupliers 91705 Fleury-Merogis. Regis Schleicher, 219 761 D21, 42 rue de la sante 75014 Paris. Nicolas Halfen, 130 575/E 6315 D2, 7 avenue des peupliers 91705 Fleury Merogis. Vincente Spanno, 731 407 ID, 1 avenue de la division leclerc 94261 Fresnes Cedex.

CANADA

DOUG STEWART

Doug Stewart, one of the Vancouver 5, has stopped his hunger strike, due to his demand of transfer to another prison being granted by the Correctional Service of Canada (see BF No121). He was on the 26th day of his hunger strike, in a weak condition in danger of a heart attack - his weight was down to 136 pounds. He may lose some feeling in his legs.

His lawyer has been told that on Nov. 29 he will be transferred to the Matsqui Federal Penitentiary, Box 4000, Abbotsford British Columbia. CANADA. Letters of support would be appreciated. Apologies to comrades who turned up from all over to a London picket which was called off by the organisers after hearing of Doug's victory.

action throughout the country.

The government responded by raiding the offices of the Black umberella trade union organisation, the FSATU, and by threatening to ban the United Democratic Front, the organisation that played a central role in successfully encouraging a massive boycott of the recent tripartite elections.

More recently over 6000 Black workers at the state-controlled Sasol coal plant have been sacked for taking part in strike action lasting only two days. The strike led to rioting and the homes of several local Black councillors were burned to the ground. Most of those sacked have been forced to return to the 'homelands' which are stricken with drought.

LATEST: Over 1000 have been arrested by security forces for taking part in the 48 hour general strike. There have been many attacks by riot police. One man is known to have died when he was struck by a plastic bullet.

Claude Halfen, 733 205 3D, 1 avenue de la division leclerc, 94261 Fresnes Cedex.

GERMANY

Radikal, the paper of the Berlin movement, is back on the streets despite the best efforts of the West German State to crush it, on the excuse that it printed communiques from the Revolutionary Cells. It now operates from an address in substitutionary Switzerland.

Meanwhile a former worker on Radikal, Hans-Jorg Schumacher, has applied for his political asylum in the Netherlands, in face of the German State's attempts to extradite him. Hans-Jorg's crime is that he is suspected of being the technical coordinator of issue No. 121 of Radikal The evidence is that during one of the raids on the paper when part of issue 121 was seized, they found papers in his handwriting remarking on and criticising various articles. For this, according to his lawyer, he faces at least a 3 year sentence if extradited.

SOUTH AFRICA

The two day general strike called by the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee resulted in a massive response. In Johannesburg the vast majority of black workers stayed at home, bringing the city to a virtual standstill. Latest news is that the Black trade unions are considering calling all-out strike

On Thursday 15th November, 5 black miners were killed and 12 more injured when part of a pit collapsed. This brings the total number of deaths of black miners in South Africa to 10,000 in the last 20 years.

Raids on Belgian Anarchists

Following the series of bombings last month claimed by the *Cellules Combatantes Communistes (CCC)* there has been a mass raid by the Belgian police.

The raid, dubbed 'Operation Mammoth", involved over 120 houses and offices being raided simultaneously. Those raided included *no* communist addresses or right wing ones. Most of those raided were anarchists, but also anti-militarists, organisations for political refugees & Middle East and Latin American support groups.

All those arrested were photographed and searched, address books, membership and distribution lists and much other material was seized. All were questioned at length and released next day. Operation Mammoth had drawn a blank, in not finding the CCC, but had gained a huge amount of material about anarchists and other resistance groups. There is something rather fishy about the whole CCC saga. Certainly the targets chosen could not be faulted by anarchists including firms making war material for NATO (MAN, Litton Systems, Honeywell etc) as well as political parties of the right and left. The bombers were also careful not to injure workers or bystanders. Why is it, however, that though the bombers labelled themselves 'communists', not one communist address was raided? Why also were no right wingers raided, when one of the bombings, that of the 'Liberal Investigation Centre', was claimed both by the CCC and the 'Front Europeen de Solidarite Belge', an extreme right wing group. Is it possible that some of the bombings have been done by the police or the extreme Right (which is very strong in Belgium) as an excuse for reprisals against the anarchists?

Reactions to the massive RAZZIA have been mixed. Some lefties who were raided have disowned the CCC, and all the anarchists, have declared solidarity with the CCC and their tactics. (This last fact weighs against the suspicions of a right wing plot).

Things became very tense, with the anarchists under extreme pressure. Lefty groups are splitting and criticising each other over the issue. Bomb scares are widespread some claimed by Onkruit, the anti-militarist organisation based in the Netherlands.

The anarchists then publicised a

However he stands a good chance of getting asylum in Holland, since these offences don't exist there. If he does he will be the first German to get this status since Emperor Wilhelm 2nd.

The two editors of *Radikal*, Benny and Micha are appealing for their political immunity from prosecution to be lifted. Their trial began about the same time as the raid which implicated Hans-Jorg. They each got a 2½ year sentence, which had to be postponed when they got elected to the European Parliament. Now they want the immunity lifted to fight an appeal against the sentences, rather than get arrested when their MEP status runs out. *Contact: RADIKAL, WOZ (zeitungskooperative) Postfach Ch-8042. Zurich. Switzerland.*

The Belgian police reacted immediately after the first bomb by setting up a new 'gigantic' demonstration against State terrorism. This was taken up and splashed all over the right wing press, but on the day only about 20 people (all plain clothes cops?) turned up. The police concluded that the anarchists had arranged a fake demo to expose the cops and to wind them up.

SOURCE: Most of the above is translated from BLUF, the Dutch squatters paper.

FROM BELGIAN ANARCHISTS 9-11-84

"On Oct 22nd at 5.00am the police force invaded our houses, apartments and print shops. 120 people were arrested, for one day or more. The State has just created a new police force, the Inter-forces Anti-Terrorist Group (G.I.A.)... They found nothing, anywhere. All the Parties, (Liberal, Labour, Catholic) agreed with the blitz operation BUT, when the Labour Party heard that an office of one of its town councillors had been visited to see if his son was involved, outcries of indignation shook the television. The next day the G.I.A. payed another visit to an ecologist MP - new outcries from the party that claims itself 'anarchist' (very funny!).

The Cellues Combatantes Communistes

Anti-terrorist brigade, from a concoctionclaimed yesterday that they will beginof specialised police units. They hadagain with their bombs from Dec. 20th".been waiting for an excuse to do this.For the Federation Anarchist L.

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EDITORIAL

Black Flag News Bulletin started approx. 18 months ago and, despite substantial financial problems, has refused to die. I joined the Collective just after the N.B. began & have gradually become more involved in its production and distribution. Even now, I don't do half the work some Collective members do. Their continued encouragement and support has been an inspiration to me.

I'm not saying the N.B. is perfect (far from it!). I'd just like to say thanks to all those who have contributed over the past 18 months and urge them to continue to do so.

I know its been said before, but printing bills, postage and envelopes all have to be paid for. Like it or not, we rely on you.

Don't forget to renew your sub! Don't forget to donate!

LETTER

WHO SCORED MOST?

Dear Black Flag,

How "magnanimous" and "objective" you are to reprint the Socialist Worker editorial in the latest Black Flag Quarterly. But I'm not sure who came out of it the winner.

About anarchism's alleged lack of historical analysis, is it adequate to reply (in brackets) only that "we are usually accused of too much" and leave it at that? An SWP friend of mine got very scornful at this point. There is a lot of history written and discussed by Anarchists but historical analysis is something else. I don't see any reason for anarchists to quarrel with the Marxist interpretation of the history of the ancient world, feudalism and capitalism in terms of social classes modes of production and their internal contradictions. For instance, Mandel's "Late Capitalism" can be used for self-education by anarchs as well as communists. Because Marx and some of his followers are a whizz at the diagnosis of past and present we don't have to swallow their prescriptions for the future.

Whether or not Marx held, as you claim, that "socialism is inevitably destined by history" isn't clear - but he certainly never implied "...so relax!" as you imply that he implied. He summed up his work as trying to "show (1) that the existence of classes is connected with the definite historical phases of development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that the latter merely provides the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." Not a tasty menu to anarchs but note the essential ingredient - class struggle.

'Socialist Worker' says that 'pure' anarchism has its social basis in the radical petty bourgeoisie . The petit bourgeois stands outside the capitalist mode of production being self-employed, independent and roughly equal to all other members of his class. A society entirely composed of petty bourgeois families would be given over

to commodity production and competition – not what anarchism is about - but it would also be a classless society and so would have no State. The acutely perceptive 'S.W.' and the like notice that what the anarchists are calling for is a classless society without the State. In the face of this overwhelming symmetry they can't help but show their grasp of vacuous logic by equating the petty bourgeoisie and Anarchists. However, I can't see that the falseness of what 'S.W.' said was anything to do with 'chartered accountants, solicitors, and Bank Managers,' as you suggest.

By the way, in its first paragraph 'S.W.' lists Stalinism as one of Marxism's main rival theories. Won't they be upset when they find out that Stalin was a Marxist!

T.M.

REPLY: Marx wrote some historical analysis which may be acceptable to Anarchists; but the point of veneration which he has reached is ludicrous. Historical analysis has also been written by anarchists, especially in the 19th Century when it was the vogue, as well as history the writings of Bakunin and especially Kroptkin testify to this.

Clearly Marx didn't say "so relax" but this is a reasonable implication by the reiteration of Engels and himself of "our theory", which is the economic determination of socialism.

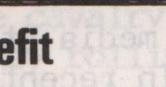
At least one school of Marxism accepts this implication though Marx and Engels were inconsistent on the point.

A society of self-employed petty bourgeois families would be classless and have no State, and did exist (say) among the French workers of the Second Empire, which is why 'Proudhonism' appealed to them with its structure of commodity production and competition. But when that society was smashed economically and went into capitalist production it did, as Marx said, in France, Spain, Italy the Pale of Russia etc, come up against the capitalist class as an 'undisciplined' and libertarian force, and created the conditions for the anarchist working class movement. But surely everyone knows that to use the term 'petty bourgeois' today is to conjure up an entirely different picture? What comes to mind - blacksmiths or chartered accountants?









L.R.

6.30 p.m. on Wednesday 19th December, at the Irish Centre, Mount Pleasant, Liverpool. (near Lime St Railway Station and National Bus Station). Six groups ! Late Bar ! £1.50 ! Organised by Liverpool Black and Red and Liverpool Anarchist Black Cross. *********************

It's getting closer to the Murray's court date - more money needs to be raised like at the benefit above. How about a fiver all 'round ? Ø

ANTI-PRISON DAY

Day of Action for the Abolition of all prison planned for December 15th. Local groups are urged to organise actions. More details: London Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh Street, London EC1. LONDON ANARCHIST MEETINGS Nov. 30: Women and Prison at Molly's Cafe, 287 Upper Street, N1. Tube: Highbury-Islington. Buses 30,4 & 104. Dec 7: Women Against The State. Anarcha Feminism at 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Road, SE24 Tube Brixton. Bus No. 2.

EAST MIDLANDS ANARCHISTS

Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, any readers of Black Flag or Direct Action in the above cities or in the East Midlands interested in forming an East Midlands Class Struggle Anarchist Group contact: Rising Free, 39 Denbigh St, Chaddesden, DERBY

BACK ON AIR

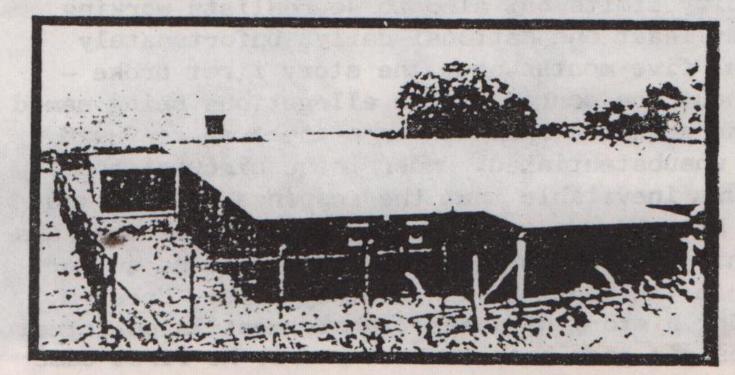
Sheffield Peace Radio (SPR), the 'radical. alternative radio station' are planning to come back with a live, non stop broadcast over the weekend of the CND Conference in Sheffield, 23rd to 25th November, and are looking for more suitable programmes on anti-war, anti-state themes. Most of those involved are already facing heavy fines & confiscation of equipment after being busted off the air last May. Write or send a tape to SPR: c/o The Peace Shop, 51 Leopold St, Sheffield S1. The broadcast will be on medium wave, we don't have the exact frequency.

SOURCE: RATS.

STRIKE HISTORY

BUNKER SPOTTERS GUIDE 30p. Covers the south-east region of England. Available from 121 Bookshop, 121 Railton Road, LONDON SE24. Please enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope.

Metropolitan Police (South) war duties bunker at Merstham, Surrey.



ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM. RACISM AND STRUGGLE, Price 15p. c/o South London DAM-IWA, 121 Railton Road, London SE24. Send a stamped self-addressed env. A concise pamphlet which starts with a brief history of racism in Britain, asks who benefits from racism and analyzes racism today and suggests ways to combat it. Highly recommended to all anarchists and anarchosyndicalists.

7pm. Friday Nights. Meetings preceded by a vegetarian meal (£1) at 6pm.

URGENT APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL AID The Alternative Bookshop in Quebec, Canada is calling on all anarchist and libertarian groups to assist them to raise money which they urgently need to keep their bookshop going. The bookshop which is now over 10 years old is the only one of its kind in Canada. The money is needed for major repairs. Make cheques or money orders (in Canadian funds) to: ALTERNATIVES BOOKSTORE, 2033 Boul. St. Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. H2X 2T3.

COMING ACTION

Dec 2: Alconbury - Conspiracy for Peace. Alconbury is a spy base. It is also command control for future Cruise at Molesworth. Nine people have already been arrested at Alconbury Peace Camp and charged with conspiracy to commit criminal damage. Dec 2 is the day planned for action at the base. For further details ring

A comrade in the North-East is hoping to put together a record of the current Miners Strike as witnessed by anarchists who have been involved either directly or by providing physical support. Anyone who is interested in helping can do so by trying to keep a written record of what has been happening in your area, while bearing in mind that all reports sent in will eventually be used to form the basis of a booklet on the strike, available for general distribution. As well as summaries (typed and dated) our contact would also like copies of locally produced leaflets/posters/papers etc on the strike. A documented history of the strike, written from an anarchist perspective, would certainly be a valuable contribution.

If you can help, please send in stuff to us and we'll pass it on. Comrades in countries other than Britain who've been involved in international support work, are also invited to contribute.

CORRECTION

The South West Anarchist Federation does NOT exist. The Bristol Anarchist Group and Plymouth Anarchist Group have only met once.

REALITY NOW. No. 2. c/o 214 King St., East Hamilton, Ont. L.8.N. I.B.5. Box 1, Canada. Price: 50cents. (Subs: \$5 U.S. currency for foreign). Articles include a Vancouver 5 up-date, a letter from N. Ireland and a study of El Salvador.

WHAT'S NEW NO. 1 30p. 24pages of A4. Magazine published by the people from Molly's Cafe in Islington. Write to: Box WIN, 287 Upper Street, London N1. They welcome contributions: writing, photos, news etc.

RISING FREE

Rising Free (formerly Derby Agitator) Issue 6. 8 page A4 format. 15p. Articles on General Strike (by Jim Petty former DAM-IWA national secretary), Cammel Lairds, Hindles, plus the miners strike & more!

From : Rising Free, 39 Denbigh St, Chaddesden, Derby.

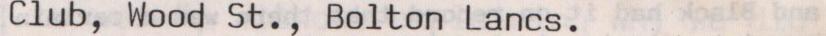
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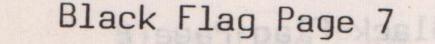
NEW ADDRESS

Bolton Direct Action/Anarchists are alive and well, C/- Bolton Socialist

Peace Chariot 0226 766310 or Action For

Future Days 021 643 4617.





JONES THE MOLE

Black Flag Exclusive

Around five months back <u>City Limits</u>, the London listings magazine, put out a story accusing Tony Jones, a well-to-do barrister who for some years had helped out on several legal campaigns and who also mixed on the fringe of certain anarchist circles, of passing on, mainly low-level, information to State Intelligence.

Shortly after this revelation Black Flag conducted its own inquiry and we independently came up with the same source that named Jones as an informant to <u>City Limits</u>. This source, up until now, has been unpublishable, simply because the person concerned is in jail with an appeal lodged.

We can now reveal that this source is none other than Michael Bettaney, the disillusioned 'K' Branch agent (MI5), currently serving a heavy 21 year sentence for attempting (and failing) to pass on state secrets to a London based KGB officer. Bettaneys trial was unusual in that he was the first British Intelligence agent to be tried under the Official Secrets Act: normally MI5/MI6 deal with double agents in their own way. But Bettaney was made a scapegoat of Whitehall of other leftist barristers, one of whom was Tony Gifford who, coincidence would have it, was the barrister acting on behalf of Astrid Proll.

Gifford, like Jones and all other left barristers, was a member of the Haldane Society of Socialist Lawyers. Membership of that fraternity automatically gave access to people acting on behalf of all sorts of 'political' clients. Jones had, of course, by then earned his credentials as a 'socialist' because of his, albeit loose, involvement (in each case non-professional) in the aforementioned political campaigns.

What happened next is that Duncan Campbell of City Limits contacted Nick Davies who was able to convince Campbell that Jones and the barrister referred to on the article were the same person. Campbell and another person (an associate of 121 Bookshop) confronted Jones with the allegation that he was an informant and told him that they were about to go to press and name him as such. Jones denied everything but paradoxically urged his interrogators 'not to trust him'. A week after publication the New Statesman also repeated the same allegations (despite threats from Jones to Campbell of legal action). The New Statesman, however, went further and implied that the Jones affair was tied to certain intrigues taking place within the Intelligence Service itself and that Jones was simply a casualty of this wider drama.

The truth was that Bettaney named Jones only because he wished to warn sympathetic lawyers to beware of him. Bettaney had nothing to gain or to lose by naming him. Bettaney, it was true, was disillusioned with the Intelligence Service, but his motive for attempting to pass on state secrets was partly because he genuinely believed that the West was out to provoke all out world war, and partly because he was, in fact, a closet Marxist. Over the years his loyalty to Britain on the one hand, and to the Soviet Union, on the other, became irreconcilable. At the same time Bettaney was also concerned with the way more and more attention was being placed within MI5 on 'subversives', including trade unionists. His concern was shared by others within MI5 and it was around that time that Peter Wright, an ex-MI5 internal investigations officer, now living in Australia, went public about this disquiet and the fact that many MI5 agents who were suspected of being Soviet agents were immune from the usual enquiry because it was feared that the Service might lose credibility altogether - and that was not to be allowed. Jones - a small fish - feels and asserts that he was used. The truth about that side of things is yet to be revealed. As for Bettaney, he is, perhaps, guilty of nothing except naievity. His 21 years incarceration was his reward for being too critical of the real 'enemy within' - namely, the Intelligence powers that place the interests of state above all else, including the liberties which they ludicrously claim to defend. He turned to the Soviet bloc, not out of loyalty to another power, but because he believed that the West was becoming too dangerous. Tragically Bettaney is the sort of person most people prefer to forget about: to the British state he is a traitor; to the Soviets he was a non-entity; to the left he was an embarassment; and to the anarchists, a victim of his own making.

London Squatting News

London's 25,000 squatters appear to be starting to get organised at last. 2½ years ago, when Brixton Squatters Aid began, they were the only local squatters group in the city. Now there are advice groups in Southwark (SNOW), Camberwell, Tottenham, Camden and Hackney as well as the Advisory Service for Squatters in Islington, which provides an excellent advice, legal and referral service. Anarchist squatters have for years been arguing that organisation should be without leaders, beginning on a very local basis, with advice hours, alarm lists etc.

Brixton Evictions

Due to overworked bailiffs there are now over 100 homes overdue for eviction in Brixton alone (and that's not counting rent arrears cases). Lambeth, in case you've forgotten, is a Left Labour Council! At a local meeting squatters agreed to 'resist at every level'. We shall see.

paranoia, in the wake of the Blunt and Prime affairs. Thatcher wanted to be involved this time and heads were to roll. The trial was additionally

weighted in that it was held almost entirely in camera, with the prominent defence team even refused access to crucial prosecution evidence, because of the nature of that evidence. The jury was, predictably, vetted. Last week Bettaney's appeal came up - the reason for the delay in our not being able to publish these details - but he lost.

The knowledge that Bettaney was the source behind the Jones accusations was known not only to <u>City Limits</u> but also to journalists working on at least one national daily. Unfortunately when, five months ago, the story first broke without the source of the allegations being named - the evidence against Jones appeared confused and unsubstantiated. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the response of some who had known Jones would be to decry the accusations on his behalf. On this basis Jones found support within the pages of the monthly paper, Freedom.

The history of Jones' involvement in political campaigns goes back several years. He first came to light in radical circles when he offered help on the Aubrey, Berry and Campbell campaign (Secrets Trial). He offered to help on campaign mailings and was thus given access to address lists. In retrospect he was noticeable for his taking photos of campaign members - at the time he innocently claimed they were for his scrap book. It was also around this time that Jones was known - he voluteered the information himself at a later date - to be regularly dining with Sir Maurice Oldfield, then head of MI6, at their club, the Athenaeum.

In the middle of the ABC Trial (as it was to

Squat Attacks

After media attacks, physical attacks follow. In recent weeks lots of trouble. Broken windows, doors kicked in, robberies, attacks by white gangs, NF threats, ill'egal police evictions, and so on. The usual divide and rule tactics of getting one lot of the working class at the others while the State strengthens...and who owns the media.?

Media Attacks

Squatters have always been a soft target for victimisation and media lies. The latest round of squat bashing had ASS accused of being funded by Islington Council and having a'mole' passing on news. Pure speculation ... The South London (Re)Press, waded into the Southwark squatters, announcing in frenzied tone that squatters were going to be wiped out. But the story boiled down to the reintroduction of Intended Occupier laws, which doesn't mean much. Then from the same paper more front page headlines attacking the inhuman, abomonable, junkie squatters of the Rotherhithe area. The local group RAGS made a leaflet denying the charges, and pointing out that the Amos Estate is half empty due to the London Docklands Development Corporation takeover which will build luxury flats and offices when they've got rid of the local working class...a fact not mentioned in the SLP article. Finally in Brixton the SLP headline points the finger at local squatters for the burning down of a new housing office in Effra Parade, built on the site of 9 squats, evicted and demolished earlier this year. Only by strong local organisation can we resist such attacks.

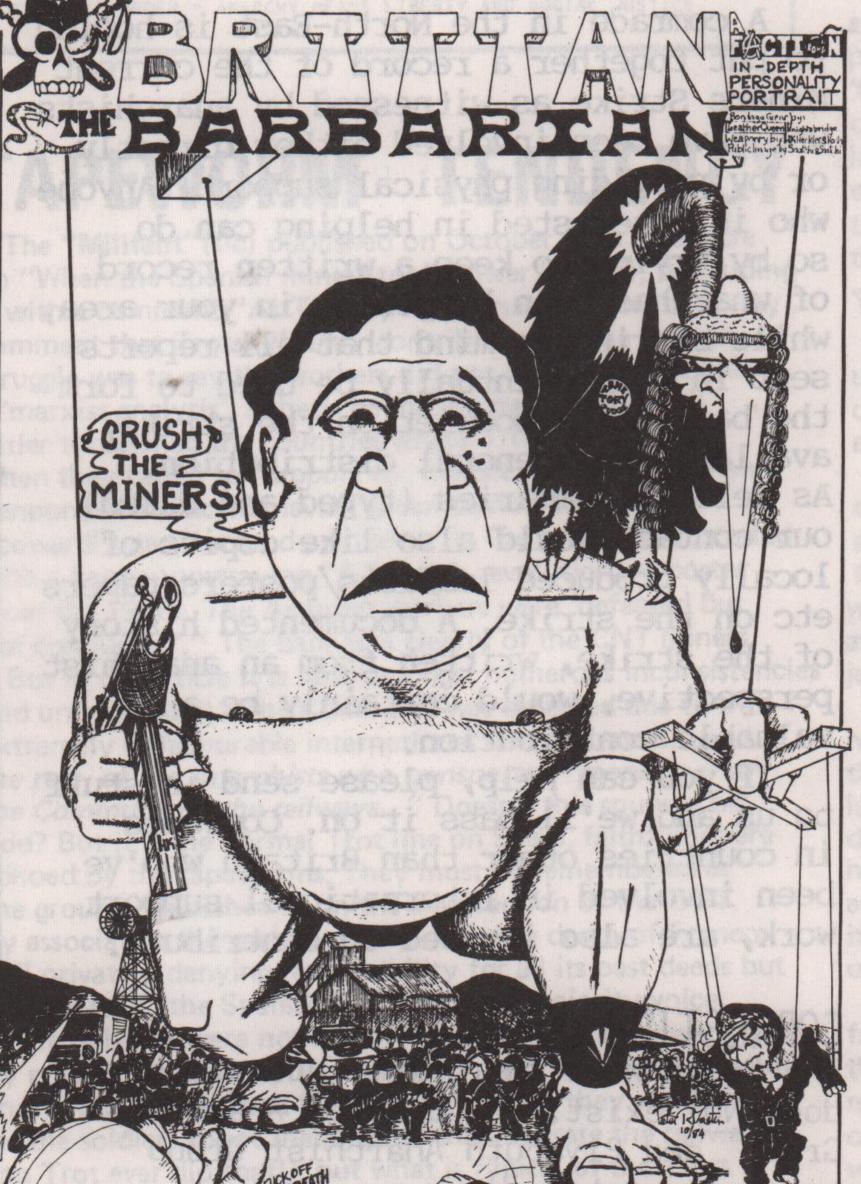
be called) the Colonel 'B' scandal broke. Colonel 'B' was the chief prosecution witness whose identity was protected by the Crown. However <u>Peace</u> <u>News and The Leveller magazine published the name</u> of the colonel - a Colonel Johnson. Curiously - or not so curious - Jones was by then also a regular attender of Leveller Collective meetings.

We now know that Jones was also around this time meeting a certain man at the Great Eastern Hotel. Jones admits to these meetings. According to Bettaney this man was in fact the W German Desk agent for MI6. Jones was 'helping out' on the Free Astrid Proll campaign. It would be difficult not to draw the conclusion that Jones' meetings with the MI6 man were in fact briefing meetings and that he was passing on information about who was involved in the campaign and how the campaign was progressing.

In more recent years Jones has cultivated an interest in anarchism and he aquainted himself with certain members of the old Freedom Collective. Through these contacts he even participated in the lectures on anarchism that took place at the Mary Ward Centre in central London. Last year Jones introduced himself to the 121 Bookshop people and offered advice on how they could deal with their then pending eviction hearing. His 'services' though were never taken up.

The trail that eventually led to Jones' demise began with an article published in April '84 in <u>The Guardian</u>, and penned by Ian Black and Nick Davies. The article was a three part in-depth study of the work of Britain's Intelligence Community and their techniques of surveillance on 'subversives', put together in the wake of the Bettaney verdict.

What caught the attention was an almost throwaway line at the end of a paragraph in the third



Good Homes Available

Advisory Service for Squatters. Mon-Fri 2-6pm. 2, St. Pauls Rd N1. Tel 3598814. Brixton Squatters Aid. Sundays 3-5pm. 121 Railton Road, SE24 Tel 2746655 SNOW (Southwark) Mon, Wed, Fri, 4-7pm 306 Old Kent Road, SE17 Camberwell Squatters Aid. Mon, 5-7pm 13 Evandale Road, SW9 Camden Squatters Aid, Sun 7-10pm 234 Camden Road, NW1 Islington Squatters, Tues-Fri 12-3pm Sat 2-6pm. 287 Upper Street N1. Haringey Squatters c/o 32 Alexander Rd N8 Shoreditch & Hackney Squat Group, c/o 23 Crofts House, Teal St, E2 Mon-Fri afternoons.

part of the series. This line mentioned that Davies and Black had it on record that there was a certain barrister moving in leftist circles who had been commissioned by MI5 to monitor the activities



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