

BLACK FLAG

THE ANARCHIST



FORTNIGHTLY

40p

9-9-85

SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

NEARING COLLAPSE

The South African government has recently been panicked into making drastic moves to prevent the economy from collapsing. The reality is that South Africa is bankrupt and is prevented from reneging on its debts because of some last minute wheeling and dealing that might well not succeed.

Last week the Governor of the South African Reserve Bank was ordered to Washington for emergency talks with the US Federal Reserve Board in order to squeeze loans direct. The Bank of England was also approached to help in the rescue. At the same time South Africa took the unprecedented step of closing, temporarily, its stocks and currency market, following the dramatic fall in the value of the Rand as well as the general lack of confidence shown by finance houses internationally towards increased investment as a direct result of the growing resistance inside South Africa. Basically these finance houses have been forced to re-define South Africa as a liability and bad debtor. Their refusal to continue financing South Africa's ailing economy is not because of any sympathy with those opposed to apartheid, but simply because the realities of capitalism dictate that the finance houses have an even greater allegiance and responsibility to their investors.

Already short-term debts have mounted to just over \$17 billion, and many banks and finance houses are insisting that South Africa pay off these debts before any further loans are advanced. It is an indication of just how seriously the capitalists are treating the crisis - other international long-term debtors, whose debts are far greater, such as Brazil, Mexico, the Philippines, etc. are receiving more lenient treatment. Already, in response, South Africa has threatened to impose a debt moratorium, something the South American debtors have been thinking about for some time, but have never dared to threaten, never mind implement. South Africa has also threatened in its defense, to impose a freeze on all out-going capital and it is generally considered that if this was implemented then the international confidence of the finance houses in the South African government's management of its economy would be shaken even further. In a last minute attempt to get

hard cash, the South African authorities are attempting to strike a deal with the US Federal Reserve Bank for a straight swap of South African gold for dollars. Gold is still held in some reserve in South Africa, but exactly how much is not known.

The Governor of the South African Reserve Bank has also appealed for direct aid from the major financial institutions of Europe, especially the UK, where support for the regime from Barclays, Hill Samuel and Standard Chartered, etc has not wavered.

An indication that the crisis was worsening came with the joint statement put out by the several South African Commerce Associations and Anglo-American (South Africa's biggest single company), calling upon the government to negotiate direct with black representatives and to adopt a policy of power sharing. Their joint statement also referred to the disastrous affects on the economy of the black boycott on white business. Capitalism has to be preserved at all costs - according to the capitalists - and if that means compromising on the monopoly of power, then that is what will happen. The South African business community has clearly signalled to the government that an all-out civil war is to be avoided, if only to prevent the continuing economic decline.

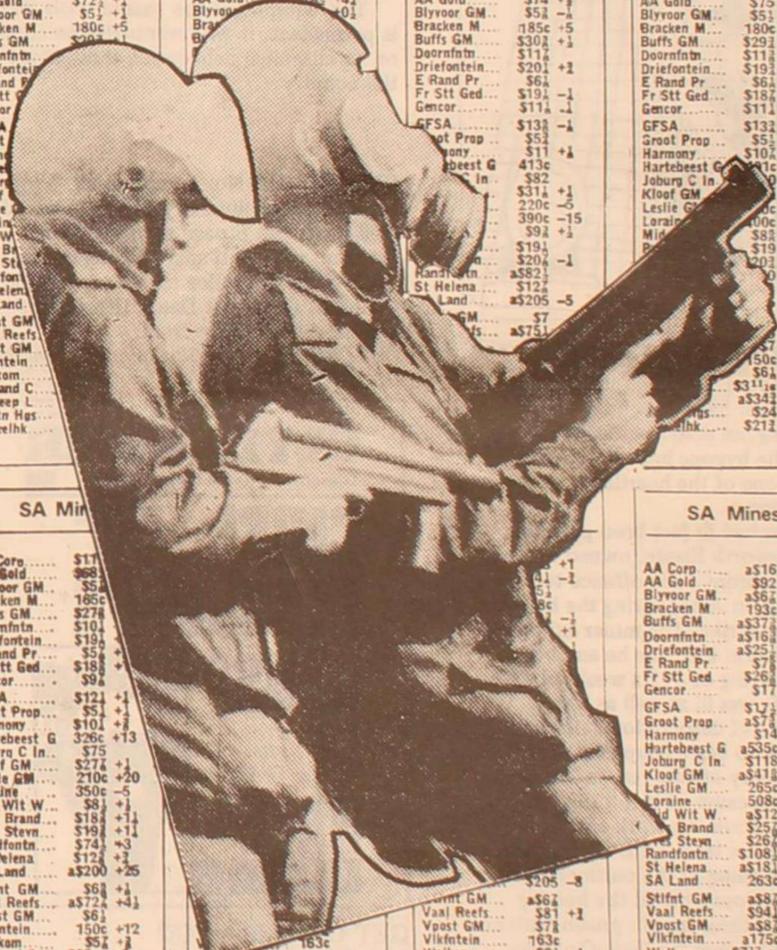
LATE NEWS

As we go to press, South Africa's government has frozen all debt payments until the new year/1986. Effectively, the State is bankrupt. This default of debts may lead the way for other countries, for example Bolivia, to do the same.

STOP SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS DAY
September 30th

THE STOCK EXCHANGE

SA Mines	SA Mines	SA Mines	SA Mines
AA Corp..... \$112 -14	AA Corp..... \$134 +7	AA Corp..... \$121	AA Corp..... \$121 -1
AA Gold..... \$723 +1	AA Gold..... \$721 -41	AA Gold..... \$74	AA Gold..... \$75
Blyvoor GM... \$53 +1	Blyvoor GM... \$51	Blyvoor GM... \$53	Blyvoor GM... \$51
Bracken M... \$180c +5	Bracken M... \$185c -5	Bracken M... \$185c -5	Bracken M... \$180c
Buff's GM... \$201	Buff's GM... \$302 +1	Buff's GM... \$302 +1	Buff's GM... \$293
Doornfont... \$114	Doornfont... \$201 +1	Doornfont... \$201 +1	Doornfont... \$113
Driefontein... \$191	Driefontein... \$201 +1	Driefontein... \$201 +1	Driefontein... \$191
E Rand Pr... \$64			
Fr Stt Ged... \$191	Fr Stt Ged... \$111 -1	Fr Stt Ged... \$191	Fr Stt Ged... \$187
Gencor..... \$111	Gencor..... \$133 -1	Gencor..... \$111 -1	Gencor..... \$121
GFSA..... \$53	GFSA..... \$53	GFSA..... \$53	GFSA..... \$53
Groot Prop... \$11	Groot Prop... \$11 +1	Groot Prop... \$11 +1	Groot Prop... \$10
Harmony..... \$11	Harmony..... \$11	Harmony..... \$11	Harmony..... \$10
Hartebeest G... \$413c	Hartebeest G... \$413c	Hartebeest G... \$413c	Hartebeest G... \$413c
Joburg C In... \$82			
Kloof GM... \$311	Kloof GM... \$311	Kloof GM... \$311	Kloof GM... \$311
Lorraine..... \$20c -5	Lorraine..... \$20c -5	Lorraine..... \$20c -5	Lorraine..... \$20c -5
Leslie GM... \$94	Leslie GM... \$94	Leslie GM... \$94	Leslie GM... \$94
Loraine..... \$191	Loraine..... \$191	Loraine..... \$191	Loraine..... \$191
Mid Wit W... \$204			
Pres Brand... \$191	Pres Brand... \$191	Pres Brand... \$191	Pres Brand... \$191
Pres Steyn... \$188	Pres Steyn... \$188	Pres Steyn... \$188	Pres Steyn... \$188
Randfont... \$123	Randfont... \$123	Randfont... \$123	Randfont... \$123
St Helena... \$200	St Helena... \$200	St Helena... \$200	St Helena... \$200
SA Land... \$200	SA Land... \$200	SA Land... \$200	SA Land... \$200
Stint GM... \$68	Stint GM... \$68	Stint GM... \$68	Stint GM... \$68
Vaal Reefs... \$572 +1			
Vaal GM... \$61	Vaal GM... \$61	Vaal GM... \$61	Vaal GM... \$61
Vikfontein... \$150c +12	Vikfontein... \$150c +12	Vikfontein... \$150c +12	Vikfontein... \$150c +12
Welkom..... \$54	Welkom..... \$54	Welkom..... \$54	Welkom..... \$54
W Rand C... \$311			
W Deep L... \$234			
Westn Has... \$234	Westn Has... \$234	Westn Has... \$234	Westn Has... \$234
Winkelhk... \$181	Winkelhk... \$181	Winkelhk... \$181	Winkelhk... \$181



URGENT NEWS

URGENT! ANARCHIST ON HUNGER STRIKE IN GREECE

As reported in *Black Flag* No. 137, a man attempted to burn down the Bank of Crete in Athens on June 1st, 1985.

Police arrested an Anarchist, Victor Armanious (20 years old), in connection with the attack and he is now being held in a prison 2 kilometres from Athens.

He has been charged with throwing a molotov cocktail/petrol bomb into the bank and throwing a second molotov at 2 policemen in a car nearby.

If convicted he faces 15-20 years imprisonment, and can be held up to 18

months before being brought to trial.

A support group has been set up on his behalf and two lawyers are handling the case.

In protest against his arrest and the lack of evidence against him, Victor Armanious began a hunger strike on 20th of August, and is still on hunger strike as we go to press.

We urge comrades everywhere to send protests to their nearest Greek government or commercial enterprise:

Greek Embassy, 1a Holland Park, London W1 Tel: (01) 7278040

Donations, letters of solidarity can be sent via BM Hurricane, London Wc1N3XX

ANARCHY IN FLEET STREET

see page 5

HOME NEWS

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

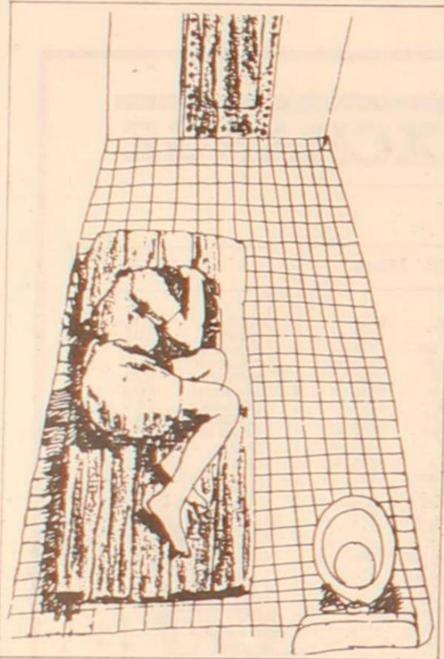
12 months: £12 inland
£15 surface, £19 Air.
6 months: £6.50 inland
£8 surface, £10 Air.

NEW PRISON

Former RAF camp at Lindholme near Doncaster is to become a prison by the end of 1985.

It will hold 1,000 prisoners under 200 new prison officers.

Already nearly 50,000 are in jail today.



ROBIN HOOD REVISITED

In deepest Robin Hood country, a former Mansfield miner has been convicted of deer poaching, an activity that was associated with the bygone hero of the area that is now one of the heartlands of the mining resistance.

The miner had in fact been poaching on the Chatsworth Estate, owned by one of the titled barony. The offence took place last year, in June, during the height of the Miners Strike. The miner explained at his trial that at the time he and his family were living on £11 a week subsistence, his wife was ill as well as being pregnant. Out of desperation he decided, with a friend, to bag a couple of deer.

Since January of this year he has been out of work because of breathing problems resulting from his work and he is awaiting hospital treatment. He is now thinking of turning to the outdoors for his future employment. At the hearing he was given a three month prison sentence suspended for a year for failing to carry out fully a community service order earlier imposed for the poaching offence.

SOURCE: M.C.

CRUISE WATCH IMPEDED

Getting little press attention, Cruise Watch protestors have over the past few months been subject to the same sort of police heavy-handedness as was witnessed (on a far larger scale) during the attempts to converge on Stonehenge by the Peace Convoy people and, earlier, by miners attempting to picket pits other than their own.

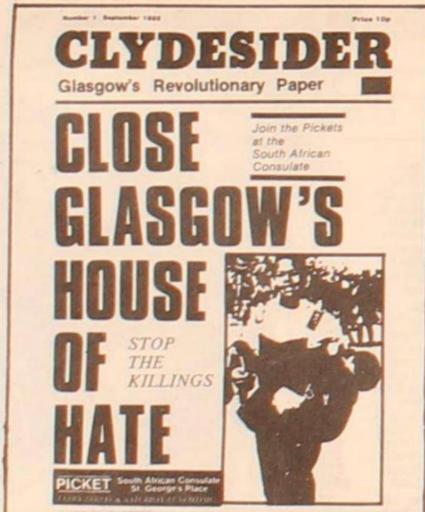
On occasions when the cruise convoys have left Greenham, Cruise Watch observers have found themselves suddenly faced with whole tracts of country scale off. Some observers have also been literally boxed in by public vehicles, unable to move their own vehicles; others have had their CB's jammed. On the other hand, according to a recent report, the protests (together with the continuing protests at Greenham) have succeeded in limiting the frequency of the convoys.

NIGHTWATCH

The London Metropolitan Police recently installed 'thermal imagers' on their three Bell 222 helicopters. They also carry the sophisticated zoom lens cameras and as some Brixton locals already know, powerful searchlights.

This equipment has passed trials and is permanent, it will eventually be comm- on to all police helicopters throughout the country.

CLYDESIDER No. 1 September, 1985. Glasgow's Revolutionary Paper. Price 10p. Well produced 6 page monthly from Scotland with anti-apartheid news, rail-strike analysis, police terror expose and a look at Glenochil Death Camp. Plus lots more! Available from: **CLYDESIDER C/o 53 Cochrane Street, GLASGO WG1 1HL**



GET ON YER BIKE!

Since Norman Tebbit told the unemployed to 'get on their bike' to look for work, thefts of bikes have risen by 31%.

such, they need to be grouped with fellow workers. The basic unit of an anarcho-syndicalist union is the local trades council or municipal council of workers, where all are grouped irrespective of which or any occupation; they hive off into councils at places of work which are the basis of the anarcho-syndicalist union.

The idea of belonging to a union and being separated by craft, or even industry, from any other worker, and leaving unemployed workers, certainly those not previously in a union, out on a limb, is one that belongs to democratic socialism and reflects the concern for building up mini-states within the State.

The 'unemployed' or 'claimants' are only powerless as long as they are separated from the working class as a whole; though having said that, no individual is ever completely powerless and not only those without work, but prisoners, can — and often do — stand up and fight for their rights, even as a loner.

QUESTION AND ANSWER ON ANARCHISM

Q: Are the unemployed or claimants powerless? Does anarcho-syndicalism exclude them?

A: Temporary or local unemployment is a more or less inevitable accident of capitalism but mass and lengthy unemployment is a planned policy of the Government, to make the unemployed feel powerless and to make the employed feel insecure. State communism, having other methods of repression at its disposal, does not permit unemployment.

It is a total misapprehension of anarcho-syndicalism to think it excludes them, though trade unionism very largely does. Because those without employment (the terms 'unemployed' 'claimant' — as if this was all that described them — are a neat bit of State propaganda) cannot exert direct economic pressure while groups together as

RACISM TODAY

FIGHTBACK AGAINST RACIST ATTACKS

On Sunday 25 August, two hundred people rallied in Whitechapel for a march called by the Bangladeshi Workers Association, to draw attention to the large numbers of racist attacks on Asians and black people in East and North-East London.

This list of attacks and murders is a long one. In 1979, Michael Ferreira was left bleeding in a Hackney Police Station, while his friends who brought him there were questioned and treated as if they were criminals. He died later in hospital. In July, Shamira Kassin died when firebombers burnt out her home. Also killed were her three children, and her husband and brother only escaped by jumping from a first storey window. Police say they have not established a motive. Akhtar Ali Beg and Peter Burns were also killed by racists. Combined with the attacks on people in their homes and neighbourhoods are the deaths in prison. Harry Roberts was found hanging dead in a hospital cubicle in Strangeways Prison, Manchester. He was a rebellious person and had never shown suicidal tendencies. He had been 'forcibly restrained and drugged'.

At the rally speeches were made by a number of Asian men, including a member of the Newham 7, who said that as the police had shown themselves to be incompetent, and uninterested in protecting Asians from racist attacks, the Asian community would have to organise to defend themselves without the 'help' of the State.

As the march passed through Brick

Lane, trouble was expected from NF paper sellers, who are usually in the area, but the market had finished and racists were nowhere to be seen.

The march followed a long route through Stepney, Mile End and finished in Bow in an estate where a number of Asian families had been burnt out by racists. The only 'incident' was as the march neared the estate, a white man shouted abuse and was immediately hustled off into a police van.

JUSTICE FOR THE PRYCES!

In Newham, East London on November 29th 1984, three plain clothes police watched while sixteen year old Eustace Pryce was stabbed in the back of the neck, dying almost immediately. His murder happened after racists provoked a fight, and black youth responded. Eustace was not even involved in the fight.

Predictably, the three cops did not arrest the murderer, but took Eustace's brother, Gerald, into custody, on the grounds that he was in a distraught state, and 'look as if he was about to do something dangerous'.

After weeks of harassment, police re-arrested Gerald Pryce and charged him with 'affray'. He was only released after the imposition of bail conditions which meant he was not allowed to visit his family, or girlfriend, in Newham.

Meanwhile the white murderer had been arrested, only to be released immediately on bail.

Gerald goes to trial on October 8th, with four other youths charged with affray. Support is needed. Details from: 'Justice for the Pryces' Support Cmmttee, P.O. Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7. Phone 01-555 8151.



NAZI EXPOSED

In *Black Flag* issue 134, we included a newspaper report on the activities of a Nazi, Les Vaughan, who had been trying to recruit hit squads to deal with Peace Convoy people heading for Stonehenge; he had also been acting as an agent provocateur, trying to offload guns on to some of the Peace Convoy people in the hope that a successful transaction would enable the police to use guns to stop the Convoy, resulting in a bloodbath. We can now reveal a few more details about Vaughan's pursuits.

Vaughan lives at Wishford, near Salisbury where he runs a private detective agency. The agency also has an office in London. We believe that this agency may well be running under the name of, or at least connected to, a firm called **Transnational Commercial Investigations Ltd.** a front for mercenary work/dirty tricks etc. Vaughan has last used the name of Roger Hamilton. His last known London address was **3 John Princes Street, W1**, which is probably an office.

In Salisbury Vaughan/Hamilton has been acting on behalf of a local solicitor, Mr Alan Willis, who in turn represents the National Trust. The National Trust,

through Willis, employed Vaughan to get reports on the movements of the Peace Convoy people.

In addition, as mentioned in the earlier article, Vaughan runs a mercenary outfit in Wiltshire, who are partly funded by local farmers to protect their land from squatters. He calls his gang, the Instant Response Team, a term that the National Front have often used for their own hit squads.

Just lately Vaughan has been boasting that his 'Team' have been called out on 12 separate occasions to deal with Convoy people, using threats and intimidation, but so far 'little violence'.

Each member of the 'Team' is supposed to be paid around £20 before being sent into action, and then after get a further £10 an hour. Vaughan has also been insisting that his 'Team' operates with the full knowledge of the local police and that furthermore the police have been involved in the planning of sorties.

Vaughan's current compliment consists of around 20 recruits. Previously Vaughan has been an organiser in **Column 88**, the clandestine fascist paramilitary group, he has also been involved in gun running activities for the UDA/UVF.

INTERNATIONAL

SOUTH AFRICA

FROM REBELLION TO REVOLUTION

As the resistance in South Africa intensifies, the line between guerrilla actions and the generalised rioting and protests of the communities grows more blurred. Collaborators and informers get theirs. Asian minorities whose members have gone along with the apartheid system for decades in order to maintain their own position in the pecking order have also become the subject of Black wrath. Yet so far, few whites have been killed.

News of the massacres by the State terrorists is censored. Since last September 600 blacks at least have died at the hands of the police and army. Thousands more are in detention camps, tortured.

On the labour front the half million unionised black workers are mobilised in readiness for a possible general strike to back up the popular boycott struggle.

All strike action in South Africa is illegal, as is picketing and in the past strikes have been busted by the Army and the whole workforce in some cases deported back to the 'homelands' to face unemployment, now rising at 23%.

The biggest of the industrial federations is FOSATU — the Federation of South African Trade Unions. It is registered with the Industrial Councils, the Government approved arbitration service. It is however, not aligned with any particular political faction and is organised on the basis of industrial unionism with its strength at shop-floor level.

Another emerging federation is the South African Allied Workers Union. SAAWU is allied to the National Federation of Black Workers and is mainly organised in the Eastern Cape. Unlike FOSATU it has rejected registration to the Industrial Councils and is therefore 'illegal'. This in turn has encouraged the other unions to refuse registration too — unions such as the Black Municipal Workers Union and the Motor Assemblies and Components Workers Union. Like FOSATU, SAAWU is for multi-racial unionism. The SAAWU also recognises the importance of organisation spanning the workplace and the community. Thus supporting boycotts and rent strikes.

The National Union of Mineworkers is arguably the most powerful single union, and is the largest, because of the importance that gold and coal play in the South African national economy.

For example, in 1982/83 gold accounted for around 50% of total exports in South Africa. The largest gold-producing company is Anglo-American, which is also the biggest company in South Africa.

AA's nearest rival is Gold Fields of South Africa, the present strike, begun on September 1st occurred at Gold Fields. GF's biggest shareholding company is Consolidated Gold Fields, London. The company has the lowest gold production costs in Africa. The chairman, Mr Rudolf Agnew announced profits were up last year from £90 million to £105 million.

Of the State's revenue, 21% comes from the gold industry. South Africa holds about 50% of the world's supply.

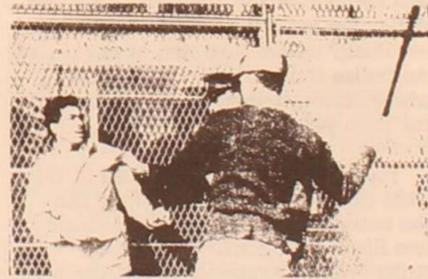
A threatened NUM strike was avoided at some mines because, for example

Anglo-American because the Company agreed to settle with the NUM offering 2.8% on top of the 14.1 to 19.6% given in June. GFSA, Anglo Vaal and Gencor have taken on the union because they believe in their mines it is weak. GFSA costs at \$111 an ounce for gold when its value is \$333 an ounce make it very profitable (200%) and GFSA workers earn less than the average unskilled worker. Consolidated produce 12.5% of the world's gold, they also support the Conservative Party in Britain.

Anglo-American probably gave in to behind the scenes 'politik' ie it has along with Barclays been meeting ANC people in Lusaka to create a climate for a transition from Apartheid to... More probable is that the NUM have organised 80% of the AA miners. The NUM's 150,000 members out of 550,000 miners is growing rapidly in its three years existence.

South Africa is a coal based economy providing 82% of South Africa's energy needs. Oil made from coal is being produced to avoid dependence overseas. The Government has built up stocks and is cutting exports, rationing at home in strike contingency plans. During the British miners strike 84/5 coal from SA and Poland was dominant in scab import plans by the Tories.

70,000 black miners are on strike as we go to press at seven gold mines and collieries owned by the three previously mentioned companies. Lorry-drivers are mostly white, so unless they have a radical change of heart — or are run off the roads — success depends on Anglo employees coming out in solidarity with non-Anglo employees who already have been attacked at the Beatrix gold mine by mine security forces using rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse 1,000



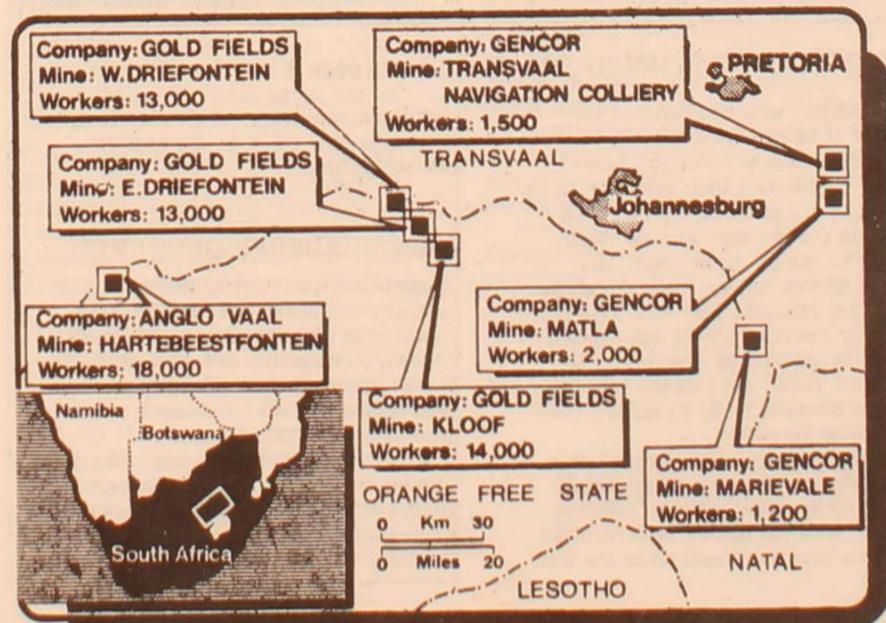
black miners who were trying to hold a mass meeting.

If and when wider strike action among other industrial unions occurs, the situation will be explosive. Some businesses have already gone bankrupt due to the consumer boycott over the last month. Uprisings in the towns and armed guerrilla raids on State and business targets could be all that is necessary to transform the rebellion, now a year old into revolutionary war.

STOP SOUTH AFRICAN

BUSINESS DAY

Sept 30th



USA

IN THE WAKE OF BITBERG

An interesting story that has recently recirculated in the aftermath of Bitburg and Reagan's visit to the war cemetery where Waffen/SS members are buried, is that some of those Waffen/SS members were directly responsible for torture and murder of captured US soldiers.

The massacre, well documented, took place at Malmedy. Nearly all perished, but a few survived, who then started trial proceedings, once the Nazis had capitulated, against named SS officers.

At the trial no defence was offered and 43 SS officers were sentenced to death. However, on appeal they alleged

that their confessions to the war crimes were extracted under torture. The US authorities, anxious to avoid any smear of torture rubbing off on to its own armed forces, quickly ordered a couple of investigations into the allegations.

Both enquiries cleared the defendants and that was that... or so it seemed. That was until 1949 when a then relatively unknown Senator, Joseph McCarthy came to the rescue, not of the US Army officers, but to the SS war criminals.

Another investigation was instigated, in which McCarthy accused some of the

IRELAND

SPIKE ISLAND UPRISING

About 70 prisoners tried to escape from Spike Island in Cork Harbour, using a mechanised digger to smash through the prison gates.

They were unable to get off the island and went on a rampage, setting fire to prison buildings.

The State sent in the Army Riot Squad to control the situation, and some 40 odd prisoners escaped up to the roof of a jail building.

The prisoners were protesting at their being transferred to Collins Barracks Army Centre, Cork.

Spike Island opened earlier this year to deal with joy-riders (youth who steal rich cars and drag-race them against any one who wants a race, often the cops in hot pursuit!). There are no IRA in the prison now, although it once was used

by the British and Irish States to lock up the local rebels.

Prison officers there had been complaining about security arrangements for some time.



CHILE

COUP FOILED?

Rumours of a coup in Chile have been rubbished by General Pinochet, who now claims that the dismissals of senior officers in the police, armed forces and intelligence services are 'routine'.

So far the purge has included the sacking of the Commander of the Carabinos, Gen. Cesar Mendoza; the head of the Air Force Gen. Gustavo Leigh; a further 26 senior Air Force officers; 30 senior Police officers, six Police Generals and 17 Police colonels.

The CNI (formerly DINA — its name changed because of its torture notoriety —) the State Intelligence Service, helped to initiate the purge, beginning with the charging of 14 members of the Intelligence section of the Carabineros with the murder last March, of three communists. When the charges were made public, the CNI was ostracised by nearly all the other armed services as well as the police. The CNI then successfully engineered the blame on to the Carabineros' own Intelligence section, resulting in its disbandment.

The Carabineros immediately went on to the offensive and threatened to spill

the beans on some of the CNI's own dirty tricks. In addition the Carabineros tried to blame the murders on to the Army, in particular a covert operations squad known as the Scorpion Commando, led by an Army major. The squad was originally formed as far back as 1975, and has been operational ever since.

With the activities of the CNI (who have always worked closely to Pinochet's orders) under scrutiny, Pinochet in the end decided he could not afford to lose the support of the CNI and therefore he turned on those officers in the Carabineros and elsewhere who had been stirring things up. Hence the purge.

For the moment Pinochet has brought about an uneasy peace within the security services, but the possibility of further rebellion and revenge against Pinochet and the CNI remains and depends partly on the loyalties of the recently promoted officers to Pinochet and partly on the extent of the influence of those who have been dismissed. Either way, Pinochet's continued rule remains unsteady. Could a new Pinochet be waiting in the wings perhaps?

INDUSTRIAL

FRANCE TWO WEEKS OF INDUSTRIAL SABOTAGE

New work plans by Renault car manufacturers led to a blockade on the movement of machinery from the Renault plants in Northern France to a subsidiary in Spain. The blockade culminated in a two week campaign of direct action, undertaken by groups of Renault workers and railworkers in an attempt to prevent a trainload of machinery reaching its destination.

Rail lines were severed and removed on route; a ballast blockade held up the train for just under a week; near Douai a large number of workers lay siege to the train, which they captured. Several hundred riot police were called in to rescue it.

For the remainder of the train's trip, police protection was intensified. However, the hold-ups continued and there were more sabotage attacks staged by groups numbering between 200-300 (coined by the media as 'flying commando units'). Rail workers helped out by supplying the Renault workers with hourly reports on the trains position, so foiling attempts to dodge the attack units by re-routing. The train was captured for a second time near Bordeaux. Groups of workers, armed with clubs, iron bars and smoke bombs, attacked police guards and took the train.

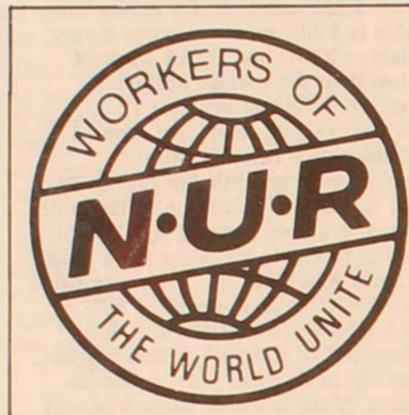
Finally the train was released from captivity when 1000s of riot police converged on the hold-up at Bordeaux; from then onwards the train was escorted, under a heavily armed guard, all the way to the Spanish border. A final protest in Paris took place when thousands of Renault workers blocked the Champs Elysee with their vehicles in the middle of rush-hour.

NUR CONCEDES DEFEAT

A victory for intimidation is the only way to describe the climbdown by the NUR in the face of British Rail management militancy. Management went on the offensive from the very beginning by trying to force the issue over job reductions and one-man (sic) trains. At the same time the NUR leadership showed it had no intention to fighting without resorting to a ballot, even though the propaganda war had clearly been won by management, who throughout the period of unofficial action had used specialist 'employee communication' firms to bombard those who would be balloted into accepting the BR management's right to manage. Despite the fact that public opinion was by no means all the way behind the phasing out of guards from trains, the NUR leadership did little to organise all-out strike action, but relied instead — as often is the case — on the decision of members at local level to take wildcat action (without Executive sanction), and whom little support was given by the EC when that action resulted in widespread sackings.

To date over 245 guards have been sacked for taking industrial action. And, as we go to press, British Rail are refusing to consider the reinstatement of those guards until the NUR Executive commits the union to accepting the principle and the reality of guardless trains and negotiate a new productivity agreement. The EC cannot do that as it is bound by a Conference mandate opposing guardless trains. The response of Jimmy Knapp, the NUR leader, has been to accept that the ballot has ruled out any official support

for further action and that instead a special conference will be called to reverse the union's policy over the phasing out of guards. At the end of the day, guards may well have effectively voted themselves out of a job, ensuring a victory for continuing hard line management tactics.



The turn-out for the actual ballot was 84% and just over half of those who voted agreed not to take strike action. The NUR's failure, however, has to have interpreted this as a rejection by the membership of all forms of industrial action. Instead it was, perhaps, more of a vote of no-confidence in the way the EC had handled the dispute to date.

The future may well see a period of limited or wider unofficial action as the dire consequences of the capitulation are taken on board. The possibility still remains, too, that any unofficial action will be dealt with severely, with large

numbers of railworkers being dismissed, losing pension rights and redundancy money, etc. — a factor that contributed towards the anti-strike vote. After the defeat of the miners, the industrial climate has steadily worsened: sackings during the Miners Strike occurred when management could allege (although not necessarily prove) infringement of mining rules or common law, while sackings during the unofficial railworkers dispute on the other hand, occurred because guards merely went on strike.

Management's response in the lead-up to the ballot, apart from the sackings, was also to outline, directly and through the mass media, contingency arrangements in the event of industrial action being agreed. These plans included a ban on all overtime for all railworkers (whether guards or not), the withdrawal of all Sunday services, a refusal to pay any railworker (whether guard or not) if strike action by the guards was taken, and a complete lock-out imposed if the strike widened. In the two weeks before the ballot most firms had been warned of the threatened shut-down and advised to make their own contingency arrangements to get their employees to work. This would ultimately have involved scabbing by TGWU members or the use of non-unionised labour to take on the extra work load. Bus operators and haulage firms were confident that the railworkers would have got little support by their union colleagues elsewhere in the transport industry. Even support from ASLEF, the other railworkers union, was not secure, as those ASLEF members doing work as a result of a guard not being needed were to be paid, under the proposed productivity arrangements, a bonus in compensation. In other words a classic case of divide and rule.

SILENT NIGHT'MARE'

500 workers have been on strike at the Silentnight bedding firm at Sutton and Barnoldwick, North Yorkshire, since June 11th, 1985.

They struck when the firm's bosses refused to renew the 1985 pay deal — instead of £5.25 most workers are being offered 55 pence or less.

Last year the workers entered into an agreement with management whereby they received no pay increases in return for no redundancies.

Within weeks of the agreement the bosses made 52 redundancies and then increased productivity levels to squeeze more out of the reduced workforce!

The management have now SACKED all the strikers. They are still in dispute but claiming unemployment benefit (so far they have received none though). 6 strikers have taken the bosses to a tribunal for unfair dismissal as a test case.

They are now in a desperate situation and need moral/financial support. A hardship fund has so far raised £15,000, but more is needed.

The bosses are now recruiting temps to break the strike and are having some success with the areas high unemployment. 90 have gone in at the Sutton plant alone. They are bussed in with the cops at both ends of the convoy.

Two TGWU members have crossed picket lines contrary to union instruction and have had their cards ripped up.

The main problem comes from the owner drivers who number 43 and can keep the plant supplied and transport the beds out. Several thousand pounds in damage has been done to these lorries in sabotage and hit squads have been busy persuading scabs not to go to work.

There have been 7 arrests outside the Sutton plant mostly for public order type offences.

The strike has been going on for over two months now and the workers are no nearer victory. Don't let this become another monumental defeat for the working class. They need support. Moral and financial.

Silentnight sell beds all over the country (you may have seen their slogan 'For a Sleepless night') so what are you waiting for?

A leaflet has been done for Jobcentres to discourage any scabbing etc. Local @s

have been taking the strikers picketing sandwiches/cider (most important) and money and will pass on any donations etc, which will be gratefully received.

The dispute is becoming frighteningly similar to the one at Hindles Gears in Bradford which is still going on after 2½ years with no sign of victory.

The union concerned is the Furniture Timber & Allied Trades Union (FTAT).

Letters of support, donations etc can be sent via:

1 in 12 Club, 31 Manor Row,
Bradford, West Yorkshire.



TYNESIDE OCCUPATION

Shipyards workers occupied four Tyne-side yards on Sunday September 1st in a protest about proposed changes in working practices. They welded the gates shut at the Swan Hunter Yards and blockaded the entrances with some lorries.

During the previous four days, 3,000 men have been staging sit-ins to protest the changes. They held a mass picket on Monday, Sept 1st but decided to take action today after what they said was a management ultimatum to end the sit-ins or be sacked.

POWER WORKERS - 6 months on

Australia's own home-bred union basher, Joh Bjelke-Peterson, has introduced new anti-union legislation that he hopes will eventually outlaw unionism in one Australian state at least — Queensland, where demonstrations have been banned for some years.

The legislation was introduced in the wake of the power workers strike and the transport/communication blockade (see *Black Flag*, No.131). Since the strike over 1,000 sacked power workers, members of the Electrical Trades Union, have still not been reinstated since they were sacked for taking industrial action.

The Australian Council of Trade Union Unions has done little to help besides put their faith in the Federal Labour Government, who have referred the case and then made the case/dispute a Federal one.

Bjelke-Peterson's new legislation takes a number of draconian anti-union measures that could outlaw effective unions within the State, setting precedents for other states in Australia to follow suit if and when the right opportunity does come along. The measures include:

- a redefinition of strike action to take into account go-slows, work-to-rules, etc and any action that interrupts normal working procedures.
- the criminalisation of strike action in

the power industry (any infringements will lead to instant dismissals and (or \$1,000 fines).

- the criminalisation of any incitement to strike in the power industry (this 'offence' to be applicable to all union officials too).

- the abolition of closed shops in the power industry or any other industry (strike action taken against this measure can lead to unions being fined \$250,000 and individuals \$1,000)

- the right for the Electricity employers to recruit casual labour (unionised or not) at whim (any individual who tries to block such moves can be fined \$1000)
- all picketing in the power industry to be illegal.

- any strike called in other industries must be done on the basis of 7 days notice (all wildcat actions will be illegal and subject to penalties ranging from \$50,000 for an individual to \$250,000 for unions).

- the legal arrangements whereby unions can be sued for damages are to be extended too.

NB The power workers dispute led to over 190 workers being arrested for just picketing. Journalists have also been threatened with prosecution under the incitement laws for merely reporting on the strike.

SOURCE: Rebel Worker (Aust)

IN THE WAKE OF BITBERG Continued from page 3

Jewish soldiers who had survived the massacre of being biased towards their alleged SS torturers. McCarthy failed however to discredit their evidence. Later it was shown that McCarthy had been briefed on the hearings by a neo-Nazi agitator, Randolph Aschenauer. The result of all this concern over allegations of forced confessions may well have failed, but as a compromise it was decided that all the death sentences would be commuted. Before long all the SS officers had been released, ready to resume their lives in West Germany.

NB After Bitburg, Otto Ernst Remer, the SS General who claims he saved Hitler from an assassination attempt in 1944 and who has openly been involved in the neo-Nazi movement since the war,

sent a congratulatory telegram to Reagan expressing how much he admired his Bitburg gesture!

NAZI MURDERER GOES FREE

Konrad Kelejs, an ex-first lieutenant and company commander of the Nazi Arajs Kommando which massacred thousands of Jews, homosexuals and other anti-Fascists during the second world war has been released from a US detention centre after paying a \$750,000 bail.

Kelejs 72, a wealthy property owner who has been a legal US resident since 1969, was arrested in Miami in April after a warrant for his arrest was issued in February.

COMMENT

PSEUDO-GANGS

INTRODUCTION

Broadly, Psychological Operations — or PSOPS for short — is another name for propaganda, especially the 'dirty tricks' variety, used by the forces of the State to intimidate the civilian population and ultimately to win over their support.

Psyops is by no means a new phenomenon, but its range of techniques is constantly being improved on.

On a daily level television, radio, the press, etc. all play their part. But within the range falls a number of other techniques, which are more to do with so-called 'covert operations'.

With any intensification of civil resistance it is inevitable that the degree and scope of Psyops used against the resistance movement will also be increased.

Getting to know not only more about the daily propaganda battle, but also about the more sophisticated examples of psycho warfare/dirty tricks, is something that anyone involved in resistance work should become expert at. Whatever the type of resistance — whether mass strike action, or sabotage raids, etc — we should be better prepared to counter the State's Psyops operations. This implies better intelligence work and more effective use of counter-propaganda.

To show the tip of the iceberg, we will be running a series of examples in coming issues of *Black Flag*, case studies of just some of the techniques that have been used by security forces in different situations.

CASE STUDY 1: The Algerian War. In 1957 General Massau, Director of the military operations in what was then

French occupied Algiers, decided to wear down the morale of the guerrilla forces by the use of indiscriminate bombing raids, assassinations and other State terrorist measures against the population at large.

The strategy of tension involved the surprise attack of civilian targets, the round-up of civilians in areas known to harbour activists, a general increase in the level of intimidation by police and military, etc.

Massau was acting out of desperation; his object was to isolate the activists from their support, while at the same time improve his intelligence gathering.

For the counter-insurgency forces it was essential that the population at large perceive this operation — later to be known as the Battle of Algiers — not as terrorism but as a consequence of the actions undertaken by the resistance.

Colonel Trinquier, head of the French intelligence unit in Algeria, justified, the use of widespread torture against prisoners and civilians as being necessary in order that the resistance — organised on classic 'cell structure' lines — could be infiltrated and smashed. Random arrests the use of brutal violence and massive retaliatory measures on the communities gave the French forces a, short-lived, reprieve. The intelligence gathering was dependent upon crude, but well tried measures that broke down a significant part of the cell network. At the same time although the resistance movement confined their attacks to military and State targets, it was the anti-colonialists who were labelled by the State as being 'terrorists'. Outside of Algeria it was some time before the truth of what the French forces had been up to was, at last, revealed.

CASE STUDY 2 — Kitson Blitz.

One devotee of Massau, and a counter-insurgency expert in his own right, is General, Sir Frank Kitson — now the Commander in Chief of the UK Land Forces. A couple of years before Massau was trying out his terror techniques in Algeria, Kitson was doing his Kenya tour.

While working for Military Intelligence Kitson used his tour of duty to test and perfect his theory regarding 'Pseudo-gangs'. Basically this meant setting up an operation involving the recruitment of large numbers of disaffected mercenaries who would be employed to commit acts of

Continued on back page

MIRROR TO MAXWELL

At the end of August, the Daily Mirror Group closed down its London operations, proprietor Robert Maxwell stating that unless he could run on his terms it would be for ever. Denouncing the fact that he could not sack people at his will, he said he would resume outside London, the 62-yr old tycoon added that no man over 60 or woman over 55 would ever again work for him, protesting that he wanted a younger, more vigorous and a darn sight cheaper staff.

He would if need be sell off the *Mirror*, a paper read by millions and a major factor in elections, and would immediately sell the *Sporting Life*, revered by the Queen up to most people one works with, and switch to cost-cutting single stroke technology, unless an immediate deal was made by the unions which presumably would cover all this but help save their face.

it a few months and then say it was a hopeless proposition and close it down, leaving everyone in the shit and General Maxwell an even richer Socialist.

Try as he would — he could not get into national newspapers because of this unreasonable fear — so he turned to buying up printing presses. His ownership of printing presses which ultimately control journalism brought him many titles, and finally persuaded many newspaper executives to consider abandoning the print scene and let him print (only being held back because of the Simpkin Marshall shadow) because of the 'unreasonable' attitudes of the Fleet Street workers. The reasoning was that he would be touch because unscrupulous, an attitude which (one Newspaper Proprietors Association executive remarked wryly) was what the German capitalists thought about Hitler.

Union anarchy 'must be fought'

Mr Robert Maxwell issued the following statement last night:

With the greatest reluctance and fully realizing the gravity of this announcement, I have decided it is no longer possible to continue to print any of the Mirror Group's newspapers from our headquarters at Holborn Circus.

I had wanted to print *Sporting Life* elsewhere in order to give readers and advertisers the quality of service they are entitled to and to stem the unacceptable losses it was incurring. At first, the unions refused to agree to its transfer and would not even allow an emergency edition to be printed outside Holborn Circus.

After lengthy negotiations with the national officers of the NGA, including its general secretary, Mr Dubbins, we reached agreement on four NGA formulated principles



ive, even cut-throat, industry it is the pre-condition of success. By my determination to restore that right has led to the present situation.

It is impossible to build success upon anarchy. It seems equally impossible to be rid of that anarchy, so deeply entrenched has it become.

I hope it will soon be possible again to publish our major titles — *The Mirror*, *The Sunday Mirror* and the *Sunday People*, but it will have to be away from Holborn Circus.

I have long believed that the publishing of newspapers — like those of mass circulation weekly magazines — should be separated from their printing. To that end, I have now appointed the British Newspaper Printing Corporation to print these titles.

They have purchased the Thomson Witherby Grove plant (Manchester) and are ready to print in London and/or Manchester

What makes Maxwell run?

Jan Hoch, before he metamorphosed into Captain Robert Maxwell late British Army, made himself a career in British Intelligence which served him when, afterwards, he used his experience of Eastern Europe to penetrate the Communist bloc as a capitalist but fellow-spirit. He outflanked the professional Communists and grabbed the concessions for import and export of scientific books, and for translations to and from Slavonic languages by exiled scholars, thus playing a major role in the development of Russian scientific thinking, for a minor role in which the Rosenbergs got executed in the USA. The gallant captain suffered a different fate, he became a Labour MP. Though he made no mark on the House of Commons except in regard to improving the catering, he established his credentials with the Russians and, he hoped, with the unions, necessary for his future plans.

There was that affair with Simpkin Marshalls to live down. It was touch and go at the time whether he would face prosecution. Having been made chairman, the old established book distributors was run down, its assets stripped, and a killing made on the stripping of assets — particularly the building itself — when the company was wound up, leaving a trail of financial disasters among booksellers and publishers, not to mention the staff losing jobs and pensions but also leaving Captain Maxwell a millionaire with no further need to capitalise on his military title.

For years the mere suggestion that Colonel Maxwell might be an interested buyer was enough to make the newspaper establishment close ranks and see that a failing newspaper would not fall into his clutches. They feared he might do another Simpkin Marshall with it — run

Myth of Fleet Street

Is it true the newspaper proprietors are always losing money because of the high pay of the Fleet Street workers? Like all myths, some reality is contained with this one.

In the first place, of course, 'losing money' in the capitalist sense does not mean necessarily actually losing it, what is meant is that they could make higher profits but these are 'lost'. Secondly, owing to the obsession of the British press with national dailies, they depend on high circulations (and whereas a European newspaper considers itself doing well with 100,000 they consider they are losing if they drop below a million). Obviously national circulation means higher costs, and as they are dependent on advertising, unlike many other countries, they are restricted to national advertising. This is at least as much of a factor as high wages.

But there is another side to it. Because of their national circulations, the newspapers are a major source of power. In the twenties the megalomaniac Beaverbrook devoted his new paper to crusades, and was followed by others. Even if the political crusades were unsuccessful, as in the case of the Liberal Press, the *News Chronicle* could, because of owning a newspaper, funded by a cocoa empire behind them, finance other profitable publishing ventures (until finally the TV became so profitable, they threw in the newspaper towel).

Even crazier than Beaverbrook, in an era when most newspaper proprietors were clinically mad partly because of the the power they wielded, Lady Houston wanted to run a 'Royalist' semi-fascist paper and was warned it would cost her a million. She decided it was worth it for the 'fun, ran it until she had spend

a million (she had married a few more, anyway) while everyone concerned robbed her steadily.

Fleet Street workers long held the cynical view that theirs is a lie factory and the extra money they get is like the extra for playing the piano in a whorehouse. Film workers have a similar attitude to their dream factory: journalists and actors may take idealistic views.

As, since Rothermere, there was always an obsession with being first with the news, it meant there was always the chance to force the managements to grant the extra money that always quietens conscience.

Unlike car production plants, where cars can be finished when the strike is over, there is no selling yesterday's paper. As there is no moulding of yesterday's opinion, Fleet Street has learned to live with the situation whereby managements may even give up trying to manage content with their profits and executive positions, and after all, this attitude, which infuriates the philosophers of capitalism, has kept these practitioners in the millionaire bracket for many years. It is not seen by outsiders who force their way into the establishment: like Eddie Shah or Field Marshal Maxwell.

But the Establishment is not easy to push, though it has been penetrated. It has for years been the kingmakers, it deals in real power, in mindbending, in the fixing of attitudes essential to the chain of command-and-obey in the State. State, they make a farce of democracy because they are into the business of bying and selling public opinion, but they are into reality of seeing that when there is war, people are into war, when peace, they are into peace, always into criminalising opposition and glorifying submission.

If Shah were to succeed with his giveaway newspapers it might wreck the Press which from the State's point of view would be as revolutionary as abolishing the police. Will they think it worth while just so some outsiders can earn as much as the majority of insiders? Maybe they will let it go by default, maybe they will get the unions to fight meanwhile Generalissimo Maxwell is out-shahing Shah with his challenge to close down the *Mirror*. As an outsider he can't afford to wait till the State makes up its mind, and as ever a believer in the fast buck, he may be deciding as with Simpkin Marshalls, to run it all down and sell off the assets, as the newspaper proprietors feared all along.

Though the end product which is brought out is worthless, it is because of years of work and effort and it is brought out, not because Mr Maxwell one day saw what a stroke of genius it was to 'buy' the *Mirror* with borrowed money, and pay for it with the accumulated Reuter shares it had — thus acquiring it for nothing. Thousands will lose their jobs, ten of thousands their related livelihoods, a proportion of them never likely to earn again.

It is this issue the unions are fighting on. The slogans may be worthless but the battle is genuine. No matter if they describe it as opposition to new technology, the right to be exploited (beg pardon, to work), or even at a pinch, object to foreign crooks coming here and doing own own nature born crooks out of a dishonest living.

The reality is that here is a vast enterprise built up by its workers. It is going to crash because of capitalist manoeuvring. As a means of personal security they want to go on printing rubbish because that way they are independent; as they know it's rubbish they ask more for doing it.

One day the workers take over. They won't be able to if they've been frozen out a generation before.

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FEEDBACK

BOOK REVIEW

The Conquest of Bread, Peter Kropotkin, (Elephant Editions, £3.60).

Kropotkin's socialistic works such as **The Conquest of Bread** were once regarded as the textbooks of the working class movement, whatever reservations might have been held by non-Anarchists about 'Revolutionary Government' and others where he criticises State socialism. Even the late Herbert Morrison used to claim that 'An Appeal to the Young' made him 'a socialist', but Kropotkin was hardly to blame that Morrison devoted the talents that would have made him a successful department store general manager to becoming a successful machine politician.

Kropotkin fell out of fashion not just because parliamentary and State socialism succeeded, but because he was derided as optimistic, which their success made seem innocent. In **The Conquest of Bread** one can see that his productions

regarding agriculture, housing, work, the environment, are optimistic, but in no way did he suggest that if the State were to direct matters — as it came to do — that socialism would still be beneficial: 'It is not for us to answer the objections to authoritarian communism — we ourselves hold with them,' he says.

That the rich would readily abandon their roomy town houses once they could no longer get servants is typical of his 'optimism', yet to a large extent it happened; this being done, but their still remaining rich, did not cause revolution, or even a reform: but this in no way means he was wrong.

This edition is beautifully done: Alfredo Bonnano's introduction suffers from being a little obscure but his thesis seems to be that Kropotkin is betrayed by attempts to give him the image of the 'wise kabouter' which is fair enough.

LETTER

Dear Black Flag,

Early in 1984 you published information about AMAC — the UK based international riot-control equipment suppliers — in both the *Black Flag Fortnightly*, and *Quarterly*. In one article you referred to a military equipment and suppliers and manufacturers exhibition at Aldershot, at which AMAC had a stand that was disrupted by union action after articles had appeared in the press about AMAC's deals with Chile (and Iraq) on the supply of armoured riot vehicles.

From a source close to AMAC I have learnt that the disruption and press leaks were in fact stage-managed by MI6, for reasons which were, then, not at all apparent.

The whole episode began when AMAC was approached by representatives of the Government of Libya to act as consultants and to provide advice and expertise on personal protection to the Head of State, Colonel Gaddafi. MI6 advised the AMAC people to do whatever they, the Libyans wanted; so MI6 agents could work alongside AMAC employees to do a massive bugging job on Libyan premises. This was eventually achieved, with MI6, thanks to AMAC's help, getting regular intelligence reports on Gaddafi on an indefinite basis.

So why suddenly was there all the press attention on AMAC? Well, according to my source — who has done work for AMAC — MI6 deliberately stage-managed the whole thing — press leaks, TV report, the subsequent industrial action, etc. in connivance with AMAC. Perhaps MI6's surveillance operation had been discovered, or MI6 no longer wished to continue the operation? Another reason could be that to publicly embarrass AMAC as a supplier to Pinochet, whilst they were still acting as consultants to Gaddafi, could in turn embarrass Gaddafi (who knew about the Chilean connection all

the time) in order to make him out to look stupid, and end the AMAC deal with Libya quickly.

The uncynical may well quickly assume that all this would mean bad business for AMAC? Not so, as a result of the bad publicity, business actually had trebled (on the basis that all publicity is good publicity), the Chilean and Iraqi deal were kept intact, and Libya, who knows, it may well be still in force?

At the time the press reported on AMAC's dealings with Chile and Iraq (but not Libya), questions were asked in Parliament about AMAC and the Ministry of Defence. The MoD put out a statement disassociating itself from AMAC and condemning its operations. This made no mention of MoD connections with AMAC of course, or how the MoD had known about the Chilean and Iraqi deals from the beginning.

There is nothing unusual about these military equipment companies and security consultants acting as government agents, or with their contracts with some countries whose political ideologies are perceived to be poles apart.

After all, if strikebreaker and newspaper entrepreneur Eddie Shah can get most of his funding from the Hungarian National Bank to set up a newspaper concern that attempts to deunionise the paper industry, then Colonel Gaddafi can no doubt use Western expertise (alongside Soviet expertise) to stem up his own regime.

Name withheld.

PS. The Chilean contract has been blocked. AMAC are now going bankrupt. Their vehicles are no longer available. Currently AMAC is defaulting on debts and anyone issuing writs against them for non-payment has been threatened with violence. Some of AMAC's heavies are ex-Special Armed Services. (this update courtesy of a firm which is owed money by AMAC).

PRISON NEWS

WELSH MINERS

The two Welsh miners convicted of murder have both been moved to H.M. Prison Gartree, Market Harborough, Leicester LE16 7RP. Dean Hancock's number is A99410. We don't know Russell Shanklands number yet.

They were probably moved because there was a lot of public support i.e. demonstrations — petitions in the Cardiff area for them. Whereas Leicestershire was basically a scabs mining area.

They appreciate letters and their families appreciate assistance with expenses, especially travelling.

Both miners are due to come to the Court of Appeal, Strand, London on October 21-22 although they might not be called.

Source: E.L.DAM



MURRAYS BENEFIT

In support of Noel and Marie Murray (Black Cross prisoners, sentenced to life, now fighting the courts for conjugal rights). Thursday 26 September at the West Indian Club, Six Dials, Southampton. 7.30pm. Bands include: The Tudor Unknowns, The Mad Thatchers, and The Sack. Organised by the Southampton Anarchists.

EMMA GOLDMAN PAPERS PROJECT APPEAL

The Emma Goldman Papers Project is searching for letters, speeches, essays, newspaper clippings written by or about Emma Goldman.

We are interested especially in documents which deal with the period during the time when Emma Goldman acted as the official representative of the CNT-AIT in London, during the Spanish Civil War. Dr. Candace Falk, Director EGPP, Institute for the Study of Social Change, 2420 Bowditch Street, Berkeley, California 94720 USA.

POEM OF THE WEEK

THE BLACK MAN

When I was born, I was black.
When I grow up, I'm black.
When I'm sick, I'm black.
When I go out in the sun, I'm black.
When I'm cold, I'm black.

But you —

When you're born, you're pink.
When you grow up, you're white.
When you're sick, you're green.
When you go out in the sun, you go red.

When you're cold, you go blue.
When you die, you're purple.

And you have the cheek to call me coloured!

Poem from magazine called MIGRANT with contributions from the following: Russian, Greek, Polish, English, Austria, Yugoslavian, New Zealand, Mauritius, Dutch, Kurandan, Welsh people. From: Migrant 7, P.O. Box 2430V, GPO Melbourne 3001 Australia.

GET ORGANISED!

People interested in organising in the workplace, and unemployed organising in South East England contact: Industrial Network, c/o E.L. DAM, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

AINRIAL Issue 1, 20p. Produced by Belfast Anarchists. Copies from 7 Wine-tavern Street, Belfast 1. Includes report on the Murrys court case, articles on plastic bullets and asbestos.

Continued from page 7

atrocities in the name of the resistance movement.

These acts included the occasional massacre of colonials as well as the more systematic massacre of resistance sympathisers or those who simply had not aligned with either side.

Alongside the use of this psychological warfare the military also made full use of internment: during the period 1953-'57 over 80,000 sympathisers were forcibly detained in concentration camps.

Moving on to Malaya, Kitson oversaw a period of Emergency rule lasting some 12 years. During that time trade unions and political organisations were banned, internment was introduced and over 30,000 Chinese people were sent into forced exile. No-go areas were set up and food supplies were cut off to huge numbers of people as part of a programme to isolate rebel forces.

'PSEUDO-GANGS' continues in the next issue of Black Flag.

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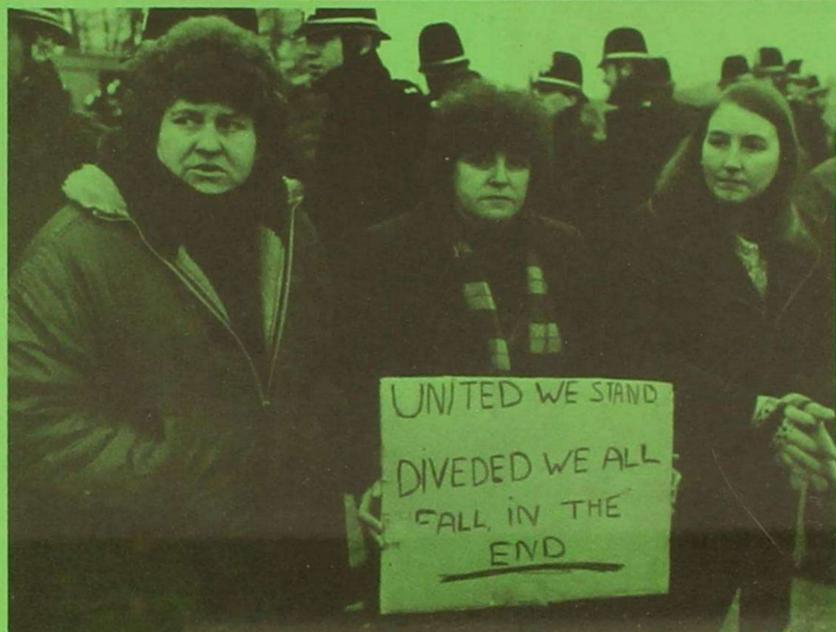
MINERS STRIKE

Six months after the end of the Miners Strike and, as we go to press, with the commencement of the 1985 Trades Union Congress Annual Conference — we look back at certain aspects of the strike, we look at the relationship between the NUM (and

unionism generally) and the Labour Party, and we look at some of the moves being made since the ending of the strike to organise outside the reformism of the official trade union movement. Now, (as it always was) it is obvious that only a General

Strike, rather than limited sectional action, can effectively challenge the power of the ruling class, just as it is equally obvious that the official trade union movement would do its utmost to sabotage any revolutionary strike and that only a rank and file

movement — led by no party or political faction or leaders but self-organised, linking community resistance with industrial resistance — has the capacity to win such a struggle.



INTERVIEW — WITH TONY CLEGG OF THE RANK & FILE MINERS MOVEMENT

The following is a shortened version of a recorded interview with Tony Clegg of the Rank & File Miners Movement. The interview was conducted by a member of the Doncaster DAM.

M: How did you start up?

T: On the 13th of May, after the strike, we decided to get together in touch with some lads who we'd met during the picketing from different areas and who had been sacked. We set off to lobby the National Executive Committee meeting at St James House in Sheffield, intending to speak to them. We wanted to see where we stood with the NEC. Well we got only so far and they wouldn't let us go in. Some spoke to us, Heathfield, Scargill, Taylor and they were as bewildered as we were at the end of the strike. Those outside at the lobby, about 30-40, held a meeting at the local unemployed centre where those who got in told the rest what had been said. From that meeting came the Rank & File movement, that's how we started it off.

M: Could you give a short introduction into the basic aims and objectives of the Rank & File Movement?

T: Well, the first aims on the agenda for the Rank & File was to campaign within the pits for an amnesty. That was the first main objective, and of course to campaign around other work-places as well, with other unions, and let them all know what kind of treatment the sacked miners were getting. That was the priority aim. The long term aims of the R&F are more or less the same as the union, of the NUM itself, that is to fight against pit closures and to carry on the fight against anti-union laws.

M: What role do the women in the movements' support groups have within the Rank & File?

T: Well, when we started up, with the committee of the R&F, we decided that the women had played such a key role during the dispute that we learnt a lot off the women. We decided to have a committee made up of a third sacked miners, a third miners gone back to work after the miners strike, and a third miners wives or girlfriends or anybody who was really in the mining families. I think now that the committee hasn't worked out as we planned it — a third sacked men, a third the miners wives etc. The women are still there they still come to meetings, they're still interested, but there isn't as many on the committee as there used to be.

M: Do you have any contact with miners in prison?

T: Yes we do. They're still as much for the fight, for the campaign for amnesty and for the jobs back and everything. It's done more or less on a personal basis with lads writing to them and things like that. But we've heard cases such as a lad at Armthorpe, where the Revolutionary Communist Party went outside the nick with a big banner with the kids name on it and they started shouting for him like; release him and all this & that and the RCP supports the jailed miners or whatever it said. Well the screws went badly on him didn't they, 'Oh so you're a communist are you?' They gave him a good hiding. So... if we were going to do anything like that, we would first get in touch with the relatives and the people in jail, we wouldn't just go off spec, because it could cause a lot of problems. The prisoners interests are still as much as our fight for the jobs and for the sacked miners.

M: Do you have any contact with miners from privatised pits or from open-cast mines?

T: Well, not really. We rely on the conference to pull such people in, if they're interested they should come and see what we're about. These people that have been sacked in private pits, transport & general members, it didn't come to light, it really hit us that there was so many when a woman at the last conference stood up and said she was pissed off with hearing about sacked and jailed miners and not hearing about the sacked T & G people who were sacked for supporting the unions and not crossing picket lines. We have to try and help as best we can.

M: What areas of the country are you, the Rank & File effective?

T: Well, Leicester, Coventry, Derbyshire, Nottingham, Yorkshire. I mean just about all over — there's some interested in Wales and Scotland. They are spread out wide. It's a hard battle. At first I thought it would be easy. But, it's an uphill struggle.

M: Although, understandably, there's a lot of animosity towards the scabs — especially in areas like Nottingham — a large proportion wasn't actually working positively to break the strike. They were just following the leadership of the Notts area. Wouldn't you see that one of the main objectives of the R & F is to win over the hearts and minds of these people?

T: Well me personally, I always thought — and I always will think — a scab's a scab. If a scab scabs from day one or goes back on day before end of strike, they're scabs.

Fear of disunity, factionalism, isolation, etc. has always prevented embryonic rank and file movements from establishing any broad support. Throughout the Miners Strike the treachery of the TUC and the inevitable piss-weak support of the Labour Party was shown and criticised by all, and since the ending of the strike unions have been crushed one by one — crushed by a combination of anti-union laws, disinformation, effective media propaganda, and above all fear — fear of reprisals, intimidation, dismissals, cut-backs, etc. The TUC has neither the will or desire to fight back, because the union leaderships know that only all-out industrial and community warfare will ensure victory. At the same time, no mass rank and file movement will organise solely because it is seen to be right or because there is general dissatisfaction with traditional methods of attack; nor will any such movement evolve just because small isolated groups argue for a change in tactics and

reject outright the TUC, parliamentary leadership, and all those who claim to represent the workers movement (whether the Labour Party or left vanguardism generally), and instead form a new broad based union movement, uniting all class struggle trade unionists in all industries, into one single rank and file syndicalist federation. That single federation, controlled by no party or outside organisation, would bring together workers in all industries (and workers without jobs), for the social General Strike, to be fought in the workplaces, and on the streets and to be taken finally to the heartlands of the ruling class. Now that legitimate union activity has been effectively outlawed, syndicalist direct action has to be the only way forward.



I mean, I blame scabs for the deaths of the lads on the picket line — and the young kids who got buried digging coal to keep their families warm and for the lads in jail at Armley — I blame scabs for that. Now the main aim of the R&F is no scabs at all in the R&F movement. I can't speak for everybody in the R & F movement — there was a big discussion at a committee meeting where we all had our own points of view and we discussed the situation as it is today with the break-away Notts.

But, same as you said, I can remember the first beginning of strike. There must have been about 15,000 that first came out in Nottingham, Derbyshire and that area. But when I look back now, I think there can't have been enough campaigning done and things like that because they were only out for a couple of days, and they slowly drifted back. But, same as you said, there's some... maybe have been led up the garden path. But me personally I mean I might feel a bit more bitter being a sacked miner, towards scabs, than a working rank and file might be. But I don't know what the outcome of the conference will be — I don't know what will be the policies they adopt over scabs, but then again somethings got to be done, of course some have different categories of scabs, but to me they're all scabs. Other people will categorise them, but they're still a scab.

M: The Rank and File Miners Movement has been accused by certain people of being a front organisation for various left-wing Parties.

T: Yeah, there were a put down in the straight left — I forget the date — and what it said was that we were a front for a left wing trotskist organisation called Workers Power. Now, in the R & F M M we've got people from various left-wing organisations. We've got people from the

WRP, SWP, Workers Power etc. They've got their policies — we can't stop them from coming to the R & F meetings and conferences, because they're miners. They come around to argue their points. But, there's no one left-wing organisation that's controlling the R & F movement. Not one. It's a mixture of WRP, SWP, whatever you please. Me personally I'm not a member of any left-wing organisation. And, there's a lot more that aren't. If I come up with a policy that might be agreeable to SWP, it doesn't mean I'm in a left-wing organisation or a left-wing organisation is running the job. But, yeah, we've been accused a few times, but there's not one political organisation that runs the Rank & File Miners Movement.

M: What could non-miners do to support the growth and development of the R & F?

T: Well, first of all by inviting Rank & File members to speak at union meetings. To make donations to keep the campaign going. We're not trying to divert money from the National Union. We put a big advertisement on the back page of our paper, asking people to send donations to National. What we need is money to keep our campaign going and people to be invited to speak — let's spread the word. A lot of people think the R & F is a split from the union. Well, that's stupid talk. The Rank & File Miners Movement is the Union. We're the people who've got the say. We're the Union, the grassroots. And I don't want people — we don't want people — to think we're trying to take over or trying to organise a union within the Union. The Rank & File Miners Movement is opposed to any political group or any group of people that tries to do this sort of thing, like the breakaway Notts miners. All we're doing is fighting for what we believe in.



We have earned these mines a thousand times over.

WAS THE MINERS STRIKE WINNABLE?

At the beginning of the strike many (miners and non-miners alike) thought it would all be over within a matter of weeks. If it was not for the massive scabbing it would have been so. But, with a government bent on confrontation and no compromise, and with no clear overall industrial support from the key trade unions, it was obvious that defensive tactics needed to give way to offensive ones. To a limited extent this was done. Sabotage attacks — some blown out of all proportion by the media, others were merely a continuation of traditional picketing — had little effect overall as they were not adopted on a large scale and taken to the heartlands of the class enemy where direct pressure can be put. Instead, those groups and individuals who undertook offensive actions were few and alas disorganised.

The vast majority of miners were not fighting to overthrow the government or state or seek to create a revolution, but simply to keep jobs to keep their communities intact. They were not even fighting to take over their industry — theirs by right. True, there were some, both within and outside the mining communities, who were fighting for more. But it was not a political strike of the miners' choosing, but as a direct result of government, that made it clear from the outset that their objectives were to smash the union, to defeat militant unionism and break up the communities.

The State sought industrial and community confrontation never before witnessed for decades. As for the strikes progress, class warfare gave way to civil warfare. Community was set against community, village against village, union against union with the media pulling the strings. By the time the odds were realised — the legal processes, the new policing arrangements, the contingency plans, the role of the far-right extremists in helping to exacerbate the conflict between scab and striker with 'return to work' movements funding etc.; the importance of anti-union legislation, Courts fining and sequestrating, the end of civil liberties and the introduction of harsh picketing penalties against those involved in civil infringements (but charged under the criminal law), the use of the bribes and lies to win over more scabs by the NCB (Xmas bonus etc); the total inadequacy of the official trade union movement in lending effective industrial support also ground down the fight left in the resisting miners.

By the time it was realised that new tactics were needed — although many long forgotten ones were remembered and some new ones adopted — and to be practiced too, it was too late.

At the NUM Annual Conference earlier this year Arthur Scargill was forced to defend mass picketing.



RIOT police occupied the village and barricaded the road when a mass picket greeted scabs at Houghton Main colliery in Yorkshire

He did so by stating that it failed, not of itself but because there was not enough support for mass picketing, or enough mass pickets.

He implied that Orgreave did not succeed because the pickets were in the end out-numbered, and that even so there should have been more attempts similar to Orgreave.

Unlike at Saltley Gate, in 1972, the support was not as great, while the police presence and tactics was far bigger and far more aggressive. That should have been taken into account in the wake of the rout

and put as an argument for more mass pickets, organised on a far greater scale, employing a variety of tactics in addition to the set-piece battles that were so essential in terms of international (and national) coverage and their effect on the stability of the currency.

Near the end of the 12 month strike, mass picketing was outlawed by the Court leaving only a few, mainly in South Yorkshire, to challenge that ruling. The ruling came at a point in time when the mood within the South Wales Area leadership switched to supporting tactical withdrawal and mass picketing all but ceased in that

Area due to the demands of the leadership.

The Euro-Communists are trying for a softly, softly approach with everything they are doing, competing with the Trotskyists — and near well beating them — at their entryist games a la Militant Tendency. It began to become all too commonplace to see CP members policing rallies and demos looking for anyone who might try to resist police provocation and so upset the 'glorious martyrdom' label they attempted to fix. This was done in the hope that pity would win greater support from the moderates and liberal middle-class etc.

They became a reactionary and restraining influence, together with their ilk in the TUC and the Labour Party, on the strike as the full weight of the State came down to bear.

'Noble' defeat was preferred to further 'adventure'. Behind the scenes McGahey and other Area leaders decided to pull in the reins, seeing Scargill as a liability to their own ambitions and their own Party loyalties. Scargill the orator had by then in their view, served his purpose.

In the last weeks of the strike it was clear that failure was a strong possibility. The leadership of the NUM were demoralised and there were tactics not pursued which should have been tried and tested long before the strike had begun to deteriorate. One antidote for example, was that in the absence of massive rank and file industrial support, a mobilisation of all striking miners, support groups, rank & file workers groups and unemployed groups, could have led to a massive blockade of the East Midland power stations and scab coal fields, supported by diversionary and rearguard actions elsewhere.

Even in their hour of defeat the miners showed more courage and solidarity than the whole trade union and organised labour movement in Britain has been able to muster since its inception. The General Strike in 1926 began with the miners and they were the last to go back; the great miners strike of 1984/5 was a great feat of resistance by the miners and their few friends. The claimants mobilising and the international solidarity were inspiring to the miners and their support groups.

But despite all the remained winnable right up to its demise, victory was always a possibility. At least through mass rank and file unofficial action, or through an escalation of wide-scale community resistance and revolutionary violence, leading to localised and open insurrections.

What was clear in retrospect, was that there was neither the will for mass solidarity action, in industry or generalised resistance against the forces of the State.

The miners were defeated in the end by their own class and by the trade union movement especially submissive to the governments' attack.

WITH 'FRIENDS' LIKE THE LABOUR PARTY...

To extricate the Labour Party from the difficulty of what to do about the Nottinghamshire miners who wish to formalise their break with the national union, Don Concannon, the Labour MP sponsored by the Notts Area miners, has come up with a scheme whereby the breakaway union could affiliate to the Labour Party at the Constituency level.

The Labour Party are clearly not happy about being seen as scab supporters and Labour Leader Kinnock has gone to great length to argue the case for unity. What worries him most is that if, after a ballot, the breakaway is formalised and affiliation is not sanctioned, then lost votes could affect marginal seats badly. On this basis Kinnock might well take up the Concannon plan and play the moderate (aka pragmatic) card in the race for power.

From a syndicalist or an anarchist or even a socialist point of view, affiliation to the Labour Party or the TUC has no advantages at all anyway. The militant trade unions, such as the NUM, gain very little from affiliation. The irony is that it is the moderate and right-wing unions who gain most from affiliation and yet here we have a situation where a union which was stabbed in the back by the TUC and the parliamentary Labour Party during the 12 month strike, is now doing its utmost to achieve reconciliation while denying the traitors in its own ranks (the scabs) the opportunity to ally themselves with, what some would describe as, their centrist colleagues.

Memories are indeed short. Throughout the strike neither the Labour Party nor the TUC did much else other than to lengthen the suffering by doing charity work (many outside the Labour Party and the TUC did better organised fund & food raising etc). The TUC neither actively supported the strike in any way that would have achieved a victory nor did it condemn it outright.

Instead, like the Labour Party, it tried hedging its bets. Expediency was the name of the game, as it is now. For the Labour Party, the main objective is still grabbing votes, in order to prevent workers organisations from taking direct control. For the TUC it is the same, except that it is not parliamentary seats that guarantees the retention of their power, but the destabilisation of any meaningful resistance.

It is unlikely, even now after all the treachery, that unions like the NUM will ever disaffiliate from the TUC or the Labour Party (although the acceptance of the scab breakaway union into the Labour Party/TUC fold might well be the catalyst for such a voluntary disaffiliation) as it too hedges its bets.

In spite of the odd militant leader within the unions, any major break from mainstream centrist politics/unionism will ultimately come about from: a rank and file movement, whose birth might have been witnessed but whose future in the short term is doubtful whilst the labour movement continues to believe the lies of those in power who vie to speak and act on its behalf.

WHOSE INDUSTRY?

At the National Union of Mineworkers Annual Conference, the NUM President, Arthur Scargill, put forward the unlikely proposition that under a Labour Government the NCB chiefs ought to be replaced by NUM nominees. Would such an arrangement actually work in favour of the the miners?

After all, Union nominees have taken top NCB positions before and the industry still remained as it was: under the direct control of the State and subject to government ordinance. The option Scargill is putting forward is not more than a reassertion of nationalisation, the bugbear that has plagued workers control ever since the Labour corporatists (Government/Unions/Employers united) first implemented such an ingenious means of diverting industrial strife.

First make it appear that the industry is now a 'peoples' industry, with the wealth being ploughed back and redistributed to those who produce the coal. Thus the great illusion won its converts and the remnants of syndicalism nigh disappeared in the wake of the enthusiasm that grew out of this fallacy.

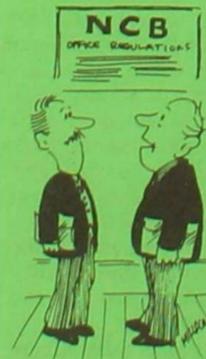
The mines are no ones to own or to be managed; how they are worked is a matter for those who produce the coal. The authoritarian left will always opt for control and public ownership through State power and State ownership.

The anarchist and revolutionary syndicalist idea of collectivisation, without State or vested control, is not only the only revolutionary alternative to capitalism —

whether statist or not — but is the most practical and just means by which industry is returned to the direct control of those who produce and consume, and not those who seek control for both profit and power.

Replacing some of those at the top without destroying the whole rotting edifice: no government would ever allow an industry to be run in this way unless it could be certain that any changes that arose out of this new arrangement would be minimal. Power cannot be given — although it can be seized — but must at first be destroyed, for while power is held there will always be those corrupt enough to use it for their own ends.

A Labour Government will never allow its own control to be eroded, nor will it publicly wish to give into pressure from unionism. Instead industry can only be taken away from the ruling class through direct action and syndicalist organisation.



MacGregor's office? Sure, it's just down the corridor and follow the trail of stabbed backs.



POLICE FEDS RE-WRITE HISTORY

Gareth Pierce, the solicitor who acted on behalf of several miners charged with riot and other offences originating from the Battle of Orgreave, recently wrote an article in the national daily, *The Guardian*, exposing the fallacy of the charges made. Also criticised was the way in which the media successfully managed to give the impression that the battle charges made by mounted riot police were in response to stone-throwing, instead of the other way around as was shown in court.

Within a matter of days of the article being published, Police Federation 'journalist', Tony Judge, wrote a reply (which was also published in *The Guardian*), that, if anything, was nothing but revisionist. According to Judge the development of riot policing was something the police had not wished for, and is to be blamed on those who provide the need for such para-military type policing.

However, attacking the police, as an act in itself, is, Judge went on to say, a phenomenon that is increasing with growing 'importance'. Turning history upside down Judge then claimed that up to recently such behaviour was relatively unknown and that policing in the distant past has therefore been uniquely 'mild'.

But if that was not bad enough, Judge then went on to say 'Innocent demonstrators were not maimed or disabled by police during the longest and most bitter strike in post-war experience. Police horses did not trample pickets underfoot. Even the famous picture of the truncheon wielding mounted officer is not accompanied by a complaint, an allegation by the woman concerned. . . And: 'As for the cavalry charges, the horses went in at no more than a canter, only after plenty of warning had been given, only after the massed ranks of police had parted to let them go through. . . The horses were there to disperse a missile throwing mob. They did it swiftly and painlessly.' Little needs to be made against this crude attempt to rewrite history. Even taking into account the fact that the TV cameras only showed a small proportion of the police violence (such as the widely seen incident of the riot cop beating mercilessly with a truncheon a miner felled to the ground, but failing to show the other similar incidents off camera, of which this was definitely not a one-off), the sheer gall of Judge's statements defy credulity.

But Judge did not finish there. He next attempted to rubbish the criticisms of Mutual Aid policing. He did so, not by denying the prominence of Mutual Aid police strategy, but by demonstrating that Mutual Aid policing had, in fact, been around for many years (a fact on which he hesitated to provide the details — see *Strike-Breaking, Mutiny and Civil Disorder* in *Black Flag Quarterly*, Spring '84). The National Reporting Centre, to which he referred, was first conceived of in 1972, and was first put to full use during the 1982 riots. Mutual Aid policing, however, has been around for much longer, with comparable instances in terms of strike-breaking going back as far as 1919.

Judge then, in his article, next accused Ms Pierce of lying about there ever being a riot at Orgreave — a claim, in fact, that Ms Pierce never made. The specific charge she made was that those charged with riot had not been involved in the act of rioting but had been the subject of an unprovoked attack by the police and then arrested at random.

The collapse of the Prosecution case, presumably because the 'evidence' was either non-existent or contradictory, is something that Judge would prefer to ignore. Finally Judge dropped a clanger in his attempt to explain why all the Prosecution cases were either dropped or rejected by the Courts. In his estimation reconciliation was the real reason.

In this he may well be right, although to be more exact it is not reconciliation that provided in part, the motive for the virtual wholesale collapse of the cases, but fear — fear that policing the mining areas will be that much harder if the war the State won did not result in some sop to those it defeated. And only if there was fear of further confrontation would the authorities compromise in this way.

For a Government whose policies are based on sheer economics, in the end it was a matter of costs that dictated the outcome: the costs of lengthy court trials the costs in exposing the extent of police violence and the crude attempts to provide scape-goats, and the long-term costs of provoking further wrath from communities already making preparations for the future industrial confrontation.

WAS ORGREAVE A MISTAKE?

Altogether there were police, gathered from up to 14 different forces controlled from the National Reporting Centre. In total there are 43 police forces throughout the UK, involving a total of 416 Police Support Units, the units of calculation on which the NCR estimates for 'mutual aid' measures are based.

On these figures full mobilisation by the NRC of all PSU's available — an unlikely scenario, to say the least — would mean that upwards of 13,500 officers could be deployed using the PSU system. Add on the availability of the Special Constabulary and emergency services reserves from nearby constabularies — and, in a real emergency, the deployment of Territorials, etc — the figure would be increased fourfold, ie around 50,000, not all specialists in 'riot control'.

At the same time, mobilisation of such a massive contingent would take place over at least 48 hours if not longer. Consideration would also be given by the authorities to the danger of leaving some parts of the country heavily under-policed if a large proportion of the full complement was called up.

It is now well known that over the days during the battle for Orgreave, there were no more than 8,000 police gathered at any one time — a number roughly equivalent to the pickets. These were nearly all officers attached to PSU's, which meant that the national PSU force was approximately 60% engaged around one incident leaving only 40% to cope with all other emergencies.

Orgreave has been compared to Saltley Gate, when in 1972 a similar set piece mass picket by the miners ended up with the closure of the country's 'biggest coking plant and the subsequent defeat of the government led by Heath.

But the comparison is a false one. For a start, in 1972 the police were unprepared for mass picketing — and it was a direct result of this failure that the NRC was set up. Secondly, the government was less decisive and determined to seek confrontation and less certain of victory than the government of Thatcher. If Saltley Gate had happened in 1984, under the Thatcher administration, whether the police had been better organised or not, the government would not have conceded defeat; instead more Saltley Gates would have been needed to drive the point home. Thirdly, in 1972 the miners had spent far more time talking to, picketing and visiting groups of workers in other industries so as to drum up support. Rank and file groups were then less on the defensive, and less under the influence of dominant trade union leaderships or susceptible to government and media manipulation.

As we all know, what actually transformed the mass picket at Saltley Gate, unlike Orgreave, into a victorious episode of working class history, was when workers from mainly engineering establishments

at nearby Birmingham marched to the picket to provide support, as this quote from then Yorkshire Area NUM president Scargill vividly illustrates:

Some of the lads were feeling the effects and were a bit dispirited that no reinforcements were coming. And then over this hill suddenly came a banner — and I've never seen in my life so many people all following a banner. As far as the eye could see it was just a mass of people marching towards Saltley. There was a huge roar and from the other side of the hill they were marching too. They were coming from 5 directions. . . and our lads were just jumping in the air with emotion — a fantastic situation.

As one commentator later noted:

That morning the TGWU and the AUEW had called sympathy strikes. Tens of thousands of Birmingham trade unionists took the day off work, and about ten thousand marched on the coking depot. . . One contingent even turned up with a Scots piper band at its head. The roads all around the depot were jammed, and the police, with only 800 men, were surrounded and simply couldn't cope. 'Close the gates, close the gates', the crowd had chanted.

At about ten forty-five on that Tuesday morning, an official from the Gas Board took a key from his pocket and locked the padlock on the gates of Saltley. It is said that some Yorkshire miners were almost in tears.

Scargill then grabbed the p.a. and told the massed pickets, *This will go down in trade union history. It will also go down in history as the Battle of Saltley Gate. The working people have united in a mass stand. The trade unionists of Birmingham have proved a point that once they stood solidly together, nothing can move them. The picket line didn't close Saltley, what happened was that the working class closed Saltley.*

A different story to what happened at Saltley was the fate of the Orgreave action. On that occasion the working class, on the whole, stood to one side and preferred to watch the pickets and police battle it out on TV screens.

Sheffield and Rotherham, the two cities nearest to Orgreave coke depot, almost flanking it, went on working as normal. Scargill had hoped to repeat history; we were all to be disappointed.

That does not mean that the tactic of mass picketing itself was defeated, only that support — so crucial — had not materialised. If it had, and mass turnouts from nearby workplaces, locals and unemployed had marched on Orgreave — then, there would have been a victory. The police would have been outnumbered and a big morale boost would have urged greater support across the country and possibly spelled defeat for the government.

The police were better organised but so were we. Orgreave was not lost, but it did lay to rest for a while the spectre of the mass picket, a mistake which may have helped to lose the war.



LABOUR PATRONAGE — A FUTURE LABOUR GOVERNMENT TO HELP IMPRISONED AND DISMISSED MINERS?

An appeal from the National Union of Mineworkers to the Labour Party to arrange an amnesty for all imprisoned and sacked the Coal Board leaders was described by the Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock, as sheer 'fantasy'. And so it is.

The notion that a Labour Party in power would seriously entertain such ideas is truly fantasy of the highest order. No Labour Party leadership is likely to do anything that will undermine law and order or the right to manage. It has a broad conservative working class and middle class electorate to consider, in the first instance, and in addition any concession to militant unionism will in itself prove a home goal against the parliamentarians.

Prior to a by-election Kinnock could not have made it clearer. Commenting on NUM President Scargill's plea for all jailed miners to be freed under a general amnesty Kinnock reaffirmed his full support for all Court verdicts and the MacGregor line.

Like their opposites in Parliament, the Labour Party have to be seen to be fully backing law and order at all costs, and even to be tougher in upholding it.

However, fearful of rebellion and of moves to instigate another massive strike before the next general election, Kinnock sent the Party chair to placate the miners at the annual conference, with soothing words of unity and how the miners need the Labour Party to survive. The reverse is, of course, nearer to the truth. Without grass roots support, the Labour Party is nothing. And so it plays its game of continuing the balancing act, lying to its supporters — both current and erstwhile — on the one hand, and preparing for power, for authoritarian control on the other.

The Euro-Communists will be upset by all this. Their game is also being spoilt by all this honest talking. The McGaheys etc with their power base in the Scottish NUM may be wondering if they have not backed the wrong horse, or indeed whether Scargill needs to be kept under control.

Rocking the boat, the Labour Party boat, is the name of their game. And the Nottinghamshire Miners, now partly on a limb with two of their leaders sacked from the NUM employ, are also directly, desperately appealing for unity, again in the name of the Labour Party, to which they have retained their loyalty. They know too, that a Labour Party in power will do nothing too drastic or provide any assistance to the militants. With the Labour Party the Nottinghamshire scabs will be safe. And they will find even greater protection under a Labour Party enhanced law and order programme.

NB. Latest news is that the NUM motion was passed at the Trades Union Congress Annual Conference. An attempt by the Militant/Trotskyist faction in the National Communication Union, to amend the NUM motion by deleting all references to the Labour Party, was defeated. The TUC General Secretary, Norman 'hang me' Willis, and the majority of the General Council of the TUC, opposed the NUM motion and tried to get it dropped in favour of a compromise motion put forward by the Transport and General Workers Union. They failed and delegates in a card vote supported the NUM.

The Labour Party, needless to say, is not expected to comply with the mandate in any way.



WIDEN THE BASE

At the recent Women Against Pit Closures conference, at which there were over 1000 women in attendance, the message that came across was that preparations are underway within the women's support groups to organise a women's army in readiness for future battles ahead in the defence of mining communities.

It was stressed at the conference that the women's support groups had set a precedent for organisation, in that it was not a movement aligned to any political party nor was it in itself a trade union, but instead spanned the struggles that connected the workplace and the community. Some speakers, however, warned against complacency and made it clear that it was not easy, with the strike over, for the support groups to do nothing or to lose contact with other groups. Groups should become permanent, it was argued, and support group members needed to maintain their contacts and organise collectively on many fronts. In particular, on behalf of victimised miners, to work to alleviate continuing hardship, and to fight against the closures programme.

Disappointment was expressed at the way in which the vote at the NUM national conference had been lost on the question of associate membership for support group people. One speaker, Anne Lilburn, the chairwoman of WAPC, told the conference 'To say that we were disappointed, shocked or bloody angry is putting it mildly. It makes a mockery of every speech made by respected union leaders of every area that voted against the proposal. We know who they are and we lost count the number of times they paid tribute to us during the miners strike.' Some NUM speakers later said that area associate membership should be agreed at least. Scargill said that all of the areas should agree to the proposal.

With the increase in scabbing, the support and full mobilisation of the communities and their full participation in the fight to defend those communities will be needed more than ever. The future holds a possibility of a weaker trade union movement as more and more the TUC and the union leaderships acquiesce to the anti-trade union measures of the Government. Militant unionism combined with community resistance, leading to the Social General Strike, is the only way the working class can ever effectively combine to defeat the joint forces of State and Capital.

The NUM, to survive and win, needs to widen its base and join forces with other unions in other industries, as well as with support groups nationally, to create a mass rank and file movement, organised from below, that would provide a challenge to the class enemy on a scale never seen before. Patriarchy is the third yoke which must be smashed to free working people, for it is this triple yoke of Capital, State and Patriarchy which exploits us all.

The opportunity for a united class movement is there to be taken. The pit women are showing the way and to now reject community-industrial organisation might well be the miners last step.

IMPRISONED MINERS SEPTEMBER 1985

NORTHUMBERLAND
WILLIAM SMITH: Whittle 2½-year sentence from February 1985. E44975, Durham Prison, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HU.

DURHAM

GLEN BLACK: Dawdon — Two-year sentence from March 1985. E46964, Dorm 20, North Unit, HMYCC York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

PETER GILES: Easington — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. R56516, North Unit, HMYCC York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

KEVIN HUGHES: Dawdon — Two-year sentence from March 1985. E46968, Durham Prison, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HU.

BARRY KENNEY: Easington — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. R56519, East Unit, HMYCC York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

JOHN LITTLE: Dawdon — Two-year sentence from March 1985. E46965, South Unit, HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

JOHN TONY PARKIN: Easington — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. N07271, South Unit, HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

RAYMOND PATTERSON: Dawdon — Two-year sentence from March 1985. R56515, East Unit, HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

MARK ROBSON: Easington — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. E46751, Durham Prison, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HU.

MARK ROCHESTER: Dawdon — Two-year sentence from March 1985. E46961, Haverigg Prison, nr Millom, Cumbria.

DENNIS SCOTT: Easington — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. R56514, South Unit, HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

DAVID TEASDALE: Student. Nine-month sentence from April 1985. HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

Not miners but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

STANLEY GREGORY: Dawdon — Unemployed. Two-year sentence from March 1985. E46970, South Unit, HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

GARY KRISTONSON: Dawdon — Warehouseman. Two-year sentence from March 1985. South Unit, HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

BRIAN LITTLE: Dawdon — Engineer. Two-year sentence from March 1985. E46963, South Unit, HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

IAN STEPHENSON: Dawdon — Unemployed. Two-year youth custody sentence from March 1985. E46969, HMYCC, Deerbolt, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham.

YORKSHIRE

JULIAN TALBOT: Denby Grange — Nine-month sentence from July 15. 640, Hull Prison, Hedon Road, Hull HU9 5LS.

TERRY CAPSTICK: Frickley — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. G79350, Kirkham Prison, Freckleton Road, Preston, Lancs. PR4 2RA.

CLIVE THOMPSON: Frickley — Three-year sentence from April 1985. G79348, Acklington Prison, Morpeth, Northumberland, NE65 9XF.

PAUL WRIGHT: Saville — 18-month sentence. G76424, Kirkham Prison, Freckleton Road, Preston, Lancs. PR4 2RA.

Not miners but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

ROBERT LATHAM: South Kirby — Nine-month sentence from April 1985. HMYCC Hatfield, Doncaster DN7 6EL.

DAVID TEASDALE: Student. Nine-month sentence from April 1985. HMYCC, York Road, Wetherby, West Yorks. LS22 SED.

STAFFORDSHIRE

WILLIAM BANNISTER: Hem Heath — Two-year sentence from January 1985. H21046, HMP Haverigg, Millom, Cumbria.

MICHAEL JONES: Hem Heath — Two-year sentence from January 1985. H21048, HMP Walton, Liverpool.

STEVEN LOWE: Hem Heath — Two-year sentence from January 1985. H21045, HMP Haverigg, Millom, Cumbria.

GARY MOULD: Hem Heath — Two-year youth custody sentence from January 1985.

RAYMOND PATTON: Hem Heath — Two-year sentence from January 1985. H21047, HMP Haverigg, Millom, Cumbria.

NORTH DERBYSHIRE

KEVIN BEAL: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. 031 Sudbury Prison, Derby, DE6 5HW.

PAUL BROTHWELL: 12-month sentence.

DAVID GAUNT: Shirebrook — 2½-year sentence from December 1984. E71037, A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Dordington Road, Wellingborough.

STEVEN GREGORY: Warsop — 18-month sentence. Due for release September 27, 1985. Block B, Ashwell Prison, nr Oakham, Leicestershire.

VICTOR GREGORY: Markham — 18-month sentence. Due for release September 27, 1985. No. 839. Block B, Ashwell Prison, nr Oakham, Leicestershire.

DAVID JAMES: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. 034 Sudbury Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

PAUL JONES: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. E71036, D Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Dordington Road, Wellingborough.

IAN KESTLE: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. E032, Sudbury Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

DAVID MASON: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. E71033, F Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Dordington Road, Wellingborough.

PETER PEARSON: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. 038 Sudbury Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

MICHAEL SOUTHWELL: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. 030 Sudbury Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

PHILIP STIRLAND: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. E71035, B Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Dordington Road, Wellingborough.

Not a miner but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

STEVEN GOODALL: Shirebrook — Two-year sentence from December 1984. 039 Sudbury Prison, Derby DE6 5HW.

KENT

MARK BEST: Two-year sentence from April 1985. B74749, Spring Hill Prison, Aylesbury, Bucks.

EMLYN DAVIES: Two-year sentence from April 1985. B74746, Spring Hill Prison, Aylesbury, Bucks.

BRIAN DAY: Two-year sentence from April 1985. B74748, Spring Hill Prison, Aylesbury, Bucks.

TERRY FRENCH: Betseshanger — Four-year sentence from January 1985. B73383, Weald Wing, Maidstone Prison, Kent.

GARRY NEWELL: Two-year sentence from April 1985. B574745, Eastchurch prison, Stamford Hill, Sheerness.

CHRIS TAZEY: Betseshanger — Three-year sentence from January 1985. A29398 Youth Detention Centre, Springfield Road, Chelmsford, Essex.

JAMES WADDELL: Two-year sentence from April 1985. B574747, Eastchurch prison, Stamford Hill, Sheerness.

Not a miner but sentenced in connection with the miners' strike:

PETER GATES: UCATT. One-year sentence from March 1985. L33574, Wayland Prison, Griston, Maitland, Thetford.

SOUTH WALES

DEAN HANCOCK: Oakdale — Life sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

RUSSELL SHANKLAND: Taff Merthyr — Life sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.



NOMPAS

NOMPAS — the National Organisation for Miners in Prison and Supporters — is an organisation that was set up at the beginning of 1985, primarily to campaign for and defend those miners and supporters in jail.

NOMPAS boasts that it is not aligned to any political faction. It has a paper called *Liberator*, which reports on trials and prisoners, as well as policing. It can be contacted as follows: For England, c/o Housmanns, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N1 9DX;

For Scotland: c/o D. Ferguson, 34 Daisy Street, Glasgow G42.