

BLACK FLAG

THE ANARCHIST

13-1-'86

FORTNIGHTLY

30p



WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORISTS?

When Governments announce plans to 'counteract the enemy' or 'protect secrets from hostile agents', they are usually referring to dissension at home rather than opposing national interests.

When Reagan, President of the USA and apparently of the whole non-Soviet bloc, announced that the 'community of civilised nations' must act against 'the criminal menace of terrorism', he was not referring to the terrorism practised by the Soviet Union, let alone the United States, but to the danger of revolutionary action in either bloc.

It is humbug in any case. 'Terrorism' has changed its meaning. It is almost nowhere being used by revolutionaries in defence of workers against reactionary dictatorships. It is part and parcel of nationalist politics and because of that has become both indiscriminate and also a tool of the major powers, an adjunct of espionage, used in defence.

As the Soviet Union is suspected of helping Islamic Fundamentalists the CIA decided (on behalf of the USA) to have a tit-for-tat action.

It issued a 'Freedom Fighter's Manual', written in Spanish for Nicaraguan use, showing how to fight the 'military industrial complex' without special tools or great risk. Some of the pictures are pretty fatuous — 'going late to work' ... taking your time ... damaging books ... threatening the boss by telephone' — others show elementary bomb-making and indicate targets (all of which can be obtained in any shop selling American periodicals of that type, provided they are camouflaged as right-wing ... Kurt Saxon has been cashing-in on vending right-wing-seeming arms pamphlets for left-wing purposes for years).

This was reproduced in the 'New Statesman' — only changing 'Marxist' to 'Thatcher' and Britain for Nicaragua — so making an effective point. It was reproduced by 'Red Rag' of Reading (an anarchist magazine). Straightaway from being biting social comment it became subversive and dangerous! 'The Times' true to its tradition of sly malice posing as news, ran a piece on 'investigation' into the 'petrol bomb manual'. Investigate what?

Reading newsagents were urged to withdraw 'Red Rag' — but not the 'New Statesman' — from their shelves. Yet the 'New Statesman' must be accounted the more 'irresponsible' since they indicated it had the blessing of the US Government and the Guardians of the Free World! 'Red Rag' did not (this was 'unethical' said the editor of the NS).

The police — at least according to 'The Times' — were 'examining it and police solicitors are deciding whether it is a possible offence of incitement'. By whom? President Reagan? Hugh Stephenson (editor NS)? Or just 'Red Rag'? (They're anarchists, aren't they?)

The slimy 'Times' says 'The article was lifted by an anarchist magazine in Reading Berkshire, and published in 'Red Rag' alongside an article heralding the launch of a new group called 'Reading Direct Action Movement'. Oh, that makes a strong case for attacking DAM rather than the CIA! What if we reproduced a copy of 'The Times' awash with company frauds 'alongside' a call for unfettered private enterprise by Keith Joseph?

Why are they worried? Is it because, as Supt. Alan Cussell is saying, 'There is enough trouble in the world without giving instructions on how to make these things and then bring it to the notice of people who might be a little bored' — maybe when there's nothing on TV?

Or is it because the Thatcher Government has visions of reproducing the sort of situation that exists in Nicaragua where the only means of dissenting from the Government is by petty irritations which go on all the time, or by armed attack?

THREATEN THE BOSS BY TELEPHONE



TWO SHOCKING EXCERPTS FROM THE CIA MANUAL

INCENDIARY BOMB OR 'MOLOTOV COCKTAIL'

1. FILL A NARROW NECKED BOTTLE WITH PETROL, PARAFFIN OR FLAMMABLE DIESEL. ADDING FLAKES OF SOAP OR SAWDUST MAKES IT MORE EFFECTIVE.
2. PUSH A RAG INTO THE BOTTLE UNTIL IT DIPS INTO THE LIQUID, AND THE OTHER END EXTENDS NO MORE THAN 8 INCHES FROM THE RIM. SEAL THE BOTTLE TIGHTLY WITH STRING OR TAPE.
3. TO USE THE BOMB:
 - (a) HOLD THE BOTTLE IN ONE HAND WITH YOUR ARM EXTENDED.
 - (b) LIGHT THE RAG WITH YOUR OTHER HAND.
 - (c) THROW THE LIGHTED BOTTLE IMMEDIATELY AT THE TARGET. THROW IT SUFFICIENTLY HARD THAT IT BREAKS ON IMPACT.



BELGIUM — Police Frame-up

The remarkable efficiency of the Belgian police! Having become the object of widespread scathing criticism for their incompetence, as much as during episodes such as the Heysel carnage as in light of the escalating 'terrorism' of the Cellules Communistes Combattantes (C.C.C.), they are attempting to adopt a fresh profile.

The B.S.R. (Special Brigade in charge of suppressing terrorism) is claiming a major breakthrough in the CCC case. Considering the lack of proof against Chantal Paternostre and Jean-Louis Charpentier, two anarchists, the police's 'convictions' are being evoked to keep them behind bars. We are presenting these two cases thanks to the collaboration of the journal *Alternative Libertaire*.

Chantal Paternostre has been in prison since the fifteenth of August, 1985. She has been charged with attempted arson and destruction by explosives in the framework of the enquiry into the CCC-FRAP. Presently in preventive detention, she is being held more because she is an active militant than because there is any substance to the charges against her.

During her different court appearances, the major argument given by the court to justify her ongoing incarceration is based on the irrational 'conviction' of the detectives, rather than on a solid legal dossier. On this level, no one is denying that if this 'small fish' remains behind bars, it is primarily to make up for the non-existent results of the police enquiry. It is clear that Chantal Paternostre would have been free long ago if the 'larger fish' were in the judicial apparatus' grip.

The state is proceeding in this case as if it were necessary to take hostage someone who is not guilty to make up for the hopeless inefficiency of the police. This affair, which has been 'linked' to 'terrorism' once again brings up the question of the abuse of preventive detention. However, it is regrettable that those who have criticised these abuses have been particularly discrete concerning this case.

The following statement is an excerpt from a conversation between one of the accused and the police.

A Comic Interrogation

In the BSR office. On the wall: posters of weapons, paramilitary gear, photos of former members; in the window: weapons, cartridges ... you feel at ease, safe and secure! I'm sitting on a chair in the middle of the room, with three cops and a typewriter. The interrogation is already well underway.

— You look just like a commie to me (a well-known refrain).

— What are you talking about? I'm an Anarchist!

— Shut up! It's always the same with these leftists! I said, you look like a commie, and what's more, commie, commie, commie!

— I'm telling you I'm an anarchist though ...

— Anarchists, communists, same difference! Besides, the CCC aren't communists, the proof being that the Communist Party rejects them.

CHANTAL PATERNOSTRE
PRISON DE FOREST
52 AV. DE LA JONCTION
1060 BRUXELLES



une lettre...
une solidarité!

BARCELONA



Columbus Monument Occupied SEE PAGE 3...

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*For the release of all political prisoners,
the relief of class war victims and the
overthrow of tyranny everywhere.
Smash the State! Anarchy is freedom.*



*FINANCIAL STATEMENT of Black Flag
accounts and Mutual Aid/Solidarity Fund
to end of 1985 will be published in next
issue.*

The Litigant Tendency

In an attempt by the Labour Party to purge itself of the Tapeworm Trots who are boring it from within, its executive has tried to expel some — to be faced with legal writs from these great 'proletarian revolutionary vanguardists'. Denying that the Labour Party's rule book makes it an offence to sell *Militant*, its editor Peter Taaffe writes to the *Times* that this is illegal and 'if action does proceed on this basis, then those concerned can expect to face legal action, the editorial board is also taking legal advice about any ban being in contravention to the laws on fair trading. I hope this clarifies the matter'.

It sure does! Mr Taaffe is following a cherished Thatcherite path in defending 'the laws on fair trading'. If the Labour Party want to prevent his right to make profits they do so as peril of action in the Kings Bench. Already dozens of trots are pursuing their claims to lead the working class with writs against the Labour Party, and if they win, will no doubt do the same as the National Coal Board, Grunwicks, Maxwell, Eddie Shah and the rest have done to the trade unions. . . seize their funds if they do not comply.

Writs are flying around the other end of the trotskyist spectrum too. Vanessa Redgrave, the wealthy actress who has been financing the Workers Revolutionary Party, has got an order in the High Court winding up Astmoor Litho, thus halting the production of *Newsline* (1). *Newsline*

BASH THE BANKS

On the night of Sunday 15th December three large, extra-toughened glass windows were smashed at Barclays Bank on Green Lanes (N16). This action was done as a clear sign of solidarity with the mass resistance against the apartheid regime in South Africa, with which Barclays Bank has massive financial links; it was done to demonstrate that no longer will people accept their lives being made a misery by this exploitative and oppressive system, which banks such as Barclays profit from and uphold; it was done to cause economic damage to Barclays to show these scum that they are hated. Passive protest has been tried for years and little has changed — it is time that we declared war on the State and Capitalism, on the rich and the oppressors. This was obvious in the 1981 uprisings, in the miners strike, in Stonehenge in the riots of Handsworth, Brixton, Tottenham and many other places. This war must be continued, must be stepped up, must be escalated — lets have direct action riots, strikes, sabotage all the time. In the North London area there have been at least eighteen attacks on Barclays Bank in the past five weeks. . . and this is only the start (and there will be other banks, corporations, etc.). From Soweto to Tottenham, people are angry — lets feel the anger feel the rage in hearts and minds and fight back against this evil and rotting system. People not profits . . . co-operation not competition. . . trust not Law. Smash the State!

(2) is published by the Healyite faction expelled from the WRP, which she backs.

The wealthy Ceylone planter Mike Banda (Bandaranaike family) does not appreciate the move, however. 'It is despicable of Vanessa Redgrave to use the bourgeois courts to silence a left-wing publication', he says. Tell that to *Militant* (Revolutionary Socialist League) of which Mike Banda was a founding member. For that matter, tell it to Mr Banda, who is taking legal action over the million pound *New Park Ltd.*, where Banda and Healey battle it out for control.

The high road to socialism via Parliament is an impossibility — notwithstanding the Tapeworm Tendency's insistence that they are genuine Labour MPs — but the high road to socialism via the Law Courts?

Didn't the great Karl Marx himself denounce as 'filth' Lassalle's lengthy battle in the courts that led to the creation of the Socialist Party?

When you come to think of it, what a brilliant advocate they lost when Trotsky decided to follow a path that took him to the ice-pick when he might have gone to the Woolsack. Mr. Justice Trotsky Q.C. would have taken silk in no time. However we are sure the trots will provide ample employment for a rising barrister. . . but is that quite what Marx was on about when he spoke about the emancipation of the workers? Could be.

ations, etc.). From Soweto to Tottenham, people are angry — lets feel the anger feel the rage in hearts and minds and fight back against this evil and rotting system. People not profits . . . co-operation not competition. . . trust not Law. Smash the State!

BARCLAYS DOOR TO DOOR

On Thursday, December 12th, six Barclays Bank branches were attacked in Bristol.

Three were attacked with missiles, the others with lots of sticky glue!

One bank was pretty devastated losing four major windows and it's pretty inscribed BARCLAYS front door has ceased to be. Another branch had its whole door removed due to the 'super glue' effect.

These actions were all done at the same time and the next day three communiques were released to the local *Evening Post* / *HTV* and *BBC West*. However there was a huge press 'blackout' on the incident — probably due to 'you know who'.

These actions will continue!
The investors have been warned!
Direct Action Against Apartheid.

HOME NEWS

-what a- SMASHING PARTY

Bangladeshi multi-millionaire Aghorou Islamd lived in style in a dream home in Hampstead, The Bishop's Avenue (Millionaires Row), and when he went abroad put it up for sale at around five million pounds. . . he didn't even trouble to lock the doors. The Bishop's Avenue is quite unlike Belfast or Beirut. People come from different backgrounds — Jews, Moslems, various styles of Christians, Hindus — but whereas in other parts of the world these may be fighting one another, there they live in tranquility contemplating their millions.

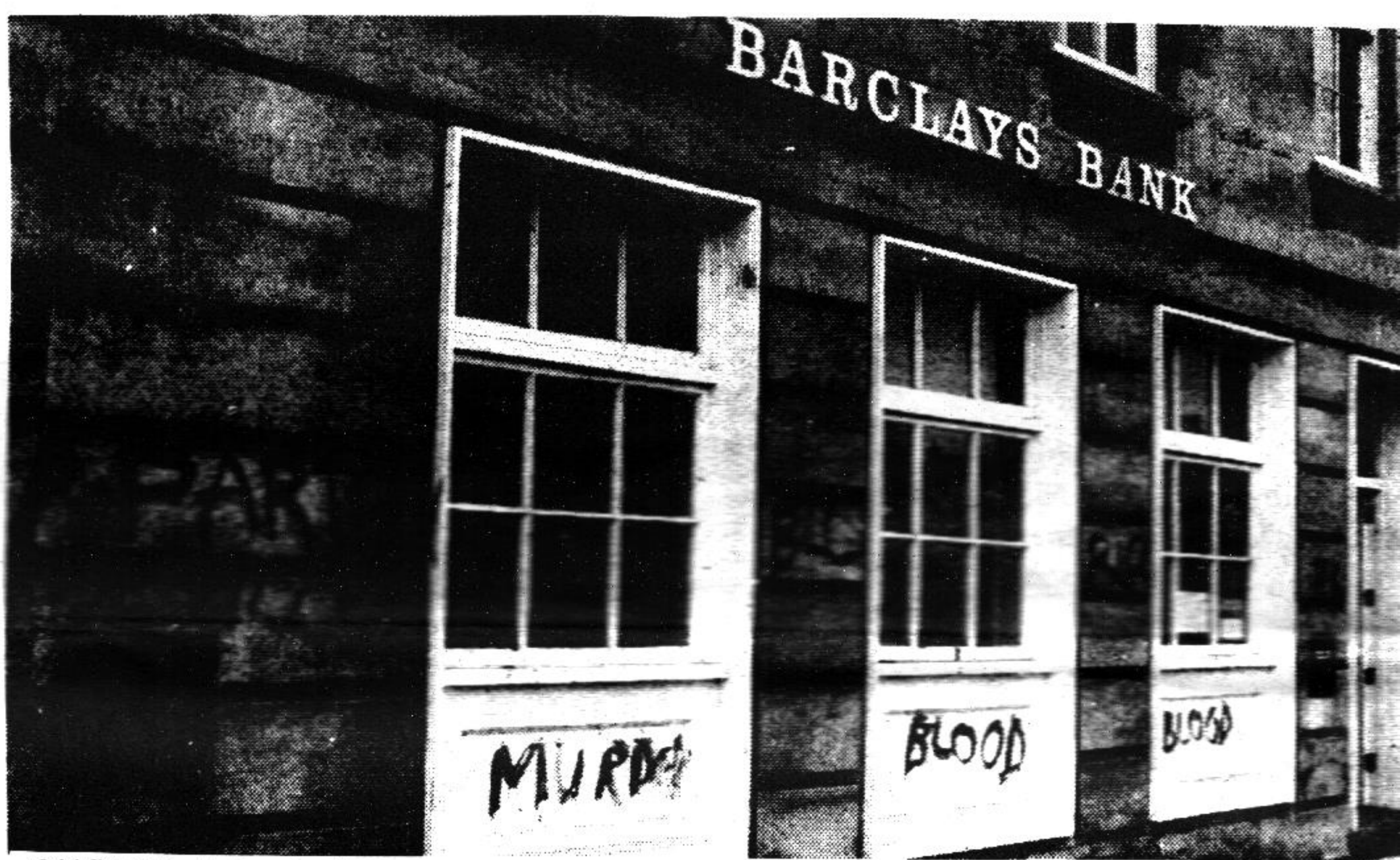
Just before December six squatters walked in on paradise, and probably couldn't believe the opulence they saw in the empty house. The decided to share the experience with others less fortunate for the Holidays. On New Year's Eve they held a smashing party. Smashing is the word. . . they wrecked the swimming pools, the jacuzzi, revelled over the banqueting halls, rolled up the rugs and expensive furniture to keep keep the home fires burning, and had a whale of a time until the police arrived in the early hours of the morning, summonsed by indignant million-

aires who found their entrances blocked by cars as something like 2,000 people descended on beautiful 'Wacousta', the dream home.

Vandalism? Any more so than reserving a dream home in The Bishop's Home for the next tenant — who will spend a fortune doing it up anyway, and is going to be a 'Middle Eastern Royal'? When did Allah give them a divine right to the best of London?

MANCHESTER

The Hulme Labour Club in Manchester was left empty and boarded up so a group of local unemployed people have squatted it. They aim to use it as a home and community centre, a base for more squatting in the area. They plan public meetings so those interested should Contact: *Box Hulme Community Action, c/o Raven Press, 75 Piccadilly, Manchester M1.*



OXFORD: 7 Barclay's Banks re-decorated. At Tesco's 24 hour guard. . . £££££

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON ANARCHISM

Q: Can Anarchism be achieved in one country? If so, why do you always scorn nationalism? And how could an Anarchist society trade, discuss peace or wage war with governmental societies, when it would presumably lack a centralised government itself? Why do you oppose Stalinism for going ahead with socialism in one country?

A: Obviously Anarchism could be achieved, if at all, in one country or one region or one independent unit. It doesn't have to be one *nation*. As a nation is a block of people incorporated into a State, not necessarily of one ethnic origin, Anarchism — absence of a State — cannot be 'national'. The unit has to be independent of other State-controlled societies, but we don't condemn Stalinism for its original 'socialism in one country' (which Trotsky criticised, not us); that policy has been totally reversed which is totally worse.

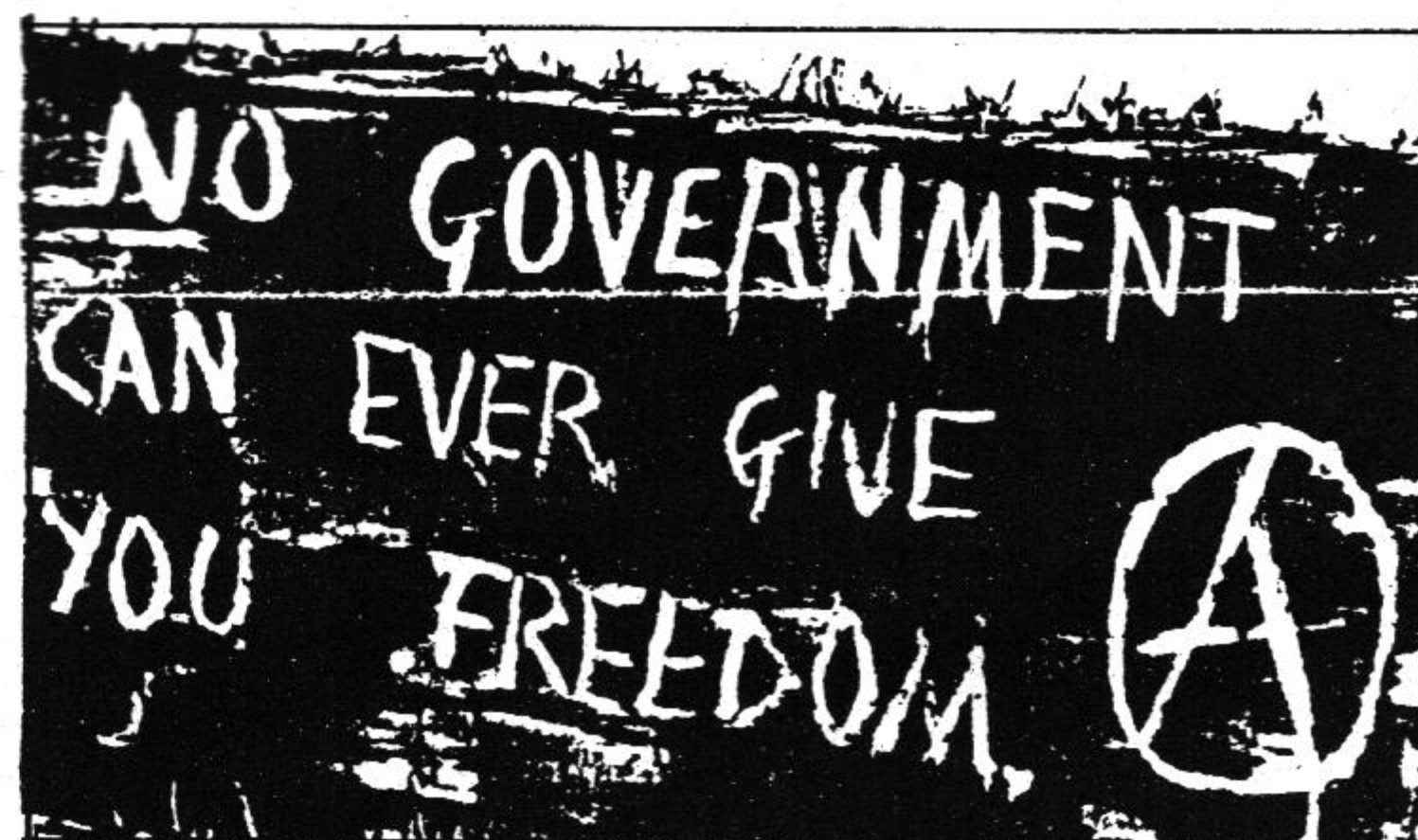
True, aggressive war requires centralised government, but defensive war doesn't. It implies arming the people, which even reactionary governments can do when for nationalistic reasons, the people are behind

them and voluntary defence is possible. It only becomes impossible for governments when the workers can't be freely armed, because they have conscious class demands. Otherwise a disciplined Army is essential for a State, even in danger of defeat, where workers are only armed under supervision.

Discussing peace is one of the most ineffective pursuits in modern society. It becomes an institution in itself, around which wars are proposed and aggressive alliances mapped out (the United Nations being the latest such institution). There is no need to perpetuate such typical Statist folly as the game of thwarting international espionage, while preserving ambassadors, consulates and international conferences — if one does not intend to go to war.

Providing one has something to trade that someone else needs, there are rarely any barriers to trade with other countries or economic units, whether authoritarian bodies exist or not, short of positive sanctions against it.

An anarchist society might face such sanctions, and then it would depend on its economic vulnerability whether it could survive; or to what extent it could depend on its international contacts.



INTERNATIONAL

SPAIN - COLUMBUS STATUE OCCUPIED

The monument to Christopher Columbus, about the same height as Nelson's Column, is one of the best known landmarks in the Spanish coastal city of Barcelona. In the interior of the column there's an iron lift which takes you up to a cupula below the Columbus Monument.

At about seven pm on Monday the 9th of December, four CNT-AIT (the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist labour union) affiliates, who ten days earlier had occupied the lift and blocked the descent mechanism in protest against the refusal of the Spanish Socialist Party Government to negotiate CNT patrimony, gave up the occupation.

Nonetheless, they had succeeded finally in drawing some popular attention to the absurd situation which the CNT now finds itself in with regard to its patrimony. The spectacular nature of the action through walky-talkies from the cupula, and the daily demos at the foot of the column organised by other CNTers, which involved numerous scuffles with the National Police and five arrests, got good coverage on TV and in the press, though not as much as they deserved.

Just as important it marks a turning point in the tactics of the CNT regarding their claims to their patrimony. For the last ten years they have tried every possible means to get the government to listen to their claims, and they have been met with a wall of silence officially, and disinformation, infiltration and downright police oppression 'unofficially'.

In the words of *Solidaridad Obrera*, the CNT's Catalan paper; *Until now, we have been patient and waited. Any tension created during this period was the work of the Government; now we are prepared to act on our own account.* It continues: *All statist institutions and organisations should pause to reflect what this means — the consequences of this change of tune could have unexpected consequences for which the CNT will not hold itself to be responsible.* . . The next stage of the campaign is to look to the international anarchist movement for support.

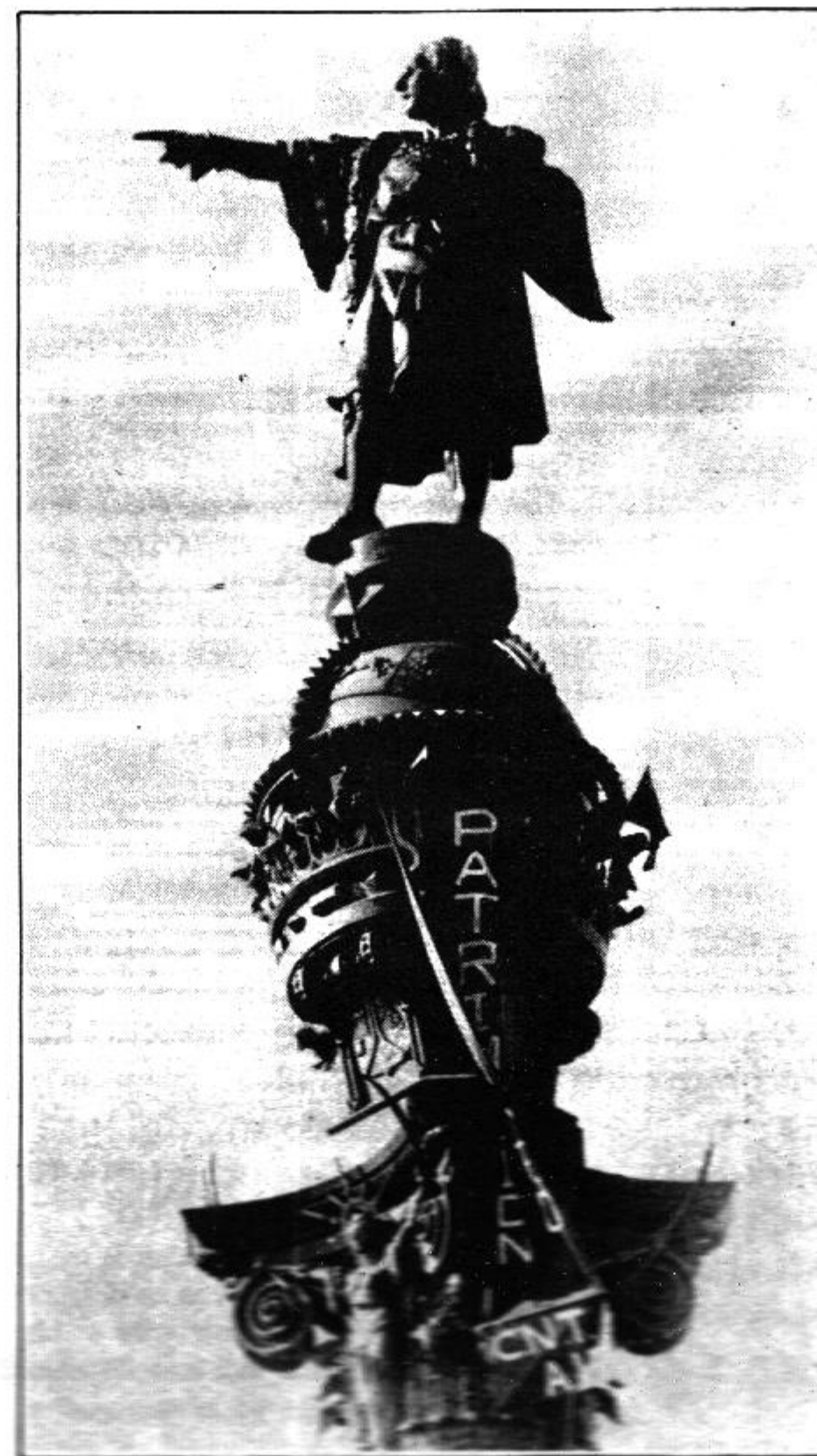
A reminder about what all this is about: the syndicalist ('trade union') situation in Spain is unique in the world. When Franco

'conquered' the country, he seized vast quantities in cash, goods (such as printing machines, film archives etc.) and premises from the two main syndicalist organisations — the CNT and the socialist UGT, and also from the Communist Party, which had no true syndicalist base at the time. He did the same with the property of the various autonomous institutions which had sprung up before the war, such as Basque and Catalan governments.

When democracy appeared in the form of the king, wheels began turning to satisfy the enormous popular wish for a righting of old wrongs, and plans drafted for a 'patrimony law' which would in theory guarantee a return of all stolen wealth. At the time of writing, the Basque and Catalan governments are still haggling in the courts about the miserliness of their allotted proportions, while the UGT and the communist workers' commissions (which latter did not even exist at the time of the civil war) have reached an agreement with the government to discuss the matter fully (they have already received 2.500 million pesetas as a partial payment compensation). Together they already owe 3 million pesetas to the Spanish and overseas banks. The UGT, being the trade union wing of the government, has consistently sold out working class interests over the past few years — even the mining section, during the present miners' strike (which started on the 16th of December, in protest against atrocious safety conditions in the mines, which have claimed over 70 lives in 1985 alone) has shown itself reluctant to support such an obviously just action.

Meanwhile the CNT, which was the majority syndicalist organisation at the time of Franco's seizures, and which has never allowed itself to be controlled by vested interests, and which doesn't owe a cent to anyone, is not only being excluded from the patrimony discussions, but is being completely ignored, as if the organisation had ceased to exist.

With no outside financial support, and constant harassment and disinformation, the anarcho-syndicalist union is maintaining a membership which is — for example — still three times larger than the British



Communist Party.

It needs no imagination to guess what could be done if it had returned to it the 250 odd premises belonging to it, including schools, libraries, meeting places and cafes plus the expensive and still efficient printing presses which it had before the war, plus twelve million pounds in cash, plus large quantities of archive material which show the possibilities of popular anarchism becoming a reality; in short, on the return of the patrimony depends the future of the only anarchist movement in Europe which has a chance of fast and large scale achievement.

If they don't get it, it will set back their progress by decades. If they do, they will have the chance — unique in Europe — to become a focus for all non-hierarchical, anti-statist movements world-wide, and,

above all, and example to people everywhere of what can be done working outside the established framework of trade unions, town councils, 'democratic' institutions and other organisations on which people are now almost hopelessly dependent or by which they are hopelessly oppressed. In a world where people's impulses to freedom are either bought up by fashion-mongers, absorbed by official representatives of this and that, frustrated by ludicrous distribution systems, allowed to peter out in a haze of booze and other drugs or in decrepit voting set-ups, or simply threatened, tortured and shot to oblivion by police and soldiers, the importance of having at least one solid base as an alternative to all the aforementioned doesn't need pointing out.

The return of the anarchist patrimony won't just help the CNT — as they repeatedly point out — it will help all of us, much more than some people might imagine, and on a practical level. The time to get the patrimony back is now. International pressure — to remind the Spanish government that hiding the existence of the CNT in Spain hasn't meant any cover-up abroad — will be essential. The folk in the CNT are prepared to fight, to wage as desperate a campaign as necessary for as long as is necessary. Their patience has gone and the mood has changed.

Like I said, the time to act is *now*, despite the fact that the odds are against them and all of us, for that matter. Protests to Iberia Airlines offices, Spanish Embassies and Consulates, and Spanish companies abroad are needed.

Solidarity letters, news of local protests can be sent to:

Solidaridad Obrera,
Reina Cristina 12, 2^a. 2^a. izq.
Barcelona. 08003
Telephone: 315.10.12

Solidaridad Obrera has produced a special edition featuring the Columbus monument occupation and an inventory of the CNT patrimony. It is available from the above address.

MT. Barcelona Dec. 1985

SPAIN - BLOOD ON THE HOLLY

On December 15th the handcuffed body of a young man was found dead in the Bidasoa River, which marks part of Spain's frontier with France.

The death of Mikel Zabaltza while in police custody has caused widespread protests throughout Spain. The following article was first published in *Tinta Negra*, a magazine published by the CNT's graphic arts and information union.



Spanish Socialist P.M. Gonzales as Guardia Civil Cop

The case of Mikel Zabaltza has brought the role of the so-called security forces in Spain under scrutiny. In this case it's the civil guard that's in the spotlight. All Spain wants to know, to get to the bottom of the case, in the interests of justice, but nothing has been clarified so far. Jose Barrionuevo (Spain's Socialist Interior Minister) still remains in office and the repressive Security forces, acting like Franco never died, still remain under his control.

The 'Escape'

The original version of events, in this case, are laughable. It all began when Mikel Zabaltza was arrested for suspected links with ETA (an armed Basque nationalist group). He was detained under Spain's new anti-terrorist law (similar to Britain's PTA 'Prevention' of Terrorism Act). While under arrest he was driven by car from the Intxaurrondo civil guard barracks (in San Sebastian) to Navarre province, near the Enderlaza civil guards barracks one morning. According to the civil guards accompanying him, he threw himself into the Bidasoa river, with his hands tied, and escaped.

There is another version of what happened. For starters, Mikel Zabaltza had nothing to do with ETA. Those arrested with Mikel, including his girlfriend, were all eventually released without being charged. They all said they were tortured and say Mikel was also tortured in Intxaurrondo barracks. It's also come to light that Mikel Zabaltza has undergone three surgical operations over the last year. Leaving him in no position to be able to sustain police torture.

Finally, everyone who knew Mikel Zabaltza knows he couldn't swim. In these circumstances it's difficult to explain how a man, in a weak physical condition after three operations, with hands tied, who did not know how to swim, could throw himself into the Bidasoa river in the middle of the night.

The 'Discovery' of the Corpse

Mikel Zabaltza 'disappeared' on November 26th (1985) and his dead body was 'discovered' floating down the Bidasoa river on December 15th. Teams of Red Cross experts had previously searched the area in which the body finally appeared. Many people now believe that the dead body of Mikel Zabaltza was placed in the river just one day before it was 'discovered' by the civil guards.

Since the body was discovered it has come to light that the civil guards accompanying Mikel failed to report the escape at Enderlaza barracks on the night he 'disappeared.' According to the official version of events, the escape was reported at the Behovia barracks, situated a relatively long distance from the place where the 'escape' took place. The explanation given is that the civil guards weren't aware of Enderlaza barracks' existence. This is unlikely, bearing in mind that two of the three guards were lieutenants.

The Red Cross experts who searched the area before the body was discovered can't explain why they didn't discover the body first, especially in view of the fact that they searched the bottom of the lake extensively.

The Anti-Terrorist Law

We can only conclude that Mikel Zabaltza was assassinated by the civil guard. The autopsies, judicial reports and official statements that followed don't clarify anything because the PSOE (Socialist Party) Government isn't interested in clarifying the situation. Many people feel that the anti-terrorist Law is to blame for Mikel Zabaltza's death. It's certainly true to say that this law makes such situations more likely to occur in future.

Despite our total opposition to the Law we feel that torture, assassinations, and cases like that of Mikel Zabaltza will carry on regardless.

The problem isn't just the anti-terrorist Law. The Law aggravates the situation but isn't the fundamental cause of the problem. The basic cause is a police force, and a civil guard infested with fascists. The fundamental cause is a government and an Interior Minister who allows torture in police stations, barracks and prisons to continue. It's also worth remembering the Interior Minister's fascist past!

A.G.

LATE NEWS. . .

Protest strikes and demonstrations were held in Madrid as well as the Basque area. Basque mistrust of the police has increased to new heights as a result of last January's anti-terrorist Law, which allows the police to hold suspects 'incommunicado' for up to ten days. Sounds like the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Britain to us. . .

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

ANTI - FASCIST OR PRO - POLICE

Anti-Fascist Action, the London based defence group, is guaranteed an unspectacular demise given that Trotskyists — and, more importantly, a pro-police lobby — have gained a controlling interest/influence within the organisation. The pro-police lobby in question mainly consists of certain representatives of the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*, whose guru, Gerry Gable, is a self-confessed confidant of Special Branch. As has been demonstrated in earlier reporting (see *Anarchy* magazine) Gable and colleagues were able to get much of their information on British based fascists direct from police intelligence. The traffic was by no means one way.

Needless to say the police haven't the slightest interest in helping anti-fascists. Tossing a few tit-bits of low-grade information now and then to keep *Searchlight* happy helps ensure that the cosy relationship continues. There is very little within *Searchlight* that can be criticised: it is not what is said that is at fault, but what is left out. The full story — the passive (and sometimes active) support the fascists receive from the police and how they are employed on a global scale by the world's security forces and intelligence agencies, etc — has been exposed in successive anarchist publications. *Searchlight* will make the odd swipe at the police, especially their racism, but will always stop short at condemnation. Like any good statist, what they seek is a strong state (preferably headed by the Labour Party) where the police (controlled by Labour Party dominated committees) maintain Law and (dis)Order. More community policing (ie. intelligence gathering), more accountability (to Council bureaucrats), less institutionalised racism in the police (as in the USA, where black cops are happily incorporated into the repressive state machine): these are the objectives sought by *Searchlight*. With these sort of objectives it is hardly surprising to find that Anti-Fascist Action are being asked by the pro-police lobby to work with the police and not against them, to pass on information, to place trust in Law and Order to deal with fascism, to reject direct action against fascists, and to reject those who flout Law and Order and who use violence against fascists.

And it is the latter consideration that especially has prompted the pro-police lobby to attempt to stir things up against the anarchist contingents that were within the AFA from the beginning. Originally AFA was set up as a result of increased racial attacks on ethnic communities, particularly in East London. Some anarchists immediately formed a community militia and regularly undertook attacks on fascist gangs who had, mainly in the Kings Cross area, been preying on lone Asians, women and leftists. Neither the police nor the rhetoric of *Searchlight* were able to limit the activities of the fascists. But neither will the direct action of only a few anarchists — instead a concerted direct action move by those who suffer the main brunt of fascist violence can achieve that. The Asian communities of East London have refrained from mass opposition, mainly because of the ever-present danger of a 'white-backlash'. And for this reason it is even more imperative that white anti-fascists take action alongside any defence work initiated by the ethnic communities. Such initiatives and support for those initiatives necessarily imply that defence work has to be undertaken outside of any open platform especially one which includes a pro-police faction. The contradiction brought about by direct action versus the implausible argument that fascists can be brought to heel simply through the reformist left putting pressure on an allegedly sympathetic police, in the end caused the pro-police lobby to resort to obvious smear tactics against the direct actionists — in particular the anarchists — in order to consolidate their influence within the AFA, which they would hope would become a sort of support organisation to *Searchlight* policies, relinquishing its non-sectarianism and commitment to defence work (as at its inception).

Forgetting *Searchlight's* dubious political stance, it has done and still continues to do a more than adequate job on recording some of the goings-on of the fascist movement in Britain and in other countries. However this can lull anti-fascists into a false sense of security: if you believe that you know what the enemy is up to and how it is organised and who the Leaders

are, then that information — so the argument goes — is sufficient to keep that enemy at bay. Certainly, one should never underestimate the value of investigative work and given the limited resources within the anarchist movement our own reporting has not been lacking either. The danger has always been that only the tip of the iceberg is shown: the extent of fascist activity, the involvement of the state, especially the intelligence agencies and the security services, and the links with business and crime syndicates, need also to be investigated more.

But behind the *Searchlight* moves within AFA lies also the fallacy that direct action, because it involves breaking the law usually, is in itself fascist. This mischievous lie is geared to support the equally fallacious contention that only the police state — accountable or not — is capable of fighting injustice (try telling that to striking miners Greenham women, the Newham 7, the surviving crew of the *Rainbow Warrior*, trade unionists in any country under any political system. . . the list of examples are endless). That anarchists seek a society where policing is not necessary is only part of the solution, for the police are not a current palliative to the problems of society they are an integral part of the problem itself. That anarchist-syndicalists can equally detest the tyranny of the Bolshevik model of repression as much as the Fascist might confound the staff of *Searchlight*, but let them explain their objections to Solidarnosc or to Jewish refugees of the Soviet Union.

That fascism itself grows out of statism — contrary to the ravings of certain neo-fascists — has never been, for us, in question nor that classic fascism is a product of nationalism and state 'socialism'. That all governments — fascist, state socialist, social democratic, conservative or whatever — oppose anarchism is natural in that anarchism opposes all government: government being the enemy of a free and equal society. That millions of anarchists in countries like Spain, Russia, Italy and Mexico were killed and imprisoned by totalitarians of both the left and right because they were among the many that refused to abdicate their freedom to those who would govern on their behalf, places anarchism as the opposite



to authoritarianism and tyranny.

As an organisation that itself began as an international aid organisation providing practical support for the anti-fascist prisoners incarcerated at the hands of the Francoist state (both during after the Franco reign) and helping CNT (Spanish anarcho-syndicalist labour union) militants at a point in history when it was convenient for the left to forget them. . . as an organisation whose constituent sections have themselves been the object of vicious fascist attacks, we utterly condemn any anti-fascist that has the slightest dealings with the police or with agents of the state, for all such dealings can only assist the presence of fascism in all its forms.

NB. Perhaps it is no coincidence that within only a matter of weeks after Scotland Yard had passed on disinformation to the Press ludicrously asserting (as they did in 1981) that anarchists had organised the several inner city riots in September/October 1985 a representative from *Searchlight* at an AFA meeting was making false statements about anarchists in a bid to rid them from that organisation. If they succeed then the Special Branch police would have had its way and another victory for disinformation can be chalked up.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS
(London section).

[CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE]

TWO ANARCHISTS BEHIND BARS

—With decisive arguments like that, there's obviously no reason to philosophise.
—Look, stop playing around with us! You read the newspaper, don't you? Confess! We filled up two bags full of them as evidence. So, if you read the newspaper, you're aware that the CCC are veterans of 1968, who were fed up with the soft left groupuscles and disgusted with aborted struggles, and that they used to hang around the universities. That sounds like you doesn't it?
—Well, if you put it that way, there might be a resemblance, but the press you know. . . and besides, the same can be said of a lot of people...
—Precisely! And we want to know who they are!

—Try showing up at the October 20th demo¹ there might be one hundred thousand!
—You may be laughing now, but you'll be old when you get out. Hopefully, your son will still recognise you. . . you may be laughing less then. . .
—Here we go with the psychological intimidation routine. Be my guest and 'act away'.
—That's enough. Shall we continue? Or would you rather sleep for an hour?
—Let's get on with it! (. . .)

Following the hallucinations and fantasies of certain journalists, I would like to make myself clear. I have nothing to do with the CCC. I have participated in none of their actions. I have nothing in common with their texts, which are far too theoretical. I am not a hero. I have no wish to fight for the people, without the people. The writings of the CCC on the contrary are addressed to an intellectual elite (try asking the local steelworkers about 'praxis'). The CCC want to take power. I am against power. Power corrupts everything it touches.

The Radio is my Weapon!

If I summon struggle and result, it is towards the goal of sweeping away injustice, war, corrupt power, famine the enslaving multinationalism in the third world, the dictatorship of money, exploitation, power-mad politicians. . .

It doesn't bother me in the least if NATO and the arms manufacturers are attacked. People have been yelling 'Let's get out of NATO' for the last twenty years. Since then, not only have we not left NATO, it has become even more entrenched

in this country. To fight against war is an absolute necessity! Should Europe become the scene of the next military confrontation? No thanks! I refuse to have anything to do with this kind of farce. Seeing what we're up against, everyone chooses their own means of combat.

My own means and weapon is the radio. Everyone chooses their own method, and the radio can be explosive as well. . . I demand to live in a free, just, classless society, a society in which no one would oblige me to think or act against my wishes. I demand the right of freedom of opinion and expression. Of this, in the eyes of those who govern us, I can be considered guilty! I am guilty of the crime of being utopian! (. . .)

But what does subversion really mean? (a dumb question perhaps?) Well, in general it is what attempts to undermine the powers in place, the established order, everything which rejects people being exploited, the carving up of the third world, the United States' control over our economy, defence and lives.

The subversives are those who at all times denounce injustice, misery, the electoral farce, the dirty tricks, phenomenal military expenditures, the cannon merchants, the dangers represented by the insanity of Reagan and the other wackos in power. The subversives are those who use the radio to allow people who feel that our rotten world is still worth saving, that our children's lives are still worth defending against the destructive madness of power and finance! Perhaps, if the subversives had been given more of a chance to express themselves, some would not have gone underground, have taken up arms (interrupt me if I'm wrong!) Well, I'll stop there. . .

Two Hostages, Please!

Jean-Louis Carpentier has become the victim of a frame-up that is just as crude. The story begins in April 1985, when a friend, a veteran anti-Franco militant, asks him to hide his Sterling machine-gun because he is afraid of being arrested. After receiving an alert, Carpentier buries the weapon in a rural location. It is there that he is arrested, when he leads his friend to the site to pick up his weapon.

But the importance of having been in possession of the weapon will rapidly fade into the background because the police claim to have found CCC tracts in his car. Considering the difficulties inherent in advancing their case with as non-existent proof as this, the police fabricate new revelations between the time of his arrest and when he was supposed to be released: the police who were assaulted on the night of January 25/5 1985, allegedly by members of the CCC, recognise Jean Louis Carpentier as one of their assailants; they also recognise the weapon, even though they had previously affirmed that it was a question of another model.

There is no proof, and there are no true facts against him. He remains in prison, a hostage of political inefficiency and the logic of power, which demands that security rhyme with repression. After all, doesn't two anarchists make for presentable terrorists?

The International Relations
Committee of the Federation
Anarchiste.

Translated from *Le Monde Libertaire*
No. 598 by M.W.

1. On October 20th, a huge demo against the installation of Pershing missiles in Belgium took place.



ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

AGAINST EXTRADITIONS & EXPULSIONS

The police round-ups which took place in Paris during the month of September are a new reminder of the precariousness of the refugee situation in France, and of that of Italian refugees in particular.

The results of these operations: three refugees imprisoned: Salvatore Circione, Orestino Domichelli and Luigi Bergamin; three charges of false identity papers on: Gabriella Bergamaschini, Alessandra D'Agostini and Michele Visciglio; one refugee threatened with expulsion.

A Brief History

In 1981, Italian militants fleeing the repression began seeking refuge in France in order to avoid being denounced by the 'supergrasses'. Though without a precise status (that is, an informal one with 'accidents' now and again), starting in 1982 there has existed a climate of tolerance, in the sense that political asylum as outlined in the Geneva convention does not take into account refugees from 'democratic' countries.

In the last three years, the courts have continually denied the political nature of most of the charges (with the exception of those for 'crimes of association' or of a moral nature, and others not included in the Franco-Italian convention and the French Law concerning extraditions). In

the Court's opinion, recourse to 'unacceptable methods' of struggle eliminates the political character of the actions in question, and causes them to be considered as common criminal offences (their seriousness is judged more important than their political character).

The main consideration at this point is whether people leaving European 'democracies' are entitled to claim political refugee status.

The following will outline a number of points which it is important to consider.

The exceptional character of the post-60's in Italy, and the State's exceptional response.

The figures speak for themselves. In recent years, nearly twenty thousand people have been charged and some five thousand have been imprisoned, accused, amongst other activities, of having formed an 'armed group' or of subversive association, and have in addition been hit with outrageous sentences for 'terrorist activities'.

Next summer, a trial will take place of twelve hundred persons accused of 'attempted armed insurrection against the State', and of 'civil war'.

Is this not an indication that Italy has been going through an exceptional period,

that immense upheavals have taken place, radicalisations, individual involvements...? Or does it indicate that we are experiencing a judicial persecution?

Another question worth considering: wouldn't an exceptional situation in a 'democratic' country warrant granting a status of asylum, and therefore one of refugee status, as a simple formality?

During the Algerian war for example, France was considered a democratic State by the European governments, who still refused to extradite F.L.N. militants or people who had refused to be conscripted into the French armed forces.

Italy, of course, isn't Chile. However, we would ask:

If the Italian justice system, given what it has become since the proclamation of the 'state of emergency', continues to bear a relation to the justice system characteristic of a democratic state? For example:

The use of mass trials at which hundreds are accused,

Systematic reversal of the onus of proof it's up to the accused to prove his/her innocence as opposed to the other way round.

The introduction of the principle of collective responsibility (recently denounced by the Italian Supreme Court itself, though most of the accused — including refugees — have been judged according to this principle in the meantime).

The practice of 'rewards for the informers', which incites mass denunciations.

Finally, the notion of 'loyalty' demanded of the accused during the trial.

We would also like to ask whether people's dignity is being respected in today's Italy (as demanded by the extradition Law) for those who are considered 'terrorists'.

On the contrary we find the use of torture, in a systematic if not generalised fashion, and the more flagrant cases of torture are at times even excused after the fact. The documents included on torture in Italy (available from the address below) and the examples of undisciplined torturers should convince even the most incredulous. Finally, it is important to note that the 'special prisons' are still in operation.

The Situation In France Today

In 1981, Mitterand and Mauroy pronounced themselves against the extradition of political refugees, calling for a 'France, land of exile'. This appears to have amounted to nothing more than an electoral strategy destined to provide the State with a fresh image.

The 'accidents' which have occurred in recent years after proof: the repression of Basque militants, and shifts in position and menaces towards the Italian refugees.

Because even if Mitterand has recognised the reality of the refugee phenomenon in an official declaration a year ago in Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi's presence, underlying the declaration was a dangerous distinction between 'good' and 'bad' refugees, contradicting the principle of the right of exile for all.

At this point, simply keeping a status of tolerance in place is hypocritical considering the viewpoints offered by the right, which are more inspired by anti-immigration and security-orientated interventions. In this sense, the recent televised face to face between Fabius (Socialist Party) and Chirac (centre-right candidate) was quite eloquent at the plight of foreigners in France.

The French judicial apparatus has allowed Judge Brughiere and others to cheerlead the policy of criminalisation, legitimising their use of the following dual approach: 'empty the aquarium to catch the fish' ie. the practice of 'casting a wide net' (the use of multiple search warrants)¹; by also criminalising people who give out information, who defend², and fight against the repressions; by eliminating the principle of the 'personal character of criminal responsibility' and the more and more frequent appearance of the charge of 'criminal conspiracy'

- attempting to use confessions as the principle source of evidence, causing the police to employ psychological pressures



to obtain information about presumed accomplices.

Activities in Support of the Refugees

— with the support of the solidarity committees, each new 'accident' was publicised immediately.

— a round table organised by ASOLAT in March 1985, bringing together several of the refugee support groups, union members, lawyers and legal advisors.

— a conference-debate in May 1985, that involved a wider representation of the groups and individuals above as well as many others, including the Civil Liberties Union, Amnesty International, immigrant worker committees and refugees from numerous countries.

These actions and assemblies have revealed a growing deterioration of the respect for the right to asylum, but also a concrete attempt to bring together everyone possible to better co-ordinate information sharing and initiatives in favour of the refugees.

In conclusion, the process of 'criminalisation' of political militants, and evading the question as a response to immigration are phenomena which are occurring on a Europe-wide scale (for example recent events surrounding the Swiss expulsion of the immigrants from Zaire).

The European states' convergent policies concerning security problems is tending to overflow national boundaries by institutionalising a repressive judicial climate throughout Europe.

Thirty states will soon ratify the European convention on extraditions (information from *Le Monde*, November 18, 1985).

These agreements are intended to contribute to making political relations much 'healthier', and to promote economic exchange. The results obtained from the fight against 'terrorism' can serve as useful bargaining chips, in the same sense that the struggle for human rights is employed as an argument for exerting pressure as much on the USSR as South Africa.

The refugees, therefore, similar to the immigrants within a given country, are State hostages when it comes to international politics.

This situation in contrast to the statements of different European political figures, in particular the French socialists who consider themselves champions of civil liberties.

Reaffirming the right 'of the free circulation of people and ideas', and support for the refugees is of the utmost importance.

November 19, 1985.

To contact us please write:

Centre Max Nettlau,
15 rue Gracieuse,
75005 PARIS FRANCE

1. This is how a number of people were caught, as well as certain refugees. With the police looking for them in their country of origin, they were without a French visa and in their possession were false I.D.'s.
2. Such as the case of two lawyers in Toulouse, who were jailed and had their premises searched.

Special thanks to Monique and Gerard for this report. Salut!

IMPRISONED COMRADES

Gabriella Bergamaschini; anarchist militant who worked with the Gattinara (Piedmont) prisoners' solidarity journal *L'Agitatore*. At the end of 1984, she was condemned to four years and six months in prison following a spectacular affair pieced together by the Italian press concerning so-called terrorists arrested in Milan in September 1983. She was denounced by the press as the supposed leader of C.O.L.P. (an Italian urban guerrilla group) She is presently imprisoned at Fleury Merogis (160 99 2), 7 avenue des Peupliers, 91705 St-Genevieve-Des-Bois.

Salvatore Girincione; an anarchist militant from Turin. He was arrested on April 30th, 1980 following arrests of members of the group Azione Rivoluzionaria. During his arrest he was violently beaten by the DIG-OS police unit, and was immediately taken to the hospital in very bad shape, where doctors stated that he had received serious wounds in the kidneys, bladder and spinal column. He then received a sentence of two years, three months. As he served his term, considering his deteriorating state of health he was taken from one hospital to the next (Pisa, Turin, Parma, Bologna) and is kept

immobilised twenty four hours a day; his doctors judge his state alarming: his kidneys are blocked, obliging 'cleansings' of the blood (dialysis). He is put back in his cell just the same. Upon the protests of his doctors and other prisoners he is again transferred to a hospital. A vast protest movement demands his liberation and he is then released at the end of 1982.

He receives an invalidity pension from the Italian state.

During 1984, the police again begin to look for him following arrests in the region of Carrara (Tuscany), and he flees to France. He is presently the object of an international search warrant. He is in jail at Fresnes, and has been in hospital in a critical condition since his imprisonment. *S. Cirincione 750 255, maison d'arret de Fresnes, 1, ave. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes, FRANCE*

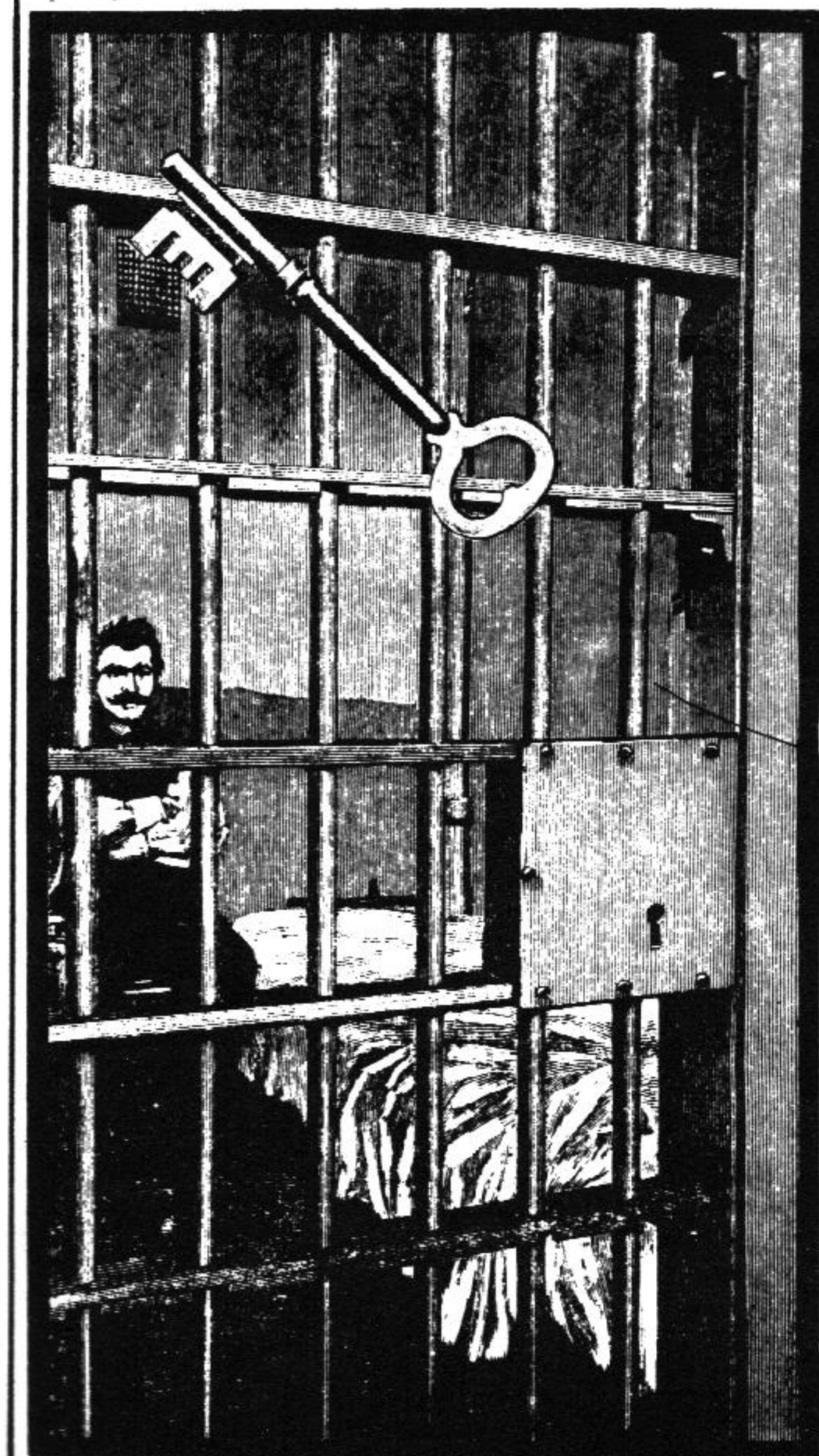
Orestino Domenchello: an anarchist militant from Tuscany. He is the object of an international search warrant following arrests in the region of Tuscany. He is being held at: *750 219 3eme Div. Cel 350 E, maison d'arret de Fresnes, 1, ave. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes, FRANCE*

Michele Visciglio: an ex P.C.m-l (Communist Party marxist-leninist) member who participated in the autonomous movement at the end of the seventies. Accused in Italy of 'participation in an armed group', he is presently being held in France for possession of false I.D. Address: *225 248K, Cellule 228, 2e division, Maison d'Arret de la Sante, 42, rue de la Sante, 75014, Paris, FRANCE*

Alessandra D'Agostini: involved with the militants of the group Fronte Carceri (Prison Front), she is accused in Italy of 'participation in an armed group'. In France, she has been charged with using false identity papers and is presently in total isolation. Her address is: *16137R, M.A.F. Fleury Merogis, 7, avenue des Peupliers, 91705 Ste-Genevieve-des-Bois.*

Luigi Bergamin: a known autonomist militant, accused by the infamous informer Pietro Mutti of having formed an armed group, the P.A.C. (Armed Workers for Communism). He is the object of an international search warrant which includes twenty charges. He was arrested in France for using false identity papers. Address is: *750 499, 3e division, Cellule 157, maison d'arret de Fresnes, 1, avenue de la Division Leclerc, 94261 Fresnes, FRANCE*

Translated by M.W.



LATIN AMERICA

CHILE - TIME FOR A CHANGE

Chile's fascist government has reached its final hour. Things are coming rapidly to a head, giving the impression that General Pinochet's military dictatorship is being systematically taken apart, piece by piece. It's no longer capable of maintaining any control and is even being abandoned by the Church, multinational corporations and the USA (The regime's strongest allies up until now). A significant event in the regime's downfall was the new US Ambassador's decision to attend a pro-human rights rally at Santiago Cathedral on the 26th of November, 1985.

Pressing a Foot On the Accelerator

One of the biggest obstacles to change is Pinochet himself. General Pinochet — barring miracles — isn't going to die of natural causes (unlike Spain's dictator Franco) and leave the way open to change. Nor is anyone prepared to take responsibility for the bloody military coup that made Pinochet a President overnight twelve years ago or take responsibility for the thousands who 'disappeared' at the hands of the police and security forces during his reign. Nobody dare take Pinochet to court either because capitalism won't allow it and because too many people were involved in Chile's tragedy, from the Church and the Christian Democrats to the Communist Party. They all collaborated in Allende's down fall.

'You, Captain General Pinochet, are an obstacle to democracy in this country,' announced Gabriel Valdes, President of the Democratic Alliance and Christian Democracy during a debate staged in Santiago on November 22nd in front of half a million people. The event, tolerated by the military was organised by the Democratic Alliance, who represent moderate opposition to the regime. All the political parties who had signed the 'National Agreements for Transition' (to democracy) were also present, as were the Socialist and Marxist parties, the revolutionary left and even groups from the patriotic armed front.

The next day, in Punta de Traica, the United Trade Union Movement held its first Congress, backed by the more conservative sectors of the opposition. Great hopes were expressed at the Congress as well as the organisation of practical support for a dockers' strike at Valparaiso from October 30th onwards. . . Everything now points to a determination to overthrow the regime.



GENERAL PINOCHET

Chile Today

Ironically, Pinochet will probably fall because of his incapacity to maintain the economic structure of his military regime, rather than as a result of the crimes he's committed. If this is the case, Chile will undoubtedly follow the pattern of other dictatorships recently destroyed by economic collapse including Greece, Portugal and Spain. . . followed by Brasil, Argentina and Uruguay.

The dictator was secure so long as he could pay back the interest on loans from the world's banks. His empire only started collapsing when financial support was withdrawn. It's sad to think that it takes an economic crisis to awaken a reaction against the crimes of a totalitarian regime, rather than a mass ideological movement that is dedicated to transform society.

The reality in Chile today is that it owes 20,000 million dollars to foreign banks and multinationals, there is over a million people unemployed, nearly 200,000 of the peasant families have no homes and

many of their children don't go to school because they have no shoes.

In contrast, North American Companies, Millionaires and the Church own all the gold/copper mines and forests which are exploited to conform to the needs of the international money market, ignoring the needs of the Chilean people. Chile lives under a kind of colonialism dependent on the international division of labour enforced by banks and multinationals to prop up the market economy.

The Church's Involvement

The Catholic Church (who for so long had collaborated with the military dictatorship) has been the last to fall out with Pinochet. The break was prompted only by the fact that it's now in the clergy's interest to distance itself from the military regime.

This change in the Church's allegiances can be traced back to June, 1985 when the dictatorship decided to allow opposition, especially moderate opposition, to legally demonstrate against the regime. From this

point it became easier to channel people's anger towards reformist and conservative solutions, and reduce the threat of unrest.

The Church's strategy is divided into two specific areas; the political parties and the trade union movement. (Both have a strong tradition in Chile). In the political arena, the Archbishop of Chile recently published a report, based on the National Agreement for Transition (to democracy) and launching Democratic Alliance. The Alliance is made up from most of the conservative political parties and provisionally excludes the Popular Democratic Movement which encompasses all left-wing parties, socialists and communists plus the revolutionary left. The Democratic Alliance first real show of strength was the big November demonstration in Santiago that is mentioned previously.

In the trade union arena, the Church has helped build the United Trade Union Movement, founded in April 1984 by the rank and file membership of around two hundred and twenty six organisations of Catholic trade union origin. The United Trade Union Movement held its first Congress in Punta de Tralca parallel to the political demonstration in Santiago. Its aim is to mobilise worker's opposition to the dictatorship and to work towards a general strike in the hope that this will force the transition to democracy. All the major union confederations were invited to the Congress including the Comando Nacional de los Trabajadores (CNT) whose leaders have just been released from prison after seventy days. The Archbishop of Chile and other Church leaders were also invited to attend.

An invitation to the United Trade Union Movement Congress was also sent to the International Workers Association (the Anarcho-syndicalist International) along with other international organisations. The IWA also recently received a request for help and solidarity from the coordinating committee of Valparaiso's dock workers whose strike over working conditions is a part of the campaign to overthrow the dictatorship. The IWA replied to their invitation by sending the following telegram:

We salute all workers represented by delegates at the Congress, and hope above all that the fight to re-establish true democracy in Chile is successful. The IWA unconditionally supports the Chilean people's desire for freedom.

SOURCE: Fidel Gorron Canoyra.



CENTRAL AMERICA - US SPONSORED TERRORISM

Recently a plot was exposed in the bourgeois press to provoke a US invasion of Nicaragua. The trigger was to have been attacks on US diplomats in Costa Rica and Honduras. Prior to the plot being exposed, Reagan had already issued a press release threatening retaliation on Nicaragua. It is obvious, that as the planned attacks had been nipped in the bud and were later to be shown to be the work of the anti-Sandinistan forces, the press release had indicated that Reagan had full knowledge of the plot (and the plotters).

The plot was revealed by a Contra defector, who had been a member of the Costa Rica based group preparing for the assassinations/bombings for the previous eighteen months. Intended targets included the Costa Rican presidential palace, the US embassy in Costa Rica and leading diplomats from the US government in Costa Rica. According to the defector the terrorist group was financed by the US Central Intelligence Agency (which explains prior knowledge of the plot by Reagan). The members of the 'terrorists' included Cuban exile anti-communists, US mercenaries and Contras. Its operations were controlled from various locations in Central America as well as an office in Miami.

Around the same time as the plot was exposed, Ray Cline (ex-deputy Director of the CIA) produced a report on behalf

of the US Centre for Strategic and International Studies (of which he is the director) proposing greater use of 'dirty tricks' tactics against enemy forces. Some of the options named included support for clandestine infiltration, pre-emptive strikes and counter-terrorist activities, etc. — all of which is current and past practice. Cline, as head of the National Intelligence Study Centre, is a personal advisor to Reagan on 'terrorism' (ie. US State terrorism!). Cline is also closely linked to the World Anti-Communist League (see WACL article in *Anarchy Magazine*, issue 37, available: 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1)

Commander Zero Plot

But back to the CIA/Contra/Cuban exile (and probably WACL) plot. According to the same defector, the group he was in also were responsible for the bombing of the press conference earlier that year given by one of the Contra Leaders, Eden Pastora (also known as 'Commander Zero' who was a Sandinistan hero in the struggle against Somoza's dictatorship — nowadays a anti-Sandinistan). Pastora's faction was getting very little aid from the CIA at the time, unlike the other main Contra faction, and was seen by the Reagan administration as a weak ally whose support for US policy was tenuous. The man who planted the bomb at the press conference, according

to the defector, was trained in Chile with the aid of the CNI (Chile's secret police, also known previously as DINA); he is supposed to be in hiding in Miami now, safe-housed by members of a Cuban exile group.

In May of this year the group attacked the Costa Rican presidential palace, spraying its frontage with automatic gun fire from a passing car. Immediately newspaper advertisements placed by Costa Rica Libre (a neo-fascist group), blamed left-wing Costa Rican supporters of the Sandinistas for the attack. Again, the attack almost served as a pretext for a US invasion, but instead was used to justify increased CIA aid for the Contras.

Miami-based Cuban exiles are also behind the training of a mercenary outfit in Costa Rica, members of which were recently arrested and who later exposed CIA funding of the group. Military supplies for the group originated from Fort Lauderdale, Florida. The CIA's main liaison link in Costa Rica is John Hull, whose main preoccupation (surprise, surprise) is to succeed in creating a pretext for a US invasion of Nicaragua.

The scenario — Cuban exiles, working with CIA agents linked to WACL, undertaking terrorist actions and supplying arms to far-right groups in order to stimulate destabilisation, resulting in US 'intervant-

ion' — is all too familiar and follows on a from a previous pattern well defined in the 1970's involving similar client organisations and similar methods.

Continued in next issue.

ANARCHISTS IN VENEZUELA HOLD CONFERENCE

Anarchists in Venezuela held their second national conference within the space of 3 months in early December (1985). Their main aim is to set up an Anarchist Federation in that country. They're also hoping to print a third issue of the Anarchist paper *El Libertario*. The last issue of this paper appeared in November 1984 but publication had to be suspended after this date due mainly to financial difficulties.

Comrades in Venezuela have also told us that small Anarchist groups probably exist in Ecuador and Colombia. Unfortunately we cannot confirm this at the moment. As regular *Black Flag* readers already know, there's been a general resurgence of Anarchism in Latin America as a result of the fall of military dictatorships in countries like Argentina, Brasil and Uruguay.

Source: Nucleo Anarquista Gariota Gaviota.

BACK IN THE USSR

LENIN'S ORPHANS

The 1980 Moscow Olympic Games furnished the occasion for an immense round-up of dissidents. During the same period, the total bankruptcy of the Helsinki accords also became apparent, allowing for a fine-tuning of the Soviet State apparatus of repression. Shunning publicity, Andropov used the situation to increase the powers of the KGB and the militia, and a heavy leaden blanket fell over the Goulag.

Gorbachev is therefore heir to a subterranean world which is almost entirely silenced.

Involuntary Exiles

Today, the goulag is no longer the immense archipelago of the fifties. According to available information, it is composed of between 1.7 and 2.7 million 'zeks', as the prisoners are known.

It has also experienced a face-lift. Officially, there are no longer any political prisoners. Since 1983, the number of 'loafers', 'parasites' and 'hooligans' has risen, as well as the amount of people convicted for religious reasons. For everyone the prison situation has recently taken a turn for the worse. The 'exile' still remains very long: ten to fifteen years (when there is a lack of 'motive', the sentence is five years). Since 1983 though, the Law provides for an additional five year term for those convicted of 'deliberate disobedience' towards the prison staff. These sentences of course continue to take place behind closed doors. In the country of 'real existing socialism', the goulag remains the ultimate means of social regulation and control.

The Underground

The goulag is not a homogenous entity. According to the most reliable sources of information, there are 1,976 'collective work colonies' (sic) which are divided into four categories: 'ordinary', 'intensive', 'severe' and 'special'. One hundred and twenty of these camps have been allocated for *children over twelve years old* and adolescents. As if this were insufficient added to this network of repression are three hundred and seventy three prisons and eighty five psychiatric hospitals (well known for their 'healing powers'...). But contrary to widely-held opinion in Europe not all of these camps are lost in the Siberian wasteland. In effect, most of them are situated along a line stretching from Moscow to Siberia. In more precise terms, it can be said that a map of the camps would fit perfectly over one showing Russian population concentration.

Therefore three quarters of the 'zeks' (two-thirds of the camps) are in close contact with the 'non-exiled'. For the latter, the constant reminder of the repression present for all to see improves their 'integration into the social consensus'. Considering this, what would induce the State to forego the camps? What could be a more dissuasive force than the presence of forty thousand 'zeks' in Moscow, twenty thousand in Leningrad, thirty thousand in Gorki and as many in all the other large cities?

Forced Labour

Above all, the 'zeks' represent two million labourers. Having contributed in vast numbers to the construction of the industrial

empire during the Stalinist era, they remain an integral part of the production process in contemporary Russia. The goulag is in fact the largest (and the only) temporary work system in the country. It can be compared to the use of immigrant workers as an 'all purpose' group from which a maximum amount of heavy labour can be extracted at minimal cost/wage.

As they are only allotted a ridiculously small salary which is always kept by the State for 'boarding expenses' (!), the 'zeks' cost the state/employer nothing at all. Their activities are usually limited to the most arduous tasks which occur in the timber industry, mining, or on the work sites. Fifteen percent of the 'zeks' are used in the military sector. It is difficult to calculate all of these activities because they are not reported in the statistics, and for good reason... However, all 'zeks' work, with the exception of those in the psychiatric 'hospitals'. Everywhere, work predominates. The infamous Kresty prison in Leningrad, for example, sports a sign that says 'cardboard manufacturing plant', it thus clearly indicates the nature of the work carried out by the 'zeks' within.

In the most dynamic regions, the 'zeks' participate in a whole series of activities, from major industries to small scale mechanics, fishing and 'authentic' 'people's' handicrafts (russian dolls). The 'zeks' are everywhere. And the urban camps are the most numerous. The thirty-three Moscow 'colonies' are a beehive of activity.

Contrary to what we are often told, the production which takes place in the goulag is not marginal in the least, and is perfectly integrated into the overall pro-

duction process. Though this sector may well be less productive than others, it is difficult to calculate the difference. A framework for 'normal' productivity in the USSR is impossible to outline. The goulag has become a 'sub-system' which contributes to regulating production and employment in the USSR.

Today the goulag can no longer be considered a monstrous entity hatched in the demonic imagination of Stalin. On the contrary, it has become a 'banal' or normal institution which is an integral part of the Russian political and economic structure.

For Gorbachev, things are looking rosy. If the civil liberties situation at times receives a passing glance, the West is kept in the dark about a lumpenproletariat which in Russia is completely taken for granted.

H. Winter.

Translated from *Agora* No. 29 by M.W.

LEFT NAZIS?

A speaker for the Palestinian Liberation Front, a breakaway from the PLO and responsible for several notorious bombings and hijackings (including the Achille Lauro hijack and several bombings in France), has claimed collusion with a West German neo-Nazi group headed by Odfried Hepp.

The allegations were made during an interview published in the leftist Paris-based paper, *Liberation*. The Hepp gang are currently being investigated in connection with the bombings in Paris in 1981 and 1982 on Jewish targets in support of the Palestinian cause. At the time, because of their anti-imperialist stance, the police spread the word that the French left guerrilla group, Action Directe, were to blame. Likewise when the Hepp gang used indiscriminate methods in bombing US military targets, the police blamed the leftist/autonomist guerrilla network the Revolutionary Cells who themselves had, at the time, claimed many targets attacked (all indiscriminate and involving no injuries). Hepp himself was later captured during a raid on the safe houses of Lebanese Armed Faction members, claimed by some as left-wing, but whose roots are within the far-right Phalangists.

Allegations concerning the mainstream PLO and neo-fascist mercenaries have been made before and never proven; that a breakaway group is in collusion with a known fascist terrorist who is responsible for the bombing of Jewish targets is a link that will certainly embarrass the left. This is what you have to expect when nationalism even when qualified as being 'left', is adopted if for only tactical reasons.

Previous issues of *Black Flag* and *Anarchy* magazine have carried more fully the story on the Hepp gang.

NOT THE QUIZ

There were two exhibitions going on in London's South Bank in January. One was called *Homage to Barcelona* at the Hayward Gallery. The other was on working class America at the Festival Hall. Which would you reckon was the one showing material on the anarcho-syndicalist movement?

The homage to Barcelona for all its echoes of Orwell is organised by the Generalitat and shows bourgeois culture. It does indeed in the opening panel state that there were two great movements contesting in Barcelona — the anarchist and the Catalanist — but 'Catalanism became institutionalised', and by 1936 anarchism was 'in control' of the city.

Institutionalised Catalanism is in control of the exhibition.

The history of the American working class and 'alternative America' does not hide the anarchist and IWW contribution to working class history. (We were pleased to see that even in the bookstall there were Cienfuegos pamphlets on the Chicago martyrs etc.). See it by all means (it's free). This is a heritage that transcends national boundaries.

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BERLIN - WHERE ARE MY CLOTHES

They have killed quite a few of us these last few months, quite a few members of the international black block; shot one in Brixton and ran over one with a water-cannon at an anti-fascist demo in Frankfurt, killed one in Tottenham and shot one in Athens as the anarchists there livened up a demo to remember the student revolt against the Colonels, killed one in Amsterdam after evicting a squat, killed two every day on average in South Africa/Azania. Hard times. And then they send ex-Nixon aide Schultz to Berlin. Something was bound to happen.

Demo forms up at three p.m. on the Saturday, as he talks bubbles at a hotel down the road. Police are on softly softly orders. Only about fifty of them start out in riot gear, the other few hundred with soft hats. They think they have wiped out the squatters, and don't want to stir us up again. The posters, four or five different sorts, had issued general anti SDI, intervention in Nicaragua, support of South Africa, Cola-Culture calls, and some six thousand had wriggled along to see what gives. Shouts and yells and chatting with friends filled the time as we wended our way over the permitted first few kilometres over the main shopping street, filled with consumers consuming. The famous Ku'damm. And then, some two kilometres from Schultz's hotel and just before the vital shops started, they had parked four vans abreast and large groupings of themselves, got the SEW (Socialist Unity Party, who reckon East Germany is a pretty wonderful place deserving of our solidarity) to lay on a speakers platform, and hoped we would stop there, mill around aimlessly get cold and bored and go home or out shopping.

But fortunately the next word in the story is 'But'. But this is not what occurred. A group of the demonstrators, on noticing that the way was blocked by demonstrators standing around, started shouting out 'Straight on' and pushed through them, came up against a police line, spread out wide and pushed (a la miners), and then pulled back a bit and dug up the streets and began to throw them at the officers

of the law. A problem for the officers, this being Germany, because too few police-as-road-block would have been swept aside, too many is provocative looking in the extreme. As the stone-hail picked up in intensity, doing in the windows of the BMW showroom on the corner, the



piggy-wiggies did a little rush, but with the sort of ginger left-liberalism that demonstrated that they would really rather not. There is a nightmare situation for a top cop, and that is a crowd big and angry enough to be developing itself into a riot, (digging up the streets at the back, for example), and yet one that he will only provoke if he attacks it. If he does nothing he loses; if he acts, he loses sooner. This was one of those. When, some ten minutes later, they did a clamp-down, (coupla hundred more in riot gear file in) the situat-

ion exploded. The SEW morons freaked totally, with a microphone sewed to their nose to amplify their pitiful bleating to the cops not to be violent after the riot had already started. A spontaneous, (therefore totally illegal, therefore utterly riotous — to be unregistered, be you a person or a demo, in the modern German State, is a hard-core event) demo cut off to the left, did in the few cops in the way, the hotels and banks in the street, (windows, that is) swept up Kantstr. and Hardenburgerstr. and looped back onto Ku'damm, utterly destroying the normal Saturday consumption and dozens of windows, running riot for some half-hour until they got enough hundred cops into position to defend the core of the island of freedom here in the red sea...

Actions continued throughout the afternoon, isolated instances of striking back. One pearl was the halting of traffic on Mehringdamm, trapping one van with five cops in the traffic. Then stones get hurled at it for some minutes, until those present realise they are many, the cops are few and panicked, and the van is tipped over. Not torched, (they all carry guns here), but ah, what a picture that was. What an instant. Maybe they will stop sending these Yankee pigs here after a while! It damages the economy. So different from the ticker-tape parades and open cavalcades and cheering throngs of the Kennedy visit. Now it is all armoured limos, massed riot cops, helicopters, and a press conference. The same day forty thousand were off occupying the site of the plutonium reprocessing plant in Bavaria. Busy days. But one has to respond to the shining example set by the black block of Brixton, doesn't one. The days last action was the partial torching of Kukuck, formally a squat that they've done up as a block of artistes studios. None of that, thank you very much. And as I hunted along one of these streets above mentioned, searching for stones with a group of some twenty punks, I heard one of them cry out, 'Where are my clothes?' You dress us in concrete, and then wonder why we stand with stones in our hands...

An innocent bystander...

FEEDBACK

LETTERS RECEIVED

AIDS & 'the wrath of god'

Dear Black Flag,

AIDS is a subject of legitimate political concern but I fear Pete Mastin's admitted obsession trivialises it. That AIDS has been used as the excuse for a witch-hunt against homosexuals is bad enough, but it is of greater concern that it is probably of artificial origin, as leading venereologist Sir John Seale has pointed out. Sexual promiscuity, greater among homosexuals supposedly, has spread it rapidly; but Dr Seale states that AIDS comes from the laboratory, and is akin to a fatal disease in sheep, and may almost certainly have come from the desire for a biological warfare weapon.

Moscow has been insisting that it is being spread by American servicemen; Dr Seale

thinks it may have been 'released from a Russian laboratory', others think it may have come from an American research clinic. Some British biologists deny this claim, but it has been taken seriously in New Zealand, where the nuclear threat is also taken more seriously.

It may be noted that how speedily the Fundamentalists everywhere have taken to regarding AIDS as 'the wrath of god'; it is not far-fetched to assume that 'the wrath' might have been engineered by one of the many self-appointed emissaries of God. It is part of the rape of the universe by scientists only a fringe number of whom retain any vestige of responsibility to the world.

Esther A. Symonds.

Cyrenians in Scotland

Comrades — your help is needed!

Six months ago I started working with Aberdeen Cyrenians, in a night-shelter for the homeless. Conditions were basic to say the least, eg. the heating was hopelessly inadequate, the whole workforce has got constant colds. Our pay was £35 and a room in the workers flat. Working with emotionally disturbed people, societies' rejects is sometimes physically dangerous. I stuck the work however because:

- Genuine concern for the people I work with.
- In February the Cyrenians are to move to new premises — the workforce given

new contracts worth £7,000 pa. I was assured that if I 'towed the line', did not say anything stupid, I would get a job.

The result after interviews on Dec 17th, only one of us, out of a workforce of six has been given a job. The rest of us were told: — tough!

We immediately decided to strike to be given immediate dismissal by 'chair scab' Steve Sandison. Scabs are now doing our work. However the fight continues. . . Your support is needed. Letters of protest should be sent to: *Aberdeen Night Shelter c/o The Day Centre, 23/25 Blackfriars St. ABERDEEN, SCOTLAND.*

TV REVIEWS

ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF AN ANARCHIST, JAZZ SINGER, FRONT PAGE

I never saw *Accidental Death of an Anarchist* on the stage nor on the screen and I gave it only a glimpse on TV. Dario Fo can go jump in the lake for me. His play was regarded as 'hilarious' by the conservative press, in a way *Accidental Death of a Statist* dealing with the blowing up of Lord Louis Mountbatten would never have been.

Giuseppe Pinelli was an anarchist railway worker murdered by the Milan police. This is a comic version of how they did it. Sneering patronage of the 'ineffective' anarchist comes through the knockabout humour. Spell the name Foe.

The re-make of the *Jazz Singer* also turned up at Xmas. The original showed Jolson as a synagogue cantor whose parents fled the Russian pogroms for the Golden Land of America. He broke away to become a black-face ragtime singer (not really a jazz singer at all) and the film is about the clash between the old country religion and the new demands of America. (Who believed then that religion would make a comeback? It was associated with poverty and Europe).

The re-make, with Neil Diamond in the role is updated. The pop singer now sings along with black guys rather than blacking his face (it still doesn't sound like jazz). But in the updating, the old man forgets his history. Recalling the terrible time in the old country he refers to the dreadful time they had with 'the terrorists'.

The pogroms in Russia certainly spread terror among the Jewish population, but they were carried out by perfectly legal organisations such as the Black Hundreds, the Cossacks, the police or army. They were not just approved of the Tsar, they were carried out on his orders. Sometimes to appease foreign opinion, the pogroms

were carried out by a mob, with the armed police standing waiting in case the worker-organised Jewish Defence got the better of it for one. The 'terrorists' were the latter. There were also 'individual terrorists' in the Anarchists and the Social Revolutionary Party who took vengeance on Generals and high officials who carried out such terrible deeds on Jews and non-Jews alike. The language has changed. The word 'terrorism' now has a different meaning. But nobody who had lived through Tsarist Russia could mistake the two. It wasn't like the Lebanon, even in reverse.

Taking a poor film too seriously? But that's how film makers get lies across.

Another film revived for TV over the holiday period was *The Front Page*, made 1974, slightly updated on the original play of the 20s. A 'hilarious' comedy sending up a 'confused' anarchist who goes round making individual attempts on capitalists. Hee hee, thought playwright Ben Hecht, then in partnership with Charles MacArthur and at the height of his literary fame.

Later, older, embittered by musings on the fate of the Jews in Europe, Hecht became an extreme right wing nationalist and fervently sponsored with money raising drives Zionist extremists who made individual attempts on soldiers serving in Palestine. No way of finding out what he would have thought of anyone making hilarious comedies out of the situation.

Meanwhile the anarchists became stuck with the 'terrorist' label by the bourgeois press (even though the language had changed and 'terrorism' meant something different. Not so the Zionists. They are presented as those prepared to resist 'terrorism'.

NETHERLANDS

POLICE SPIES RAIDED

Now for the good news. . .

In recent months, especially since the murder of Hans Hok by the police on 26th October 1985 there has been a big upsurge in resistance in the Netherlands. There have been numerous heavy actions. by groups with names like 'Crash & Carry' and the 'Bert & Erny Front', 'Victoria Mxenge Commando', with millions of guilders damage.

There has also been renewed squatting prior to the introduction of new anti-squat laws. Raiding bunkers has become particularly successful, with two big raids in December. But on 15th December came a new and important type of raid — on an undercover Police Station!

The raiders called themselves 'Stille(n) Nacht Heilige Vracht' (double pun, untranslatable) and passed on the stolen files to a group called AMOK who are publicising the information.

What they have achieved is the dream of all resistance groups. They have stolen the police files on themselves!

The affair began with a tip about an obscure military establishment on the edge of Amsterdam which was conspicuously busy. In it were offices and a military warehouse. But at least 20 unmarked cars were always parked up or coming and going from the base. Further investigation showed that it was the warehouse of the

National Territorial Commandos (NTC) and the offices next door were those of something called 'Observation Team West'.

The spies were spied on, culminating in a full scale raid on the night of Sunday 15th December which went without a hitch. The results were certainly amazing, as well as stealing sleeping bags and military uniforms they got into the offices and lifted the files of the shadowy 'Observation Teams'. As well as files on 'criminals' there were a large number on left wing activists and squatters. Also there were a large number of 'observation reports' on undercover surveillance of squats, detailing how it is done, where and by whom — rented flats opposite big squats (which are also cultural and resource centres for the movement), camouflage vans with video, camera, night sights, directional mikes, infiltration, etc. However specific details about the reasons for observation were absent. In addition, they stole a large number of papers which exposes the police spy organisation from top to bottom — names, addresses, phone nos, radio frequencies, cars, other transport, methods and who they reported to. The police station was even robbed of its coffee money!

In one raid, years of police work has been lost, and the information is being passed on to all those concerned.

Source: *Bluf and friends*

LIVERPOOL

Dear Black Flag/Black Cross Comrades,

On 11 December 1985, our comrade Michael Davis and three members of Liverpool DAM had a meeting with the consultant psychiatrist and someone designated as a 'medical officer', and as a result of the meeting we got a verbal agreement from Doctor Ghosh that visits between Michael and ourselves would be re-established.

We are waiting on a letter to confirm because without it we will not be allowed in to see Michael, it is still a very unsatisfactory kind of situation because it institutionalises the visits as only those named on the letter will be allowed in on the visits.

There was a hold up on material being sent in so we made a visit to the local MIND group in Liverpool and they got it sorted out. The 'nurses' said we might have encouraged Michael to set up a Direct Action Group in Park Lane and possibly encouraged Michael to escape or cause other sorts of trouble.

For anyone to try and get out of Park Lane would be something you would have to content yourself with dreaming about and to call it a hospital is an insult to the very concept of hospitals even in this broken down welfare state. It is a top security prison, plain and simple, there are TV monitors all over the place, one door locks before another opens, all the 'wards' are heavily locked, no one goes unescorted anywhere, and it is situated on the outskirts of Liverpool in unmarked area, with infrequent public transport.

Just as we had been leaving the meeting the Doctor remarked that although she was quite happy for us to visit Michael the last word was up the 'Hospital Management' who could veto her decision in that case we would have to lodge an appeal with the mental Health Act Commission.

As you can see from what is said things are not so good. Anyway Michael in a letter to us said 'thanks I've been getting letters of support from Black Flag readers and it really cheers me up'.

Thanks for the support and solidarity in this campaign as it is helping Michael in many ways.

Any misunderstandings was due to pressure in a very uncertain situation. We are hoping in the near future to put together a newsletter of all that has happened in Michael's case and distribute it in the anarchist network.

Anarchist communist greetings from Liverpool DAM.
O.R.
Aigburth, Liverpool 17.

BIRMINGHAM

On Tuesday December 3rd, the trial started at Birmingham Crown Court of 8 anarchists who had been charged with going equipped to cause criminal damage and conspiracy to commit a public nuisance in the City of Birmingham with persons unknown. After two and a half days of prosecution evidence which was based almost entirely on prejudice, suspicion and frame-up, the judge dismissed the charges without even waiting to hear the defence's evidence.

This acquittal left the Birmingham cops looking very foolish indeed, especially after all the time and effort they had put into the case — there were about twenty police witnesses! It was certainly a victory (ie. eight people were acquitted despite the police trying to really get them), but it should not fool us into thinking that the 'justice' system is unbiased. It is undeniably part of the State, and thus it must uphold the power of the ruling class. To expect 'justice' from such an institution is simply crazy. But this institution has to try to preserve its facade of 'all equal in front of the Law' — due to this reason, the Birmingham 8 were acquitted, as were many of the miners charged with riot eg. Orgreave during the 84/'85 strike. So while we still have the space given to us by such liberal facades (and the centralised State is undermining them pretty quickly), we should use them to the maximum effect: ie. get organised now to spread the resistance and to escalate the struggle against the State and capitalism.

One of the Birmingham 8.

