

BLACK FLAG

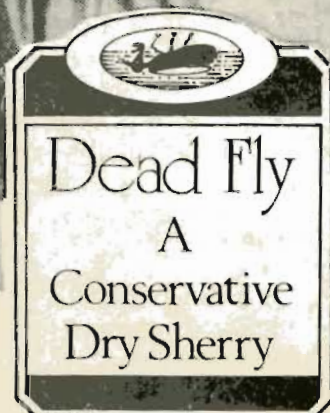
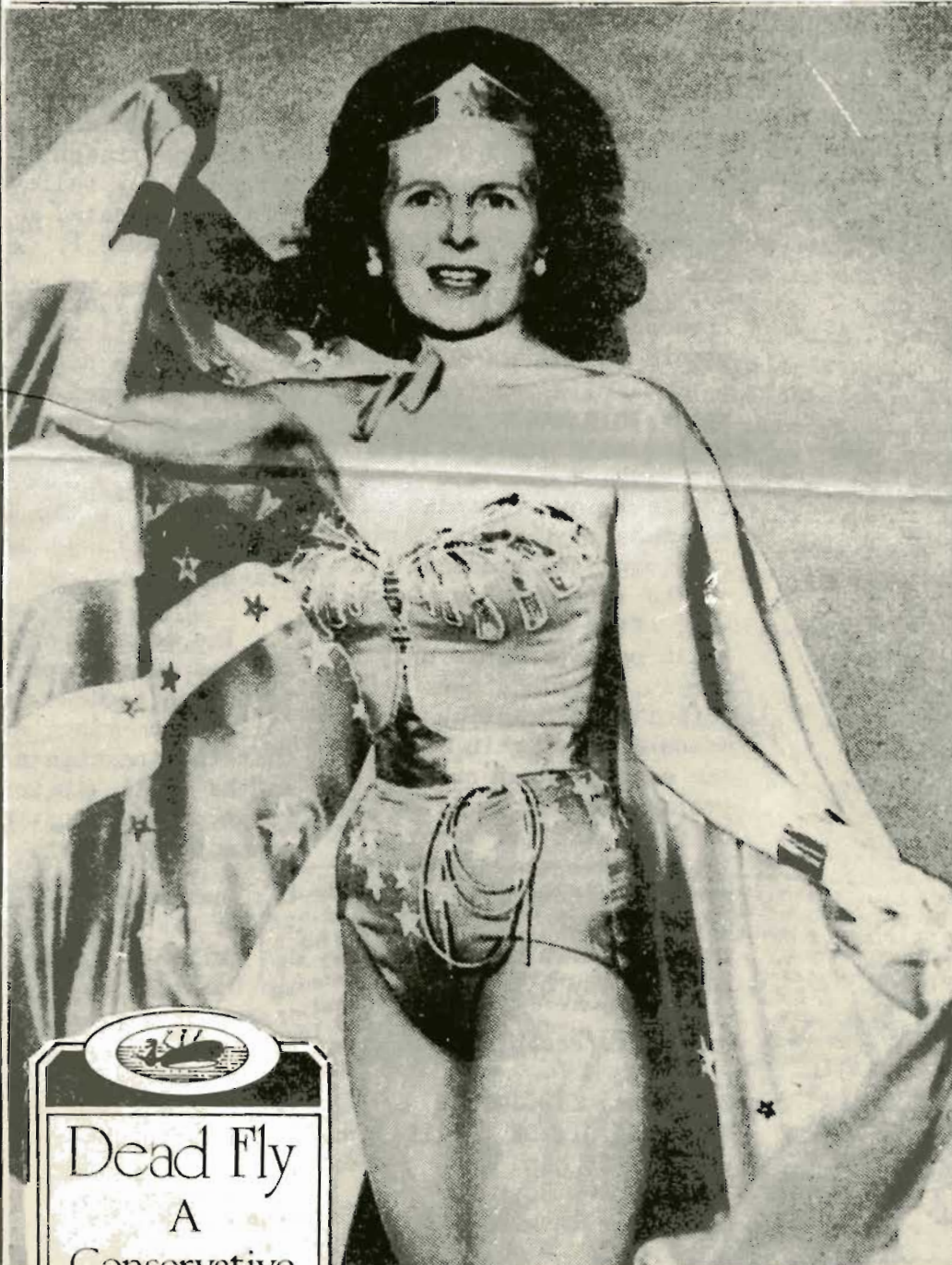


Vol. V No. 8

20p May 1979

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

VOTE CONSERVATIVE?



Well, they said anything could happen!

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STATE OF PLAY AS AT 1st FEBRUARY 1979

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550.40

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Gain

233.07

Deficit b/fwd 1559.62
less gain 233.07
Deficit 1326.55

DONATIONS

Calif. DK £4.77; estate
of late A.R. £450.84;
HMP MS £4; Salop PAS
£9; London MB £5;
Proceeds Sacramento
picnic £24.34 = £497.95

While this was a quiet
period with other calls
for cash, a dramatic
change to our finances
was made by finally
receiving the proceeds
of the late com. Rogat's
will after legal delays.
While on paper this only
serves to reduce the
deficit, in practice it
means a major gain and
the extension of our
propaganda output will
be fantastic (as later
issues will show). No
need incidentally to
draw the moral of the
donation from one of
Her Majesty's prisons.

Prisoners/Resistance Fund

SS (Guam) £13.10? SB
(Cosham) £1; DK (Calif)
£4.47. In hand £44
In hand £40.80.
Total now in hand £59.37.

In hand £40.80 prev; disb.
£10; now in hand £49.37.

We have been
able to send
an AB Dick
offset litho
to the Build-
ers Union
(CNT) in
Barcelona in
the name of
Apoyo Mutuo.

WHAT HAPPENED TO BLACK FLAG?

This is the first
issue to appear
since January (Vol
V No 7). We ask
our readers to
accept our apologies
for the delay and
the lower standard
of production than
usual. A full
explanation is on
page 11.

PERSONS UNKNOWN

TRIAL DATE HAS BEEN SET
FOR 3rd SEPTEMBER 79.

ANARCHIST DEMO CALLED FOR
SATURDAY 1st SEPTEMBER 79
IN PROTEST 'SOLIDARITY'.

BENEFIT: TO BE HELD AT
NORTH LONDON POLY. HOLLO-
WAY RD. N7.

FRIDAY 11th MAY. 7.30pm
TICKETS £1.50

WITH: CRASS; POISON GIRL;
CHARGE.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What English king belong-
ing to the present royal house
was popularly believed to have
been assassinated by super-
natural means?
2. Why did Victor Hugo (who
had led constitutionalist
resistance to Napoleon III's
seizure of power in 1851)
shudder on learning that the
Imperial dictator 'lost'
precisely 16,400 French killed
and wounded in the Battle of
Sedan (1870) when the Empire
crashed to defeat?
3. The example of which
retired admiral gives the lie
to George Woodcock's assertion
(taken from rightist sources)
that the Anarchists shot people
in the Civil War in Spain
solely because of their family
connections?
4. What damning indictment of
George Washington and proof of
his criminal Statism, despite
his boasted love of freedom, is
to be found preserved to this
day in his Virginia home?
5. What did the painter Vernet
tell Czar Nicholas when asked
to paint a picture glorifying
the Russian conquest and part-
ition of Poland?

answers on page 23.

TOWARDS THE POLICE STATE

AN ASTOUNDING ADMISSION WAS MADE BY THE PROSECUTION AT THE COMMITTEES OF THE 'PERSONS UNKNOWN' PEOPLE ALLEGED TO HAVE COMMITTED A CONSPIRACY - BUT NOT THE ONE ORIGINALLY SAID TO HAVE OCCURRED. IT WAS STATED THAT THEY WERE ALL "SELF-CONFESSED ANARCHISTS".

This clear declaration of condemned political principles might be apposite if the original overstatement had held i.e. that they were conspiring to cause explosions to "overthrow society". But what had it to do with the substituted charge of conspiracy to commit robberies?

Originally the accused were stated to be 'idealists' - now the allegation is materialistic! Originally the allegation was that they tried to subvert the state, now it is that they tried to gain an extra few bob! Why then does it matter what political doctrine they confessed to?

Because the charges include the possession of a few air rifles, rifles and pistols - not to mention the notorious flour and sugar! The general principle in court cases we have outlined in previous issues - that for possession of weapons fascists might get a couple of years (and might well have it suspended) whereas libertarians get 10 or 15 years - is confirmed by this statement. It was to stress the importance of the case since, even if the robberies could not be substantiated (and the prosecution legal team were heard commenting outside the court

on the flimsiness of their (own case) tough sentences would still be called for by the seriousness of that charge, since they were "self-confessed" libertarians.

This 'unwritten' law - which fully confirms our last issue's editorial - is one that most people will regard with incredulity. They will not be convinced by case after case of fascists before the court as compared with libertarians, nor of their subsequent treatment, before, during and after sentencing. For it does not seem realistic, or perhaps people do not want to face the realism, that fascism is creeping to power - not by the comic National Front - but by the unacknowledged Police Party

THE POLICE PARTY

In this country the military have never, as such had political ambitions. On the contrary, the ruling class have always held it

at arms' length, and foreign observers have been surprised at the degree of anonymity it has always retained, except in actual warfare. Compared with a country where the army has political ambitions, there is a marked degree of absence of uniforms on the streets, even in garrison towns or ports (except for personnel going to, from and on duty). The generals who have political ambitions and made them known have been thwarted by the mere fact of these ambitions being made known and causing public concern and outrage.

This does not apply to the police. The organised police - and especially an inner organised corps within the police - represents a major political danger, and in recent years they have been frank about their ambitions. Sir Robert Mark

for one, has been more than open in his statements and even the ambitious military adventurers, who undoubtedly exist, have preferred to base their claims to power more on 'law and order' than on military control; more on their claims to be policemen than on military leaders; more as Hitler than Franco. Many ambitious politicians, no longer able to get Labour or Conservative endorsements because of fierce competition - have joined in this Police Party.

Continued →

The Conspirators and Conspiracy Laws.

The whole point of the Kitson Open Conspiracy is that a union of police, the legal profession and the military, together with the political Centre should form what is in effect a Police Party; taking in the natural allegiance of the Right and certain sections of the Left. But the majority of the Left even in the ranks of the Labour and Liberal Parties, have resisted the blandishments of this Cross-Party Party.

It is worth noting that there might appear to be echoes of this in the trial of some Liberal Party leaders for conspiracy! So easy to allege, so serious in its consequences, and always alleged by the very conspirators themselves!

"Who would bother to frame the Liberal Party Leaders? What danger does it represent?" It represents no danger, it does not pretend to challenge the social order, nobody in their senses would say it wanted to "overthrow society"... But the Liberals stand out against the Police Party, bang in the very Centre where it seeks support, and its existence is part of the reason the Labour Party remains with the civil libertarians rather than with the cross-party Police Party.

Is it not, to say the least, odd that a Privy counsellor should just at this moment, when the Kitsonian Police Party is nearing power, be in peril of his liberty on charges which depend on the basest and least credible of witnesses? Those of our friends who point to the favoured treatment Jeremy Thorpe and the others have received as compared, say, with the

Anarchists on trial, are barking up the wrong tree: it is to be expected that someone as prominent as Mr Thorpe would receive favoured treatment, but what is unusual about the case is that it should happen at all.

What is a Police State?

Though the whole appeal of rightist demagoguery is towards a Police Party, for semantic reasons they disclaim the wish to build a "police state".

All States have police - institutionalised forces ranging from the minimum consistent with the security of the State and its ruling class, to the maximum; but usually they only employ the maximum police effort when the degree of resistance to the State is at its greatest - or when that maximum effort has been deployed over so long a period (as in Russia - Tsarist or Soviet) to make it traditional.

The term 'police state' has for long been used to describe countries where police repression is at its maximum. The Police Party in this country may not be aiming at the maximum but it is aiming at a lot more power than it has now, partly because of the fears of the ruling class, partly because of the dangers they see inherent to the establishment in any major nuclear type breakdown, leading to civil unrest, and partly because they want those powers for their own sake anyway.

It is a mixture of these motives that lies behind Police Party thinking. In its major propaganda drive that is now taking place, there are 2 major lines:

1. That there exists a substantial breakdown of law and order and the police must have superior powers.

This attracts not only the police, especially high ranking officers, but also has a wide mass appeal since people always dread the unknown. More people are more terrified that they might be relieved of their handbag or wallet, than give a damn about the dangers of nuclear fallout or ecological pollution which is happening on a mass scale, but affects everyone as opposed to the individual.

2. That a vague "mob" threatens the gallant few and a 'silent majority' is beleaguered in defending right and decency.

This is how every ruling class sees itself: the heroic small band, surrounded by a loyal, obedient, conservative majority with only wicked conspirators and agitators stirring up a faceless mob against them.

It is a sheer propaganda gift that this 'faceless mob' can, in this country, be literally given colour, by a deliberate media association regarding petty thefts and personal assaults with the young Black community. The disclaiming of racialism by the establishment generally is not inconsistent with this approach, since the Police Party divides the Black community into the responsible old and the criminal young and alienates the one from the other. Under the 'sus' laws it is able to divide and locate the young blacks who are disclaimed by their families - just as brainwashed as the rest of the community, the effects of propaganda growing no barriers.

contd. on next page →

Is the Police Party a Myth?

It is not to deny that there is a Police Party by asserting that it has no corporate existence. In practice, such a Party exists and has gained the maximum of power consistent within the dual party system.

When one views the actions of Special Branch within the extra-parliamentary movements or the actions of the Special Patrol Group amongst street activists or community relations, or the 'Anti' Terrorist Squad with its draconian powers against anyone whom it picks out in the sacred name of security, then one sees a party in action. For one need only arrest one person and several dozen others get the message - are frightened into other more acceptable political or social paths or alternative means of protest, or give up protest altogether.

What did Denis Healey's son say; - "When I saw the brutality unleashed against students by the French riot police, I began feeling somewhat sceptical about left-wing extremism" - and so he returned to the faith of his father... not mind you, opposed to brutality but cowed by it, disheartened, saying "until then I'd been more Marxist than anarchist". He gave up his libertarian ideas when he saw that they were under fire, and this goes for one generation after another. Tim Healey is by no means alone in flinching the field of battle. (And more honourable to openly abandon the struggle in the face of the enemy than to try to trim revolutionary principles to the wind).

CLENFUEGOS PRESS ANARCHIST REVIEW No. 4. - available again.

CRIMINALITY

Few people try to resist the Police State because once the 'forces of law and order' are involved, the line between criminality and resistance become blurred. People who are naturally good citizens don't want to become criminals; therefore they would sooner not resist. And normally one only finds such resistance when the police state has been imposed by the military and so takes the appearance of illegality itself. Where the police state is imposed by the crafty lawyer instead of the armed soldier, there are far less attempts at resistance. The Police Party criminalise the opposition thus damping it. But this is in itself a dangerous move of theirs, since if one makes the opposition criminal, one politicises the criminal too. In all such police states, not taken to the maximum, crime flourishes, even though its suppression is the battle cry of the Police Party.

How well we see this in the case of the British young Blacks who come into contact with the law solely because of agitation against them that push them into the very attitudes that are alleged against them.

Are the Police Necessary?

There is one card the Police Party always holds and that is a mass withdrawal of the services of the police. Nothing is more persuasive to the bulk of citizens that the forces of repression are forces of deterrence than to find them gone! Wild riot-

ing, looting, stampeding, murder - even traffic jams - can then be put down with a complacent leer as "anarchy".

But anarchy is not only the absence of legal authority, it is the absence of all authority, institutionalised or not.

It is the yielding up of all powers that should be in the hands of the people as a whole, to an institutionalised force that in turn helps to make that force appear necessary.

Nowhere has the example been more dramatically shown than in the eruptions in the Black ghettos of the United States where, in an acquisitive, competitive, grab-all society the absence or inadequate presence of police has resulted in there being no legal authority, and illegal authority has taken over, necessarily disorganised but nevertheless repressive. This does not prove the necessity of a strong police force but the fact that the existence of one inhibits people from organised self-defence.

One can also see any Saturday in some of our football grounds just a few dozen but organised kids scattering a crowd of thousands who physically outnumber them and are possible, individually, physically superior, but who only stand around and wonder where the police are and what they're paid for - afraid of getting involved or having the whole pack turn on them individually.

The existence of a police force means that the community as a whole yields up its responsibilities and social solidarity. This is far from being in any way the desire of individual lower rank policemen, who find themselves victims of

ANARCHIST MAY DAY PICNIC
May 1st, Highgate Woods,
2 p.m. (London: nearest tube: Highgate).

attack as often as they are the sponsors of attack and who often suffer for the crimes of the political and the plain clothes police.

The forces in favour of increased repression have begone being a pressure group. They are a Police Party. If they have their way, the police would not be subordinate to the ruling party in parliament.

If an army using the powers given it by the legal government, influences the acts of the government and exercises power of its own, it is - or will become a military dictatorship. If the civil service acts in the same way, it becomes a bureaucracy. If the police do so, this is a real police state, though it is to be distinguished from the totalitarian state.

The crucial weakness of the Police Party is that it must inevitably be the policies of the extreme Centre rather than the extreme

Right. Economically it has no programme save bashing strikers or illegalising pickets and hopes business can then get on with the job. These attitudes are sometimes disguised as being 'libertarian Right'

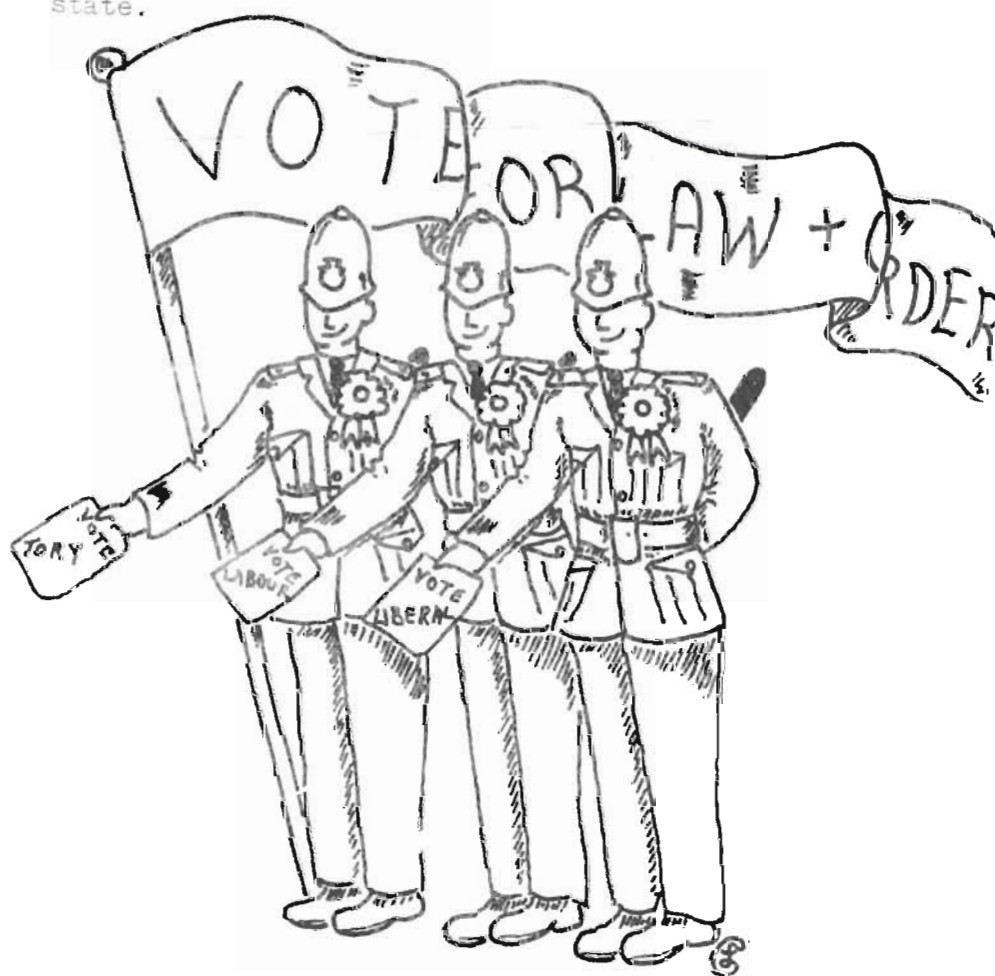
rather than what they really are: the policies of the authoritarian Centre. It is a mule in power for its efforts must always be to hold back progress by force. It is these attitudes that can be seen in stark simplicity by the Thomson Organisation in its takeover and a losdown of The Times.

The Conspiracy Theory

It is essential for the creation of a Police State for a mass 'conspiracy' to exist. Here it differs from fascism which seeks popular support by attacking first one weak, and preferably unpopular minority, and then another, hoping that each will receive no backing and so the fascist forces will appear invincible, before they seize power. The Police Party seek popular support and it must be done by the Thought Police, by the manipulation of the media, by building up a sinister mixture of conspiracy and intrigue, linking one vague or ill-defined enemy with another. This is the stuff of the media campaign with the melodramatic concoctions one can read daily in the press and have flashed at one in one's home, by the very sources that are themselves engaged in a conspiracy against the people.

Yet this propaganda means that the Police Party is the easiest to resist; and when the police state is in creation it is the easiest to overthrow - unless it yields power to the military. Its influence does not belong in the everyday world, which is why it invents bomb scares and exaggerates crimes. More than any other party it stresses the essential difference between THEM and US, for all its talk of the 'silent majority'. Its particular hatred is anarchism because anarchism underlines that difference too.

A.M.



THE GREAT CHOICE

drugs & radiation from the state

Drugs are a basic requirement in our society for many people. They are needed to prevent people from cracking up. Certain substances if used can lead to a prison sentence. Sometimes these drugs are probably harmful, such as heroin, sometimes it seems unlikely that they are, such as cannabis. Other drugs, like alcohol, tobacco and substances in coffee and tea are sometimes harmful as well, but companies manufacturing and selling them are not fearful of prosecution in Britain.

Such is the hypocrisy of our society that prescription of drugs in prison is much more an abuse than any use of proscribed drugs outside prison. The irony of prison is that it is a place of lawlessness - screws in prison like cops outside ignore basic legal rights and yet they pose as the defenders of the law. If there is a disturbance in any nick, prisoners' rights are unlikely to be respected. Drugs in use in prison are not used to assist sick prisoners so much as to control those who cause difficulties for the authorities.

The riots in Gartree in which libertarian comrades are said to have participated have, according to Geoff Cogan, national sec of the prisoners union PROP, created "a new situation" in which the lid has been taken off the abuse of drugs in prison. At a press conference in London PROP app-

ealed to anyone inside or outside prison to contact them with drug abuse in prison (-104 Brackenbury Rd, London W6 tel: 01-748-2646)

Some of the basic facts on Gartree are to be found in PROP's paper (Vol 2 no 6 20p) and there is useful information about Jake Prescott and the Hull prison investigation and on drugs in a Scottish women's prison as well. Dr Tony Whitehead estimates that of 140-150 inmates in this women's prison 50 are receiving major tranquilisers. This is reckoned from the known weekly drug supply from the prison. Dr Whitehead suggests there are only 2 possible reasons for the staggering amount of drugs in use in that prison: either there are a high number of psychotic prisoners; or drugs are being used as instruments of control. Dr McCleary, ex medical officer at Parkhurst has outlined the use of drugs to control the behaviour of prisoners (Sunday Times 22 Oct 78) and is quoted from his account in Prison Medical Journal" on his experiments with men who were regarded "purely as Albany discipline failures". Thus drugs were not used for medication but control.

The Medical Committee Against the Abuse of Prisoners by Drugging, which is composed of groups like MIND, NCCL, PROP, RAP and those concerned with the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union, has recently exposed the scandal of the administration of Xrays to

prisoners by unqualified people. The Society of Radiographers stresses this represents "a potential hazard to patients, but also a potential hazard to operators... without proper training there can be no guarantee that the prison officers are applying the radiations correctly." They believe on Home Office statistics that of 52 establishments in the prison service, only 11 have qualified radiographers carrying out the radiography work.

Dr Alex Comfort writing in "The Process of Ageing" makes the following comments which are pertinent to this prison scandal. "one specific threat to our natural life span is the increasing use of ionizing radiation in medicine and industry. These, rather than nuclear weapon tests, are clearly the major source of extra radiation exposure today, but the release of radiation in the course of bomb testing cannot be ignored. It has so far contributed a much smaller amount to the individual dose which we receive in civilised countries with busy Xray depts, but may well eventually contribute more to the dose received by the combined genetic equipment of the whole human race. We still do not know whether low-dosage radiation really accelerates ageing but it certainly does genetic harm." Among the things radiation can cause are "mutations, breaks in chromosomes and a lot of other faults which are passed on when a cell divides."

As the Society of Radiographers emphasise there are potential hazards in prison to both prisoners and staff. The Home Office is happy to jeopardise the future of unborn generations.

JAPAN — THE LESSONS OF SABOTAGE

May 2 : Unmanned flight control beacon for Hiroshima Airport set alight.

May 5 : Empty trains for Keisei Rlys' high-speed Tokyo-Narita service hurried, 100million yen damage.

May 15 : Hakone aviation radar facility attacked, discovered by guards; if successful would have crippled operations at Haneda and Narita.

May 19 : Trucks hurried at 3 places on Keisei line, operations halted for 3 hours in early morning.

May 20 : Underground microwave circuits for Tokyo Air conrt

Air Control center cut, all domestic flights at Haneda cancelled; several other airports paralyzed; govt admits only 'insider' could have done it (Narita unaffected as uses different facility)

May 20 : Radio antenna firebombed near Narita, airport unaffected.

May 20 : In big demo at airport gates firebombed, tyres burred and the riot police fought for several hours, half the 40 people arrested were women.

May 21 : Electricity pylon felled near Narita, power suspended for 4 hours (airport unaffected as has independant power plant effective for short periods)

May 21 : Trees felled across roads used by Japan Airlines to move equipment from Haneda, removed by police.

May 21 : 100 2-meter balloons, 8 kites flown from end of runway.

May 22 : Airport sewage disposal plant firebombed

May 25 : Traffic signals out at 5 intersections along Tokyo-Narita highway.

May 29 : National Railways communications signals cables cut in 4 places, operations including fuel transport halted for 4 hours in early morning; police think

'inside job'

May 29 : Signal cable cut again on fuel-transport line, no effect on operations.

June 10 : Balloons floated near runway, airport closed for 20 minutes, 3 cargo flights cancelled

June 17 : Balloons floated again, operations unaffected.

June 23 : Air radio relay station attacked, equipment damaged but vital parts unharmed

June 26 : Rails loosened on fuel transportation route, one train delayed.

The govt has sought to label all sabotage activities beginning of course with the 3.26 raid as 'violence'. This is nonsense and simple propaganda. Violence is only so when people (or animals) are injured or killed. In none of the above acts was any danger consciously posed to human life - described as 'non-violent' guerilla methods.



RONAN

In an application for bail for Ronan, made in March, the judge discoursed on the 'Irish connection' and refused bail. Yet Iris, Taff and Vince have not only got bail but had their curfew lifted. Was the judge subverted by IRA propaganda that Ulster was no longer a part of the United Kingdom?

Find out for yourself in a solidarity meeting for Ronan Bennett, 25th May 79 at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London W.C.1 (7.30) - or write to B19617 R. Bennett, A Wing, Brixton Prison, London S.W.7

Spain Today



THE C.N.T.

After the euphoria the problems...

On 4th March this year, the CNT called their first public meeting for 40 years in the town of Reus, near Tarragona, in Catalunya. I happened to be staying in the town at the time, so obviously I went along and it was a very different experience from the average anarchist meeting in England. For one thing it was bigger—several hundred people packed into a small cinema. But there were other interesting aspects too.

The CNT has re-emerged in the last two or three years after decades of harassment and repression. One result of this is that there are two quite distinct age-groups within the organisation: the young people who have become involved recently and the generation who remember the old CNT before the revolution, civil war and Francism. This was clear from the attendance at Reus. The dominant age-groups were men and women in their late 50s/60s and young people in their 20s with hardly anyone in between.

For many of the older people this meeting was probably the first public gathering of anarcho-syndicalists they had attended for decades. Certainly it was an emotional occasion.

People sang along with the revolutionary songs played over the PA before the meeting began: they shouted agreement and applauded loudly during the speeches; and as the event broke up elderly men could be seen beaming at each other and giving the anarchist salute.

But beneath the emotions and enthusiasm, the CNT faces some hard times and difficult decisions. I am no expert on the organisation but there seem to be several debates going on at the moment. There is the question of whether the CNT

is a libertarian worker's organisation, active around work issues, or a broad umbrella for the libertarian movement as a whole; there is the question of currents and factions within the CNT with accusations that some factions are organising secretly to take over some key positions; and there is the question of what anarcho-syndicalism really means in the late 70s, the need for analysis and for identifying the CNT's specific role in modern conditions.

These various debates have led to a point where there is now widespread demand for a full national Congress, and it does look as if a Congress will be held, probably in the autumn. Since its foundation in 1910 the CNT has held only 4 congresses, the last being in Zaragoza in 1936. The

emphasis of the organisation has always been upon local initiative and federal co-operation, rather than constant recourse to national gatherings and national policy-making. But its re-emergence has posed problems, as we have seen, and they need to be sorted out if the organisation is to establish a clear role and clear presence in modern Spain. A Congress is the only gathering able to make broad policy decisions, hence the present agitation for one to be called. The National Committee has made it clear that they favour a Congress so as to bring the many debates out in the open once and for all.

With the best will in the world, however, it may sometimes seem strange to concentrate so much attention on the fortunes of an organisation so far away in Spain, when we face pressing problems here where we are. I believe the CNT is important because it is an explicitly

libertarian mass worker's organisation, committed to direct action, opposed to all "social contracts" and refusing to participate in the State's attempts to integrate the workers organisations into its own administrative structure (via "syndical elections" pacts etc). The CNT is therefore significant not only in Spain but to the libertarian movement ar-

ound the world. If it can find a clear role for itself then libertarians everywhere will benefit.

Moreover there is no strong, conscious tradition of syndicalism here in Britain, and no large syndicalist workers organisations; but there is a tradition of militancy within the trade unions which pits workers against their own bureaucratic leadership, at the same time as it pits them against their employers. If lessons can be learned from the experience of libertarian unions, such as the CNT, then this militancy can perhaps be given a new strength and a new, positive direction. For instance, a point which was stressed at the Reus meeting was that local federations are crucial within the CNT, because they weld together different struggles and allow workers to begin formulating their own goals in a positive way. Without this coordination struggles tend to be mere isolated responses to the conditions which capitalism imposes, and they are therefore fought out



on capitalism's terms. Can we perhaps draw parallels with Britain? Would it be possible to create new, revolutionary Trades Councils, or to drag existing Trades Councils out of their present sloth? We should remember that Trades Councils were crucially important in the organisation of the 1926 General Strike. We can't think of building a new mass anarcho-syndicalist movement in Britain, but we can perhaps translate and apply the CNT's experience to British conditions.

The success or failure of the CNT is therefore something which should concern us all. As we continue with our own work and our own struggles we would do well to keep one eye cocked in the direction of Spain.

Martin Spence.

At an extraordinary plenum, the local federation of Irunea, part of the CNT de Euskadi, passed a resolution promising "unconditional support to Jose Maria Goldaraz Rubins (from the construction syndicate) and Jesus Emilio Nieva Reparaz (general trades syndicate)." Both men are in prison charged with an "expropriation". The CNT has stated its belief that the expropriation was carried out for revolutionary and not for personal ends.

Nieva Reparaz was detained in Castellon on 29th June 78 and admitted responsibility for a raid on a bank in Pamplona on 16 June 78. On 28th June 78 Goldaraz Rubins was arrested at his home in Pamplona. Such was the treatment

doled out to the latter that he hurled himself from a window and had to be hospitalised. He was quickly "cured", re-interrogated and obliged to sign a statement.

Nieva Reparaz had been in the CNT for over a year. Goldaraz Rubins, a bricklayer was active in the 3 strikes in the building industry in Navarre. When the residents of the old quarters of Irunea organised themselves against the incursions of "uncontrollables" (the police) Goldaraz Rubins helped. Along with friends he received beating from the police in September 77.

Suspecting that plain clothes police were among the attackers Goldaraz Rubins and Nieva Reparaz filmed police coming from a mass celebrated for the civil guard in an attempt to identify those involved. The police hunted for them. They left Pamplona for a while then handed the film to the police.

The inference is that the police were interested in the two men before the robbery took place.

Ramon Ramirez, Antonio Torres and Enrique Clemos CNT members from Tudela were arrested, released, charged with taking part in an illegal demonstration and fined 50,000 pesetas each. Why? Because the CNT offices had earlier been attacked by what Euskadi Confederal calls "uncontrollable elements whose identity is common knowledge".

Jose Sotillo and Gerardo Lopez from the CNT's Bilbao local federation were arrested whilst putting up posters against the anti-terrorism laws. They were arrested and released. But Sotillo was re-arrested on a charge which had been dropped, though still on police books.



JUAN JOSE MARTINEZ known as El Rubio

Juan Jose Martinez (photograph above) was involved in collaboration with the Spanish police which led to the arrests of Fernando Simon and Augustin Rueda, militants of the CNT. The latter was subsequently murdered in the Carabanchel prison. He has also turned in some members of the autonomous libertarian groups and two members of the Maoist "revolutionary army".

In return for this, he has been allowed by the authorities to escape from custody awaiting non-political crimes.

He also approached a Barcelona newspaper with evidence (true or false is not known) that Cubillo, an announcer on Radio Algiers, who broadcasts Marxist propaganda, is connected with the Franco intelligence services and received a large sum - immediately decamping.

He is known to have been in France and Belgium, possibly Italy too. Should he turn up in any English-speaking country, the Madrid anarchist group would like to hear about him.

Write to us.

What happened to

BLACK FLAG

organ of the
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

In our last issue we reported two major disasters. Our typesetter broke down irretrievably and the bulk of the Review was burned in transit. We have reprinted the Review (only to face a lesser disaster in another fire, at our distributors, involving several hundreds Reviews and some of our new books - fortunately, many had already been distributed).

Trying to get the Flag typeset involved us in a major problem. Some 'community' typesetters set a higher censorship than commercial ones. We are still trying to get another typesetter but had finally to settle for bringing out this issue on an electric typewriter with loss of usual standards. Months of time was lost, however, in dealing with people

whose 'moral standards' prevented them from printing what they did not agree with but not from holding up the copy.

However we should get our typesetter sooner or later and then have major plans for a more regular publication. More of those next time following our discussions for joint action with Anarchy Collective.

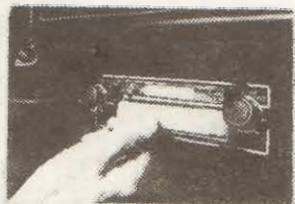
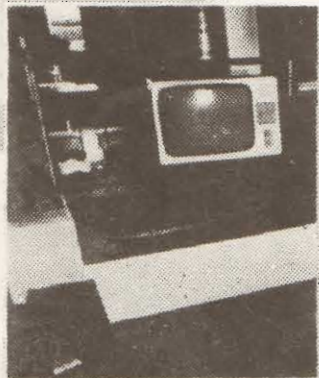
Meanwhile Cienfuegos Press have brought out two new books: A NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS - the faces of Spanish Anarchism; and Maximoff's THEN GUILLOTINE AT WORK, Vol. I: The Leninist Counter-Revolution. A new series of pamphlets, The New Anarchist Library, will be ready soon.



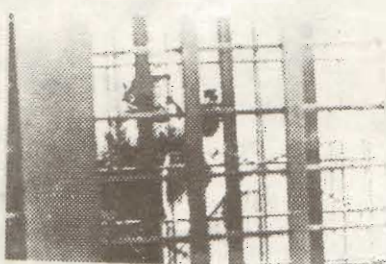
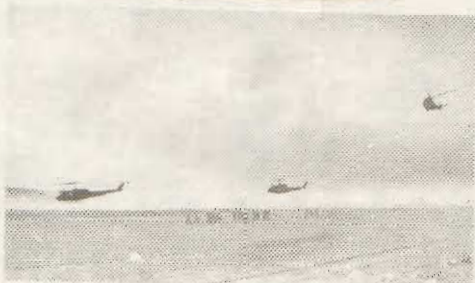
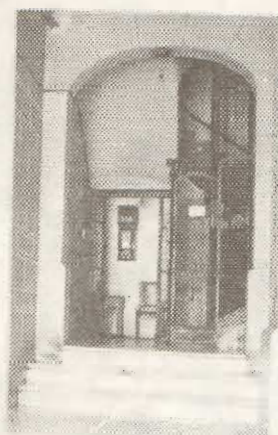
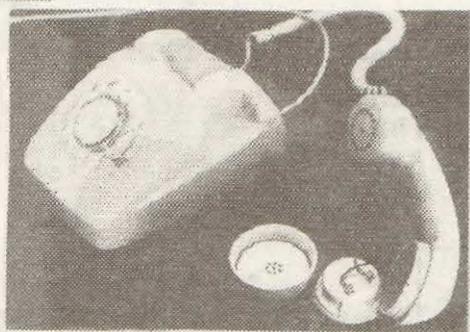
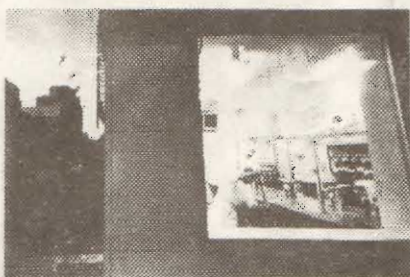
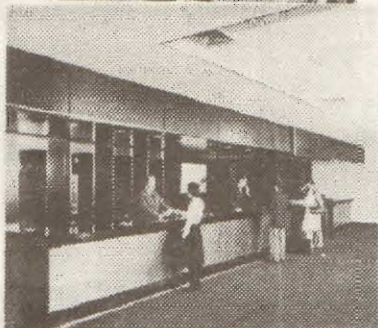
Demo in New South Wales outside British Airways protesting against the constraints placed on the 'Persons Unknown'

comrades, then all in Brixton HMP, organised by the IWW General Defence.

public order



EULÁLIA



International Notes

URUGUAY

Since September 1973 the military dictatorship has held 9 prisoners hostage against the renewal of urban guerilla activity by the MLN - Tupamaros guerilla group.

The 9 : Raul Sendiz, Julio Marenales, Jorge Manera Lluveras, Eleutrio Fernandez Huidobro, Jose Mujica, Mauricio Rosencoff, Henry Engler, Jorge Zabala & Adolfo Wassen, have been kept in virtually total isolation. Sendiz, a founder member of the Tupamâros, has been singled out for exceptionally vicious treatment, he has been tortured and beaten frequently. International solidarity with the 9 is vital, and letters and/or telegrams should be sent to Comandante en Jefe del Ejercito, Gral Gregorio Alvarez, Av. Garibaldi, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Uruguay Libre

Uruguay Libre is the new bulletin of the Uruguay Libre Committee: 16 Ribblesdale Rd London N8 7EP

GUATEMALA

More than 70,000 people have been murdered by the Guatemalan dictatorship during the last 24 years, and social polarisation is gathering speed. The activities of the police vigilante death squad, the Mano Blanco, are also increasing - at the end of 1978 student leader Olverio Casteneda de Leon was shot down near the "Palace of Government" while police looked on. Torture mutilated bodies appearing in the streets are now a common occurrence.

MEXICO CITY will become the "most polluted capital on the face of the earth" within the next 10 years.

SCOTLAND

The controversial cages at Inverness prison have been put into use again - their first victim is 34 year old David Mather. It is extremely important that letters of protest are sent quickly to Bruce Millan, Sec. of State for Scotland. Letters of support for David should be sent to: Portfield Prison, Inverness.

ITALY

-new year attack. Neo-fascists burst into the studio of radio Citta Futura, firing sub machine guns and hurling fire bombs. Five women taking part in a live broadcast on contraception, were lined up and shot (one was critically wounded in the stomach, another badly burned - all were injured) before the raiders set fire to the studios and equipment and fled.

Members of the same group also carried out a fire-bomb attack on a left-wing bookshop filled with customers, including children, a week previously.

The state has launched a wave of action against revolutionaries in Bologne. 13 people of various political affiliations were arrested in December. The press "11 falcone" was seized and 3 comrades working there were arrested - the press is as important as many movement

journals and reviews (including part of Umanita Nova anarchist weekly of the Italian Anarchist Federation) are printed there.

Franco Orofio, photo-compositor of Umanita Nova was among those arrested and as we go to press he is incarcerated in the prison of Modena. (le Monde Libertaire)

COLOMBIA

In early January the M-19 guerilla movement attacked an army arsenal and stole 5,700 weapons, gaining access through a 75 metre-long tunnel from a nearby home.

A series of raids and arrests followed and by 9th Jan at least 135 people had been jailed.

NICARAGUA

There are reports of renewed large scale clashes between government forces and Sandinista National Liberation Front guerillas in many parts of the country, and in most major towns. These reports are accompanied by accounts of the indiscriminate bombing of peasant villages with napalm and fragmentation bombs, injuring many people.

Several, ironically named "Brigades against Terrorism" (pro-Somoza paramilitary gangs) have been formed. One of which recently carried out the assassination of Gilberto Medrano, general secretary of the Confederation of Labour Unity.

EL SALVADOR

More than 500 peasant unionists are in prison; more

than 200 "disappearances" - these are the two hallmarks of the dictatorship. The Catholic church, because it is the only organisation of any size not controlled by the state, has borne the brunt of recent repression, especially in the schools. On Jan 2) a priest and 4 youths were shot during a staged security exercise. In February the Revolutionary Army of the Poor staged a revenge attack with a mass of bombings against police and government buildings.

ITALY

Emilio Alessandrini, the public Prosecutor, responsible for the murky investigations surrounding the Milan (1969) bomb outrage (which police tried to pin on Valpreda and was later proved to be the work of neo-fascists) was shot dead in his car at the end of January. The attack was later claimed by the Front Line group.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A 24 year old member of a musical underground group, Jiri Cimel, was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment in the north Bohemian town of Most. He was charged with playing a recording of the Charter 77 founding declaration in front of the Luna restaurant in Most, and found guilty in spite of declarations by 6 prosecution witnesses that the STB (political police) had forced them to attend the trial and that they knew nothing about Jiri. (Labour focus on Eastern Europe)

FRANCE

Parisian autonomists tied up a senior French prosecutor and smashed up

his flat as a reprisal for savage sentences (up to 4 years) given to the autonomists who were arrested after a violent demonstration in January.

Patrick Louis, 19, was arrested in Strasbourg, accused of supplying arms and ammunition to members of MARA (Mouvement Arme Revolutionnaire et Anarchiste), who have made about 35 attacks on police stations and other offices and buildings in Moselle. Patrick was doing his military service in Strasbourg but comes from Moselle

- his arrest is the 7th in 2 months.

GERMANY

GSG-9 the highly publicised "anti-terrorist" unit is facing a recruiting crisis. The unit, which comes under the control of the increasingly militarised Federal Border Forces, is to recruit former soldiers in an attempt to ease the shortage.

Uwe Folkerts, 31, has been sentenced by a Stuttgart tribunal to 16 months imprisonment for assisting a terrorist organisation - but he has already spent 17 months inside awaiting trial.

The German government has demanded (and been granted) the extradition of 20 yr old Gabor Winter, a member of Schwarze Hilfe (Nuremberg) committee for the support of political prisoners. He was originally arrested with other members of the group, after a stolen identity card and books on "urban guerilla" were found in their commune. He was freed on bail after 6 months in jail in May 77, but fled to France. He was later arrested there

and given 4 months for illegal entry. The same day however the German state requested his extradition - this has now been granted - although the French constitution forbids extradition for political offences.

STATE COURT DUMPS INMATE TRANSFER LAW.

Olympia (AP)-A Washington law authorising the Dept of Social and Health Services to transfer an inmate from a correctional institution to a mental health facility, without a judicial hearing, was declared unconstitutional today by the state Supreme Court.

The court said in a unanimous opinion that the law denies a prisoner a judicial hearing which is available to other persons within the criminal justice system.

The justices noted that judicial hearings are required in civil commitment cases, commitment of the criminally insane and commitment of sexual psychopaths and psychopathic delinquents.

"To allow one group of persons held under the criminal justice system the protection of a judicial hearing before they are sent to a mental health facility and to deny such a hearing to another group has no rational basis" wrote justice James Dolliver.

The decision upheld a ruling by Thurston County Superior Court Judge Gerry Alexander in a suit filed by Kenneth Neil Harmon.

-from Carl Harp

Carl writes:

"We've been fighting that for years. We won and it feels great. Now they can't kill us that way with drugs"

Letters

Dear Black Flag,

The article written by L.H. on the State of the British Worker left me somewhat annoyed and confused. If this is an intellectual analysis of the state of mind of the British working class, then maybe we ought to close all the higher echelons of learning.

To my mind it read more like a completely negative assault on the working class with a lot of generalisations and inaccuracies. Is it really necessary to characterise the 'unemployable' as 'grossly obese', the gasman as 'young and smart' or the postman as 'fat, long-haired and cow-eyed'? Perhaps to L.H. it is!

L.H. obviously has a dilemma in defining working class mentality which is more difficult to do than to define a working class. Is not the doctor in the local hospital a "British worker" and also the policeman? They both work for a living they are not part of the "boss" class. The self-employed worker (unless he employs someone else) is also a worker as is the "housewife" although she receives no wages and the self-employed is his own boss. Whether these people have a working class consciousness is one thing and whether that is desirable anyway is another.

L.H. generalises too much on the state of the British worker - not all are as he portrays and maybe after 40 hours down a pit he would also down a few pints. Surely it is not such things as beer, fags,

chips, football and TV, which have killed off any incentive to think. Are these not the sad result; the way out for most people of forgetting about the weeks, months, years, spent working in the factories, the lorries or whatever people have to do to earn a living. It does not take a lot of effort to free the mind and body from the effects of work to get out and do all the things that need to be done.

Change of any kind, let alone revolutionary change, is a very slow process and maybe the working-class is despondant and depressed and lost politically and culturally. However L.H. seems to present a more than pessimistic viewpoint of the state of the British worker and if he/she feels that way then it is time to get involved in something, even if that means talking to workmates down at the local pub! I'm all for making an attempt at communication and not wantonly alienating myself from others because I might see myself as so different. I'm all for putting forward an anarchist philosophy as a way of life that is practice rather than one of despondancy.

Fraternally yours
Paul Shellard.

Is the ATS there still raiding and framing up the anarchists? Well, that should kill the theory that repression only visits those engaged in armed warfare against the state. Not that it ever made any sense, when one considers how the IWW was crushed by "criminal syndicalism" laws and for its anti-war stance before and during WWI; how "criminal anarchy" laws were used to crush the anarchist movement in America during the 1900's-1920's, including theacco-Vanzetti

case; how the Taft-Hartley act was used to repress strikes and labor unions; how the Smith act was used to crush Trotskyists, the Communist Party U.S.A; and how brute force and spy programmes (like operation CHAOS, run by the CIA and COINTELPRO the FBI's counterpart) used to crush the Black movement, especially the Black Panther Party, and also the anti-war and student movement of the 1960's.

Similar government repression activities occurred in Canada, Britain, Australia and other Capitalist countries.

The lesson must be learned: all resistance to state power - violent or non-violent - will result in repression of one sort or another.

In solidarity,
Komboz.
(Lorenzo Kombo Ervin)
18759-175
P.O. Box 1000
Marion, Ill. 62959. USA.

I have in the past, been involved with an Irish Republican prisoner's support group in England and Jake's solidarity with all his fellow cons has shown what goes to make up a true revolutionary fighter. Despite the activities of the Trot cardboard cut-out heroes, the term revolutionary has retained some credibility in England due mainly to the efforts of such as Jake who haven't copped-out of the struggle because the going got tough.

Keep up the good work with Black Flag - it's one of the few journals worth buying nowadays.

Yours in struggle
John Farrell
London.

Roman Diary (III)

ITALY: GEOGRAPHIES OF A PLURAL SINGULAR

Centres of feminist activity in Rome.

In the alternative workshops set up in Rome by women in the movement, one often finds in their practical activity the same self-questioning and the same desire to reflect and create that exists in all the collectives. Over the past few years Italy has seen an extraordinary growth of producer groups, women's bookshops (in Turin, Bologna, Milan, Genoa, Palermo...), 'Casa delle donne', papers, free radio stations on which women can express themselves autonomously, like Radio Donna on Radio Citta Future. A discreet hustle of alternative undertakings which all clothe the same desire: to make a success of living and working collectively in a community of women.

'Time Regained'

The warmth of the spring sun brings a busy trade to the pavement cafes of the Piazza Farnese. A little shop has discreetly inserted its sea-blue frontage into one corner of the square, opposite the grandeur of the French Embassy and a palace whose occupants have been resisting the developers for months. Time Regained: a new women's bookshop, the only one in Rome now that the women's bookshop in the Maddalena has closed down. It was opened in '77 by Maria Luisa and Simone. Already it is too small for them, cluttered with books, pamphlets, papers, posters, records, which leaves little space for the cushions which have been provided for people who want to sit and talk. "Our bookshop is the gateway from the South. All the women who come up from Naples and the towns of the Mezzo Giorno come to see us and 'clean us out.' We would like to have another room, somewhere more comfortable to work and talk."

The bookshop is run by two full-time workers, "At the moment we are able to pay ourselves a bit of money, and we have no debts, but it's too early to know for certain if we can make a go of it."

La Maddalena

La Maddalena provided French women with one of their earliest images of 'Roman-style' feminism. Some women had opened a bookshop in the Via delle Stelletto, a short walk from the Pantheon, and in 1973 they set up a theatre centre run entirely by women. It is to this centre that many women owe their start in the theatre, which is otherwise

actor and feminist who has worked there for several years, "nor even a place for ideological reflections. It's my impression that that sort of thing conceals a vacuum nowadays. There has never been any real innovation. The plays are often didactic, and women in the movement haven't come to see us enough. There was one period which I found very rewarding, during the campaign for divorce. We put on street theatre and went out into the markets and spoke to the 'casa linghe' (housewives) about their lives. That was the only time it seemed to me that we had a political praxis." There are two other women's companies, both more militant, the Witches (Le Streghe) also from Rome, and the Mnesiacs from Naples who put on 'Cinderella' last year. This year the Maddalena in its turn has entered a period of crisis, uncertain of its future. There is a suggestion that it should be made into a genuine workshop for feminist creativity.

The women's papers

Differenze, Sottosopra, Noi siamo in tanto, Donna, Effe: these are some of the names of Italian feminist magazines and papers. Some appear more or less regularly, others are just beginning to become 'established.' The monthly Effe, produced in Rome, has been in existence for 4 years and has now reached cruising speed. Selling 30,000 copies and self-financing, it spreads all the news, activities and debates of the movement across the country.

The setting up of new magazines is underway but there is also an intention to use already existing vehicles. For instance, some of the women who already work for Effe and Radio Donna have joined with others to edit a weekly 8-page women's feature in the Workers Daily, a paper of the extra-parliamentary left. "We are not in agreement with the political aims of the Workers Daily," explains Patricia from Radio Donna. "We just want to use their material infra-structure (printing, distribution) to spread a women's point of view nationally, every week. As a women's editorial group we will be completely autonomous in relation to the overall editorial functions of the Workers Daily." The first 8 pages are to go out early in May. "We are giving ourselves 6 months to try out this experiment, and if it is successful we will change our weekly contribution into a daily feature."

A women's cafe: The Zanzibar

A women's cafe, the Zanzibar, opened a month ago at number 8 Via Politeana, in

the heart of the Trastevere. Two large rooms, newly renovated, where tables and armchairs jostle with a handicrafts exhibition and the food counter... It was the idea of a few women who pooled their money and have 'done the place up' by the sweat of their brows; installing lavatories, doing the cement and plaster-work, the decorating... "We are hoping that every woman will come to the Zanzibar, the women who felt the need for this cafe in the first place were lesbians but we don't want it to be a ghetto," explains one of the originators of the scheme. Open every day (except Monday) from 5pm to midnight, the Zanzibar, officially a cultural society, is the first 'feminist' cafe in Rome.

Question: Do you get on well with the people in the neighbourhood?

Answer: "Yes, everyone has been impressed by the amount of work we've done to put the premises in order, and until now everything has gone very well." Terrific, the feminists are well thought of in the Trastevere! Midnight. Easter Sunday. The cafe closes, we leave, the gossip and laughter flow onto the street in front of the cafe. A sudden shower, no, a plastic bag filled with water, thrown from a window and landing on top of us. It's the lovable neighbours who are probably thinking that a little cold water on our lovable feminist heads might make us more agreeable, on this night in Rome!

A WOMEN'S EDITORIAL GROUP AT 'LOTTA CONTINUA'

The premises of Lotta Continua are in a street of bonded warehouses (magazzini generali). A huge ramshackle building, strong sunlight pouring in through the large windows. I was struck by the great number of men working on the paper, and yet the women on Lotta Continua have been successful in forcing through autonomous working methods. Their particular situation is closely tied in with the evolution of the organisation. At the Rimini conference in November '76, the women in Lotta Continua precipitated the structural collapse of the group after two years of working inside it: in the early days of the feminist movement, they like many other women in organisations of the extreme left (extra-parliamentary left) were suspicious of the 'petty bourgeois' analysis which the feminists were propounding. But when the large-scale campaigns mounted by the movement brought them together and caused the strands of their interests to become interwoven, the situation changed.

"In Lotta Continua at that time there

was the one major front line, the class struggle and the point of contact with the workers' movement, and then there were other, secondary fronts. Women's issues of course came into the second category. Between us, working within L.C. we gradually began to question the power of the leaders who were denying our intelligence and the relevance of our struggles. To cause such an upheaval, to question all those things, was a real cultural revolution. Workerism, sacrifice, the duty of a militant, the hierarchy of thinkers and grassroots militants... none of that any longer bore any resemblance to our lives, our desires, our reality... Thanks to the impetus of the feminist movement we began to set up women's commissions within Lotta Continua, and after that we were able to raise all the women's issues on our own account. After Rimini, the paper, which until then had belonged to the organisation, was transformed into the daily paper of a movement and became more receptive to the influence of the extra-parliamentary opposition. Thanks to our strong position at Rimini we were able to demand a women's section in the mixed paper, with an autonomous editorial group composed entirely of women. At the time the feminists were suspicious of his proposal, as well as those women in Lotta Continua who felt that in the future it would be impossible for them as women to work in an editorial group composed of men. This suspicion remained with us throughout the early days and so our separateness from the rest of the editorial group was particularly pronounced. For example, we never went to editorial meetings. At the time we were observing a strict neutrality and wanted only to be a sounding board for the women's movement. In the end we became isolated. Things have changed with the arrival of the 'emarginati' movement, the movement of '77. The fierce competition in the universities affected a lot of women, feminists as well. And girls in the schools have found their way into feminism, which has grown considerably as a result. Slowly we began to win recognition from the men on the paper: from on we are the representatives of a mass movement. At the time we were involved in heated debates amongst ourselves. After the death of Giorgia Massi on 12 May '77 for instance. The women's movement was divided on this question and we felt the consequences here in the editorial group. As women in the movement we have chosen not to adhere to any specific stance in Lotta Continua. The pages of the paper are open to everyone. In connection with the conference on violence in Rome, for

example, we printed two pages of testimony given at Governo Vecchio and at the University. But we also wrote an analytical article collectively. There have also been articles in which people have written about their experience of terrorism in Turin and Milan... With respect to the present campaign on abortion we have adopted the same principle: publication of the first-hand accounts and reflections that are sent to us from several towns.

Today there are about ten of us in the women's editorial group. On the paper as a whole there are about 30 women working in various departments on the production side, two on the mixed editorial group, and ourselves. Since the demonstration on 8 March '78 for example when there were 50,000 women on the streets, the balance of forces has shifted in our favour. The space given to women in the newspaper is always based on this balance of forces. It's also true that the only genuine movement existing in Italy is the women's movement. A considerable number of the comrades on the paper have come to understand the achievements of our movement and are looking for new methods of analysing reality themselves, in their own way. But the amount of space given to 'women's' articles also depends on the strength of our group. When we feel strong we occupy more space, it's a battle on two fronts, to gain confidence in ourselves and win that of our comrades. As a women's editorial group we are an integral part of the women's movement, we believe that we are performing a 'technical' service for the movement. We must give women the tools to analyse the lives we lead, not our viewpoint of what's happening. We work in a totally collective way, what's more we're the only ones on the paper to do this. No article can go through until it's been discussed by the women's group. We scarcely ever sign our articles, we don't want to create 'personalities.' Since the movement of '77 we now participate more in the running of the paper. Our major problem today stems from the present divisions within the women's movement. We want to let everyone have their say, but the MLD and the autonomists for instance send us communiqués every day and then criticise us for not printing all of them. Is it impossible to do without censorship? We never cut anything. On the other hand many women in the movement don't write anything. On the whole the movement is pretty bad when it comes to writing. So what are we to do?

The Guardian quotes the journal of the Assoc of Assistant Librarians, in which assistant librarian Mr Peter Stokes says that when Orwell predicted the use of centralised control of language to eliminate alternative modes of thought, "He could hardly have foreseen that the delectable lips of Angela Rippon would become the mouth-piece of the techno-fascists."

"When Ms Rippon tells us about the activities of IRA 'gunmen', Rhodesian 'terrorists', 'militant' shop stewards or 'moderate' politicians, who is there to question the criteria used in construction this controlled vocabulary?" asks Mr Stokes.

"When Rippon's words are supported by every media pundit and Fleet St hack, social and cultural cohesion is ensured." BBC news editors and public librarians have much in common says Mr Stokes. "Both claim to strive for balance and impartiality. Both contrive to end in supporting mainstream ideologies."

Mr Stokes, who works in the Birmingham Central Reference Library, defines the function of the media as being not to inform, but to protect dominant interests in society by the concealment and distortion of information. This then places on the public library an obligation to "promote a diversity of political and social opinion to counter the one-dimensional newspeak of the media."

Local librarians should be energetically seeking out "low circulation journals, minority publishers and obscure pamphlets."

TRIAL AND TERROR

REASONS BEHIND THE ARRESTS AND CHARGES:

There are various threads that join together to give the whole picture - firstly the 'Anti'-Terrorist Squad was cut down in February 78 from a force of over 200 men to only 30. Its quite obvious they needed to justify their own existence. Secondly, apart from the fact that those involved are Anarchists, the police have been harassing Ronan Bennett for some time. Three of the others are well-known to the police as anarchist activists: Dafydd(Taff), Ladd and Vince Stevenson & Iris Mills.

Taff is well known for activities on behalf of German prisoners, which led to his expulsion from that country in October 77. He was picked up a week after the first arrests as he was believed to have known both Iris and Ronan. Notably the police did not bother to arrest close friends of the couple, though they did pick up and detain some of them under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. But they obviously picked on Taff because his background was more "fitting" for the charges.

Vince had been working for the previous year, running an anarchist bookshop in London, Rising Free. He was also instrumental in setting up the support group for the 3 who had been first arrested and charged. He was arrested about July 78 and was questioned quite intensively by the police as to why he had helped set up the support group.

Iris had been active in the Black Cross for some 5

years and had also been involved in the anarcho-syndicalist IWW branch in Britain.

Ronan too had been a member of Black Cross since his arrival in England and he'd also been involved in the claimant's union movement and with the squatters.

Stewart Carr, the 4th person to be arrested, disassociated himself from the other 5 and from the support groups in general, several months ago. This was because of basic disagreements between himself and the others due to his extremely individualistic political stance. He is the only one of those arrested charged with specific robberies and these charges arise from statements he allegedly made to the police. He is also charged with "conspiracy to rob" and that vague charge that the others face is due solely to their various associations with him.

Trevor Dawton, a 20 year old student, was active in the anti-nuclear movement. He was the last person to be arrested and charged. Apart from the conspiracy to rob charge, he, and Vince also face charges of "possession" of quantities of arms and ammunition, supposedly discovered in the flat of a friend with whom he had been staying.

The police case is essentially a political one. At the Committal hearings in December 78 the prosecutor's first words against the defendants were: "These are a group of self-confessed anarchists..." We weren't previously aware that anarchism was against the law in Britain.

The police campaign against the defendants has gone very badly so far. The original "terrorist" charge of 'conspiracy to cause explosions' had to be dropped, because of lack of evidence. The Attorney General, still smarting no doubt from the terrible fiasco of the Official Secrets (ABC) trial, refused to give his fiat for prosecution. However the police can press ahead with the "robbery" charge because no independent body has to decide whether there is enough "evidence" or not.

However without having to get involved in a trial the police have been able to accomplish a great deal. Firstly, as they wanted Ronan out of the way, he has as of now completed a 3 year prison sentence (as he's still in prison on remand) without any evidence being offered against him at all. Secondly, with the 80 odd raids that they made up and down the country, they have managed to up date their files and at the same time have effectively frightened off a lot of people.

Neither Iris, Ronan nor Taff were ever questioned about any robberies at the time of their arrests - nor indeed were they questioned about explosions. The closest the ATS got to asking about explosions was when they hinted to Ronan at one point that he may have had something to do with the right-wing "Column 88" bombings on a left wing paper and a trade union office. It needs hardly be pointed out that the police have done very little to apprehend those who did send those letter bombs. "Birds of a feather...?"

THE SLOW BURNING FUSE

by John Quail
Paladin £1.50

One of the apparently perverse questions-and-answers in the Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book was "which is the newer Left in Britain - the anarchist movement or the Labour Party?" with the answer that the Labour Party dated from 1900 and the Anarchist movement went back to the middle of last century. John Quail is one of those who found it incredible that the anarchists had any history here or that the amazing story of the Walsall Anarchists, for instance, could happen in so prosaic a town rather than on the shores of Catalonia or the plains of the Ukraine. He was impelled to write the "lost history" of British Anarchism.

It is a stirring tale of years of working class propaganda answered by police repression, even if the ultimate capitalist weapon here last century was starvation rather than bullets. There was intervention by the Russian Tsarist police which maintained a politico-military intelligence mission in this country almost amounting to a political party - and by the British police which had (and still has!) no qualms at frame-ups, burglary and "Water-gates", which don't count as such when it's not a major political party. Finally a violent reaction by individuals blossomed into a huge syndicalist movement which was only smashed by the war, the General Strike, and indirectly, by the Russian Revolution.

The full background- and John Quail tells it the way it was- is as exciting a story here as in many countries as the way the West

was won. It is a pity the jam on the bread is spread a bit thin. Much more could have been told, but no doubt that would have required a thicker and more expensive book. Had the author consulted more people who took part in the events he describes (he goes up to the early 30s) he would certainly have revised some of his judgements - but these are minor criticisms of a first-rate account which covers an important part of the formative period of working class history in this country of which there are far too few accounts.

Stuart Christie.

Albert Meltzer adds:

In a delightful, personal introduction, John Quail disarms criticism, especially as there is so much to commend this book - but for the historical record it is important that some criticisms should be made. So much of the record has been allowed to slip away that it is important not to allow distortions to stand, even when accidental or not terribly relevant to the main theme.

There is one criticism to be made of John Quail personally and that is that he has chosen to confine himself entirely to written material, which is thin on the ground, and eked out articles in Freedom and so on with unpublished personal memoirs. In only rare cases has he allowed himself the luxury of consulting any living person, though he acknowledges 'great help' from several people, including myself (who am totally unconscious of having given any).

Yet his record stretching from the late 1870s to the 1930s is about people whose deaths occurred not too long ago and innumerable people who are, or were recently available, knew them well. Their immediate circle is only just dead - or in some cases still living. Consultation would have helped him enormously- he admits "as an unofficial historian I have had to rely more than others on an informal network of knowledgeable people. It is generous to say so but he didn't do that."

The most glaring omission from the book is any reference to Mat Kavanagh, except as the writer of some articles in War Commentary for which he relies on information about Frank Kitz, Joseph Lane and James Harrigan. Mat was very popular with comrades active in the 40s and 50s and his role in the movement - in Liverpool, Birmingham, Southend and finally London was precisely what provided the continuity in the working class anarchist movement which J.Q. finds elusive. People like myself who came into the movement in the mid-30s made him our mentor and the link with past traditions, more than anyone else. We also admired the traditions of Frank Kitz - who J.Q. deservedly rescues from oblivion, about whom the late Charles Lahr was an authority.

The biggest book is referring people to Cardan and the situationists if they want to know what the Anarchists think. Indeed! To whom should they refer if they want to know what 'Solidarity' was on about?

Roan 'n' Aboot

Taking the anti-anarchist spot in the Sunday Express (Jan 14) is that old lush George Brown, now Lord George-Brown, the failed cabinet minister who after a lifetime in the fleshpots of the Labour movement turned to the Tories the moment his "constituents" turned against him. Trying to emulate the seasoned anti-libertarians like Maudling, he states: "...the Acts which give the greatest power to the anarchist leaders- those that cover the Closed Shop and the Employment Protection Act- must now go."

Are either of these 'acts' anarchist in any way? Would any anarchist leader (joke) support them? George Brown may not have been in his usual alcoholic stupor when he wrote this but deliberately going along with the propaganda of what we describe elsewhere in this issue as the "police Party" who denounce (i) the anarchists as "terrorists" and deliberately confuse them with Marxist or Nationalist guerillas, and hold them out as the extreme of criminals without any proof; but (ii) at the drop of a hat, identify as "anarchists" trade union leaders or run-of-the-mill social -democrats. The "Chile" recipe.

HCW THE PROSTITUTE PRESS
DOCTORS THE NEWS

Once again there is the suspicion of "guns" which never materialise being smuggled into Brixton Prison followed by deliberate lies in the press. In

the London "Evening News" of those suspected of "anarchist activities" only are held January 9th - actually on the same day as "information without justification. The about an escape plan" - it remark was intended to vilify the prisoners. But it illuminates the activities of the secret political police instead.

THE ORIGINAL JACKAL

Why? "Terrorists and suspected terrorists including West German Astrid Proll Iraqis and members of an anarchist cell are in the jail's remand centre." But what is an anarchist "cell" which suggests criminality and has no meaning at all? Ronan Bennett and some other anarchists are certainly there, but others were released on bail without any noticeable damage to security. They are not accused of "terrorism" - whatever in the circumstances it means.

This mixture of crime reporting and political bias which is notorious in the prostitute press- was borne out the following day.

The notorious T.A.Sandrock, who actually writes his "reports" from handouts from police officers in Scotland Yard, wrote in the Daily Telegraph (Jan 10) "The 1,000 prisoners at Brixton were locked in their cells yesterday during a full-scale search after a tip-off that equipment for use in an escape had been smuggled into the prison....A large number of prisoners are on remand, some of them facing allegations of terrorist and anarchist activities."

This is virtually to say that "anarchist activities" are criminal and indicates the state of mind of Scotland Yard. Or alternatively, that

"The Day of the Jackal" re-shown on TV, may for some have underlined distortions of the Thought Police. The film was about the right-wing resenting De-Gualle's 'sell-out' in Algeria, and therefore hiring a professional assassin - "The Jackal" to kill him.

The script, bowing to the politics of film, made it clear that the right were "patriots, not murderers" (they would presumably have been murderers had they not been patriots but revolutionaries - patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel!) and being gentlemen they naturally hired someone else to do the dirty work.

How evil the plotters would have been shown had they been Anarchists, risking their own lives, trying to kill say Franco, Mussolini or Hitler! As it was, they were misguided idealists and all the criminality was the "jackal's".

But further hypocrisy is shown when the term "The Jackal" was later applied by the media to a professional agent, known as Carlos, and then somehow suggested that he had to do not with power politics and intrigue, but with revolution and a free society!

BIRDS OF A FEATHER.

An Israeli citizen, Miss Tamar Levi, was arrested in Tel Aviv charged with being involved in a £6,000 burglary from Saudi Arabian Information Minister, Dr Mohammed Al-Yamani.

Miss Levi, while engaged in an age-old profession, is alleged to have 'enticed Dr Al-Yamani away' by exercising her age-old profession, and the poor Minister was burgled. The interesting thing is that it shows the close co-operation between the police forces of Britain, Israel and Saudi Arabia. But the last two are nominally, and often actually, at war with each other. The interests of looking after such as Dr Al-Yamani come paramount, however.

One calls to mind the discreet use on several occasions of the Shin Beit (Israeli Special Branch) help to protect Arab dignitaries in conference.

Not only in their private lives do the Arab rich show that they have no narrow prejudices where their own indulgence, comfort and safety is concerned.

THE JONESTOWN ATROCITY

The grim atrocity of the People's Temple has its origins in current American politics, race war, police repression and criminal business. The backwoods ranter, Tim Jones, realised, like many a boy from the deep south, that when the sun was hot and the body breaking from picking cotton, the best thing was to start preaching. How far he took his own teachings seriously is a matter for the headshrinkers: many a religion

has started as a racket and then the pioneer took it seriously - take Booth and the Salvation Army, and Joe Smith and the Mormons perhaps...

However he took it, the former Klu Kluxer quite cynically moved over to exploit the Black community, mixing up Christianity and Marxism in order to get a following among the followers of primitive Christianity that flourish in the Black Ghettos, as nowhere else, and appearing to harness it to revolutionary thought, which also flourishes. Attacking American institutions, he then proceeded to gain the support of the American establishment for his diversion of 'delinquency' into an acceptable cult, turning young rebels without a cause, into obedient young men with a cause.

Securing a mass following he obtained gang backing to help discipline his flock, as well as relying on mass indoctrination and brainwashing - even divine cults need the strong arm. And in turn he got political backing, for even the votes of the disaffected brainwashed if delivered in a block, count in city politics.

It is with this background of exploitation of the oppressed and co-operation with corrupt politicians right up to the top, that Jones established his anti-utopia in the Guyana jungle, where his rule was law, and the largely Black community, seeking to escape the race war of the Ghetto, yielded up their property, their work and finally their lives, in a third-rate revival of "The Emperor Jones" as a real-life tragedy, followed by a real-life excerpt from the Buchenwald documentary.

How was this possible? How could intelligent people be induced to give up everything and follow a mad messiah, to the point of laying down their lives for his aberrations? It is by no means an unfamiliar question. It has been done many times over a wide range of nationalities; indeed great churches exist as a result everywhere. It pinpoints the fundamental mistake made when one chooses a leader and a god; when the game is up the god wants to drag everyone else down as well.

I RAN INDEED

In conversation with an Iranian student - Leninist, of course - just before the Shah went off weeping, I asked what all the anti-Shah inscriptions in Persian round London's tube system signified. He told me they were a "scientific Marxist analysis" of the situation. But why not put them in English so they could be understood? He told me sadly that "a lack of perspective" might lead to misunderstandings in that event.

You can say that again. It seems the most common of the "Marxist, scientific" anti-Shah slogans was "Long live the National Front".



LACK OF HARMONY

Union "leaders" went to Japan, sponsored by Thorn Electronics and came back with some bright ideas. Having seen the factories of Sony, Toshiba, Hitachi, National Panasonic and other TV-set competitors they were fascinated by such ideas as "Sunday strikes which do not harm the production but show the workers are out of harmony with the management...workers wear a badge and red armbands to show they are out of harmony." Sounds a bit like some of the old hippy pacifist stuff ("Sunday militancy") but a lot less even by flower power standards... they don't even hold up traffic let alone production.

They rely on the management 'losing face' but so long as they don't lose money, they should worry a yen. What a nice idea to bring home...but it doesn't square with reports of what almost amounts to civil war in Japan between police and protesters. Is it not conceivable to the delegates who went on the cherry blossom trip that by the Japanese labour leaders enforcing industrial peace and taking the class struggle out of the workplace they encouraged armed struggle as a substitute? This being the only realistic alternative form of resistance where industrial militancy means wearing black armbands on a Sunday and smilingly disclaiming harmony. THE DANGERS OF ANARCHISM...

The People's Daily, the Chinese Communist Party organ, warned (according to Nigel Wade, Daily Telegraph man in Peking) that "the current outburst of demands for human rights and democracy...could lead to 'ultra-democracy and anarchy'".

"The paper cautioned its readers that 'there is some

influence of non-proletarian ideas among the people' and that 'without the leadership of the party and democratic centralism, such deviations as anarchy and ultra-democracy will come into being.'

Wade, one of the few British newspapermen admitted into China because of the paper's Conservative, and therefore anti-Russian, bias, said that a poster which had attracted most attention "specifically warned against letting the party authorities take control of the popular movement for democracy and basic rights. 'What the lords in authority are concerned about...is not democracy but how to find excuses to thwart the people's democratic rights...Will the enemy let us put democracy into practice? Of course not. They will use all sorts of methods to inhibit democracy. They will cheat the people, pull the wool over their eyes and block their ears'." (How different from our own beloved "lords in authority"!)

But the problem the bureaucrats face is that if they don't take hold of the movement for 'democratic rights', it will inexorably press for 'such deviations as' anarchy. They see this clearly.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ (as if you didn't know)

1. King George I was handed a letter in his coach, written by his wife Sophia Dorothea on her deathbed, commanding him to 'appear within the year and the day at the divine tribunal' to answer for his 36 years unjust imprisonment. The King succumbed to an apoplectic fit.
2. The exact figure of 16,400 French troops was deployed (according to Hugo) in the massacre on the boulevard Montmartre, Paris, of men, women and children in their hundreds who resisted the establishment of the imitation-Napoleonic empire in 1851 or happened to be on the streets at the time.
3. Nicolas Jose Franco Salgado-Araujo - a republican and Freemason - lived openly and unmolested in Madrid during the civil war, and only left it for his native El Ferrol when his 'idiot son' (as he called him privately) General Francisco Franco, entered in triumph.
4. The Negro slave quarters.
5. That he had never painted a Christ on the cross.



WILL GISCARD BE MORE OF A FRANCOIST THAN FRANCO'S OWN SUCCESSORS?

In point of fact, some 11 Spanish and French anti-Francoists are still subject to harassment by the French courts, just as they have been since May 74, in connection with the "Suarez case". Suarez was the Spanish banker abducted on 3rd May 74 (and released on 23rd May); his abductors demanded the release of Franco's political prisoners, at a time when Franco was still killing them off.

Indeed, as the police statements themselves make clear (the statements in the official indictments presented in evidence; they were charged first of all with "harbouring a criminal", which turned into a charge of "complicity" 4 years later) the charges originate from intrigues and provocations by Franco's

political police acting through one of their agents, who has never at anytime been arrested or molested in any way.

Every enemy of Franco who was in detention back in 74, held on warrants issued by the French magistrate hearing the indictments, has been amnestied by Franco's successors and is free to come and go anywhere in Europe. Yet not only does Giscard d'Estaing's "democratic" government in France persist with its charges and the proceedings against these anti-Francoists (building up to a trial before the criminal court of Assizes); it also places restrictions on their day to day liberties. Their identity papers have been confiscated and they have to live at an assigned address and this has been so since 1974...

On 16th January 79 the "Committal Chamber of the Paris Appeal Court" chose to postpone announcement of its decision regarding a written petition submitted by Yves Dechezelles on behalf of Octavio Alberola, until 20th February. Alberola is asking that the judicial restrictions to which he is subjected be lifted.



Eulàlia

The work of the Catalan artist EULALIA appears as a centre-spread (pages 11 and 12).

ANARCHISM COMES TO EDINBURGH
Edinburgh Anarchists meet on Mondays at 8 p.m. at the First of May shop. All anarchists welcome - contact Box A 45 Niddry Street, Edinburgh 1.

The article on Cambodia promised for this issue has been postponed till the next one - due to the delay and the dramatic turn in the situation since we received the article. It is now being updated and will appear shortly.

The ultimate in capitalist over-exploitation was once summed up in the Chicago meat packer's credo that he used every part of the pig but the squeak. That goes for humans too and the latest in State Communism is the achievement of the Khmer Rouge: people have to earn their quarter-kilo of rice for supper by presenting 500 grammes of shit in a banana skin. A litre of urine adds a further seventy grammes, and the excrement is used for agricultural purposes.



ANARCHIST MAY DAY PICNIC

MAY 1st 2 p.m. onwards

HIGHGATE WOODS London
(nearest tube Highgate)

New edition of FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY is now ready £1.25 (post 20p), available at libertarian bookshops and others.