

BLACK FLAG

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Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross

COMMUNIQUE

THE BRIGADE IS GETTING ANGRY — AGAIN!

ALMOST TEN YEARS have passed since the political situation in the UK called for the type of direct action as practised by the Angry Brigade. The wheel has turned full circle and we are obliged, once again, to prepare to defend ourselves against the provocations of a virulently anti-working class state and its multi-national manipulators, such as the Steering Committee of the Bilderberg Group and the Trilateral Commission.

SINCE THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT came to power, we have seen a rapid increase in the power of the repressive organs of the state, with a correspondingly obsessive and paranoid emphasis on perfecting its machinery for 'counter-subversion' and 'law and order', political euphemisms for the control and elimination of all real, potential, and imaginary dissidents. The increased expenditure on police, prisons and army, the constant surveillance of trade unionists, harassment of investigative journalists, whistleblowers, environmental, ecological and community activists, the extended deployment of the SAS in Northern Ireland with their assassinations of outspoken socialists such as Miriam Daly and, probably, Noel Little and Ronnie Bunting, the overt terrorising and intimidation of anyone remotely connected with the struggle in Northern Ireland, the emphasis on population control in police training and the increased number of armed police patrolling the streets of Britain, the new picket laws, etc.; all these things indicate that the consensus in British politics is rapidly becoming a thing of the past.

THIS GROWTH IN STATE SECURITY is necessitated by the political and economic policies of the Thatcher government and its supporters. They know only too well that the economic situation is unlikely to improve without a reversal of their policies. This, in turn, is going to lead to large-scale social unrest. There are no workable economic remedies available to them within the monetarist ideology with which they are obsessed. Unemployment will rise steeply, inflation will worsen, more factories and businesses will close down or go bankrupt, apathy and tension will pervade social relationships, the trade union leadership will be unable to restrain the rank-and-file, people will get angrier and more frustrated, and stronger and more desperate forms of control will have to be imposed as the system starts to fail, go hopelessly out of control, and finally collapse all together.

WHY NOW AND NOT BEFORE? The late sixties and seventies saw a similar period of strident anti-working class hysteria and legislation which led up to the infamous and unsuccessful attempt to control organised labour through the **Industrial Relations Bill**. This led to the downfall of the Heath government. Having failed to break the labour movement through the courts, the Tories have now turned to a more oblique approach: a **deliberate policy of mass unemployment**! No doubt the Thatcher clique will be strengthened in their resolve with the election of Reagan, and begin to intensify their policies with each concession made to them.

WE ARE NO VANGUARD, nor do we claim to lead or represent anyone other than ourselves in our resistance to the arrogance of the present government and the misery, frustration and despair created by its selfish and inhuman policies. It is simply that we as individuals are approaching the limits of our tolerance. We see ourselves as an expression of the anger, resistance and hope created by the impending failure of this rapidly polarising society.

IN THE PAST TEN YEARS we have operated mainly in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and North America, and have acquired new skills, expertise, personnel, and access to information sources. The more recent actions of **Action Directe** indicate the strategy and tactics we should employ. As before, there will be no 'mindless terror', no deaths, no hijackings, no hostage-taking of innocent bystanders. We have nothing in common with the tactics or policies of the Red Army Fraction, Red Brigades, PLO, or any other authoritarian group committed to a struggle for power or control of the state at the expense of the man and woman in the street. The social revolution will not be built on the corpses of the old rulers or their functionaries; it can only be built by people taking control of their own lives, asserting their independence, their rejection of the state, of power politics, of authoritarian lifestyles and the competitive values of consumerism forced on us from birth to death.

In fighting these evils we also have positive aspirations. We wish for a self-managed society as the only possible basis on which we can build a more just, equitable and libertarian world for ourselves and our children. The increased power of the state, the aggressive confrontation policies of the Thatcher government, the breakdown of free collective bargaining and consensus in everyday life, the ever-increasing estrangement of people from the decision-making processes, etc., indicate only one course of action. We must reject and resist this inexorable erosion of our humanity and hopes with whatever means are available to us.

WE KNOW WHAT WE ARE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT - DO YOU?

THE ANGRY BRIGADE II (I.R.S.M.)

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BLACK FLAG



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Though we are waiting for
practically all of two issues to
be paid for, this is a terrible
balance sheet - thanks to those
who did help. All work on the
paper is voluntary - our type-
setting costs are now nil
(having bought the electric
typewriter our typesetting is
done voluntarily, like the
writing of articles); if it
were not so, the paper could
not appear. Alas, the
robberies beloved of the
bourgeois press are a myth...
does a note of wistfulness
creep in?

WHICH WAY BLACK FLAG?

Should we revert to the
tabloid style, as Black Flag
used to be, or continue with
the present large style? A
few readers have expressed
different opinions. There is
in fact no difference in
content or size; it is margin-
ally easier to send the
present way, but on the
whole easier to lay out the
old way. *What do you think?*

We hope to have a report of the
trial of the Scottish Republicans
in our next issue. This has been
a gross miscarriage of justice
not reported fully in the
press. As part of the nature of
the trial, in itself a second-
rate touring run of Persons
Unknown, we may quote the words of
the Procurator that the accused
possessed: "a copy of the
notorious Anarchist Cookbook,
otherwise known as the Citizens
Militia".

What do journalists know
about the Spanish Civil War?
They failed to report it
correctly at the time. They
have learned nothing since.
Perhaps there are some who
think Orwell was a general and
that the International Brigade
made a decisive intervention.
Listening to that interesting
and colourful BBC Scotland TV
interview with Stuart Christie,
I heard them say that the
"Christie story" began in
Spain. Flashback to the civil
war, when he was about minus
twelve, and we were told that
General Franco, who commanded
the Loyalist forces, was
everything that anarchists
hate ...but he defeated them.

This is the way it might well
be told in Madrid, but for the
record, the late General was
not only everything
anarchists hate, he was a
general who sold out on his
country: so far from comman-
ding the Loyalists, he was
a rebel. His followers were
called rebels - this was
later softened by sycophants
to "nationalists" - a word
which the press now uses to
describe all opponents of
his and the successor regime.

We have on video cassette
tape the three BBC TV features
on and around Black Flag - the
Persons Unknown case, the
Christie interview in Current
Affairs, and the longer Angry
Brigade case. Truth to tell,
Black Flag comes out of it a
lot more stable than it really
is (at several points it is
actually referred to as a
fortnightly, when we have as a
matter of fact a struggle to
get it out monthly). But they
do point out what counts in
Black Flag.

In the Scotsman (December 18th)
there is a half-page interview
with - guess who? The "foreign
subsidy" bogey actually comes
into it (journalists love that
one, it stems from the way they
live) - Christie "denies out-
right" there is any, "yet there
is no doubting that the quality
of production of Cienfuegos's
many titles do not indicate a
financial crisis". What a pity
publishing is not like the old
music hall days - when they
could tell you had a fin-
ancial crisis by the tatty
scenery, the outdated dresses,
or the number of the chorus
girls!

But don't let's knock them too
much. It's hard for them to
shake off lessons of years and
be objective in speaking of non-
Establishment politics.



REMEMBER BLOODY SUNDAY

DEMONSTRATE 1.30 SUNDAY JAN 25

FITZALAN ROAD CARDIFF

Buses leaving at 9.00 am from
Kilburn Sq. and Kings Cross.

JANUARY 30th, 1972. 20,000 Irish
people marched in Derry for
civil rights. The British Army opened
fire and killed fourteen.
**SELF DETERMINATION
FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE
TROOPS OUT NOW**



The 1980 Socialist Book Fair at the end of November, as usual in Camden Town Hall, London, showed a bigger anarchist presence than ever (testimony to the non-partisan approach of Bookmarks, the organisers). Cienfuegos Press/Black Flag again had a stall and there were also Freedom Press, and Bas Moreel (distributor for many American libertarian publishing houses) and a number of anarchist titles - of varying quality - shown by commercial publishers. After paying the £65 stand and giving full discount to the organisers, we broke even as regards bookselling profit and loss, but sold £200 worth of literature which was a shot in the arm for Cienfuegos.

Unfortunately many of our older titles and all of our new titles were not available at the Fair (for one reason or another). We missed particularly 'The Struggle to be Human', of which copies did not arrive; and 'The Christie File', somewhere on the Atlantic, or we would have had a runaway success; but the new catalogue, when it came, was impressive. Thanks to all who helped.

New Reality Komix is a new mag as an outlet for anarchistic art . . . (first issue just out) and is being circulated by the new A-Distribution, or can be obtained from Box A, c/o 14 Southgate, Bradford, W.Yorks. BD1 ZDF - 55 pence.

A-Distribution is working quite well with the new method of circulation of libertarian papers which it's taken over from PDC. Shops, or groups, can obtain copies in bulk with a great saving to the publishers in postage or transport (some of the papers pass it on, some don't - but they all feel the effects of the saving). Amongst those issued are the Cienfuegos Press publications including the *Anarchist Review*; *Black Flag*, *Xtra!*, *Anarchy*, also Freedom Press publications (though not Freedom itself owing to speed - Freedom being fortnightly).

anarcho quiz

1. For what eminently practical reason did British sailors once tattoo crucifixes upon their backs?
2. What highly topical military rebellion took place in Burford (Oxfordshire) 300 years ago?
3. Alfonso XIII of Spain had a favourite sport, which stood him in good stead when the Republic came in 1931; but what did he forget?
4. In which London public library is there a prominent portrait of a lifelong anarchist?
5. Of which emperor was it written that "he killed nobody, robbed nobody and deprived nobody of his country - which is more than can be said for most fellows in his trade"?
6. General Saturnino Cedillo was said to be a Mexican bandit who kept the line from San Luis Potosi to Tampico blocked for six years. When President Obregon sent to ask him what he wanted, what was his surprisingly libertarian (if hardly revolutionary) answer?

Answers on Page 12



BERLIN RIOT

On December 12th police forcibly evicted a squat, arresting seven people, in a heavily squatted area. A crowd gathered and rioting broke out. It was reinforced as sympathetic broadcasters on Berlin's two local radio stations gave more or less a running commentary, which attracted support from left wing bars and other parts of the city. Street barricades were erected and defended against police counter-attacks. One barricade was smashed by police driving through it and crushing a guy's leg in the process. The rioting lasted eleven hours. Banks and shops were attacked, sixty-six police were injured, and seventy-five people arrested. The following day (13th) a spontaneous demonstration, in response to the police brutality and arrests as much as the attack on the squatters, took over the centre of the town. Since it wasn't an "official" registered demonstration the police were not expecting it and traffic was brought to a standstill and banks and department stores on Berlin's main street were attacked and looted. The police surrounded the area, and with difficulty, and after some hours fighting broke things up.

those injured so that many were afraid to use them. The Krezueberg area was totally sealed off using armoured cars and water cannon and open season declared on anyone on the streets. Sporadic incidents followed all night and many more arrests were made. Many of those arrested were badly beaten up. At the moment twenty-seven of those arrested have still been refused bail and put in indefinite detention "pending investigations".



Monday 15th

The following Monday (15th) another demonstration had been called outside a church in the centre of town. 3-4000 people turned out but were prevented from forming up - any large groupings were baton-charged and savagely beaten. Over two hundred people were injured - one person blinded, many left with broken bones. The police refused to let the injured out of the sealed off areas and had instructed hospitals to take details of



More Protest

This detention and the police violence aroused widespread protest. On Saturday 20th 15,000 marched in solidarity with the squatters and demanded the release of those arrested. All expressions of solidarity have met with heavy repression - the radio broadcasters have been disciplined over their reporting, the 'phone number given out for those injured needing treatment and for those who had witnessed arrests, was cut off. The issue is seen as extending beyond the cause of the squatters to the criminalisation of protest and the arbitrary use of police violence and as such has aroused widespread support. It was comparatively quiet over Christmas - many people leave the city over the holiday - with occasional outbursts. On Christmas eve for example banks were molotoved. It is only a lull, however, awaiting the next inevitable confrontation between police and squatters.

HAIGHT-ASHBURY

The surge of "mindless thug" vandalism in the Haight-Ashbury prompted the Chamber of Commerce to offer rewards yesterday under its Secret Witness program.

"We're not going to let our San Francisco merchants be ripped off," said Mel Wall, the chamber's vice president for special projects.

He said \$200 will be paid for each vandal arrested and convicted. The number to call is 956-TIPS.

Since mid-June there have been 22 store windows broken, most of them in the 1400 and 1500 blocks of Haight Street, said Police Inspector George Bodrov.

Damage is in the thousands of dollars, because many windows cost \$500 to \$700, he said.

Bodrov blamed a group of anarchists who call themselves the "Mindless Thugs Association of the Haight-Ashbury".

Bodrov said merchants have been verbally intimidated, and have had bricks thrown through their windows wrapped in fliers with such messages as, "You are tolerated only inasmuch as you provide a genuine service for the Haight community. Street people are part of the community."

Bodrov said store owners are so afraid of retaliation that they are unwilling to come forward to identify the vandals.

The Haight-Ashbury Merchants Association and other business groups have offered a \$300 reward to try to catch vandals who have been breaking windows, knocking down fences and spray-painting graffiti.

This prompted a sarcastic response by the "mindless thugs" who circulated a flier saying, "Put an end to \$300 rewards. Reward yourself by helping to arrest and eliminate the proliferation of authoritarian and capitalist relationships."

So far the only person to be arrested for malicious mischief, Bodrov said, was Gary M. Crethers, 26, who has pleaded innocent to charges he threw a brick through a window of the Haight Street Deli on June 18.

Calling himself an "anarchist but not a Marxist", Crethers said there is "growing anger" among street people and minority groups at the commercialization of the neighborhood.

S.F. CHRONICLE

THE SUPERGRASS STRATEGY

PART 2

This is the second in what was originally intended to be a two-part review of the way in which police informers and "grasses" have been used in recent years. The article will, however, be extended into a third part in the next issue of Black Flag.

As early as 1975, only three years after Smalls had signed his statements, Scotland Yard was able to boast that at least twelve major criminals had supergrassed some one hundred and fifty accomplices. The advent of the supergrass was due primarily, said Assistant Scotland Yard Commissioner Jock Wilson, to the high sentences which were a frequent premium for armed robbery. (The normal sentence for straight-forward armed robbery was determined at fifteen years by the Appeal Court when it considered the sentences in the Wembley bank robbery case. Those sentenced after these robberies received sentences ranging up to twenty two years). "The possibility of doing ten or more years inside is obviously making men think hard about their behaviour if they should be caught".

The Sunday Times article (June 6th 1975) which quotes Jock Wilson, made much of the fact that in this kind of circumstance at least, it could be seen that long sentences did deter the criminal. This argument though, was meant only for home consumption to an audience which was not fully conversant with the undercurrents of strategy in the war against crime. Not only did the apparent solution of the supergrass not deal with the nub of the problem; that the crime had already been committed by the time the villain was put out to grass, but it also avoided the other central issue, that those most likely to become supergrasses and earn their statutory five years maximum sentence were those very people who had instigated and committed the most serious crimes.

During the supergrass boom of 1978 and 1979, Scotland Yard representatives indulged in a good deal of posturing about the gentlemanly agreements between detectives and supergrasses; no inducements could be given, it was said, and the informer would ultimately have to throw himself upon the mercy of the trial judge who would hopefully make sharp distinctions between those who had helped the police and those who had not. Nothing was said during this period about the absolute immunity which was given to some criminals whose offences were either not charged, or put on file. Nothing was said about the behind the scenes negotiations carried out on behalf of supergrasses, between police officers and the offices of the Director of Public Prosecutions. Not a word was spoken publicly about the manner and style of custody utilised for long periods by the police, while supergrasses were waiting to give evidence.

King Squealer

By 1978, bizarre but explicable stories had begun to circulate in the criminal world about the jet set life of various informers, who, while waiting to give evidence, were escorted by detectives to drink in pubs, frequent old haunts and be entertained by women.

After Smalls, though there were others, Maurice O'Mahoney was publicly accoladed as 'King Squealer', a name which he gave himself and even entitled his resultant paperback. His claim to the title was put under a slight shadow, when in 1976, Lord Justice Lawton, weighing up the respective merits of Smalls and O'Mahoney at the Appeal of Ronald Cook, stated, "It's a matter of degree, but I think Smalls has the edge over O'Mahoney". Lawton's adjudication in this matter - cleverly setting rat against rat - carried some weight, after all no one is better equipped than an Appeal Court judge to decide upon the finer degrees of intellectual hypocrisy.

O'Mahoney attended ten trials to give evidence, named two hundred men and received five years after admitting to one hundred and two offences. At the time of his arrest in 1975, when the supergrass blueprint was still being developed, the rules of the game appeared fairly straightforward. His twenty three months in custody were spent in Chiswick police station where his memory was aided by the provision of "colour television, stereo, drinks and visits from his wife and mistress". After his release, O'Mahoney claimed that the police had found him a new identity, a job and a house.

After O'Mahoney came Charlie Lowe and in his case the scenario assumed a greater complexity. It was the case of Lowe which brought to public attention the way in which the police were not only willing, but able, to subvert the court system when they had a supergrass in hock. Though it now seems probable that Lowe had worked for the police for some time, he first "came out" during the original trial of George Davis and co-defendants for the robbery of the LEB offices in Ley Street Ilford. Lowe had worked with Davis and his associates and at the trial which ended in

March 1975, he was named by the prosecution as the missing "fifth man". Some time in 1976, Lowe talked to Commander Bert Wickstead who was then investigating the Torso murder case. Lowe gave Wickstead information about his previous activities and workmates. At this time, Davis was still in prison and it seems more probable now that Davis was released in May 1976 because the Met and the Home Office knew that Lowe, who they were keeping on a long leash, would testify against Davis as soon as he was released.

Following Davis's release, Lowe was "arrested" by arrangement, it was however to be some time before the police were to admit to holding him. Lowe had been involved in a series of lucky bail applications since early 1974 - the LEB robbery took place in April 1974. In October 1976, when Lowe was supposed to appear on charges at the Old Bailey, the police told the judge that his whereabouts were unknown, he was according to the Police Gazette, a "most wanted man". In fact his arranged arrest had taken place four months earlier in June 1976 and he had been in police custody since that time. While there were four bench warrants outstanding against him from London courts, the Regional Crime Squad, using Southend Magistrates Court, were remanding Lowe each week under the false name of Chapman.

Guardian report

Eventually, after the courts had apparently ceded their power to the police in this series of contempts, it was the Guardian newspaper who "blew" the story of Lowe's whereabouts. The Guardian story was followed by a propaganda panic at Scotland Yard, who, fearful that their activities would be revealed, were precipitated into issuing a series of stories to the press, such as the one which appeared in the Evening Standard on October 6th. "Squealer: Police Rush", "Now that the cover of an important informer has been blown", the police were concerned that attempts would be made, "to silence him before he can give evidence in court". In fact, the police had been caught out perverting the course of justice and had escalated their "crime war" propaganda in order to safeguard themselves from proper judicial criticism.

Lowe was finally sentenced to eleven and a half years, lowered to five on Appeal. He served only sixteen months of the sentence; he had admitted to ninety one crimes and given evidence to the fact that "coshing people and robbing them" was one of his pursuits (Daily Telegraph, January 12th 1978). Lowe never went to prison but was kept in police custody for the whole of the period during which he gave evidence. While at Chelmsford police station, different defence solicitors, claimed that on at least two occasions Lowe had made threatening phone calls to witnesses.

In April 1978, Lowe was awarded the Royal Perogative of Mercy by Home Secretary Merlyn Rees, who was quoted in the 'Daily Mirror' newspaper as saying; "It is right to make use of every available legitimate means to fight crime", (April 21st 1978). On the day of his release, to add to the legitimisation, the 'Evening News' carried a £30,000 hit-man story, which claimed, "A London underworld gang is waging a campaign of terror against the families of people who are helping the police". The 'Daily Mirror' quoted a police spokesman as saying; "Lowe is a frightened lonely figure who is nervous every time he turns the corner".

Given Lowe's problems with corners, one would have expected him to go straight, but on his release he underwent plastic surgery and then declined to appear in a final set of trials on the grounds that his new identity would be exposed. In November 1978, only seven months after his release by Royal consent, he was arrested again under a new name after attempting to smuggle large quantities of cannabis into the country. It was said at the time of his release that the police had found him a new name, identity and job!

The Home Secretary's bizarre and corrupting use of the Royal Perogative of Mercy, gave the official stamp to the supergrass practice and all that it entailed at that stage of its development. But by the beginning of 1978, and during the period that Rees was making that decision on the basis of Lowe's arrest in 1976, supergrass practice had escalated beyond all public knowledge and far beyond the boundaries of the law.

A stream of career criminals were making statements, and the moral superlatives of the popular press were beginning to lack lustre. In order for the police and the DPP to succeed in prosecutions, whole areas of accepted court practice were demolished. Defendants were being convicted at an incredible rate on evidence which stretched no further than one or two statements of violent criminals who had defected and thrown in their hand with the State. At the start of the supergrass phenomenon, a common strategy for a defence counsel in cross examination would be to ask the witness on which other occasions he had pleaded not guilty and yet been found guilty. This had often been used by the court as a measure of a witness's, or a defendant's honesty. Increasingly though, this defence tactic has been undermined as judges have come to treat supergrass evidence as if it were police evidence. Many of the offences which the prosecution has gained information about go back seven or eight years, so making it impossible for the defence to counter with alibi evidence. Frequently in supergrass cases the police have attempted

Cont. on Page 14

'Towards a Citizens' Militia' has stirred up a lively controversy: not since 1940 has the general subject been aired, and the climate has changed a lot since then. The furious reactions of the gang of would-be betrayers has already been commented on in Black Flag: it must always be remembered that times of military defeat may be times of setback in terms of nations as powers, but they are also times of opportunity in terms of politicians, and the seizing of initiative from politicians is something that they naturally regard with the greatest of abhorrence. It is no coincidence that excess of patriotism produces the most national traitors.

In France in 1940 it was not the fascists who had knocked heads in the streets (and had their heads knocked in, too) who came to power. Neither Petain nor Laval were fascists. Petain was the arch-patriot, respected by all nationalists (which in France meant nearly everyone); Laval was centre MP and an opportunist. Looking from the vantage point of history, we can see why Winston Churchill MP, Ian Sproat, and Labourite James Wilson did all in their power to have Cienfuegos Press banned, and stigmatised its productions as "books of terror". Though in theory these people are for the defence of the regime against foreign enemies, foreign conquest is something which they take into account in their personal plans for power. It is significant to note how, when asked what they would have done in the event of Hitler taking power in England in 1940, almost all British politicians (and every one on the right) said (a generation later) that they would have committed suicide, and presumably murdered all their families too.

Enoch Powell put it, "The key question is the king". If the king retained power, but the government moved to Canada, "we" could fight on. If the government had submitted, and the only alternative to foreign domination was illegal resistance, there was no alternative they could fairly state (a generation later) but suicide (and family murder). But it may well have been that they would have desired to live, or to spare their families, and the alternative then would have been collaboration, since illegal resistance was out for them. The present Churchill has underlined this well with his denunciations of a citizens' militia, and distortion of self-defence as terrorism.

ALTERNATIVES TO SUICIDE

Mass Terror does not Terrorise?

Irrespective of the tactics and programme of such a citizens' militia (and there is a wide variation in peoples' ideas as to what they think of the tactics advocated in the manual: those with military experience viewing it as highly practical, those without military experience viewing it as quite naive and those with experience in Northern Ireland falling into the second category, about which more later), it cannot be denied that a citizens' militia of one sort or another is essential if one is not to fall into line with the super-powers whose tactics and programme are instant death.

It is a comment on those who speak of "books of terror" that they categorise this pamphlet as one of "terror", yet the alternatives - NATO or the Warsaw Pact? allow only for mass death and genocide of the entire population with only the outside "Afghan" possibility of capitulation or minor localised resistance.

An interesting comment was that made by a reviewer in 'Tribune' that those who opposed lining up with super-Powers in the pact with death had to consider citizens' militias as a viable alternative; but

pointed out that it involved the acceptance of conscription for all. This is not valid. One must bear in mind that the only basis for a citizens' militia is trust. Any resistance to a super-power implies that it has won; and that resistance is therefore either illegal (the government having sold out) or technically legal but in practice illegal (the government having escaped and denied legal imprimatur to its successor); and for resistance to be effective it has to take place between people who can trust one another.

Volunteers

Conscription is the diametrical opposite of this. Resistance must be of those with the will to resist. Those who "have no stomach to the fight" are better out of it, as they will be in practice anyway. It is a mistake to think that resistance to a dictatorship (whether it seized power as the result of a military coup, or is imposed by foreign powers) can only be of the whole people. Never will the vast majority voluntarily move to resist tyranny at one go: there are too many temptations to postpone, too many excuses to think it might get better, or one might get overlooked and too many and too vicious means of repression.

The left, on the whole, while talking about revolution, sees it as an open operation; if it can't be done perfectly legally (as, by coincidence, the Spanish revolution, since the fascists were in rebellion against the government) or in a position where nobody is more illegal than anyone else (as in Russia 1917), then at least let it be by general spontaneity so that it legalises itself automatically. But things don't necessarily work out that way. The rearguard has to take action against the oppressors, and then the tyrants call it terrorism. It is because none of the issues are clear-cut in this way in Northern Ireland that the booklet viewed from such a viewpoint looks unrealistic. Most of the population is going about its daily business in the normal way - subject to annoying body checks in the centre of the city and exposure to indiscriminate bombing or shooting. What has all this talk about uprooting trees and dislodging cars to do with urban fighting? Nothing in this context.

In order to establish a dictatorship - either because a foreign enemy can only rule that way or because an internal group has made a coup - exceptional methods are needed. The population cannot go about its business in the normal way: if it were allowed to do so, it might by industrial action bring the whole society to a standstill and prevent the coup. What must be done by the dictators are spectacular actions, massacre being the most obvious. The Nazis did not fill up trains with Jews just out of malice: they did it to impress the rest of the population into subservience. The Spanish falangists - who were faced with the problem of wiping out social revolution - went to the factories and shot one in ten; or rounded people on the streets and for years filled the railways with prisoners - travelling from one jail to another - for precisely the same reason: to impress the population and dominate. Such terror tactics have to be countered by more spectacular actions than can be, or need to be seen, in anything other than a dictatorship. Occupation over the years, even accompanied by police repression, does not amount to a dictatorship: nor does it evoke the same responses which amount to those of war.

This is why those with Army training can recognise elements of basic survival skills in the book, and those with experience of Ireland find themselves, on this issue, as sceptical as those who have no military experience at all.



ACTION-DIRECTE

There has been speculation as to whether Action Directe is now, to all intents and purposes, dead following the arrest of Jean Marc Rouillan and Nathalie Menigon in Paris, at 62 Rue Pergolese. The couple appeared at first to have been caught in a neat trap by the police of the Renseignements Generaux branch. Closer examination, however, suggests that they may not have been the real targets. The Renseignements Generaux branch does not normally effect arrests, this being left to other branches. One of the arresting officers described the pair as merely suspects under observation and went on to add ... 'Had we known they were members of Action Directe we would have sent for the anti-terrorist brigade who are better equipped than we are for this type of operation'. Rouillan and Menigon were tailed by police. Spotting the tail they tried to shake off their pursuers. Rouillan was captured, but Menigon managed to elude them and fired sixteen

shots at them before she too was taken. All sixteen shots passed harmlessly through the leg of one policeman's trousers! The couple, after abandoning their car made for No. 62 Rue Pergolese. By some odd coincidence a number of Renseignements Generaux men were inside waiting for them.

Under questioning the pair accepted responsibility for the attacks claimed by Action Directe. Rouillan having been so central to Action Directe activities, there is now some speculation as to the group's ability to survive his capture. However both he and Menigon were carrying phoney ID cards - part of a hoard stolen by an armed gang from a Paris district mayor's offices. Both, however, deny having participated in that raid. How many Action Directe members are still at large?

The spate of arrests of alleged members of Action Directe, has done much to remove the embarrassment the Renseignements Generaux was caused when it was discovered recently that it had been infiltrated by the Corsican separatists of the FLNC and the neo-Nazis of FANE. The R.G. have even hinted that they managed to plant a man in Action Directe and win the confidence of the man portrayed as the moving spirit of the group, Jean Marc Rouillan. This would explain some of the curiosities surrounding the capture of Rouillan and Nathalie Menigon. Soon afterwards Laurent Louessard and Maria Arago-Eltur were charged in connection with offences claimed by Action Directe. According to the R.G. themselves, Rouillan refused to talk but Menigon and Arago-Eltur did.

There was a further sensational development in the campaign against Action Directe when police swooped on a commune-farm at Trynas in the rugged countryside of the Ardeche. There in underground concrete bunkers they discovered no less than 1,250 kilos of explosives, plus eight assault rifles with ammunition. The explosives were part of a two-ton load stolen in the 1976 raid on a roadbuilding project.

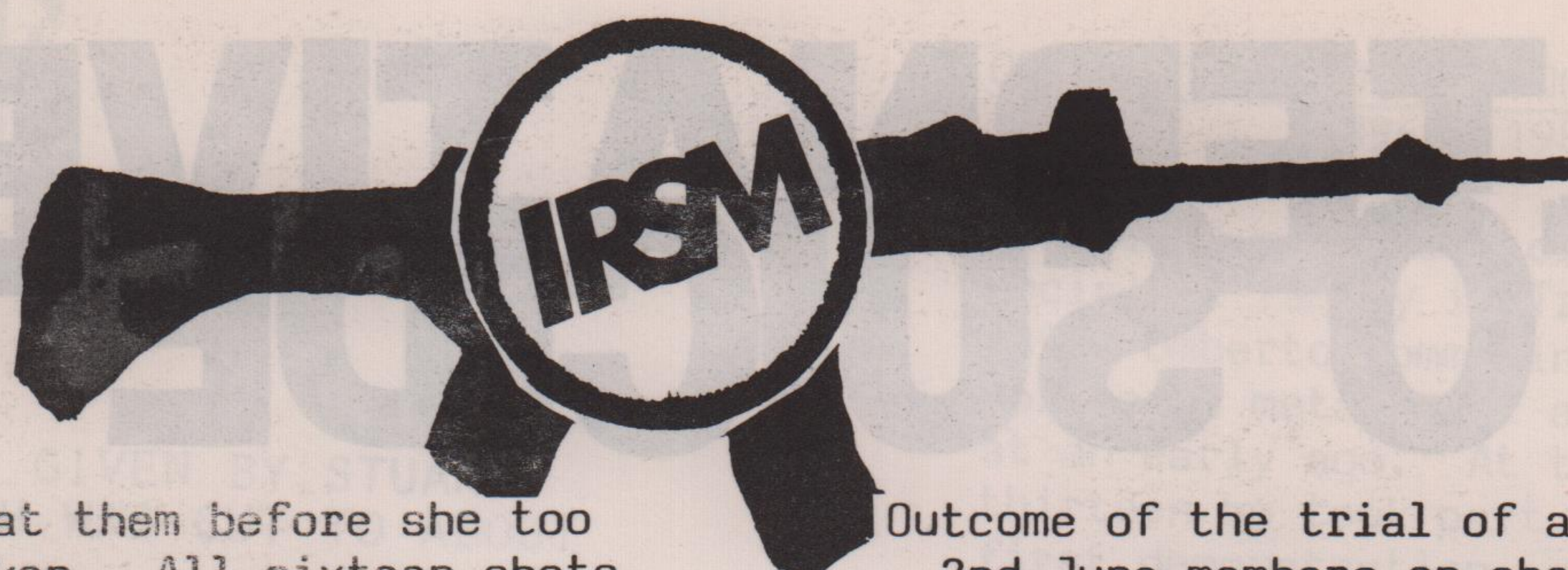
The discovery of Trynas was followed by the arrests of Maite Merliou, Jean-Pierre Bolognini and Bruno Daribere, residents on the farm. Philippe Marc was picked up at Hauteville-sur-Mer. The arrests and the seizure of the arms and explosives have all the makings of a press sensation involving 'Terror International' and one of the 'stars' of modern French crime, the mysterious Pierre Conty.

CONTY

In March 1980 600 kilos of explosives stolen in the same batch as the 1,250 recovered recently, were discovered in a Paris flat belonging to Olga Giroto, allegedly a member of the Italian guerrilla group Prima Linea. Police speculate that the 600 kilos were moved to the capital by Rouillan, Louessard and Philippe Marc. There is also talk of liaison with ETA through Arago-Eltur and Louessard. Maite Merliou is a former (?) girlfriend of Pierre Conty who vanished while police were hunting for him in 1977. The press are now having a field day. Was Conty the mysterious mastermind behind Action Directe and Prima Linea and ETA-militar?

Who is (was?) Conty? Known as the "killer of the Ardeche", Conty was the 'leader' of a commune in the Ardeche. With two companions he carried out a hold-up in Villeport in 1977. There was some mix-up with the getaway and Conty and Stephane Viaux-Pecatte scurried away as best they could. A policeman, Dany Luczac, was murdered. Later, two farmers, father and son Cyprien and Roland Malosse, were also killed and their car seized. That was on 25th August 1977.

Viaux Pecatte was later seized by the anti-terrorist squad in Groningen (Holland). Jean-Philippe Mouillot, the getaway driver, was also captured. On 21st May 1980 the former was sentenced to eighteen years in prison and the latter to five years. Conty, who was never caught was sentenced to death in his absence. What became of Conty is a mystery. No proof exists that he is dead. His girlfriend with her children, stayed on at the commune. Now she has been arrested. It may have been Conty who built the bunker where the cache was hidden. Locals speak darkly of his still being "...out there, but in hiding". Was the bunker his hiding place? Conty seems heaven-sent for sensational reports of the Mr. Big of European terrorism...Action Directe, Prima Linea and ETA-militar. Some locals, however, believe that he is dead "...and not of natural causes".



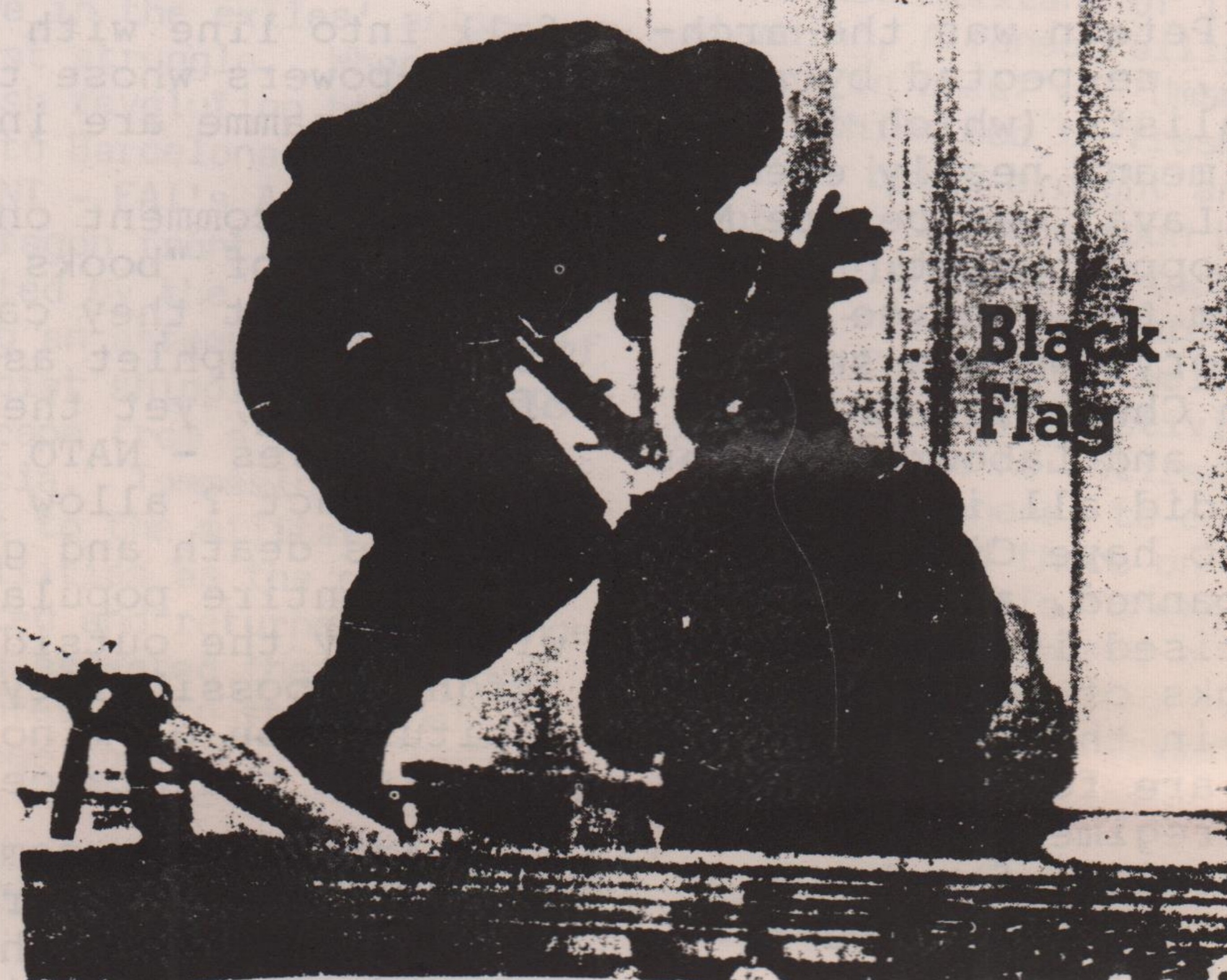
JUNE 2nd: EXPOSÉ

exposed the sham that the trials have become. He announced..."I have an alibi for the Lorenz kidnapping, for the murder of Judge Drenkmann and an alibi for the attack on the arsenal." Teufel held all this in reserve until near the end of the trial. He explains: "To show at last the real face of terror... That was my aim and I seemed a great opportunity to expose the methods of State Security and the courts. Where urban guerrilla activity is concerned they invent proof if none exists and make do (and this is the rule, not the exception) with vague innuendo and circumstantial evidence to condemn anyone who is unable to prove his innocence and is unwilling to dissociate himself from the actions criticised."

Outcome of the trial of alleged 2nd June members on charges of: (1) membership of a terrorist group (2) killing of the chairman of the Berlin CDU, Peter Lorenz (3) assault on an arsenal in Berlin (4) two bank robberies.

Sentences were Ralf Reinders and Till Meyer, 15 years each. Gerald Kloppe, 11 years 2 months. Ronald Fritsch, 13 years, 3 months. Andrea Vogel, 10 years. Fritz Teufel, 5 years. (Having been already in custody that long Teufel is now free). At the trial Teufel, known as the 'Politiclown' of the extraparlimentary opposition, dismantled the prosecution case and

All because the hostages love...



GARI CASE—POSTSCRIPT

When the MIL was smashed in Spain in 1973, a number of actions were carried out in solidarity with them. These were claimed by the GAI. (Autonomous Intervention Group). After the execution of Puig Antich this group evolved into GARI. (Internationalist Revolutionary Action Group). GARI claimed around 20 bombings and hold-ups against Francoist targets. They kidnapped Angel Baltasar Suarez for 3 weeks before releasing him unharmed on payment of a ransom by his employers, the Bank of Bilbao. Only once did any GARI action cause an injury. On 28th July 1974 a bomb placed on the roof of the Spanish consulate in Toulouse exploded while being defused. Twelve people were injured - three firemen, seven police and three others. GARI sent a crate of champagne and a note of regret to the fire-station. Earlier, in August 1974, GARI's members met in Italy where they decided to dissolve the group.

ARRESTS

On 29th July 1974 Pierre Roger was arrested in Toulouse and charged with membership of GARI. On 18th September 1974, Victor Manrique, Jean-Michel Martinez, Mario Ines Tarres and Michel Camilleri were arrested too. After police picked up Floreal

Cuadrado, Raymond Delgado and Jean-Marc Rouillan in Paris in a car carrying explosives on 3rd December 1974 they concluded that GARI was thus no more. The accused were referred to the Court of State Security - a sure acknowledgment of the political nature of the offences. On 27th December 1974, seven of those charged went on hunger strike for recognition as political offenders. On the 43rd day of the strike their demands were granted "...on humanitarian grounds". After a few months, Manrique, Cuadrado, Martinez and Roger were freed. One and a half years after the arrests the Court of State Security declared itself incompetent to try the case which was referred to the Paris court. On 6th June 1979, the latter referred the case to the Assize Courts. In the meantime, the remaining GARI suspects had been released in June 1977.

Jean Marc Rouillan, it is alleged, has since joined 'Action Directe' and is wanted for questioning in connection with the machine-gunning of the Ministry of Co-operation and the Ministry of Labour and Participation. There are now ten accused who will face the Court d'Assizes and try to explain, in criminal proceedings, the political nature of the offences...an explanation that the jury cannot take note of in that type of court.

There is a possibility that the current conflict between Iran and the USA may have drastic consequences. Hence it is especially important that a serious attempt be made to understand what issues are at stake and to respond to them in an intelligent manner. When human lives are involved it is only natural that temperatures should rise, especially when "national prestige" is allegedly threatened.

CHOMSKY

iran/ U.S. imperialism



It is worthwhile recording other incidents which led to popular hysteria being inflamed. For instance, the alleged North Vietnamese attack on the US torpedo boats in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964, which the US government exploited as a means of whipping up popular support for its massive assault on Vietnam. Only years later was it discovered that if the attack did in fact take place, it was most likely a response to the US military actions that the government had been keeping covert. The widespread readiness to swallow official versions and rally to the chauvinistic hysteria had horrendous consequences which we need not examine here. History has many such instances to offer us.

Media

A propos of the Iranian crisis, the media have lent anything but sterling service to the public at large. Media comments have not gone any of the way towards laying the foundations of any understanding of the reasons why Iran erupted in an orgy of hatred for the Shah and the US government. The Shah was toppled by a massive popular upheaval in which virtually all sectors of Iranian society (a society which lost 20,000 dead in its confrontation with one of the mightiest armies in the world) were participants. The Shah was portrayed by the media as a liberal reformer who could not quite get his noble intentions over to his backward subjects. However, his Iranian victims saw him, more accurately, as one of the bloodiest tyrants of modern history with... "a record of torture that defies belief", as Amnesty International noted. Amnesty went on to say that "no country in the world has a worse human rights record than Iran".

The Shah's "modernisation" programme brought huge profits to the wealthy and the state bureaucracy and to foreign investors, but it reduced to poverty a large part of the population of Iranian society which was potentially wealthy but looted by the Shah and his foreign friends. The USA, which had placed him on the throne in a coup mounted with CIA backing was trainer and advisor to his bloodthirsty secret police and flooded the country with weapons and technical assistance in order to reinforce and entrench the Shah's brutal and corrupt regime. For all his talk about human rights being "the moving spirit of our foreign policy", President Carter praised the Shah for his benevolence and spoke of the "... respect, admiration and affection which the people feels for his Majesty..." whilst continuing to supply him with the means by which

to put down the popular revolt aimed at freeing Iran from the clutches of the tyrant. Omission of this historical background might create the impression that the Iranians are acting in an irrational and inexplicable manner. But when the facts are taken into account, the picture is radically different.

In a painstaking study of the media, Professor William Dorman, of California State University at Sacramento, concludes that "... Americans are persistently and insistently informed that the Iranian revolt can be wholly ascribed to religious fanaticism and to agitation by the left. We have not been able to discover one single leading news source that presents events in Iran in a slightly different light." Only towards the end when American government policy began to vacillate and it became apparent that the US-backed regime of the Shah could not be saved, did the media make some slight adjustments to the policy of silence or distortion which they had hitherto pursued. Even now, current developments are still being presented without any real consideration being given to crucial historical factors.

Issues

The issues raised by the current conflict are three. First is the Iranian's insistence that the resources pillaged by the Shah be returned to Iran; (this pillaged wealth amounts to thousands of millions of dollars); the second is their insistence that the Shah be extradited. The third is the issue of the hostages. Let us examine these one by one.

Concerning the first, all the arguments seem to be on the Iranian side. As for extradition, there can be no question but that this is a principle accepted by the United States. The US government is itself trying to obtain the extradition of Chileans accused of complicity in the murders of Letelier and Moffitt in Washington DC, and the US and other Western powers have frequently resorted to the extradition of wanted persons (sometimes on very dubious evidence) in connection with crimes that could not be compared, even remotely. So, it is hard to discover in the record of the West, the slightest grounds for a refusal to countenance extradition in this instance, especially if we bear in mind the US government's complicity in the crimes of the Shah. It might be argued that proper procedures have not been followed but then the rational response would be to recommend that these procedures are followed and not to reject their application as unacceptable or absurd.

What can we say on the matter of the hostages? From a humanitarian standpoint the taking of hostages is reprehensible. But when judged according to standard Western practice, the issue is somewhat more complicated. The United States is consistent in its objections to the taking of hostages...in small groups. But the US is equally consistent in approving the practice of holding to hostage whole nations under the direct threat (actually not a threat, a fact) of hunger and death on a large scale. From Laos missionaries report that hundreds of thousands are threatened by starvation in an impoverished country where the agricultural system was destroyed by US violence. However, the USA refuses to allocate more than the merest drop of aid, holding the population hostage to the changes it seeks to have made in the Laotians' politics. In Vietnam, too, the economy was virtually destroyed by the USA, which refuses to pay any sort of reparations and rejects any sort of trade with, or aid to, Vietnam, and even refuses to normalise relations whilst the people there die of starvation. The US have successfully driven Vietnam into alliance with the Soviet Union, an alliance which it probably does not desire. In June 1977 the US Senate decided to issue instructions to US representatives to block proposals that international agencies should offer aid to Vietnam. Senators voted in favour of cutting the US contribution to the World Bank by 20 million dollars, precisely the amount of the US share of the funds involved in the Bank's only development scheme involving Vietnam. Furthermore, the Bank's director, Robert McNamara has gone so far as to cancel loans to Vietnam, alleging cynically that Vietnam's projects would not be beneficial to it people. The US policy of imposing suffering and death upon societies brought to ruin by US violence is aimed at achieving the goals frustrated by the resistance that proved successful. Such instances in which an entire nation is held hostage, costing death and suffering on a massive scale, are particularly grotesque in that the USA is directly responsible for much of the distress and devastation faced by Indochina today. Furthermore the instances we have quoted are far from being unusual.

Another surprising case is that of East Timor, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and since then subject to unbelievable destruction and bloodletting with the blessing of the USA, which has been supplying the weaponry and

diplomatic assistance needed by the Indonesians whilst the media have covered up the butchery. Deplorable it may be, but it can be shown that the media tend to ignore the atrocities of which their own State is the perpetrator. Indonesia's Foreign Affairs Minister recently admitted that the position in East Timor may be worse than that of Biafra or Cambodia and the few independent observers whom Indonesia has admitted to Timor tend to be of the same opinion. The same Indonesian spokesman, a year ago, asserted that Indonesia would admit aid for East Timor, but only if the countries lending the assistance recognised Indonesian sovereignty over the territory. For well nigh four years even the International Red Cross was denied access to Timor by the Indonesian invaders. In short, the population has been held hostage whilst tens of thousands have perished and all in an effort to extract international recognition of the results of Indonesian aggression. The USA continues to back Indonesia in its monstrous stratagems, just as it has been doing from the very outset.

Manipulated

To sum up: the USA indignantly opposes the defence measures of the weak, such as the seizing of a small number of hostages, but she herself employs and tacitly approves the much more horrible defence measures of the mighty, such as the holding of hostage of entire nations and the causing in the meanwhile (and not just threatening to cause) an enormous amount of suffering and death. This should come as no surprise. The USA is not the only nation to act thus, nor are the US media the only media that cover up crucial facts concerning modern historical events such as those we have mentioned. But reflection upon real historical practices reveals that the spectacle of a highly moralistic indignation is the ultimate in cynicism.

This article is too brief to permit us to reflect the true nature of the current situation in Iran and elsewhere; but they do suggest guidelines that Americans may wish to follow when reflecting on how best they should react to events which are currently taking place. Whatever the outcome, substantial efforts will be made to win support for the policy of intervention and subversion that has brought immense suffering over the past few decades. US citizens should think carefully about the way in which they are having their emotions manipulated and how their perception of events is being deformed. The results could be extremely serious for us and for many others in a world that is daily more troubled.

H BLOCKS: REBUILDING

The failure of the hunger-strikers in the H-Block at Belfast to take the final step and fast to death illustrates the lengths to which one can push the human body - as if such tests were needed in this century - and how the mind can still pull back the body at the last minute, but it does not alter the point they were trying to make, and the hunger striker uses the last desperate appeal to morality, and the highest.



GARDAI OUTSIDE BRITISH EMBASSY, DUBLIN (Photo... Derek Spiers (I.F.L.)).

During the war German airmen committed the most terrible crimes against civilians - British airmen did the same thing over there. It was generally accepted that this was a cross we had to bear, though the control by the civilian population over whether there should or should not be war and least of all how it was to be conducted, was nil. When airmen crashed, the population did not rush to lynch them. It was more likely, that after bombing Coventry, London or Liverpool, they would be offered a cup of tea.

Was this invariable? No, sometimes people did jeer at captured POWs (usually soldiers rather than airmen). It was considered bad form by most. Those who did it could generally expect a tongue-lashing from someone or other. In fact, people who did nothing at all in the war came off worse than those who committed crimes - there were far more incidents of German civilians being ill-treated (though more generally in the first world war than the second) than of POWs - and certainly not air bombers. This was a touch of civilisation in war in England, which was far from universal.

But in the Irish dimension today it does not exist. Why?

No Irish Republican - nor all put together - ever caused as great an atrocity than a single air bomber on a one-off mission. But there is so great an antagonism to them that the government can afford to sit back and watch prisoners starve themselves to death covered in their own excrement. Is it that they are volunteers and not conscripts? But so, generally speaking, were airmen, even in Germany, and they were the ones who came off best. Did people admire those who took their lives into their own hands even though detesting the cause for which they were fighting? The same goes for the IRA and not even a hardline Unionist would say the cause they represent is equally detestable.

The prisoners in H-Block are demanding the right to wear their own clothes; the right to refrain from prison work; the right to free association amongst other political prisoners; the right to organise their own educational and recreational facilities and receive one visit, letter and parcel a week, and the right to full remission of sentences.

Demands

These are scarcely revolutionary demands. They amount to a demand to be treated as POWs. We do not ourselves accept the idea of political prisoners (it invariably means worse treatment than for others, and opens the way for further political sentences). But in practice H.M. Government *does* accept the idea of political prisoners. After every prison riot we hear of "political and Irish" prisoners; every Governor can say how many "IRA prisoners" he has; convicts are asked "if they object to mixing with IRA prisoners" or how they feel about them. All that is in question is simply how such prisoners should be treated; and while we have no great faith in prison reforms - believing in the abolition of prisons - almost all the demands made could easily be granted. Granted by Governors to ease the pressure within our overcrowded prisons, and only refuted by the government because they are pandering to public opinion (as manufactured by the media) which is hostile to the prisoners.

Faced with the fact that they *do* have Irish political prisoners, whether they regard them as "British convicts" or not, the government has to make up its mind how it is going to proceed. It could proceed by giving these demands to *all* prisoners. The right to wear their own clothes is a demand granted in a great many countries. The right to work at something other than prison is nothing new. In Spain, even under fascism, they worked on a system of private enterprise capitalism in