

BLACK FLAG

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

12-12-88

30p

BLACKLISTING THE BLACKLISTERS

For some time we have hinted that moves are underfoot to initiate a campaign that would undermine the work of the Economic League and other blacklisting agencies. In November a regional conference, organised by trade unionists, against the Economic League was held in Leeds. In addition independent researchers have taken steps to counter blacklisting by drawing together records and lists of those involved in the blacklisting business and which are now being made available to trade union activists as a basis for further action. In effect the blacklisters will themselves be blacklisted and become the object of the sort of sanctions that they themselves dole out so freely.

We ourselves have declared our commitment to assist in intelligence gathering and to share the results of our investigations with the wider labour movement. Further to this we will be asking all our contacts around the country to participate in this campaign and to help ensure that the information we obtain is both comprehensive and accurate. The long term objective is to create a company database that will provide the maximum amount of information to help the labour movement in taking action needs in its own defence.

Our intelligence gathering will need to take account not only of company dealings in blacklisting but also their political dealings and affiliations, their

involvement in corrupt practices and their record in industrial relations generally. Individual company directors, etc will also need to be targeted.

Much of this research is already available but now needs to be coordinated via the different groups involved and updated by contacts operating at the 'sharp end'.

To combat the League and the other blacklisters effectively we will need to be both bold and imaginative. Their own database depends on contacts 'in the field', without which they would have little to sell. Conversely if the League and similar organisations didn't exist then industry would create their own agencies. Indeed this happens anyway with certain industries and the public sector relies on state intelligence (ie MI5). We can't stop blacklisting as such—all we can do is provide the support for industrial action against those companies that are known to employ blacklisting methods.

In the final analysis it will be the workforce and only the workforce that can take the sort of action that will force companies to stop using organised blacklisting. Companies that are identified as using the League and similar agencies will need to be confronted and threatened with straightforward industrial action. The same goes for companies that are known to use state intelligence as the basis for blacklisting. For too long we have been on the defensive, accepting blacklisting

as a way of life that cannot be challenged. Now we must go on the offensive and turn the tables on the blacklisters using the very same methods they themselves use.

No one should fool themselves that blacklisting can be combatted by legal methods or through legislation. The right-wing majority of the trade union bureaucracies and the Labour Party and centrists will always back the Tory Right in retaining the right of employers to employ who they wish. Nor will libel actions, where individuals have been blacklisted of false information, work—this is a red herring and will not affect the blacklisting business in the slightest. Where companies are identified as using organised blacklisting appeals to them to refrain from this will in most cases be met with the contempt they deserve: in these heady days of market stridency an employer will ride through all kinds of bad PR, justifying the right to manage and only conceding defeat if profits can be threatened.

The firms have the initiative in that they can dictate the terms for employment. But this doesn't have to be the case, nor was it always. If firms want labour then it should be the labour movement that dictates the terms for meeting that demand. Mass unemployment has always been the excuse for the unions to back down and let the employers set the agenda. But if the union movement were strong then things would be much different.

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The unions have the resources to fight blacklisting on various fronts—whether it be through industrial action, boycotts, propaganda, etc. They can choose to take the initiative and give support to a campaign that will combat blacklisting by using the information at their disposal to take concerted action. Or they can wait another seventy years and let others make the running. The regional conference in Leeds has started the ball rolling in one direction and the opportunity has been created for some of the objectives to be met.

The blacklisters, however, should be warned against complacency. We, for one, wish to make it clear to them that whatever happens in this ongoing campaign we will be monitoring your every move. You will be followed, your movements logged, your dealings noted. We will meet your dirty tricks with dirty tricks of our own. In short, we declare an open season on the Economic League and similar organisations. The time for whining is over. Watch your backs.

See also *Anti-Economic League Conference report on page 7*

COMING OUT OF THE GHETTO

Riots shifted away from the squatter's ghettos when anarchists went on to the offensive during the October IMF talks in Berlin. The result was the biggest police operation since the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961. Over 10,000 police were deployed (3000 drafted in from West Germany) to protect the safety of the world's bankers.

From the start an entire support structure had been established to meet the needs of the demonstrators—this included 10 information centres, a daily four page information paper, the expansion of the local people's kitchens for visitors, and a 24 hour legal service. As usual, the autonomous 'sanis' (first-aiders) and their treatment centres were ready and waiting.

80,000 people attended the first march to the IMF congress centre. Half way through the demo a block of around 1,000 anarchists had emerged. After the march 2,000 spontaneously streamed to the city centre to Breitscheid Platz. The police were unable to separate demonstrators from tourists, and so could not move strongly against the crowd. The riot police, though massively present, were restrained by Berlin standards, due also to the attention of the world press being focused on them.

The gatherings and the planned demonstrations continued for the next four days, each day bringing with it



quicker police responses. By the end of the protests there had been around 1,000 arrests and hundreds of injuries.

The second night saw many banker's cars attacked as they attended an exclusive performance at the Opera. 140 arrests were made using the kessel (corralling or encircling) technique. At one point a kessel was broken. When released the demonstrators retreated up the main shopping street, leaving many

smashed windows and an overturned police van in their wake.

Each night thereafter brought about an increasing level of attacks on wealthy shops, hotels where the bankers were staying, and on the bankers themselves. There have been reports of bankers being dragged from their cars and beaten up. 14 hired cars were set alight and dozens damaged. At one point bankers had to dive for cover as a reception that

they were attending was attacked by angry demonstrators wielding sticks... All this despite the chief cop's assurances that the bankers would be at no risk during their stay in Berlin.

For many the highlight of the protests was to be the Internationalist demo called by the anarchists for the last evening of the week. 7000 people took part, many of them masked. At the end of the route the police had prepared a big kessel using 8 foot high metal shields fixed to vans, and 4 water cannons and 5 armoured cars fitted with bulldozer blades. Before reaching this point, the anarchist's loudspeaker van at the front called on the demonstrators not to walk into this police trap, but to end the demo by dispersing into small groups. Many people headed for the city centre—where the usual police brutality, baton charges and mass arrests took place.

The protest against the World Bank and IMF marked a significant advance in the politics of the anarchists and other groups who advocate direct action. No longer was there rioting in the ghettos, or the destruction of our neighbourhoods. Instead, people focused on the city centre where the actions were more effective, better targeted and seen by more people. It was obvious that the police wanted us to riot in Kreuzberg, and were prepared for this. The anarchists managed to leave the ghettos for this, and hopefully future, demos and campaigns against capitalism and its consequences.

SOURCE: *Berlin Calling*.

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barriers — and to fight for the life of one
world.*

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(Cosham) £5, Benefit £30, Bookfair Gig
£150

TOTAL £185

BLACK CROSS GIG

Many thanks to Clarity & Co for the £150
donation raised for us at the Anarchist
Bookfair Gig. The gig featured That
Famous Subversa (of the Poison Girls),
Political Asylum (from Edinburgh),
Danbert No Bacon (of Chumbawamba)
and Bourbonese Qualk.



ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. What is the difference between calling
someone a doctor in Germany as against
almost anywhere else?
2. What was Common Wealth
(sometimes erroneously called the
Commonwealth Party), once
well-known, a small rump of which still
exists?
3. What Social Democratic
Party—currently affiliated to the Labour
and Socialist International (to which the
British Labour Party belongs)—while in
power after WWI almost equalled the
anti-semitic atrocities of the Nazis in
WWII when it enthusiastically
co-operated?
4. Is a current tourist hype that Hyde
Park Corner (they mean Speakers
Corner at the other end of the park) is a
symbol of English free speech, true or
false?
5. What are 'Spanish practices'?

Answers to Quiz on page 8

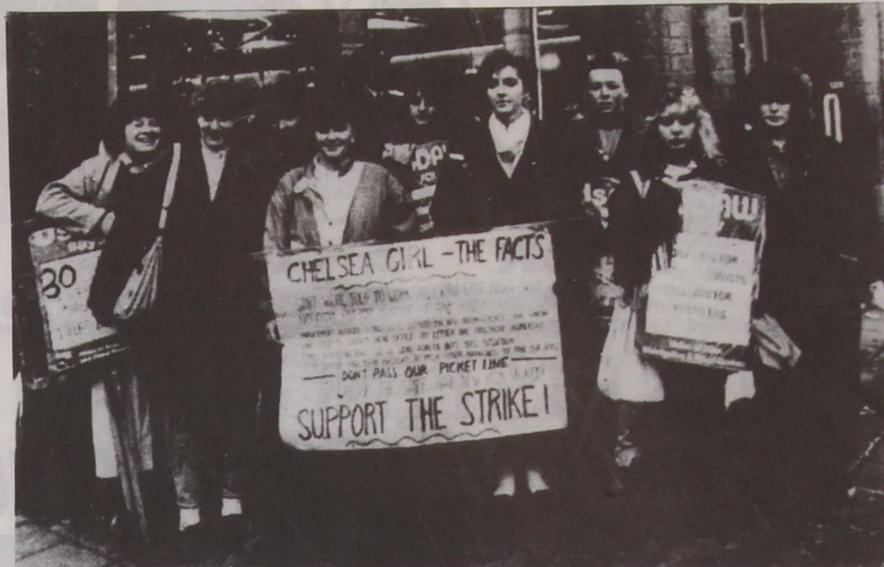
HOME NEWS

BELFAST STRIKE

Women workers at the Belfast Branch of
the clothes chain-store, Chelsea Girl, are
in dispute with management over pay
and the right to join a union. The Chelsea
Girl stores are owned by the Lewis Group
of companies, which boasts that in over
35 years and with a total of 150 stores it
has never suffered a strike. This may
have something to do with the fact that
all Lewis Group employees are not
allowed to join a union under threat of
dismissal.

Workers at Chelsea Girl in Belfast are
expected to undertake overtime without
pay and accept wages 200 a month less
than their counterparts in Top Shop. Last
year they secretly joined USDAW, the
shopworkers union. Then just recently
management told the workers that
compulsory, unpaid, overtime was
expected in the run-up to Xmas. Their
refusal led to 34 of them being sacked on
the spot.

Despite scab labour a regular picket of



the shop by the sacked workers has
resulted in few people prepared to cross
the picket line. The workers are now
waiting for an unfair dismissal hearing
and in the meantime are without strike
pay or state benefit. Support from unions

(other than USDAW), a local students
union, a womens' centre and a local
anarchist group have all helped to keep
morale up.

SOURCE: Warzone Collective

NO HIDING PLACE FOR FACISTS

The British National Party have held
marches in York since 1982 (York is
their 'Nordic capital'). According to
John Tyndall, on a Radio York
programme last year, York is the site of
an uprising against 'alien moneylenders'.
This was, in fact, a horrible riot against
Jews in 1190 culminating in dozens of
Jews taking their own lives—the site of
the event being Cliffords Tower in the
City Centre.

Last year the BNP announced they
would march in York—the Student
Union called a counter-march and the
Home Secretary banned both so the BNP
held a rally on some private land and
some anti-fascists tried to disrupt it, nine
being arrested.

The SU and Anti-Fascist Action called
for rallies this year at the War Memorial
and Cliffords Tower—the places where
the BNP were likely to turn up. Once
again, as expected, the Home Office
banned marches and the local Labour
Council banned use of council property.

On Remembrance Sunday police
turned back coachloads of anti-fascists
from entering the city and even escorted
Newcastle AFA back home. Yet some
anti-fascists got in to the City Centre
(claiming a meeting at the local
community centre). Some 300
anti-fascists assembled and a large
crowd went to 'greet' the BNP
contingent arriving by rail from Leeds
(where the police had stopped another

contingent from boarding the train). The
police broke the anti-fascist crowd into
groups of ten; some went to Cliffords
Tower, some to the War Memorial, and
some spent the day hunting for the BNP.
Some two dozen fascists tried to get near
Cliffords Tower but disappeared.
About nine others were cornered in a
pub but were then escorted out by
police.

The BNP, who claimed to be going to
march through York with 150 people,
were humiliated. The police had also a
large rugby match to watch that day: if
there had been more anti-fascists about
they couldn't have coped. It must be
said the large numbers of students who
turned out was a surprise: they have
been criticised by some AFA members
for being prepared to travel long
distances to reach anti-apartheid events
while ignoring racism at home. The BNP
had been carrying out a numbers of
attacks on isolated people in York: one
AFA member having been knocked
unconscious after previously having had
etching fluid thrown in his face by
another BNPer, though locally the BNP
has hardly any members. The threat is
one that has to be faced up to.

EDITORIAL COMMENT: This
interpretation is not confined to fascists
but is typical of conventional research.
But as York then was a far smaller city

(barely the size of its centre today) and
manufacturing was in its infancy
(granted that 'moneylending' was an
industry equalling banks and building
societies now) how could it support more
than three or four moneylenders (as
distinct from employees—and they were
forbidden to employ Christians) per city?
And did not the ability to pay ransom
make one immune from threats being
carried out? Yet 'dozens of Jews' took
their lives (to resist baptism or torture)
while in German cities at the time
hundreds and even thousands were
massacred.

Could they all have been wealthy
males? How about the wives, clerks,
book-keepers, scribes (numerous before
printing), builders, guards,
embroiderers, draymen, dressmakers,
inn keepers and staff, scholars,
educators, doctors, and (though these
may have sometimes overlapped) the
vast array of religious hangers-on as well
as their domestics? What historians
forget are the existence of workers as
such and of women (unless queens) at
all.

N.B. The NF(Flag/Vanguard faction)
held their annual Remembrance Day
meeting up London's Victoria Street, but
this year there were only 300 boneheads
-and rumour has it that several got
cracked skulls after the demo due to
inadequate police protection.

A STRANGE SEQUEL

The Aston University Tory students
invited a South African Embassy
speaker and the anti-apartheid group in
Birmingham staged a counter-demo.
Some 300 besieged the Tories. As the
police found it getting out of control, an
ANC speaker was allowed to pacify the
crowd then surreptitiously crept away.
At the back of the building however a
general melee broke out—somewhat a
mini-Wapping. Of twelve arrested, three
were charged and two kept overnight as
they hadn't been long enough in their
present addresses to qualify as a
permanent address (they were allowed
no drink for eleven hours).

One, refused a phone call, had to give
his car registration number and oddly, a
few days later, was at a party that was
raided by three cop cars saying they had
his number. He was alleged to have been
trudging up and down the streets
breaking into cars and stealing radios
(presumably dashing in and out of the
party in between takings).

When the cases came up the one who
had tried to rescue a friend was accused
of trying to pull the policeman off his
horse.

Both cases are adjourned.

Housing Time Bomb

New legislation aimed at pricing out the poor from council housing will act like a time
bomb. When the legislation takes effect—which will be at the same time the Poll Tax
payments begin in England and Wales—the results for many people will be catastrophic,
increasing drastically the number of homeless and driving more people to below the
poverty line. Add all this up and the authorities will be faced with an explosive
situation—literally. The riots of the 1980's will seem like a picnic.

The legislation was announced in the recent Queens Speech. The way it works is as
follows. Any profits made on council-owned housing stock will no longer be able to be
used to subsidise the rates, or the Poll Tax as it will be known in the future. Instead
these profits, if any, will be expected to subsidise the housing benefit of local council
tenants. In other words the wageless council tenants will have their rent paid for them
by waged council tenants and if there is not enough revenue to go around then council
rents will be adjusted. Likewise money from the Poll Tax will not be able to be used to
bring down Council house rents—this is in order that private housing sector tenants and
owner occupiers will not be penalised by public sector housing tenants. In this way, too,
the Poll Tax will be kept artificially low, offset by the Council house rent rises.

The overall effect of this legislation is that council house rents will invariably rise
dramatically (some observers say by as much as 17 per week). Also many tenants will be
encouraged by these increases to move to the private sector. This will further

encourage less house building in the public sector.
With massive increases in rents, less housing to go around, and the Poll Tax to pay as
well, the situation will reach breaking point for many people. Already there are
thousands of 16-17 year olds, having left home, who are homeless because under the
new Workfare regulations they can't receive benefit if they refuse to go on wage-slave
training schemes. These young people are disqualified from staying in hostels under the
new regulations so they end up squatting or on the streets, invariably penniless with
only crime to turn to for support. This situation can only get worse.

With no housing, only bad jobs, and a crazy tax system, the Government seems to be
almost begging for trouble.

ANTI-FACIST ACTION — WEST GERMAN STYLE

In West Germany militant anti-fascists have taken the offensive. The tactics contrast sharply with those practised elsewhere, which in some cases end up as meaningless protests and demonstrations as in the Exeter march in Britain.

West German lawyer Jurgen Rieger has secured his house against all intruders. There are infra-red sensors in the garden, plate glass windows and electronically secured locks on the doors. His house in Itzehoe near Hamburg is virtually impregnable. Rieger is also armed and threatens to shoot any intruders. What does he fear? In short, anti-fascists—for Rieger is a defender of former Nazis and neo-Nazis and has been a guest speaker at neo-Nazi rallies. Not long ago anti-fascists blew up his parked Mercedes. Meanwhile the far-right are complaining that the systematic attacks aimed in their direction are 'undemocratic' and that they want greater protection from the State.



The magazine *Der Spiegel* states that over the last 12 months there are known to be over 20 violent attacks—mostly fire bombings—against the homes and meeting places of the fascists. They base this figure on a Government report which claims that this number is twice that of the previous 12 months. Actions which the magazine identifies include the molotoving of a car owned by a NDP (neo-Nazi) official in Bierstadt; an arson attack on the local headquarters of the Free Workers Party (also neo-Nazi) near Gottingen; the burning of seven buses belonging to a travel company in Elmshorn that had a contract with a

neo-Nazi organisation. In response the fascists hit back with arson attacks on the Communist Party office in Gelsenkirchen and on a leisure centre run by the Social Democrats. Also in June neo-Nazis stormed a squatters centre run by 'autonomists' in the Hafenstrasse in Hamburg. They hit the squats with molotovs, CS gas and batons. Street battles between militants on both sides are now almost commonplace in Hamburg and cars owned by fascists are regularly fire-bombed.



Some of these attacks by anti-fascists result in letters of responsibility signed with the names of victims of Nazism during the 1930's and 1940's (eg Kommando Siegbert and Lotte Rotholz). All the attacks are highly discriminate resulting in no injuries. In this sense Government advisers see them more as warnings to the Nazi community.

Allegedly the most active anti-fascist group is the anarchist-based, Hamburg Anti-Fascist Action. There are claims that it has its own Investigation Unit to monitor fascists, build up files, photos and lists of car number plates, etc. A regular Intelligence newsletter put out by the anarchists informs its readers about the movements of known fascists. The newsletter also contains hit lists. In another city anti-fascists regularly put up 'wanted' posters of local fascists.

In West Germany it seems the anti-fascists have given up moaning about Nazis and have driven them on to the offensive. Had this been done extensively in the 20's and 30's history might have been changed. Anti-fascists in other countries will no doubt want to take note of the success of their counterparts in West Germany.

THATCHER SUPPORTS MILITANT SYNDICALISTS

Last month the British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, addressed a meeting of militant syndicalist workers outside their shipyard works in Gateshead. She congratulated them on their seven years of struggle to organise a free workers union and to challenge the repressive apparatus of an authoritarian state. Mrs Thatcher stated that they were the real opposition to that state, unlike the officially recognised unions or indeed the different political factions within the state hierarchy. She went on to offer her total support to the syndicalist union and wished them well in their current campaign to save jobs.

None of this happened of course. But something similar did happen in Poland. The farce of Mrs Thatcher siding with Solidarnosc competes with all sensibility. Translate the same scenario to her own country and the farce becomes so much clearer.

Perhaps the worst aspect of her tour in Poland was not so much her own hypocrisy—the world is used to that—but the blatant sycophancy of Walesa. Power at any price is his motto, even if it means paying homage to the person responsible for so much strife and repression in her crusade against socialism.

Walesa has virtually lost all credibility with his own people. The 'round table' talks between Solidarnosc and the State have yet to materialise and no one has any faith in them anyway. When the announcement was made that the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk were to be closed

down Walesa stepped in to stem the inevitable industrial action.

The strike action spread from a smaller yard at nearby Wisla to Gdansk itself. The management at the Lenin yard were then forced to announce an unexpected two day 'holiday', as they called it. All the workforce stayed at home but then 400 staged an occupation when they realised that the plan of management was to force a lockout. Walesa then intervened and stated that he would resign from Solidarnosc if the strike action escalated. Walesa said that by going on strike the workers had 'defied' him. He added, 'There is no obedience...if the strike spreads I will be willing to resign. If they don't obey it means I am losing importance'.

Walesa has condemned himself. He was once a great leader, but like all leaders fell foul to the temptations of power. He, and others in Solidarnosc, are seduced by the idea that one day Solidarnosc will be able to influence government policy. The Polish leaders indeed see one way of breaking Solidarnosc is by inviting some of its leaders to participate in government, in a sort of national reconciliation. Of course this will inevitably mean accepting austerity measures in order that a 'national recovery' can be planned.

The alternative is for Solidarnosc to reject Walesa and any other leaders taken in by all this and to return once again to its original militancy. This was not what Thatcher supported, of course, but the corporatism that the Polish authorities so badly wish to impose and what she would never dream of invoking, except in times of crisis, in her

ANTI-APARTHEID INFORMERS

Social Democrat anti-apartheid campaigners in Sweden are doing their utmost to subvert the work of anti-apartheid activists in that country. ISAK (Isolate South Africa Committee) campaigns for government-sponsored sanctions against the apartheid regime,



CONSPIRACY THEORISTS EVERYWHERE!

A coincidence? In September this year delegations from the British National Front ('NF News' faction) and Spain's Phoney CNT (the 'renovados') were spotted in Tripoli—both enjoying an all-expenses paid trips courtesy of Colonel Gaddafi.

It is idle speculation to wonder if the two delegations bumped into one another...or what they had to talk about...

Without doubt the Phoneys talked with Eurocommunist Camacho, as he attended their own conference, and offered the Phoney CNT membership of the CP-controlled CC.OO as a 'legitimate opposition' (but this was rejected). Is it possible he got a leak from the British TUC (the way we got an unauthorised

WHOSE MASQUERADING AS WHOM?

But not only British fascists like to masquerade as 'revolutionaries'. In France some joker is publishing a paper called *L'Homme Libre* which mixes articles on anti-militarism,

but has taken offence at the wave of direct attacks against Shell, which has enormous investments in South Africa.

The Chair of ISAK, Roger Hallhag, actually went out of his way to write to one of Sweden's anarchist papers, *Brand*, and announce that he is collaborating with the Secret Police against the attacks and warns the paper not to continue with pro-direct action propaganda. He told *Brand* that it was he who intervened to organise a news blackout on the bombing of a Shell station near Gottenberg on 4 June of this year. He added that he has passed on to Special Branch details of the anti-Shell propaganda campaign conducted by *Brand*.

Brand explains that in Sweden 'solidarity' campaigns are basically part of the State.

N.B. *Brand* adds that a new anarchist cafe and meeting place has opened in Stockholm: Autonomy Cafe, Bjornrgardsgatan 17 (open Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday from 3pm to 8pm and Saturday noon to 5 pm).

one) that the UGT was angling for a similar amalgamation, with a hand-out of the genuine CNT's sequestered funds which the bankrupt Comisiones Obreras could also do with?

Meanwhile the Phoneys 'Haw Haw', Dr. Brian Bamford, has written in 'Freedom' about how the tobacco workers strike in southern Spain was backed by the socialist UGT and the Renovados 'but not, it seems, by the CNT-AIT', which he attributes to 'snobbish sectarianism' and the fact that the genuine CNT 'seems to pride itself on not taking part in demos'. By pure coincidence some *Black Flag* editors were in Spain at the time: visiting the local CNT-AIT they found the branch supporting reinstatement of the sacked CP-ers by strike action (even though they had opposed the union recognition of the CNT).

anti-electioneering and pseudo-'anarchism' alongside denials of the Holocaust... a new fascist ploy, more markedly in America (more details of the American masquerade in next issue, meantime any information on these French scumbags?).

ANARCHIST CONFERENCE IN POLAND

Anarchists in Poland recently staged a national conference in Gdansk, possibly the first national meeting of Anarchists since 1946 (when the survivors of the old movement tried to regroup in Warrsaw). This attracted some seventy people from ten Polish cities. According to one source the meeting was broken up after thirty minutes by the State's Anti-Terrorist Brigade. Two people were dragged away by police but as we go to press it is unclear whether the two have been charged, detained or released.

own country.

In Britain Mrs Thatcher has no need to turn to the unions to participate in Government. They have isolated themselves from that possibility as much as they have isolated themselves from traditional militancy. If a Solidarnosc, or a 'one big union' independent of political parties and dedicated to militant action, ever arose in Britain it will be the official unions, as in Poland, who will take the side of the State in trying to put it down. But if it's real change that people want, and not more of the same old medicine, then there will have to be a Solidarnosc, without its failings for leaders and its dependency upon a Church, to provide the basis for organisation.



DEMONSTRATION...Gdansk, June 1987.

MI5 and the war in Ireland - part one

INTRODUCTION

Peter Wright revealed that he took '10 major subjects' out of his original *Spycatcher* manuscript. They included accounts of 'MI5 operations, techniques and work in Northern Ireland' (1). Evidence now proves that the SAS and MI5 worked with other terrorists (ie pseudo-gangs) in the province in shootings, bombings and sectarian murders. The campaign can also be linked to the destabilisation campaign on the mainland to engineer a far-right Tory government.

Outlets for MI5's disinformation were found in a sympathetic media as well as with at least two Tory MP's, one of whom—Airey Neave—was the opposition spokesman on Northern Ireland and the head of Mrs Thatcher's private office. Neave organised her election to the leadership and a dirty tricks campaign against Heath. Neave also used disinformation from MI5 to attack the Labour Party. Had he not been assassinated by the INLA just before the 1979 election it is believed he would have ended up as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland or as Minister responsible for the Security and Intelligence services.

ARMY OF RESISTANCE

Eight days before his death Neave had been meeting members of MI5 and MI6 to discuss forming an 'Army of Resistance' (another coup plot?) should Labour win the election. Had they won and had Tony Benn been made leader of the party—and Prime Minister—he advocated his assassination (2).

Wright met Neave to discuss the smear campaign, although this, together with his work in Northern Ireland, is not mentioned in his book. In 1975 Wright and Neave were introduced by Victor Rothschild (another MI5 agent, who had worked to Heath) to James Goldsmith, GK Young, David Stirling, and others—all of whom represented a cross section of the right-wing establishment. According to Wright their aim was to prevent the return of a Labour Government and to get Wilson (3,4).

Labour was returned to power and in May 1974 the Ulster Workers Council strike ensured the failure of the Labour-sponsored power-sharing scheme. Instead the war would escalate, with MI5 taking a direct part in its operations. The following year saw a ceasefire arranged by the Wilson Government—but this was quickly undermined by the undercover operations of the SAS and the sectarian murders of the pseudo-gangs (ie the UFF, then working in collaboration with the UVF). These murders included the killing of John Francis Green as well as the Miami Showband massacre. The campaign involving the SAS, UFF and UVF extended to the supplying of explosives to the UDA, who killed 31 people in Dublin and Monaghan just two days after the UWC strike began. In fact it can be shown that during the Labour Government of 1974-79 there were over 50 civilian killings by the SAS (with MI5 and MI6 backing) and over 350 others (all civilians) by 'sponsored groups'. Is this the 'missing chapter' from *Spycatcher*?

STRATEGY OF TENSION

The revelations of Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd have contributed to our understanding of this period. Holroyd, an MI6 officer attached to the Special Military Intelligence Unit, was involved in cross-border operations. In 1974 SAS operations included offensive measures against the IRA, but one operation backfired when a civilian was shot dead by accident. On another occasion a second civilian was shot dead in mistake for an IRA member in the process of the SAS booby-trapping an arms dump. During this period the UVF and the UFF were used as assassination squads south of the border and the SAS and MI5 (according to Holroyd) conducted a shoot-to-kill policy in South Armagh.

There were other suspicious goings-on, including a bank robbery carried out by the SAS, and even the derailment of trains. It was the height of Ulster's strategy of tension. Some of the dirty tricks operations were even aimed at discrediting MI6, who MI5 were in competition with for control in the province. It has been alleged that the anti-MI6 campaign ended up with the Alliance Party HQ being bombed during the October '74 election (the Alliance Party was a recipient of Rowntree Trust funds, which were being used as a conduit for MI6). (5,6)

According to Holroyd the loyalist paramilitary groups were given carte blanche by the RUC to act how they pleased.

Colin Wallace, a UDR officer in Information Policy, a 'black propaganda' unit of the British Army, worked closely with MI5 and MI6 in putting out smears and disinformation. Of his organisation Wallace says: 'To the press, it was a liaison section that provided a link between the operations network and the press room. At certain levels within the security services it was seen as a counter-propaganda organisation dealing in 'white' information. It did however have a third, totally deniable, role in which 'black' propaganda, popularly known as 'dirty tricks', was used'. (7)

It was also one of Information Policy's functions to discredit politicians selected by MI5 and, according to Wallace, Labour politicians were included in this category. At the end of the UWC strike Wallace was asked by MI5 officers in London to undertake a project designed to cause dissension within the Loyalist leadership, which had been greatly strengthened by the strike and was then seen as a threat. He was supplied with information by telex from London and asked to attribute it to a prominent public figure. Among the smear stories he was briefed on was the one concerning the Kincora Boy's Home where, Ken Livingstone alleges, 'young boys effectively controlled by MI5 were buggered so that Protestant politicians could be blackmailed...' (8) This was the beginning of Clockwork Orange.

Information Policy was set up in September 1971 just after internment. Its first head was Colonel Maurice Tugwell, a paratrooper and former Army Intelligence officer in Palestine, Malaya and Aden. His brief was to 'take a positive initiative in presenting the news to the best advantage of the security forces'. Both Tugwell and Wallace specialised in giving non-attributable information to journalists (what appears in the papers as 'Army sources say...').

In 1974, according to Wallace, 'the intelligence game ceased to be just directed against legitimate terrorist targets—it became more political' (9). Wallace's Clockwork Orange Two (CO2) notes alleged that the Labour Party was under the direct influence of the Soviet Union and that certain Labour MP's had links with IRA support groups (eg Troops Out Movement). While certain of these allegations were undeniably true Wallace was asked to take them one step further. Wallace was assigned to forge over-the-top statements, with signatures of prominent Labour politicians, attacking the UDA and the war in Vietnam. Mervyn Rees' name was forged on both these statements. Wallace also forged press cards and CIA identity cards.

With the narrow victory of Labour in the October 1974 election MI5 decided to move against Heath. It is alleged that Neave was behind this (10). Soon the Labour Party was forced to enter into a pact with the Liberals. CO2 material was used against Labour in 1974 and up until 1979 MI5 provided the Tories with information. Neave's famous

statement that a Labour victory in 1979 would mean the end of the UK was, in fact, written by Wallace. (11)

The CO2 notes were also directed against the Liberals and the 'left' of the Tory Party. Both Thorpe and Heath were identified by CO2 as targets for smears. CO2 suggested 'likely figures' for a future Tory government and added 'The key issue is therefore whether there should be cosmetic treatment to help elect a weak Government under Heath or major surgery to bring about a change of leadership before the next election.' (12) Within three months of the October 1974 election Thatcher was leader of the Tories. By 1976 Thorpe had been replaced by Steel after resigning as a result of his alleged affair with Norman Scott.

Back in Ireland MI5 had to seize control of Intelligence matters and remove MI6 who were perceived to not take a hard enough line. Wallace claims that When MI5 gained control of the overall Intelligence operation they tried to replace those who were already in key posts with others with loyalty to them... In 1974 there was an attempt to use SAS personnel to replace the SMIU. This was a total disaster. Not only did MI5 have much less experience in a hostile environment than SIS (MI6), but at that time had no experience of Northern Ireland operations at all. They had to be prohibited from taking part—officially at least—for purely political reasons. After quite a number of amazing blunders—two members of the SAS were shot dead by the RUC in South Armagh in 1974—the SAS were withdrawn from plainclothes duty in the province. As the hostility between the two agencies increased they began to nobble each others operations. The Army had a number of key agents taken out by the terrorists... It became clear that MI5 were trying to get SIS removed from the province completely—this they had almost achieved by late 1976. (13)

It was at this point in time that Wallace's and Holroyd's problems began. They weren't against the dirty war but, allegedly, against the officially sanctioned illegal operations against civilians and the elected government in Whitehall, as well as the shoot-to-kill policy in Northern Ireland. Eventually both Wallace and Holroyd were forced to resign. Wallace was later allegedly fitted up on a manslaughter charge (14) and after his release in 1986 he came clean on his covert activities.

His revelations included his dealings with Neave, who asked Wallace in 1976 to provide him with dirt on the Labour Party. As part of CO2 Wallace gave Neave a document entitled 'Ulster: A State Of Subversion'. This document listed possible examples of Soviet influence on Labour's Northern Ireland policy. It alleged too that at least 20 Labour MP's were active Communists. Around this time Wallace wrote background notes for the Tory Party as well speeches for Neave.

THE ARMY REBELS

The UWC, along with the Ulster Army Council, called a general strike against the power-sharing agreement. The UAC coordinated the strike and the Loyalist paramilitaries enforced it. The UDA's intelligence officer, James Millar, was an MI5 agent and on their orders he encouraged the strike. He was also a member of TARA, a bogus paramilitary organisation created as a psychological operation by MI5. (14) Two days after the strike the UDA, with the help of RUC Special Branch and explosives supplied by British Intelligence, planted three car bombs in Dublin and one in Monaghan, resulting in 31 dead—the largest single loss of lives in a terrorist bombing in Ireland to date. The action echoed a similar one in 1971 when the 'Empire Loyalists' killed 15 Catholics in a bar in Dublin after a speech by Wilson promising eventual Irish unification. Six months after the Loyalist bombings in the Irish Republic there was the Birmingham Pub bombings. There was speculation that these were carried out by British undercover agents (15), although Labour MP Chris Mullen claims he has since met four IRA members who placed the bombs.

Wallace and Holroyd have stated that they have the names of the men said to be responsible for the car bombs in Dublin and Monaghan and they supplied these names to the Irish Government in 1987 but to no avail.

To return to the 1974 UWC strike, Ulster, as a result of the strike, soon grew to a halt with power stations run down and shops and businesses closed everywhere. UDA roadblocks were set up with RUC cooperation (16). On 19 May the Labour Government declared a state of emergency—but the Army refused to intervene (17). The Loyalist's case was well covered by a sympathetic media and helped by MI5, who assisted the Army in misleading the Government about what was really happening. MI5 also supplied smears about Rees and William Craig (leader of the Vanguard movement) to the press. Army Intelligence told journalists that Craig was behind the kidnapping of the West German consul to Belfast, Thomas Niedermeyer. Only a West German paper took the allegations seriously and it was successfully sued. Niedermeyer had actually been shot by the IRA and his body was not found until 1980. (18)

On 20 May 1974 the UWC banned all petrol supplies and the economy was reduced to ruins. Three days later the leaders of the SDP and Alliance told Wilson that if he didn't use the Army to break the strike they'd resign from the Assembly. On May 27 the Army was deployed but it was too late. The Loyalists threatened to close down the last power station and on May 28 the remaining members of the Assembly resigned, ending the power-sharing agreement. An Army officer later claimed that Wilson had decided to use troops on May 24 but that the Army had refused—a virtual mutiny. He explained that 'the Army had decided that it was right—and that it knew best and that the politicians had better toe the line'. (19) Wallace claims that during the strike an MI5 officer working in IP had told him that 'London had a change of mind and now wanted the strike to succeed'. Another officer was quoted as saying that 'some of us hoped that the strike would make progress and Wilson would be discredited. And we hoped that if power-sharing failed then the UK population would say that Ulster had had its chance politically and would advocate an all-out effort for a military victory.'

WITHDRAWAL SABOTAGED

In the aftermath of the Birmingham Pub Bombings the IRA entered into secret negotiations with the Labour Government, who wanted a truce in order to gain time to implement the process of 'Ulsterisation' (moving the UDR and RUC into the frontline). As well as other concessions the Government announced that 20 detainees would be released and parole given to 50 others. On 1st January 1975 the IRA offered a two week extension but Rees rejected talks. On January 10th the Ulster Freedom Fighters killed a member of the IRA south of the border. The IRA cited this as one of their reasons for ending the cease-fire on January 16th. However Rees and Sir Frank Cooper were then brought to the negotiating table as a result of a short bombing campaign in England. On January 19th two members of the IRA met two civil servants from the Foreign Office—an MI6 officer James Allen, and Michael Oatley. The IRA were given a verbal commitment of a phased British withdrawal, the Army was to keep a low profile and certain IRA members were to be given immunity from arrest. Incident centres were set up, run by Sinn Fein, with Government money, to monitor the ceasefire.

MI5 worked against the truce from the start. In 1974 Wallace was ordered to leak to the press information about the secret negotiations. (20) Wallace also claims that Army Intelligence falsified figures of terrorist incidents. At press briefings at Army HQ in Lisburn they attributed recent upsurges in violence to the release of internees, but no mention was made of the role of Loyalist paramilitaries. (21)

LOYALISTS GO ON THE OFFENSIVE

the deployment of more SAS soldiers in 1976 came at the peak of a Loyalist terror campaign which had claimed 325 civilians during the period 1975-1976. After that period

The article is based on material researched and compiled by Alexander Plaistow.

the SAS took over the role of death-squads. (22) In March 1988 the Protestant Action Force, a Loyalist force which worked with the SAS, attacked the funerals of the three IRA members killed in Gibraltar. Back in 1976 this same PAF declared: 'There is only one means of defeating an insurgent people who will not surrender, and that is to subject them to a greater force and degree of terrorism than they are able to receive. There is only one way to control an area or ghetto that harbours terrorists and insurgents, and that is to reduce its population to fear by inflicting on them all the horrors of terrorist warfare.'

Successive British governments and the media have ensured that few British people are aware of the Loyalist murder campaign, despite the fact that along with the security forces they have killed more civilians than the IRA. Figures released by the Irish Information Partnership in 1987 indicate that out of 1,418 civilians killed between 1969 and 1986 the security forces and Loyalist paramilitaries killed 754, or 53.1%. The Army, the RUC and the UDR were responsible for 167, or 11.7% and the Loyalists for 587, or 41.4%. The IRA and INLA killed 523, or 36.9%. A further 141, or 9.9%, were unidentified or killed by unclassified agencies. (23)

On the day the IRA announced its intention to hold an earlier ceasefire, in 1972, the Army's undercover unit, the MRF, shot dead a catholic and within the next five weeks Loyalist gunmen had killed a further 40. (24) During the first five months of the 1975 truce Loyalists killed 35 catholics. At the height of these killings the UVF commented: 'Many of our contacts with Charlie and Delta RUC divisions have reported that the vast majority of grass roots constables, together with several Special Branch officers and CID personnel, were overjoyed at the results of certain PAF operations in recent weeks'. (25) Members of the UDA and other loyalist groups are encouraged to join the UDR where they can get firearms and counter-insurgency training. The UDR has even said that it would not object to members of the UDA joining as unlike the IRA it is a legal organisation. By 1976 the UDA estimated that there were almost 200 Loyalists in prison who were serving or former serving members of the security forces and jailed for terrorist offences.

THE MIAMI SHOWBAND MASSACRE

The September 1973 killing south of the border of John Francis Green, an IRA active service member on the run, was blamed on the SAS and used by the IRA as one of the reasons for ending the 1975 ceasefire. Fred Holroyd claimed that Captain Robert Nairac, a Grenadier Guards officer attached to the SAS, had told him he, along with two members of the UFF (who claimed responsibility), had killed Green. Green was shot in a farmhouse while having a shave and Nairac later showed Holroyd a polaroid photo of the body as proof of the operation. Forensic evidence has since linked the cartridges left at the scene with weapons used in four sectarian murders between 1973 and 1976 as well as the Miami Showband massacre. (26)

On the night of 21 July 1975 a mini-bus carrying members of a catholic rock group, the Miami Showband, was stopped by seven men wearing UDR uniforms. Although these men were indeed UDR they were also members of the UVF. They ordered the band off the bus and then attempted to plant a bomb on it, which exploded prematurely killing two members of the UVF. The remaining UVF members then lined up the band and killed three, wounding two others. (27) According to Holroyd the two UFF men who helped Nairac kill Green also took part in the Miami Showband murders. It is alleged as well that the bomb used for the mini-bus was booby-trapped by Nairac as the UVF unit was considered to have become a liability. MP Ken Livingstone corroborated this in that he claims Rees had told him that Nairac had planned the Miami Showband operation and supplied the weapons and the explosives. (28) A RUC Special Branch officer apparently supplied the UDR uniforms. Two members of the UDR were later jailed for the murders. Confirmation that the unit were UVF came later in the form of obituaries in the UVF magazine *Combat*.

Nairac was later captured, interrogated and shot by the IRA in May 1977—he had been working undercover in Armagh for 18 months. He was awarded, posthumously, one of the highest military medals by the Queen and his death received more coverage than any other soldier to die in Northern Ireland. (29)

On 13 August 1975 the tit for tat sectarian murders began. On that day the IRA blew up a pub in Belfast killing five protestants. By August 24 a further five protestants and four catholics had been killed and by October another 18 civilians had similarly lost their lives. (30) On top of this a bloody feud that claimed another 11 lives broke out between the two factions of the IRA. By October the truce had completely broken down and the monitoring centres run by Sinn Fein had reported over 1000 breaches by the security forces. The IRA became completely demoralised by the truce.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

MI6 agent-provocateur Kenneth Littlejohn said he was carrying out bank robberies and planning assassinations for MI6 with the intention of 'forcing emergency legislation against the IRA'. The Littlejohn brothers were jailed in 1973 for an MI6 bank robbery, broke out of Mountjoy prison in March 1974 (despite the fact that Kenneth was on his 34th day of a hunger strike) and located in Amsterdam by MI6 living above a bar once occupied by James McCann, an arms dealer and friend of recently arrested drug smuggler (and ex-MI6 agent) Howard Marks. Kenneth Littlejohn later appeared at the house of police agent-provocateur and National Front sympathiser, Thomas Watt, on the night of the Birmingham Pub Bombings. Soon after *Black Flag* received information that indicated the bombings were carried out by a pseudo-gang calling itself Red Front.



BIRMINGHAM SIX INTERVIEW

We have been sent an interview with Johnny Walker, one of the Birmingham Six. The interview was conducted on behalf of *Black Flag* by prisoner John Bowden, our correspondent in HMP Long Lartin. As far as we are aware this is the first such interview published. The Birmingham Six recently lodged an appeal against their convictions for the pub bombings, but this was rejected. They have always maintained their innocence and intend to continue to fight for a retrial.

J.B. As you approach the 14th anniversary of your conviction and imprisonment what are your thoughts and feelings now about the situation

Q & A on ANARCHISM

Q Who are the middle class? What would happen to them in an anarchist society?

A The language has changed: once upper class meant the landowners; middle class or bourgeoisie implied capitalists; petty bourgeoisie (i.e. less privileged citizens) meant self-employed craft workers; peasants meant privileged smallholders, and proletariat meant the industrial workers (Marx also invented the term lumpenproletariat for those who could not sell their labour and turned to crime). All these meanings are now given different meanings.

The old middle class is anyway now the upper class (not the aristocracy) but media hype in the Western world has persuaded everyone first that they have the opportunity to become middle class and then that they actually are. Every worker who has put down a deposit to buy a nice new house, and whose kid maybe gets higher education, thinks the family has moved into the middle class (just as in the Eastern bloc, under different propaganda, upper class twits with weekend dachas are convinced they're working class).

Nurses, teachers and even clerks used to think they were middle class but are today underpaid workers; while social distinctions (even regional ones, like accent) bedevil English conceptions of class. Likewise, jockeying for power has created a new class, sometimes called the bureaucracy in Russia, but inevitably middle class elsewhere (by themselves sometimes called the meritocracy) composed of those qualified (or feeling they deserve to be so qualified) for political, social or academic ascendancy.

If middle class means capitalists, financiers or exploiters of any kind, including the meritocracy, there is no role for them in a free society (we have no precedents to go by as to what would personally happen to them); if it just means someone who talks posh and wears a clean collar but carries out a socially productive role (say a midwife, or an airline pilot) there obviously is.

That people can change class, as they can change nationality, goes without saying.



with your case, especially since the appeal rejection?

J.W. The appeal was a watershed in an important way for me. All six of us went to the appeal with an open mind; we believed that the case for our innocence was now sufficiently strong enough to budge them, and we were understandably quite hopeful or optimistic about the outcome of the appeal. In other words we felt that all the important legal arguments had been answered or won. Nothing that happened during the appeal, during the actual examination of the evidence, caused us to change our feelings about that. But of course our appeal was eventually rejected out of hand. That was a terrible blow, and one that made me realise that the whole thing was a charade, a game that we were never really going to win anyway. Now I'm more convinced than I've ever been that there is no such thing as British justice, it simply does not exist in reality.

You know at the end of the day the establishment just closed ranks on us in order to uphold our wrongful conviction. They conspired behind the scenes to actually pervert justice. What we were ultimately confronted with at that appeal was a deliberate and calculated cover-up, a brick wall that simply wouldn't listen or respond to the truth; in fact wasn't really interested in it. As far as I was concerned it only illustrated what so-called British justice amounted to—injustice and lies.

J.B. How closely affected, do you imagine, is the fate of your case by the course and development of Britain's military involvement in Northern Ireland?

J.W. Well, it's obvious that the British government is intensifying or stepping up its war against the IRA, and I think this is obviously reflected in the legal system's treatment of our attitude towards our own case. At the time of our arrest and original trial we were alleged to be IRA members, and as far as the government are concerned we are now IRA prisoners. At the very least we are here in prison because of the war in Ireland, or at least influenced by it in an important way. At the end of the day I don't think what happens or has happened to us can be separated or looked at in isolation from what Britain is doing in Ireland.

We hoped that the Free-State (Eire) government would take more active role on our behalf, but the extent of its collaboration with Britain, highlighted in particular by the extradition business, obviously prevents it from genuinely supporting us or the campaign for our release. Before our appeal we got all sorts of messages that the free-state government would be really pushing to get us out, but at the end of the day they've done basically nothing to help or support us.

I feel very depressed about the continuing situation in Northern Ireland and the stepping up of Britain's war there because it inevitably means that myself and the other five have a long way to go before we're likely ever to be released.

J.B. How broadbased would you like the campaign for your release to be?

J.W. Let me answer that in the following way. Public opinion immediately after the Birmingham Pub bombings allowed the police to pick up six innocent Irishmen and torture confessions out of them. It allowed them a completely free hand to do as they pleased in terms of framing us and then getting us convicted. Now, it will be public opinion that ultimately gets us released. I therefore ask ALL progressive groups and organisations who are genuinely committed to the cause of justice to join and support our campaign, to highlight and publicise our case amongst as many ordinary working class people as possible. We desperately need public support, and we need it

from all sections of the population, especially from working class people.

You know, since we were arrested in 1974 people's perception of the police in this country has changed considerably. I think that black people, especially, have always known what the British police are really like; but now even white working class people are beginning to wake up, and the Miners Strike in particular forced a lot of ordinary working class people to change their opinions of the British police. I think that today, as opposed to the time when we were first arrested, a lot of people are prepared to accept that we are the victims of a blatant injustice; all we now need is for more and more people to actually come out and support our

exception. As far as the Catholic Church in England is concerned, forget it. We've received absolutely no support at all from that quarter. As far as I'm concerned Cardinal Hume is an Englishman first and a Catholic second: in other words his ultimate and real loyalty lies first and foremost with the British political establishment. He hasn't shown the least interest in our case and has never once commented on it.

It seems to me that the Catholic Church in England is very good and enthusiastic about condemning socialist or left-wing governments around the world, but when it comes to speaking out against injustice in this country it seems to maintain a conspicuous silence indeed. In my honest opinion the Church



Top: Patrick Hill, Hugh Callaghan, John Walker
Bottom: Richard McKenny, Robert Hunter, William Power

campaign. Because at the end of the day, the struggle for justice in this country is the duty and responsibility of everyone. The working class must fight for justice on all possible fronts, which includes the fight to win the release of innocent Irish people imprisoned in this country on trumped-up charges.

Over the years in prison one thing I have come to realise and understand deeply is that our situation is but one dimension of a wider thing involving the suppression of Irish people, and I suppose ultimately we're talking about the suppression of whole groups of people by this system, both here and throughout the world. I strongly believe that all of us, the oppressed throughout the world, share a common interest in winning our freedom.

The campaign for our release is politically neutral, in the sense that it appeals to all classes and sections of the population to support us; but although it is organised to highlight our particular case, or based on the 'single issue' of our continuing imprisonment, it should also be an instrument of mobilisation around the whole question of Britain's military involvement in Northern Ireland—the real backdrop, so to speak, of our case.

J.B. Have you or your campaign received much open support from the Catholic Church?

J.W. We had some degree of open support from the Catholic Church in the Irish free-state—people like Cardinal O'Fiach and Bishop Edward Daly in particular have been very good; but of course the Catholic Church hierarchy throughout the world is inherently conservative, and the Irish church is no

here in England is little more than a lackey of the State, a mouthpiece of the well-off and powerful. Look at its track record: it fully and openly supports Britain's involvement in Ireland, and have never done anything whatsoever to improve the conditions of Irish political prisoners in this country. I really can't adequately express the extent of my anger at the sheer hypocrisy of the Catholic Church in this country.

J.B. You've now been in prison 14 years; how are you treated by the prison authorities?

J.W. Well, let's be absolutely clear about the fact that the prison authorities are fully aware of my innocence—they always have been. But of course they continue to keep me locked up.

It's very difficult for me to describe the pain and anguish of being an innocent person locked up in prison for life—the agony and fear of growing older in this place, of watching and feeling my life pass away when I know deep in my heart that I committed no crime. After 14 years in prison that agony is becoming progressively worse. Prison is a killer—everything about it is designed to kill and destroy the human being; and if it wasn't for the love and support of my family, which itself encourages a continuing sense of hope, I'm not sure that I could have survived the last 14 years of this hell. The support of other prisoners also has been an important factor in my survival here.

I often reflect on that now infamous statement by Lord Denning in which he said, in relation to our case, that it was better that innocent people should

continued on page 7

Conference Report

It was billed as a national conference, but it turned out to be more regional. The conference was sponsored by a number of trade unions including the MSF, the ISTC, Nacods, SOGAT 82, Nupe and Aslef. Delegations were from trade unions and independent organisations (like ourselves) involved in anti-blacklisting work.

The morning session got underway with talks by an independent researcher from the 1 in 12 Club (Bradford) and Steve Dorrill from *Lobster* magazine, which has published historical research on the League. During the morning a wealth of updated information was produced on the League and other blacklisters. The League is currently undergoing a major internal reorganisation, cutting back on non-blacklisting work (eg propaganda) and staffing. Its funds have shrunk and so has a certain amount of its credibility. But it would be a mistake to take this to mean it is in decline—far from it. The League is looking for new 'market opportunities' and is confident that recent bad PR can be overcome. One thing that is certain is that the accuracy of its records is even more in doubt given its poor staff resources. The demand for information is still there, but the League is unable to meet it. In 1983 the League received over 140,000 enquiries alone. It is believed that figure is far less today but even in 1983 the League was unable to cope and employers were fobbed off with disinformation. The situation at present for the League has worsened. The League's credibility gap is a serious problem which is not helped by years of poor management and downright errors. Delegates had access to League internal documentation, thanks mainly to the efforts of independent researchers. The conference generally acknowledged the valuable work of these independent researchers (eg *Lobster*, 1 in 12 and *Black Flag*) as well as the Labour Research Department, in not only providing much of the background material that made the conference possible in the first place, but in keeping up the pressure on the League through regular exposés. At the conference delegates were also able to access the League's entire files for the (now defunct) North West region.

Steve Dorrill then went on to look at some historical aspects to the blacklisting business. He demonstrated how the League was closely tied to state

intelligence, in particular MI5 and Special Branch. In its early days the League, in reality, functioned as the 'D' Section of Special Branch. Over the years the League has managed to appear independent of the state machinery—yet its work is essential to the overall work of MI5. Dorrill also examined organisations linked, or working in parallel, to the League. Aims of Industry grew out of an initiative involving League people and the British Commonwealth Union, as well as MI6. There is much evidence, too, to show the links between the League and the Continental fascist movement. Although now pro-free market, in the 20's and 30's the League was unashamedly corporatist (to which, no doubt, it will revert when the political climate becomes even more reactionary). This corporatism was, of course, just as much a part of the Labour tradition. Common Cause came from the right-wing of the labour and trade union movements and later it helped to set up IRIS. Dorrill explained how IRIS successfully entered the Labour Party and certain unions (eg the ETU, now the EETPU) as well as Catholic Action. At one point IRIS was regularly supplying the Wilson Government with information about Communist Party members involved in the Seamen's strike—the information was being passed on via Ray Gunter who was then Minister of Labour. Gunter later went on to head IRIS. IRIS also set up a right-wing outfit called the Trade Union Education Centre for Democratic Socialism, which in reality was funded by the CIA. Most of the people involved in this outfit ended up in the SDP. Other notable labour movement figures shown to be involved in reactionary organisations included Vic Feather (who was linked to the Information Research Department, the state propaganda arm) and the rail union leader, Sid Weighell, who worked with the League (according to Peter Edwards, the League's North-East regional committee head, when interviewed by a *Leeds Other Paper* reporter). The official trade union movement has been implicated in the blacklisting business for decades—which partly explains why the Leeds conference against the League was the first ever to be organised in the League's seventy years.

It was generally agreed that despite the leadership of the League over the past seventy years in monopolising much of the blacklisting business, concern these days needs to shift towards the expanding work of MI5's F Branch. This was expanded in the mid-70's and has played an increasingly important role in counter-subversion and countering industrial unrest. F Branch and the League work closely together via Special Branch contacts and also directly. But F Branch also plays a major role in supporting the personnel resources of major corporations, particularly those involved in essential services, defence contract work, and public sector work.

During the afternoon we heard speakers from the MSF and the NCCL as well as a local MP, Max Madden. The MSF speaker explained that a union campaign against the League has been initiated and that other unions are responding. The union had already contacted a number of companies known to be subscribing to the League. Some now claim to have ceased their dealings with the League, but the conference agreed that close monitoring is essential to see if these claims are true or whether in fact these firms are continuing their support of the League via conduits (eg BUI, the Industrial Trust) or transferring support to similar organisations (such as IRIS). It was shown, too, that many firms approached openly defended their blacklisting activities and could not be dissuaded by conventional means to desist these practices.

A number of specific EL subscribers were discussed in detail. Among them BAT Industries and Vickers. It was shown also that ICI donates substantial sums of money to EL 'publications' but 'not its blacklisting services'. Certain industrial barons took their support for the League with them as they changed or took on other directorships. For

example Parry Rodgers, who has been on the board of the League, has held senior positions with IBM and Plessey, both of which have long histories of supporting blacklisting. The Royal Bank of Scotland now claims to no longer support the League, but this is surprising considering that the bank shared its directors with the League and is, in fact, the League's bankers. The new president of the League, Maxwell Harper-Gow, is a former director of the Royal Bank and is currently head of Christian Salvesen.

The conference ended with a commitment to initiate a campaign against blacklisting. Several dangers can be highlighted. If the campaign concentrates solely on victims blacklisted for trade union activities or as a result of inaccurate information, then the basis of blacklisting itself would not be undermined. If information gathered about the blacklisters is not made widely available or of sufficient

quality then the campaign will end up nowhere. If the campaign uses the techniques of protest and not of economic sanction (eg strike action, boycotts, etc) then the blacklisters will carry on regardless. If the campaign relies on the slight possibility of parliamentary action to outlaw blacklisting then there will be disappointment all round.

The campaign has a long way to go. To succeed the campaign will need to be truly national, union based and involving rank and file direct action, and utilising all the resources available (both union and independent) to ensure our own targeting is accurate.

Information gathering and reporting will be essential if workers around the country are fully informed as a basis for the sort of action needed to persuade firms to change course. Trade unionists will need regular updates in the form of newsletters containing hard information.

Wright Fingers Goldsmith

Sir James Goldsmith has been named by ex-MI5 assistant director, Peter Wright, as being the central organiser of businessmen who conspired to overthrow the Wilson Government. Also named by Wright are George Kennedy Young, a senior officer in MI6, and David Stirling, the founder of the SAS. All three have been named by *Black Flag* on numerous occasions as being central to the plot.

The revelation that the three were involved has come about quite accidentally. In the last issue of *Black Flag* we referred to a Panorama Special television programme on the *Spycatcher* affair in which an unedited page of the book by Wright was flashed on the screen showing the name of David Stirling. Since then we have been informed by researchers from the 1 in 12 Club of the full text of the relevant part of that page as shown on the TV programme, which they videoed. The unedited version relates to page 367 of *Spycatcher*, which we rewrote in our 'What Peter Wright Didn't Say' article. The final, published, version mentions no names at all but merely hints at certain individuals. In issue 175 of *Black Flag* we used our own research as the basis for naming those individuals (and others who we believed were involved in the plot).

We are informed that Paul Greengrass, who co-wrote the *Spycatcher* book, has confirmed that the version shown on the Panorama programme was a faithful reproduction of what Wright told him and represents the unedited testimony of Wright.

When we first asserted that Goldsmith, Stirling and Young (and others) were involved we also invited them to take legal action. This never happened and it is obvious now why they refrained from using the courts. We have no qualms about repeating our challenge for legal action. If Peter Wright had been more candid in his final draft then many people would have been informed as to who the conspirators were. In the end it was left to a few independent researchers to put the pieces together and boldly state the names.

The unedited version of page 367 refers to the name Victor, who is Victor Rothschild who worked for British intelligence as an adviser to Edward

Heath, the then prime minister, and who was also a friend of Goldsmith. Also referred to is George Kennedy, who is George Kennedy Young, 'G.K.', as he is known to his friends, entered the merchant bankers, Kleinwort Benson, after he was thrown out of MI6. During the early to mid 70's he then got involved in far-right and neo fascist activity. Around the early 70's Young also got involved in the South African nuclear fuels lobby. Interestingly his merchant bank much later became an adviser for the Thatcher government on the possibility of South African mining interests taking over the British coal (and/or Energy) industry. (With the decline of oil production in years to come the big killing will be in coal as well as nuclear energy. It is for these reasons that the nuclear energy industry took an extreme view over its detractors and organised intensive surveillance on the Sizewell plant objectors—via the Goldsmith-funded operation, Zeus.) In 1974—the height of the anti-Wilson conspiracy period—Young moved on from the Monday Club to become a founder member of the National Association of Freedom, which became a conduit for anti-Wilson smears.

Many of these smears came from Soviet defectors. Recently it has been shown by *Lobster* magazine that Goldsmith, in league with the CIA-controlled Brian Crozier, had access to many such defectors in the course of his campaigns to discredit people like Willy Brandt. In a 1984 *Sunday Times* article Goldsmith boasted that 'I personally interviewed every major defector from the Eastern Bloc in the last three and a half years.' One such defector, Oleg Bitov, alleged that Goldsmith's operation was headed by Brian Crozier. Crozier also worked for Goldsmith when he published his doomed *Now!* magazine, a glossy mainstream that acted as a channel for disinformation. Goldsmith's boasts only refer to the early 1980's, but there is no reason not to suppose that his access to Soviet defectors (via his friends in the Intelligence and Security services) extended back to an earlier period.

We now reproduce the relevant section of the unedited version of page 367 of *Spycatcher*. The blank bits refer to indecipherable parts of the text.

I already knew from Victor he was a () the make, and he was busy ingratiating himself with () th circle in the hope of a knighthood. Over drinks Goldsmith talked loosely about needing some guidance from someone 'in the know' without quite spelling out what he meant, or how much he was prepared to pay for it. Eventually he suggested I lunch with him and some colleagues at a London hotel to discuss his proposition in more detail.

His colleagues were a ramshackle bunch. David Stirling, the founder of the Special Air Service was there, as was a man named George Kennedy, a former MI6 officer who Dick White greatly disliked and retired at the earliest possible opportunity, after he took over as Director.

There were others, too, mainly businessmen.....

continued from previous page

remain in prison rather than the integrity of the establishment be called into question, and I start to fear that maybe I'll be here in prison for eternity. That's why it's so vitally important that we receive the help and support of ordinary people as well as sympathetic and progressive governments. Without that support the truth about our case will forever be ignored or denied by the British government, and we shall remain and probably die in prison.

COMMENT: Denning's statement probably is closest to the truth. The State needs scapegoats for the bombing and in admitting they caught and convicted the wrong people is admitting that the real perpetrators are still at large. In recent years there have been a number of enquiries by prominent people on behalf of the Birmingham Six but they have failed to lead to anything as they are 'competing' with similar appeals from other Irish-related cases (eg the Guildford Four). Too many mistakes cannot be admitted to at the same time, and so it all ends up as a game of mathematics. There is plenty of evidence in favour of the Six—what is needed is an escalation of the sort of pressure needed to ensure the case goes to appeal and the evidence heard.

POST-ZOMBIE RULE IN RUSSIA

According to historian Roy Medvedev, President Brezhnev was 'clinically dead' in 1976, but was restored to life by doctors who kept him going in a daze for six years, when he did not know what he was doing, something perhaps like President Reagan or General Franco, and maybe an occupational hazard. He was only chosen anyway to prevent the recurrence of another Stalin, a monkey who danced in a conditioned reflex while the organ grinders squabbled over the collection: those were years of financial corruption which followed Stalin's years of despotism, and are now being replaced by glasnost.

The background is the show trial of his son-in-law (in China it was Mao's widow) — there is some regular power theme to be seen here.

Financial corruption flowed logically from Stalinism — it is one way in which despotism can be modified and is either accepted or resisted by the State. Under Stalin attempts were made to put Lenin's State communism in practice by force — because the peasants would not yield up what they produced to the State, without benefit to themselves, they were subjected to genocide.

Stalin would not admit that State communism could not work and the rise of the new professional elite resulting from the huge scientific revolution began to challenge it by stealth even in his last years, establishing itself in the Brezhnev era. They would not be content to be serfs of the State but expected marks of distinction, trips abroad, dashas in the country, cars, furs, just as much as the tired old bureaucrats of the Party or the gogetters of the State, even if they had to get it by fraud. They expected to be able to express their thoughts even if all they had to offer was in terms of nationalism

and religion: the first to dissent were the privileged elite of writers, ballet dancers and the like, then from among the new upper class people who did not want to overturn the system but wanted national freedom, religious tolerance or in the case of the Jews, a mixture of both expressed in the right to emigrate. All these made an impression on the 'West' — which for years had co-operated in police repression of the Soviet workers and did not want to see the Soviet State overturned lest it bring a real revolution or alternatively a capitalist state that would oust America in resources. These 'dissidents' were their kind of people: who listened to the voice of America but did not expect to do much about it but be allowed to chatter.

Now at last 'glasnost' allows them to do that; the equivalent of the new rich are in the saddle and the days of the 'heroes of 1917' over, after also being artificially kept alive for years after their death.

As a result, the Russian press is deluged with letters criticising almost every aspect of Russian life. The sleeping giant has at last woken up and begun to grumble. Tsarist tyranny was so ingrained in Russia that it has taken seventy years to work itself out of the system. The everyday columns of the Russian press would have been regarded as heresy by communists only eighteen months ago, but while this is a healthy sign all this means is that a new class is taking over, one that does not fear the written word because it is versed in debate itself.

Nothing has altered the fundamental plight of the Russian worker, which is State communism just as ours is capitalism. True communism is unknown. Only when the workers there start to organise will there be the glimmerings of a revolution, just as there was last time, but next time let us hope it will stick to its principles and not let the others take over.

Trail of Havoc: In search of Lord Lucan

by Patrick Marnham (Penguin £2.99)

This purports to be an investigation of the events surrounding the disappearance of Lord Lucan in 1974. He disappeared just after the woman who looked after his children had been clubbed to death in the basement of the house where his wife lived with their children. His wife had also been violently assaulted, he was seen shortly after amply smeared with blood and he subsequently vanished.

The author's conclusion is that Lord Lucan did not kill the nanny himself but that he engaged an unapprehended hit man to kill his wife and that the nanny was killed in mistake for her. This seems fairly plausible, but is based on the author's assumption that Lucan acted throughout in a planned and

calculated manner because he had an overall purpose to regain the custody of his children. A man apparently ready to have his estranged wife killed thought himself a suitable person to have custody of children.

All I knew of Lord Lucan before reading this book and all I have learned of him from it leads me to the view that he was a socially useless and mentally limited upper class twit. He was the sort of man I would regard as capable of planning to kill his wife and overlook the fact that beating her over the head would lead to the spillage of considerable quantities of blood. It is Patrick Marnham's conviction that Lucan was unlikely to have been this stupid that leads him to construct an alternative explanation of the events than what seems the evident one, that Lucan killed the nanny.

Peter Miller

STILL HAZY AFTER ALL THESE YEARS

Our comrade Philip Ruff is writing a detailed story of the facts of Sidney Street. He has even got the collaboration of a Soviet historian Valentine Steinberg. We look forward to the book, which identifies Peter the Painter (an art student who became Latvia's great national painter known through Europe but who never dared to visit England after being unjustly accused), and the fact that the journalists got it wrong. The men concerned were not, as the press (not the police) insisted, Russian Jewish Anarchists, but Latvian Social-Democrats. The *Observer's* Nigel Hawkes (27/11/88) has splashed it as a sensation: but even faced with the evidence he's still got it as wrong as his predecessors of seventy years ago. Though a schism of Latvian social democrats became Bolsheviks and made good in Latvian society (which, alas, the anarchists never did) to Hawkes they're still 'Anarchists'. Maybe he's unwilling to face the facts as to what can happen when a charismatic leader splits a 'Social-Democratic Party' (as Lenin did) and founds a split giving it his own name... has it got a modern parallel?



Gederts Eliass (Peter the Painter)

WE REVEAL ALL

Can we correct some misapprehensions from friends and foes alike on the running of *Black Flag*. *Lobster* thinks we're anonymous. Formerly our editors got so much press publicity we decided not to mention the names of those of us involved (we also need jobs!); but we would have thought most people in the movement knew the various people concerned.

Recently someone described us as a 'bizarre organisation controlling the DAM' and another described DAM as a sinister organisation that grabbed control of *Black Flag*! Some years ago we thought about setting up an anarcho-syndicalist organisation, but decided it was superfluous when the DAM was formed. All involved in our collective were doing other things in the anarchist movement and most joined local DAM groups. Our bitterest liberal opponents think it's a one person effort, all written by one villain, to discredit them.

For the record, *Black Flag* was started by only six people; at one time we ran a rotating editorship, which did not last. We normally have an editorial team of about six and a production team of about a dozen (which overlap); supporters around the country write, sell or help in other ways.

All issues and some articles are a collective effort. Nobody is paid other than our printers and the post office, nobody is full time, everyone is engaged in other activity, there is no ownership and no property.

The long-standing deficit is borne in the name of an individual by an unsuspecting bank. Otherwise we are not subsidised.

It's true we were instrumental in founding the revived Black Cross. These days there is a network of Black Cross groups throughout this country and

LETTERS

I've received the first issue you sent, though it was delayed for a month by these wonderful people. No doubt the local censors found it interesting—ha ha! Looking forward to future editions, keep up the good work.

Gary Bornman (US prisoner).

It's great to read an Anarchist publication which has got its priorities right. Anarchism—misrepresented as it is—needs this sort of thing. Keep up the good work—Anarchism could easily become swamped or misunderstood. Action and information are the only way forward: many people (even here) would be for anarchism if the issues, and facts, were laid out clearly.

Tim, Cambridge

I really enjoy reading Black Flag which I think is a brilliant publication and

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. While of course 'doctor' is nowhere exclusively medical, in Germany all bourgeois from professors to directors of rag-picking companies insist on the title Herr Doktor as a mark of respect to their supposed qualifications (the exception nowadays being that many women object to being called Frau Doktor, as this can also just signify marital status).
2. It was formed during the war-time coalition (when the Labour Party did not contest by-elections) by middle class political careerists who got the left-wing of the Labour Party to vote for them despite the Conservative, Labour and Communist Parties supporting the official Churchill candidate; their remaining MPs defected to the Labour Party after 1945. They had a major electoral success in a Forces Education mock-Parliament (debating society) in Cairo during the war, which scared the government—though nothing like as much as the Middle East soldiers' strike

many others besides. These different groups, while having their different priorities, share a common purpose in publicising by word and deed the revolutionary struggles which leave many of our comrades imprisoned.

With the next issue we reach our 20th birthday; more or less at the same time as DAM reaches its tenth.



WITH BATTLE HONOURS

Emilio Santana, publisher of *La Batalha* and committed Anarchist since childhood, has died at the age of 82. Born in Lisbon, his parents sent him to a Free School—on similar lines to Francisco Ferrer's Modern School—financed by the local Metalworkers Union. A lifelong activist, Emilio spent years in prison for fighting fascism, including 15 years under the Salazar regime. He was involved in an assassination attempt on dictator Dr Salazar in 1937.

DRESDEN PRODUCTIONS

DP is an anti-fascist co-op. It specialises in over-printing on T Shirts and the design and printing of patches. Send in your designs/orders to DP, Box 24, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham St, Reading RG1 7JF

ASP (publications) have changed address to ASP, BCM 3714, London WC1N 3XX. Write for a catalogue of anarchist syndicalist propaganda.

vital to the British Anarchist movement.

A.R., Wallington

I'm amazed how you keep Black Flag going. It's unique in its blend of revolutionary syndicalism combines investigative journalism with hardline theory not to mention its ABC work. Why don't you get more support?

J.B., London

COMMENT: 'Keep up the good work' comes from many correspondents so we hope we can; we were also encouraged at the recent anti-Economic League conference by all the references to the *Black Flag* campaign, many of which came from unexpected quarters on the left.

We don't only get snide attacks like those in the daily press, *Searchlight* or elsewhere!

for quicker demobilisation a few years later!

3. The Ukrainian.
4. True in a way! When people fought for free speech, and obtained it against State opposition in a great many places which came to be recognised as forums, they were harassed by police, but as the determination to fight for free speech eroded, and this particular Speakers Corner became a one-off place of entertainment, the authorities effectively recognised it as a museum piece.
5. Introduced by Maxwell and Murdoch into the language as a result of confusion between 'custom and practice' being defended in the print industry, and the phrase 'old Spanish customs' used by London printers, which comes from California, referring to the supposed grace, courtesy and goodwill of Spanish colonial days, alien to the parvenu proprietors whose methods are nearer to the real ways of the Spanish colonialists.