Pub Bombings: THE STATEMENT THEY SUPPRESSED

We are all four Irish Republicans. We have recognised this court to the extent that we have instructed our lawyers to draw the attention of the court to the fact that four totally innocent people - Carole Richardson, Gerry Conlon, Paul Hill and Paddy Armstrong - are serving massive sentences for three bombings, two in Guildford and one in Woolwich, which three of us and another man now imprisoned have admitted that we did.

The Director of Public Prosecutions was made aware of these admissions in December 1985, and has chosen to do nothing. We wonder if he will still do nothing when he is made aware of the new and important evidence which has come to light through the cross examination by our counsel of certain prosecution witnesses in this trial.

The evidence of Higgs and Lidstone (forensic experts) played a vital part in the conviction of innocent people. Higgs admitted in this trial that the Woolwich bomb formed part of a correlated series with other bombings with which we are charged. Yet, when he gave evidence in the earlier Guildford trial he deliberately concealed that the Woolwich bomb was part of a series carried out between October and December 1974 and that the people on trial were in custody at the time of some of these bombings.

Cuba's Forgotten Anarchists

Deep inside the dungeons of one of Cuba's more notorious prisons is an anarchist syndicalist militant who believes he has been forgotten for ever. Angel Donato Martinez is one of the few remaining members of the Zapata Group, an agrarian anarchist-syndicalist group that first emerged at the beginning of this decade to challenge the Stalinist practices of the Cuban dictatorship.

The group saw itself as following in the traditions of the great Mexican revolutionaries Emilio Zapata and Flores Magón: they took up the struggle against the exploitation of the peasantry, and the exploitation of the workers.

Free syndicates were not tolerated and members of the group were forced to operate clandestinely. In 1982 several large-scale strikes took place. The authorities decided to clamp down and rid themselves of the strike militants. The police moved in swiftly and rounded up 20 members of the Zapata Group. They were accused of trying to form an independent union and of industrial sabotage.

Five of the 20 were sentenced to death. One of them, Carta Paron, died in prison after she was tortured to death in the Villa Marta internment centre. Anarchist exiles began immediately a campaign to save the five. Communists about their fate were sent out to groups around the world. Many of these communists did not react to their destinations, information about the campaign was suppressed. In some cases there was even disbelief that this sort of thing could happen in Cuba. The general ignorance of many outside Cuba about the true picture of what was happening in that country. In consequence international support was largely confined to exiles in Central America and in the USA.

As a result of the international support the death sentences were commuted, the five instead being given long-term jail sentences. Only the fate of one, Donato, is known today - the other four may well be still inside, or they may be dead.

Donato is believed to be inside the Combinado del Este prison, near Havana. Information as to his precise condition is unknown. His supporters in exile believe his situation will improve if interest in him increases internationally.

The treatment of anarchists and agrarian-syndicalists in Cuba - who demand liberty, land and collectivisation - over the years by the Cuban authorities has been that of continuous persecution, imprisonment and - more often than not - death. Many activists rarely find their way to prison but are taken by the death squads and killed. Since 1982 we know of several militants who have had their lives ended in this fashion. Ramon Toledo Lugo and Armando Hernandez were both killed by the death squads. Others have been given 30 year prison sentences - people like the brothers David, Carlos and Jorge Cardo, Jesus Varla, Israel Lopez Toledo, and Timoteo Toledo Lugo. Certain of their wives were also imprisoned on conspiracy charges.

The above represent only a tiny fraction of the anarchist and syndicalist struggle inside Cuba. The struggle has been isolated, but it continues. It is long-term that it was widened and internationalised.

SOURCE: "ABC Latinoamérica" N.B. Unfortunately we have no knowledge of Latinoamérica; nor can we necessarily assume that "ABC" here refers to Anarchist Black Ores. When we know more we will publish the details.
In the last issue of *Black Flag*, we published an article about the National Front and its activities. The National Front is a far-right political organization that promotes nationalism, anti-immigrant sentiment, and anti-Semitic views. The article discussed the organization's tactics, its recruitment methods, and its potential impact on the political landscape. It highlighted the need for vigilance against such groups and the importance of supporting those who are working to counteract their influence.
ThE LIBERAL facedacity of Gorbachev was well and truly exposed in the aftermath of the demonstrations in August. The authorities of Siberia and the Ukraine, who are now organizing independently to retain the free soviets, Gorbachev's response, together with that of the Supreme Soviet, was to prepare legislation to meet the demands being brought forward by the Thatchersites. Intitatively Gorbachev called for a 15 month ban on all strikes—but this was based on the assumption that the strike movement was being accepted in its stead. The liberals eagerly seized the rejections on workers' strike action in essential industries in order to 'save

the economy.' Surely, this was what Stalinism was all about? Pre-Gorbachev state-control of the economy was paramount, today it is the same, albeit that the restructuring process is about moving towards Western-style capitalism.

Perestroika cannot afford workers control to participate in the programme, the workers moving to be curbed at all costs. The new legislation brings in compulsory arbitrations—a fact of industrial legislation in many Western countries. Strike leaders will also be punished for advocating 'unlawful action' (eg strikes). It is ironic that only days after Gorbachev brought in this measure the Government in Britain announced that it, too, had similar legislation in the pipeline. In the US, however, the strike movement is defined as 'unnecessary' as the trade unions are state controlled and do not organise strikes: any strike action, therefore, is undertaken outside the unions by workers direct.

The new legislation even brings in measures to make strikes ineffective financially for damages. In this Gorbachev is most definitely following in Mrs Thatcher's footsteps. We see, for example, Soviet strike committees being disaccredited for disrupting industry? Curiously, or perhaps not, the legislation actually provides for prisoners to take strike action communalising something that is virtually impossible to organise in Western jails but may well be more common with the wider privatisation of prisons. In Soviet jails prisoners are forced to do hard labour and the strike weapon by inmates is difficult to counter. But will the new legislation work? Gorbachev presumably believes so. It abolishes force for him, however, that on the very day that details of the legislation were announced, 1,000 miners in Lvov came out on strike. The Ukrainian miners have virtually taken over the employer's premises and are using the buildings to preveat that revolution. Since the strike wave by the miners has it been reported that many of the coal bosses at local level have been sacked by the strikers. Also 'union' funds have been reappropriated by the strike committees, new permanent bodies.

Gorbachev has clearly asked his career, for the time being, on limiting strike action. Having done this he will want to send in troops to quell strikes that they shoul doing. Again, if the workers decide to take matters into their own hands Gorbachev will then find himself open to the side of the forces of repression—a role he has tried, so far, to avoid. On the question of troop deployment against industrial or civil unrest Gorbachev now has to face, however, a possible rebellion amongst elements within the Red army: the newly appointed General Secretary, and albeit largely by middle ranking officers, has openly declared that its members rule out the 'use of military force against our own people and those of other countries'. Shield is hardly a union, though, in that it also rules out the use of strike action and 'direct resistance' as a weapon to achieve its aims.

The miners in the Ukraine and Siberia showed what sort of challenge could be made and consolidated their gains by taking direct industrial and community control away from the bureaucratise, the party leaders and apparatchiks, and union stooges. They demonstrated the real meaning of free elections and a genuine political revolution.

A rejection against tyranny —whether state communist or capitalist—is surely the only road to freedom. Restructuring or 'perestroika' is the means by which one economy can be changed to make for it that prevents that revolution. The Soviet people have faced greater odds.

N.B. As we go to press Soviet miners have refused to recognise the strike ban and have taken direct industrial action. 20,000 miners in the GOM believes in the shut down of the Sibnersky entrance on strike. Two days after they returned to work, miners in Vorotxa struck, refused to return to work. Implementation in full of the agreement was earlier in the year than in any of the first, and wider, strike wave.

THE BERGAMO ARRESTS

THE ARREST of Alfredo Bonanno and Pippo Staia during an attempted robbery in a jeweller's shop in Bergamo was followed by a series of police raids on addresses of militants throughout Italy, as reported in Black Flag, without reason and without result. In a statement they both declared that the attempted robbery was 'exclusively for personal reasons' because we did not have time and needed money', taking the logical position that this was his honest a way in any other in a capitalist society. The myth-making police-wanting scapegoats now that they have given up on the 'Murrays' have claimed it was 'for the funds' and tried to humb to them with numerous unsolved burglaries and even a hoarder, of which they literally knew nothing.

A full dossier has been printed in Catania (Sicily) which makes interesting reading. Available (in English) from surrection, BM Elephant, London W.C.1 XXX.

Excuse, please

Following the release of eight Spanish Anarchists we have seen previous politicians have had all charges dropped. All ten were originally accused of belonging to an 'anarchist commando'. Charges also dropped included possession of arms and explosives.
miscarriage of justice had taken place, all fairness the prominent people team followed. Suddenly interest in the case inside. Two other programs by the same questioning the evidence that put the Four's release. The Four's lawyers were nothing short of heroic in their determination at the time of their arrest and conviction it defending but because the evidence... Teveller Magazine, as well as others similar to the time to their obvious innocence—not even the Government could not allow the initiative in exposing the cover-up. It was to make legal history.

Unprecedented manner, ordered the Court of Appeal to hold an emergency sitting. The Government could not allow the exposure of the cover-up to go ahead of the initiative in exposing the cover-up. The Four's release. The Four's lawyer's was living in Armstrong in London and had been engaged in petty swaging as well as drug taking. Collectively their lifestyles was hardly one that could be associated with a IRA active unit. But information forced out of them under interrogation led to more arrests and others being charged in relation to the possession of explosives. These others—mainly members of one family, the Maguire Seven—were convicted as well.

Due to the recent media attention the public in general are now more fully aware of the facts of the cover-up than ever before. But the cover-up has been well known by the Guildford Four's supporters from the beginning. We were not interested in, mainly because to acknowledge the extent of the cover-up would have meant the end of the careers of some very prominent and senior people in the judiciary and the Police establishment. In this matter the police have made it easy to the Four in the cover-up as anyone else: their determination in the case was not to contribute to the concealment of facts.

For the sake of clarity we have put together our report on the extent of the cover-up for this we have not only referred to information recently received but we have gone back to our own and similar reports covered by the radical press at the time of the arrests. We present this overview of the cover-up and, with the limited knowledge we have at our disposal, name those guilty of the wrongful imprisonment of the Four (and, subsequently, the Maguire Seven). We tell you the truth. We are not interested in, mainly because to acknowledge the extent of the cover-up would have meant the end of the careers of some very prominent and senior people in the judiciary and the Police establishment. In this matter the police have made it easy to the Four in the cover-up as anyone else: their determination in the case was not to contribute to the concealment of facts.

The framing of the Four, as well as the construction of a number of other bombings. The Four had been engaged in petty thefting as well as drug taking. Collectively their lifestyles was hardly one that could be associated with an IRA active unit. But information forced out of them under interrogation led to more arrests and others being charged in relation to the possession of explosives. These others mainly members of one family, the Maguire Seven, were convicted as well.

The original trial involved the cover-up in the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings, made statements to the IRA activists, who became known as the Balcombe Street gang. They stated that they and not the Guildford Four had carried out these bombings. At the trial Judge Cantley attempted to prevent a statement being read out by the defendants. The IRA activists were found guilty and convicted in connection with other bombings. The Guildford Four then lodged an appeal on the strength of the admissions made by the Balcombe Street gang. The appeal was lost. No other appeal was accepted despite, over the years, increasing amounts of evidence indicating that they were innocent.

**ARRESTS AND TRIAL**

The first of the Four to be arrested was Paul Hill, who was held at Guildford police station under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which had only come into force the day before he was taken in for questioning. Under interrogation Hill 'confessed' to the police officers from the Surrey Constabulary and the Royal Ulster Constabulary his involvement in the kidnapping of a British soldier who was later killed by a Republican activist. Gerard Conlon Patrick Armstrong and Carole Richardson were also taken in for questioning and, like Hill, were interrogated by members of the Surrey Constabulary and the Royal Ulster Constabulary as the Army (Terrorist Squad), attached to Scotland Yard. There was immense pressure on the Four to get quick results. The Four were not the only ones who had been picked up for questioning.

In all forty people were taken in and interrogated by the Surrey Constabulary and the Bomb Squad. Hill was from Bellast, but had been caught up in the fringes of the Republican movement in Northern Ireland; Conlon was also from Bellast, but was a former member of the IRA's youth wing, a known petty criminal and a Friend of Hill. Armstrong, a friend of Hill and Conlon, had been living in Armstrong in London and had been engaged in petty swaging as well as drug taking. Collectively their lifestyles was hardly one that could be associated with an IRA active unit. But information forced out of them under interrogation led to more arrests and others being charged in relation to the possession of explosives. These others mainly members of one family, the Maguire Seven, were convicted as well.

**FACTOR**

Inquiries by the Avon and Somerset Constabulary have resulted in the discovery of the fabrication of evidence by the police in the cover-up by police involved in the arrest and interrogation of the Guildford Four. This complements other evidence that we have gathered on the innocence of the Four which has been held and presented by lawyers acting on their behalf. But it was not just police officers who conspired to frame the Four, but members of the Police Protection and Resolutions being aware of this evidence the Four's...
behind the cover-up

The intelligence reports referred to by Neil had been passed on to the Director of Public Prosecutions of the day, Sir Norman Skelhorn. Skelhorn asked Sir Michael Havers, the prosecuting counsel — was given evidence proving Gerard Conlon could not have been involved in any way in the bombings. Gilmour had an alibi witness stating he was with him on the night of the crimes. The witness was held back by the police and Skelhorn from Gilmour’s lawyer, Gaihem. What is particularly interesting is that Gilmour was planning to produce a witness to state that on the night of the crimes, he and his friends had been to a pub and then played darts. The witness to this was held back by the police and Skelhorn from Gilmour’s lawyer, Gaihem. What is particularly interesting is that Gilmour was planning to produce a witness to state that on the night of the crimes, he and his friends had been to a pub and then played darts.

The consequences

The Guildford Four are still demanded innocent. The guilty are those who competed to see who could be most distanced from any of our lives knowing that they were innocent. The innocent were named the guilty above. Some are now dead, most are still alive. Certain of these now hold senior positions in the Establishment. They are responsible for the investigation of 26 years of four people convicted of bombings in Guildford with which they had no connection, and with the subsequent

improvement of another seven people — the Maguire family — who were innocent. Those involved in the cover-up deserve the same medicine as the Maguire family and those innocent to the point of the terms who were wrongly convicted. However, the only action taken so far against the guilty has been the suspension of the investigation by police officers (Donaldson, Ansell and Lewis). These, relatively, junior officers clearly should be punished, but should every other living person who participated in the fabrication of evidence be as well, including subsequent cover-up.

On the release Paul Hill stated: “I am profoundly sad that (Detective Inspector) Tim Blake is now dead, I’d love to dig him up and carry him to the judicial inquiry. Not in a spirit of revenge but just to be vindicated.” It’d be nice if they could spend 15 years in jail thinking they were free.

The Four deserve maximum financial compensation for the years of their lives they have lost in prison. All were young and have lost their youth. Hill, released on bail pending an investigation into the murder of the soldier in Northern Ireland (to which he confessed, involving no diversions or interrogations by some of the same police officers now under investigation) is now physically weak and needs medical attention. Armstrong and Richardson are psychologically hampered by the experience of imprisonment and the shock of their sudden release having convinced themselves they would never see freedom. Conlan lost his father, Giuseppe, who was himself imprisoned as one of the Maglure Seven and who died in jail. These of the Maglure Seven who served their sentences (and Giuseppe) were released five years of torment for their convictions by a public who were not aware of the facts. They were only able to address their case too. The seven charged with possession and who were convicted were Anne Maguire, her husband Patrick, her brother William Smyth, her brother-in-law Giuseppe Conlan, her two children Vincent and Patrick, and a family friend Patrick O’Neill. The trial of the Seven was a farce. The only evidence presented against them was forensic, which attempted to show that minute traces of nitro-glycerine had been found underneath the fuse nails of the accused. No actual explosives or any equipment were found. Indeed the forensic scientist who presented the evidence in court admitted that the scientific test was not fool-proof, that the traces found could also have been traces of tobacco, nail varnish or air freshener and that the test confused nitro-glycerine with nitrates. At the time of their trial the Media, which now likes to be seen as a non-partisan body, spread stories about “Aunty Annie’s Bomb Factory” (Anne Maguire was identified in court as the “Ringleader”) and provided much background prejudice for their conviction.

The Gilmour and Conlon case is the first to their intention to campaign rigorously for the release of the six men convicted of the Birmingham pub bombings of 1974. Birmingham Six lost their Appeal but since then the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad has been closed down due to widespread corruption and the fabrication of evidence in a number of trials by police officers, some of whom were involved in the Birmingham pub bombings case. The convictions of the Birmingham Six was based, like the Gilmour Four, largely on uncorroborated confessions, as well as forensic evidence that has since been discounted. Members of the IRA have also stated that they, and not the Six, carried out the bombings. There may not be any new evidence for an Appeal for the Six, but with the recent events relating to the West Midlands Crimes Squad there is now sufficient leverage for the judicial system to take these matters one account and review the original convictions, as also the convictions of others dealt with by the Squad whose inactivity has been vehemently protested or where uncorroborated confessions have been the main evidence presented at trial.

One of the main public confidence in policing and policing procedures, never mind the legal system, must surely be lacking. Apologists for the police in times such as these always fan the ‘froth rotten apples’ theory; but we would, instead, argue that it is the other way around. Within the police there are no doubts a few ‘good chaps’, who are made to conform and close ranks when accusations of corruption are made. It is a myth that compared, say, to ‘third world’ countries policing in Britain is that much more incorruptible. Policing by its nature is about corruption: it is about, at best, the containment of crime and the main priority is always a few cut-rate cops. Undoubtedly, therefore, there will always be some who are punished for things they have never done. This corruption will not be eradicated by new legislation or the odd judicial inquiry: the police will always find ways and means of clearing up crimes by whatever method they can, regardless of the consequences and of how many lives they ruin.

Paul Hill

On the morning of 23rd May 1981 it is pinned down and I was seated at twenty of us stood outside Hill Prison to express solidarity with four Irish prisoners inside—one of them Paul Hill. It was part of the ‘diam protest’ and hunger strike by Republicans in the H-blocks at Long Kesh and the Armagh women’s jail. They made a demand for political not criminal status and refusing to wear prison uniforms but only a blanket over their bodies. In protest at continual beatings and humiliating strip searches, the prisoners refused to issue their cells and smeared their own shit over the walls. As well as those in the H-blocks and Armagh, Paul Hill was on the blanket protest in Hill. The anarchist group held up a sheet with SMASH ALL PRISONS painted on it. A few of us wrapped ourselves in blankets to signify our solidarity—we were caught by the Hill Daily Mail photographer.

I remember writing a note to Paul Hill saying he wasn’t forgotten and he was in it for me. But he was shot in the back, but I still wish he’d been shot in the back. It was a terrible mistake. He was shot down from prison to prison fifty times, spent four years in prison and suffered countless beatings. The resilience of the human spirit never ceases to amaze me. Paul Hill I salute you. The last eight years haven’t been easy. For me in Thatcher’s Britain, but Christ knows what Paul Hill had with what he’d been through. I’ve had the last words to Paul Hill written in 1978: ‘They cannot isolate what they cannot see—our spirits remain free.’

into the green

Concern for the environment, ecology, the conservation of natural resources is a prime matter for the working people, who account for the worst excesses of exploitation of natural and human resources, whatever the class and class background. The worst excesses have been caused, and still are being caused, in the pursuit of profit but such exploitation can be halted and the peak and if it continues, everything will dry up including the ability to make profits. Hence the dilemma of the upper and middle classes: if they go on exploiting natural and animal resources, then the ecological balance will be destroyed. Collectively they realise the time has come for limiting the amount of exploitation of certain individuals and still the possibility for profit which did formerly exist among those already saturated.

An effective collective movement may be organized neither by one, parallel, or indeed identical, on one concentrating on wage increases and a higher standard of living. For the utmost increase in the immediate quality of life they need better housing, better surroundings, more availability of goods, less pollution, more cash, which they need to fight for collectively. Direct action to preserve the environment, or prevent people sleeping on the streets, or going hungry should now be fought for. The increase of the standard of living are not ‘impossible’ (referring to thinking that one or all of any of these things are sufficient); but they can only be achieved if linked to a social revolution against capitalist and state domination.

Political solutions?

For the middle class this is a daunting prospect: they prefer to seek ways of cutting the excesses of capitalism which do not involve any interference with their lifestyle. They say, for instance, (rightly) don’t build more houses on the green belt round the cities— which is clearly the only living in a comfortable house in a leafy suburb or a listed country mansion which they have no intention of sharing, but less attractive to slum dwellers. Therefore (according to political experts) they dream up political solutions — e.g. reducing the number of hours, reducing the amount of load in cars, or the number of cars (not that they will do without one themselves), reducing the amount of pollution or food additives which provide the profits that make the middle class live, even making the number of people (bet your life, not definitely) do anything for the environment except get off your back. The people they really want to talk to are the hard-core, who does it, or even to demand a few for their own needs is a matter of principle. It is, of course, only partly the excesses of pollution and the interest in them that have made the contemporary ecology-interest. The other factor is entirely political. The formation of a political party within the Green Party is imperative. For the fringe of others as long as they don’t know too much about it or are not asked to do much for the British police, it’s Castor and the fun candidature for parliament and—and nobody votes FOR a main party, but only against the other—they looked a bit credible as a third party as the Liberal and Democratic Alliance cannot win. They pick up a few votes and so the whole of the politicians (not to mention some organisations and finance companies with their green schemes) are jumping on the horse-powered bandwagon. But voting green, getting parties to adopt green policies, or adopting the word green to a middle class programme isn’t doing anything about ecology, any more than green capitalism protects. Protection against exploitation of the environment needs direct action, but only anyone taking direct action for ecology, the political greens disown it, yet it stimulates those who vote for them, thinking someone is doing something about the problem and the least they can do is vote. When will they ever learn?

N.B. An example of catching-in the Green issue is the ownership of the newly published Green Party Handbook, compiled by Northern & Shell who built up their publishing assets selling soft porn magazines like ‘Plewry’ and ‘Tell’ and obviously see little difference between the consumerist boom, ecological matters and newly interests in the consciousness stimulation: both are a market to exploit.
THE SIEGE OF CARRARA

In 1944 THE evergreen tradition of anarchism among the marble workers of Carrara, who had continued inside families and despite harsh repression had made an unbroken resistance, began to come to an end. The retreat of the Allied invasion to make mass armed attacks against all socialists, communists, and Trotskyite parties, had halted parties at such attacks as favours of national treason (until the King changed sides) and nowhere more so than in Carrara, they were able in the last years of the War to occupy, or were given to following the first) various buildings in which to reconstruct their movements.

(For information regarding the Italian Revolution, see the latest pamphlet Red Years, Black Flags publishers, and the many recent articles in Black Flag.)

The workers in the marble quarries were the only hour day hour back in 1911. The anarchist Alberto Messori was secretary of the local trade union for years, and he talked to him in one square. Most workers belonged to the Union Sindacale Italiani (USI) and it was a bastion of resistance to fascists from the first. In 1926 One of the local anarchists, Gino Lanfranchi, had been put in jail. But like others he was manipulated by Stalin's agents (though he didn't know Stalin himself), and he was put into jail. Geography and the chemical composition of the marble, the workers could make fantastic changes to it. Don't you think about it. The marble was the product of a thousand years of geological process and the workers had the skill to transform it. Stalin's men had done this, and the workers had done it better.

During the civil war, Trotskyites abroad had been presented by the POUM as 'traitors' to the revolution, and in Spain, they were used as a tool to suppress other political tendencies, including those of the CNT. Trotskyites had been accused of collaborating with the fascist forces and providing support to the fascists. The POUM, on the other hand, had always been opposed to collaboration and had maintained their independence.

The workers had to fight for their survival, and they did so with determination and resilience. The marble workers of Carrara were no exception. They had to resist the fascist forces, and they did so with courage and determination. They were not alone in their struggle, for other workers across Europe also joined the fight against fascism.

In 1944, the Italian Revolution had begun, and the workers in Carrara were part of this broader movement. They were not only fighting for their own survival, but also for the freedom of Italy and the end of fascism. The workers were determined to resist, and they succeeded in their struggle against the fascist forces.

The workers in Carrara were not alone in their struggle, for other workers across Europe also joined the fight against fascism. The Carrara workers were part of a broader movement that aimed to overthrow the fascist regime and establish a new society based on freedom and equality. The Carrara workers were determined to resist, and they succeeded in their struggle against the fascist forces.
COLD OFF the press is a new mag dressed up as Anarchist but coming in like a second-rate cut-out mag (we assure you), Socialism from Below, published by the so-called Anarchist Workers Group. It's predictably filled with much package-deal Leftism, which it claims will 're-establish anachism a reputation at a serious ideological force', and much criticism of Black Flag which has been doing just that for real anarchism as against the various phony punks and ringleaders for twenty years (and even been accused of sectarianism for doing so).

Up to the miners strike Black Flag had, it says, 'in large been a poor pot of punksy, prisoners investigative journalism and articles about dubious European armed Leninist groups' (and not the accepted package deal at all). We support punksy, prisoners, men of imprecision as an anarchist, and in post-war Europe, anarchism and neo-Leninism competed for the minds of resistance groups (thanks to the ringleaders, the neo-Leninists squeaked the other one). Anyone who thinks we supported the anarchists (except insofar as we support all class struggle prisoners) wants their tiny mind examined. But stay! With the miners strike we 'tail-ended', reporting but not analysing, collecting money, giving support and joining support groups'. Please indeed, backing the struggle but not trying to take over. Good! These activities are all fine — they're all part of the struggle (.indent — we should have been 'analysing' instead, and giving a 'clear lead to the anarchists', like tell them and the miners to join the two and a half members of AWG, a caricature of a trot group approach.

Such groups trade on the pseudo-anarchist photos they pretend to despise, hoping to form a strong group to join the trots in a Broad Left. There is a whole history of this since the late unlamented 'platformer' ORA: they first pretend a few 'they represent the anarchists masses'. Lenin told them to get hold of first, and some minor trot parties think they have a chance of demo fodder they can manipulate (sorry, make ideologically conscious). But then they can't deliver the bodies and the trots drop them, so the stranded groups (like the ACF (pro-punks) group) talk about action while undertaking none, falling back on 'freedom' to adorn them. 'Socialism from Below' says 'most of the anarchists look to Black Flag for a lead'. Really? If so, we call on them to swap away all this garbage from the doorstep so people can come.

How's that for a clear lead?
BLACK FLAG PAGE 8

LETTERS

Dear Black Flag

In issue 189 Q A on Anarchists you stated that confusion between anarchism and American individualism was a class play against both syndicalism and anarchism and that this was partly an overreaction. Anarchism is a working class movement and it is my belief that one of its highest principles the rights of the individual. Bakunin defined freedom as the absolute right of all adult men and women to seek permission for their actions only from their own conscience and reason.

The American individualists (Thoreau, Whitman) were just such people and so should be held in high esteem by all Anarchists. The problem with society is that it is based on the lower human instincts i.e. greed and vanity, as opposed to higher instincts, i.e. learning, healing, cooperation, government. Whoever is in power, knows this and so uses it, hence privatization and selling of counsel homes to trusts.

The struggle against capitalism is a struggle which will only be won by changing people's attitudes, and the best way of doing that is through example. The American individualist - as an example we could do a lot worse than to try to follow, especially concerning Poll Tax.

SMB, Chislehurst.

COMMENT: Right on! But what was actually said was that the (current) definition of anarchism as pure individualism comes from confusion between "European liberalism and American individualism", which equals the extreme right wing of the Tory Party. Though the "libertarian right" talk about individualism nowadays they have nothing in common with Whitman and Thoreau's writings in mind than when Dr Öwen's Social Democrats are called Owenites they have 19th century co-operation and in fact more than any Bakunin's Social Democratic Alliance! The New Right have now adopted individualism phases the Owenite ideal, and the use of socialist ideas: the confusion in language is deliberate.

Dear Comrades,

We were surprised to read in your May 1st issue in reference to an article "Anarchy in Greece", the claim that Anarchist is now working with a reformist prisoners' group. This statement is slanderous and utterly false.

The Anarchist Cell was formed in January 1988 after a split with the Union of Anarchists. Since then the cell has embarked on a long term anti-militarism campaign, has supported imprisoned anarchist Szymonowskis, Mariusz, Vogiatzi and Boukeouzakis, presented to the trials of the Turkish Prime Minister Ocal and more recently called for an electoral strike. In Greece there are numerous anarchist groups operating and the spread of fake information could not only shatter the sometimes fragile relations but also damage the cause of international solidarity.

Anarchist Cell

P.O. Box 39558
Athens 11403

Dear Black Flag

Your magazine's latest issue has a front cover and much space devoted to industrial support for waging remotely resembling "syndicalism" or "independent unionism" in the Eastern bloc. Regardless of whether it really helps the struggle or not. Meanwhile there is no mention at all in your latest issue of Solidarnosc winning their power in Poland and preparing to crush strikes and impose capitalist austerity. Does your readership support "independent unionism" mean in practice you support the Polish unionists? The trade unions which the authorities in the East are encouraging and which is backed by Western governments is just as corporatist and authoritarian, which is the aim of the trade unions. Black Flag should be concentrating on supporting national political struggles and not supporting unions that will be used to denigrate those struggles. P.P. Reading

Answers to quiz

1. Rape on a remedy of one is three times still carrying the death penalty (the other two are: a) high treason and arson in a safes dockyard.

2. John Amery was a British fascist who got national press when he burned down the French Embassy and who, when WWII joined a German conglomerate who had invited his father was Minister for India (his brother a) a) Terry MP. As others in like circumstances where the natural German were hanged (some who changed nationality per-capita were imprisoned) his family.

Chambwambo—English Rebel Songs 1891-1914

A 12 INCH MINI-LP of old folk songs, and very good too. The masked ranks of Chambwambo sing their uncompromising way through twelve traditional songs in a style, a modern reclaiming of our forgottenoral history.

The tracks here are, as the title suggests, old songs that document our history (as not taught elsewhere). The long and bloody struggle of working class folk of the past and inspires us to keep the flames of struggle burning.

The LP kicks off with The Curly Wren, originally written in 1838 to tell of the Peasants Revolt against the Poll Tax. An appropriate choice. Then we are taken through the ages to hear about the Diggers, the Luddites, the Chartists, the Manchester Martins and the conspirators of WOII.

The sleeve is great - lots of notes about each song with a brief history of the struggle of that time and historical notes. The CD is an original drawing from 1795 of King George's coach being attacked by rioters after the opening of Parliament. It should have been released 18 months ago but as Chambwambo's old distributors went bankrupt they had a protean existence to their work. I'm glad they succeeded as for only £6 this is a great buy.

If you can't get it from a record shop, it's available from Agitprop. Box 4, 52 Cadogan Lane, London LS1607

Caparet 1980-1988

This BOOKLET is similar to Bagaf the brainchild of the late Larry Lamb. It regales anecdotes from his life whilst he was a collection of amazing pranks people got up to regarding themselves or authority. Cabaret catalogues some of the usual kind of political buffoonery. Having taken part in a couple of the pranks from the book, they are for their veracity. The incongruity some people have got up to when fighting back is just breathtakingly well illustrated and just the thing to while away an evening before getting up to some pranks.

(£4.00 from A-dia, 5/9, Whitham High Street, London E.)

STRIKES TO GO UNDERGROUND

THE GOVERNMENT'S Green Paper on new Employment Bill for the coming parliamentary term was hurriedly re-drafted to take account of the widespread strike action, much of it unofficial, that took place in the summer. The Government hopes that the new legislation will curb unofficial actions. If implemented as proposed the legislation will certainly have the effect of dividing unions even further. The membership will become even more disloyd from the leaderships. Union leaders will be forced to take punitive action against union members who take strike action or themselves see sequestration of funds. Unofficial action will have to be repudiated not just by union officials but also by shop stewards— their failure to do so could lead to the seizure of union funds. Unions will also be compelled to take legal action against strike leaders, All this will mean that union leaders will need to identify who the strike leaders are so that appropriate action may be taken. Strike leaders will therefore be required to be targeted not only by employers but by the unions: in this way they will be subject to double blacklisting.

The Green Paper also proposes that employers can use unofficial strike leaders and committees for damages, and not just unions. In addition employers will be able to sack employees for taking strike action and will not be liable to unfair dismissal proceedings. Again, to do this effectively employers will need to have good intelligence on the strike organisers. They will want workers to spy on workers, and union officials to spy on those they represent. All in all, it is a charter for blacklisting. Strike organisers, according to the proposals, can be sacked and persecuted, and without other strike leaders, will be subject to unfair dismissal proceedings. Under these conditions strike action conducted directly by workers will be impossible unless organised outside the unions altogether. If a union colludes with the legislation it will alienate it from its members. If it ignores it, then it will be penalised and bankrupted. By outlawing all strikes, bar those organised by the trade unions, employers need to think about their employers need to think about their interests as a class to consider conditions set by the government, the legislation will succeed in forcing industrial action underground. This is the aim of the government. It is not to be deluded by the promises of the government. The workers are the only ones who are encouraging the movement which is backed by Western governments and which is just as corporatist and authoritarian, which is the aim of the trade unions. Black Flag should be concentrating on supporting national political struggles and not supporting unions that will be used to denigrate those struggles.

SMB, Chislehurst.

COMMENT: Right on! But what was actually said was that the (current) definition of anarchism as pure individualism comes from confusion between "European liberalism and American individualism", which equals the extreme right wing of the Tory Party. Though the "libertarian right" talk about individualism nowadays they have nothing in common with Whitman and Thoreau's writings in mind than when Dr Öwen's Social Democrats are called Owenites they have 19th century co-operation and in fact more than any Bakunin's Social Democratic Alliance! The New Right have now adopted individualism phases the Owenite ideal, and the use of socialist ideas: the confusion in language is deliberate.

Dear Comrades,

We were surprised to read in your May 1st issue in reference to an article "Anarchy in Greece", the claim that Anarchist Cell is now working with a reformist prisoners' group. This statement is slanderous and utterly false.

The Anarchist Cell was formed in January 1988 after a split with the Union of Anarchists. Since then the cell has embarked on a long term anti-militarism campaign, has supported imprisoned anarchist Szymonowskis, Mariusz, Vogiatzi and Boukeouzakis, presented to the trials of the Turkish Prime Minister Ocal and more recently called for an electoral strike. In Greece there are numerous anarchist groups operating and the spread of fake information could not only shatter the sometimes fragile relations but also damage the cause of international solidarity.

Anarchist Cell

P.O. Box 39558
Athens 11403

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