FEEDBACK

MAGAZINE REVIEW - Marxism Today

MORE A POLITICAL REVIEW

The Communist Party is trying to put a new sauce on a stale old fish: Martin Jacques – late of *Vogue* – is to edit the new look *Marxism Today* – described as the monthly intellectual magazine of the Communist Party, carefully revamped to 'stretch its capacity for analysis, vision and fun' not to mention tanks and Siberia. It was launched at a special weekend teach-in enjoyment weekend at the City University, London EC1 on the weekend of 31st October to November 2nd. The stale fish is seen by adverts for World Marxist Review, the CP, but also the Militant aka Tapeworm Tendency (shades of 'Trotskyist Fascist'!), revolutionary clothing from 'Marks & Stalin' and 'colour portraits of Marx, Engels, Lein, Stalin, Mao' – the 'sauce' comes with a debate between Denis Healey and a Soviet apparatchik, and meetings addressed by alleged non-Marxists such as John Bercow (chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students) odd Labour MPs and putting in a word for Labour Housing co-ops, Colin Ward. . .

Marxism Today

BOOK REVIEW - Apartheid In Crisis

APARTHEID IN CRISIS

Ed Mark A. Uhlig. Penguin. £3.95

The presently heightened international concern over South Africa and its apartheid system stems from the disturbances in the black township of Alexandra in February this year.

Sudden upsurges of violent confrontation seem to be the only method by which international diplomatic interest in Southern Africa is galvanised. This seems odd because in their pontifications and pronouncements on apartheid the statesmen seem unanimous in their denunciation of the system as immoral. Their perception of this immorality seems only to become operative when some dramatic occurence brings it to international notice.

The international community of diplomats, statesmen, UNO bureaucrats and politicians who have been exercising themselves over S. Africa in our news reports in recent weeks all claim to want to end the apartheid system. This unanimity deceives nobody. Some want to preserve the power of the Afrikaner ruling class above all else and study the 1979 Zimbabwe settlement with Mugabe to avoid the mistakes, from the point of view of the white minority, which that contained. Some have as their priority the establishment of the black majority in political control through their enfranchisement in a democratic system. Others seek this as a very long term outcome but are anxious to preserve the power of the Afrikaners in the short term. Yet others wish to establish a sort of black dominated apartheid system which would, one might expect, discriminate against the white Afrikaners much as their apartheid system has discriminated against the Blacks.

In this complicated situation most discussion in this country has been on the agenda set by Mrs Thatcher regarding the effectiveness of economic sanctions and their supposed morality. Mrs Thatcher talking about morality has no doubt led many as well as myself to reach for the puke bucket. But she is right about the ineffectiveness of economic sanctions and this has been underlined by the recent revelations that the South African government has been stockpiling specified categories of goods against such an eventuality. Did anybody really imagine they would not be taking such precautions? Vicious and ruthless they may be, stupid they are not.

Clearly the imposition of economic sanctions will not bring down the apartheid system. The precautions the S. A. Govt. have taken are a factor in this, but these do not at all invalidate the analysis put forward in *Black Flag* that sanctions against a capitalist regime imposed by governments of capitalist countries will not unduly damage the regime at which they are aimed.

With S.A. being so much in the news such considerations are relevant to the short term political manoeuvres being discussed at the present time. The book *Apartheid in Crisis* concerns itself hardly at all with such ponderings. It is a collection of pieces varying in length and quality by both participants and commentators. The pieces by participants do not deal with the specifics of the present situation. The contributions from the commentators mainly take a very long view making them of interest for a better background understanding but of less use as part of the present day debate. Of especial interest are the pieces by Andries Treuernicht of the Conservative Party of South Africa and by President P.W. Botha, both of which I found frightening in their arrogance and blindness. I was surprised to find Bishop Tutu's contribution both interesting and offering some insights into the situation. Both Nadine Gordimer and J.P. Coetzee offer statements from the white liberal viewpoint which implicitly point to a solution which cannot be realised. The piece by Nelson Mandela confirms his integrity and his dignity without adding to what we know of him.

Altogether this is a useful but disappointing book. A careful reader will find material of interest and few will read it without adding to their understanding of the situation in South Africa.

Peter Miller.

T.V. REVIEW - The Monocled Mutineer

The four-part television play series *'The Monocled Mutineer'* has caused more furore than anything since Cienfuegos issued *Towards a Citizens Militia* and from the same right wing Tories, which in itself is enough to persuade one it had to be good.

The play employs a technique hardly new in dramatic presentation - it presents two stories about events which happened at the same time and treats them as if they were related. There *were* mutinies at Etaples; there *was* a con artists Percy Toplis who upset the Establishment with his impersonations of officers. The two had nothing to do with each other but to make it dramatic Percy Toplis is shown as the leader of the mutiny, which he was not.

What angers the military class (the *Daily Telegraph* editorial policy is now directed by military historian Max Hastings) is that it shows the truth, not the historical inaccuracies at which they carp. There *was* a mutiny at Etaples against the deliberate sacrifice of human life at the Front; there *were* numerous executions – and one who took part in them has become famous, with no axe to grind, strick-tempo band leader Victor Sylvester who long before *Come Dancing* had to go murdering, and has revealed the truth about the brutal suppression of the mutinies, no more than riotous drunken protests in most cases.

It may be hard for the patriots of World War I vintage to accept what all others of us now accept – that some officers as well as many men cracked up and were shot by the firing squad for what may be human cowardice but was occasioned by the stress of gunfire, shellfire and the constant imminence of death. But this has been told many times, after all. What really got more up their gullets is the last sequence, when Toplis is on the run in England from Military Intelligence. (The character playing the detective is so similar to a Special Branch spy that used to hang round Groppi's in Cairo in the Second World War that I wonder if it wasn't taken from life. Even the patter was the same. . .)

An earnest Socialist of a 'dangerous' (sincere) type the Labour Party has long since managed to discard, formerly a friend of Toplis in the Army and later blackmailed by him, is kidnapped by the MI5 detective on direct orders from the Government and murdered. That did happen in real life, during the repression after World War I, at least twice, or maybe three times if one considers the Victor Grayson case, ; that treatment was more frequently given to Anarchists and anti-parliamentary communists, not always going so far as murder (consider the case of Kate Sharpley and a great many others forced to retire from activity by blackmail and beatings by the police).

At least this country did not go as far in repression as Germany (even in Socialist Germany, before the Nazis) or Italy. Its secret police did not head the list of the most brutal in the world, if only for lack of opportunity (they are now at last starting to get the opportunity). But then as now they headed the list of being the most secret. Whereas in many countries the political police (even its secret branch) struts about in special uniforms, here the pretence of the political police is that they do not exist, and one can see what must be infuriating to the Establishment when their hatchet zombies are shown in the process of political murder when they do not even admit publicly to taking political prisoners.



The truth? He couldn't give a XXXX

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LETTER FROM BRISTOL: THE RIOTS

Dear Comrades,
Thought you might be interested in the truth about the St. Pauls riots. . .

On Thursday 11th September over 600 riot cops, from as far away as Birmingham, entered the community of St. Pauls in a supposed crackdown on drugs, crime and prostitution. The fact that only 20 odd people were actually charged (70 arrested) and only dope was found proves the point that this raid had nothing to do with 'prevention of crime' or 'keeping the streets safe'. No, the real motive was to attack and hopefully crush the spirit of St. Pauls, especially the youths.

For the last six months the police have been daily abused and attacked – from little things like jeering, spitting and stoning, to physical attacks, large gangs attacking police cars and on one occasion actually setting one alight while the filth looked on helpless. On the 11th Sept the people of St. Pauls were being told to 'obey our laws. . .or else!' That is why, after the pretend raid had been carried out, the police didn't go home but stayed and waited for the resistance they hoped to get. Within a few hours they got it: large gangs throwing petrol bombs and bricks were everywhere. The despised middle class area of Montpelier had its shops looted and two reporters (one from the Sun) were hospitalised, attacked with baseball bats. These sort of acts went on for another couple of hours. Meanwhile in Clifton (very rich middle class area) while the cops were busy in St. Pauls, shops and cars were smashed up, causing thousands of pounds worth of damage.

Next day, while the police were busy congratulating themselves on smashing resistance the second night of rioting erupted. This time it was well organised and brilliant new tactics were adopted. As well as the preparation of hundreds of petrol bombs, well planned barricades etc. large groups of black and white men and women avoided set-piece battles with the filth and went outside of St. Pauls and attacked the coppers from behind. Again the surrounding middle class areas were attacked and looted. This meant the cops had to deal with an area twice the size of what they'd planned for. To say people were angry would be the understatement of the year. A lot of people were tooled up and more than willing for a bit of bacon. Despite some protests from a few 'community leaders' the dole office was firebombed. 999 calls were used to lure cops. Street lights were smashed. Cars used as barricades. Women were at the front of the fighting. People who couldn't participate helped with petrol bottles etc. Very few arrests.

Ironically St. Pauls is now, more than ever, a no-go area for the police. There's been 'trouble'findings of petrol bombs etc. almost every night since – and more on the way.

Yours in class struggle.
BRISTOL CLASS WAR.

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BLACK FLAG

THE ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

30p

13-10-86

Denmark

COPENHAGEN UPRISING!



On Sun. 14th Sept the young autonomist squatters movement in Denmark began a 9 day Uprising, in defence of their squat centre at Ryesgade 58, barricading off 3 streets and defending them fiercely against all comers. It ended up with withdrawal and defeat, but as the squatters declared themselves.."Even though the fight itself will be a defeat, the Resistance itself will be a Victory..". The Uprising was the high point in a series of attacks, mainly on Sth African and US war industry targets, as well as resisted evictions, the recent playful and imaginative 'Pirate Week', and wider unrest following the General Strike earlier in the year. The Ryesgade uprising was not just an eviction battle, but an action-demo against the severe housing crisis and the destruction of working class areas for housing speculation and 'trendification' under the social democratic council. There follows a series of short battle reports from many sources...Nine days inside the No Go Area

Wed. 10th Sept. Furious organisation begins before the eviction of Ryesgade 58, expected on Sunday. The home of the Soc.Democratic mayor is attacked with paint and stones. Tension has been rising since the movement trashed the biggest Sth African firm in August, building burning barricades round the police station to avoid interference.

"Ryesgade 58 is a cancer cell in Danish society.." the police chief declared, after the heavily barricaded centre was besieged for 3 days last Feb. The place has been squatted for 3½ years, rebuilt by the squatters, with workshops, cafe,gigs new kitchens etc **"To us it is a place for free social experiment,where all is decided at big meetings.."** It is owned by UNGBO, a Soc. Democratic housing body who declared they would call in police to evict on 14th Sept after talks broke down.

Continued on Page 6

Britain

'FIGHT THEM ON THE BEACHES'

Sealink British Ferries directors' chair Sir Charles-Conyngham has learned all the sophisticated wrinkles of union-dodging spelled out in the latest laws. He gave only three days notice of 500 job cuts and reduced services, which killed off the ferry link to France in preparation for even more drastic cuts as the grandiose and wasteful Channel Tunnel project approaches, 'to keep union disruption to a minimum'.

Doublespeak is with us: he wants to slash the services so he brands those who want to keep them as 'disrupters'. What better way to get up the backs of those who've saved for a holiday than 'disruption' of transport by the ungrateful workers who actually run them?

The response to the three day warning that ferries were to be cut put the National Union of Seamen in the now recurring dilemma - if the workers go out now on strike the company can dismiss them and they lose their redundancy money. If they don't strike, they are dismissed in due course and get redundancy money. The bosses *want* them out – they haven't (or have they?) yet learned a new tactic – get some students to leaflet them with an 'all out now' appeal, (which it is rumoured Maxwell tried).

Perforce the seamen *had* to respond with a STAY IN policy, once regarded as anarcho-syndicalist 'extremism' but now seen to be the only credible response in such a situation. As they are already in their place of work they do not need to stand in the cold and wet as pickets nor – for the moment – to get into conflict with the police, though this will come soon when the employers move to aggressive tactics through a legal fiddle of the Murdoch type.

Half the company's twenty vessels were immediately affected: a 48 hour strike at Harwich, followed by stoppages at Stranraer, Portsmouth, Weymouth, Guernsey and Cherbourg. Only extended occupations can save the ferries from abolition. It is significant that even family holidaymakers (who wouldn't part from their cars) and so got stranded on board some of the ferries – saw the crews' point of view – joined in sing-songs and brought them drinks. They realised who were the 'disrupters'.

Now the NUS is rushing through ballots aiming to make strike action 'legal'. But there will be nothing more effective than to stay in rather than get out. ***The ultimate deterrent to unemployment is occupation.***

AS WE GO TO PRESS: We have heard that they have been completely reinstated. Which only goes to show direct action gets results!

South Africa

SOLIDARITY BEGINS AT HOME

The recent sanctions imposed by the EEC and more recently the USA on South Africa predictably were aimed at SA exports that excluded the main export earners of coal and gold. Nor did they affect in any way SA imports, a ban on which would have a far greater effect

SA miners are meanwhile taking matters into their own hands, providing a salutary lesson at the same time to workers elsewhere in other countries. The day of mourning for the 177 killed at the Kinross gold mine resulted in over 300,000 miners taking industrial action, with a further 300,000 workers in other industries (all members of COSATU) striking in solidarity. Afterwards an NUM statement explained that the strike action was just the beginning. More strike action is planned to bring the gold and coal industries to a halt.

The message of the South African NUM is clear: governments (anywhere) cannot be expected to impose sanctions against fellow capitalists, only workers can do this. In this respect the SA NUM are putting their principles into practice, unlike trade unionists in those countries where sanctions are campaigned for. In fact for trade unionists to simply put all the blame on state for not fighting the workers' battle, is surely an admission of defeat from the outset. A massive boycott of SA goods and goods destined to South Africa can be organised, but not by any government or even by the reformist trade union federations. Such a boycott can only be achieved by the rank and file. For a rank and file to organise itself to do this would in itself create a mini revolution in trade unionism, affecting industrial militancy in those trade unions. The old cliche is still as true as ever: revolutionary change elsewhere can best be helped by creating revolutionary change yourself.

When, and if, a general strike takes place in South Africa, will workers in the Western industrialised nations still be pressurising their respective governments to side with the strikers and the revolutionaries, or will they be organising their own general strikes?



The smashing of the street, area and zone committees in the black townships (see last issue of *Black Flag*) is one of the main priorities of the State of Emergency. Committee members have been targetted and detained. Also electricity, water and other supplies have been cut off to try and break the rent strikes.

Many of the townships are now sealed off by head high razor-wire fences. To enter or leave the township residents are forced to go through a security cordon and be searched. This goes on 24 hours a day.

To combat the consumer boycotts the security forces have forced black shops to close and they have also prevented supplies in vehicles from getting through. They hope in this way to make black people shop in the white shops where the boycott is in force.

N.B. South African gold exports last year accounted for 59% of the nation's mineral earnings and 68% of total exports.

STATE OFFERS ANARCHISTS A MILLION! **See Page 3...**

BLACK FLAG – BLACK CROSS
BM HURRICANE, LONDON
WC1N 3XX

Published, typeset and layout
BLACK FLAG COLLECTIVE

Printed by Aldgate Press E1.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:
12 months: £12 inland
£15 surface, £19 Air.
6 months: £6.50 inland
£8 surface, £10 Air.

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HOME NEWS

UNEMPLOYED GET ORGANISED

A meeting was held at the Mary Ward Centre in London organised by the South East Federation of Unwaged, Unemployed and Claimants Groups.

Altogether there were 19 delegates at the meeting and after the usual cup of tea and chit chat, we got down to the business at hand. The agenda included group reports workshops and a plenary session on practical activities. Groups represented included the Wages for Housework Campaign, Dartford Unemployed Group, Richmond Unemployed Group, Unemployed Peoples Alliance, Brixton Squatters Aid, Tottenham Claimants Union, Canterbury Unemployed Group, West Norwood Employment Action, Islington Unemployed Group and a few others.

Although five workshops had been agreed upon originally, for all practical purposes only two were eventually taken up.

The two agreed upon were:
1. Rights for the Unwaged.
2. Direction for the Unwaged.

The workshop on Rights for the Unwaged started off slightly one-sided, the comrade leading it was suggesting that Rights for the Unwaged may be won via Parliamentary legislation. But before long it was agreed that Parliament, whatever political Party held the reins of control would not concede any 'rights' to the unwaged. It was eventually agreed that any demands we make can only be part of an overall strategy against the capitalist system.

Our first demand was a minimum income for everyone, this should be at least £120/week. It was pointed out that a minimum income was incorporated into the Claimants Union years ago, but it would be a good idea to re-emphasise it.

It was also agreed that wages for housework and all other unpaid work, should be another demand that we must take back from the military/industrial complex. There was quite a good discussion around this point.

We also agreed that the erosion of our welfare benefits by the State must be halted; and that the new Laws which are going to be enforced must be fought against tooth and nail. It was also felt that all unwaged people should be allowed to travel free on all public transport. Why? it was said, should millions of people be deprived of travel because of the appalling level of poverty, brought upon us by the capitalists and their State. One of the points of dispute was whether we call our demands a Bill of Rights or an Unwaged Manifesto.

At least we listened to each other and made concessions on different points. Another bone of contention, was why very few Black people and women had been at the Conference.

Another good discussion ensued and it was accepted that we should try and reach all sectors of people who are being abused and exploited by the State.

We are a Federation which is opposed to and fights against racism, sexism and all and any form of discrimination or pernicious ideology which is used to divide us and therefore make us easier victims for the State to defeat.

Unity and solidarity are the key words in the campaigns of all unwaged people. At the report back from the workshops it was shown that both had been tackling more or less the same problems, ie. racism sexism, immediate demands and our eventual goal.

At the plenary session we started to go around in circles, with each person who spoke putting a slightly dogmatic position and not really prepared to concede.

A resolution supporting the Wages for Housework Campaign and support for the *Time Off For Women October 24th* events was passed unanimously. All in all it was a fairly good meeting with people expressing good points and bad points.

The need for a co-ordinated campaign of all unwaged against the present state of affairs was fully accepted. To this end we are going all out to get support from all claimants organisations and groups everywhere. If you are unwaged why not join in, after all we could end up constructing a new libertarian socialist society.

The last Thursday of each month the London and South East Federation of Unwaged, Unemployed and Claimants Groups meet at the *Mary Ward Centre, 42 Queen Square, WC1* from 1-30pm.

To get there get a tube to *Russell Square*; as you leave turn left, walk to traffic lights, left again, walk along about 150 metres until you come to *Casma Alley*, walk to the end and you come out on the *Square*, turn right and just look diagonally and you have got it, pass go collect 200 leaflets.

N.F. Prepares 'Night Of Long KNIVES'

After three years of relative calm at the top of the fascist National Front, the mini-fuhrers of the NF's 'Directorate' (an 18-man body that controls the Front) have fallen out with each other rather badly and virtually split their organisation in two.

Internal problems, or more accurately power struggles, are no stranger to the NF. Only three years ago Martin Webster was purged from the Party by the present 'Strasserite' leadership over allegations that he wielded too much power within the Party. Ironically, some of the 'Strasserites' who ousted Webster have now themselves been purged by the so-called 'Third Positionists'.

Since Webster's expulsion the NF, or at least its leadership, has been going in all sorts of strange directions, presumably in an attempt to disassociate themselves from their Nazi image and following. They claimed to support Trade Unionists (at Wapping and during the Miners' Strike), Ecology and Animal Liberation. They've also adopted the Strasser brothers (two Nazi's who fell out with Hitler) as their ideological gurus along with G.K. Chesterton and Julius Evola (who fell out with Mussolini).

All this has been lost on the average NF member, who is just as racist and psychotic as ever. Having failed to pick up any new recruits, nor gained a more respectable image, the NF Directorate is turning in on itself and tearing itself apart. Things were compounded when two Directorate members, Joe Pearce and Martin Wingfield, were jailed for twelve and three months respectively under the Race Relations Act. Now some NF are convinced that the State is out to get them, adding paranoia to the tension.

The straw that broke the camel's back finally came four months ago over links between a group of Italian neo-Nazis based in London and NF Directorate member Nick Griffin (No stranger to *Black Flag*, he once wrote to us suggesting we get together and have a cosy little chat. We told him to Fuck Off!). Several NF Leaders, including Wingfield and Ian Anderson (ex-NF Chairman) have tried to stop Griffin seeing the Italian terrorists fearing more bad publicity for the NF and worrying about the considerable influence these 'Third Positionist' have over Griffin.

Griffin hit back by making allegations against Anderson, accusing him of incompetence and financial mismanagement. Anderson was subsequently suspended from the NF along with five of his supporters on the Directorate. This leaves Griffin with support from Pat Harrington (ex-North London Poly student) and Derek Holland in control of the Front. Or does it?

In response to their suspensions, the Wingfield/Anderson faction have formed a separate organisation called the 'National Front Support Group'. Its supposed aim is not to split the NF but to act as 'a loyal opposition to the unrepresentative clique in the Directorate who we feel are leading the Party towards imminent collapse and destruction.' Their real aim is to regain control of the NF and get rid of Griffin. They have their own monthly paper *The Flag* and magazine *Vanguard*, from which to attack the official NF and have gained the support of several prominent NFers including Steve Brady and Joe Pearce, Tom Acton, Paul Nash and Andrew Brons.

This leaves the official NF with *NF News* (apparently now coming out fortnightly) but minus *Nationalism Today* (their once monthly magazine) which has been axed.

Latest development in the feud was an attempt to kill Anderson with a car-bomb in late July. Unfortunately Anderson was in bed when the bomb went off.

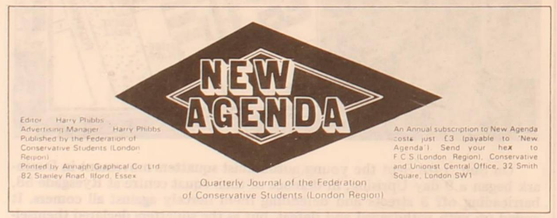


Spot the difference - Official and Unofficial Nazi Propaganda.

WAS HARRY PHIBBING?

Harry Phibbs, the former editor of the Federation of Conservative Students magazine *New Agenda* – and also of the Young Monday Club paper, *Capitalist Worker*, has included numerous articles by leading rightists such as

Enoch Powell, Stefan Terlezki MP, Cecil Parkinson MP, John Carlisle MP, and of course Nikolai Tolstoy, whose article in *New Agenda* has led to Norman Tebbit issuing an injunction to get the paper stopped.



New Agenda Magazine - ' Journal of the Federation of Conservative Students '.

Tolsoy's allegations against Harold Macmillan (now Lord Stockton) claiming he was behind the repatriation of 40,000 Cossacks to Russia, after the War, who were virtually all killed on arrival, is true. It is said that they deserved no pity having fought for the Nazis (as did many others). But the Cossacks went over to the invaders as tribes, men, women, children – old and young – and those who fought were a minority. Not all, surely, could have been of one mind.

Macmillan has claimed he did not realise the consequences of what he did, and that no government would accept them bar Russia (an argument used with the Jews, who however mustered international support). One British officer pointed out that this was (ominously) a 'final solution' – he meant it in a polite way. It was all done in a disciplined way, and sportingly, by British officers, who calmed down the excitable foreigners and assured them 'they were in no danger'. They were put on trains and the only struggle came when some Cossacks, suspicious, tried to commit suicide and were forcibly prevented. If the Holcaust had been carried out by British officers it would have been handled much more elegantly. But the result was the same, but with lesser numbers involved.

The reason why the Cossacks went over to the Germans, and why some of them fought in the Nazi army, was because they didn't consider themselves Russians and had experienced the horrors of Stalinism, notwithstanding having for years carried out (again, some of the males) the repressive work of the Russian regime. Had the German army not been Nazified, the number of defections could well have multiplied into hundreds of thousands if not millions, with Russians voting for defeat with their feet, as they did in World War 1.

Nor is the Labour Party guiltless of forced repatriation. The 1945 Labour Government deported to Franco's Spain many Spaniards who had fought against fascism but who had later been conscripted into Hitler's labour battallions for forced labour.

But to return to the Cossacks, the FCS is possibly more concerned that there was a Nazi tinge about them and therefore deserve their support – but that doesn't mean that their allegations about Macmillan aren't true. But one wonders if Tebbit's condemnation (about the allegations appearing in an officially Tory Party approved publication, we should emphasise, not that they were inaccurate) isn't simply a case of posturing. Macmillan is a leading 'wet' and there is no love lost between him and Margaret Thatcher (whom Macmillan accused of 'selling the family silver', referring to the campaign to privatise state industries).

Tebbit may be shocked that a bit of gentlemanly State criminality should be labelled a war crime; but the FCS is playing a useful part for him, not as 'Maggie's Trotskyists' but providing a base for the New Toryism to reveal its thoughts – which can be disowned if it upsets the punters. It's what was known in the theatrical profession as trying it out in the the sticks. If the act goes well in the FCS then it can be transferred to the Westminster theatre.

SPAIN

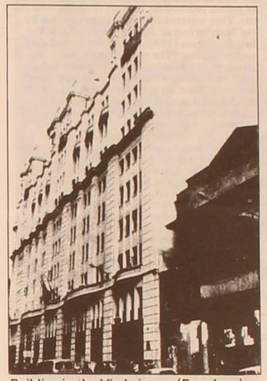
STATE OFFERS ANARCHISTS A MILLION-SHOCK HORROR!!

Yet more news about the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union the CNT-AIT and its patrimony (meaning the sum total of its premises and materials swiped by Franco in 1939 and promised back by the 'democratic' 'socialist' government). On September 24 the Ministry of Work in Madrid decided to recognise the granting of patrimony money to two Spanish unions - the UGT and the CNT. The Ministry emphasises that this is by no means the whole of the patrimony money owed, but only what has been decided as proven to belong to the unions concerned.

The UGT has been allowed 4,144m pesetas (£26m) and the CNT the grand total of 248m pesetas (£1,240,000). The CNT, in other words, are already guaranteed over £1m from the Spanish state.

Yes, yes, there's a hitch. Or two or three. To begin with, although the money allowed to the anarchist organisation may seem a lot, it's peanuts compared to what they are actually owed. Even if you were to take the full value of their properties and premises at the time they were seized (1939) you would still be talking about £12 m. If you look at the accumulated value of these premises, etc (which is what the Ministry of Work says it's doing!) then the CNT can claim well over 6,000 m. pesetas (£30m.) Naturally the CNT is claiming the £30 m. figure. Why then has it only been proven that they are so far owed just over £1 m.? Even the conventional press (for example the pro–socialist Party paper, *El Pais*) has pointed out that the decision to grant the UGT over twenty times more money than the CNT is absurd, when it is remembered that in 1939 the CNT was the most powerful union in Spain, with a membership larger than that of the UGT, and presumably more in the way of property and premises. Equally absurd is the handing over to the UGT of 120 separate premises, while the CNT is so far promised only one.

London anarchists may like to know that the company in charge of deciding the patrimony devolution - and therefore partly responsible for this situation - is called Richard Ellis, a British multinational specialising in property law. They have created this first hitch. Anyone reading *Black Flag* from cover to cover over the last year or so will have struggled through a series of articles explaining in detail the 'split' in the CNT. The main organisation - the CNT affiliated to the International Workers Association - has about 30,000 affiliates in Spain, and counts upon the support of all those CNTers of the Civil War days who are still around. The 'other' CNT has not more than 2,500 affiliates in Spain, is not recognised by the 'veterans' and has a more moderate political line (sometimes called possibilist) which involves collaboration with Socialist and Communist unions and participation in the shop-floor committees which serve as intermediaries between bosses and workers. It's members also often have joint membership with the UGT and CC.OO. This 'splitter' claims it is the real CNT. It provides a wonderful excuse for the government not to hand over even the reduced patrimony of just over $1m, claiming that it is not yet certain which of the two is the 'real' CNT.



Building in the Via Laietana (Barcelona) claimed by the CNT-AIT as part of their patrimony.

Obviously another court case will have to be set in motion to decide the question, a process which could take a long time. In passing it would be interesting to discover once and for all who is behind the other CNT, which has far more money than the CNT-AIT, all of it apparently from 'affiliates private contributions'. How an organisation with so few affiliates manages to pay $1000 a month rent on its Barcelona premises alone and pay 18m. pesetas (£9,000) to buy its central premises in Madrid (as it did recently) is beyond most people's imagination. This kind of money must be coming from somewhere.

Once again pressure from abroad is needed to guarantee that the money owed to the CNT-AIT is given to them. The government - finally obliged to recognise its debt - is stalling again at the prospect of paying up. To give some idea of what this money would mean to the CNT-AIT, Rafael Hanares, the General Secretary of the Catalan section, points out that it 'would transform the organisation overnight. Not only could we get our premises back - we've got three buildings in Catalonia illegally squatted at the moment in protest - but we would be able to open up some more, and all our current expenses - paid for now from affiliates' contributions - could be met simply by the interest on our patrimony money once it was banked. But that would only be the beginning...'

Anyone who knows the difficulties the CNT has meeting basic costs like those of prisoners' aid and even posters can see what the patrimony would mean. The possibilities are endless: vastly improved prisoners' aid, libertarian schools, meeting places, a strike fund, etc, etc. Resources which would be open to the international anarchist movement and all its sympathisers. No wonder the Spanish Ministry of Work isn't coughing up...

M.T.
Barcelona, September 86.

WORKERS TAKE OVER

On September 10th a hundred and fifty people returned to Barcelona by coach from Madrid, where they'd spent 48 hours camping outside the premises of the Spanish sub-Ministry responsible for the 'legalising' of co-operatives.

Seventy of the people were workers – or had been workers – at the *Bruguera* publishing house, and the other eighty were members of their families. Before going to Madrid they'd camped outside the Catalan government Headquarters in Barcelona for 48 hours, and before that they'd occupied the *Bruguera* print shop and offices, living in them behind a police cordon for several months.

The seventy and their families are what's left of a protest started by the entire *Bruguera* workforce – 800 people – when the lot of them suddenly lost their jobs earlier this year, and decided to take matters into their own hands. They were on the point of collectivising the company when for no good reason the banks and the government let them down. Its's worth looking at the *Bruguera* story, as it's a good example of how fucking stupid yer average Spanish management is, and an example of the kind of obstacles people will encounter when they try to take over the running of their own workplace...

Before anyone starts objecting to the phrase 'Spanish management' (as if *all* management wasn't fucking stupid etc.), it's worth pointing out that under Franco a long tradition was upheld, in which company owners would mismanage their companies, cream off stacks of capital, and then drop the business like a hot potato when bankruptcy approached on the far horizon. Under Gonzalez, the tradition continues unabated and *Bruguera* is the latest in a long line of proud disasters. To begin with it's hard to imagine how this particular company could have failed, even with, say, a baboon in the Director's chair: it controlled a good percentage of the 'serious' book market, and had the Spanish copyright on several of the best-selling authors, including Garcia Marquez, the Nobel Prize winner who wrote *Hundred Years of Solitude*.

workforce went on strike in protest. Six hundred of them pacted with management and left the company with compensation. The rest stayed on.

Then, in 1984, the *Bruguera* family's interest in the firm dwindled to zero and they sold the company – without consulting anyone – to a certain Leo Antunez. As the *Bruguera* workers' newsheet *Bruguera En Lucha* put it: 'the only sign of being a businessman that this man had was wanting to be one'. To date no one has found out who is behind this man, or where his money comes from, but he had already managed to fleece and destroy two other enterprises **Noticiero Universal** and **Destino**) before getting his hands properly on *Bruguera*. The workers had had enough. They had the sale of the firm to Antunez declared illegal (it was), turned their 1,200 million pesetas social security money into capital, and reached an agreement with the **Banco Credito Industrial** along the lines that the bank would honour their social security money formally, and would find them a buyer who would guarantee the firm's solvency. In other words they simply wanted to own a percentage of the company, but with a boss in charge.

The bank found them a Sr. Delgado, the mayor of Barcelona visted them to offer his support, and several new products, including Garcia Marquez' latest book, were launched in a wave of optimism. But six months later Sr. Delgado backed out, the Bank said that the credit value of the social security money had run out, and that the shares would go back to the *Bruguera* family. The family then refused to take the shares, and the entire company operated for a while in a kind of 'no-man's land', with no one knowing whether they'd have a job from one minute to the next. Then without warning, the Director of the **BCI**, the socialist Rafael Sunyer, declared that *Bruguera* would have to close, with a loss of 800 jobs. The *Bruguera* workers – who up until then had tried to do everything through the proper channels – lost their patience. They occupied the company buildings, and demanded to be allowed to run the company as a collective, unconditionally. They point out that, given the popularity of the stuff they're producing, they can't fail to at least make keeping their jobs viable. They would also have the satisfaction of not maintaining a series of incompetent parasites. Their case



Even more importantly – from the financial point of view – it also published dozens of popular comics, including *Capitan Trueno* and *Mortadela and Filemon* (characters whose adventures were read by hundreds and thousands of Spanish kids every week). Printing in Spanish, *Bruguera* quadrupled their sales (I say quadrupled but it was probably more!) in South America. However the *Bruguera* family found the burden of managing the enterprise tiresome, and hired a collection of 'executives' who overspent and mismanaged to the extent that salaries were lowered and then frozen (not theirs of course!) and the company found itself in considerable debt. In 1982 the *Bruguera* is now becoming something of a national scandal, given the simplicity of the workers' demands (they aren't asking for any subsidies simply for the right to take over their own workplace), and the embarassed silence of the socialist government. What is wrong with collectivisation? Obviously, *nothing* is wrong with it.

Here is a clear cut case of a group of workers producing something for which there is a genuine and demonstrated need. That's the whole problem: if the socialists allow the *Bruguera* workers to take over their own workplace, it might set an important precedent it might start other workers thinking...

NEWS IN BRIEF

Two skinheads stabbed someone for dressing punk style during a concert on September 22. Other excuses for attacking people used by Barcelona skins in the recent past include 'not being a nationalsocialist', and speaking in Catalan. During a recent TV interview a group of skins stated that in order for 'Spanish families' to find work it was necessary to 'finish with the blacks once and for all'. Fascist infiltration in this once fashion-only Barcelona 'tribe' has been sucessful...

The Barcelona Festival (Feste de la Merce) has just finished: a week of free gigs, theatre and ballet performances in the open air, concerts, firework displays, parades of giant heads and the correfocs in which hundreds of people dress up as demons, throwing live fireworks into packed crowds of excited screaming people while pulling huge papier-mache dragons up and down the Ramblas. As always the people who live on the Ramblas pour buckets of water over everybody's heads from their balconies at the same time. Fuck all to do with politics - but worth seeing.

IRON BARS IN BARCELONA

Dock workers in Barcelona have been withholding their labour during the peak loading and unloading hours for several months, and will go on doing so until they get some guarantee that they won't lose their jobs, or have to accept poorer working conditions, after the 'restructuring' of the Barcelona ports.

The restructuring is in the hands of private companies acting under a State Decree dating from May 27th; it is part of the Socialists' attempt to 'modernise' Spanish industry, and, like most of these attempts, involves heavy job losses: hence the strike actions.



One company, the **Contenemar Group** has so far lost 150 million pesetas (£750,000), and has started to experiment with scab labour, (scab labour of a very strange kind, but more of that later). The result is its ships and docks have turned into a battleground. On Monday September 15th, seventy striking dockworkers got into the **Alvarez de la Campa** dock at 8.30 in the morning, armed with sticks and iron bars, and headed for the good ship *Catalina del Mar*. The alarm was sounded and the Captain ordered his scab loaders onto the ship, pulled up the access ladder and started up the engines – not fast enough: twenty of the seventy strikers managed to clamber on board and beat the shit out of the twelve scabs they found there, throwing some of them overboard and sending one off to hospital where he was placed in the intensive care unit.

Should anyone feel sorry for the injured, enquiries made earlier by the strikers (later confirmed by the Press) showed that most of them are members of the extra-parliamentary fascist group **Fuerza Nueva** and another similar called **Franco's Guard**: they do not figure anywhere in the National Employment List and several dockworkers remember seeing them doing 'overtime' work for the same company in 1980; at that time they were allowed to carry pistols. They have all been denounced formally to the Catalan government (on September 2nd) but no action was taken against **Contenemar**.

The kind of efficient and simple direct action taken on Monday (the strikers or sympathisers have also made bomb threats to the **Contenemar** offices and attacked trucks transporting goods to **Contenemar** ships) is not condoned by either of the big unions (UGT - socialist - and CCOO - communist -). Fingers are being pointed at smaller organisations which are influential within the ranks of the dockers, such as the OTP* and the – yes, you guessed it, they had to be in there somewhere! – CNT-AIT.

MT (Barcelona).

* Autonomous dockers organisation.

OUR HISTORY

THE F.O.R.A. - A LONG TIME IN THE MAKING

While much is known about the Spanish Anarchist movement and its history, relatively little is known about the equally impressive Anarchist (or more specifically Anarcho-Syndicalist) movement in Argentina. This article, written by an Anarchist in Rosario (Argentina) hopes to help redress the balance. . . .

There were four attempts to set up a workers federation on a national level in Argentina during the last decade of the 19th Century, all grouping together existing workers associations.

Both Anarchists and Socialists from the end of the 19th Century onwards exerted an influence within the workers movement. Anarchists took part in the setting up of the first unions between 1880 and 1890, including a bakers union (Errico Malatesta played an important part in setting up the latter). An 'anti-organisation' tendency – opposed to organising unions – existed within the Anarchist movement too. From 1890 - 1900 it more or less dominated the movement. The most important mouthpiece for this tendency was **El Perseguido (The Persecuted)**. It felt that: *Spreading anarcho-communist propaganda is the most important anarchist activity of all.* The paper strongly opposed strikes over wage increases and the setting up of the 'Sociedades de Resistencia' (Trade Unions) On the other hand it supported union activity prompted by non-federated 'affinity groups'. (See **The Origins of the Workers Movement in Argentina** by R. Falcon). Such non-federated groups were set up with a specific aim in mind and were later dissolved as quickly as they were formed.

1895 marked the turning point for Anarchists in Argentina. The tendency supporting setting up unions noticably grew in strength. This tendency was represented by three main papers. **El Oprimido** (The Oppressed – founded in 1894 in Lujan, a province of Buenos Aires, by John Creaghe, an Irish doctor). **L'Avvenire** (The Future – founded in 1894 by Italian Anarchists living in Buenos Aires) and **La Protesta Humana** edited in Buenos Aires by Inglam Lafarga, a Catalan Carpenter, from 1897 onwards together with F. Berri, Altair, J. Creaghe, E. Arana and J. Prat. Two Spanish Anarchists, A. Lorenzo and R. Mella, contributed articles from Spain). In 1903, **La Protesta Humana** changed its name to **La Protesta**. A book could be written on the history of **La Protesta** alone. **La Protesta** is still published today despite interruptions in its history (due to state repression). It is one of the most important and consistent papers in the history of Anarchism.

These 'pro-organisation' papers all believed in the necessity of anarchist 'affinity groups' – independent from unions – but they also felt that unions were essential.

For them, the social conditions of the working-class – low wages and the exploitationof labour – made Anarchist ideas especially appealing to workers. They strongly felt the need to participate in the 'sociedades de resistencia' They supported better working conditions but never forgot that their ultimate aim was Anarchism) – human emancipation and the social revolution.

Pietro Gori, a well-known Italian Anarchist who arrived in Argentina in 1898, was to play an important part in the rivalry between 'pro-organisation' and 'anti-organisation' or 'individualist' anarchists. Gori's activities as a propagandist and organiser transcended the Anarchist movement and created an interest in Anarchism amongst intellectual circles in Argentina. Gori worked as a teacher in the Law Department of Buenos Aires University (where he was also a pretigious lawyer). E. Gilimon (a Catalan Anarchist who was very active in Anarchist circles in Argentina) hinted on Gori's importance when he said *The growth of Anarchism here must in no small part be attributed to P. Gori. Not only a poet, sociologist, orator and lawyer but a great man to boot. His speeches attracted the young and helped Anarchism triumph over socialism (the socialists founded a Socialist Party in 1896). Gori gave Anarchism an extraordinary depth throughout the country, organising and participating in conferences all over the place and converting sympathisers. . . .* Gori attracted young people like P. Guaglianone, F. Basterra and A. Ghiraldo into the movement who later became dedicated militants.

To be more precise, Gori's activity helped strengthen further the already established tendency within the Anarchist movement that called for solid and permanent organisation. In December 1898 six Anarchist groups set up a Libertarian Federation of 'anarcho-socialist' groups. Inglam Lafarga and Pietro Gori were both prominent in the federation.

Anarchist influence, within the unions and workers associations – an area dominated by socialists until that point – was on the increase too and began to make itself felt by the turn of the century. Several Anarchist groups


LA PROTESTA HUMANA

PERIODICO ANARQUISTA

APARICIÓN QUINCENAL

A los compañeros

REDACCION

The first issue of 'La Protesta Humana' 13th June 1897.

whole-heartedly supported all union activity. **La Protesta Humana** reported on and backed all union struggles from its columns.

Despite high unemployment, wage cuts provoked an increase in the number of strikes from 1900 onwards. Such strikes undoubtedly brought unions closer together and consolidated the activity of Anarchists and Socialists working within them.

Socialists were interested in setting up workers organisations straight away. Their support for organisation, never diminished, unlike the Anarchists, and continued more or less up until the end of the 19th century.

It was Socialists who organised the first May Day demonstration in Argentina and it was them who also founded a Federation of Workers in the Republic of Argentina in 1890. It was the first attempt at setting up a workers federation in Argentina. It eventually collapsed two years after.

This and later attempts to set up a federation of unions received no support from the Anarchists. They rejected the orientation imposed by the Socialists on all the early federations. The first federation (1890), for example, included within its aims: 'The possession of political power by the working class.' Socialists had a habit of handing petitions into the government too. Anarchists, on the other hand, argued for the destruction of the State and opposed all State intervention even if it was in the hope of obtaining immediate gains.

By 1900 both Anarchists and Socialists felt it was time to create a federation amongst the existing unions. Antonio Pellicer Paraire, an elderly Catalan(Spanish) Anarchist played an important part in the process by publishing a series of twelve articles about his experience of union organisation in *La Protesta Humana* from 17th November, 1900, onwards. Not only did he stress the importance of setting up workers association but he also wrote about the relationship between revolutionary Anarchist activity (which extends beyond just winning better living conditions) and the day-to-day activity of a workers association, whose immediate objective is the conquest of improved wages and conditions for its members. Pellicer said: *A workers organisation has a dual role: On one level it is a 'revolutionary' organisation, made up of workers striving towards the eventual triumph of Anarchism. On another level it is an 'economic' organisation made up of workers fighting for better working conditions and against management abuse but unaware of the fact that their total emancipation is possible through solidarity and by organising strike funds in the case of strikes or to help workers through difficult times (unemployment, illness persecution etc.).*

3. To provide education and recreation for members by promoting cultural activities and social events for members and their families.

4. To practice solidarity with all other worker associations that hold the same aims.

5. To always work towards social emancipation.



Pellicer went on to explain how to put these ideas into practice and how to effectively run an organisation. He warned against the danger of falling into authoritarian ways and the dangers of 'bureaucratisation'. He stressed the necessity of decentralised activity & promoted maximum participation of members through meetings: *A community of free individuals all thinking, studying and making decisions by consensus.* The soul of an organisation must be its federalist structure: *A federation run on honest principles will be honest, anti-authoritarian and remain faithful to the aim of emancipation. . . There must be no centralisation of funds or powers. A federal committee is no more than what its name suggests: A committee that serves the general interest, not govern it. . .*

Unions perform a federalist pact amongst themselves. All unions organising within the same trade should come together into trade unions. Unions in the same area should come together into local federations. Pellicer said:

Trade unions exist primarily to ensure the success of workers struggles against capital: local federations should not only practice workers solidarity. They should also intervene into the public sphere and defend the workers there. They have a certain social aspect. Local federations should realise their revolutionary potential, fighting against and countering all authoritarian powers who oppose proletarian advancement. Local federations, in matters outside of the workplace, work as social organisations and as the basis of a future society.

That is how Pellicer (under the pseudonym *Pellico*) linked the day-to-day activity of a workers federation with its ultimate aim: the destruction of State power, through the social revolution. He saw in a syndicalist organisation the potential basis of a revolutionary community.

He finally felt that a federation shouldn't only consist of local federations and trade unions. Both should also be federated to regional federations, paving the way for an international federation.

At the end of 1900 several trade unions (cabinet-makers, marble-workers, carriage-builders, house painters, stone cutters, belt-makers, engineers, and graphic artists) came together and agreed to publish *La Organizacion* as their mouthpiece.

The editors of *La Organizacion* agreed with Pellicer's views on the necessity of building a workers federation from existing unions so long as each union kept its autonomy. They felt that the aim of a federation should be: *animated by the general interests of all workers establishing mutual aid between the different federated unions so as to cement a bond between all those who make up the exploited class and thus enable workers strength to increase through organisation* (source of this quote was Santiallan's book about the FORA)

The editors of *La Organisacion* also envisage a federation on several levels; a local level, the provincial level, national level and international level. The contribution made by *La Organizacion* in the eventual setting up of a federation was not exactly the same as that made by *La Protesta Humana* however. Articles that appeared in *La Organizacion* were generally more moderate in tone. Priority was always given to just improving working conditions and education. *La Organizacion* also envisaged a central independent core at the heart of the federation, organising the workers like an army. It also would only consider it worth setting up a federation if there was a solid union foundation in every area of the country and rejected the idea of improvisation. It backed the need for work exchanges ('Bolsas de Trabajo') and co-operatives. In this respect *La Organizacion* came closer to the ideas of the Socialist Party than the Anarchists. The differences between *La Organizacion* and Pellicer's views would later lead to future disagreements.

The end result was an invitation, sent to several unions by the engineers unions, to attend a conference on 19th February 1901. The objective of the conference was to reach agreement on how best to organise a Congress involving all unions. Due to the absence of

Continued on Page 5.

if the amount of energy used in improving wages and conditions were used to achieve total emancipation.

All workers, Anarchist and non-Anarchist, are united on an economic level. Pellicer believed that a syndicalist organisation: *. . . is the real heart of revolutionary strength. It represents a new society within the old.*

By what Pellicer said its possible to better understand the relationship between Anarchist groups formed outside of and independent from the workers associations on one hand, and a workers association within which the Anarchists act as a driving force, like a motor, in the hope of directing it towards revolutionary aims on the other. In order not to lose sight of its libertarian aims Pellicer understood that workers associations must be based on activism free association and solidarity if it is to survive as an organisation with clear principles without giving way to any restrictions on individual freedom. Pellicer established five main objectives for any workers association:

1. To improve working conditions, and develop solidarity in the workplace replacing the desires of management with the desires of an organised work-force.

2. To build mutual and fraternal aid

Organización Obrera nueva epoca

A.C.A.T. Organo de la Federación Obrera Regional Argentina A.I.T.

Junio 1986 N. 32 Valores y Correspondencia Jesús Gil C. Salvadores 1200 Telefono 28-3472 C. Federal R. Argentina

'Organizacion Obrera' official paper of the FORA, is 85 years old this year.

CHILE

WILL THE REAL TERRORISTS PLEASE STAND UP...

The recent assassination attempt on General Pinochet (head of Chile's fascist regime) on September 7th, has provoked a major clampdown on all opposition forces operating within the country.

Hours after the assassination attempt which could have been organised by Pinochet himself (see *Black Flag 161*), a 'state of siege' was in operation, leaving the armed forces and police free to terrorise the population. Pinochet (keen on US backing) has consistently claimed there is a major terrorist/communist threat to his regime, yet the recent assassination attempt is just one incident in a long line of similar 'outrages' seemingly perpetrated by opposition groups. Even though legitimate armed opposition groups undoubtedly exist in Chile, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the State is regularly committing similar so-called 'terrorist' acts in order to restrict freedoms and maintain a high level of repression.

THE VELLON MURDERS

On May 4 1984, for example, Maximo Bermudez Vellon (an electrician) and his twenty-one year old son Juan Rafael were murdered in an 'armed confrontation' with police during an attempted robbery of a supermarket by supposed 'extremists'. In fact witnesses claim that neither men were killed outside the supermarket. They were arrested by police and beaten up, then shot in cold blood later. The body of Juan Rafael had eight bullets in his back while Maximo Bermudez had three in the chest. A couple of weeks later, on May 18, Maria Loreto Castillo was murdered by explosives near an electricity pylon – a common target of sabotage by armed opposition groups. It later emerged that both she and her husband were arrested by police just hours before her death, beaten up and dumped unconscious near explosives. Fortunately the husband survived to tell the tale. His wife, officially died 'while planting a bomb'.



Rodolfo Quintanilla shows the cross burnt onto his chest by police in July 1985.

Nelson Herrera and Mario Lagos were two of seven people murdered on August 23 1984, by the State. Officially they boarded a bus as they were about to be arrested by police, taking passengers hostage. After a chase police claim the vehicle was intercepted and during a prolonged exchange of gunfire the two were shot dead. Witnesses of the murders saw it differently. The bus driver himself later stated that no passengers were taken hostage. The two men got off the bus with their hands in the air, offering no resistance. The bullet that murdered Mario Lagos entered his body through his armpit (missing his arm) suggesting he had his hands in the air. The bullet that murdered Nelson Herrera was fired from a gun held only a few centimetres from his head.

In October 1984, a man planting a bomb outside a Church in Punta Arenas (Southern Chile) was killed when the device exploded prematurely. Although the dead man was later identified as an officer of the Army's Intelligence Service the State tried to claim that the man had been kidnapped by 'extremists' and forced to plant the bomb. Leaflets containing threats signed by ACHA (a fascist death-squad financed by the State) were found at the site of the explosion. More recently in August 1986, the State uncovered twelve tons of rifles, rockets & explosives they claimed belonged to the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front (an armed opposition group). There is now very strong evidence to suggest that the State itself supplied the weapons in an attempt to persuade the population of a major terrorist threat to the country's stability.



Police chase Anti-Pinochet protesters earlier this year.

DEATH SQUADS

Deaths in custody of political opponents are a regular occurence as are the operation of death-squads who murder people on the streets without provocation.

On September 5 1985, a group of young children were playing in a street in Santiago when a police car stopped nearby them and opened fire. Two girls aged five and seven were seriously wounded. Unmarked cars carrying cops in plain-clothes are also used in similar operations, aimed at striking terror into any would-be anti-fascists. On August 9 1985, Mario Moreno Quesada was standing outside a shop where he worked. An ambulance which had been seen in the area drove past and from inside the vehicle somebody opened fire, killing Mario Moreno instantly. The murderer was later identified as a member of the armed forces. More recently, eight people were murdered (including a thirteen year old girl) in similar circumstances during a two day national protest against Pinochet's regime in July 1986. Four more were shot dead in anti-government protests at the beginning of September 1986.

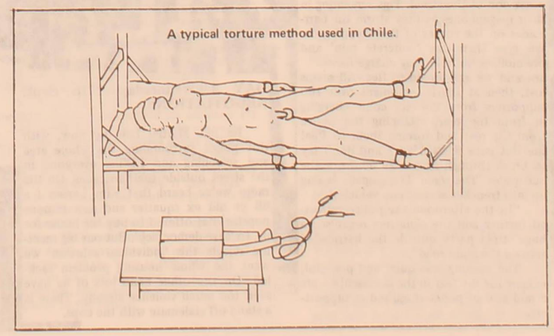
Arrests in the form of kidnappings – sometimes by plain-clothes agents who don't indentify themselves – are all too common. Arrest warrants are rarely used. Those kidnapped by the State are usually officially acknowledged as being under arrest only days later. Sometimes there is no official acknowledgement and the person is classified as 'disappeared'. At least 700 people have 'disappeared' and 1,000 more were summarily executed by the State between 1973 and 1977. These figures cover only documented cases. The real total is considerably higher (around 5,000 executed).

Jose Manuel Parada, Santiago Nattino and Manuel Guerrero were all kidnapped by unidentified men on March 28 & 29 1985. Their bodies were found mutilated on March 30 1985, on the outskirts of Santiago. Their throats had all been cut. At least five more people are known to have suffered the same fate within a week of the assassination attempt on Pinochet in September this year. Torture methods currently in vogue with the armed forces include electric shocks to the most sensitive parts of the body – ears, mouth, genitals, nipples, fingers, anus – while the victim is tied to a metal grid. Beatings, near-drownings in a tub of dirty water, hanging from a pole – around which the arms and legs are tied – burning with cigarettes and intensive psychological torture are also used. Rape and sexual humiliation are common. Branding irons and sharp heated instruments are used to burn crosses on bodies. Interrogations under torture are often accompanied by threats to the victims' family and children. Tape recordings of relatives' voices or children crying are sometimes used. Doctors are often present to advise the torturers on whether the detainee is strong enough to withstand the 'treatment' and to revive them as necessary.

Juan Aguirre Ballosteros was one of ten people who has died as a direct result of torture since 1981. He went missing after being detained by police in Santiago on September 4 1984. On October 22, his headless and mutilated corpse was found in a river near Santiago. One of those detained at the same time as Juan Aguirre said later: 'They began to interrogate the other youth, whom I later found out to be Juan Aguirre. I could hear a loud buzzing from the electricity generator. There was a loud scream then silence. . . I noticed that the agents who were carrying out the torture suddenly became very agitated . . . One of them said something like: 'We've lost this bastard.' while another said: 'This bastard couldn't take it.' The police continue to deny arresting Juan Aguirre.

Jose Randoloh Segovia was found murdered at the bottom of a cliff near Concepcion on May 26 1985, following arrest by local police. They claim he committed suicide after escaping from custody yet it was established that the youth did not die from the fall but as a result of internal injuries.

Mario Fernandez Lopez (fifty-five years old) died being tortured after his arrest by the State in October 1984. The autopsy revealed internal injuries so serious that, according to medical sources, they 'could only have been caused by extreme violence, such as a crash in a car travelling at great speed, or repeated and powerful blows with hard objects.'



A typical torture method used in Chile.

RESISTANCE

Despite such terrorist methods, Pinochet and his regime have failed to stop mass protests from increasing. Since May '83 there have been a series of 1-day, 2-day and 7-day national protests against the regime. Such demonstrations are invariably broken up with tear gas and water-cannon by police. Armed civilians, often off-duty cops, have been known to shoot at demonstrations. In response the govt. has taken to mass arrests - in May 1986 15,000 people were arrested in Santiago alone. Nearly all mass raids are centred on the 'poblaciones' (working class areas) of Santiago. There is an atmosphere of war in some 'poblaciones' and it is here where resistance to Pinochet is greatest. Raids and arrests are a daily occurence. In a mass raid police and troops surround an area supported by tanks and armoured vehicles. Armed soldiers enter the area after cutting off water, electricity, gas and telephones. During the raids houses are often violently ransacked. All men between sixteen and sixty are rounded up and taken to sports fields and compounds. Most are released after being stamped with red ink on their arms. Some are tortured. One man had a cross burnt into his forehead recently. Police told him: 'This way you are going to be a more devout Catholic now'.

Not a single member of the police or armed forces in Chile has been convicted of torturing or murdering opponents of the fascist regime. As in Argentina, the Courts and the military go hand in hand. The recent 'State of Siege' imposed by Pinochet will only make it easier for his murderous ways to continue. We await his assassination with anticipation.

THE FORA

Continued from Page 4.

some delegates at the February conference, another conference was arranged for March 2 1901.

This new attempt to create a workers federation was rewarded with success. On March 2 some fourteen unions came together and it was agreed to call a Congress at which a federation would be set up. A committee of seven people was delegated to prepare the Congress.



La Organisacion later expressed its scepticism that it felt towards the Congress when it said: *A federation implies that the unions who compose it have to be fairly advanced.* It opposed the idea of setting up a federation because of the size of the unions that would make it up. It noted that the brick-layers union, with only 3% of the industry unionised was not big enough; the carriage-makers had 10% of its workforce unionised; house-painters 6%; cabinet-makers 4.5%, engineers (the union that initiated the federation) 8%; graphic artists only 5%. These figures show just how new unions were in Argentina at the beginning of this century.

A Congress finally took place on May 25, 1901 in Buenos Aires. Twenty seven unions, from all over Argentina were represented. The 'Workers Federation of Argentina' (Federacion Obrera Argentina or FOA) was set up and it is this federation that later changed its name to the FORA (Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina) at its fourth Congress in 1904.

The FOA had begun as a result of conciliation between the Anarchists and Socialists.

Enzo (Rosario)
Translated by Leo.

NB. Members of ASP (Anarcho-Syndicalist Publishers) and South London DAM-IWA are preparing a pamphlet about the history of the FORA. Any contributions from readers are welcome.

COPENHAGEN UPRISING



Background photo: The barricades on Trepkasgade on the edge of the occupied 'No Go Area.....

DAY 1 SUNDAY 14th SEPT. THE UPRISING BEGINS.

About 1000 people assemble, to music in the main square for a planned support march to a big park. But the demo suddenly breaks away from the route and everybody charges towards the Ryesgade area..from this moment the Uprising has begun! The police are completely fooled and outnumbered for a short time. Containers, builders wagons and building materials are dragged across the surrounding streets as the battle begins.. "It was a vicious fight, as hundreds of riot police attacked we threw molotovs, fireworks, bricks, and slung catapults, driving them back.."

Inside the newly 'cop free' zone a big US war firm, Sperry, (computers for Cruise and Pershing) had recently moved in, displacing many inhabitants. This building came under immediate and systematic attack, everything was smashed to bits and out-buildings went up in flames as the Fire Brigade retreated also, under a shower of bricks.

"Its not enough to talk, love is a battle, we are fighting homelessness and 'gentrification', but also against the USA, Sth Africa and capitalism..to show our solidarity. Many of us have been to work in Nicaragua..now the battle comes home again".



As Sperry burned the police charged in from the other side, 200 squatters fought back, throwing everything at them but they kept on coming, driving us back. For 15 mins. we fought them from behind the barricade, then THEY HAD TO RETREAT. 15 of them were hospitalised.

...The police retreat and the immediate battle is won, the place is now full of people, with 3 streets now a No Go Area. Ever bigger barricades go up. Its a huge street party and stays so all night. We try to sleep in Ryesgade 58, but its full and noisy. 100 of us sit on the barricades all night.

"It seems so mad, all this violence, maybe people will die. We know we will lose but we still fight on. Its not just this squat anymore..resistance is a tool to build the Movement..to create a free space in a nasty system".

DAY 2. Monday 15th September THE DESPERATE BATTLE.

Dawn breaks to an incredible scene, the barricades are now up to 3 metres high, and rolled with barbed wire. More supporters arrive, the Press is going crazy with "DEMOCRACY UNDER ATTACK" headlines. We are surrounded. At 11.30 the attack begins, when 6 riot buses pull up and the sirens on Ryesgade 58 wail out their warning. The attack begins at No 53, the Red Cross offices, and the cops briefly reach No 58, smashing windows but failing to force the door. We greet them with smoke bombs, our own tear gas, then more smoke. The riot cops retreat! The Red Cross are furious at the misuse by pigs of their 'neutral ground'..

Then there's a bigger charge from the other end of the street. Pigs screaming in their megaphones as they storm the barricades on the corner of the Trepgasgade. We give them the 'concrete rain' and more mollies, but still they charge forward and we are forced to flee. All seems lost, then at the last moment over 100 supporters from the city come charging in from the rear, attacking the police from the rear and forcing them to flee! the riot cops RUN AWAY and don't try to break through again. We reinforce the barricades. The main Trepgasgade is dug up into trenches against cop vehicles!

"In the afternoon the police retreated further and the squatters organised a huge street party outside the barricaded area on the main road".

The evening was quiet and peaceful, except for the fear in the stomach! We are afraid also of police disguised as supporters.

DAY 3 Tuesday 16th September. THE POLICE RETREAT!

There has been an emergency government meeting. The Mayor is hiding from the press for the 2nd day. Inside the barricades all is quiet, but the helicopters are hovering low. A greengrocer comes and gives us more food, and we're all singing and eating round cosy fires in the street.

Then suddenly hell breaks loose again. A gang of pigs tries to put out a bonfire, beating and dragging away two squatters, one woman is left lying unconscious in the street. Six plainclothes cops in disguise pounce and drag a boy into the hospital opposite. We smash some windows crying to release him (Next day the papers headlines scream ,Squatters Attack Babies in Hospital Ward'). By midnight the rioting ends. Then a shock..a molotov comes from a roof and the steps of Ryesgade 58 are on fire! No one is hurt and we can't find the culprits. We suspect the 'Greenjackets' (local fascist youth) who also threw a starter pistol into the street, starting the 'Armed Squatters have Explosives' type headlines in the Press.

DAY 4 Wednesday 17th Sept. NEGOTIATIONS

Its like Martial Law by now, with riot police surrounding the whole area and searching and I.D'ing everyone in the street outside the barricades. On the radio we've heard that Kim Larsen (a 68 yr old ex squatter and now famous popstar) has offered to buy the house for us, to 'save democracy'. But our big meeting rejects this 'individual solution' we want the whole housing problem tackled. On the other hand lots of us have seen too much violence already. There is a stand-off stalemate with the cops.

Days 5 to 9.Thurs to Sun 21st Sept. STALEMATE AND POLITRICKS!

The stalemate continues, with the Council, UNGBO, the Government ,and various Bodies intervening and proposing different plans. We persist in rejecting their 'solutions', but we're getting tired and edgy. We're continuously expecting a massive attack by the equivalent of the SAS, which we couldn't resist. The Press is hostile, but we sense we're gaining support, and the local 'Free Radios' are great support, everyone had their say on them. We still demand a structural and not an individual solution. Inside the occupied 'police free' zone life goes on. Ryesgade 58 used to house about 40 of us, now there's 400 there at any one time All the neighbours inside the zone are friendly and we are getting lots of food, help, blankets, clothes, etc., from all over. Some of the old people are too terrified to go out through the lines and we organise to do their shopping for them. On the Radio we've heard of a big attack against UNGBO in Aarhus with 25,000 dollars damage, and solidarity actions or demos in Holland, Germany and Sweden (not in Britain). In Amsterdam the Danish Consulate has been smashed up. By Sunday the authorities and UNGBO are cooking up yet another offer for us, on the 'Berlin Model' with intermediary owners. But we've had enough, we refuse all negotiations which will only strangle us in the end. To hell with it. We make a unanimous, sad decision.

DAY 9. Monday 22nd September. VICTORY IN DEFEAT.

We reject both the stupid politics and the final confrontation. We pack up and just clear out! The struggle goes on on other ground, we will fight on our own terms in our own way. They will not accept our 'impossible' demands. We refuse any further co-operation with any of them, and now we have more support! This is the end of Ryesgade 58, the battle is lost (though we still have 5 more squats). Today as we left the whole place was strewn with wreckage, like some gigantic chessboard. We are very sad and tired. Usually nothing happens here for years, but this was a bit much!

"You will hear from us again, Solidarity is a weapon, Love is a battle ".

CONGRATULATIONS

The Ryesgade 58 centre was a focal point for resistance for 3 years, as well as the offices of Ekomedia, and the new address of 'radikal' the persecuted paper of the German movement, and much more besides.We wish to congratulate the former inhabitants on their brilliant resistance, and thank them for their support of Black Flag and Crowbar in the past.

SOURCES: Ekomedia Kobnhavn & London. Crowbar office. Bluf (with thanks for Dutch transalations.)

LATE NEWS

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

NEWS FROM GREECE

September 3. Workers of the EDOK-ETER construction firm marched to the ministry and demanded to meet deputy minister Mrs Vaso Papandreou in order to present to her their problems.(They haven't been paid by their firm for one and a half years!). The minister refused to see them and the workers decided to sit on the street in front of the ministry, refusing to leave. The police attacked them and a policeman beat up Angelos Mavroeidis, a 68 year old worker, breaking his leg very seriously.

September 12. Angelos Mavroeidis died as a result of his injuries.

September 15. Some 500 people attended Angelo's funeral. 350 of them are anarchists and the rest are EDOK-ETER workers and leftists. (The two official CP's have 'expressed condolences') After the funeral a march was organised from the Kaiseriani Cemetary to the House of Parliament. The slogans were 'Kaltezas, Mavroeidis - murdered by the state' and 'the next dead will be a minister' and Cops, pigs, assassins'. A hundred armed police were present but they didn't intervene.

SOURCE: B.K.

COP WORLD

- Police in Jamaica are responsible for a third of all murders; cops regularly shoot suspects, settle grudges with guns that averages at 217 killings a year for the past seven years!
- Police in Brasil invaded Presidente Wenceslas prison, 400 miles west of Sao Paulo to end a prisoners protest at bad conditions. Using a bulldozer to break down the gates and backed up by a cordon of riot troops they then beat to death – in front of TV cameras in some cases – 14 prisoners.
- In India 2,000 people were arrested in Bhopal during a protest demanding more aid for the survivors of the 1984 gas leak. Also kidnapped by the State recently was 21 year old David Bergman who had cycled from Britain to Bhopal to raise money for the victims. He had been exposing the plight of the locals and was condemning the State and the **Union Carbide** corporation.
- During a 100 day 'anti-crime drive' that preceded the Asian Games in Seoul, South Korea, police arrested 263,564 people. The Chun Doo Hwan government evicted people and demolished homes to 'beautify' the city and riot cops firing tear gas stormed Yonsei University where a rally to plan disruption of the Games was being held.
- In Czechoslavakia several members of the Jazz Section of the Czech Musician's Union were arrested by police. The CMU Jazz Section was banned in 1979 yet continues with 6,000 members and 100, 000 supporters. The cops took away books, magazines, newspapers, cassettes and have charged the 7 with publishing and distributing 'without permission'. (Helping young musicians develop their talents, circulating cassettes and distributing otherwise unobtainable music literature). The State ten years ago banned the two popular rock groups *DG-307* and *Plastic People of the Universe.*

DE KNIPSELKRANT UPDATE

Paul Moussault, editor of the Dutch counter-information bulletin *De Knipselkrant*, arrested in Groningen on May 4 by armed police (see *Black Flag, No 157*) **was finally released twenty days later we have now heard.**

The Japanese person, Yu Kikumura, arrested in Schipol airport under suspicion of importing a kilogram of TNT, with whom Moussault's arrest had been connected, has also been set free at the beginning of September, after a judge ruled that the evidence against him (electrical detonators hidden inside a portable radio) had been acquired by the police by illegal means. Kikumura is believed to have been deported back to Japan.

Meanwhile Moussault remains the target of strong international police pressure, aimed at closing-down *De Knipselkrant* which has long been a thorn in the side of internal and foreign secret services. We hope to have a fuller account of this case in a future issue.

DUTCH RESISTANCE

Two small bombs damaged two Amsterdam civic buildings on the eve of the Queen Beatrix's opening of Parliament during a wave of protest against austerity measures dictated by the government. *Lubbers Commandos Halfmast* claimed responsibility. In Nijmegen, central Holland, a hundred youths occupied an office block to protest education cuts. Nuclear armed NATO ships received a rowdy protest when they visited Dutch ports recently too.

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

JOANA LEWANDOWSKA

Joana Lewandowska No. P35641
HM Remand Centre, Warrington Road, RISLEY, near Warrington, Cheshire.
wants correspondence, literature and support.

Paula Thomas, a 20 year old woman from Birkenhead, Merseyside was recently found hanging in her cell at Risley. Several prisoners staged a roof-top protest at the poor conditions and overcrowding in Risley recently.

SOLIDARITY PRISONERS

Wladyslaw CHRABOWSKI is currently in prison in Warsaw, Poland, serving a three year prison sentence for printing and possessing Solidarity leaflets and publications. He was one of twenty workers arrested at the Warsaw printing works *Prochem* earlier this year – the state has agreed to release them all for a one million zloty ransom.

Please send letters of support to ***Wladyslaw Chrabowski, Areszt Sledczy, ul. Ciupagi, Bialoleka, Warszawa, Poland.***

Letters demanding the release of Wladyslaw and the others should go to: ***Polish Embassy, 47 Portland Place, London W1N 3AG.***

FRANCO LEGGIO

Our comrade Franco Leggio, an Anarchist fighter and publisher, was arrested during a protest against nuclear weapons at Comiso (Sicily) and has been sent by the Italian courts for psychiatric examination and detention. Presumably on the grounds that you must be mad to think nuclear power and weapons can be harmful. This degrading treatment has been directly copied from the Russian State way of dealing with dissenters.

SOURCE: Umanita Nova.

HOME NEWS

WHEN THE ANARCHISTS RAN THE BUSES



AT LEAST THEY RAN ON TIME

Spanish Revolution 50th Anniversary

The sticker above drew comment from local press after Reading bus stops were covered with it. The idea is spreading and anarchist groups in other towns are planning similar action.

'LIBERTARIAN RIGHT' – FEMINISTS?

After reading in *Outwrite* women's newspaper, about the conference, called: *Feminism, Socialism & Libertarianism* organised by the Libertarian Alliance, a few anarchist women decided to go along to cause trouble.

The Libertarian Alliance is known to most Anarchists as advocates of free market capitalism as adopted by the Tory 'New Right'.

That this slimey group could try to claim responsibility over libertarianism is bad enough but to try and claim feminist agitation as their own sickened us, as we heard right-wing individualists like Ayn Rand portrayed as an inspiration.

Their criticism of the Equal Opportunities policies as Statist, thinly disguised their own disinterest in anyone affected by racism or sexism. One woman continually asserted that 'the free market frees women.'

We'd had enough, so one of us stood up and attacked the gathering for its Tory alliances, hatred of working class women, and their hypocritical espousal of freedom with capitalism intact. A description of the meeting as 'middle-class' caused one pimply student to say 'I'm not middle class, I'm upper class'. This brought titters from the mainly male audience. We told them we were anarchists, and that one day the Institute for Economic Affairs, where the meeting was held, would burn. Would they call on the State's police to protect them?

When one of our group asked why there was no creche, they asked whether we believed in 'apartheid for children' (!) and amid their calls of 'where are your lentils (?) and 'who cares about lesbians and gays?' we left them to their ideological hopscotch. Apparently afterwards a woman wanted to know if there was some literature that could be given to us misguided souls.

Articles on the conference appeared in *New Statesman* and *City Limits*. The *City Limits* writer seemed admiring and uncritical of the 'new trend'. Maybe women who use feminism in their climb to money and power will use this ideology openly in the future.

NORTHERN ANARCHIST NETWORK

The NAN held a march in Leeds on September 20th. A conference was also held, with a creche, food and music for a social. Future meetings will be bi-monthly, the next is in Newcastle on December 6th. The Bulletin will be published monthly, rotating to a new group after each meeting. Huddersfield are doing the next two. Their address is: *PO Box B20 Huddersfield. West Yorkshire.*

Leeds Prisoners Support Group have adopted several prisoners and have contact addresses (*Box ASS, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2*).

REMEMBER, REMEMBER 11th of NOVEMBER

One hundred years ago on November 11 1886, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Albert Parsons and August Spies were hanged in Chicago, USA. Their 'crime' was to be anarchists, agitating in the struggle for the 8 hour day which was won through direct action and solidarity. Their murder by the State has been the day Anarchists have remembered ever since. We never forget!

One hundred years on many work more than 8 hours and wages have fallen yet this slide into serfdom can be stopped by the organisation of workers 'from below'. No leaders, no Party, no government, no religion can or will liberate the wage slaves. The exploited can emancipate themselves by their own efforts.

We urge all Anarchists to meet up on Tuesday November 11 and have a social discussion, benefit and a good time in memory of past comrades efforts, and help those building a new world in the shell of the old today.

And don't forget the Anarchist Black Cross, support the comrades behind bars as you'd hope they'll help you if you were in their place..

NATIONAL SQUATTING NETWORK

Manchester, November 8th. To discuss possible aims of such a network and to prepare for a weekend of workshops & discussion on aspects of housing and squatting to be held in Bristol on 13/14 December. For further info on both the Manchester and Bristol events, contact: *Manchester Housing Action, c/o Raven Press, 75 Picadilly, Manchester.* Please enclose a Stamped Addressed Envelope if possible.

RANK & FILE WORKERS ACTION VERSUS TUC INACTION

Central London Direct Action Movement – International Workers Association are holding a public meeting on Tuesday, November 11th at 7.30pm in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. (Tube: Holborn).

OMORI BENEFIT

November 5th at Canterbury Art College a benefit for K. Omori to raise support for his case – appealing against the death penalty — Omori has been in prison for 10 years after being accused of bombing the Hokkaido government offices. The event is being organised by the Anarchist Communist Federation in Canterbury.

COLCHESTER

Are there any anarchists in the Colchester area interested in forming a group? Please write c/o Black Flag.

McDONALDS

Many local groups around the world are preparing to protest at or about their own McDonald restaurant on World Food Day, Thursday October 16th, 1986. The actions will be diverse and imaginative. A fact sheet *What's wrong with McDonalds?* Everything they didn't want us to know. People that have no local action to join in can come to the weekly meeting at 6, *Endsleigh Street, WC1* at 7pm on Thursday, 16th. After dealing with routine business they depart to search for the notorious Ronald McDonald, the clown with heart disease and chemical overdose.

Source: Greenpeace (London) 5 Caledonian Rd. N1. Tel: 837 7557.

PLYMOUTH

Attacks on police in Plymouth have increased in recent months. The *Western Evening Herald* listed the latest incidents.

* A cop was seriously injured in a late night incident in North Prospect.
* Three days later 8 police were injured in a pitched battle in Union Street.
* One hundred police, plus Royal Marines and Royal Navy military police fought with 500 people in the 'Battle of Union Street'. Crowds blocked the pavement as stones and glasses were hurled at police in an 'orgy of violence'. Three people were charged with assaulting police, affray, etc.
* Two cops were kicked to the ground as they tried to arrest one of a group of people in North Prospect.
* In Dartmouth 2 cops were injured by broken milk bottles during scuffles involving a group of people at the police station.
* On September 10, burning barricades were built in North Prospect when 50 youths retaliated after police tried to arrest two men, who escaped in the ensuing fight.

In a hilarious statement the local Labour councillor blamed the 'appalling weather' and people of 'low intelligence'. Local cops say the battle was a lot more than the usual ch icking-out-time brawl.