

BLACK FLAG

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

MAY '90

30p

This issue is dedicated to the memory of Leo Rosser

POLL TAX—REFUSE AND RESIST

THE EVENTS of March 31st have shown the extent of popular opposition to the poll tax. Over a quarter of a million people took to the streets to demonstrate their anger and the support of non-payment runs into millions. For one day the ruling class and their emulators on the left were shaken to the core by mass working class action.

In the last decade, the state has given free rein to the police to terrorise the working class into submission, whether the organised workers as at Orgreave and Wapping or communities as in Brixton and Broadwater Farm. With its powers extended and its resources increased the Police came to the demonstration confident in its own strength and prepared to beat the anti-poll tax movement into submission. But the streets belong to the people and on this day we were determined to hold them against any provocation or attack—we will not let the police, the government or even the Militant Tendency take them from us. The working class has a long history of self-defence and one of which it can be proud and anyone who says otherwise should be recognised for what they are—scabs. The contempt that the Labour Party, Militant and other 'leaders' of the labour movement show for our class by pretending we had to be incited to resist police violence is despicable. We have no need of such leaders.

Before the blood had been staunched from the wounds inflicted by truncheons the so-called leadership of the All Britain Anti-Poll Tax Federation (ABAPTF), Tommy 'shop 'em' Sheridan and Steve 'nark' Nally (both supporters of the Militant Tendency) were already making statements about an internal enquiry (read 'witch hunt') with Nally stating that they would 'name names' to the police (who they insist are only workers in uniform). Like the Labour Party they thought that violence would give the protest a bad name failing to realise that people can judge the situation for themselves. Militant also saw the demonstration as a means to establish their 'leadership' on the anti-poll tax movement. Up until then they had been constrained by the federative structure of the movement to using their positions only as a platform—they had few executive powers. From that point the combative nature of the demonstration forced them to use it as an exit platform. They said their party was wrecked by gatecrashers—the anarchists—but it was never their party and this is a clear admission that they were not worried about the effect on the poll tax but on their political fortunes.

The anarchists are not the outside agitators that the media and Militant claim. DAM members and other anarchists have played a leading role within the anti-poll tax movement. Throughout the 3 years of resistance in Scotland and 2 in England and Wales we alone have consistently maintained a position of 'Don't Pay, Don't Register, Don't collect and Don't Implement'. We have always stood for the involvement of the workers combined with mass community resistance organised on a local level and continually fought for an open democratic movement built federatively from the grass roots.

Militant now claim the 'naming names' statement was never made and in true trot fashion are saying that it is Nally who is being witch-hunted. Unfortunately for them we have the video. Furthermore a Militant front group in the Lothian Federation is now calling for the banning of SWP and Class War members from the Federation and from demos and actions called by it.

But the anti-poll tax battle continues in spite of Militant's attempts to manipulate it. Action is being called for Mayday to make it anti-poll tax day. Already NALGO (the local government union) branches in London have motions submitted on this, making the link between the poll tax, destruction of local services and jobs, and the victimisation of individual activists. This is particularly important for Andy Murphy, the Class War member, suspended from Hackney Council for speaking out for his class after the demonstration. It is fitting that his defense is conducted in this way, on Mayday. It is vital that Andy be given unconditional support. We have many criticisms of Class War, but we cannot allow the bosses of the Labour Party to victimise a comrade for his political views.

Within the anti-poll tax federations, Militant have been getting a pasting over their 'grass 'em up' tactics and have now been forced to back down. But we must redouble our efforts, through the federations, to remove them—and any others who try to manipulate the movement for their own political ends—from any and all positions of responsibility. They have repeatedly abused these positions and should be held to account. Mass-non-payment and industrial action will happen. Our task is to organise it to make it most effective and destroy the poll tax as soon as possible.

POLL TAX — PAGE 5.



JAIL UPRISING

THE DAY AFTER Tiananmen Square, London W.C.2, Strangeways Prison, Manchester, erupted. It was followed by Dartmoor, Bristol, Brixton and all over the country. The prisoners began tearing down the walls as the people of Berlin tore down their wall after years of indifference, fatalism and apathy.

Pathetic discussions as to why this has happened have appeared in the media, together with the suggestion that this type of violence

'has set back prison reform'. Burning was the only reform needed. The only reform the government can think of is to build more and bigger prisons. Then, expanding like motorways, they will be filled thus becoming overcrowded again. The reason people revolt is because they are kept locked up in cages and treated like bat-

tery chickens.

There is a mania for locking up, punishing and humiliating people, not confined to mad judicial circles but whipped up by the press. It even reaches into prisoners' thinking, via Sun-type indoctrination, with hatred against authority not so much directed against warders who 'do their job' but against offenders whom it is encouraged to despise—currently ostensibly against sex offenders (but in practice against weaker or isolated types rather than, say, brutal rapists). An overwhelming number today go into prison for drug offences, yet drug abuse in prison is controlled by the authorities, used to manipulate the people and as a private source of revenue to augment screws' wages.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 7.

GREEK KILLER COPS STRIKE AGAIN

ANOTHER YOUNG Greek boy has been murdered by the police. Vimitris Kikeris, a 14 year old petty thief was stopped by three policemen while he was trying to break into a gun shop in Preveza, northern Greece. He tried to resist and was shot through his right eye by Grigoris Spyarakos, one of the cops. Vimitris was unarmed. The cop was arrested, but was almost immediately released on bail. In response to the incident the Minister of Justice said that 'it's a policeman's right to shoot in self defense'. If it is self defense for three fully grown men to shoot a 14 year old, unarmed boy, then the greek police have effectively been given a 'license to kill' at will.

A wave of protest followed the murder, during which a bomb exploded outside the police station near Exarchia Square in Athens and the headquarters of the Conservative Party was molatoved. A number of police cars were also burnt and the offices of Amnesty International were occupied. At one stage the whole of Athens was surrounded with a cordon of police. Things quietened down in the run up to the elections, but Easter is traditionally a period when people take to the streets. More information next issue.

NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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12 issues £12, 6 issues £6

Rest of world:

Surface:

12 issues £12, 6 issues £6

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12 issues £18, 6 issues £9

Prisoners free on request. Non earners free on receipt of s.a.e.'s or postage.

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Giro account no. Black Flag
58 552 4009.

For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation - against State control and all forms of government and economic repression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all - the breaking down of racial, religious, national and sex barriers - and to fight for the life of one world.

State of our finances
Sept 89 to April 90

Printing bills paid...£1070.60
Postage...£508.68
Stationery...£252.56
TOTAL...£1831.64

Sales & subs...£1064.84
Donations...£676.70
TOTAL...£1721.54
loss £110.10

Bank debt reduced to £4378.97

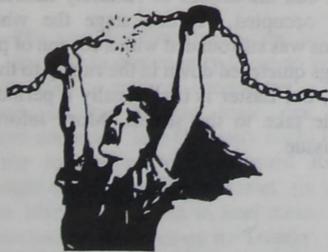
Donations—London: PF £25, LR £50, LF £25, JG £50, AM £622, LB £50, NW £2, Moth £14; Lancs: DF £3, J £28, JP £50, Wales: RA £42, DL £28; Yks: RC £5, Leeds TG £2; Devon: TM £2; Herts: NW £4; Norfolk: A £2, RT £1.50; Berks: AJB £60; Finland: MS £27, KH £30, Calif: WT £3, Birmingham, H £2, Nottingham: TT £4; Glasgow: L £2; Thetford: RF £5; R Tapes £9.40; various £10.80

Anarchist Black Cross (London) via Black Flag: Norfolk: Anon £40, Berks: AJB £7, London: CBC £16, CB £6, AM £10, SC £35, Gig £15, PC £11, GL £12; Liverpool JB £5, USA: SS £26.57; Canada: MH £10
Recvd £193.47—disbursed £80—£113.47

1990 Competition for British
Press Fool
of the Year

SEBASTIAN FAULKES, now of *The Independent on Sunday*, recalls in it his 'enjoyable' years on the rival *Sunday Telegraph* and the 'final twilight' of Fleet Street with expense accounts of fictional effrontery, three hour lunches and institutionalised indolence which, in the case of the print unions, had reached criminal proportions.

He thus qualifies as an entry for three fool's cap of newspaper from the British journalist who manages to be the most incompetent ass. While he and his colleagues were gracing their journal with occasional presences and absences, running up phoney expenses, making trips abroad, having three hour liquid lunches and bringing back their sandwiches afterwards, members of print unions were hanging about waiting so that their utterances could be hot off the press. Printworkers got no such jaunts or expenses, but insisted on getting paid for the compulsorily idle periods as well as the work. This, according to Faulkes, is clearly criminal and shows the working class at their worst!



HOME NEWS

MARTIN FORAN FIGHTS ON

AT THE TIME of writing, Martin Foran will have spent nearly 40 days on hunger strike in a bid to highlight how little progress has been made by the West Yorkshire Police officers investigating his complaints of having been 'framed' by members of the infamous Serious Crime Squad of the West Midlands.

Martin maintains that the most significant evidence against him at the 1985 trial was the testimony of Detective Inspector Paul Matthews, who seems to have contrived a verbal 'admission' Martin allegedly made at the time of his arrest. This officer was also involved in interrogating Paddy Hill of the Birmingham Six, and was one of the officers who obtained a 'confession' from him. D.I. Matthews later became an embarrassment to the West Midlands Force. A case against Malcolm Herring, for alleged arson in 1985—in which D.I. Paul Matthews presented one of his 'admissions' to the Court—collapsed when Mr.Herring's lawyer proved that an interview between his client and D.I. Matthews did not take place and that Mr.Herring had remained silent throughout the time of his arrest. Moreover D.I. Matthews began to spend more and more time looking after his substantial business interests and sent in sick notes to the Force. Finally he was demoted from the Serious Crimes Squad, failed to turn up for normal station duty and was 'forced to resign for not obeying lawful orders' in November 1986. He owns property abroad and seems to have left the country. The investigation into Martin's case will not include an interview with Matthews, thus making the whole inquiry very incomplete.

Another question which remains unanswered is, have documents relating to Martin's time of

arrest been destroyed or not? The West Yorkshire police have claimed on two occasions to have seen copies of the prisoner in custody sheet detailing the time of arrest, the West Midlands Force claimed to have destroyed the original two years after the trial. But why should any copies have been made in the first place—and why are copies being found after the original has been destroyed? Martin has always claimed that the Police altered the time of arrest, and certainly the times of Martin's arrest on 10th September 1984 and his being taken into custody are wrong, as their account would have been physically impossible to have carried out. (Briefly, Martin was meant to have been arrested at 3.05pm at Hurst St. car park, where he made a supposed verbal admission of his having carried out a robbery. The Police also say that he was in a cell at Bradford St. station at 3.12pm, after having been processed through the arrest system, some seven minutes later. Martin had been arrested at an earlier time and the custody sheet altered.)

Martin's health is again a matter of great concern. On March 6th he attempted a rooftop protest, but fell from a wall he was scaling and broke his leg. After a plaster cast was fitted, he was placed on the punishment block. Seeing as Martin has a severe colostomy condition, and is already suffering from a painful infection in the wound itself, this treatment can't be considered anything less than torture. At this point Martin refused food, and was moved to the hospital wing. The fight to get Martin's colostomy wound treated is still going ahead. Frankland Prison have given permission for an outside specialist to examine Martin, and will give Martin tablets to treat bacteria in the wound.

Support for Martin in Ireland is now growing fast. The media will publicise his case and many

papers have called for Martin's immediate release. In Britain, leafleting and petitioning have recently taken place in Sheffield, Durham, London and Birmingham. The Birmingham supporters have carried out a number of actions to highlight Martin's case. On April 6th they blockaded Queens Road. On April 12th, members chained themselves to the Crown Court buildings in the city centre, and a four day vigil was scheduled to begin on Easter Monday. This activity has attracted a lot of local attention.

The Shamen donated two thirds of their proceeds of their last London gig to the Martin Foran Support Fund. On May 14th, the benefit L.P. 'Justice is our Conviction' will be released on the State Injustice label (cat.no. SIJ 1), distributed through 'Southern'. Tracks include from The Shamen, Annie Anxiety, Plant Bach Ofnus, Benjamin Zephaniah, and the Mega City Four, amongst others.

Martin always welcomes letters: Martin Foran
C51796,
H.M.P. Frankland,
Brasside,
Durham DH1 5YD

The Birmingham Martin Foran Defence Campaign are at:

Zebedees Cafe,
190 Alum Rock Road,
Saltley,
Birmingham B8

N.B. The ABC(London) now hold regular pickets of the Home Office, Queen Annes Gate, London SW1, on the first Wednesday of every month 12 to 2pm in support of Martin. All welcome.

CONVICTION

CONVICTION is the name of an information service two of Martin's supporters are trying to establish, which will publicise Martin's case along side that of other instances of police 'framing'.

One case that *Conviction* is particularly interested in covering, is that of Derek Harry Treadway, who has been in jail since 1982. Derek was arrested by members of the Serious Crimes Squad (West Midlands) and charged with kidnapping and armed robbery. He also signed a 'confession' whilst in police custody. However, at his trial, he claimed that the 'confession' had been obtained by police placing a plastic bag over his head until he was virtually suffocating, and he denied the charges. In court the jury found him guilty and he was sentenced to 15 years. An Appeal failed in 1984. Since the recent disbandment of the S.C.S., his case has had some media attention. *The Guardian* have found witnesses to corroborate Derek Treadway's allegations—an alleged co-defendant and his lawyer. Recently, the 'World in Action' team interviewed a Home Office employed doctor, Dr.Derek Barracliff, who studied a police surgeon's report of Derek's claims, and said that there was a record of pin point haemorrhages on his skin, consistent with the plastic bag allegations. This case is not being investigated by the current West Yorks Police inquiry, as the arrest happened in 1982. The only course open to Derek Treadway is to sue members of the S.C.S. for assault, which he is doing at present.

The main inquiry into the S.C.S. may not be completed until 1991. Geoffrey Dear, the West Midlands chief who ordered the disbandment of the Squad, recently retired. His parting shot was an attack on the Birmingham Six campaigners, and a claim that they were linked to the I.R.A. Significantly, 11 out of the 20 officers involved in the interrogation of the six have been disciplined by the West Midlands Police for malpractice in other cases. He also told the *Sunday Correspondent* (1/4/90) that between six and ten S.C.S. officers will face 'very serious charges', presumably when the main inquiry is completed. Currently, 124 officers from this force face 360 allegations of malpractice and fabricating evidence. The case against four one-time S.C.S. officers in the Keith Parchment case, for 'conspiracy to pervert the course of justice' will open in Birmingham on April 19th. A series of other cases are about to reach the Appeal Hearings following the release of Hassan Khan, who was 'framed' by the S.C.S. using the technique of fabricating evidence. This man's release is ob-

viously welcomed by others with grievances against the S.C.S. Finally, it's worth mentioning that the West Midlands Police have admitted that material relating to 31 S.C.S. cases has gone 'missing'.

It is possible that the S.C.S. will be presented as the exception to an otherwise adequate system. Certainly their reputation was becoming so bad that the juries simply wouldn't convict in cases involving them, and this is the real reason they were disbanded. Moreover, the 'World in Action' feature on the Squad showed that they were seriously offending other elite parts of the legal system—they tried to 'frame' a lawyer and also had been feeding judges false information, and had even personally antagonised Geoffrey Dear. The judiciary was beginning not to function due to their antics, and action had to be taken. Presumably some officers will be scapegoated, and some prisoners released, and we are all meant to start believing in British Justice again.

Yet what sort of system of 'justice' can jail a person on uncorroborated 'confessions' for long spells of time? One lesser known S.C.S. case is that of Roy Meads, jailed for 15 years in 1984 on robbery charges. The evidence against him was an alleged 'confession' made verbally, and the word of a supergrass. The supergrass later admitted that he was lying, and that Roy had taken no part in the robbery concerned—so Roy is still serving 15 years on the word of one or two police officers. He can somehow be considered lucky as his case is still being investigated although he has failed an appeal.

The legal system is biased in favour of the interests of those who hold wealth and power, and justice is often a casualty. Whilst all liberal exposure of police corruption is to be welcomed, the S.C.S. scandal is a symbol of corrupt judiciary, not some sort of malignant growth in an otherwise healthy body which can be cut away.

Conviction, P.O.Box 522, Sheffield S1 3FF

POTTLE & RANDLE

THE MOST NOTORIOUS political trial to be held for some years, was due to come up at the Old Bailey on April 24th, when Pat Pottle and Michael Randle, anti-nuclear protesters are charged with helping the escape of double agent George Blake, twenty years ago.

It was generally accepted Blake received an disproportionate sentence (42 years) for his involvement in the espionage game, and it is credible that military intelligence were relieved finally to see him go (if he were so important

they would have no doubt have had to trade him off). It was shown (March 30th this year) at the High Court that Special Branch had suspected Pottle and Randle in 1966, and that a book was published in 1970 referring to them under false surnames. A book by military and political secret agent ex-MP Col. Montgomery Hyde, with collaboration from an 'anti-nuke' associate, led to a call for their prosecution by Tory MPs.

Anarcho-Quiz

1. Why was the former Kaiser of Germany referred to as 'she' by loyal supporters?
2. No European State wanted Aetorea, called New Zealand—so why was it colonised and how was the local King responsible?
3. What psychological significance had Leon Trotsky's choice of surname in common with that of Crazy Gang comedian Bud Flanagan's?
4. What famous Hollywood film star was maimed for life by an 'Anarchist bomb'?
5. Before 1933 (and in a few daring cases, after) how did most North German workers respond to the salutation 'Heil Hitler'?

Answers on Page 7.

IN BRIEF

We are still receiving at BM/Hooligan box a number letters intended for Crowbar. We extended the use of our box number to them until they got their own address. Crowbar the squatting paper is now at 121 Bookshop, 121, Railton Rd, London SE24

Middlesbrough against the poll tax (MAPT) is calling a demonstration on Tuesday May 1st, assembling 7.00 p.m at Berwick Hill Baths and marching into town for a rally in Central Gardens. Mayday greetings to all who are fighting the good fight!

ARGENTINA: Poverty & the Militarisation of Society

ARMENTINA, a country with an area of 1.2 million square miles, used to be known as the world's granary. Today, out of a population of about 30 million people nearly 15 million are recognised as 'lacking basic necessities'. The state cynically uses this euphemism as a cloak for what is commonly known as poverty, spiritual and material misery, hunger and sickness. The capitalist economic model that President Menem calls the 'popular market economy' is condemning the majority of people, who are becoming poorer by the day, to be sacrificed for the escalating profits of agricultural-export oligopolies. Millions of children and old people are being deprived of proper health care, education and housing. Meanwhile, the system of financial roulette is emptying the pockets of those who produce the country's wealth.

Recently more than 200,000 Argentines have emigrated. Some are convinced that they will find a sunnier, warmer life in the North. Others are fleeing in anticipation of a new genocidal thrust by the military.

Since April 1987 the military, counting on the complicity of the politicians, has been targeting the civilian population. We have been experiencing an increasing militarisation of society. Once again men in uniform are swarming out of the barracks. Cities such as Rosario are daily overrun with federal police patrols on the ground and in helicopters.

The laws granting immunity from prosecution approved by Alfonsín, the pardons granted by Menem and the decrees legalising the intervention of the armed forces in internal conflicts, together open a sombre prospect. They facilitate the use of state terrorism against popular protests and dissent by those opposing domination, exploitation and ultimately capitalist barbarity.

The ruling classes and their political front men who control the government are using the



'We won't forget, we won't forgive' - the Mothers demonstrate against the Military Junta, forgiven for the 'disappearance' of the Mothers' children.

foreign debt (which might as well be called the eternal debt, since it is unpayable) as an excuse for continued exploitation. They present as indisputable the false alternatives that public services can only be 'inefficiently run by the state' or 'efficiently run by oligarchies linked to multinational capital'. We libertarian socialists know that there are valid alternatives to both: Public services can be operated and managed by their own workers. We also assert that only through the socialisation of health care services can health be assured for everyone. The complex problem of housing can be solved through the creation of cooperatives in which members

work together to build and maintain their own homes. But all this would be admittedly quite difficult under the prevailing system of capitalist exploitation and domination.

Still we don't think that it's necessary to wait for some distant future to fight for dignity and against exploitation. That is why, as a libertarian organisation, we are participating right now alongside others in the resistance to the state sponsored plundering. We are completely opposed to the social model which aims to create first and second class citizens within one country.

In our city, out of a population of nearly a

million, more than 300,000 people are undernourished and living in miserable housing; more than 100,000 people are destitute. We know that the abundance of the wheat fields is not reaching our children's mouths because of the manipulations by bureaucrats, clerics, politicians and bankers, perpetuating social injustice.

Our problem has a name: capitalism. And so does the solution: self-managed socialism. Only popular self-organisation, the direct democracy of councils and assemblies, self-management and libertarian confederation will contribute to the liberation of all of us who inhabit the continent of 'fire and fear'.

While continuing to resist the authoritarian advance and working together in solidarity, let us not forget that there are no quick revolutions; they grow from the ground up.

No to the pardon; No to the amnesty for genocidal killers and No to Militarisation.

Defend collective liberties, ensure all liberty. Self-manage work, consumption, education and all culture.

In the face of the terrorism of those who dominate us, we affirm life against death and injustice.

Grupo Impulso Autogestionario
Casilla de correo 984
2000—Rosario
Argentina

Within Rosario many groups including the Grupo Impulso Autogestionario, work and housing cooperatives, the Libertarian Socialist Union and others share a building—La Casa. The economic crisis has meant that they have found it difficult to find the money to pay the rent and are appealing to comrades in the North for financial support. Please write to the address above.

THE SIEGE OF CARRARA

THE BATTLE for Carrara is over. The Anarchist circle in the centre of the town, which provided facilities enjoyed by the entire townspeople and was taken by the Anarchist resistance after they had thrown out the fascist occupants (as reported in previous issues of *Black Flag*) had been threatened with illegal eviction as the main square was wanted by property speculators working with corrupt officials of the city council. In a reversal of roles in other countries, the Anarchist occupation (backed by the whole community, not a minority calling itself such) was guaranteed by law, and their opponents acting illegally, but the police were called in to throw out the centre just the same.

They did not succeed, faced with the opposition of the mass of workers.

Now we learn that the Army has been called in and succeeded in doing what it failed to attempt in 1944—occupying the main square of Carrara, which 46 years ago was taken by the black flag carrying marble workers and women of the town. The entire building has been bricked up.

We have not learned yet of the fate of Goliardio Fiaschi, who shut himself in the building and would not leave.

SUPPORT CHINESE WAF

DESPITE THE lifting of martial law in the Peoples Republic of China, the oppression of workers and other dissidents continues unabated. The actual fate of many of those arrested after Tiananmen Square is still unknown. They have, for all intents and purposes, disappeared from the face of the earth.

The Workers Solidarity Alliance (USA section of the International Workers Association—the anarcho-syndicalist international) has begun a letter writing campaign to support the valiant members of the Workers Autonomous Federation, many of whom have already been murdered at the hands of the 'Peoples' Executioners'. The WSA-IWA is asking comrades to send letters to addresses below demanding the release of the following workers whose names we know.

Liu Qiang, Liu Huanwen, Bai Dongping, Tian Bomin, Guo Yaxiong, Li Jiang, You Diang, Yan Fuqian, He Zhaohui, Li Jian, Liu Xingqi, Lu Zhaixing, Yang Xiong, Zhang Xudong, Zhou Yong, Gao Jingtang, Li Xiaohu, Zhu Guanghua, Che Honglian, Hao Jingguang, Liu

Yubin, Shao Liangehen, Zhang Xinchao, Li Huling, Rui Tonghu, Zhu Huiming, Cai Chaojun, Chen Shengfu, Gong Chencheng, Li Zhibo, Wang Hong, Wang Miaogen, Zhang Qiwang, Zheng Liang, An Baojing, Bao Hongjian, Chang Ximin, Liu Chongshu, Ren Xiyang, Xu Ying, Zhao Demin.

Send letters to:

Premier Zhongguo Guowu Yuan,
Beijing,
Peoples Republic of China

President Yang Shangkun Zhongguo Guoji
Zhuxi Banshichu,
Beijing
P.R. of China

Ni Zhifu
Chairman All China Federation of Trade
Unions,
Beijing,
P R of China

Direct Action Gets the Goods

ON FEBRUARY 12th health and welfare workers belonging to the SAC—the Swedish syndicalist union—went on strike against the governments plans to forbid strikes and stop all pay rises. In Stockholm about 180 people went on strike until February 15th, when 100 other SAC members went on a half day political strike. Political strikes are very unusual in Sweden and its first time that the SAC has called for one.

Thousands of workers in Sweden left the social-democratic party in protest against the governments anti-strike proposal and there were many wildcat strikes. But before the situation got out of hand the council workers union got a 'relatively good' pay rise offer, putting the lid on any attempts at a mass strike. The government, surprised at the massive protests took back their anti-strike proposal.

For many years the SAC has been losing members and decaying from the inside, reflecting the lack of combativity and lack of class consciousness among the Swedish working class. In this context the SAC strike was a success, breaking through the wall of isolation apathy and formalism that has infected Swedish syndicalism. The strike was by no means perfect—only 16 of SACs 140 local federations participated (the SAC has 14,000 members).



NIGERIAN WOMEN SELF-ORGANISE

A GROUP OF 80 women in Eket, Nigeria have set up a campaign of education and resistance to the traditional practices of polygamy and female genital mutilation that have enforced the subjugation of African women for centuries. For the last three years the Women's Center in Eket has been sending its members into rural areas, encouraging women to take control of their lives and bodies. The centre desperately needs funds and books to maintain and extend its program of education.

The SACs formal, slow structure isn't adapted for urgent class action. These things will hopefully be sorted out. Meanwhile the SAC is gaining in membership for the first time in many years. Several hundred have joined in the aftermath of the strike.

source: Brand

Comment: Syndicalist workers in the SAC are not to be confused with the bureaucrats in its international bureau who have been working with the spanish CGT to form a 'national syndicalist' international.

More information and copies of the political statement of the Women's Centre—Monkey de Work Baboon de Chop—can be obtained from:

B. Hansen,
2115 South Sheridan,
Tacoma WA 98405
USA

or directly from:

H. Edemikpong,
Women's Centre,
Box 185, Eket
Akwa Ibom State,
Nigeria, West Africa.

source: Bayou La Rose

PA CHIN RELEASED

The *Columbia Daily Tribune* reported last summer that the head of the Chinese Writers' Union, Pa Chin, had made a statement in support of the Beijing students and workers. He was subsequently arrested. Now at the age 85, Pa Chin has been a dedicated anarchist since his youth in the '20s and has expressed his views as a novelist and translator. It has now been reported that he has been released.

Some of his short stories have been published in the old *Black Flag Quarterly*—some still available.

source: Anarchy

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

SPANISH HUNGERSTRIKERS NEAR DEATH

THE STATEMENT below was issued by Pablo Serrano, an anarchist prisoner in Soria prison, Almeria, Spain, put out in October last year and explaining the reasons why he and other prisoners had staged a hungerstrike. They had thought they had won important concessions from the Spanish state, but following the elections the state broke every clause of the signed agreement. On November 30th 58 GRAPO (October 1st Revolutionary Anti-Fascist Groups—the military wing of the marxist-leninist PCE(r) party) and Serrano restarted the hungerstrike. Serrano has since come off (he still supports those who continue, though not their politics); 42 are still on hungerstrike. They are now being force fed in hospital until fit able to return to prison where they continue to strike and are again returned to hospital and again force fed. Many prisoners are in a critical condition. They have been separated with transfers—moved in police cars not ambulances—they have been denied access to their lawyers and some are in total isolation and the repression is getting fiercer. They have no letters rights, almost no media coverage and little public support. The state has declared war on the GRAPO prisoners and is starting the same policies against the 500 ETA prisoners.

In December '89 200 people, mostly from the AFAPP (a prisoners group) and the CNT of Zaragoza gathered in front of Soria prison, until dispersed by police. AFAPP also occupied a Red Cross office. There have also been protests this year in Toronto and Vancouver, with more planned, by the Anarchist Black Cross. Inter-

national pressure has to be brought to bear on the Spanish government and the media blackout on its extermination of political prisoners broken and it must be done urgently.

Letters should be sent to:

Antonio Asuncion
Direccion General de Instituciones Penitenciarias
Ministerio de Justicia
Calle San Bernado/47 Madrid
28015 Espana

'Here in Spain in the campaign of repression against political prisoners began in '86. Soria for example has seen 2 hunger strikes. By '88 however, the situation was relatively calm, partly the result of negotiations between the ETA and the State.

This 'dialogue' has now broken down and a new wave of escalating repression launched, in the form of fresh dispersals of prisoners (politicals) through the prison system and the brutal use of prison regulations resulting in the loss of the more important privileges won over the past few years. And so, in the majority of prisons the following measures have been used:

Isolation
Sensory deprivation
Beatings
Strip searches (24 hr basis)

These measures have all been designed to push us on the road to 'Reinsertion' (political rehabilitation with the state) and smash the resistance movement inside.

The recent hunger strike (begun at the start of September) has to be seen in the context of this escalation. Here in Soria we struck in solidarity with the politicals in Almeria Jail following 8 months of isolation, solitary confinement and the 'occasional' screw violence that they suffered. We were also demanding the same rights of communal living and reasonable conditions that we used to have. These rights have been taken away from us slowly and secretly, we now had far less mobility and were restricted to letters just from our immediate families. We wanted to show our strength and resolve.

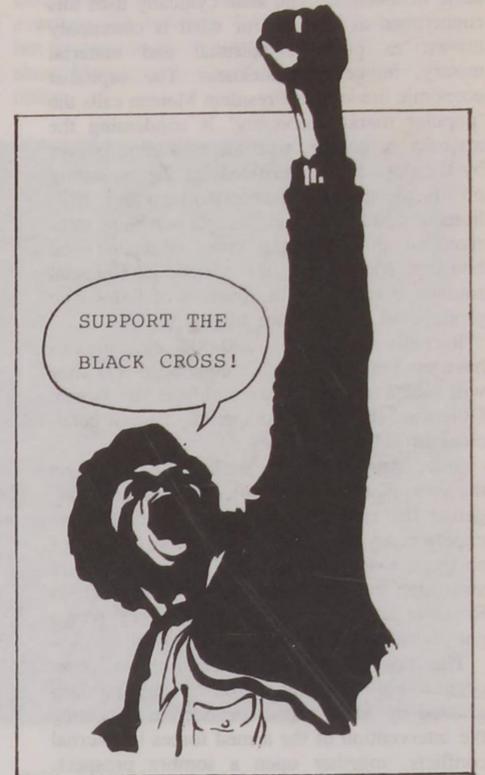
The authorities gave in to our demands which included:

An end to solitary
A return to normal communal living arrangements
A workshop and study room

We reached a signed 'agreement' while our comrades in Almeria were moved to the prison hospital awaiting transfer.

Overall the struggle has been as hard as we expected, particularly since we were in the middle of an offensive by the authorities anyway Many factors played a part in our achieving the minimum demands above, one being the wide outside support we got on an increasing scale despite a national news blackout.

Another factor was the critical state of health three of the hunger strikers were forced into. The recent national elections also provided us with a favourable background. Finally, although the state of offensive was directed at all politicals in jail, ETA prisoners were the main target.

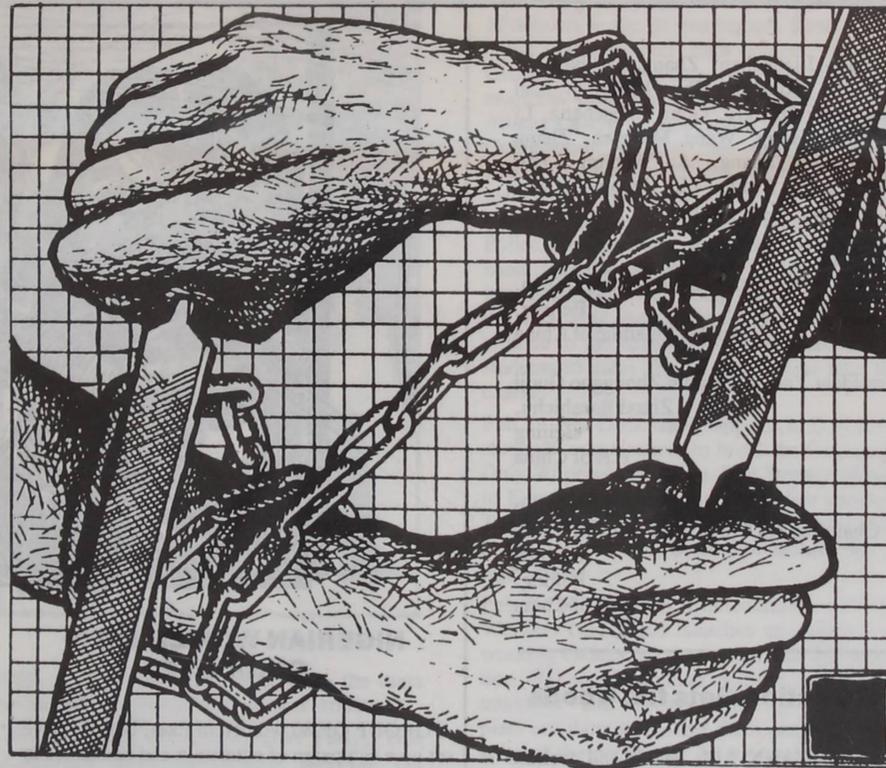


ABC GROUPS LIST

Plymouth ABC, PO Box 105, Plymouth, Devon, PL1
Oxford ABC, Box A, EOA Books, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.
Midlands ABC, c/o 70 High Street, Leicester.
Liverpool ABC, PO Box 110, Liverpool, L69 6AU.
Preston ABC, PO Box 172, Preston, Lancashire.
Bolton ABC, PO Box 47, Bolton, BL2 1QA.
Manchester ABC, no contact address at press time Watch this space!
Bradford ABC, 1 in 12 Club, c/o 31 Manor Row, Bradford, BD1
Sheffield ABC, Black Star, PO Box 446, Sheffield S1 1NY
Leeds ABC, Box JAG, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS1 6DT
London ABC, BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX
Bristol Prisoners Support, Box 010, 37 Stokes Croft, Bristol 2
Glasgow ABC, PO Box 239, Glasgow G5 0LW
Edinburgh ABC, PHCI, 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh, EH1
Belfast ABC, PO Box 148, Belfast, BT1

International

Denmark ABC, Strandvejen 93, DK-4200, Slagelse, Denmark
Athens ABC, 8 Aristidou Street, 10559, Athens, Greece
Sweden ABC, C/O ASF Box 5088, S-291 05, Kristianstad, Sweden
Toronto ABC, PO Box 6326, STN 'A', Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5W 1P7
Vancouver ABC, Box 15642, Vancouver, BC V6B 5B4, Canada
San Diego ABC, PO Box 2576, San Diego, CA 92112, USA
San Lorenzo ABC, PO Box 215, San Lorenzo, CA 94580, USA
New York ABC, 151 First Avenue, Box 66, New York, NY 10003, USA
Melbourne ABC, PO Box 1257, Collingwood 3066, Australia
Finland ABC, c/o Aki Riekinen, Riiantie 3D39, SF-02780, Espoo, Finland



IWW PRISONER NEEDS SUPPORT

IWW MEMBER Sonya.K.Clark is confined in the prison in Marysville. She was forced to 'volunteer' for the 'Attitude Adjustment Unit' (behaviour modification and slave labour). Had she not agreed she would have been kept in isolation until she did. She has already done much time in isolation. The women in the unit are forced to do hard labour at \$3 a month, but Sonya is presently organising the women prisoners for a diet action.

Letters of support can be sent to:

Sonya.K.Clark, 17400,
1479 Collins Ave.
Marysville,
OH 43040
USA

source: Bayou La Rose

We recently received a letter from Latin America ABC which has shed more light on their activities (previously we had had no direct contact with them). They are busy publishing a paper—*A Mayor* (Big A)—which is in both Spanish and English and they have also been forging links with some of the international ABC groups (see list of contacts elsewhere in this issue). They are a small group based in Miami, with members from countries such as Nicaragua, Cuba, Mexico, Columbia and Argentina. They are active in the Anarchist Black Cross struggle, publicising prisoners and carrying out support work and wish to become fully participatory in the ABC.

We also welcome the news that some of the group have joined the Workers Solidarity Alliance—American section of the International Workers Association.

They can be contacted at:
Latin America ABC,
PO Box 45-1208,
Miami, Florida,
USA 33245.

JOHN PEROTTI UPDATE

JOHN PEROTTI—the IWW prison organiser—Michael Day and Sudan Swafford, three Ohio prisoners who began a hungerstrike on February 14th are now all off hungerstrike. Perotti was transferred just prior to the strike to the Lebanon correctional facility in Ohio, one week after a serious beating by guards.

Currently Perotti is allowed only one visit every month from his mother. Linda Leisure, acting as his Minister and one of his main support workers, is not allowed to see him. He is also not being allowed phone calls. Perotti's mother reports that he is in a bad condition and not receiving medical treatment in the wake of both the beating and the hungerstrike.

In the light of this situation, the Anarchist Black Cross (New York) has initiated an emergency response with the following demands:

- 1) That John Perotti be given immediate medical attention.
 - 2) That John Perotti be allowed visiting rights, specifically in regards to Linda Leisure.
- The ABC(NY) is asking that people phone or write to the warden.

Warden William Dallman,
Lebanon Correctional Facility,
PO Box 56
45036 USA
tel: (513) 932 1211

source: Ecomedia Toronto

MURRAYS UPDATE

The Free The Murrays campaign is asking people to write to their Irish embassies expressing concern over the length of time that the Murrays have been held and asking that the embassy pass on this concern to the Minister of Justice, Ray Burke. Also to write directly to th Minister asking for a release date to be set as soon as possible and to write to the Sentence Review Body care of the Dept.of Justice asking for the Murrays case to be considered favourably. They also ask that all letters are written as individuals and not as organisations (particularly anarchist organisations) and that all responses could be passed on.

Dept. of Justice, 72 Stephens Green, Dublin, Ireland.
Free the Murrays, Box FTM, Tenants Corner, 48a Oval Mansions, Vauxhall St, London SE11.

CHASED OUT!

A GUERRILLA WAR has been raging between non-payers and Sheriff Officers in Lothian Region ever since the state thugs made their first visits to non-payers homes in early February.

The initial attempts by H.M. Love & Co. to carry out poindings in East Lothian were met by well organised opposition. The Sheriff's men called on non-payers without any warning, but anti-sheriff car patrols linked to 'Scumbuster' base by C.B. radio ensured the Sheriff Officers were chased and harried at every turn. Their cars were blockaded, had their tyres let down and vaseline smeared on their window screens. The Sheriff Officers called in the police and two arrests were made, but protesters were not deterred. A report from Prestonpans recounts that Sheriff's Officers were forced to flee from an angry crowd wearing balaclavas!

Sheriff Officers, Gray & Scott, fared no better when they started harassing non-payers in Edinburgh. Their attempt to carry out a poinding on Paul Smart ended in abject failure when 300 anti-poll tax campaigners blockaded not only the tenement stair, but the entire street.

This opposition has led to the Sheriffs changing tactics. In Edinburgh at least they now seem to have largely abandoned attempts at immediate surprise poindings. Instead they claim that they had called to effect a poinding but were unable to gain entry. In most cases a blatant lie, since the letters are being generally delivered by individuals, many of whom are office staff (to be legal a poinding requires a Sheriff Officer and a witness).

As they quickly move from one area to another delivering letters, it is difficult for the anti-poll tax activists to catch them in the act. But resistance continues. Active local groups have fly-posted their areas with anti-Sheriff Officers hotline numbers.

Sheriff Officers have also started freezing bank accounts, so far mainly in the Royal Bank and Bank of Scotland. A 150 strong demo on March 18th outside the Royal Bank of Scotland denounced the account freezing and on the 15th March 70 people occupied the Bank of Scotland, Frederick Street, in solidarity with a non-payer whose account had been frozen. In Merchiston/Morningside the local anti-poll tax group picketed the Royal Bank and sent in a delegation to demand that the bank manager give two days advance warning of any bank account freezings.

Lothian Region has already sent out 98,000 summary warrants and a Councillor has said that he believes their are, in addition, 60,000 more which the council is due to send out, but is meanwhile sitting on. Plus there are thousands who are not on the register, which the Community Charge Registration Officer admits is now 3 months out of date.

We are winning.

Mike
source: *Refuse and Resist*

SUCH A PARCEL OF ROGUES

THE DAY BEFORE England and Wales were to be subjected to the Poll Tax—a year after Scotland had suffered—there were massive demonstrations everywhere. Even small towns where no activity had been noted for a century came out. There had been nothing like it since the first Reform Act. In villages and small towns, several thousand turned out: in places where one would not have thought there were five thousand people, there were demos of five and ten thousand. In Glasgow there were 20,000. In London, with many bussed in from Bristol and elsewhere, there were possibly a quarter of a million centring on Trafalgar Square. The message was clear. The media, however, preferred to concentrate on the fact that the London meeting ended in 'a riot'. If it had been Bucharest or Shanghai, this would have been good: here it had to be 'bad'. People who resist Bolshevik tanks are heroes: people who object to our elected dictatorship's police cars driving straight at them are hooligans.

Who would say otherwise? Not the Militant Tendency, for one: in true trotskyst fashion, the Millies hi-jacked the platform and excluded their opponents, in co-operation with the police. Those who spoke; and had but a half-hour before pointed to the gallant way Europe had resisted, now cried plaintively, 'We never wanted this to happen' when it happened here. They disowned the 'violence' and offered to give names (presumably of their political opponents) to the police—finding within days they had sadly misread the attitude of ordinary people, especially those who had seen the police car and horse attack first. The Labour Party having disavowed everybody who said they wouldn't pay, the credit for leading the bandwagon was up for grabs and the journos pissed in their pants trying to find someone. The trot SWP, who did very little in the poll tax campaign, declared that while it disavowed violence it understood what everyone else took for granted, but that was hardly enough.

As a police chief, evidently reared on Sherlock Holmes, said he saw black flags and that was a visible sign of an anarchist presence, both police and the press tried sticking the 'violence' on to anarchist 'leadership' and its flatteringly large 3,000 'hard core' shock troops there.

That anarchism means no leadership was an irrelevance. There were anarchists, there was a determined response, all was proved. It only remained to find some figure to act as scapegoat (and it was April Fool's Day next day and could always be disavowed).

There was some frantic phoning around known anarchist activists, who declined the offer to act the part of post facto leaders. The group round the paper Class War, who are trying to reinvent anarchism in populist terms, but hadn't figured much in the anti-poll tax movement, did oblige with some mouth-and-trousers quotes for the benefit of the media,

which thinks (and often hopes) that bar-propping language incites people to do things that they don't really want to do. The journos came out with this to back up the shock horror (as if CW could have initiated it)—and listed every known anarchist grouping they could think of, re-vamping familiar anti-anarchism which varies each new time round—forgetting different lies they told in the Angry Brigade period and the Persons Unknown period—in daily journalism, liars don't have to have good memories.

Some of the pressies went round every Tom, Dick and Harriet they could find to associate them with anarchists, who after all have been noted for fighting tyranny with more effort than putting the boot in car showrooms, admirable as this may be.

More sinister, on the day itself, reporters sometimes claiming to be tourists were asking people to pose—in some cases, to be seen as if kicking in a shop window which had already been broken. Some of these pictures later appeared in the press. Will prosecutions be based on this? This time, of four cameramen who suffered injury, three were at the hands, feet or hooves, of police, one (from Murdoch's Sky TV) by demonstrators. What can they expect next time?

POLL TAX DEFEATED

THE DAY following the poll tax demonstration in Trafalgar Square it was announced that the government of New South Wales, Australia, had abandoned its plans to introduce the poll tax there. It admitted that it had been persuaded by the amount of resistance to the tax in Britain. Comrades from the Australian movement send their thanks to the anti-poll tax movement and wish us all the best in our struggle.

REFUSE AND RESIST

Refuse and Resist is an excellent anti-poll tax bulletin put out by a small collective of anti-poll tax activists in Scotland. It is packed with up to date news of the resistance, group reports and comment. Any letters, articles, reports, donations, or requests for copies (please include postage) from anywhere in the country to:

Refuse & Resist
c/o Murray,
31 Leven St.,
Glasgow,
G41 2JD

PLOD SPEAKS

WAS IT IN an effort to show impartiality that one senior policeman pointed out that black flags being carried might not indicate your actual anarchist but could be 'flags of convenience' for criminal elements intent on looting?

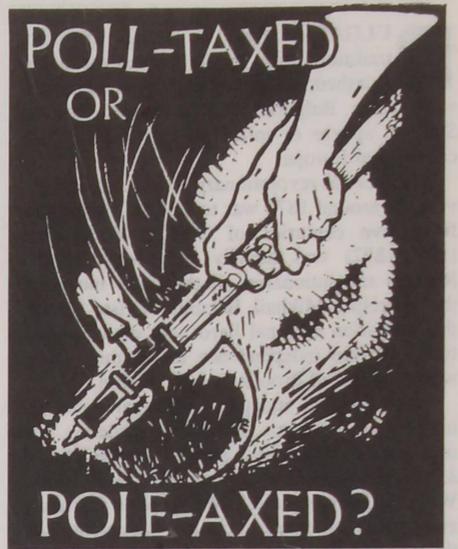
So convenient to take a flag with you if you go pinching things from shops: otherwise you might not be noticed.

Looting in time of disturbance is private initiative to enrich oneself, based on the soundest Conservative notions.

Revolution isn't looting: it's taking over the whole economy.

Perhaps some cops were anxious to blame 'criminal' elements: if there had been a legally-defined riot or civil disturbance, insurance companies wouldn't pay out to traders affected.

They also wheeled out for the cameras police 'victims' from the demonstration. Poor old British bobbies just trying to do their job. 'You just don't expect people to be so vicious, so violent towards the ordinary British police officer...' said WPC Fiona Roberts after she had claimed that she had been struck over the head during the demonstration. But WPC Roberts as an ordinary British copper is no stranger to violence. An eagle eyed reader of the old *Wapping Times* (an independent paper from the Wapping strike zone) sends us a picture of her in gear calculated to provoke retaliatory vice and violence.



THE GOOD, THE BAD & THE TUC

INDUSTRIAL ACTION over the poll tax is gradually building. DSS workers came out in London last year. Sheffield poll tax workers have struck over working conditions and now London NALGO branches are calling for strike action on May 1st. As the effects of the poll tax begin to be felt, with job and service cuts, and workers are given confidence by the mass non-payment campaign, these actions can only increase. But it is no use waiting for, or making demands on, the union leadership. Their loyalties lie not with their members, but with their own self interest—both now, financially and in the future, with their cosy relationship with any future Labour government to be considered.

Nothing could illustrate the point better than the TUC anti-poll tax rally held on the Tuesday after the mass demonstration for non-payment in Trafalgar Square. To enter the hall you had to pass through three security checks, including a body search. After the interminable speeches on why we had to stay within the law and wait for that glorious day when there was a Labour government in power a postman stood up holding his poll tax bill. He asked the platform what he should do as he could not afford to pay it. As the stewards rushed to silence this obvious trouble-maker Norman Willis (leader of the TUC) leapt to his feet screaming 'You are Thatcher's friend! You are the real enemy!'

The anti-poll tax movement has to be taken into the workplaces. Local unions should affiliate to their local anti-poll tax groups and resistance encouraged. An important initiative—coming from anarchists working with the Greater London Association of Trades Councils—is the conference for Trade Unionists Against the Poll Tax in London on April 28th. A campaign of rank and file led industrial action along with a campaign of mass non-payment will smash the poll tax and probably the Tory government with it.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE CONSPIRACY EXPOSED

IN THE WAKE of the Trafalgar Square resistance to the police, 500 demonstrators are to be charged, relying on police allegations and photographs taken by journalists and, where possible, visitors. The Crown Prosecution Service has secretly set up a special HQ in what is described as 'anonymous rooms in a CPS building just off High Holborn shared with the Fraud Investigation Group'.

Government-biased lawyers from all over the country are coming, most of them hand-picked for loyalty and screened for their views on the poll tax. The centre of the conspiracy is one Graham Martin, who has stated, 'It will be for us to decide on the overall seriousness of any given bit of evidence' and points out that 'for instance, violent disorder, affray and threatening behaviour—throwing a stone could be made to fit any one' (*Guardian* 18-4-90). As 'throwing a stone' is virtually incapable of proof, anyone can be fitted.

Stated David Gandy, deputy director of public prosecutions, 'The Trafalgar Square riots have a common thread running through them'. As one has been charged with attempted murder (alleged to have thrown a steep pike through a police car, which had just driven straight at the crowd and knocked at least one down) we think we see what he means.

BULGARIA REAWAKENS

BULGARIA had a strong anarchist tradition prior to the movement being smashed and driven underground or into exile after Bulgaria was consigned to the Stalinist sphere of influence in the post-1945 carve-up of Europe.

The national revolutionary movement that developed around 1870 was to free the Bulgarians from five centuries of Turkish domination (1393-1877) was heavily influenced by the Russian revolutionaries of the time, including the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin. Cristo Botev, the Bulgarian national hero who died fighting for Bulgarian independence in the mountains, was a disciple of Proudhon and Bakunin.

After national independence anarchism remained a force in Bulgarian society. The movement's historic paper *Rabotnicheska Missal* was founded before the First World War. Bulgaria entered WWI allied to Germany and Austro-Hungary. Popular discontent with the war and the news of the Russian Revolution led the masses to revolt. Frontline troops deserted en masse and marched to Sofia, forcing the king to abdicate. The Agrarian Party came to power, under Stambulyiski.

In 1919 the influential but disorganised anarchist movement took a step forward by founding the Bulgarian Anarchist-Communist Federation (BCF). From being a movement of small groups and closed circles, the anarchist-inspired revolutionary movement developed into a mass movement second only to the Communists (who had the support of the Bolshevik Government in Russia) in terms of influence amongst peasants and workers. The ruling class was frightened by the revolutionary atmosphere.

The Stambulyiski government began to persecute the leftists, workers halls were attacked and militants assassinated. Behind the scenes a

right wing military coup was being prepared. The anarchists could see what was coming and called for the people to be armed. But the Communist Party had been won over to electoral opportunism and did nothing, while the Agrarian Party didn't take the idea of a military coup seriously and continued to attack the anarchists and Communist Party.

The anarchists formed combat groups which resisted the fascist coup d'etat in 1923. Later, the Communist Party also realised a stand must be made, but by now it was too late. The fascist coup was successful and the country plunged into a long night of repression, torture and assassination. Some partisan units continued to operate in the mountains, formed by anarchists.

In 1931 elections were held and a bourgeois democracy ushered in. Things became slightly easier for anarchist propaganda, though still difficult. The movement grew again. As well as



Recent demonstration in Sofia.

the BACF there was a burgeoning syndicalist movement. But in 1934 the military staged another coup, and the clampdown returned.

During the Second World War the country was occupied by the Germans. Partisan resistance groups formed once again, with the anarchists to the fore. Acting independently or in co-operation with the Communists, they came immediately after the Communists in number of combatants. Bulgaria was liberated from the Nazis in 1944.

Following the liberation, local and factory committees took over administration. In the streets the victorious people openly displayed their revolutionary will. The union movement reorganised. But as the Russian Army occupied the country, the Communist Party began to take over, in alliance with some very dubious friends who had been involved in the 1934 military coup (the 'Fatherland Front').

At first the anarchist halls had been reopened, free unions were allowed, and *Rabotnicheska Missal* reappeared. But as the Communists strengthened their position in the government, the anarchist locals were closed down and militants arrested. Many anarchists perished in the labour camps or endured many years of imprisonment. The Bulgarian syndicalist union (CNT) for many years continued a precarious existence as a small exile group.

In November 1989, as neo-stalinist regimes crumbled across central Europe, a plenum of the Communist Party ditched its leader, Zhivkov, in a desperate effort to stay ahead. But strikes and demonstrations continued. A free union was set up, and in December an opposition demonstration of 100,000 took place in Sofia. The bureaucrats have attempted to stir up anti-Turkish sentiment to deflect the popular discontent.

And the anarchists have re-emerged in

Bulgaria from over forty years of repression, clandestinity and exile. BACF militants have spoken at many meetings, and the paper has recommenced publication.

Trans by DM

Additional historical footnote: A part of the exiled Bulgarian movement took ship to Australia, and its militants have helped in the building of the movement there, also preserving the records of the movement for the younger generation now arising back home. Also, of several militants who had fought in Spain, two Macedonians—threatened in France with deportation to their native country where they wanted on charges of guerrilla activity—made their way to Mexico on British passports (who says only the monarch has the right to grant nationality?) and carrying on with the struggle there, finally got deported to the UK! We know they returned to Bulgaria. If still alive and reading this, we would love to hear from them again.



Yugoslav Anarchism

A SEARCH THROUGH the history of the Balkans, or at least that part of the Balkan peninsula that is today within the state of Yugoslavia, reveals only limited traces of anarchism. There are old agrarian social structures with their peasant co-operatives and other traditions of mutual aid. But these can only be considered in context with the strong patriarchal relations, the domination of monotheistic religion and the ethnic/national preoccupations which have often boiled over into bloodthirsty chauvinism. Industrialisation has removed almost all trace of these old libertarian elements, without damaging the nationalisms, patriarchy and religion.

by an aggressive Serbian chauvinism under Milosevic (Serbian Party boss and President of the Republic as we go to press). The official ideology has lost direction and admits it is in crisis. In the northwest of the country many independent political groups are forming, largely on the model of Western liberal parties, and are increasingly searching for a share in political influence. Ideological control has diminished in the last few years and sections of the press are showing an openness and critical approach unknown in the last decade.

Although party domination and its ideology are rejected by large sectors of the populace verbally, the inherent culture of uncertainty and

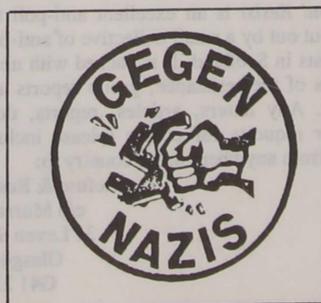
chists' (AAA) was formed in Ljubljana but not much is yet known of it. A Zagreb comrade said the founding of the group was just meant as a joke. Some anarchists are involved in women's groups, peace groups and ecological initiatives like SVARUN in Zagreb. The anarchists tend to be young, most are tertiary educated or are currently studying. Some classical anarchist literature has been translated into Serbo-Croat and Slovenian, but there is virtually nothing modern eg Situationist texts, power analysis, anarchist comics etc. Anarchist material is hard to obtain in Yugoslavia, not least because the average monthly wage is low and the costs of living are relatively high.

There is an almost total absence of syndicalist inclination. The current transition to classically capitalist economic structures without elements of self management will probably lead to extreme exploitation (like in the South-East Asian Free Trade Zone) unless there are strong workers defence organisations. But there are sporadic positive signs, like the refusal early last year by train drivers in Slovenia to pay dues to the official union.

Adapted from an article in *Anarchy* journal, USA.

NO CHANCE TO FASCISM

East German antifascists have sent an appeal to 15 countries to come and join a demonstration against the new rise of fascism, meeting at the Mendeburgen (fountain) in Karl Marx Platz, Leipzig on 1st May, 1pm.



DANCING ON MARX'S GRAVE

PAVAL PISKOVSKI of the Independent Students Association and his allies in the Inter-City Anarchists came to the 11th and last congress of the Polish Communist Party (reported the *Guardian*) 'hoping to beat the hell out of its corpse'.

They shouted down the security forces and Paval got up and declared 'They ruined our country for 30 years and must answer for that'. Meanwhile the rest began throwing red paint and burning Communist flags, ripping up paving stones and throwing them at the militia, livening up a conference for the most part sullen and undecided.

Afterwards there were groups discussing the formation of a Social-Democratic Party and a would-be Labour Party, while other ex-CPers were wondering which faction would get the party's assets and might be safe to switch to. The anarchists went off to Gdansk where they showed 'vengeful interest' in the offices of Mr Tadeusz Fiszbach, local party secretary and deputy Speaker.

ANARCHIST LABOR NETWORK

THE ANARCHIST Labor Network is a new working class network which came out of the 'Without Borders' anarchist conference held in San Francisco last year. The Network hopes to get unaffiliated anarcho-syndicalists and those from the WSA-IWA and the IWW working together on projects and sharing experience and information. It also publishes the *Anarchist Labor Bulletin*.

ALN/ALB,
PO Box 210095,
San Francisco,
CA 94121-0095,
USA

RESEARCH CENTRE MOVES

The International Centre for Research on Anarchism is opening its new premises: CIRA, avenue de Beaumont 24, CH-1012 Lausanne, Switzerland. Open weekdays 4-7 or by appointment.



Serbian Nationalists demonstrate their demand for independence

Several other things of historical interest are a syndicalist propaganda group which was active in Belgrade shortly after the turn of the century, a rural commune which existed in Slavonia (North central Yugoslavia), and a workers' soccer club before WW2 in Split which called itself 'Anarchos' and apparently developed some elements of a popular anarchist culture.

Most people will have heard of the current Yugoslav crisis, marked for example by over 1,000% skyrocketing inflation and a flaring up of nationalist conflicts, linked with or triggered

fear is not so easy to overcome. Almost everyone is a cynic, but almost no one wants to become involved in alternative politics. Some anarchists think differently. They say that the simple existence of a crisis in the country motivates people to change, that it will of itself generate resistance.

Anarchists in Yugoslavia are few and far between. There are no firm groups, but there is a loose network of individuals in the cities of Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Recently a 'Tertiary-school Alliance of Anti-Yugoslav Anar-

Talking Anarchism

FOR YEARS ANARCHISM has been vilified and its history distorted in the Soviet countries. Now in the USSR thanks to glasnost, old myths are nailed by responsible historians, the true story of anarchist resistance is appearing in papers not only about Bakunin and even Makhno, but about armed struggles in the gulags. Millions of readers can learn of this and

THOUGH WESTERNERS—totally misled by the media—thought that the challenge to Stalinism and its successors would lead to the cult of Trotsky, this has not happened. Trotsky's vainglorious boosting of the Bolshevik myth may have fooled Anglo-American students, it does not fool those who had bitter experience of Bolshevism. All parties opposing Stalinism have revived in the USSR in the wave of free speech consequent on the collapse of the economic system. Not trotskyism.

Of the non-anarchist but revolutionary elements opposed to Lenin, none were greater than the Socialist Revolutionary Party which co-operated with the Bolsheviks until Brest-Litovsk and moved into resistance (thus consigned by Trotsky to the dustbin of history, where he now lies, if on a pedestal in Western universities).

But the Socialist Revolutionary Party is reviving. Under the Tsar and after its break with the Communists, it was often allied with the anarchists (and is sometimes confused with them).

Its leader Maria Spiridonova was a revolutionary terrorist, imprisoned under the Tsar, and re-imprisoned under Lenin.

One of the youngsters of the SRs during the brief period of its legalisation, was Yekaterina Tarasova, whose father was an agricultural minister in the Far Eastern province and deputy to the National Assembly. Her parents had run an illegal printshop under the Tsar. In 1922 they were arrested. Yekaterina was still at school, though a member of the SR Club, and moved to Petrograd. There she was imprisoned for activity in the SRs, betrayed by a provocateur. She says interestingly, 'The first time I was banished to Orenburg. There I shared a flat with the anarchist Aida Basevich. Now she lived in Leningrad and maintains friendly contacts with Moscow based anarcho-syndicalists'.

Afterwards Yekaterina was sent to Samarkand (where she met Maria Spiridonova) and in 1937 was sentenced to ten years in labour camps 'preventively'. In 1944 she was released. She brought up two daughters singlehanded. Both her husbands perished in camps. She states in an interview, 'My favourite reading now is the journal *Obschina* published by the anarcho-syndicalist federation'.

about contemporary anarcho-syndicalism, notwithstanding official disapproval.

But not in the elective dictatorship of Great Britain which takes over where Stalin left off. Lies are still trundled out, the facts about organisation suppressed, the place of anarchism and syndicalism in workers' history ignored, the police anxious to criminalise dissent.



Yekaterina Tarasova

She regrets ill health prevents her taking an active part in events but contributes historical articles to the press and in the interview speaks of plans to revive the SR Party, rejoicing in 'contacts with organisations abounding in sincere and sympathetic people reminding me of my youth'.

It was perhaps to be expected that, as for instance in Portugal, after decades of suppression and silence, old-timers would speak out once able to do so, and fascinating tales would be told of the years of unknown struggle.

But what is significant is that, unlike elsewhere, this sympathetic interview appeared in a paper with a circulation of millions. (*Moscow News* 23-3-90)

An equivalent here would be a veteran of say the John Maclean period speaking of years in illegal struggles and prison, and referring to anarcho-syndicalist friends in the Direct Action Movement and reading *Black Flag* or *DA*. You have only to think of the unlikelihood of such an interview being published at all in the *Times*, *Independent* or *Telegraph* (or fairly in the *Guardian*), never mind the tabloids, to realise how far Britain has to go before it gets glasnost, for all its complacent humbug about freedom of the press.

JAIL UPRISING CONTD.

The wave of destruction in prisons has already made a serious setback to the government's plans to imprison yet more people. The forcing through of the poll tax was based on the threat of imprisoning thousands of people for not paying it. They must now recognise there is not enough space to put people convicted of rioting over the poll tax, let alone not paying it. There are not just more people

imprisoned in the UK than elsewhere in Western Europe: more are imprisoned for non-anti-social crimes than many countries lock up for the whole gamut of offences. The facade of democracy has hidden the fact of the UK being a prison state: people not convicted of any crimes can be locked up (on remand) for a year or more, lose their jobs, homes, possessions, and come out proved innocent. Political offenders can get savage sentences for years on end, and the government will not admit they exist.

The prison administrations, but not the Home Office, know that if the innocent, those on remand, the political, and the non-anti-social offenders, were released in bulk, they would have enough room to bully and repress the others. They prefer to call for more staff and more prisons—but cash expenditure is contrary to the present government's policy: they would prefer self-financing privatisation, only not daring to do it in the certain knowledge of resistance. The plan was to increase the prison population (the political police notoriously wanted more political offenders locked up; the Home Office more non-poll tax payers) but this went hand-in-hand with privatisation. Now resistance to prison conditions has exploded.

With Strangeways, many Tory MPs wanted the SAS called in to quell the riot: no doubt if we were to hear from the members of SAS facing this dangerous situation, they might suggest more Tory MPs be sent in.

The world is now learning that even in Stalin's Gulags or Hitler's concentration camps there was resistance, sometimes armed: is 'Britons never, never shall be slaves' just windbag patriotism—or should they be expected to queue up in an orderly fashion for transport to the gas chambers?



LE DIVISION LECLERC

'ALGERIAN SOUTH-EASTERN FRONT, NORTHERN GROUP, NUM. 93 D/31, M'DILLA, 12th APRIL 1943.

Extract of Order No.38

Colonel Delmay of Garenne, commanding the northern group of the south-eastern Algerian front dictates:

ABENZA JESUS, legionnaire in the 3rd R.I. Elite mine-detector pioneer, who brilliantly distinguished himself in the advance on Foun-el-Asker, 7th April 1943, clearing a passage in front of the battle tanks across numerous minefields, proving great courage and total disregard to danger.'

Colonel Dumay of Garenne
Commander of the Northern Group of the Algerian south-eastern front.

AT THE END of the Spanish Civil War, Jesus Abenza was at the Madrid front and was unable to cross into France until the beginning of 1941. Stopped at Perpignan, he was sentenced to one month's imprisonment for having illegally crossed the border. He was imprisoned at Argeles from where he was deported to Algeria.

'It was there that I decided to volunteer for the French African Corps with whom I did the whole Tunisian campaign. I then joined in the Chad Marching Brigade which later became the Chad Marching Regiment, and which became famous in all the battles against Rommel's forces in Africa.

At the end of the African war I continued in the Free French Forces. We left Casablanca on the 4th April 1944, landing at Swansea on the 22nd. After staying in numerous military training camps, we embarked a 'liberty ship' to Normandy on July 31st.

Having been made a sergeant by General Leclerc, it was with braids (which meant nothing to me), that I fought across France and Germany. Before entering Paris, General Leclerc assembled the 9th Company—practically all Spanish and C.N.T.—and made the following speech:

'Soldiers of Free France and foreign fighters for the freedom of France. Our Division that has covered itself in glory in thousands of actions, should be the first to enter Paris. Because I know that you will not retreat and that you place very highly the honour of the Division and the honour of the Free French Forces, I am giving you the order (Ninth Company of Foreign Volunteers) to be at the head of the Forces and the first to liberate Paris'.



And this is what happened. We were the first to enter Paris. The first cannon installed at the Hotel de Ville (Town Hall) square, I was responsible for. We called it 'El-Abuelo' (Grandad). The tanks and armoured cars were named 'Ascaso', 'Durruti', 'Casa Viejas', 'Teruel'... and in front we flew the Spanish Republican flags authorised by the commander.' (Account by Jesus Abenza).

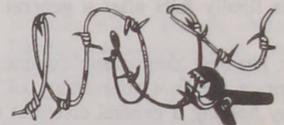
In the Second Armoured Division (2eme DB) of Leclerc, the Spanish formed entire Companies which together practically formed an entire Battalion—the 3rd Chad Marching Regiment. Of note was the 9th Company, 'La Nueve' as comrades called it, which was almost totally made up of libertarian militants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I.

'The Spanish contingent in the Leclerc column was so important that General Leclerc himself revered the 9th Company of the RMT and saluted the Spanish Republican flag they bore. This happened in August 1943 near Djidjelli.

This Company was entirely composed of Spaniards, including officers. In other companies, there were about 60% Spanish... We landed in France the 1st—3rd August 1944 on the Normandy coast. There, many of us fell, particularly at the infamous sealing-off of the 'Falaise Pocket'... At the Echouche Cemetery (Normandy), great numbers of Spanish refugees fell in the heavy fighting...

The first tanks to enter had Spanish names. The Free French Forces thought we were Americans, and as we spoke French badly, there was a possibility of confusion. We said: 'We're not Americans, we're not English, we are Spanish and refugees.' On the morning of the 25th we moved off towards the barracks at Place de la Republique. Much Spanish blood ran again on the route from the Town Hall to the Pl. Republique.'

(Account by V. Echegaray)



The odyssey of the 2eme DB did not end in Paris, but continued in campaigns in Alsace and Lorraine. The 9th distinguished itself brilliantly in the Moselle, at the liberation of Strasbourg on the 23rd September, and then at the battles in Germany, passing through the concentration camp at Dachau (liberated by the Americans) and the ultimate stop being the capture of Hitler's 'Eagles Nest' in Berchtesgarden where the Spanish were the first to enter.

The massive presence of libertarian militants in the 2eme DB, and particularly the 9th Company, can be easily explained if you take into account that for many of them it followed that once France was liberated, it would be Spain's turn.

Comrade Manuel Lozano, who was given the Military Cross by Leclerc for his part in the 9th's campaigns, explains:

'We joined up with Leclerc's Division because we thought that after France we would be off to liberate Spain. In my Company, La Nueve, everybody was ready to desert all the equipment. Campos, the Commander of the 3rd section, was in contact with the guerillas of the Union Nationale who were fighting in the Pyrenees. But the Union Nationale was swamped by the Communists, and we had to reject it... Had the Communists not been dominant, then the Company would have joined, and not only the Company, but all the other Battalions with Spanish refugees. We had everything worked out. The lorries full of equipment, fuel,—we'd have gone as far as Barcelona. And then, who knows if the history of Spain wouldn't have been different...'

Always with the continuation of the struggle in Spain in mind, the comrades of La Nueve had

Continued on Page 8.

Answers to Quiz

- 'Der Kaiser' is a masculine noun in German and its pronoun is 'he', but if at all times you say Your or His 'Majesty', which is a female noun, the grammatical pronoun is 'she'.
- The islands were thought unamenable to colonisation because of the fighting qualities of the Maoris, but when it attracted whalers, stranded sailors and stray missionaries, Britain sent a Resident (consul) to look after individual interests. When French adventurer Baron de Thierry proclaimed himself King, the British authorities moved quickly, jealously (but wrongly) thinking it a ploy to establish a French protectorate. They signed a treaty with the Maori chiefs, who thought they were recognising the Resident's ambassadorial position, not opening up to immigration and giving the land away.

- Both wanted to change their names for professional reasons; Trotsky took the name of his particularly obnoxious jailer, and Flanagan the name of his bullying WWI sergeant, and both made these names famous (or infamous or ludicrous as the case might be).
- Comedian Harold Lloyd was in a red-baiting propaganda film comedy of a bourgeois shock horror caricature-anarchist character associated with the Bolsheviks. The bomb went off while he was holding it and carried away his finger and thumb.
- Bavarians were used to saying 'Heil' (hail in the sense of hallo) to passers-by, adding the name if known; this was unfamiliar in Prussia, where 'heil' was normally used in its other meaning of 'cure'. The answer to 'Heil Hitler' (designed to echo Hail Caesar) was often 'Perhaps you can, I can't'.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE GREEK RESISTANCE

Anarchism is experiencing a resurgence in Greece at this time. In a country where authority and government are almost universally reviled and with a long tradition of direct action, anarchism is receiving more and more popular support, particularly amongst the young. This is a short history of the resistance since the fall of the Colonels centring on the Polytechnic in Athens. It was written by a Black Cross contact whose name is on the list at the end of the article and who is at this moment in hiding, though still active.



POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL 1973-1990

1973, Nov. 17: Special forces, tanks and Armed Police evacuate the Athens Polytechnic, located in the centre of Athens, and which had been occupied by University and Polytechnic students, workers, and farmers, in protest against the military regime which had been imposed since April 21st, 1967. The demand was for freedom. Afterwards, rumours spoke of 200 dead; official sources claimed 30. During the occupation, anarchist slogans and graffiti appeared for the first time since the 1920's. The Military Junta finally falls after a general revolt.

1974, Nov. 17: The new 'democratic' regime decides to celebrate the first anniversary of the 1973 revolt by holding a general election: this was won by the Conservative Party, 'Nea Dimokratia'.

1975, Nov. 17: The National Union of Greek Students (E.F.E.E.) organises a commemorative march from the Polytechnic to the U.S. Embassy. Eggs and red paint are thrown against the Embassy by leftist and anarchist groups. From this year on, the 17th November is remembered every year with a march from the Polytechnic School to the American Embassy.

1975: An armed 'revolutionary organisation', '17 Noemvri' (17th November) makes its first appearance; it executes Richard Welch, a CIA agent, in Athens.

1980, Nov. 17: The Government decides not to allow the march to reach the U.S. Embassy. Numerous Police Forces block the march's course at Syndagma Square. Anarchists and leftists try to break through. The Police attack. Two anarchist comrades, Stamatina Kanellopoulou and Iakovos Koumisi are beaten to death by the cops. Hundreds of other marchers are seriously wounded and transported to hospitals. Anarchists return to the Polytechnic and occupy it. The Police besiege the place. Two comrades are shot and seriously wounded. It is not the Police, however, but the 'communist' youth (KNE) who chase the anarchists out of the Polytechnic. The Prime Minister, G. Rallis, implies that the incident was planned and executed by pro-PASOK ('Socialist' Party) Police Officers.

1985, Nov. 17: After having marched from the Polytechnic to the U.S. Embassy, anarchists return to Exarchia Square. At 11.30pm, three Policemen deliberately provoke comrades in the square. Some 50 persons follow the cops as they return to their bus parked near the Square. At this moment, a molotov is thrown at the Police bus; one of the cops—Athanassios Melistas—responds by kneeling, aiming and shooting two bullets in the head of our comrade Mihalis Kaltezas, as he is leaving the scene. Instead of trying to locate the perpetrators of the bombing, or arresting the boy's murderer, the Police attack the people in the Square. Anarchist comrades occupy the Chemistry School and resist Police attacks until 10am the next morning, when special forces enter and evacuate the building. (Under the permission of the University Committee—M. Stathopoulos; Dean of Athens University, Mavrakis; Professor of



Mihalis Kaltezas

active' of the students and a member of the PASOK governing party.) 39 comrades are arrested and held in custody. They are released only after an 18-day hunger and thirst strike. (In 1989, the 39 are sentenced to 6 months for 'disturbing the peace'.) In the meantime, Melistas remains free. Other comrades occupy the Polytechnic and organise marches and demonstrations. Members of the PASOK Socialist Party, 'socialist' professional trade unionists, Fascists of the EPEN and ENEK organisations, and the cops collaborate to evacuate the Polytechnic, attacking anything that moved. The greatest help to the Police, however, was given by leftist groups, who 'convinced' the occupants to form a march, thus evacuating the building.

1986, Nov. 17: Cops in civilian clothing are seen marching amongst the anarchists. They are beaten and their revolvers taken. There is some street-fighting, and tear gas attacks near the Hilton Hotel. (A few months later, Police arrest Sotiris Deliyannis for possession of one of the revolvers. He is sentenced to 11 and a half years for 'robbery'.)

1987, Nov. 17: Molotovs are thrown by anarchists at the U.S. Embassy. Police respond with gas and water cannons.

1988, Sept.: In a parody of a trial, Melistas is found 'guilty of having surpassed the limits of legal defence, under a state of fear', and is sentenced to 2 and a half years. He appeals; the court decides to suspend the sentence and he is released, returning to his Police duties. Anarchists organise a protest march, which is violently suppressed. Three comrades are arrested for possession of molotovs; they are given 36 months. They are released until the appeal is heard.

1988, Nov. 17: The usual street fighting between the cops and anarchists takes place; tear gas and clubs are used and cops on motorbikes chase the demonstrators.



1989, Jan. 12: Due to pressure from the mass media and politicians, Melistas is re-arrested.

1989, June 18: The Conservative Party, 'Nea Dimokratia' wins the General Election, but does not have a majority; a Coalition Party is formed with the Communist Party. Two members (lawyers) of Kaltezas' family become Ministers. The Appeal Trial for Melistas is set for September. However, as members of the victim's family are now Ministers, the Trial is postponed and Melistas once again released.

1989, Nov. 5: A new General Election is held resulting in a new coalition of the Conservatives, Socialists (PASOK), and the Communists. This 'ecumenical' government is under the control of Xenophon Zolotas, an 85-year old ex-Professor and banker.

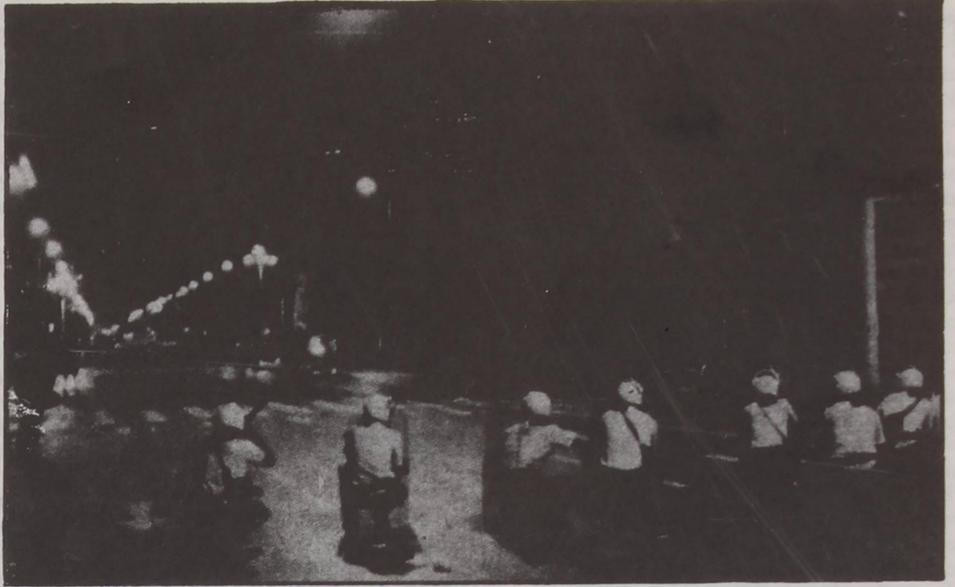
1989, Nov. 17: Street-fighting occurs.

1990, Jan. 26: The Appeal Court, composed of Judges N. Hadjakis, G. Smirneos, A. P. Karagiannopoulos and four members of the jury, acquit the murderer. Anarchists protest in the streets of Athens. The cops use internationally prohibited types of C.S. gas. More than 2000 comrades occupy the Polytechnic and resist police attacks with molotovs. 5 cops are roasted. 3 comrades are wounded. Buses are stopped and used as barricades. The Government is obliged to withdraw the Police.

1990, Jan. 26: The occupants of the Polytechnic now form a permanent body; open to school-

girls/boys, University students and workers. In the evening, an open-air concert is organised and attended by more than 5000 people. Universities in Thessaloniki, Ioannina and Rethimno are occupied by students and anarchists. In Thessaloniki, anarchists attack the offices of the International Fair with molotovs.

Regarding the Melistas acquittal, the Government states that 'the Greek Constitution does not allow the criticism of Court decisions'. The two Ministers from Kaltezas' family go along with this.



Jan. 31: A march organised by the National Union of Greek Students (E.F.E.E.) gathers more than 10000 people.

Feb. 4: A march organised by the occupants of the Polytechnic attracts 6000; Turkish anarchist graffiti appears on walls in solidarity.

Feb. 5: High School students occupy more than 50 schools in the Athens region. Some of them block avenues and high streets. Anarchist Groups and individuals (amongst them some anarchist lawyers) occupy the offices of the Athens Lawyers' Association and give a Press Conference—stressing the problems in the Greek judicial system and declaring their solidarity with prisoners' struggles. In the early hours, 12 people are arrested. They are taken to Police Headquarters, where they are forced to shout 'Long live the Greek Police' and 'Melistas is a hero' whilst being brutally tortured. In the following days, the E.F.E.E. changes its attitude to the occupiers, asking them to allow students to enter the Polytechnic to take their exams.

Feb. 7: 'Nea Dimokratia' appeals to D.A.P.—its students' organisation, to break the Occupation. Only 20 people show up. The Deputy Minister of Education requests that the Police intervene; The Dean and Rector of the Polytechnic refuse the Police entrance, as the Polytechnic has 'refuge' status.

Feb. 9: The General Confederation of Greek Workers (G.S.E.E.) launches an appeal to the working classes to come and break the occupation. 500 cops in civilian clothing, 'professional unionists' and fascists show up—2500 occupiers are there to answer them properly. But in spite of the occupiers' determination and combativity, the mass media manage to disorientate public opinion, pretending that the 'refuge' status of the Polytechnic is the main problem, and talking of millions of drachmas worth of damage. The tabloids call for police intervention. The Dean and Rector arrive at the Polytechnic to negotiate with the occupiers.

LECLERC DIVISION CONTD.

organised the systematic recuperation of arms on battlefields. Two half-tracks were used for this purpose, and weapons gained were partly stored in the small workshop that Manuel Fernandez, an elderly Forestry Union militant, had set up near Montpellier, for use by action groups that infiltrated Spain at that time.

Finally it must be noted that the official historians have been strangely silent about the role of the Spanish in the Resistance generally, and Leclerc's army in particular. From 1946 Adrien Dansette denied the presence of the Spanish, pretending they were Moroccans! No references to Spanish can subsequently be found either in the work of Lapierre, Collins, or Michel. Even Captain Raymond Dronne who was the Commander of the 9th Company,

Feb. 11: The Dean and Professors say they can no longer stand the pressure being exercised on them by the media and the State. They say they are ready to announce that the Polytechnic can no longer function as a school, which would allow the Police to attack. The occupiers feel that in such a case, the cost in human lives on both sides would be too huge. They decide to evacuate the building the following evening, but to continue the struggle against the decision about Melistas and against 'justice' as an institution.

Feb. 12: Concert held in afternoon. Peaceful evacuation in evening. (No cops present).

Feb. 13: Students and anarchists evacuate the Universities of Ioannina and Rethimno. Students of the Ionian University in Corfu occupy the local police dormitory, in protest against study conditions, the Melistas Case and State Repression. The occupation lasts several hours. In the early hours, cars are burnt in Thessaloniki and Patra.

Feb. 14: 25 High Schools are still occupied by students in the Athens region, and a march is organised. Kostas Kefalas (arrested on Feb. 9th for allegedly stealing sports medals from the Polytechnic) is held in custody awaiting trial. The Attorney General announces the decision to prosecute the Members of the Polytechnics' Committee—the Dean, a Professor, and a student, for 'giving support to criminals by refusing entrance to the Police'. (On the same day, the Dean took his oath as new Minister for Transport and Communications!) The mass media, continuing the propaganda against the anarchists, demand the prosecution of 'anarchist leaders'—to be held responsible for damages.

Note: On Feb. 6th, the Minister for Public Order, General Ret. Manikas, released the names of 19 comrades whom he held as members of an 'occupation committee': Vlassopoulos, Pisisimis, Felekis (a Trotskyist who happened to pass by the Polytechnic!), Karaplis, Bouketsidis, Smirneos, Metaxas, Dimakopoulou, Kasapis, Festas, Kokkini, Konstantinou, Papadopoulou, Vourekas, Maniatakos, Triantafillopoulos, Natsios, Stamateas and Morologos.

Love and Anarchy,
Anarchist Black Cross, Athens.

hardly mentions them in his book on the liberation of Paris—whilst in his campaign log (reproduced in Spanish, but unpublished in French to our knowledge) he frequently, and often with emotion, recalls these fighters mainly from the CNT-FAI. Is this silence voluntary of just by chance? In any case, the participation of foreigners, (Be they Spanish or German anti-fascists, Polish refugees, Jewish fighters, Algerian, Kanak or Senegalese infantry), in the fight for liberation, has been systematically minimised when it hasn't been pure and simply erased, allowing for an image of the French being liberated by themselves—a theory allowing easily the establishment of a very large national consensus and toning down the extent of collaboration with the occupying Nazis.

Translation P

LIFE OF FRANCISCO FERRER

1989 WAS the 80th anniversary of the State murder of Francisco Ferrer, the great educator, by firing squad in Barcelona, with the connivance of the Catholic Church. He is still controversial and his educative ideas still very relevant (if more against State than Church control today). In September '89 the nationalist and fascist sections of Barcelona Council united, for once, to prohibit a memorial to Francisco Ferrer y Guardia. On October 13th, the anniversary, anarchists from the CNT union held meetings about Ferrer and re-named a Plaza after him, which had been the Pl. Ferrer in '36-'39.

FRANCISCO FERRER y Guardia was born on the 10th January 1859, in a farm near Barcelona. His parents were devout Catholics, one of his uncles was a free-thinker, his first employer was militantly atheist, so Ferrer acquired an independent character and strongly anti-clerical views. By 1883 he was a freemason and radical Republican and a follower of Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla, who was living in exile in Paris. Ferrer, who was a conductor on the Barcelona-France frontier trains, acted as courier for Ruiz and helped many political refugees find sanctuary in France in 1885.

Ferrer, his wife and their three children, then lived in Paris. He worked as a Spanish teacher and earned commission selling wine, as well as being Ruiz's unpaid secretary until the latter's death in 1895. Ferrer also supported Dreyfus, was a delegate to the Congress of the Second International held in London in 1896, was active in 'rationalist' circles, and attended the International Free Thought Congress in Prague in 1897. After the death of Ruiz, Ferrer gradually moved from Republicanism to Anarchism, reading the literature, frequenting the Anarchist clubs, and meeting such famous anarchists as Louise Michel, Jean Grave, Elisee Reclus, Sebastian Faure, Charles Malato and the exiled Spanish anarchists Anselmo Lorenzo and Fernando Tarrida de Marmol. Impressed by the personal qualities of the anarchists and fascinated by their ideas, Ferrer finally regarded himself as their comrade and by the end of the 1890's arrived at a philosophy of '...the sovereignty of the individual, free from institutional restraints.'

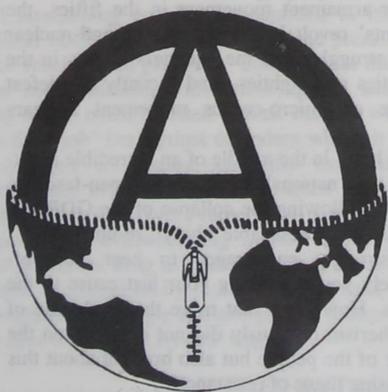
Ferrer, as a teacher, was obviously interested in education. During this time, the subject of education was discussed in Anarchist and Rationalist circles and written about intensely. Jean Grave in a widely read pamphlet entitled *Enseignement bourgeois et enseignement libertaire* (Paris 1890) made the distinction between bourgeois and libertarian education. The first school, which was used as a model for Ferrer's own Escuela Moderna, as well as an inspiration for Anarchists and Rationalists, was Paul Robin's school at Cempuis near Paris. Robin was appointed director of Cempuis in December 1880. The principles of the school were those based on integral education: students were both girls and boys, whose physical and intellectual capacities could develop in a non-coercive atmosphere. In 1894, however, due to continuous criticism from secular and religious conservatives, Robin was dismissed from his post because of his 'unconventional' methods and his radical activities, such as pioneering the birth-control movement in France.

In 1897, a League for Libertarian Education was formed to continue Robin's work. It was supported by Jean Grave, Louise Michel, Elisee Reclus, Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy. In the schools, Arts and Sciences could be studied at the same time, but in a practical manner; visits to zoological gardens and excursions to the countryside to see nature at first hand, even before a person could read, were planned. Tolstoy wrote: '...and after forty years I am more convinced than only by education, free education, can we ever manage to rid ourselves of the existing horrible order of things and to replace it with a rational organisation'. Unfortunately, due to lack of funds, the school only opened for one summer, but in March 1900 Ferrer received an inheritance of almost a million francs from a former student, Mlle. Meurie. Although she was from a conventional background she eventually accepted the ideas and methods which Ferrer advocated, and she willingly devoted her money to the cause of libertarian education. This money gave Ferrer the opportunity to return to Barcelona and set up a Modern School.

Ferrer returned to Spain in 1901 during a time of political and social unrest, due to Spain's defeat by the United States and the almost total loss of it's empire. There was intense criticism of Spanish social life, particularly of its educational system, at this time. Everybody agreed that the system needed changing. Two-thirds of

the Spanish population were unable to read or write; only 15000 of the nation's 45000 towns had a public school; and most schools were totally inadequate due to lack of materials and bad teachers. In the church schools, the church chose the teachers and controlled the curriculum. When Ferrer had been at school 25 years previously, three-quarters of the time was spent on religious instruction, prayer, canticles and the catechism, discipline was severe and physical punishment common. Very little had changed in quarter of a century.

In the 1890's, there were radical changes against the old feudalist Spanish ways in industry, education and government. A secularist educational movement also grew at this time with an emphasis on science, history and sociology. Ferrer was at the forefront of these critical debates and he followed in the European tradition of education for everybody. In Spain, there had been earlier attempts to provide secular schools for working people—Jose Sanchez Rosa in Andalusia and Elias Puig in Catalonia. This tradition, dating from 18th century Rationalism and 19th century Romanticism, changed the emphasis from instruction ('teaching') to the process of learning, from teaching by rote and memorisation, to teaching by example, and from experience from education as a preparation for life, to education as life itself. Its motto was 'freedom in education' and it rejected totally the formality and discipline of the conventional classroom, the restrictions and regulations that suppressed individual development and divided education from play. It cultivated physical as well as mental development, crafts and arts as well as books. Hostile to dogma and superstition, it chose reason, observation and science, as well as independence, autonomy and self-reliance. Anticoercive and antiauthoritarian, it stressed the dignity and rights of the child, encouraging warmth, love and affection in place of conformity and regimentation. Among its key words were: freedom, spontaneity, creativity, individuality and self-realisation. This tradition proposed the free school—free from religious and political domination, free from authority of any sort. For Ferrer and his predecessors, the church was the greatest obstacle to public enlightenment. As Bakunin declared, education '...must be founded wholly upon the scientific development of reason and not upon faith; upon the development of personal dignity and independence, not upon piety and obedience; upon the cult of truth and justice at any cost; and above all, upon respect for humanity which must replace in everything the divine cult.' Schools, Bakunin added, must be rid of '...this fiction of God, the eternal absolute enslaver.' State education was also entirely rejected, for both church and state seek to keep out new ideas that might undermine the status quo. Ferrer wrote: 'rulers have always taken care to control the education of the people...they know better than anyone else that their power is based almost entirely on the school, and they therefore insist on retaining their monopoly on it.' For Ferrer, the school was 'an instrument of domination in the hands of the ruling class.' The government used the schools to produce loyal citizens; the church, faithful parishioners; the manufacturers, obedient workers. 'Freedom in education' meant freedom from the authority of the teachers as well as church and state. Under present conditions, Ferrer stated, the teacher was merely an agent of the ruling classes, training people 'to obey, to believe, to think according to social dogmas which govern us.' Like the soldier and the police, s/he was 'always imposing, compelling and using violence; the true educator is the person who does not impose their own ideas and will on the child, but appeals to its own energies.' Reacting against the (army) barrack tradition of drilling lessons into students through a combination of repetition and punishment, which only destroys the imagination and inhibits the natural development of people, education is seen as a spontaneous, creative process.



Barcelona: Anarchists re-name a Plaza after Francisco Ferrer y Guardia.

The first school he opened was in Calle de las Cortes, with twelve girl and eighteen boy students, on the 8th September 1901. It had three levels of learning—primary, intermediate and advanced, as well as a workshop, laboratory, maps, charts and other teaching aids. There were no exams. A fee was charged for tuition, but only on a sliding scale according to the income of each family, which was a mixture of middle- and working-class families. Children and their parents participated in the administration of the school, and parents were also encouraged to come to evening and Sunday afternoon lectures given by noted scholars on a variety of topics. These lectures were open to all, and became very popular, especially with workers, to such an extent that by the second year they took place every evening and finally led Ferrer to discuss with professors at Barcelona University the possibility of creating a Popular University, in conjunction with the Escuela Moderna.

A radical publishing house was also established in the same building, with a staff of translators and printers, along with internationally eminent authors writing books in a way that every body could understand. Forty of these books were published, dealing with mathematics to natural and social sciences, as well as religion, and '...the injustices connected with patriotism, the horrors of war, and the iniquity of conquest.' The anarchist Charles Malato wrote a book called *Social Classes*; Leon Martin wrote *Poverty: Its Cause and Cure*; and Jean Grave, *The Adventures of Nono*, one of the most popular of the children's books, being a utopian fairy tale. A variety of educational materials were also published, along with the *Boletin de la Escuela Moderna*, the official publication of the school, with regular contributions from Ferrer, Tolstoy, Kropotkin and Robin.

In the classes, the students were taught the ideas of liberty, equality and social justice, the value of social cooperation, and sympathy for the repressed and downtrodden. War was taught as a crime against humanity, capitalism as a system of evil, that government is slavery, and that freedom is essential for human development. The textbooks used were Kropotkin's *Anarchist Morality*, Charles Malato's *War*, Jean Grave's *A Free World*, and Anselmo Lorenzo's *The Feast of Life*, all heavily anti-capitalist, anti-statist and anti-militarist. Examples were used in class of patriotism, superstition and exploitation, and the

suffering they produce; extracts from students' essays along these lines were regularly published in the Boletin.

The basic, if not the sole idea of the school was to encourage free, independently minded individuals, who would not tolerate any injustices of any sort, and who would actively oppose such injustices. Such individuals cooperating together would be the foundation of a new (Anarchist) society. In keeping with this, Ferrer devoted a lot of energy to organising a revolutionary labour movement in Catalonia using the methods of direct action (Anarcho-Syndicalism) and, between 1901 and 1903, published a syndicalist journal *La Huelga General* (The General Strike), which was eventually suppressed by the government.

In October 1905 another branch of the Escuela Moderna was opened in Villanueva y Gettru, a nearby textile centre, and the inauguration was presided over by the rector of Barcelona University. Other schools adopted Ferrer's textbooks and methods, as far afield as Sevilla and Cordoba, but also in Malaga, Tarragona and smaller villages. By the end of 1905 there were 14 such schools in Barcelona, with 34 in Catalonia, Valencia and Andalusia. He also helped radical Republicans to organise classes in their ateneos ('centres') providing them with textbooks and other materials. The secular schools created by the League of Free Thinkers, also used his materials—there being 120 such schools in Barcelona province by early 1906. On Good Friday, 12th April 1906, Ferrer marched with 1700 children in a demonstration for secular education, before having a picnic.

To be continued...

Source: Agencia de noticias Alternativa, Barcelona.



Obituary

Leo Rosser

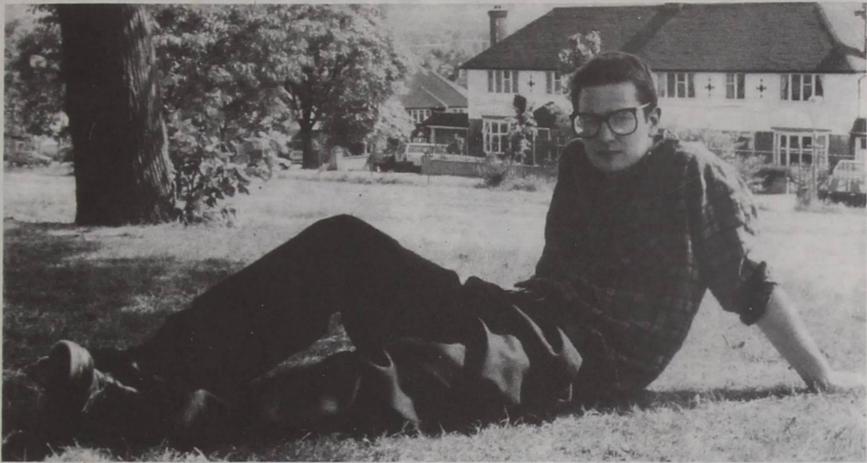
We were devastated to learn of the tragic death of Leo Rosser, not yet 26 but one of our most dedicated editorial and production team members who had given us nine years loyal co-operation, an enthusiastic worker for the Anarchist Black Cross particularly dedicated to Spanish political prisoners, and an active and popular member of the Direct Action Movement. Not least he was a street fighter against fascism into whom he gave the literal boot as fearlessly as he plunged the metaphorical knife into open and concealed enemies with his pen.

this commitment to the anarchist cause was such that he mastered the Spanish language in order to translate articles and news from Latin comrades and to maintain contact with them. In addition to his other activities he found the time to write pamphlets, draw graphics and design posters.

A busy social life included his keeping in touch with isolated comrades in this country, particularly those from overseas and his numerous trips abroad ensured that he met regularly with other anarchists. Leo was a dedicated internationalist. He was as popular in other countries as he was here.

He had many friends both within and out of the anarchist movement. He was a loyal and loving companion to Louise, with whom he spent the last two and a half years of his life.

In the presence both of his family, work friends and some forty comrades of DAM and ABC, he was given an anarchist send-off at South Norwood Crematorium. His ashes will be scattered in the anarchist cemetery on Mont Juich in Barcelona, his favourite city. We were stunned by the news and will always remember Leo's short time of life with gratitude and affection.



When we first met Leo at 16 years of age, he came into 121 Bookshop and Anarchist Centre and showed us his posters ANARCHY and BRITISH JUSTICE which he'd put together by copying letters, then photocopying, and posted up these himself. We welcomed him, he came back.

He helped push out *Black Flag* during the 1984 miners strike when it was fortnightly, he learned Spanish, translated, made contacts in South America, wrote and visited Spanish prisoners. He took on helping out at 121, joined the DAM, attended meetings, conferences, day schools in London and around the country, in Europe and America.

While others came and went, Leo stayed hacking away at the work. When after a decade we were to move down under he came to our

daughter's birthday party and our departure combined. He wrote us letters as far between as ours in reply. With the passage of time and tyranny of distance, he remained fixed in our melancholic recollections of London.

He still had time to listen to 60s music and today's bands like the Cramps. Movies were a popular diversion. He played music.

A good 'un, who went through the quips and downs, hassles and laughs, injustices and riots, always organising, despite attacks, lies, frustrations, oddballs, addicts, time wasters, muggers, informers, fascists—there was always another battle in the war for freedom and social justice.

So long, mate.

Margaret and Peter
Melbourne

Joe Thomas

Joe Thomas, who died at 78 in London in February, was an old friend of anarcho-syndicalism who worked together on many industrial fights, with Tom Brown of the old Syndicalist Workers Federation, as well as with Miguel Garcia for the CNT prisoners. Though Marxist (but not a Leninist—his distinction) he consistently supported the Flag even through the difficult Angry Brigade days when Marxists and pseudo-anarchists had gone with the wind up. (The support was often financial and we are told is reflected in his will).

Originally with the Young Communists, and a committed trade unionist well known among Fleet Street printworkers, he later went over to council communism. While his main interest politically was workers councils, and at the same time forming and re-forming small groups of those who were disillusioned with State Communism, or seeking an alternative to the liberalism masquerading as 'airy-fairy anar-

chism' (as he put it), he was (to the surprise of his many friends in the trade union movement) a good friend to revolutionary anarchism and to the practicalities of anarcho-syndicalism (to the dismay of his Marxist friends).

Once when he told a surprised trot he was coming with me and Miguel Garcia to speak at our meetings in Wales, he was asked in surprise, 'Why should anarchists be interested in miners?' and he melodramatically whispered 'Dynamite!' To a 'Christian Anarchist' who doubted the existence of 'violent' anarchists and suspected police agents, he told him, 'They're among my dearest friends'.

A memorial meeting (paid for by Sogat, in appreciation of his work) was held in March. There was no funeral as such—as a strict atheist (with Britain's leading evangelist as a brother-in-law) he was taking no chances on an occasion where for once he couldn't answer back.

AM

couldn't lay the blame for failure on them) to oppose Stalin.

It might well be fatal for an anarchist society to confine itself to one nation, within what was the former State, but there is no reason (other than military) why it could not exist within one economically and socially viable region providing it were, or was prepared to be, self-sufficient; it could exist even if there were States elsewhere and might (perhaps dubiously) be able to trade with some less aggressive ones if it could do so without being dependent on them.

Providing its citizens had a conception of military defence and also resisted the phoney lure of capitalism, an anarchist society would be feasible within one set of borders, even though the aim of anarchism is to abolish frontiers.

Q & A on Anarchism

Q. Is socialism—or anarchism—possible in one country?

A. The idea that (State) socialism was not possible in one country (even so vast as the Russian empire)—originated with Helphand, on the Marxist logic that only 'advanced countries' like Germany could bring about the revolution, and backward Russia would need the 'advanced proletariat' (in practice, the Marxist scholars) to lead them. This argument was later picked up by Trotsky, after Lenin's death, as the first ideological excuse (when he was still in the Soviet bureaucracy and

Dear Friends,

I was born and raised in California (1956). My (maternal) grandfather (CNT-FAI of the Civil War 1936 and then in exile) left his beloved Spain to save his life. He embarked in a merchant ship which landed in Cuba and from there went to New York, later California, dying in 1970. My mother was afraid for me to get involved with the libertarian movement in California, such as the IWW-IWA in San Francisco. She tried her best for me not to get involved, hiding my letters. She just didn't want me to get in trouble (especially in the USA where there is a high rate of persecution of agitators).

Finally my parents retired and moved to Almeria, Spain, in 1979. Here I came into contact with the CNT-AIT. They were fascinated on hearing my history. My mother had kept a few war souvenirs such as the FAI hat, a Confederal membership card and a gold ring with the init-

ials FAI. I finally persuaded my mother to give me these articles, which the local CNT finds very interesting-historically.

I am now trying to create an anarcho-ecologist group with the help of a few libertarian groups nearby and would appreciate contacts.

Fraternally yours,
VPI

(We find the above letter not only very human but so typical of the many moving stories of the residue of the Spanish exodus, scattered around the world, many after fascinating stories of struggle during the world war and afterwards. Some find their grandparents' past by accident—especially where parents who were children at the time are terrified of the truth coming out).

REVIEW

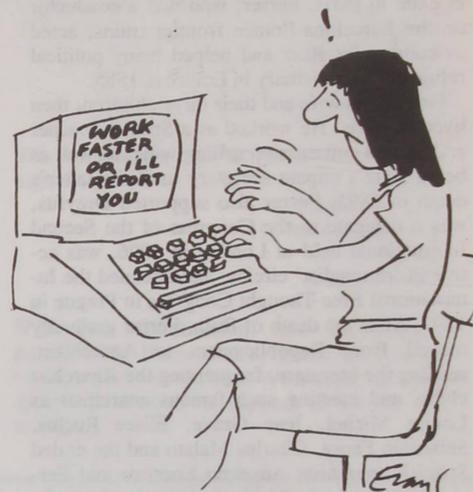
BLACK CHIP

'A Critical Journal of New Technology'
New Series

'Unions and individual workers must take independent initiatives to learn about computers ...' says one article in Black Chip, 'for if we are to have any control of the high tech assemblyline, we must have a rough idea of how it works ...'

This issue is the biggest I've seen and perhaps the best. I did feel though that it should be more specific. For instance, there's a large, quite general article on hacking and its history, which would have benefited from a critical thought or two on the 'moral' question of hacking and 'viruses' etc. The ability to enter a network of computers or to 'infect' somebody's computer software and contents has to be taken and used seriously. How would you feel if *Black Flag's* computer data base was destroyed by a 'virus'? Heartbroken I know, but how do you control and use these viruses in a 'correct' way? Those most at risk from viruses are those using pirated software, (individual users, local groups etc) generally on small cheap machines.

Also included is news of a anti-sexist soft-



ware group, pros and cons of artificially intelligent computers, 'C' programmers being macho about 'C', 'GreenNet', High Tech and Direct Action.

A good read for those who know a little about computers and those wanting to know. Needs to be more critical and political though.

S.

LETTER

LETTER FROM GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS OF GOTTINGEN, WEST GERMANY 10TH March 1990

SOLIDARITY ADDRESS

Dear Comrades!

We enthusiastically welcome your determined anti-poll-tax-actions in the streets of Hackney, Brixton, Southwark, Haringey, Bristol, Birmingham, Nottingham, Truro, Windsor, Reading, Maidenhead, and Plymouth (to name a few and as far as we know through the bourgeois mass media censorship here) and anywhere else—fire into your hearts!

We keep our fingers crossed that no self chosen liberal/left wing anti-poll tax 'politician' will succeed in splitting this great people's movement into so-called 'mindlessly violent rioters' on one side and 'serious orderly protestors' on the other side. Such a thing only serves the interests of the ruling classes (as we had to experience that badly in the course of various mass protests here—be it the fate of the anti-re-armament movement in the fifties, the students' revolt in the sixties, the anti-nuclear mass struggles and the squatters' fights in the seventies and eighties—and recently the defeat of the anti-micro-census movement 2 years ago).

We here, in the middle of an incredible nightmare of nationalism, racism, neo-fascism, sexism, following the collapse of the GDR and with it the foreseeable shitty 're-unification', feel strongly encouraged to hear how effectively you are taking your just cause to the streets. How great that more than a decade of Thatcherism obviously did not only waken the power of the people but also brought about this promising flame of resistance!

When we here—at the present 'historic'

stage—get the feeling that it is becoming night over us then you have lit some dawn on the horizon. Since the capitalist conquest of Eastern Europe will lead to an increase of repression in every European country, the situation for revolutionaries in Europe will become more difficult and harder too. Thus we feel the need for a stronger and determined internationalist consciousness and inter-action grows too. Therefore we will try to support your cause on our local level here as best as we can do. (We'll sure let you know...)

We send you our heartfelt greetings of internationalist solidarity together with our best wishes of luck, power and success for the coming struggles. Revolutionary resistance is a flame that can't be dimmed!

A pox upon the poll tax!
To hell with states, ruling classes, nationalism, sexism, racism and fascism!
Up the inter (anti-) national social revolution!

Additional text (1/4/90)

Of course, we also strongly welcome the latest protest actions in the night of the 1st April (we have just got the news now). The official date of introduction of the poll tax does not at all mean that there won't be further actions of resistance! We wish you everything you need to carry on. Solidarity to the prisoners in revolt at Strangeways and to all class war prisoners!

Signed: JUZI (autonomous centre)
Elementi Scatenati (music band)
Ireland Solidarity Group

Contact:

Gottingen Friends of Captain Swing
c/o Buchladen Rote Strasse
Rote Str. 10
3400 Gottingen
West Germany

or: Ireland Solidarity Group (same address)