

BLACK FLAG

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

30p

Sept '90

POLL TAX AUTUMN OF DISCONTENT

THIS AUTUMN will see the Poll Tax bird come home to roost. A whole range of conflicts, enflamed by the Poll Tax and fanned by inflation and the current oil crisis, will set Britain alight. The ideological assault on the principle of collective service provision will reach its head. We have only one choice—to fight it. To waver will mean the destruction of local services as we know them, the destruction of thousands of jobs, as private profiteers move in to replace local councils.

We have never had any love for, or illusions in, local councils, whatever shade they might be. However, the Poll Tax is not aimed at the councils themselves, but at the services they provide. It makes cuts inevitable, and those cuts will fall hardest on 'soft' areas such as education. Next financial year, the so-called 'safety net', will begin to be phased out in many authorities. This means that those areas which benefited from subsidy this year, will have to raise the Poll Tax next year. Even Wandsworth, who had so much subsidy that anywhere else it would have meant a negative Poll Tax (ie they'd have paid you to live there!) are talking of a rate over £400. The government has already made it quite clear that they will not tolerate 'excessive' Poll Tax rates. This means that councils who plundered their reserves to keep it low, will be capped if it goes up. Add on the effect of non-payment, and the financial crisis looming is insurmountable.

The people who will bear the immediate brunt of these cuts will be local council workers. Many councils are already attacking the conditions of their employees. In some, it is blatant, such as Ealing where the new Tory

administration has ditched all commitment to equal opportunities amid much pandering to racists and bigots, and Bromsgrove in Staffordshire where they are forcing pay cuts on refuse workers prior to privatisation. In Labour controlled authorities they have been slightly more subtle, and are bringing in recruitment freezes, and trying to victimise activists in preparation for the inevitable struggles over cuts.

September and October will also mark the beginning of mass summonses throughout the country for non-payment. Some councils have already tried, but most have failed due to the action of local campaigns. The effectiveness of the anti-Poll Tax movement in slowing up the courts is something that clearly worries the authorities. This is one of the reasons many of the most serious cases arising from the police riot at Trafalgar Square will not be heard till this time. It is an attempt by the State to divert attention from the numbers of non-payers. We must not allow it to happen.

The response of the Labour Party has been its usual inadequate, treacherous one. There is little support for the return of the rates, and most councillors will agree to prosecute non-payers. We, however, believe that services can be provided in a much better way than before. As anarchists, we believe that only our class can provide adequate services based on need. After all, who is it that empties the bins, staffs the libraries, maintains the schools and estates; it certainly isn't councillors or management bureaucrats, it is the workers. But, if we have no need of professionals and managers to intercede for us at a local level, do we need them at any level?



Clifford Harper

DEMONSTRATE!

The right to take to the streets as a form of mass protest is not one that can be taken for granted. Any attempt by the state to restrict or curtail it must initiate a response so determined and overwhelming that the right to demonstrate is not only reaffirmed, but made unquestionable.

The Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign has called for an anti-poll tax demonstration for Saturday 20 October in London. A demonstration which will again show the strength of the resistance to the poll tax at a time when many will be under the threat of court action. A demonstration to show solidarity with those arrested on 31 March and a demonstration to reclaim the right to march without being attacked by the police.

The anti-poll tax movement must rally behind the TSDC and support this demonstration. It will act as a focus of the resistance for the millions of people faced with summonses for non-payment; for those local government workers threatened by the cuts and for those people being dragged through the show trials resulting

from 31 March. We must go onto the offensive with renewed vigour and have faith in the basis on which the campaign was founded—collective solidarity—not cowed into submission by police truncheons. DEMONSTRATE!

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION

The Anarchist Black Cross, at its recent conference, has decided to stage an international day of protest on 19 October against the poll-tax and in support of all those who oppose it. Following the solidarity of the Polish anarchists who staged a demonstration outside the British embassy in Warsaw after Trafalgar Square, it urges all Anarchists to stage actions against British interests abroad in support of the poll tax resistance.

MESSAGE FROM MANAGUA



Soviet Anarcho-Syndicalist Union Formed

NEARLY SEVENTY years after Lenin had thought he had consigned anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism to the wastepaper basket of history and the people who advocated it to his gulags and firing squads, it has re-emerged, stronger than ever to haunt his heirs. As Leninism and its legacy is rejected, so Anarchism is increasingly finding new ears willing to listen to its ideas. This May-Day past saw the black and red and black flags of anarchy being paraded through the streets of Moscow bearing the slogans 'Power to the people not the parties' and 'Tell us, Communists when is your state going to whither away?'. And in May-Day demonstrations from Leningrad to Kharkov, Kaluga to Angarsk in Siberia the anarchists marched. The ideas of Anarchism are becoming ever more relevant to the people of the Soviet Union, rightly suspicious of the motives of the vultures of Western capital and only too aware of the failure of 'Communism'.

An historic moment in the the continuing dev-

elopment of the anarchist movement in the Soviet Union was the launch on 3 June 1990 of the anarcho-syndicalist Association of Self-Managing Trade Unions 'Resistance'.

Its founding statement states that ASMTU 'Resistance' is:

Free—that is independent of State and party organisations and administration. Any relations with these bodies are built on the basis of dialogue, not subordination. Delegates to ASTMU are independent of other organisations they may be members of. They are obliged to fulfil their mandate given by members of ASTMU and may be recalled at any time. ASMTU does not support any political party and doesn't participate in parliamentary elections.

Self-managing—based on the full autonomy of grass-roots union organisations. These form coordinating bodies made from their delegates and determine the powers of these organs by mutual agreement. Grass-roots union organisations have the right to set the policy of their delegates and recall them at any time.

Syndicalist—striving for the gradual elimination of administration through self-management and independent federally oriented modes of organisation. Means of production should pass into the hands of those who work on them. ASMTU actively participates in workers' political life and economic struggle.

There are also plans to relaunch *Golos Truda*—The Voice of Labour—as a weekly. *Golos Truda* was originally founded by Russian emigres in New York in 1906. In August 1917 it was re-established in Petrograd and became the foremost Anarcho-syndicalist publication during the revolution and counter-revolution, until its closure by the Bolsheviks.

In 1921 Lenin wrote, 'All this syndicalist nonsense about mandatory nominations of producers must go into the wastepaper basket. To proceed on those lines would mean thrusting the Party aside and making the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia impossible.' And he was right. Anarchism will thrust the party and all parties aside, for anarcho-syndicalism em-

powers people with the means to seize control of their own lives. It arms people with the methods to take what is rightfully theirs and the ideas to withstand any dictatorship. As the fascist dictatorship of Franco and his concentration camps failed to destroy the CNT, so too has the Bolshevik 'dictatorship of the proletariat' with 70 years of terror failed to destroy the destroy Anarchism within the Soviet Union.

At a commoration in June of the victims of the army massacre in Nvocherkassk (1962) and of the recently murdered comrade Piotr Siouda, a member of the Confederation of Anarcho-syndicalists said, 'It's hard to imagine just how popular the anarchist spirit has become in the masses. We are strong and will become stronger. Anarchist ideas are alive and are going to make a big impact!'

Many thanks to Will Firth whose translations have made such a contribution to the spread of information on the Soviet anarchist movement.

DYING FOR FREEDOM

SEPTEMBER SEES the sixth anniversary of Martin Foran's arrest. It also finds Martin in a poor state of health, both mentally and physically. Martin finally saw an outside consultant who was very concerned with his condition, but offered little in the way of hope. Martin is faced with a choice between an operation which could very well kill him or to continue in his present state of ill health with the condition of his colostomy gradually deteriorating. Meanwhile as the infection of his colostomy and discharge from his eye remains untreated, the Home Office still maintain that he has 'received the best medical treatment in the country'. This despite the fact that 'Dr.' Flood, the doctor who deliberately disrupted Martin's chances of treatment and blocked any move to allow him to see an outside specialist, has been made to resign. This follows a series of complaints and possible cases of negligence against him.

The West Yorkshire inquiry into the West Midland Serious Crime Squad (WMSCS) is now in its second year. In that time they have only prepared two reports out of the 705 allegations against the 56 WMSCS officers (against whom 513 of the allegations have been made) and 129 other officers. But Martin cannot wait for the slow machinations of the state's damage limitation exercise to acknowledge the fact that Martin was framed. The police took away his freedom, the prison authorities took away his health and now the state is taking away his hope. We must secure

the release of this man who has fought so hard for so long before he is crushed. We urge all *Black Flag* readers to take up the shout for Martin's freedom; write to the Home Office; join the campaign and attend the actions.

Free Martin Foran NOW!

Martin Foran Defence Campaign
Box 7
190 Alum Rock Road
Birmingham B8
Tel: 021 327 1187

The Birmingham group meet weekly on Thursday evenings and produce a monthly newsletter as well as co-ordinating the national campaign. They also do many actions and pickets for Martin's case.

Martin Foran Defense Campaign (London)
BCM Foran
London WC1 3XX

The London group meet on the first Thursday evening of every month at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. WC2 (next meeting 6 Sept). They hold a regular picket of the Home Office on the first Weds of every month between 12 and 2 pm.

Home Secretary
Home Office
50 Queen Annes Gate
London SW1
Tel: 071 273 3000

FREEDOM NOW FOR MARTIN FORAN

PICKET

WED 5th September

HOME OFFICE 12-2 pm

QUEEN ANNES GATE

ST JAMES PARK TUBE

On Sept 10 1984 Martin Foran was arrested and subsequently sentenced to six years for a robbery he never committed. In 1985 he got another six years and a serious beating when he had to take a screw hostage to get medical attention. Now the cops that framed him are under investigation but Martins medical condition is critical. Martin has stood up to the prison system for six years. STAND UP FOR HIM NOW.

MARTIN FORAN DYING FOR JUSTICE

Contact BCM Foran London WC1N3XX

NATIONAL MARCH FOR MARTIN FORAN Sat. 8 September

Assemble Pigeon Park, Birmingham City Centre, 11am
Further details—Birmingham support Group

KING ARTHUR CAUGHT?

HOW THE ENEMIES of the miners have been howling with delight at seeing Arthur Scargill in the pillory! And how scornful have been the press and those following the authenticated bourgeois line in denouncing the miners as thickies, led by the nose and unwilling to resort to the courts when there has been, they say, clear evidence of misuse of funds during the miners' strike. Even now, they don't wish to prosecute in the courts, and rely on the judiciary, and despite the executive council deciding to investigate what happened to a million and a half pounds allegedly given to the National Union of Miners for strike relief, militant miners refuse to endorse the executive's decision.

Lecturing the miners as if they were minors, their enemies in the press point out that business people are held accountable in the courts for the way they handle shareholders' money. If there are believed to be any fiddles, accountants investigate, and can call in the Fraud Squad. Why not the unions?

Have journalists and TU leaders who say this really forgotten the circumstances? The miners union, like the print unions in similar circumstances, was proceeding along legalised, circumscribed, reasonably constituted lines. Neither of them was designed for conflict, both of them had large funds and an established bureaucracy and leadership. Neither the bureaucracy nor leadership could go in a hurry when the blows were struck by the Government. The miners were the more loyal to the leadership because Scargill listened to the miners decision not to surrender abjectly to the Government and to risk all to save their communities. It is one thing to condemn bureaucracy and leadership. But a bureaucracy and leadership which does not sell out is bound to be regarded differently from one which does. What was sung by miners coming out of the pits (but meaning just that)—'Arthur Scargill walks on water'. 'Walking on water' did not prevent another from advocating financial dodgery, but it had nothing to do with his crucifixion.

The Government brought in really vicious legislation to seize the funds, both of miners and of printers. 'Sequestration' meant theft, the appointment of accountants to 'receive' the assets, awarded to them by the courts for breaching previously unheard-of legislation, while the police were used to besiege and smash whole villages in the case of the miners, to use the maximum of force to get scabs in to work and get papers out on time in the case of the printers. And TU leaders and journo would now say that appeal should be made to these same 'impartial' courts, these same accountants, this same police force? Scarce wonder the miners retort with Fuck Off!

But did Scargill really line his pockets while miners' families were undergoing hardship, and should the membership demand an accounting?

Undoubtedly this is for them to say. But some points must be made. Having a bureaucratic leadership saves a lot of trouble in time of industrial peace, if that's what you want. But in crisis it has to defend itself and its interests. When the whole situation is in the chaotic situation it was, what would one expect? While sequestration was in force, money was being hidden in private banking accounts, converted into Maria Theresa dollars, funds taken out of building societies and placed in strongboxes or private Post Office accounts, all to prevent the Government stealing it Hitler-fashion. The whole system of visible accounting essential to running a corruption-free bureaucracy broke down with one blow. What seemed normal practice in buying houses for officials to live in, cars for them to drive in, funds to pay them salaries and pensions, at one fell swoop became shady underhand activity. But it was morally no departure from normal conventional trade union practice. If you are going to buy country houses for officials to use in times of normality, preserving them from the State becomes illicit underhand activity in times of sequestration, but morally there is no difference. The alternative is a revolutionary union with no officials, no established assets.

When it came to money coming in from official State-run 'trade unions' in Russia, with Soviet miners being deducted pay to support British miners families never designed to get it, this is old Communist Party practice. Was a penny of what the CP collected in the 'thirties for Spanish miners and printers ever seen by miners or printers or their families in Spain? It goes deep into Marxist-Leninist practice (yesterday the Trotskyists collected for 'supporting the ambulance workers', today for 'fighting the poll tax' and put the cash collected into their own party funds on the grounds that's what they're doing!).



Scargill should not be garlanded in the pillory, but neither should he be pelted. The personal qualities of the individual who is elevated to be a focus for loyalties are of no importance, neither are those of the monarch. What stinks is the whole rotten war against workers. It is waged by militant capitalism and by State control; by conventional trade unionism and bureaucratic leadership; by political involvement and lack of fighting organisation.

Dewsbury 82 Innocent

ON 24th JUNE 1989, the fascist British National Party invaded the West Yorkshire town of Dewsbury. They spent the day attacking Asians and held a rally outside the town hall.

A peaceful counter demonstration by the Asian community and white anti-racists was attacked by over 750 police, many of whom were in full riot gear. On the day 59 people were arrested, and a further 22 arrested since throughout Yorkshire after 'fishing' raids similar to the ones after Trafalgar Square. Many of the defendants have been subjected to virtual 'banning orders', with curfews, seizure of passports and restrictions against them attending political meetings to prove their innocence.



Since then, many of the defendants facing less serious charges have been railroaded through the courts, with the vast majority being given very heavy fines. However, with 25 facing more serious charges, the police are staging a show trial starting on September 3rd in Leeds. This trial echoes the political trials of the 80s, like the Newham 7, the Newham 8 and the Bradford 12. All of these involved the central issue of black self defence against racist attacks, and they were all won.

There is a national demonstration against racist attacks and police brutality on Saturday 1st September, in Leeds. Assemble 1pm at Leeds Trade Union Council Club, Chapeltown Road Leeds 7. For more details contact:

Kirklees Black Workers Group
c/o S.K.C.R.C. 24 Westgate
Huddersfield, West Yorkshire

For details of coaches from London contact the Dewsbury 82 London Support Group on 081-552 7412.

Anarcho-Quiz

1. In which country are there many official statues of anarchists, lauded as national heroes?
2. Many supporters say IRA prisoners should be treated on the lines of the Geneva Convention. Ignoring the impossibility of this ever happening, would it be an improvement or otherwise?
3. What Anarchist, who died in Africa in 1938, had his ashes transferred to a country he never saw, at its government's request?
4. What Syndicalist's ashes were stolen in the post by government orders?
5. How did the Kennedy family become important political figures in American Democracy?

answers on back page

ANTI-POLL TAX FEDERATION OFFICERS RESIGN

BELOW WE reprint the statement made upon their resignation as officers by the only non-Militant members on the All Britain Federation Committee.

Their resignation marks a new stage in the struggle by genuine anti-poll tax campaigners to democratize the Federation. Many of our readers will be aware of the manipulative antics of Militant supporters in the Anti-Poll Tax movement, and it should come as no surprise that these deceitful tactics have been used at the top as well as the bottom. However, we should not let the bankruptcy of Militant obscure the real aim of any true anti-Poll Tax federation—to unite people at a grassroots level, and to beat the poll tax.

Militant's leaders may be aware of the huge feeling against them within the anti-Poll Tax movement, but it's just as likely that they aren't. They have fallen for their own mythology that they are the anti-Poll Tax federation, and no one else. Certainly, without the three non-Militant members on the Committee,

to inject some intelligent ideas, the Federation will soon become a bit of a headless chicken.

It is to be hoped that at the next All Britain Conference, these jokers are kicked out and the federation re-established along federalist principles: ie, it should be democratic, with regular open meetings, accountable and recallable delegates, a rotated rather than permanent (and bureaucratic) chair, and with the decisions and initiatives flowing from the base, rather than from the Editorial Board of Militant.

DANNY BURNS (Vice Chair)
IAN GREAVES (Assistant Secretary)
SHAM SINGH (Trade Union Officer)

We have resigned our positions as from 17 June (the last meeting of the national committee). We will, however, continue to work on the committee in a constructive way, representing our

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SQUATTING IN EAST BERLIN

EVEN BEFORE the revolution in the GDR (East Germany), houses were squatted in East Berlin. The housing authority, the KWC, a totally inefficient and corrupt organisation responsible for the allocation of flats in the capital, left many turn-of-the-century apartment houses to rot. People waiting years for a flat simply broke in and built their nests—jumped the queue if you want—registered themselves and were given contracts. Rent was no big problem, roughly fifty Eastmarks for a one-two bedroomed apartment.

Large squats started appearing in the capital in the summer of 1989. On the Schonhauser Allee autonomous leftwing groups squatted three large apartment houses next to a police station. This was to be expected (the squatting!), the natural course for the leftwing scene on the Prenzlauer Berg to take.

The opening of the borders on the 9th November 1989 and the resulting confusion led to a rapid escalation of the squatting of empty houses on the Prenzlauer Berg. Leftwing groups from East Berlin and the GDR rapidly gave the politicians a new problem to deal with. In the to be awaited 'anarchy' after the revolution, there was however little to be done. This breakdown of governmental control also allowed fascist groups in through the back door. Three houses in Berlin-Lichtenberg were squatted by the Neo-Nazi Nationale-Alternative (NA).

In April and May the scene spread rapidly to Berlin-Friedrichshain. West Berliner autonomous groups rapidly moved into East Berlin occupying (until now) roughly thirty apartment houses, notably the Mainzerstrasse, ten turn-of-the-century buildings scheduled for demolition. The movement is still in full swing, every week more houses are squatted, but there are problems.

The houses have been left to rot and have been plundered. Electric cable was rare in the GDR so empty houses were stripped of cable, the doors were ripped out of heating ovens, the waterpipes were torn out, floorboards ripped out and windows smashed. The roofs were not repaired so water leaked in.

The state of the houses is not the only problem. East Germany was always an anti-fascist state, but instead of attacking fascism at its roots, the State just put the lid tightly on the boiling pot. Friendship between peoples was hardly encouraged by the stationing of hundreds of thousands of foreign troops on East German soil, and banning travelling out of the country, the East Germans were left to

themselves and West German television.

The revolution toppled the Socialist Unity Party and lifted the lid. Hate against Polish tourists and tradespeople, against Soviet troops and their families, against the Vietnamese, Angolan and Cuban workers, soon developed into violent attacks by skinhead troops in the streets, on the underground, attacks on the living quarters of foreign workers, on squatted houses and vandalism in Jewish cemeteries.

The revolution started by leftwing and liberal intellectual groups was soon swallowed by the armchair masses waving the black-red-gold of their big brother state, and even the black cross and eagle on a white background (the old Reichs war flag). The elections in the GDR, with massive majorities for the West German Parties, in particular the conservative CDU of Helmut Kohl, were symptomatic of the nationalistic fervour which is to be felt in the streets.

This has brought a particularly bitter aftertaste for the squatters. The houses on the Schonhauser Allee were the scene of violent attacks by skinheads and fascists since they were squatted; on the 20th April (Hitler's birthday) roughly one thousand fascists gathered on Alexanderplatz with the intention of storming the houses. They were dealt with by the police.

In general, though, the colourful squatted houses, decorated with paint, red and black flags, teddy bears and slogans painted on bed sheets are constantly under threat of attack. Most houses are barricaded up to the third floor with trapdoors built into the stairwells, and instead of presenting to the world the fanciful life which exists behind the walls, they present fortifications and a militancy which has often a frightening face.

This is no over-reaction. On 7th June when the squatted multi-cultural centre 'Tacheles' was attacked by 140 baseball-bat-wielding skinheads, three people ended up in hospital, one man (who tried to put out a fire caused by a molotov cocktail) was hit in the face by a second fire bomb, with the result that his sight was almost lost (he can still see, but will be horribly scarred for the rest of his life).

The day after, a hundred Saturday night fascists attacked the Mainzerstrasse, but were beaten back by masked squatters armed with batons, helmets, distress-flare pistols and stones. One question which could be asked is 'where are the police?'

Well, the police are the police and are there to defend the State; when the state is in its death throes, to preserve some type of order and



themselves. So the police answer emergency calls, but slowly. When groups of fascists meet, the police are rarely to be seen. When the fascists use their violence the police come too late. When the 'Tacheles' was attacked, the police moved in as the skinheads were leaving, arrested four of them, took their names and addresses and sent them home.

As the squatters fought the football hooligans out of the Mainzerstrasse, the police moved in as the danger was over, blocked off the street and stopped the squatters dealing with the problem once and for all. To prove how stupid police are, they arrested six squatters for breach of the peace and rioting.

Political pressure exerted on the police forced them to try and find dialogue with us. They informed us of a security partnership between us and them, Greatlads! Thanks for asking! It might be useful if the police were useful, capable and objective, but they are not, they are, as always, provocative. 'Security partnership' means in the Mainzerstrasse, that the police park three or four meatwagons at the ends of the street and patrol in groups of three to six with dogs. It's good to see six bully boys with truncheons, helmets, pistols and gas masks, with a huge rotweiler, walking in front of the house! Makes you feel really secure, that does! The filth also have a panda in front of the fascist houses—after all, no presence may be discovered by the police, and one has to be seen doing something, doesn't one!

In the grand old tradition of anti-fascism, a demo was organised by squatters and political groups from East and West Berlin. About four thousand took part on the demo, which went

through Berlin-Lichtenberg, past the foreign workers living quarters to display a bit of solidarity—speakers from the workers and from the ANC lent their support. The demonstration

then went on to pass the fascist houses. As we got there, we found the place surrounded by police. East German police defending the fascists, probably fits into the masterplan somehow. That was a little too much for many people and led to the heaviest confrontation between demonstrators and police seen in East Berlin since the 1930s. Once again the squatters were the wicked ones, East and West German press printing reports about the 'rioters' and 'hooligans' and crying over a police force which only twelve months ago was murdering people for trying to jump over a wall. Strange how short memories can be.

A short word as to organisation. The threat from fascists and skins led to a rapid and reasonable security system. Evictions can and have been prevented. In one case 200 riot police packed their bags and went home after around 150 supporters came to lend their support to squatters standing on the brink of eviction.

In total, roughly eighty houses are squatted in East Berlin. The reasons are numerous: fed up with the queues, fed up with high rents, the will to live with friends you choose to live with, to provide space for our ideas and their expression, we are in the houses and we're here to stay.

LOVE! LUXURY! ANARCHY!
AUTONOMY!
'Made in the GDR'

IWW ACTIVISTS BOMBED!

TWO INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World organisers, Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney, were seriously injured on May 24th when a bomb exploded in Bari's car. They were on a tour of the San Francisco Bay area to organise support for the efforts of environmentalist and Wobblies to halt the destruction of northern California's redwood forests. IWW members in the lumber industry, working with environmental groups such as Earth First!, have been demanding that forestry companies convert to sustained growth harvesting.

However, the timber companies have shown their usual disregard for the health and lives of the workers, as well as the environment.

The May 24th bombing was the second attempt in less than a year to kill Bari and Cherney, last year a logging truck rammed their car, seriously injuring 3 adults and 4 children. Since then, Bari has received dozens of death threats, but the authorities do not want to know.

As soon as Darryl Cherney was released from hospital, police arrested him, and interrogated him all night before they allowed him a lawyer. He has been released on a \$100 000 bond, but is being charged with 'possession and transport of an explosive device'!

The IWW ask for letters demanding all charges be dropped and a thorough investigation carried out into the attempted assassination of Bari and Cherney. Please send them to:

Alameda County District Attorney
1225 Fallon
Oakland, CA 94612, USA
and
Federal Bureau of Investigation
1 Kaiser Plaza
Oakland, CA 94612, USA
Please copy any letters to the
IWW, 3435 N. Sheffield 202
Chicago, IL 60657, USA



EARTH FIRST! RENOUNCES TREE SPIKING

FOLLOWING ON from the Anarcho-syndicalism and ecology article (page 11), the latest issue of Industrial Worker reports that Earth First!, the radical direct action environmentalist organisation, has renounced tree spiking.

Tree spiking involves placing large nails in trees so that when they reach the sawmill they damage the expensive sawblades. However, it's use as a technique has been widely criticised, because of the potentially lethal effect of breaking a sawblade during operation. When the sawblade shatters, it is travelling at such speed that it could quite easily kill or maim any workers in the vicinity.

In their statement renouncing the tactic, Northern California Earth First! gave credit for the change to local rank and file lumber workers, who had come to speak to them against the wishes of both their bosses and unions.

This is a very encouraging development, showing that environmentalists and workers can unite and ultimately have the same interests. Earth First! said that their tactics were always aimed at attacking the 'machinery of destruction, not the workers who operate that

machinery for \$7 an hour'.

Just as clearly, lumber workers have an interest in an ecological forestry. If the lumber companies continue with the indiscriminate logging of virgin forests, and the wholesale destruction of the ecosystems these forests support, there won't be any trees left for them to cut or process. However, it isn't just the lumber workers' jobs that could go. The long term ecological damage to the area will make it less habitable, and the loss of a major industry will have a knock on effect across the entire local economy, meaning shops, services etc. closing. All because it's cheaper to log the wilderness than plant new trees as the old ones are logged.

MUJERES LIBRES

MUJERES LIBRES groups met in Bilbao from 12-15 April of this year. Present were women from 18 cities and four countries who wanted to affirm, defend and develop their own social analysis. A permanent contact was established through a bulletin published in 4 languages (Spanish, French, English, and Esperanto), which will gather together all the projects of all the groups already formed, and those on the way of being formed. A minimum contribution based on 50 pence a month should be sent to:

Femmes Libres
61 Rue Pauly
33130 Begles
France

Current postal account: No. 0738 221H 022/75 Bordeaux.

It was also decided to organise regular international gatherings beginning with one in Bordeaux from 16-19th August 1990.

Saludos libertarios!

Source: Llettra A (Barcelona)

NIGERIA

The Nigerian Axe/Association of Libertarian Socialists is asking for help in the release of NEPA 11, workers who went on strike for better working conditions against Nigeria's National Electric Power Authority in 1988. Their life sentences have been reduced to ten years. They are:

M.A. Odedina, S.F. Adekunmi, C.N. Olafor, D.A. Olatoke, J.N. Olotu, C.E. Dortie, B.B. Oye, K.E.G. Okoroafor, E. Eguakegbe, E.O. Kuye and J.K. Olatunde.

Protest letters to Ibrahim Babangida, Office of the President, Lagos, Nigeria.

Note: The Axe (GPO 12859, Dugbe Ibaden, Nigeria) and the Awareness League (40 Samuel Mbah, POB 28, Agbani via Enuga, Nigeria) ask for books and publications from abroad (in plain envelopes). Their politics are anti-Stalinist, but we don't know more at present.

●The Nigerian government recently admitted in its own paper, the *Daily Sketch*, that already this year more than 450 people have died in Nigerian prisons. Cells built to accommodate 4 prisoners often house 20. This is combined with appalling health facilities, poor food and a minimal food allowance.



THE MOHAWK STRUGGLE

AS WE GO to press a stand-off continues between the Warriors of the Mohawk Nation and the Quebec Provincial Police (QPP) at two Mohawk territories near Montreal. It is unclear at this time how much longer the stand-off will last. Negotiations are continuing between the Mohawks and various levels of government. There is certainly no indication as to whether or not it will be resolved without further violence on the part of the police. Major divisions within Euro-Canadian society, and the continuing belligerence of the police, has made it difficult for the Mohawks in their attempts to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

Early in the morning of July 11th, a contingent of 500 heavily armed troops of the QPP, without any warning, opened fire with teargas and automatic rifles on a Mohawk village containing at the time mainly women and children. The encampment was protected by barricades put up to defend land claimed by Kanesatake, one of seven communities making up the Mohawk nation. The attack would have been farcical if the situation itself were not so serious. In spite of all their fancy equipment, battle gear, body armour, face masks and many weapons, one cop was killed and several police vehicles abandoned as they retreated in disarray when their own tear gas drifted down the hill onto them.

According to reports the Mohawks heard over captured police radios, the officer was either killed with his own gun when he fell from a tree where he had taken a sniping position, or was hit by one of his fellow cowboys. The Mohawks did shoot to protect themselves, but, from witnesses on the scene, they were under instructions to shoot over the attackers' heads. The abandoned vehicles, 4 cruisers and 2 vans, were smashed by Mohawks using a commandeered front end loader. They were turned into a second barricade, allowing the Warriors to extend their defensive position. The police, now numbering over a thousand would-be-heros, erected their own barricade about 200 yards down the hill. The nearby town of Oka was placed under a form of martial law. All vehicles were stopped and anyone suspected of being Mohawk, or native, was turned back, even if they lived in town. The police have stopped food and medicine from going into Kanesatake, prevented Mohawks from returning home if they were outside the police roadblocks, and Mohawks were prevented from going to the hospital.

Incredibly, the attack was made in an attempt to serve a court injunction ordering the Mohawks to remove their blockade so that the town of Oka could cut down a pine forest, planted by the people of Kanesatake, to allow for the expansion of a local private golf club from 9 holes to 18 holes. It seems the mayor is a golf enthusiast, not content with the seven other 18-hole golf courses within six miles of the disputed forest. The QPP claimed that they were only responding to the request of the local government to serve the injunction. Both the federal government and the Minister of Native Affairs in Quebec, Charles Ciaccia, had publicly opposed any such action just the day before.

To support their sisters and brothers under siege at Kanesatake, the Mohawks of nearby Khanawake blocked off one of the main commuter bridges going into Montreal from the south shore of the St. Lawrence. The bridge, which rises from their land, was also closed last year to protest against a massive police raid on the community supposedly for an alleged cigarette smuggling operation. In a major tactical advance, they have threatened to blow up the bridge if any Mohawk was hurt in a police attack. Since the authorities know that many ironworkers live in Khanawake, such a threat is taken seriously. Bridges make good 'hostages'; they're expensive, and necessary for the smooth function of the profit system.

On the weekend of July 14th and 15th, hundreds of local residents demonstrated, protesting the seizure of the bridge. They burned effigies of Mohawks, complete with bow and arrow, screamed loudly about how they were tired of being dominated by 'minorities', attacked and chased anyone thought to be a Mohawk. The racist nature of the mob's politics was so clear that even reporters for the mass media noticed it. The local municipal officials have been rabidly anti-native, fuming that a few Indians can stand in the way of a golf course.

While it may be frustrating for people to have an hour and a half added to their commuting



time, the speed with which white supremacist politics came out under stress reveals that they are never very far from the surface. This highly charged and polarised situation was not created by the Mohawks. They have always been willing to negotiate, a fact that they kept repeating after the police attack. It wasn't the Mohawks who felt that a golf course was worth risking human lives for. All that the people of Khanawake were doing by closing the bridge was using one of the few weapons available to them, against a society that has never hesitated to use whatever weapons it could get at what the Indians had. But nothing infuriates white supremacists as much as a people who refuse to lie down while they're being kicked around. They much prefer to be able to quietly go about their lives undisturbed, while the destruction of native people and land, upon which so much of their (our) comfort depends, continues.

Support for the Mohawks from other first nations was immediate. In British Columbia, elsewhere in Quebec and on the east coast, highways have been blocked—a tactic used since the early seventies to show solidarity. The Assembly of First Nations (AFN), the national organisation of the band councils, gave immediate support, as did the Lubicon Cree and other nations also involved in so far non-violent resistance for their land. For three years various native leaders, including the AFN, have been warning that unless the provincial and federal governments began to take land negotiations more seriously, violence would be the result. No one is really surprised that it has come. Many natives are probably well aware that the mere threat of guerilla actions from the more than one million native people in Canada (nearly five percent of the population) should give the political leaders something to think about. In total, the combined territories of the native nations consists of millions and millions of acres, with many vulnerable targets in sparsely populated areas. Native militants, well aware of the process of destruction, will not stand by while they are destroyed, territory by territory.

Many non-native Canadians were shocked and outraged by the open aggression against Kanesatake. The reporters present at the time of the attack were personally horrified at the arrogance and incompetence of the police and their complete disregard for human life. The face of a militarised state was visible for all to see on the T.V. But this time it wasn't some far off distant place, this time it was 'us'. On July 14th, 300 very angry people in Toronto turned a demonstration, sponsored by the Truth About Africa Committee, protesting against a racist exhibit on British colonialism in Africa at the main museum, into one protesting about the situation at Kanesatake. The march blocked and held various main intersections as it proceeded to a Quebec government office. A Defence Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty, which is raising money to be put at the disposal of the Mohawk people for food and other supplies, has been well received. Demonstrations also occurred outside the headquarters of the QPP in Montreal and elsewhere.

The Mohawks say that the attack by the Quebec police was in retaliation for the role that the native people played in the rejection of what

was called the Meech Lake Accord. This constitutional Accord was an attempt to get Quebec, a primarily French-speaking province, to sign the new Canadian constitution that the other nine, predominantly English-speaking provinces had signed in 1982. The Accord set a time limit of 23rd June, by which time all ten provinces had to agree to the terms of Quebec's signing the constitution. Elijah Harper, a Cree member of the Manitoba legislature, by refusing to give his assent to some parliamentary procedures, was able to run out the clock. The Indians opposed the Accord since they were not invited to participate in the constitutional discussions and are not recognised in the constitution. In response to the incredible pressure put on Harper by Quebec and the Conservative government 'to save the country' as the deadline drew nearer, the AFN said that the settler nations of Canada, the English and French, had created this mess and that they, the Indians, would not save it; that indeed, they would kill it if possible. They did.

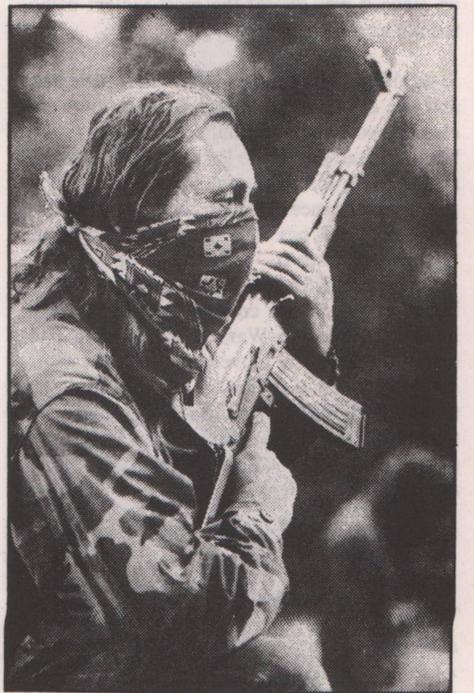
As Harper held out, and the deadline came and went, he became a popular hero across the country. Ironically, he has become a major common symbol, cutting across many of the divisions within Canadian society; English/French, native/non-native, immigrant/Canadian born, left/right. The failure of the Accord was greeted with great joy. For the right-wing elements, like the English-only movements in Ontario and the west, the Accord was opposed for anti-French reasons. But the Accord was also opposed by women, the two northern territories and other peoples (ie. non-English or French, non-native), about a third of the population. The defeat of the Accord was a humiliating defeat for the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, the most hated government in Canadian history. For the popular movements in Quebec, Harper was hailed as a hero. The rejection of the Accord gives them the opportunity to go for an independent Quebec if that is indeed what they want. The Indian role in stopping the Accord helped to cement the leading role that the native struggles are playing in Canada.

It does seem to be more than coincidence that such an armed attack against native people in Quebec would take place less than a month after Quebec warned the native people that they would suffer for the defeat of the Accord. Quebec, for all its attempts to claim recognition as a 'distinct society'—ie. French as opposed to English—refuses to grant any recognition to native peoples at all. Eighty-five percent of Quebec is under some form of land claim. It is not that the provincial governments in English Canada are any less racist, but the native people in Quebec are a major impediment to the schemes of the current Liberal government. The government, through its provincially owned utility—Hydro Quebec—wants to begin the biggest hydro-electric project in history near James Bay in northern Quebec. Negotiations are already being held to sell power to the north eastern states. The James Bay II project, costing over 20 billion dollars, would divert rivers, build dams, flood valleys, lakes and rivers on an unprecedented scale. James Bay I, completed in the seventies, though eventually agreed to by the James Bay Cree and Inuit, has

been a disaster. Communities have been displaced and disrupted, resulting in cultural breakdown. Natural mercury has leached out of the now flooded land, contaminating the fish and other sources of food. Populations of animals have been reduced. The Cree want no more development and they are on a collision course with a province where energy sales and power projects are a mainstay of the economy.

The Indians just have too much of what other people want. The Mohawks have come in for particular harassment since the emergence of the Warrior's Society has given them an armed force that has to be taken into consideration. Hence the massive over-response to the armed self-defence of Kanesatake is intended as a warning to all native peoples that 'resistance will be met with massive repression, harassment and intimidation'. The Canadian military and police are still out in force on the Akwesasne reserve. Native organisers working to support the Mohawks have been harassed by the police on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario.

As Canadian society undergoes great strains, the police are taking more and more of an independent role in repression. In Toronto, neither the local nor provincial governments will act against the use of force by the police in spite of the shootings of several people; mainly young Africans. And in this incident, the provincial politicians, supposedly the political masters of the police, denied any responsibility for ordering the raid, yet totally backed the cops anyway, in spite of the obvious counter-productive nature of the raid. And not only is it just racism that sends the cops into a fury. Even as the siege by their provincial was continuing, the Montreal police raided a private lesbian and gay party, sending one man to hospital, arresting ten and beating many. On July 16th, the Montreal riot squad attacked a demonstration protesting the initial raid, sending two to hospital in critical condition, arresting 47 protestors (out of 200) and viciously beating many of those arrested. It is obvious that the police are not going to stand by while 'their' vision of Canada is challenged. They are ready to beat, intimidate and try to destroy whoever threatens the way things are.



Defence Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty:

Assistance is needed to enable the Mohawk people to carry on the defence of their lands. Material aid is needed right away—supplies such as food, medical supplies, fuel etc. Even if the blockades are lifted, funds are needed to help rebuild and further the struggle for aboriginal title to Kanesatake lands. Donations (sent individually or through an organisation) should be sent to:
Defence Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty
c/o Bread and Roses Credit Union
348 Danforth Ave., Suite 211
Toronto
Ontario M4K 1N8
Canada
(Tel: 461-7882)

Note: This article originally appeared in the Prison News Service, No.25. PNS is available from Bulldozer, P.O.Box 5052, Stn.A, Toronto, Ontario, M5W 1W4, Canada, for a donation.

Polish Anarchism

THE ABSENCE thus far of a strong anarchist movement in Poland can be traced to a number of factors; among them the lack of any real native tradition. Let us start with the 1950s.

After WW2 and up until the 1980s there was scarcely any trace of anarchist activities. One exception might be the so-called era 'of enthusiasm', 1945-1947, when the authorities denounced anarchist tendencies within the demand for the establishment of factory councils with broad political powers. The same applies to the demand in that crucial year, 1956, for the formation of workers' councils. Over the past 20 years a significant movement in favour of selfmanagement has begun to develop. Some groups, Lublin for one, have been acknowledged as revolutionary leftist formations on account of their radicalism, and Solidarity itself has been accused of anarcho-syndicalist leanings following the publication of its programme for a 'self managing Republic'. However up until 1983 there was no organisation in Poland describing itself as anarchist.

R.S.A.—Ruch Społeczeństwa Alternatywnego Movement for an Alternative Society

The RSA came into being in Gdansk, the creation of some comrades aged 18 and 19. The groups organised discussion groups like the SKA, but unlike the SKA, did not confine itself to debates. Since September 1983 it has been publishing *Homek* with texts inspired by its discussion groups and containing news and theoretical material. The RSA was one of the first Polish groups to wage a considerable anti-militarist campaign (printing thousands of leaflets) and one of the first to insist on the civilian alternative to military service.

RSA members either organised or were directly involved in demonstrations including the best known one of May Day 1985. Five members of the movement took part in that, but the fact that it was they who carried the black flags allowed the press to create a sensation about an anarchist May Day, an all the more dubious set up since it was one of the most violent demonstrations at the time.

A significant part of RSA's activities have been and are calculated to blend in with youth circles, the so called drop out scene. Since 1985 it has organised the 'Hyde Park' festival—an open air jamboree for 'drop out' youth which enjoys great significance in such circles. In recent years the WIP has also been involved in the 'Hyde Park' festival.

Today the RSA has sympathisers in many Polish cities. *Homek* continues to be published in Gdansk and the Warsaw RSA group publishes *Rewolta*. The movement organises and is involved in anti-militarist and ecology activities. The RSAs' most recent operation was to mount a picket of the British Embassy to oppose the Poll Tax and also there was a rally against unemployment.

W.I.P. Ruch Wolności i Pokoju The Freedom and Peace Movement

The WIP group was set up in Krakow in 1985 and embraces a wide range of political outlooks. At the end of 1985 some members of the RSA who were calling for the abolition military service joined the WIP following its first campaign when call-up papers were sent back to the Minister of Defence in protest at the conviction of Marek Adamkiewicz for refusing his military service. Since then an anarchist strand has begun to evolve in the WIP. It may be a minority but it is capable of bringing about a change of outlook in the movement, a shift from opposing military service towards a campaign in favour of civilian service.

In 1988, of the WIP's 12 publications, four were of anarchist complexion ... *A Capella* in Gdansk, *Iskna* in Krakow, *Dablin* in Elblag and *Signum* in Poznan.

Also in 1988 'WIP Student Action' emerged in Krakow: it embraces anarchist elements, resorting to radio boycott campaigns, occupation of military premises, and demonstrations and squatting in chancellors' offices. It presses for the de-militarisation of education, democratisation of universities, and campaigns against landlordism and the university establishments.

M.A.—Miedzynastowka Anarchistyczna Inter City Anarchists

viduals from the WiP Gdansk, from the RSA and from the (counter-cultural) 'Totart' group. The aim of the MA was to get people out of the ghetto, especially any interested in anarchism. MA was to have been a sort of 'post office' or 'exchange bureau' designed more for familiarisation than for concerted activity. After distribution of two information leaflets, an enormous number of letters flooded into MA's address and this was indicative of how necessary some means of contacting one another was. This brought it home how hard it was to contact one another and keep in touch; in the same city there could have been two or three groups all ignorant of one another's existence.

In the autumn of the 1988 a national MA convention was organised in Gdansk and nearly 100 comrades attended, several as delegates from groups and organisations. The convention was ended by a raid from the anti-terrorist squad and by the arrest of the organisers. Even so, the meeting showed that there were lots of comrades and circles that identified with anarchism, even if not all of them understood the word to mean the same thing. The months that followed the convention showed that the MA name had become so attractive that various groups had begun to use it, regardless of the intentions of its founders. At the same time articles on MA activities in Warsaw, Krakow, Rzeszow and Katowice began to surface in the official press ... articles mistook the name 'inter-city' for 'international'.

Above all, these activities involved anti militarist and green campaigning. MA pamphlets and flyposters were published. It also emerged that the notion of a 'post office' did not suit everyone, because some people expected more of MA. At the MA's second congress in Dobrzyń in June 1989 the issue of setting up a federation surfaced and it was decided to convert MA into an Anarchist Federation. A treasurer was appointed whilst two comrades took responsibility for the Federation Bulletin, and a temporary information bureau was appointed.

The idea of launching a Federation also had its critics who argued that it was a nonsense to set up a new grouping in that the MA's basic aim had been to set up an effective communications office and that this had not been achieved, and that not enough had been achieved in the way of getting to know one another and bonding together. Despite the decisions made, this dissent has remained. The debate was allowed to continue during the 1989 'Hyde Park' event and was finally closed at the December 1989 Warsaw congress. It was established that upwards of a dozen Polish groups were operating as the Anarchist Federation. Some groups involved themselves in the federation while holding the MA title among the name of their city or region eg. MA Silesia.

Federation working meetings are held once a month in Warsaw.

Slowly commissions are being set up; Trade Union Commission, Local Elections commission etc.

Anarchist activities in the 1980s were for the most part the handiwork of student groups and so most of the topics dealt with by these groups concern education, anti-militarism, ecology and human rights in general. The Warsaw MA demonstrations have marched under slogans like 'Freeze Prices!' or 'All power to the Councils' but these are exceptions.

The anarchist movement today has to tackle the big problem of widening its sphere of intervention. Anti authoritarian babble is not enough. If we want anarchism to be seen as a social policy, we must conduct an analysis of the changes afoot in the country and put forward our proposals. All this while realising that verbal condemnation of the capitalist system that is taking shape falls short of what is needed. We can only grow if we take an interest in the economy, in wage problems and through contacts with anarchists abroad.

If the anarchist movement manages to overcome its own organisational problems, it will be in a position to constitute an intellectual assizes and avoid creating hierarchies within the various spheres of activity. For example arguments like 'the only real anarchist is the one who fights against the army!' or 'the only real anarchist is the one who struggles for self-management' are too often heard at the moment.

But the anarchist movement can expand and be a rallying point for many who are not socially active at present, but who, faced with unemployment, recession, a rightwing government etc will be on the look out for an organisation within which to act.

Krzysztof Galinski
(Czarni Aliansi—Black Alliance)
Trans. from *Umanita Nova*

News In Brief

CRETE RESISTS

AFTER WORLD WAR II and the following Civil War in Greece, American military bases were stationed in the Athens region. The former Socialist government maintained this agreement with the Americans, but the present three-month-old Conservative government has now come to a new defence co-operation agreement covering American bases in Crete. This agreement to move the bases to Crete was ratified in Parliament and will run for eight years.

However, this has met with opposition from the people of Chania, one of the towns in Crete, where an air and naval complex already exists. A demonstration against the bases was held on the morning of the 23rd July; 150 demonstrators occupied a local authority building in protest. The police finally invaded the building using CS gas. After this invasion, more demonstrators arrived, and a demonstration numbering 6000 was held resulting in running street battles with the cops for 18 hours. The police used CS gas, truncheons and in some cases guns against the demonstrators; the protestors responded with molotovs, stones and in a few cases guns. Eight police were injured (3 from bullets) and 60 demonstrators hospitalised.

Another demonstration was held soon after—this time the demonstrators were armed, resulting in the police fleeing to the military camp and taking refuge there until the demonstrators had left. No incidents were reported! We are waiting to hear of any further developments.

SQUATTERS BUSTED

AFTER A spirited resistance to eviction by police using teargas and water cannons, the squatters of the W.N.C. in Groningen, Holland gave up peacefully. 132 people, however were subsequently held by the police, without being charged. They were dispersed all over Holland,

some being held in isolation, some being moved constantly and at least one beaten in the cells.

The W.N.C. was the largest squat in northern Holland, housing up to 50 people, many from Britain and Europe as they travelled through. It provide cheap facilities and space for a cafe, gigs and workshops.

A prisoner support group has been set up and messages of support and donations can be sent to:

Steentilstratt 38
Groningen
Holland

ATHENS ABC

Comrades from Athens, including the ABC group, have been having problems receiving mail sent to them, mainly from abroad. Please keep copies of everything sent to them, in case it doesn't get through.

PROGRAMME OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

The Anarcho-Syndicalist manifesto of the growing and influential Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in the Soviet Union has been published in full by Arguments & Facts, a magazine with some 34 million readers.

The utter impossibility of a similar freedom of expression in the English-speaking countries illustrates what sort of dictatorship, albeit elective, we live under—tyranny concealed by humbug.

It is a wry joke at the expense of our comrades in Poland, that in the newfound freedom of expression, an open discussion newspaper takes the title 'Hyde Park', some forty years after it meant anything in the way of free speech here.



(Above) Brand FC. The first annual Libertarian Football Cup was held in Stockholm, organised by the sports editors of *Brand*. It was reported to be a great laugh and success with 13 anarchist and syndicalist groups booting the ball and drinking beer. Cup winners: the syndicalist graveyard workers.

Q & A on Anarchism

Q? What did Bakunin mean by an 'invisible dictatorship'? He also advocated pan-Slavism. Does it imply Anarchists are bound to an elite dictatorship rather than an elected one, and to support nationalism?

A. Though professors dig up old writings of Bakunin's, Anarchists are not 'bound' to anything he said or did, least of all in the period before he became an Anarchist. As a pioneer he could scarcely be expected to be a consistent Anarchist before the movement existed, anyway. It was his struggle within the First International to support the working class minority in many countries which put forward the idea of Stateless socialism, as against State socialism, which makes him of interest to Anarchists.

Pan-Slavism was a nationalist, anti-imperialist idea which is now dated and dubious but was thought democratic in its day, since it was certainly anti-Tsarist and against Prussian expansion. It is unclear what he meant by an 'invisible' dictatorship (it may lose something in translation). The term would be a good one to

describe the media of today, but he obviously didn't mean this. It was, however, said before the growth of the working class movement and the conception of Anarchism which Bakunin took from it (not the reverse).

FREE THE MURRAYS CAMPAIGN

THERE WILL be an international day of action in support of the Murrays on Wednesday 10 October. All ABC groups and supporters of the campaign are asked to show their solidarity and support on that day by pickets, leafletting etc.

A picket will be held outside the Irish Embassy, Grosvenor Square, W1 on that day, 12.30 to 2.00 pm.

There will be a public meeting in support of the Murrays on Wednesday 24 October at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC2, 7.30 to 9.30 pm. Creche available.

More information from:
Box FTM, Tenants Corner, 48a Oval Mansions, Vauxhall St, London SE11

Solidarity Appeal for Chinese Unionists

DESPITE POLICE and army intimidation, 1000 students at Beijing University hurled bottles and bricks from their dormitory windows to commemorate the anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre on 4 June. Two days later, the Chinese government announced the release of a further 97 pro-democracy prisoners, following the release of 221 at the end of May and 563 in January.

However, none of those released include members of the Workers' Autonomous Federation (WAF). The Public Security Bureau claims that the released prisoners were prepared to admit their mistakes and that those who refuse will continue to be punished. There is concern that workers still in prison are therefore receiving harsh treatment.

Among those still held is Han Dongfang, a founder of WAF, who was secretly detained in late June 1989. Han had been a worker in a spare parts factory of Beijing railway since 1984 and was accused of 'instigating attacks on the Public Security Bureau' after he led negotiations for the release of three WAF members at the end of May 1989. Reports from China suggest that Han has been held in solitary confinement since his arrest. The fact that his detention was never officially announced also raises concern that the number of WAF members in prison exceeds the 45 officially acknowledged.

Trade Union solidarity groups in Hong Kong have launched a campaign demanding the release of all detained WAF members and for official recognition of Chinese workers' rights to organise. On May Day, a demonstration was held in protest at the suppression of pro-

democracy workers in China and a rally and candlelight vigil was held on 4 June to commemorate the Tiananmen Square massacre. The campaign is being co-ordinated by the Asia Monitor Resource Centre, which is for a world wide appeal to the Chinese Government for the release of WAF prisoners. (source — *International Labour Reports*)

The following workers are known to have been detained since June 1989 for their involvement in organising the Workers' Autonomous Federation. The official Chinese trade unions have endorsed the crushing of the Autonomous Workers' Federation, and the execution of individual militants.

Please send letters of protest to the officials listed, making mention of the militants detained by name.

WORKERS DETAINED:

In Beijing: Han Dongfang, Liu Qiang, He Lili, Bai Dongping, Guo Yaxiong, Li Jiang, Liu Huanwen, Tian Bomin, You Dianqi, Yan Fuqian.

In Changsha: He Zhaohui, Li Jian, Lu Zhaixing, Liu Xinqi, Yang Xiong, Zhang Xudong, Zhou Yong.

In Shanghai: Cai Chaojun, Chen Shengfu, Gong Chencheng, Li Zhibo, Wang Hong, Wang Miaogen, Zhang Qiwang, Zhang Renfu, Zheng Liang.

In Xian: An Baojing, Bao Hongjian, Chang Ximin, Liu Congshu, Ren Xiyang, Xu Ying, Zhao Demin, Liu Chongxi.

In Jinan: Che Honglian, Hao Jingguang, Liu Yubin, Shao Liangchen, Zhang Xinchao.

In Hangzhou: Gao Jingtang, Li Xiaohu, Zhu Guanghua.

In Nanjing: Li Huling, Rui Tonghu, Zhu Huiming.

Address letters to:

Premier Zhongguo Guowu Yuan
Beijing, Peoples Republic of China

President Yang Shangkun
Zhongguo Guoji Zhuxi Banshichu
Beijing, Peoples Republic of China

Ni Zhifu, Chairman,
All-China Federation of Trade Unions
Beijing, Peoples Republic of China



These postcards, appealing for the release of pro-democracy workers and for trade union rights in China are available from:
Asia Monitor Resource Centre (AMRC),
444 Nathan Road, 8/F, Flat B,
Kowloon, Hong Kong.

ITALY

The Never Ending Struggle

IN EARLY MAY the Italian courts passed savage sentences on three comrades from Lotta Continua. Italian courts are notorious for their long delays, but this was for something that happened 18 years ago. The three, Adriano Sofri, Ovidio Bompreschi and Giorgio Pietrostefani were all sentenced to 22 years jail. A fourth charged, Leonardo Marino, turned State's evidence and sent the others down, so he received only 11 years.

This was not for mass murder, extermination or genocide, about which the Italian courts could hardly comment, having conspired in it. It was for the planning and revenge killing of a notorious police thug, Supt Luigi Calabresi. This Calabresi murdered our comrade Giuseppe Pinelli, secretary of the Anarchist Black Cross in Milan. At the time the Italian police claimed

he fell to his death from the fourth floor of the police headquarters, or alternatively committed suicide in remorse.

Eighteen years after the killing—widely acclaimed at the time—three years after their arrests and four months after the start of the trial, Italian State justice has had its revenge. The many ex-members and former supporters of the now disbanded Lotta Continua who packed the court during the trial were shocked at the severity of the sentences. In time, no doubt, the Marxists will forget these class struggle fighters, but hopefully anarchists will continue to show support for those who avenged the death of Giuseppe Pinelli, and the long imprisonment awaiting trial of Valpreda for what is now universally known to have been a fascist plot.



ADRIANO SOFRI: founder of Lotta Continua, 47, considered by the prosecution to be the instigator of the killing of pig Calabresi, ex LC journalist, when arrested he was a teacher.



OVIDIO BOMPRESCHI: 42, worked on the daily Reporter with Sofri, alleged of being the actual killer. Was a bookseller when arrested.



GIORGIO PIETROSTEFANI: 46, an organiser of LC and allegedly an instigator of the killing.

Larry Giddings—A Letter

AS A PRISONER, an anti-authoritarian p.o.w., I have spent a total of nearly 18 years in prison. My first contact with *Black Flag* occurred in 1973, while imprisoned in California. I readily identified with the energy and issues reflected in its pages. Stuart Christie and friends became an extension of my own connection to the world outside. Upon release from prison, after having served seven years, I continued my commitment to struggle for a world without prisons, racism, borders and authoritarian rule. In 1971, at age 18, I was arrested in Los Angeles. After a gun fight during the expropriation of firearms in Los Angeles. These weapons were to be used for liberating

prisoners committed to armed struggle against the US government. Contact with the anti-authoritarian movement helped to sustain me during those seven years.

My parole was spent working in a multi-cultural prison abolition, food service and prisoner support collective in the San Francisco area. We were in a position to actually 'pay' for a subscription to *Black Flag*! While I did not write many letters outside, I did continue to read and support anti-authoritarian publications. Mostly I worked hard at creating the kind of world I would like to live in.

In October 1979, myself and a comrade were captured during the attempted liberation of another comrade in struggle. Another shoot-out, wounded, imprisoned again, after 20 months out of chains. After arrival in Walla

PABLO SERRANO

PABLO SERRANO, the Spanish anarchist prisoner who was initially involved in the hunger strike by political prisoners in Spain, recently has been transferred. In a recent letter to a comrade in Bolton ABC he said:

'My removal to Tenerife (Canary Islands), the furthest point within the Spanish prison service, has meant almost complete isolation from outside, particularly as regards friends and family. Life inside has also worsened—18 hour lock-up has resulted in being denied working with others or using manual skills. Mail is automatically opened, control is heavy...

As you see, things have got worse and it's likely that more will happen, given the failure of the State's strategy to reintegrate politicals and the small amount of time left to carry it out (ie before the '92 Olympics, the genocide anniversary celebrations of the American conquest and the '93 Common Market Act of Union). All this is taking place in the context of an undefeated resistance movement and a huge pile of contradictions and social injustices, ever more blatant and whose effects are uncontrollable and spontaneous. All the repression within prisons serves only to confirm the State's weakness. What is important within this challenge is not the fate of some hundreds of dissidents but rather the potential of the current social underclass.

Regarding my situation in this new jail, all I want at present is to secure a basic guarantee of living conditions and then, when things get easier for me, to push the authorities into moving me back to a prison near Zaragoza. Tell the Black Cross comrades of my new address and prison situation.'

Pablo Serrano
Centro Penitenciario
Tenerife 2 modulo 2
Santa Cruz de Tenerife
Spain



Walla, a Washington state prison, I once again began receiving *Black Flag*. Shortly after, myself and comrade Bill Dunne were exiled to the Federal prison system. In '83, upon arrival in Leavenworth, I again contacted *Black Flag*.

In memory of Leo Rosser

It was not long after that I began corresponding with Leo Rosser. I was happy to get to know him. His energy and commitment were sincere and obvious. We discussed many things through the mail.

In 1986, when Leo came to the US to attend the Haymarket Centennial, he also attempted to visit me in Leavenworth. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to visit me here. The rules excluding visitors are complex and he was denied access. As a member of the 'press' he should

have been able to visit and interview me. Unfortunately, *Black Flag* didn't qualify for press credentials! Still, it felt good to know he was out there working and doing what he could.

Leo was very busy, writing, travelling, demonstrating, organising etc. so our letters would often be months apart. Still, he would always return to pen and paper and write me to let me know how his work progressed and how he felt about the work he did. He was a friend.

With the news of his death, I have read many of his past letters, looked at pictures he sent of himself and 121 Books, and thought about who he was and what he meant to me. The anti-authoritarian movement has lost a fighter, *Black Flag* has lost an editor, and I have lost a friend.

continued on back page

The Long and Winding Road

IN EARLY MARCH this year, two strikes stopped transport in the city of Madrid. At the same time as demonstrating the bankruptcy of the reformist trade union bureaucracies they raised a number of questions concerning the necessity and potential of workers taking control of their own struggles whilst at the same time showing the problems that can arise without full participation and solidarity.

ON THE METRO

The Metro system in Madrid is financed by local government and managed by a local transport corporation. For the last five years workers on the system have settled for pay rises below the rate of inflation. The bitterness and resentment of the workers has grown as their living standards have fallen and after five years the Metro workers put in a pay claim for 20 000 ptas. a month (25%) and two rest days a week (instead of one).

The leadership of the reformist unions (the communist CC.OO and the socialist UGT) and the workplace committees refused to back the claims, saying they had to stick to an agreement that had been signed between themselves and the transport corporation with no consultation with the rank and file.

The Metro drivers, disgusted with the position of the reformist unions launched the idea of general assemblies of all the Metro workers to decide what action should be taken in pursuit of the claim and called on the CGT for support.

The CGT are a split from the anarcho-syndicalist CNT. They originally split over participation in the workplace committees elections and have continued to compromise their principles in an attempt to gain 'respectability' and acceptance within the statist structure of the Spanish trade union movement. The CGT section in the Metro split from the CGT at their 1989 congress but have unfortunately carried on the unprincipled tradition of the CGT. They called a strike as the CNT without consulting the true CNT. More on this later, but first the strike.

The General Assembly called for a total strike and no minimum service despite management threats that this would be illegal. The strike was solid and after one and a half days of total shut-down management contacted the drivers' commission to negotiate. The drivers' commission recognised that the rest of the workforce were not content with the original demands and asked the CGT to negotiate on their behalf only. When the CGT quite rightly refused the drivers entered negotiations independently. They accepted an agreement they believed to be for 20 000 ptas. a month and no victimisation and promptly called off their strike. In reality the agreement was for 200 000 ptas. over one year and acceptance of management rationalisation plans for the next 4/5 years.

Meanwhile the Workplace Committees scared out of their apathy by the nature of the general assemblies had negotiated a 12% increase and a reduction of half an hour in the working week by 1991. The next day, the General Assembly, although not happy with the agreement presented to it by the Workplace Committee, felt unable to carry on without the drivers and the demoralisation was such that the strike was called off.

ON THE BUSES

The buses in Madrid are owned by a private company, but as with the Metro, are heavily dependent on local government subsidy and the transport corporation. As well as sharing the same management as the Metro workers they have also shared the same drop in living standards and the same conditions that lead to the Metro strike.

Soon after the Metro strike finished, Union Platform (a united front of various Trotskyist

organisations) called a bus workers' strike to be controlled by daily general assemblies and at the same time set themselves up as a strike committee. The first General Assembly called for an indefinite strike with no minimum services (a legal requirement) and instead set up a free service for hospital staff, visitors and patients. The demands as with the Metro strike were for a 25% increase and 2 rest days a week instead of one. The General Assembly also refused to be led by the CC.OO or UGT or recognise the Workplace Committees.

The strike was solid, financial support from other workers was tremendous and regular demonstrations of 10 000 people took to the streets in support of the strike.

After two weeks a number of events coincided that led to demoralisation among the workers and ultimately to the collapse of the strike. Firstly the UGT-CC.OO called a general assembly of the bus workers by placing adverts in the mass media and tried to take control of the strike. At the same time the bus workers had placed a lot of hope on a solidarity strike called by the CGT Metro section. To top this management started threatening workers with dismissal.

Union Platform had gained a lot of respect from the bus workers for their militancy early on in the dispute but their next step of asking the Workplace Committee to negotiate on their behalf was the final blow. The agreement presented to the General Assembly by the Workplace Committee was for 25 000 ptas. a month over 2 years (instead of 25 000 ptas. a month over one year) and a small reduction in the working week.

The General Assembly reluctantly accepted the agreement and called off the strike amid much acrimony over the position Union Platform had taken in relation to the Workplace Committees.

CARRY ON CONFRONTATION

During the Metro strike, Larranze of the Socialist Party said the most important aspect of the strike was not the demands of the workers but the threat to the established union system. This was not a view shared by the various factions involved in assuming positions of leadership.

The methods of organisation chosen by the Madrid Metro workers has obvious advantages to anybody who has ever come into contact with union careerists. How many times must a strike be sold out by corrupt officials whose main interests lie in defending their own positions over the interests of the workers they are supposed to represent. The potential of the General Assembly lies in workers ridding themselves of a dependency on the union bureaucracy whose main interest in their members is as a power base for collaboration with the State. The fact that their collaboration only results in compromise and increasingly vicious attacks on our class must be a small price to pay for getting their fingers in the state pie.

But if the General Assembly shows great promise it will only degenerate if it is seen as 'second best' to a 'revolutionary leadership'.

The shallowness and lack of confidence of the CGT in themselves as an organisation was demonstrated for all to see by their decision to call the strike as the CNT. Since their formation, the CGT's position of standing for the Workplace Committees has led to a degeneration of the revolutionary politics that were their roots. The nature of anarcho-syndicalism demands that workers' organisations exist in confrontation to the State. Any attempts to pander to State structures from a supposed revolutionary organisation are doomed to impotence from the start for a number of reasons. Firstly the State exists to defend both capitalism and itself and will move the goal posts when necessary; what is legal today may not be legal tomorrow. Any

organisation dependent on the whims of the state will fall flat on its face when the rug is pulled from under its feet. An anarcho-syndicalist organisation must be totally adaptable within the framework of its autonomy, if you keep on the move you might stumble when the rug is pulled but you have a better chance of keeping your feet on the ground.

Secondly, tactics and principles are indivisible. Action determines results and vice versa. A revolutionary organisation has to base itself on and never forget its original motivation. For anarcho-syndicalists this means understanding the efficiency, humanity and necessity of workers and communities controlling production and environment and also understanding that it is only the working class that can rid us of the parasites of State and capital. There is no room for voluntary compromise with the state in a fight for social revolution. To do so can only give the State a voice in workers' organisations in exchange for minimal tactical gains.

Any respect gained by the militant action of CGT members will be drowned unless they develop coherent politics, and until they renounce the Workplace Committees their existence will be a futile sham built of ice in a furnace and inviting evaporation.

Union Platform is a young organisation, and despite its opposition to the reformist leadership of the UGT-CC.OO still intends to stand candidates in the Workplace Committee elections in the autumn. For Union Platform leading the General Assembly was second best to the position they would be in in the Workplace Committees. They are a Trotskyist organisation and as such accountability is not their prime concern. By asking the Workplace Committee to negotiate for the bus workers they sold out the strike in a way that would have made the most opportunist union official proud. The arrogance they demonstrated during the bus workers' strike will be echoed with increased force when the structure they operate in is made more unaccountable.

Union Platform will go the same way as all bolshevik parties and in the Workplace Committees they will find the perfect breeding ground for hacks and careerists of all political shades to blossom into fully fledged Stalinist bureaucrats.

CNT

The CNT in the Madrid Metro system are unfortunately the smallest of the players involved and were restricted to a passive role in the dispute. When the CGT compensated for their renowned lack of integrity by exploiting the name and history of the CNT the CNT were forced into a position where to take any action could have endangered the strike, which the CNT were not prepared to risk until the strike was over.

In the bus service the CNT are much stronger, but unfortunately mistakes were still made. At the beginning of the strike Union Platform understood the respect the CNT have and offered them a place on the strike committee. The CNT refused on the grounds that the strike committee should have been elected by the General Assembly and for fear of being associated with the expected manipulations of Union Platform. The CNT's role was restricted to intervening in the General Assembly in a negative way by offering counter proposals to Union Platform. As the only organisation with no inherent interest in the establishment union system they should have been in a position of initiating the General Assembly instead of tailing Union Platform.

The CNT is still recovering from 40 years under fascism, and although it has been able to organise openly for the last 14 years it has still been in constant battle with the state, particularly over the millions of pounds worth of assets seized by Franco in the '30s and never returned. A number of damaging debates and splits has also led to demoralisation and a loss of confidence.

At the CNT's 7th Congress in April the question of participation in the Workplace Committees was again raised and again defeated, but in contrast to the past debates on this question it was defeated by an organisation now confident of itself and the necessity of the working class to organise outside of the reformist unions and the state structure. The CNT can now go forward confident in the knowledge that no amount of manipulation, compromise or backstabbing will ever compensate for an organised working class that has rid itself of the hierarchical structures that in the past have dragged us down.

CNT ORGANISES MAJOR HOSPITAL STRIKE

THE VALL d'Hebron state hospital, one of Barcelona's largest, has 6000 workers, 1700 of them on short-term contracts which guaranteed them no stable employment. Finally, on the 28th of May, these workers assembled, elected a strike committee, and declared an all-out strike until their demands for long-term contracts were met. The remaining 4300 workers, who already had fixed contracts, came out in support.

The first conflict came when National Police tried to clear the strikers from the areas of the hospital which had been occupied. This happened on the 22nd June, at the same time as the strike committee was having talks with representatives of hospital management, the Catalan NHS, and the Catalan government, in another part of the building. The occupied areas were not cleared, but two hospital workers, Trinidad Gonzalez and Ricardo Goz, were beaten up and had to go into Intensive Care units, where they are now recovering. When the strike committee heard what had happened, they immediately held the authorities' representatives hostage until the building was cleared of police. The hostages were later released by the Catalan Autonomous Police (Mossos d'Esquadra) who abseiled down the sides of the building and broke into the room where the hostages were being guarded by workers.

The largest union representation in the hospital is the Anarcho-syndicalist CNT. The communist union (CC.OO.) boycotted the strike, while the socialist union (UGT) has a small local section in the hospital which supports the strike, defying the UGT Catalan Central Committee which has officially boycotted it. Right from the beginning, the hospital workers have gone along with the proposals of the CNT section. Not only this, but, for the first time in several years, the CNT has issued an all-out strike call to hospital workers around Catalonia (June 20th) which has been followed in Tarragona, Girona, Badalona, and Bellvitge, all large towns with important state hospitals. Hospital workers in Madrid, Valencia, Euskadi and Rioja have also come out in support.

At the time of writing, around 30% of the Vall d'Hebron workers are maintaining minimum services, as the strike enters its thirtieth day. Repeated incidents between workers and police, the illegal nature of the strike, and the support it receives in the hospitals have made the strike headline news in the Barcelona press and media. All newspapers, radio and T.V. stations have, however, conveniently ignored the influence of the CNT in the strike, to the extent of not giving it a single mention.

305 of the workers on strike have been officially sacked by the hospital authorities. The strike committee has said it will not restart negotiations until they have been reinstated. In addition, there has been some tension with the nurses' collective, which feels that some patients are not getting the attention they need, due to the length of the strike. The strike committee has issued information bulletins to the patients, explaining that they wish to reach an agreement as soon as possible.

Barcelona 30/6/90

Anarchists on Russian TV

ON MAY 4th KAS members Vadim Danye, Alexander Shubin (Moscow) and Sergei Krivov (Samara) went on the popular Soviet youth TV programme Vzgliad (Points of View). They were able to refute the propagandistic distortions of the May Day events in the official media (how unlikely here!)

On May 7th a short programme was shown on Leningrad TV watched by 35 million people in the European part of Russia. Four well known anarchists appeared—Andrei Isaev from Moscow KAS (anarcho-syndicalists); Dimitri Zhvania from the Anarcho-Communist Revolutionary League (Leningrad); Peter Rausch from the Anarcho-Syndicalist Freedom Association (Leningrad); and Aida Basevich, a member of the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation in 1922, who then spent many years in Lenin's and Stalin's prison camps but always remained true to the ideal of Anarchism.

On 3rd April in Tomsk (Siberia) a new KAS paper *Golos Truda* (Labour Voice) came out. The anarcho-syndicalist publication *Svobody Trud* in Volgograd is published in wallposter form.

trans Will Firth

C. N. T.



A. I. T.

CONFEDERACION NACIONAL DEL TRABAJO

Anarchist Resistance in Nazi Germany

FOR YEARS 'researchers' of the academic kind maintained there was never an anarchist movement in Germany, apart from literally one or two names. After WWII, the police archives were taken by the Americans and when these were opened to scholars they found that German anarchist resistance through the ages had been extremely large. There had been an extremely active and influential working class anarchist movement in a line from that under Bismarck to that under Hitler. It had been ignored by historians because workers in general, like women in particular, only exist for them in relation to power politics or intellectual currents (also, perhaps, because it entails some real research as distinct from looking up other people's books). Here we can only give some pointers to research.

Much of the old anarcho-syndicalist movement, in the FAUD, was centred in the Rhineland and the Ruhr, where it had a base in the mines and in heavy industry and had built on the experience of workers councils in 1918. In Bavaria, the workers movement was much more fickle. Bavarian nationalism obscured the issue: in Munich, the people turned out in almost in mass to mourn the death of the local hereditary petty ruler, but within months they were rising in mass against the bourgeoisie and upper class, though perhaps some saw it as against Prussian domination. A 'soviet' was formed—with the participation of anarchist intellectuals—to be crushed by the vicious bourgeois-Christian dictatorship. Hitler's new party was in due course subject to these fluctuations of sympathy, at first because it was thought to be 'Bavarian monarchist'. Its comic-opera rising in 1923 was mildly put down by the same government which had massacred the workers in the Commune of Munich.

In some places like Wurttemberg there were under the Weimar Republic active sections of the FAUD, mainly railway workers who had escaped from Munich. In Berlin the anarcho-syndicalists were part of a much wider anarchist movement and operated within a distinct socialistic culture, bitterly divided between orthodox Socialists and Communists which minimised the effect of anarchism.

The success of Hitler's party had a shattering and paralysing effect on the working class movement. For years it had been thought, even by those who opposed the Communist Party, that its Red Front/Army would put up a fight. It was expected that the struggle would come with its success, not with its failure. This attitude was ingrained even with those who advocated Socialist-Communist unity against Nazism. Though working class formations had long since battled in the streets against Hitlerism, nobody anticipated the struggle would be given up without a shot or a blow.

In a town like Cologne, only months before Hitler took power Anarcho-Syndicalists had organised a demonstration, receiving huge popular support, against the visit by Dr Goebbels, who bitterly complained he was 'chased out of his native town like a criminal'. It was a challenge to the larger tendencies, who felt obliged to organise similar demonstrations, making Nazi propaganda tours, at the height of the Depression (and therefore when 'historians' later claimed they were building support) risky in the extreme. Hitler took to travelling by plane (then considered hazardous) as the lesser danger.

In Berlin, marches by Nazis were surrounded and heavily protected by police (like fascist marches in Britain). Isherwood, as a young observer a few months before the Nazis took power, noted how the hostile crowds in the Moabit working class district laughed when an elderly and portly SS captain could not sustain the pace, and finding himself on his own, frantically tried to catch up with the protective cordon. (A few months later and that captain would probably be invested with the power of life and death over the scoffers).

The Nazi murder gangs attacked individual opponents out on their own (something in the nature of contemporary gay-bashers) but shied in the main from open confrontation. (The gang to which Horst Wessel belonged tried it on and he became a Nazi martyr). The Nazi (pre-power) Jew-baiting activities were against professional people or writers, often when sitting around in cafes, and petty shopkeepers, on their own. It never occurred to people, least of all organised workers living in proletarian districts, there they too would become isolated.

After Hitler took power—was handed power by Hindenburg, with the tacit approval of most parties—the power of the SS dramatically increased. Almost overnight the top-heavy organisation of the workers collapsed with the wholesale arrests, quite illegal, of their lead-



ership. Nothing disappeared more ignominiously than the Red Front army, one day parading through the streets with its Moscow-trained generals, the next day languishing in holes and cellars in the hastily formed concentration camps (at first, converted derelict warehouses) without striking a blow (the despised Austrian reformist Social-Democrats at least fought it out to the last against Dollfuss).

The Communist party became illegalised, the Socialists and trade union movement tried to make their peace and niche and were slowly illegalised—after which social-democracy had nothing to offer. Trade union leaders sought to transfer their funds to war veterans organisations (where for ideological reasons the Nazis could not sequester them, but controlled them anyway). The working class as a whole was stunned at the fact that the entire defence they had built around themselves had gone with the wind.

This overcame the German anarchists too, and with the exception of the Rhineland, it became a marginalised dissent movement, unable to speak and therefore to grow. The Rhenish workers were slower to accept the situation, and they were not initially provoked to industrial action by the Nazis, but as propaganda and contacts vanished, they too succumbed (though never completely). During the twelve years of Nazi dictatorship, a few isolated, especially industrially based, groups, remained constant. But any concerted action was never possible, though in Madrid during the civil war people queued to see a dud German shell displayed in the window of a large store, bearing a message, 'Comrades! The shells I make do not explode'. (It may have been indicative of sabotage, which certainly went on, or it may have been propaganda set up in Spain—who can tell?)

Where the German Anarchists, and the council-communists (who during the whole Nazi period sunk their differences, never great) resisted was by individual action. It is one of the ironies of history, though typical, that the only attempt against Hitler thought worthy of commemoration is that by the upper-class generals who backed his war effort until it was losing (while such intellectuals as Rudolf Rocker and Augustin Souchy within the International Workers Association declined after the War to support documentation on Anarchist attempts on Hitler's life on the undoubtedly true grounds that 'such activity is what brings the anarchist movement into disrepute!').

Nobody ever assumed that the assassination of Hitler would entail automatic defeat of Nazism. But such was the concentrated hero worship of the Fuhrer, it would have destabilised the entire Nazi party, and given a revival of confidence to the anti-Nazi majority to assert itself once more, if merely defensively.

There were never as many attempts on Hitler as on Mussolini by the Italian anarchists, but far more than generally supposed. Only a few are listed here, and we have not even (for want of detailed knowledge) touched on other aspects of

the resistance such as that of the anarcho-syndicalists at Duisburg. No attempt has ever been made in genuine research by those in a position to carry it out (lest it detract from the last-ditch plot, to save the Reich, of the generals and the Prussian aristocrats?)

The pioneer attempt (in fact, the destruction of the Reichstag, not an assassination plot) was that of van der Lubbe, a council-communist. He thought that the burning of the parliament of Nazis and those who had ceded them victory would be a signal for the proletariat to rise. Though successful so far as the burning went, he was disowned and denounced by world communism and its liberal allies as a Nazi agent. The suggestion was that the Nazis did it themselves to discredit the Communists (a typical liberal response to action).

The Schwarzrotgruppe, originally based in Dusseldorf, was the first and most persistent of groups advocating and planning the assassination of Hitler. They felt that the mistake made in the Reichstag Fire was the involvement of a man of Dutch origin, bearing in mind the hatred of foreigners presumed to be growing in Germany with Nazi brainwashing (though in a totalitarian country one is inclined to think that everyone else is thinking and acting the same).

They twice set up near-successful attempts, once in the Munich beerhall where the non-event of the Nazi putsch of 1923 was being celebrated, another time at the Nuremberg opera. Both were foiled at the last moment, but as the perpetrators escaped. Those concerned fled to Glasgow (where they were given shelter by the late Frank Leech, a well-known Anarchist, in whose house I met them in 1937). They deemed it prudent to go to Birmingham (which had an interesting sequel when, a generation later, the German police by some confusion (no doubt caused by the loss of their main files to Washington) thought the Red and Black Group (English anarcho-pacifist) then existing was the same group as the Schwarzrot (Black Red) group, long since dead or dispersed, and named them, to their intense surprise, as responsible for the killing of an ex-Nazi banker.

There was an immediate response to these two failed attempts in an entirely individual plot to shoot Hitler at a rally in Cologne, but as the man responsible was caught, there may be no record. This led to mass arrests among Rhenish workers and caused a paralysis in activity. Of the many other attempts that were also made, one of which we have more facts is that of Hilda Monte.

She was both in the anarchist and council-communist movements, and had been active in two or three of the active resistance units. An extremely determined person, she was disappointed that the Schwarzrot people had not used her (they felt her Jewish origin would be exploited by the Nazis, as it certainly was in the later case of Herschel Grynszpan whose assassination of vom Rath led to the notorious 'Crystal Night' pogrom). In order to work more freely, she became a British subject, by the de-

vice of marrying a gay activist, John Olday, who, though a German resident from birth, had a British passport through a Canadian father.

She was involved in plans for another attempt on Hitler's life at a rally and narrowly escaped to England. Olday was deported as a result. There the group with which she had been involved formulated the plans which they had been thwarted by mere chance (Hitler hadn't turned up). They were funded originally by a wealthy industrialist, George Strauss, a Labour MP (later Father of the House). Hilda Monte returned to Germany, but presumably the plan went wrong and she arrived back in London just before war broke out.

The authorities were suspicious of a German who had turned up just before hostilities, even though she had a recently-acquired British husband with whom she had never lived! She was interned, and like many anti-fascists, felt the humiliation keenly. Contacting British anarchists, she felt sure her plan would go through if she could get back again. Strauss by now had backed out of the association, though his connections would have been useful (he possibly thought he was being inveigled into a Nazi plot, though after the war he acknowledged his earlier help). The person Hilda Monte found, by a coincidence, who was prepared to back her financially and with official contacts was a film star (who, whether by chance or discovery, was assassinated by the Nazis in Portugal). She was allowed to return (how, I have no means of knowing) where she contacted her group, but was captured by the Gestapo and murdered, fairly horribly, one assumes. A socialist comrade informs me that Det Sgt Jones, of Special Branch, spoke to him during the war of his concern about the reckless way in which Hilda had been allowed to return and his admiration for her audacity. It would seem Intelligence decided to clear her of any suspicion of wanting to help Hitler, and let her get on with her own thing. She is not mentioned in any list of Allied agents sent into Germany (some suggest because of her racial origin, or because of her sex, but more probably because she was independent of Government service): her action is commemorated in Israel (where archives on her case are kept) though she was never a Zionist.

During the war when Hitler met Franco there was another plan to assassinate the pair of them together, by Spanish Anarchists this time, though with some French and German involvement. This certainly would have changed the course of history, and certainly have been a highspot of anarchist resistance, had it been successful. Those who sneer at such attempts as amateur should bear in mind that those concerned were not professional assassins but ordinary workers living under intolerable oppression. At the very least, these events should be made public and not hidden. They were representative of the real feelings of German workers during the years of class defeat when their rulers were dragging their name in filth.

AM

ANARCHISM IN YUGOSLAVIA

ORIGINS

ANARCHIST IDEAS began to appear on Yugoslav territory during the second half of the 19th century and were the ideas of Yugoslavs who had worked or been educated in European countries where the workers' movement was strong. One of the first people to espouse the ideas of Proudhon, while studying law and economics in Munich and Zurich was the Serbian socialist ZIVOJIN ZUJOVIC (1838—1870). He was Serbia's first socialist and the mentor of SVETOZAR MARKOVIC (1846—1875), an organiser and theorist of the Serbian labour movement. There was a sizeable colony of southern Slav students and revolutionaries in Switzerland who kept in touch with Bakunin and with the Slavic section of the Jura Federation. They included JOVAN ZUJOVIC, MANOJLO HRVACANIN, PERA TODOROVIC and others. At the beginning of July 1872, Zurich saw the holding of the Congress of Serbian socialists in which Bakunin took part and during which the programme of the Serbian Socialist Party was elaborated.

The struggle for national liberation of the southern Slav territories (primarily for the liberation of these lands from the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires) encouraged a broader acceptance of freedom-centred ideas.

During the 1875 uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was a leftist wing that championed a social programme. It was led by VASA PELAGIC and had the support of the anarchists MANOJLO HRVACANIN (1849-1909) and KOSTA UGRINIC (1848-1933), and others. Many Italian anarchists were involved in this rising (Malatesta made two attempts to enter Bosnia-Herzegovina) as well as anarchists from Russia and elsewhere in Europe.

In early April 1871, JOHANN MOST came to Ljubiana and came into contact with members of the Workers' Society there. MATIJA KUNC, the Society's chair, was a propagandist of Most's ideas. In many prosecutions of the radical wing of the Austro-Hungarian socialists in Zagreb, Celovec and Graz, both Croatian and Slavene anarchists were among those persecuted. Anarchist influence (in the persons of say, R.GOLOUH, GIOVANNI MARCHETTI and IVAN ENDLIHER) also made headway into Dalmatia via Trieste and Ancona. Anarchist demonstrations were organised in Rovigno (1904) and Split (1908). The Croatian teacher MILOS KRPAN was in touch with the Swiss anarchists from 1898 on: he spread anarchist ideas among the so-called Independent Socialists group in Slavonki Brod and district (in Dubrovnik) and attempted in 1909 and 1910 to lay the groundwork for an International Anarchist Colony. The Austro-Hungarian authorities banned the importation and distribution of anarchist newspapers and books in the southern Slav territories under their control.

ANARCHISM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

IDEAS OF FREEDOM entered Macedonia through young people who had been students in Switzerland and Bulgaria at the end of the 19th century. Between 1897 and 1898, two anarchist newspapers were published from Geneva: *Glas* (The Voice) and *Otmachenie* of the so-called Macedonia Secret Revolutionary Committee that was fighting for Macedonia's liberation from the Turks and for the establishment of a Socialist Balkan Federation. The ideas of Russian populism and anarchism were espoused by the first Macedonian socialist VASIL GLAVINOV (1869-1929). In Sofia, GLAVINOV met GOCHE DELCHEV (1872-1903), a leading figure in the struggle for Macedonia's liberation and founder of the Adrianopolis Macedonian Secret Revolutionary Organisation (October 1893, in Salonika) and the person behind the revolutionary uprising on St.Elias's day (1903). He also had a hand in the establishment of the Republic of Krusevo, the first socialist republic in the Balkans (it lasted for nearly 3 months).

DELCHEV was in close contact and personally friendly with the leading Bulgarian anarchists MIHAIL GERDZIKOV and UBAN KILIFARSKI. Many other anarchist fighters for an independent Macedonia gathered around DELCHEV, among them PETAR MAN-DZUKOV (1879-1966) who published 'The ABC of Anarchist Doctrine' in Skopje in 1898; DAME GRUEV (1871-1906); JANE SAND-ANSKI (1872-1915); NIKOLA KAREV (1877-1905) and DIMO HADZIDIMOV (1875-1915). The Macedonian anarchists also had a secret

'brodara' terrorist group, the GEMIDZIJA, in Salonika (involving JORDAN POP-JARDANOV, MARKO BOSNAKOV, DIM-ITER MECEV, KONSTATIN KIRKOV, PAVEL SATEV, MILAN ARSOV, VLADMIR PINGOV and others). By organising a wave of bombings against public buildings, they sought to focus world attention upon the Macedonian liberation struggle (1903). Some of them were killed, others were captured, sentenced to death or exiled to Turkey.

An international Balkan revolutionary anarchist association called the 'Red Brotherhood' was active between 1910 and 1912 in Salonika, Strumitsa, Kumanovo and Kratovo and fought the Turks in an effort to liberate Macedonia.

ATTENTATS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

THE CAMPAIGN for national and social liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was under Austro-Hungarian occupation after 1878, culminated in the emergence of an anarchist-style revolutionary youth movement called Mlada Bosna (Young Bosnia). This was led off by BOGDAN ZERAJIC (1886-1910), a great admirer of Kropotkin, when he tried to assassinate General VARESANIN, the governor of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This assassination bid in June 1910 failed, and ZERAJIC shot himself dead with the last remaining bullet. The police beheaded the corpse which was then burned in secret, and kept the head in a police collection as an example of an anarchist head.

In June 1912, LUKA JUKIC attempted the life of Governor Cuvaj in Zagreb, but this too failed. JUKIC was sentenced to life imprisonment but was freed when the empire collapsed. Sentenced along with him to 5 years in prison, was AUGUST CESAREC (1893-1941), writer and future publisher of left-wing reviews. The killing of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne and of the last remaining descendant of the Habsburg dynasty, Franz Ferdinand, was organised in Sarajevo on 28th June 1914 by members of the Young Bosnia group. The first, NEDELJKO CABRINOVIC (1895-1916), a type-setter, hurled a bomb at the Archduke, but it failed to explode; so Franz Ferdinand continued his journey. Whereupon GAVRILO PRINCIP assassinated him with a revolver. Some 25 conspirators were tried: among them was DANILO ILIC (1890-1915) who was hanged. GAVRILO PRINCIP was sentenced to 20 years' hard labour and perished from illness and torture. At the trial, CABRINOVIC declared that his involvement in the assassination had been the result of his anarchist beliefs. He died in prison of hunger and of mental illness at the age of 20. A spiritual sponsor of Serbian anarchist youth was VLADMIR GACINOVIC (1890-1917) who had fallen in with Russian revolutionary emigres who had gone into exile following the 1905 revolution: that was while he was a student in Geneva and Lausanne. GACINOVIC was a follower of Bakunin, Kropotkin, members of the 'Narodnaya Volya' (People's Will) group. He was a friend of Victor Serge, Natanson, Martov and the early Trotsky. He was poisoned in Switzerland by the police (many countries had a hand in it—like Austria, Serbia, France) in August 1917.

In close contact with 'Young Bosnia' was a group called 'Preprod' (Rebirth) in Ljubiana (Slovenia): this had come into existence in 1911-1912 around a newspaper of the same name. It's most active members were FRANCE FABIJANCIC and IVAN ENDLIHER who were in touch with GACINOVIC. Especially between 1910 and 1914, these two groups were in tune with ideas of Yugoslav liberation and unification and worked to create a united Yugoslav revolutionary youth movement.

SERBIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

HUNGARIAN revolutionary syndicalism was embraced by anarchists in Vojvodina who gathered around the figure of KROSTO ISKRULJEV (1881-1914), a close colleague of ERVIN SZABO, a Hungarian theorist of anarcho-syndicalism.

After ZIVOJIN ZUJOVIC, anarchist ideas in Serbia were taken up by DRAGISA STANOJEVIC (1884-1918), MITA CENIC (1851-1888) and PERA TODOROVIC (1852-1907), the latter being the founder of the first socialist newspaper, *Rad* (Labour) in 1874, a

friend of Bakunin since his time as a student in Zurich. There was also JIVAN ZUJOVIC (1856-1936), a famous geologist and President of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, and others. During the first decade of the 20th century, anarcho-syndicalist ideas appeared in Serbia with the newspapers *Proleter* (1906) and *Radnicka Borba* (1907), and with the advocates of direct action (the DIREKTASI) on the left wing of the Serbian Social Democratic Party. The leading light was KRSTO CICVARIC (1879-1944), founder of many newspapers like *Hleb i Sloboda* (1905) (Bread and Freedom) or *Radnicka Borba* (Workers' Struggle), and founder of groups of anarchist workers, and author of a book entitled 'The anarchist programme' (1909). After the Great War he dropped out of the movement. In Paris, MILORAD POPOVIC (1874-1905) founded a Yugoslav Workers' Society and a Social Action Committee (1900). Later he moved to Budapest where he published Serbian socialist newspapers before returning to Serbia in 1904. He was at all times faithful to the idea of revolutionary syndicalism which he put into practice by founding several independent trade unions. The DIREKTASI were an anarcho-syndicalist group inside the Serbian Social Democratic Party which emerged in 1909 (including NEDEJKO DIVAC, VLAJKO MARTINOVIC, SIMA MARKOVIC, VASA KNEZEVIC). Later they were expelled from

the party. SIMA MARKOVIC became secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia before falling out with Stalin and being sentenced to prison during the purges in the USSR, where he died in 1939.

MONARCHY AND STATE COMMUNISM

BETWEEN THE world wars, the anarchist movement in the Yugoslavia of King Alexander was unable to prosper on account of its republican, federalist and socialist ideas that were openly repressed by the king's dictatorship. Yet around 200 people travelled from Yugoslavia to fight for the Spanish Republic and among them were many who professed a libertarian socialism.

After the Second World War, Yugoslavia was governed by a Communist Party that declared all other political groups illegal. The introduction of certain forms of self-management (following the break with Stalin in 1948), as well as the student unrest of 1968 which introduced a fresh generation to public life, aroused considerable interest in anarchist ideas. Since then, books by Kropotkin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Daniel Guerin have been translated and published, anarchist ideas and practices have been publicly discussed and written about.

Trivo Indic
(Umanita Nova, 27 May 1990)
Translated P.S.

COMMENT

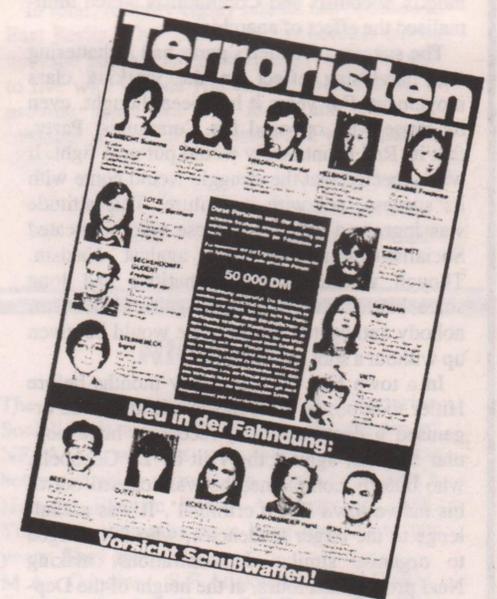
Red Army Fraction

AFTER THE successful bourgeoisification of post-war Western Germany into a strong capitalist State, with the police still in the hands of former Nazis, only a token commitment to the abolition of Nazism, and with the tightening of the grip of American big business, with the trade union movement reorganised on English lines and incapable of acting for the workers, a few people said That's enough! Let's resist! After twenty years of stagnation, military occupation, and commercialisation replacing the Nazi period, with the only alternative a sterile dictatorship in the Eastern half of the country, the youth of Germany turned to rejection of the whole dismal history since the 20s.

Following the Paris events of '68 in particular, anarchism was rediscovered for itself by a generation which had never known it. Resistance to capitalism came with the explosive character this had, though the student influence within the resistance was enough to ensure that Marxism and neo-Nationalism (Third world tendency) would also be included in the mixture.

Bourgeois cynics suggested that all they were trying to do was to blow up a social relationship and bomb their way to freedom. Even Astrid Proll, then in the front of the struggle, now a repentant cynic building a career, has suggested this. It is easy to ridicule by exaggeration (were the peace marchers trying to dismantle the atom bomb by the power of love generated in sitting down in Trafalgar Square?)

What the Red Army Fraction was basically trying to do was to awaken its generation—give them a dig in the ribs with a lamp post, as Heine put it. It became divided within itself between Anarchists on the one hand, and 'anarcho-Marxists', who spoke always of 'anti-imperialism' rather than oppression, supported every national struggle that was approved of by the left and were soft on Sovietism though 'anti-tankie'.



The growing success of the Marxist fraction within the ranks of the RAF meant its downfall. It became involved through 'anti-imperialist' contacts with nationalists who themselves had governments who inevitably had police forces and spies, who were quite willing to trade information with other police forces. The association with this mixed bag led to the departure of the anarchists, the increasing dogmatic stand of neo-Marxist declarations on the struggle, and growing arrests and deaths of the activists.

The last of the RAF neo-Marxists fled to East Germany, whose police force was involved with not just with every 'terrorist' group of the from the IRA to the PLO, but with Arab states and American security forces too, which is why they were never successful. In East Germany the few who escaped prison in the West reverted to academic careers and gave up (to them) inexplicable failure. Now with unification they are being handed over to the West German police, some after ten years of open existence during which they have rebuilt their lives secure in the promises of a 'workers state'.

But it will take as long time before the new Unified Capitalist Germany with its Marxist wing is able to damp down the fires lit by the original RAF.



ECOLOGY AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

The following is an article by Bill Meyers adapted from *Ideas and Action*, the paper of the Workers Solidarity Alliance, the American section of the I.W.A. After some discussion, and minor alterations to prepare it for a British audience, we decided to include it in *Black Flag* to stimulate debate, although not all of the Collective agree with it. Needless to say, we would welcome constructive replies and letters on the subject.

INTEREST IN ecological relations did not start in the 20th century; knowledge of natural relationships probably was the first pre-science. Neither did the environment's alterations by humans, and in fact ecological destruction was not introduced by the human species. Every time a new species evolves, the ecology is affected (and vice versa, changes in ecological balance affect the various species). The classic example is the replacement of the dinosaurs by mammals. However, human society became, for the earth, an entirely new, unprecedented development.

Anarcho-syndicalism has deep roots in history, and in the struggle over the environment and the appropriate use of knowledge and technology. People confronted with authority, people enslaved and exploited, have always banded together to improve their conditions. Anarcho-syndicalism, like other forms of anarchism, is merely a recent shoot of this ancient tree.

At times, like Marxists, individual anarcho-syndicalists, and even entire anarcho-syndicalist organisations, have proclaimed that the main thing wrong with the industrial system is that it is controlled by the capitalist class. That view should be rejected.

The eco-crisis has made it clear to all but the most blinded of individuals that the industrial system could well destroy the human race and most of the rest of life on earth with it. The same can be said of the military system; its development of atomic weapons is quite capable of doing the same thing. One response to the military situation is pacifism.

Anarcho-syndicalism rejected pacifism because it has little potential to lead to the end of the military system. We also reject the formulations of the post-situationists, green anarchists and Earth First!ers (deep ecologists) because we don't think their plans, by themselves, will actually accomplish what they intend, and we aren't in total agreement with their goals. However, I'm not saying that the anarcho-syndicalist strategy will automatically work.

Before presenting my viewpoint, it would be constructive to briefly present the post-situationist and Deep Ecology analyses and strategies. (See *Anarchy (US)* and *Fifth Estate* magazines, *Earth First!* and *Live Wild or Die*).

Post-situationism sees modern society as dehumanised and sterile. The roots of this dehumanisation are not just in class exploitation; they are in the industrial system itself. Hence, to be free and fully human, we must destroy the industrial system, which should also take care of ecological destruction. In order to destroy the industrial system, we must drop out of it, convince others to drop out, and, while liberating ourselves, destroy the actual machinery of industrialisation. To a large extent, post-

situationists believe this will happen semi-spontaneously; their model is the 1968 insurrection in France, which the Situationists like to take credit for.

Deep Ecology starts with the realisation that humans are not the centre of the universe and that human society is destroying the earth's living skin. In particular, the last wilderness areas are being destroyed. The adherents of this movement correctly see this as coinciding with the destruction of what remains of human liberty. They react by defending the wilderness, primarily by sabotage and other forms of direct action. Their plan seems to make it too costly for industry to destroy the wilderness areas, and hence to preserve them.

However, since they also identify overpopulation as a source of the problem, and have no solution of their own for it, they sometimes cheer when people are starving or killed by natural disasters. They are very concerned about their own freedom to backpack and the wolf's freedom to roam, but their hearts are cold when it comes to urban workers and third world peasants. They consistently fail to take into account complexities of modern society, such as class structure.

Each of these movements have made very important contributions to our understanding of ourselves, society and nature. The *Fifth Estate* collective has reshaped the thinking of the entire anarchist movement in the United States. Earth First! has mobilised many people to take up direct action and sometimes does seem to have slowed the rape of the environment in some localities.

But both overestimate the ability of their strategies to take on the military-industrial complex. A bulldozer factory can churn out more bulldozers a day than Earth First! can sabotage. Like the American Indians, these brave people are simply overwhelmed by the 250 million Americans who are not part of their counter-culture. The Apaches, for example, preserved their tribal lands for decades using guerilla warfare, but in the end they were simply outnumbered and outgunned by the Anglos.

Anarcho-syndicalists have a traditional belief, which I believe is very realistic: that the governments must be overthrown and the ruling class destroyed before we can make truly significant changes in the way society is run. I believe we must overthrow or undermine the governments in order to save the earth's environment. Anarcho-syndicalists have a plan for doing that, and it is based on our beliefs about ordinary people, the working class.

Based on observations, we believe that ordinary people are naturally intelligent and despite brainwashing and social engineering, have the potential to run society without its parasitic class. After all, we already do all the actual work necessary to maintain this society. Approximately 140 million people are in the working class in the United States. Now, that is a group that can potentially beat the industrialists!

The environmental movement has traditionally been led by members of the middle and upper classes, going back at least as far as the setting aside of the great national parks in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Certainly its leadership is today middle-class and reformist in outlook. But this is largely an historical anomaly. Traditionally it

was the independent farmers' communities that practised husbandry ie. a system of farming and food gathering that could be maintained over the centuries without destroying the soil. They also traditionally resisted encroachment by centralised authority.

In the United States, however, the new industrial society was developed along with a new rape-the-land approach to farming. Partly this was due to the immensity of unfarmed land available combined with increasing population. Partly it was due to the cash crop mentality. Particularly in the south the main crops were cotton and tobacco, which, planted in monoculture, quickly destroyed the soil (and of course the lives of the slave labourers). Finally, in the early 20th century, the process was completed by the introduction of corporate farming. The result was that farmers in the USA, rather than conserve the land, exploited it and for the most part, retain the mentality to this day.

The middle class ecology movement has, in this century, focused on preserving scenic areas that were economically non-productive except for tourism. In the last few decades the middle class has also become quite concerned about pollution. After all, polluted air and water doesn't fit into their picture of utopia. Yet middle class consumerism generates the economic forces behind much of this pollution.

It is not the working class that benefits from the destruction of forests to build suburban castles, the turning of metal into cars or skyscrapers, or the mass-marketing of super-processed foods. A substantial proportion of the working class does not own a car at all; most live in small apartments. Only a small percentage of workers fit their propaganda image as owners of houses, recreational vehicles and motor-boats.

Now even people in the upper class can see the coming eco-crisis, but they are in a major contradiction. Their stocks and bonds won't pay if the companies they own are forced to pay the real cost of polluting. Therefore the last 20 years have been characterised by both passing the cost of pollution control onto consumers and taxpayers and by squabbling about whose ox will get gored. No one has problems with saving the earth, but the timber industry can't stop cutting trees, the steel industry can't stop smelting and the power companies can't make electricity without polluting. And of course there is much political posturing with little substantial change.

In contrast, anarcho-syndicalism is a working class system of practice based on democracy, egalitarianism, liberty and direct action. The working class has little or no stakes in capitalism or the big-ticket consumption of the middle class. True, we don't want to go back to the stone age, but that is not necessary. What is necessary is the elimination of the consumption of the ruling class, a major scaling back of middle class consumption, and changes in the way the remaining necessities are produced.

Material goods have to be replaced by social goods: by a broad scale realisation that the good things in life are love, knowledge, harmony, culture and nature (not greed, power, comfort, and money). Without a doubt even with a large-scale cut-back in consumption in the United States, we should also take voluntary measures to reduce the population to a point where it is well within the carrying capacity of the land.

This would mean a major restructuring of production, with much more labour being devoted to agriculture (organic multi-crop farming as opposed to chemical monoculture) and careful but severe pruning of industry.

How can we get from here to there? Organising radical, direct action oriented communities, workers' societies and unions is an easy answer. How do we do that, when that has been tried for decades with little success, when our organisers are harassed, fired and even killed? How do we fight when the capitalists' social engineers, schools and media produce a million new near-zombies every year?

We must find ways of supplying working people with the information they need to realize they must fight now if they don't want to be destroyed as the eco-crisis develops over the next couple of decades. This must mean more than just an increased circulation for our papers and writing in a more accessible style. We need to develop more broadly based networks of militants to spread the word. These networks would not just consist of anarcho-syndicalists, but members would come into contact with our principles and the information they need to make their own decisions.

In relation to our classic, union-oriented methods, we need to aim at educating workers about direct action methods they can use to help the environment and undermine the industrialists. For instance, this could include slowdowns in the logging industry, which increase workers' safety, force additional hiring and slow the pace of destruction.

Consumer boycotts of items that destroy the environment could be organised on a larger scale. Almost every industry pollutes or destroys the land in some way or other. Adding environmental demands during a strike would enhance the union's image and possibly gain more public support necessary to win against powerful industrialists.

Both WSA members and some locals of the IWW and other groups and individuals have already taken steps in this direction, with mostly positive results.

Our strategy is not to fight for the hearts and minds of the middle class. We have to deal with the fact that the environmental crisis is not the first thing on the minds of people in the working class ghettos. We must continue our struggle for decent wages and workers control of their workplaces and lives, and against racism, sexism, ageism etc., but we must also introduce the idea that the world is dying and doing nothing about it is no longer a viable option.

Most working class people wisely avoid power struggles, especially in their workplace, because they usually lose, or reach a painful stalemate. People prefer to just get by, though they may take various opportunities they see to improve their position. Only when their livelihoods are seriously threatened will they fight.

But it is already time to fight (first with words, strikes, boycotts and demonstrations), because the eco-crisis will effect earliest and most those of us who live on the edge. It has already pushed people into open rebellion in parts of Latin America. It will push people into rebellion here. The question that we cannot answer at this point is, will it be a libertarian rebellion, or one that is channelled into fascism? As individual workers and as a community, our acts can help to decide that question.

continued from page 2

regions and developing initiatives where it is possible for us to make a positive input. However, we feel unable to retain our posts because we have been systematically prevented from carrying them out.

When we agreed to take positions on the national committee we recognised that it was dominated by supporters of the Militant tendency. We had great reservations about this because the committee did not reflect the diversity of the movement on the ground. Nevertheless, we were prepared to work with Militant supporters in a constructive way in the interest of the wider movement. We hoped that Militant would embrace the diversity of the movement and engage a wide variety of groups and individuals in the huge array of tasks which needed to be undertaken. Unfortunately, this was not to be the case. Militant has sought to operate as a tight cadre and this has had an extremely damaging effect. We can cite some examples:

The national committee agreed, after some pressure, to hold a trade union conference. We assumed that this would be co-ordinated by the Trade Union Officer. However, he has con-

sistently been by-passed in a way which would not be possible in any other democratic organisation.

It is our belief that the national bulletin is of critical importance. One of the key roles of a national federation must be communication. Ian Greaves and Danny Burns took responsibility for producing the newsletter. The first one was produced after three days work and delivered to the secretary and thereafter never saw the light of day. The second one was produced and 25000 copies were printed. They were delivered on time for the national demonstration but were never distributed. The third one was produced unilaterally by Steve Nally, once again totally by-passing the officers responsible. Furthermore, national committee members consistently failed to provide regional reports for the bulletin. This was not because they did not have the time; they produced regular reports for the Militant newspaper. The fact that Militant has been unable to delegate tasks to people outside of their organisation has, in our view, had other negative effects on the campaign.

For example, the national federation is over

£12 000 in debt. It had a demonstration of 250 000 people. Even if we had only collected 10p from each person, we could have raised £25000. But there were no financial stewards. The reason for this is that there was no delegation. If the Avon Federation or Leeds had been asked to help, we would gladly have done so. We did point out that the demonstration was likely to have 200 000 people on it; we were not listened to and the demonstration was therefore planned for 25000.

We feel that the movement has made great strides and is on the way to a historic victory. However, this has been entirely down to the dedication of activists in local groups and federations. We need a national organisation which can give them effective support. For this reason we think it is important not to abandon the national organisation as a lost cause. We must encourage it to develop a positive role as:

1. A provider of information (legal reports, regional briefings etc.)
2. A co-ordinator of national events.
3. A focus for the national media (but one which is responsive to the wishes of the movement)

We stand for a movement which:

Values diversity—and encourages the involvement of all groups, factions and parties in the campaign, and individuals who have never been politically involved before.

Stresses equally non-payment, non-prosecution and non-collection and avoids factional infighting over emphasis on any one of these.

Is grassroots—reflecting the movement on the ground. We believe the movement should be organised on a delegate basis, where delegates are accountable to their regions and are recallable.

Defends those who are the victims of attack by the state; in particular, those arrested on the anti-poll tax demonstrations. We regret the statement by Steve Nally about 'naming names'. We do not feel this is the appropriate role of our movement. We should rather be putting the police on the defensive for their brutality.

We would strongly encourage you to affiliate to the All Britain Federation and exercise your rights at the November conference to make it a democratic organisation which truly represents the movement.

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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.

Answers to quiz

1. Mexico. Anarchists who figured in the Revolution are honoured as historic figures by a State which opposes all they fought for.
2. While the Geneva Convention (a reciprocal agreement between warring nations) grants captured soldiers prisoner-of-war status, provided they are in uniform (otherwise they're shot out of hand or hanged as spies), keeps them locked up until hostilities end, if their side wins, and even longer if it loses; while it allows their active soldiers to be shot down and their non-combatant compatriots blown up at home or interned indefinitely (but not gassed), regardless of what side they support. An improvement? No way.
3. Samuel Schwartzbard, an Ukrainian anarchist who in 1926 shot Simon Petliura—Social-Democratic whiteguardist responsible for pogroms including the death of his family—was acquitted by a Paris jury nevertheless. Years after his death the Republic of Israel (non-existent at his death) claimed his ashes for honouring.
4. Joe Hill, murdered by the State of Utah 70 years ago, asked in his will that his ashes be sent to Chicago, but they were recently discovered to have been detained by the postal authorities out of spite.
5. Joseph Kennedy made a multi-million fortune bootlegging, and so was enabled to become US Ambassador to Britain. His money caused his son John to become President and it is almost certain organised mobsters conspired to kill him for his ingratitude to them in activating anti-crime measures.

Correction

In issue 197 we mentioned in our article on Greece that various comrades were on a 'wanted' list by the government, including a member of Athens ABC who, according to our sources, had gone into hiding. We would like to make it clear that so far no-one on the list has been prosecuted and that nobody went underground. The Public Prosecutor has, however, prosecuted various unidentified individuals and has called the police in to investigate.

Correction: In issue 199 we referred to Byens Lyst-TV Selvslyn as a local television station in Copenhagen as an 'Anarchy TV', going by information from some participants. We are told this is wish-fulfilment: it is an alternative commercial one which gives some voice to libertarian issues.

Cambridge A's ask if mail for the Anarchist group there could now be sent to Box A, c.o. Grapevine Bookshop, Dale's Brewery, Gwydir Street, Cambridge.

LETTERS



Dear Black Flag,
I am writing simply to express my deep personal sense of loss over the untimely death of a dear comrade Leo Rosser.

Leo was a good comrade and I miss him deeply. Although thousands of miles separated us, somehow we managed to keep in touch. Our periodic letters did not measure up to the deep comradeship that was felt between us.

I remember the first time I met Leo. I was in London after an IWA conference back in 1985. From the moment we met we simply hit it off. He was a great guy and went out of his way to show me the sights of a strange city, have a few pints of beer and have the patience to be dragged on a tourist's view of the city. I also remember so clearly the long conversations about, oddly enough, American TV, and how, in 1986, he was glued to my TV set when he visited the US. Leo just couldn't get over the consumerism of American society and the bizarre programmes that Americans find so much time to watch.

Quite often we anarchists measure comrades on their 'political line'. True, good politics are important, yet it is the human factor which is equally important. I can say that Leo was a fun person, an interesting person and one who had the sorely lacking, among many comrades, good personal qualities that are so important to me. These few lines do no justice to that part of Leo's personality but no justice is done when we lose such a young, good and gifted comrade.

Leo truly was an internationalist. In the days when the Workers Solidarity Alliance-IWA was under attack here in the USA, Leo came to our aid. He saw, in his travels through the USA, that the WSA-IWA is committed to the principles of anarcho-syndicalism and the IWA. He saw at first hand, in Chicago 1986, the uncomradely attacks by those who were out to destroy the WSA and the WSA's relationship with the IWA and its sections. He squarely and forthrightly took on our detractors. He stood by his internationalism and his own personal sense of dedication to us in the WSA. I for one am truly grateful for this.

So when that phone call from Britain woke me several months ago I was truly crushed. My heart sank to my feet. I was at a loss for words.

So many memories, smiles and that crazy British accent rushed through my mind. Why, I asked myself, why? I can't change what has already been done. A young life lost, a dear comrade no longer there.

For those of you who miss Leo like I do, I shed the same tears, I wear the same frown, I laugh the same laugh when I think of all the fun times. To those who cursed Leo for his views and stands, I ask you if you can match the same human qualities that Leo had. I doubt it.

For all the tears and sorrow I know that our fight, the fight for a new and libertarian world, must continue. Somehow, someday and in some shape, I just wish you, my dear comrade Leo, were still here to help. Leo Rosser, you had many friends. I will miss you very much.

But the hell with all this sorrow, as I think Leo would say. I am sure that there will be plenty more Leos who will, as he wrote me late last year, 'keep turning up like a bad penny'. I hope so. But there will be only one Leo Rosser. Well, Leo, you always used to say 'so long, mate' and I used to respond 'so long, partner'. So long, dear partner. Salud.

Mitch Miller
New York WSA-IWA

Letter on Nigeria

I was fortunate to come across your very educative newspaper Black Flag and was very happy you can help and educate me on your organisation and its actuality, and also help in sending me the newspaper.

I am a Nigerian and would like to know your opinion of the political situation in my country where the Moslem North is dominating the affairs of the country and oppressing the educated South, which results in inefficiency in the administration of public and private sectors because of tribalism and nepotism in employment and so on.

I will be very glad of any educative political book on anarchism. Lastly, it will be very good if you can extend the services of this humble and true resistance organisation to the exploited workers of developed countries more especially to Africa so that the workers and people will wake up from sleep and fight to make the world a better place to live.

Thanks for your good service to humanity.

Umediogwu Osita

Comment: We really appreciate this letter. The situation in Nigeria, like that of the Sudan on which we commented last issue, is that 'national liberation' from white rule gave way to Moslem domination. Everywhere it goes Islam means oppression (unless it is curbed severely by secular inroads). In Arabia, it is the last bastion of black chattel-slavery, embedded in the Koran

Obituary

Joseph Murumbi

It seems odd to recall that a former Vice-President of his country (Kenya) was once a good friend. Joseph Murumbi, who has just died aged 79, was, when in London, one of the last of the anti-imperialist fighters who saw the Empire out and looked forward to a new dawn of national freedom. He worked with Fenner Brockway and socialists, but also with Anarchists, for African prisoners, who then included Jomo Kenyatta.

Joe (half Kikuyu, half Goan) sincerely believed there would be African socialism after the troops left. However, he thought Marxism did not have a chance in a non-industrialised country like Kenya (then), while dismissing anarchism as 'possibly all right for Europe, but the sort of thing Alice Lenshina wants in Africa'. (She is usually described as a witch, and her followers dismissed as primitive tribalists; her fairly considerable movement consistently opposed all governments and European Christianity).

Murumbi did not disown the Mau Mau rising, as many did at the time (changing their tune when it won), but insisted Kenyatta was not leading it, as accused (which was true). When the British government granted independence, won by the Mau Mau, Kenyatta (whom Joe admired greatly) and others were taken out of prison and given the keys of Government House. The Mau Mau fighters disappeared into obscurity and prison (some finding their way to Alice Lenshina), while the

Kenyatta family, immensely rich within five years of his taking power, took Kenya into world capitalism.

Murumbi returned home to become Vice President for nine months in 1966. He always told me his one aim was to do something for his people (and took my scepticism with his characteristic good humour). But power proved too much for yet another. He went from poverty in London to high office in Nairobi, and when pushed out of politics, into big business and directorships; I never heard from him once he'd got on the gravy train.



Red Years, Black Years Anarchist Resistance to Fascism in Italy

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which promises paradise for releasing one slave. Everywhere it oppresses all women, not to mention male non-believers, within ethnic groups it dominates (and some outside).

We worked with Nigerian strugglers against white exploitation (when Nigerian, like Indian, Muslims took the side of British imperialism): is there a chance we can link up the struggle again?

Dear Black Flag,

Were you aware of the possibility of the Independent Broadcasting Authority granting permission to religious groups to advertise on TV? The likes of the Reachout Trust will no doubt be first in line. Fanning the flames of a new witch hunt? As I am sure you are aware, millions of people were exterminated in Europe from the 13th to the 17th centuries—these were undesirable, politically, socially, spiritually.

For example, the Gnostic heresies that flourished in France in the 13th century were totally opposed to all forms of social control—they rejected utterly the State, Church and family.

The attitudes that created the climate for such persecutions are flowering, if that's the right word, again—here and now. You and your allies are an important part in the resistance to these forces.

Thank you for your tireless work.

PL (London)

Letter from Larry Giddings continued from page 7

Instead of sadness, I have come to a kind of gratitude that Leo shared his time, feelings and knowledge with me, *Black Flag* and the struggle for a better world. His life was well spent. The growth of the anti-authoritarian/anarchist movement in the past ten years, after a long lull, has much to do with the energy of Leo and the many people he touched. Thanks Leo!

LG

With the help of many anti-authoritarian prisoners, and the ABC, and friends he had struggled with outside, the organisation Freedom Now! finally reviewed his case and has 'adopted' him. hope. This is the first time since the case of Martin Sostre in the early seventies, that the more-or-less liberal and Marxist left in the US has recognised an anti-authoritarian political case. It is also the first case involving arms. It provides the ABC and anti-authoritarians generally to reach a broader audience in the US than previously accessible. Larry doesn't expect 'amnesty': indeed, he thinks it may increase his own personal repression to some degree. But he doesn't mind that if it helps develop a major and effective anti-authoritarian movement in North America.

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(review next issue)

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