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

Q & A ON ANARCHISM

Q Why don't Anarchists enter the Labour Party (they're not proscribed from doing so) and—since there is only one mass working class organisation—work for a libertarian socialist policy or at least in order to get rid of Toryism?

A Anarchists aren't proscribed by the Labour Party because they don't try to 'bore from within'—the few pseudo-anarchists who enter it are invariably moles for the Labour Party in libertarian circles, not the reverse. The Labour Party, unlike the trade union movement (with which it clashes when in power, if both do the job they're designed for), is not a working class organisation but a political hierarchy dominated by upper and middle classes. Working for a 'libertarian socialist' policy through Parliament is an exercise in futility. Trotskyists specialise in 'boring from within' and though succeeding in boring, are consequently captured by parliamentary politics and municipal corruption. Their participation in Labour politics helps rather than hinders Toryism electorally, as does forming splinter-parties, putting up fun-run candidates, etc: it would do less harm to let the Labour Party have a clear run as a reformist party and expose itself, and in power be opposed industrially and socially, than spend time on trying to change the spots on the leopard.

It is possible, and sometimes inevitable, to work politically in the trade union movement; if only to thwart the Labour Party, which is an organised attempt to harness the TU movement to parliamentary State socialism.

In almost every other country, the whole question is unthinkable because Socialist parties are minority movements: trots, who advocate entering it here, still bore the Socialist parties from within rather than, say, the Communist Party (though this is changing). Where no reformist trade union exists, they would sooner work to re-establish one, rather than accept the fact of an independent revolutionary syndicalist union, which makes a party vanguard redundant, even where the anarcho-syndicalist union was the majority one.



We regret yet another issue had to be postponed owing to various contingencies. (The sub covers 12 issues).

The arson at Collet's (either by anti-Rushdie Muslims who not only hadn't read his book but also didn't realise they weren't stocking it; or by fascists) has meant a major sales outlet loss. (It also upset Special Branch who always bought their copy of *Black Flag* there).

HOME NEWS

Serious Crime Squad Cops Named

THE FURORE over the disbandment of the Serious Crimes Squad by the Chief Constable of West Midlands led to demands by press and MPs that officers guilty of corruption and 'irregularities' be named (head cop Geoffrey Dear refuses to provide details). Prisoners convicted by the squad—some of whose members have now retired or left under a cloud on previous occasions—are demanding that their cases be retried.

One such prisoner is Martin Foran, whose case the Black Cross has highlighted over the last two years or so. A dossier of evidence backing Foran's claim to innocence, and documenting the tribulations he has undergone in regard to his diminishing health, is held by the Black Cross and will hopefully be used in any legal case that may be brought up in the near future. Within the dossier details of the role of the Serious Crimes squad in the framing of Foran are made available. These details include the names of officers and will have a bearing on other cases that are worthy of retrial, not least the Birmingham Six and the Carl Bridgewater Three.

The names of Serious Crimes Squad officers, past and present, known to us are as follows... In charge of Martin Foran's case was **D.I. Paul Joseph Matthews**. He is no longer with the squad and it is believed he may have been dismissed on an earlier occasion for 'irregularities'. Matthews was also the police officer who interrogated Paddy Hill, one of the Birmingham Six. Matthews' father, Joseph Paul Matthews, was a chief superintendent with the

Serious Crimes Squad and happened to be in charge of the police station where the actual interrogation of the Birmingham Six took place. Another Serious Crimes Squad officer involved in the Birmingham Six case was **D.S. Hornby**, who interrogated Hugh Callaghan. Hornby was also one of the officers who dealt with the Ronnie Bolden case, as was **D.S. James McManus** (Bolden was cleared of armed robbery after evidence was given showing his self-incriminating statement had been tampered with.) From the Martin Foran dossier we know that at least two of the Serious Crimes officers who attended the Birmingham Six case were involved in the Foran case. We do not know, however, exactly which officers involved in the Carl Bridgewater murder case were additionally involved in the Birmingham Six or Martin Foran cases, but we do know that the squad was largely the same.

Altogether in the last 12 months alone over 10 cases, involving 20 prisoners, have been dismissed from trial because of falsified evidence submitted by members of the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad. The DPP is currently investigating 40 officers from the squad because of the falsifications.

As well as the Bolden case other specific cases recently brought to light include that of Hasan Khan (sentenced to 15 years for armed robbery), Paul Fitzsimmons (acquitted of an armed robbery charge last October), Paul Dandy (charges relating to a shooting dropped), Ernest Callaghan and Tony Waldron (both charged with armed

robbery but the judge threw case out), Derek Gordon (charged with armed robbery but released prior to trial—in his case we know that two of his interrogating officers were involved in the Birmingham Six case), and Keith Parchment (jailed in 1987 for street robbery—interrogating officers included D.S. David Ford, D.I. Terence Mills and D.S. Michael Quin—but on Appeal his conviction was quashed). In every one of these case the prisoners were freed because it was demonstrated that statements they had allegedly made (ie 'verbals') to the police had been altered. According to Clare Short MP there are now over 100 cases requiring retrial involving the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad.

The most politically damaging retrial would of course be that of the Birmingham Six. The establishment would wish to avoid such a retrial at all cost and it is precisely for this reason why there has been blocks on a retrial for Martin Foran and many other prisoners claiming falsification of evidence. If these prisoners are retried and innocence proved then it would mean that a retrial of the Birmingham Six (and the Carl Bridgewater Three) would be inevitable.

Taking all this into account, and given the continued deterioration of Martin Foran's health (he now has cancer in the eye to add to his overwhelming problems), it is crucial that all the officers in the disbanded squad be investigated.

Lesson of the Dockers Defeat

THE NEW weapon in the hands of the ruling class was seen in the defeat of the dock workers: it is something that has come to the fore during the years of Mrs Thatcher. It is the application to industry of the Kissinger style of international diplomacy—throw money at it and it will go away.

They wanted the dock force cut to the bone, whole communities destroyed, and hitherto accepted norms of negotiation abolished. They knew that such proposals would lead to strike action, having done the same to other once major industries—mining, printing, shipbuilding, seafaring.

Strikes were limited by the new legal process, but the union went through the legal processes and won the right to strike without being penalised and virtually destroyed. So the strike went on, supported solidly and with the knowledge that the highest court in the land had agreed it was not in breach of the one-sided law, though support strikes and boycotts were 'illegal'.

So the bosses offered redundancy payments

and also threatened to sack without any payment those who were on strike. People approaching retirement age, who have worked all their lives, and who in the normal course of events would end them with nothing, naturally jump at such pay-offs. The argument 'you are selling your children's jobs' doesn't attract people who want to see their children a bit better off than they are. But as they want to 'cop it and hop it', the illusory gold rush sets in—the 'approaching retirement' age becomes lower and lower and people who want out anyway join in. When there is the 'choice' of being sacked without anything, or the chance of being paid off, the morale of the strikers is lowered. The courts don't reckon this as blackmail, but it is.

The union leaders are reproached for selling out—but the hard truth is that workers in this position sold themselves out. The Liverpool dockers stood firm to the end, but Ron Todd felt that they might well finish with no jobs, no union and no money.

This weapon is one coming straight from the armoury of new individualistic Toryism. Many employers have now found that they don't need

police and army to shoot down workers who don't like being squeezed out: it can all be done by market forces, and works out cheaper. In the print industry, for instance, they found that the inflated value of their clapped-out old buildings enabled them to buy out workers. Within a year or so, inflation made these sums derisory anyway.

The new lords of industry are never averse to using force when they think it necessary. But increasingly the carrot is simpler than excessive use of the stick. Especially when the carrot can be made to vanish with a conjuring trick.

This does not mean that strikes are now outmoded. It means that peaceful and legal strikes are less likely to succeed. It does not mean that unions are now ineffective: it means that law-abiding unions are ineffective. The fact that centralised union control is now subject to repression means that control has to be decentralised.

AM

Red Faces at Economic League

THE ECONOMIC League, the blacklisting agency, were hoping to have a nice quiet Annual General meeting. As usual they went to great lengths to keep both the date and the location secret. But they were in for a surprise.

Initially 'Fleet Street' had heard of the day the AGM was planned for but had no idea where the venue was. At this point League Watch, the anti-blacklisting agency, stepped in. They had prior knowledge, via an informant, that the venue was in fact the Cavalry and Guards Club in Picadilly. So, on the day of meeting, the League Watch researchers duly arrived at the club just prior to kick off. They got out their telescopic camera, positioned themselves, and waited. Within a few minutes the delegates to the AGM began to turn up. Some walked there, some came by taxi, others arrived by limousine and were obviously captains of industry. The League Watch camera clicked away. Suddenly a taxi arrived and out jumped four delegates; one, clearly seeing they were being photographed, was noticeably angry but did nothing. The camera rolled on. Within 15 minutes or so it was clear that all or most of the delegates had arrived. So League Watch put part two of their plan into action.

A League Watch researcher entered the gentlemen's club, expecting to be challenged but wasn't, located the actual room of the meeting—the Balaclava Room—and pushed open

the door to the room.

Lo and behold, there they were. The Economic League in full session, about 25-30 people at the most. Straightaway the researcher walked directly into the meeting, which was forced to pause, handed over copies of a letter—typed and copied the night before—to one of the organisers and said they were urgently needed for distribution. The organiser took them and the researcher left. Then, a few minutes later a motorcycle courier sent by League Watch handed in a copy of the same letter, which was signed for.

As for the mysterious letter that was handed in, this mockingly chastised the Economic League's security, implying that the full proceedings of the AGM would be passed on to League Watch. It went on to 'congratulate' the Economic League on their dismissal of Michael Noar, their director-general, and Thom Robinson, their Research Officer, and other staff at their headquarters, which now is badly need of recruits.

The Economic League were presumably very embarrassed at having their secret AGM disrupted in this way by an organisation specifically set up to oppose them. Nor could they have been too pleased that their delegates were photographed, to be identified by League Watch affiliates in the forthcoming first issue of League Watch News. To rub salt into the wound, the story of how League Watch beat the

Economic League at their own game was published in the mainstream press the next day.

For an organisation only a month old it was a coup. The Economic League, which is more than seventy years old, came across as a bunch of amateurs. Clearly they are in disarray, especially given that with the sacking of Noar many of their staff left in sympathy. Presumably Noar will be setting up his own investigation company, perhaps even a rival to the Economic League, and League Watch have stated that they intend to keep tabs on him too.

In the meantime union branches, campaign organisations and trades councils have already begun to affiliate to League Watch. The anti-blacklisting research agency excludes affiliation to political parties and groups but if your union or campaign organisation or trades club has not yet sent off their fee then get them to write straight away—they will have already received full details via a recent League Watch mailshot. Remember, League Watch news and events will be available only through their newsletter, available to affiliates.

SOURCE: League Watch.

N.B. League Watch, an independent group of researchers with links to the trade union movement, can be contacted at the following address: League Watch, Tenants Corner, 48a Oval Mansions, Vauxhall Street, London SE11.

CLASS WARFARE AS INDUSTRY & COMMUNITY UNITES

THE VIRGINIA, USA, miners strike has seen workers and communities come together in what many believe to be the most significant industrial dispute in the States since the 1930's. On the one side are the Pittson Coal Company and the Police and on the other are the striking miners and the people of Virginia and neighbouring areas who have defied court order after court order with the strike itself remaining solid.

The strike began on April 5th with miners of the UMWA District 28 forced to walk out after the bosses refused to negotiate on a new contract proposal. The employers basically wanted to contract out to non-unionised miners, thus splitting the union and the negotiating structures. Pittson also laid off 4000 miners in an attempt to provoke a dispute. They also cut off health benefits to 1500 retired miners and widows. The miners and their communities feared that these moves presaged huge cut-backs in the industry, which would in turn force mining families to move away from their homes to the big cities.

But Pittson was in for a shock. With the commencement of the strike not one miner crossed the picket lines; the strikers were also joined by retired miners and laid-off miners to reinforce the picket lines. Pittson was therefore forced to bus in scabs from out of state. The scabs were housed in makeshift accommodation on company property. Armed guards were deployed by the company to protect the scabs and intimidate the strikers. The scab's buses would arrive at the entrances to company land at odd hours and if confronted by pickets would drive on at speed regardless of injury caused.

But Pittson also underestimated the degree of support from the communities for the miners. In Clintwood the police started making random arrests, but strike supporters used their cars to block off the exit routes from the town preventing buses full of arrested miners from getting to the courthouse. When the police finally managed to get the miners to the court, local people intervened and released them via a back room.

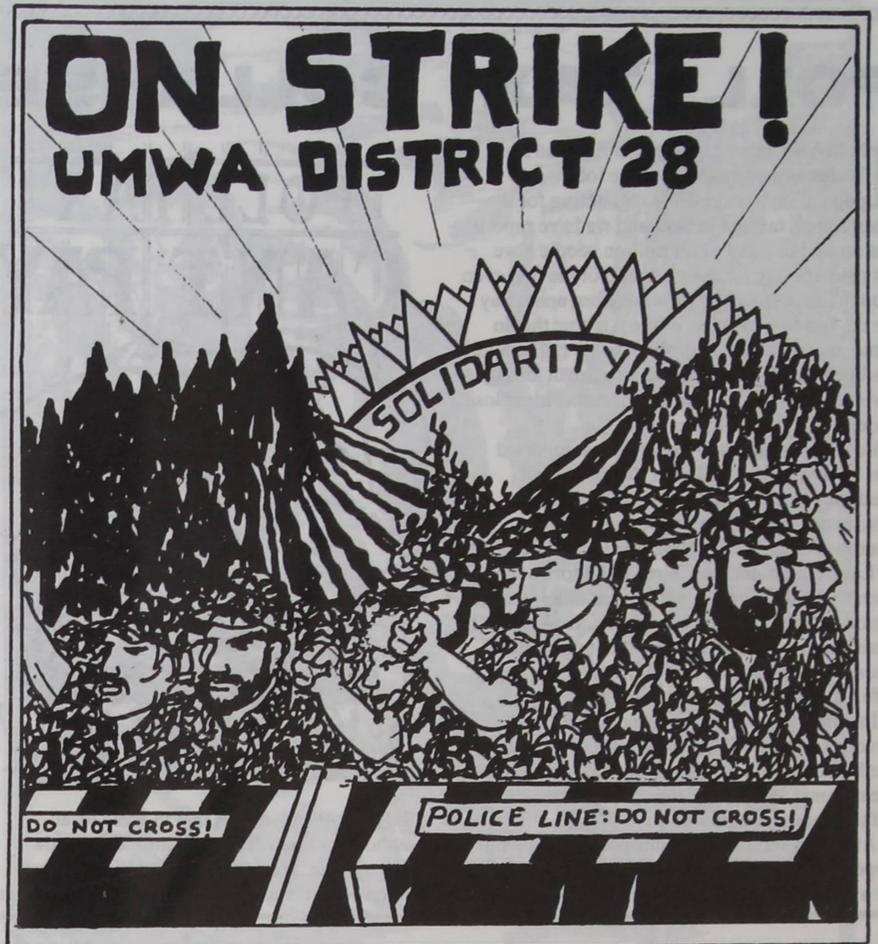
Forty women formed themselves into a group called 'The daughters of Mother Jones' and took over Pittson's regional HQ and held it overnight.

Then, on the weekend of June 17/18, the miners of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, West Virginia, Maryland and Tennessee came out in solidarity. They brought the total of striking miners to over 30,000, about half the miners in the entire United States. Some of those who joined the strike are even from non-union mines.

The sympathy strikes took off when TV news footage showed three arrested miner's leaders in leg irons. They were to remain jailed until their huge fines had been paid. But the fines - almost £7 million - were never needed, the arrested leaders being released only

two days later. However the miner's union has also been fined 20,000 dollars for each day that strikers ignore an injunction forbidding more than 15 pickets at each of the company's seventeen sites. For every miner arrested the union is also fined 10,000 dollars.

The United States Government believes that class politics and the class struggle is dead in the USA. But the mining communities of Virginia, for one, have proven that notion wrong.



In the USSR none of the striking miners in Siberia and in the Ukraine were arrested, let alone put in leg-irons, yet in the 'land of the free' miners are not at liberty to take control over their own industry. For producers this is the essence of freedom.

Donations/support to:
UMWA District 28, PO Box 28, Castlewood, VA 24220, USA; or
UMWA Region 2, 4500 McCorkle Ave, SE, Charleston, WV 25304, USA.
SOURCE: 'Ideas and Action' (WSA)

In Brief

THE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT IN THE USSR

IN ADDITION to the KAS, the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, which has branches in the major cities, there is the Obsinja group, which calls for stateless communism, and various independent anarchist groups within the student movement. Together they are hoping to organise conferences and events.

The Federation of Socialist Clubs includes syndicalists but is really a collection of anti-statist socialists. Their origins are within the student movement and they aim to extend their groups within the communities to act as a focus for debate. The Democratic Faction sees itself as an opposition to the Komsomol (Young Communists) and has cordial relations with the anarchist groups but is only loosely libertarian in that they demand more democracy but seek libertarian socialism in the long run; they have about 30 groups in Moscow.

Another libertarian group is The Alliance, which publishes the paper *Barricade*; together with the Young Communards they are affiliated to the Federation of Socialist Groups, which aims to transform the Soviet Union into a self-managed and classless society through the advances of reforms.

SMOT, which we inadvertently referred to as SMOM in our last issue, is a network of propagandists who work towards the setting up of independent trade unionism; they have been organised covertly for many years but now openly have direct contacts with the KAS.

ANARCHIST UNION FIGHTS NAZI INFILTRATION

A music workers union, with branches in the USA, parts of Europe and South America and which describes itself as being organised on anarcho-syndicalist lines, is fighting off armed infiltrators with nazi/police connections. The International Music Workers Union, formed in 1987, gained attention with its campaigns in support of political prisoners and the homeless, its picketing of venues involving racist/sexist bands, and its successful link-ups with libertarian unions in the Eastern bloc. More recently the union has itself become the target of attack from nazi groups.

The IMWU's local in Orange County (California) was infiltrated by two police agents who are also known to be involved with the White Aryan Resistance (WAR). Monic Ponte and Tim Steger, the two concerned, succeeded in

embezzling the local's funds and misusing its name. They also sent in WAR members to steal union equipment and smash up the office. IMWU members armed themselves to defend the office and their attackers sent in the police. Meanwhile the union's general secretary, Ron Gould, has been forced to relocate as his home and car have been shot at by presumed WAR activists. More information can be obtained from IMWU, c/o Box 210095, San Francisco, California, 94121-0095, USA.

(Source: The Seditonist, a North American anarchist class-struggle monthly with the same postal address as the IMWU)

TORTURE CASES UPDATE

The two Greek anarchists, Yannis Petropoulos and Baraskevas Arapostathis, referred to in our last issue, are no longer being tortured by prison authorities, according to a report received from Athens. One of the two, held at Patras prison, is appealing against his sentence.

In another development rioting broke out in the womens prison at Korydalus. A prisoner, Angeliki Makridaki, committed suicide. Supporters claim she should never have been imprisoned in the first place as she needed psychiatric help. The rioting occurred after her death.

NF COUNCILLOR IN ATTEMPTED KILLING

On April 29, in a Parisian suburb, 16 year old Mounseu Benali was blasted in the back by a shotgun. Yet another meathead shooting a foreigner or 'undesirable'...in recent months immigrants in France have experienced their hostel being bombed, their have been killings and beatings on the streets of vagrants and punks, and those opposing fascism in college campuses have been the object of similar violence.

In this instance, though, the gunman was by no means anonymous but a newly elected Front National councillor, Pierre Van Dorpe, who was arrested and charged but who was then released after his support group claimed the charges were as a result of a 'anti-racist frame up'. Van Dorpe had spent a total of twenty days in prison and for his attack on Benali was fined 12,000 francs (just over £1,000). Had the situation been reversed and an immigrant shot a councillor (of French origin) then it is likely that the immigrant would be facing charges of attempted manslaughter and a lengthy time inside.

Latest news is that the trade unions, immigrant groups and anti-racists are calling for Van Dorpe to be sacked from his paid council work—a relatively low price to pay for his crime.

SOURCE: *Le Monde Libertaire*.

HONG KONG TRADING BASE

WAY BACK in 1842, in a move hotly denounced by British and Chinese alike, the British Government sent warships to seize Hong Kong as a safe trading base for British imports and exports. Among the imports they wanted to inflict on China was opium—they went to war to force Indian grown opium on China. They were welcomed by the rising capitalist class who flocked to build up Hong Kong and get away from Imperial Manchu taxation.

So successful was this trading enterprise—in which neither the British nor the Chinese common people were ever consulted and solely for the benefit to traders and exploiters—that population of the small island grew massively beyond its water supply. So in 1898—again without asking opinion at home, but this time forcing negotiation on the Chinese Empire—the New Territories (Kowloon on the mainland and a few islands) were leased for 99 years to sustain the capitalist enclave in Imperial China.

It has never had even a limited appearance of democracy: Hong Kong has always been a colony. It has been a good milch cow for a few select British capitalists and officials, and despite wars and revolutions been a safe haven for collaborationist Chinese officials and merchants grown rich on exploitation.

In fact the present regime in China needs it to continue as it will still be needed as the mainspot for import-export-style capitalism after 1999 when the lease is up. The Hong Kong capitalists seemed to look forward to the prospect with relish until the recent student demonstrations and subsequent massacre.

We have been treated to the amazing novelty of demonstrations denouncing the Government for not wanting to continue colonial rule, when everyone else has been determined to end it! Hong Kong capitalists and bureaucrats, English and Chinese alike, want British passports for a mass exodus if State Communism is still taken seriously and the New Capitalism abandoned—if only for safety while trading, which was why Hong Kong was created in the first place.

The Government is prepared to take in 'entrepreneurs' and 'worthy citizens'. But the prospect of saying they would take three million Chinese immigrants is daunting to them politically. Racialism has two aspects. Economically they encourage it when they want cheap labour, or a reserve of labour (or cannon fodder); politically they use racialist feelings stirred up by immigration for populist demagoguery on behalf of the Right Wing and so don't want to be seen by the punters as responsible for it.

It is pretty certain that no exploited workers from Hong Kong will come here, unless there is a demand for cheap labour or an even bigger reserve. But a vast and growing middle class might. Already bourgeois Hong Kong citizens are denying their birth, heritage and history with adverts showing blazered Chinese schoolboys playing cricket and saluting the Union Jack, saying how English they are. The Adam Smith Institute—which always floats Tory ideas 'trying them on the dog', which later come into effect—has proposed that an island off Scotland should be used for a new Hong Kong. Some Tories have suggested that '100 miles' of Scotland should be given as a sort of Highlands New Territories to replace Kowloon as a back-up. All agree how 'industrious' settling would benefit 'Scotland'.

The settlers would have the benefit, of course, of being solidly middle-class, Empire-loving, anti-communist, money-grabbing, Tory-voting, prepared to accept the poll tax and devoted to free enterprise!

Why should the Scots object? 'We have an obligation' haven't we? And what if they did? The locals, whether here and there, weren't consulted when the old Hong Kong was seized so why should they be when the new one is built? Paddy Ashdown has already proclaimed in the name of Liberal anti-racialist racism that objection to providing a haven for continued capitalism would be merely on the grounds of their ethnic origin. Rather than that, transform the Highlands into a highly industrialised boom economy! The 'new Hong Kong' wouldn't be interested in bartering microchip banking for kelp and tangle; it would be a re-run of, say, the Middle East situation, with the Scots as Arabs. So much for the Scots Nationalism and Greenery the Democrats claim to incorporate with liberalism. The government will look forward to a 'swing' to Toryism in Scotland again.

There are going to be some very dodgy propositions and dubious parallels put forward about Hong Kong in the next ten years. But this populous city has ample time to prepare for the coming end of colonial rule and it does not have to clutch at the coat tails of imperialism. It could prepare—if the colonial authorities would let it—for essential democracy which is the right to bear arms in self-defence, not in open warfare which would be impracticable but by citizens' militias, taking the line once made glorious by the workers of Shanghai, to which all China rallied, rather than the equally heroic but disastrous one taken by the students of Peking or the inglorious one urged by the bourgeoisie of Hong Kong.

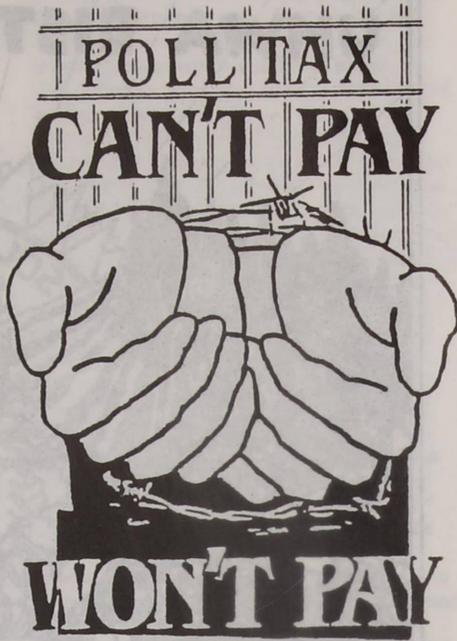
POLL TAX COLLAPSE IN INNER CITIES

IN MANY inner city areas in England and Wales as many as 50% of the local population have resisted registering for the detested poll tax and in Scotland we have reports that around one and a half million people have not paid a penny (or even a groat) of the tax, even though the payment process has been underway for the last five months. While it is true that in some, mainly Tory-controlled, areas registration has been largely successful, in key urban areas the reverse is largely true with local authorities close to despair and fearing the worst.

Local newspapers in London have reported that by mid June—well after the threatened deadline—only half of the registration forms have been returned for the boroughs of Southwark and Tower Hamlets. For the borough of Lambeth around two thirds of all forms have been withheld. A similar pattern has emerged for the other inner London boroughs and on this basis it can be calculated that about one million households in Greater London alone have refused to participate in registration.

In other major cities, such as Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds, around 30% of households are holding back. Adding on the London figures the national average for inner cities amounts to a refusal rate of roughly 45%.

At the beginning of the anti-poll tax campaign opponents considered that a 20% refusal would be a success, but if current calculations are near



the mark then it means that in some local authorities the poll tax will indeed be made unworkable. If everyone presently resisting holds out these local authorities will be forced to

abandon the tax, which in turn will have a knock-on effect nationally.

North of the border the news is also looking good. Official figures (regional council finance estimates) show non-payment as follows: Fife 105,000 (40%), Central 60,000 (30%), Tayside 120,000 (40%), Lothian 300,000 (45%), and Strathclyde 700,000 (50%). Anti-poll tax campaigners have discovered too that it is actually cheaper to default if on a low wage than to pay. For example, arrestment of wages or savings (but not both together) can only happen if you are 'earning' more than £35 a week and after that only £1 will be seized for each £5 earned. So if a person earns anything up to £70 a week it will be cheaper overall not to pay and risk arrestment. In any case the arrestment process is very hit and miss and anti-poll tax groups in some areas have proved very successful in fighting off auctions (or pouding) by setting up 'phone trees' of activists who turn up when the bailiffs are due, to deter entry.

On the national scene the Government is worried by a possible backlash from the Tory heartlands, primarily because of the bad PR over the 'safety net' scheme whereby people in 'low-spending' Tory authorities are meant to pay more to subsidise people in 'high spending' Labour ones (in order to ease the shock of the tax over the initial years). Because of this the Government has promised to lower the safety

net, which presumably means that people living under Labour authorities who are to 'benefit' will now have to pay a higher rate, providing even more incentive for non-registration/non-payment.

Unsurprisingly, resistance to the tax reflects class divisions and local anti-poll tax groups may indeed serve a further function whatever the outcome of the campaign. We have heard, for example, of several 'community resistance' groups where members have expressed a desire for the group to continue on an ongoing basis if and when the campaign ends. Some groups are seen by many local people as being a useful vehicle for local resistance. We know of one 'community resistance' group where the local people have asked that it becomes permanent and not dissolve at some appropriate point in time. If these groups did continue they could well form a basis for community direct action or even generate a revival of the old workers clubs.

But for the present it is still very conceivable that the poll tax can be defeated if everyone who has held out up to now continues to hold out. The extent of the resistance means that our objectives can be met. The next few weeks in the campaign will, however, be crucial. If we break now, then it will all be over. But if we hold on then the tax will be smashed.

SEE ALSO: 'Off With Their Heads'

OFF WITH THEIR HEADS!

THE CHANCELLOR of the Exchequer, the Chief Treasurer and other ministers of state were beheaded by angry rebels opposed to the much reviled poll tax. It took several strokes of the axe to sever the head of the Chancellor.

Nicholas Ridley got the proverbial chop when he lost his job as Minister of Environment, which included responsibility for overseeing the Poll Tax. He was lucky: his counterpart in the government that tried to bring in the first Poll Tax lost his head completely, as did several other statesmen. The phrase 'heads will roll' no longer is taken literally, but if summary justice by the people against tyrants was still in force those who direct our lives from above would be markedly more concerned about what they did on our behalf. The poll tax of today is remarkably similar to that which was attempted in 1381, yet it is a sign of the grip of statism that in the late 20th century it is largely the tactics of boycott and not direct resistance that is determining whether or not this second attempt will take hold.

As today the poll tax of 1381 was meant to be a tax on people not property. It was first introduced in 1222 but then re-introduced in 1377 by John of Gaunt (the Duke of Lancaster and fourth son of Edward III) the real power behind the Throne. Within two years the government was forced by mass opposition to change the rules and allow parishes to vary the rate according to rank and station. This proved unworkable and within another two years the old flat rate system was in force. Like now there was a campaign of mass refusal both to register and pay. People up and down the country dodged the local parish records and there appeared to be a significant drop in the population figures. In just four years the population of the country 'fell' by over one third. In other words, as with current events, around a third of the people refused or avoided registration. Also, then as now, poll tax snoopers were mobilised to collect data. They didn't get very far. It was in the south east where attacks on snoopers were the most vicious, with whole villages rising up to ward them off. The village resistance were the equivalent of our anti-poll tax groups, some of whom have already had a taste of direct action, particularly with regard to 'seeing off' the canvassers and the bailiffs.

So far, what has been happening over the last 18 months can be roughly equated with the late 14th century resistance. But it should be remembered that the Peasants' Revolt (it was an uprising not only of peasants but artisans too) was not just about the Poll Tax but a whole series of economic measures that was institutionalising poverty. We refer in particular to the Statute of Labourers, introduced in 1351 because of labour shortages as a result of the Black Death. The law basically imposed a wages freeze throughout the land. The re-introduction of the Poll Tax was seen therefore as the last straw. But it was also the course of events of the earlier revolt that took on a dramatic direction very different to events of

today. On June 12, 1381 people from villages in Essex, Suffolk and Kent marched on London. It has been estimated that their combined force came to over 100,000. It can be assumed that they must have been organised or have some form of co-ordination in order that all the villagers were mobilised on the same day. That organisation would be a sort of federation of anti-poll tax villages. The people from Kent had already seized Rochester Castle and on drawing near to London rested at Blackheath. The people from the north and east of London, meanwhile, camped out at Mile End, to the east of the City. The demand of the rebels was simple but unthinkable: to speak with the king in person. But it was the unthinkable that was to happen—a sign of just how grave the authorities viewed the situation—and the king, Richard II, came to meet them. He travelled down the Thames by barge but when he saw the immense crowds of angry people he wisely decided not to go ashore. From the shore the people made it clear what they wanted: the end of the poll tax and the heads of those who introduced and administered it. They demanded the lives of Simon Sudbury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Archbishop of Canterbury, of Robert Hales, the Chief Treasurer, of John Legge, the governments chief adviser on the Poll Tax, John of Gaunt, who first introduced it four years earlier, and several other ministers of state. These demands were rejected, but undaunted the people then marched on to the City itself, entered through its gates and set up their headquarters in Smith's field (now the meat market). Their elected leaders were John Ball, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw—all names that became in years to come part of English folklore. Unable to seize John of Gaunt personally they did the next best thing: several hundred marched down to the Strand and burnt down his palace, the Savoy (the site of which is today occupied by the Savoy Hotel).

Their next target was the properties of the Knights of the Order of the Hospital of St John. Commentators today are perplexed by this, confusing the Knights as being the ancestors of the modern day St Johns Ambulance Brigade, a registered charity which took the name. The Knights of St John, also known as the Hospitallers, did have 'charitable status', but this was bogus, and they had indeed run a hospice for pilgrims, in Jerusalem, but this was a cover for intelligence-gathering prior to the Crusades. The Knights were in reality an international organisation of mercenaries and paramilitaries, selling terrorism to the highest bidder. Their clients were the various heads of state and royal families of Europe. Their services included the hiring out of special forces in inter-nation wars as well as the 'pacification' of the indigenous population. They were composed of Christians and disaffected 'Saracens' and took part in pogroms against Jewish settlements in different parts of Europe. They helped collect taxes and put down local rebellions. Their hospices in Europe were little more than prisons (illness was

seen as punishment for sin, to be contained through suffering). Their Continental sections joined forces to seize land as their own and as a powerful army were able to make demands on crowned heads in return for 'protection'. Over successive centuries they took Cyprus, the island of Rhodes, and then Malta. Today their successors exist not as an army but as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, whose honorary knights include prominent international figures of the right and far right and whose activities include the funding of right-wing



The new 'Political Soldiers' of the NF (3rd positionists) glorifying the Knights of St. John - the political soldiers of old.

mercenaries (e.g the Contras and, recently, Unita in Angola). In 1381 the Prior (or head of the English section) of the Knights also happened to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer and head of the English Church, Simon Sudbury. Sudbury used the Knights to collect by force Church dues from the poor. Needless to say he was the paragon of corruption, confiscating land for the Church and for himself. He and his possessions were a natural target for the people risen.

The first Knights' building the people attacked was the Temple, which also happened to be a Poll Tax administration centre and a centre of law (administered in collaboration with the Church). The Temple was originally built by the

Knights Templar—another mercenary organisation that was eventually dissolved by the force by the monarchy and their assets distributed to the Order of St John—and its modern day equivalent is the bastion of the legal profession. The next Knights' building to be targeted was the Order's headquarters in Clerkenwell. This, like the Temple, was completely burnt to the ground by the angry rebels. Many of its occupants were slaughtered on the spot. (Several days earlier another crowd had attacked and burnt down the Order's country seat, an estate in Essex.) Another target was the house of John Hales. His home in Highgate was burnt down by a crowd led by Jack Straw (near the site today stands today a pub, 'Jack Straw's Castle'). Then the rebels went on to attack Lambeth Palace, the home of Sudbury as well as being the building where the Poll Tax registration records were kept. The building was totally destroyed and the records burnt (the nearest equivalent, albeit on a far lesser scale, in today's campaign was the arson attack on the Islington poll tax offices in June of this year). But more was to come: it was on to Newgate prison, where the rebels liberated the prisoners, mainly victims of debt and (poll tax) default.

The rebellion was clearly turning into revolution and so the king acted quickly. He sued for peace and met the leaders of the rebels at Mile End to agree to their demands. But the people were no longer interested in simply smashing the Poll Tax. They wanted far more. They wanted to overthrow the established order, and they wanted blood. And so it was that a group of rebels from Kent secretly entered the Tower of London, where some of the leaders of government were in hiding. The rebels quickly overcame the guards and it was not long before they had secured their objective. The rebels dispensed their justice, beheading on the spot the chiefs of government primarily responsible for taxation, the wages freeze and the Poll Tax.

This challenge to the State meant the king had to take action. A small army was gathered and he marched to Smith's field where they met an army of people ten times their number. During a skirmish Wat Tyler was wounded by William Walworth, the mayor of London; but the king, sensing danger, acted quickly and suddenly 'changed sides', appealing to the people for loyalty and proclaiming all sorts of promises, including a general pardon, the abolition of villeinage (or serfdom) and other concessions. It was pure trickery, but for a while it worked and the crowd, with the king at their head, marched to Clerkenwell where more demands were met. Then Walworth appeared with a small force to whisk the king away.

Over the next two days, their demands apparently having been met, the people went home. They had indeed achieved their original objective, the smashing of the Poll Tax, but the other concessions were reneged upon. The rebels had also failed to seize the opportunity, created by themselves, of revolution while they had it.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

THE CHINESE ANARCHISTS

By the end of the last century the Chinese Empire was tottering. It treated the ordinary people with contempt, 'like plants or animals'; the educated classes were expected to become civil servants and administer the bureaucracy; the Empress fought off capitalism which 'barbarian' foreigners were trying to import. The merchant class welcomed capitalism: the ruling class opposed it. They used both banditry and patriotic students to oppose foreigners when the warlords failed to do so, disavowing and executing them if expedient. Hong Kong was a safe capitalist base for trading between British traders and South China merchants: the international settlement of Shanghai had the same function.



Pa Chin in 1941

The first socialistic movement was anarchist in inspiration. Li Shih-Tseng and Chang Ching-Chiang had studied anarcho-syndicalism in the French CGT and taken it to China, where it fitted in with Chinese philosophic traditions (government as such had always been regarded as oppressive). War was declared on Chinese religious or conventional customs such as the enslavement of women (middle-class girls still had bound feet and had to spend their lives in helplessness and endless hair-dos; working class girls could be sold into concubinage or prostitution). The spreading of written propaganda, agitational meetings, resistance to taxation, opposition to conscription, strikes, and assassination of warlords and uprisings all formed part of the anarchist programme.

At the early part of the century, Shih Fu (who had lost a hand trying to spark off a naval mutiny by assassinating a commander, and had been

sentenced to thirty years, but served three) was the inspiration for a co-ordinated anarchist movement, which grew rapidly and had mutual repercussions in Japan and Korea. It took the character of mass movement. But the 'patriotic movement' was growing among the students. It was led by Sun Yat Sen and by 1911 the Manchu dynasty collapsed. It had been weakened fatally by constant foreign intervention—which reached the point of burning down the Imperial palace in the Forbidden City, but they had not replaced the Empress because she was the only force keeping the country together, and though hated by the foreign Powers as anti-foreign and anti-capitalist, she was the one person who could preserve central domination. Overnight, the whole feudal system fell and civil war broke out.

Sun Yat Sen established the Kuomintang: after his death, his son-in-law Chiang Kai Shek succeeded him. The Communist Party at first supported the KMT, having grown up within it: later, following Russian intrigues, broke away and began a civil war against it (which ceased only when the Japanese invaded and they joined forces again). Though Shih-Fu died in 1915, the anarchist movement he started continued to grow; and there were a series of insurrections in the North against the warlords in which virtually unarmed villagers tried to take over the land on which they were starving.

The Communist Party became the major force in China after the Japanese Imperial invasion in the thirties, before the world war, which concentrated minds on the one issue of fighting Imperialism. The CP forced Chiang to fight Japan, after kidnapping him. The combined force made revolutionary confiscation of the land seem irrelevant. Anarchism lost its mass following. It remained a minority in perpetual resistance until after the war, when Mao had seized power in mainland China, and Chiang had been only able to retain his power in the one island of Formosa.

Though the 'Western' press represents the oppressive regime as due to State Communism, this is only partly true. Like Stalin's Russia, it ended where it began. The massacre of the students (the educated elite) by orders of the old men in power (instead of the ageing Empress), the love-hate relationship with capitalist enclaves, the corrupt bureaucracy, the need to kowtow to mandarins (follow the party line) is all where the Manchu dynasty ended and the Sun



Where to Go? by Lo Ch'ing chen from Cold Nights by Pa Chin

Yat Sen revolution first came in. The student rising, both in its bravery and naivety alike (they said in the old days 'let us force the army to resist foreign invasion by passive resistance', now they're still trying to persuade the government to be democratic) is an echo of a past struggle for democracy.

May the old cries of the Ping Ming press, of the pioneers, Shih Fu and Ching Chiang, be heard once again. China has been transformed in many ways. But the need for armed uprisings, for industrial organisation, in a State that treats the people like plants or animals, and who need to fight for basic rights, is as great as ever it was.

AM

PROCLAMATION FROM CHINA'S WORKERS

THE WORKERS' Autonomous Federation of Beijing has seemingly disappeared almost as quickly as it arose as if from nowhere. Its members were slaughtered or later executed by the forces of the state, although we cannot assume that all its activists were dealt with in this way. Prior to the counter-revolutionary onslaught of June 4 the WAF had been in regular contact with syndicalist sympathisers in Hong Kong. In May the WAF issued a proclamation outlining their Aims and Principles, which has since been published in Hong Kong and made generally available. The account below includes a summary of this proclamation.

Clause 1 of the proclamation states that the WAF is an 'entirely independent, autonomous organisation, built up by the workers on a voluntary basis, through democratic processes, and should not be controlled by other organisations'. In this the WAF clearly distanced itself from all political parties as well as agencies of the state. The clause inherently stressed the need for self-organisation and self-management, controlled by the members direct.

Clause 2 stated that the WAF should 'not just remain a welfare organisation' but should strive for both economic and political change 'based on the wishes of the majority of workers'.

The third clause of the proclamation stated the need for the WAF to keep tabs on the ruling establishment, the Chinese Communist Party, presumably to provide a much-needed and neutral monitor of state activities.

The next clause refers to workers control and the role of the WAF in determining a process whereby workers in both state and private industries can run them direct.

The final clause of the proclamation once again stresses voluntary membership but adds that members should also organise collectively at the point of work.

The proclamation was issued only five days before the massacre of Tiananmen Square.

Through its proclamation it is clear that the WAF was 'syndicalist', although equally it was also prepared to work through the existing legal system for change. In any other context the proclamation would be viewed reformist, but even reformism by a self-proclaimed 'syndicalist' organisation in Beijing of May/June 1989 was seen by the authorities as a direct challenge to the state and the party monopoly.

Most of WAF's members, who took part in the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, were production workers or workers from the service industries. The WAF also included railway workers, steelworkers, restaurant workers and lawyers. The Tiananmen Square contingent included members from areas outside Beijing, such as Tianjin and Shanxi.

WAF activists distributed hundreds of thousands of leaflets during the days leading up to the massacre. They succeeded in 'signing up' several hundred members of the new union during those days.

About a week before the massacre three of the WAF's leaders - Bai Dongping, Qian Yuming and Shen Yinhan - had been arrested and held in detention by agents of the Public Security Bureau; they were later released and forced into hiding.

Between June 1 and 3 members of the Hong Kong Trade Union Education Centre attended the Tiananmen Square demonstrations and met up with the WAF activists. The WAF told the people from Hong Kong that their main priority was to build up the autonomous union but also to focus on certain issues, such as corruption, massive wage differentials, poor working conditions and living standards generally, and the need for independent union representation.

In the early hours of June 4 the tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square. As they entered the square, according to eyewitness reports, activists from the Workers' Autonomous Federation held up their banners and marched towards the

oncoming vehicles. They were some of the first to be killed and, later, students who sur-

ly flying and visible to all, was the banner of the Workers' Autonomous Federation. Behind

保護工人自由工會
"Defend the Independent Workers Union"

vived added that most of the WAF activists had their lives ended in the first few minutes of the onslaught.

But for the Chinese authorities that was not sufficient. Days after the massacre other WAF activists were rounded up via the informer hot-lines. It appeared that all was lost and that the WAF had been totally crushed.

But this was not the case. On June 9 a massive demonstration, involving over 100,000 people, took place in Shanghai. In the middle of the demonstration, bold-

that banner marched the Shanghai contingent of the WAF, numbering around 1000 people. The WAF had not been decimated after all. Now, though, with the terror continuing, its members are forced underground. They will need direct aid and it is, now, to Hong Kong where assistance can be channelled. China's 'syndicalists' can not stand alone. SOURCE: Friends of Chinese Minzhu, c/o the Hong Kong Trade Union Educational Centre, via the Workers' Solidarity Alliance.

Anarcho-Quiz

1. Did Karl Marx get naturalised British, as suggested by some contemporaries, in order to sell jewels to Queen Victoria?
2. Trefim Lysenko, Russian biologist, taking Marxist doctrine into account, decided plant evolution was decided by environment, and resultant acquired developments were transmitted by heredity. Biologists disagree—so why did Lysenko's dogma have such a disastrous effect (lasting till now) on Russian science outside biology and even on industry?
3. Why is there as a statue in London's Guildhall, sculpted by Oscar Nemon, of a former Regulation 18B detainee who had tried to contact the German Ambassador in Dublin to arrange peace?
4. Every schoolkid knows how Guy Fawkes didn't manage to burn down the Houses of Parliament in James II's day—but who (in 1834) successfully did?
5. Malatesta helped to suppress a popular rebellion—true or false?

6. Prior to his suicide, Hitler married Eva Braun (their previous relationship is subject of speculation)—but who was, up to a very few years before, known to Nazis as 'Frau Hitler'?

Answers on Back Page

POLL TAX ARTICLE CONTD.

The overthrow of the Monarchy had been in their grasp. Had they acted further history thenceforth in England could well have been so much different.

The 1381 Revolt was not noted for its politics but for direct action. It was characterised by a people not afraid to act or to stand together. Its lessons for today are many, not least that it is not just the Poll Tax itself that must be defeated but the whole rotten, stinking infrastructure that supports it and all forms of repression. That is why the resistance to the Poll Tax today must not merely be about 'changing the rules' of the tax. Nor should the anti-poll tax groups be concerned just with the tax itself. If the resistance is great enough, then why stop there? The resistance has to become permanent. Our final objective must be Liberty.

GLASNOST & MAKHNO

Nestor Makhno, the Ukrainian anarchist and insurrectionist, was the subject of a favourable article by Vasily Golovanov in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the Soviet equivalent of the *Times Literary Review*. Below we include extracts from the article, courtesy of *Glasnost International* (formerly *Pravda International*).

Part 1

MAKHNO was born of a poor, fatherless peasant family. At 16 he was apprenticed to a carpenter in his home village Gulyai-Polya in the Ukraine, where he joined a local anarchist group involved in carrying out expropriations.

In October 1907, following the death of a postman during the hold-up of a post coach, the police hunted the group down in earnest and by the following year 14 people had been arrested. All broke down under interrogation and blamed Makhno for the murders, but still he would not confess.

Due to his youth, Makhno's sentence of 20 years' hard labour was commuted to imprisonment in the Butyrk prison in Moscow, where he spent nine years shackled hand and foot for bad behaviour. But it was in prison that Makhno met his mentor, Peter Arshinov, a fellow Ukrainian anarchist whom he trusted completely.

Released after the February 1917 revolution, Makhno—now 28 and without a penny to his name—returned to his native Gulyai-Polya where he found himself playing a central role in village affairs. Elected chairman of the Peasant Union, he was also made head of the Council of Peasant Deputies.

But the pace of events did not allow for the luxury of reflection. In June, workers' control was proclaimed and a Committee of Hired Farm Labourers was set up under the Union of Workers and Peasants to act against the landed gentry. In August, during Kornilov's advance on Petrograd, Makhno organised the confiscation of weapons held by the the landowners and bourgeoisie in the region.

The regional Congress of Soviets and the Gulyai-Polya anarchist group next called on the peasants to ignore the caretaker government and the Central Rada (council) and declared the immediate expropriation of land from the churches and landowners. They also set up free agricultural communes on the estates with—as far as possible—the kulaks and landowners being included in the communes.

By October the estates had been expropriated and the land ploughed up despite 'threats from government agents'. With sedition in Gulyai-Polya threatening to spread to neighbouring provinces, the caretaker government sent a representative to punish those who had confiscated the weapons. Makhno summoned the government agent to the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution and ordered him to 'leave Gulyai-Polya within 20 minutes, and the boundaries of revolutionary territory within two hours'. After this incident no one ever troubled this strange Soviet region again until the German invasion in June 1918.

Following the German invasion, Makhno travelled to Moscow for advice. There he met Lenin who was greatly interested in his agrarian changes. In his memoirs Makhno recalls Lenin asking three times how the peasants understood the slogan 'All power to the Soviets'. Makhno replied that to them it meant the Soviets and all bodies under their control, should be responsible for setting policy at a local level.

'In that case, the peasants in your region have been infected with anarchy,' Lenin is reported to have said.

'I don't mean to say that it is. On the contrary, I would be very glad since it would accelerate the victory of communism over capitalism,' Lenin explained—adding that he considered peasant anarchy to be a 'temporary ailment which would soon pass'.

Makhno left Moscow with the opposite conviction. Although he was a 'soviet' anarchist, his understanding of the revolution was very different from that of the Bolsheviks. Makhno naturally did not recognise that the party had any leading role to play. For him, the 'lowly' regional soviet was the only organisation which could directly express the will of the people; the hierarchy of the soviets was to him absurd and the proletarian state—personified by bureaucrats—was a dangerous lie....

The row over the elections to the founding congress, which he dubbed the 'political game of cards', also annoyed him. 'The parties won't

serve the people, but the people the parties. Already they are talking about 'the people', but it is the parties which are running things,' he told his new comrades-in-arms. But they did not agree with him and he resigned from the revolutionary committee and returned to Gulyai-Polya—to escape from the distortions of 'politics with a capital P'....

Makhno returned from Moscow in 1918 disappointed with some of his fellow anarchists whom he felt had 'slept through' the revolution. While he had little sympathy for the Bolsheviks' 'staid' revolution, Makhno nevertheless realised that none of the opposition parties had a leader of Lenin's stature or strength to 'reorganise the road of revolution'. For this reason he amalgamated his peasant insurgent 'army'—which had liberated a large area of eastern Ukraine from Petlyurov—with the Bolsheviks.

By agreement with the Red Army High Command (March 1919), Makhno's army was allowed to keep the name Revolutionary Insurgent Army. They were sent communist commissars and weapons, and came under the tactical direction of the command fighting Denikin. Yet four months later the idyll came to an end when, according to the generally accepted version of events, Makhno 'opened the front door to the Whites due to a rift between himself and the Bolsheviks'....

Tension was also growing between Moscow, Kharkov and the countryside. Attempts to imagine the new society and how it differed from capitalism, have led Marxists to believe that under socialism all areas of the economy should be nationalised, right down to the smallest peasant smallholding. That was why in 1919 most communists thought of the peasantry as the last bourgeois class not conscious of its social obligations; they looked upon it as a material which the proletariat needed in order to fulfil its historic mission....

Hence the cruelty of the food policy, and the trend of describing all peasant protests against food allocation and the resolutions passed by arbitrary peasant congresses, as 'kulak protests'. A series of spontaneous, sometimes very violent uprisings, swept through the young republic during the summer of 1918, only quietening down during the White invasion. But the understanding that the interests of the agrarian petty bourgeoisie could not be ignored came only three years later, after a series of outbursts culminating in the Kronstadt rebellion where, under the slogans of 'free Soviets', armed peasant troops and units of the Red Navy established a revolutionary commune which survived 16 days, until an army was sent 'by the Bolsheviks' to crush it....

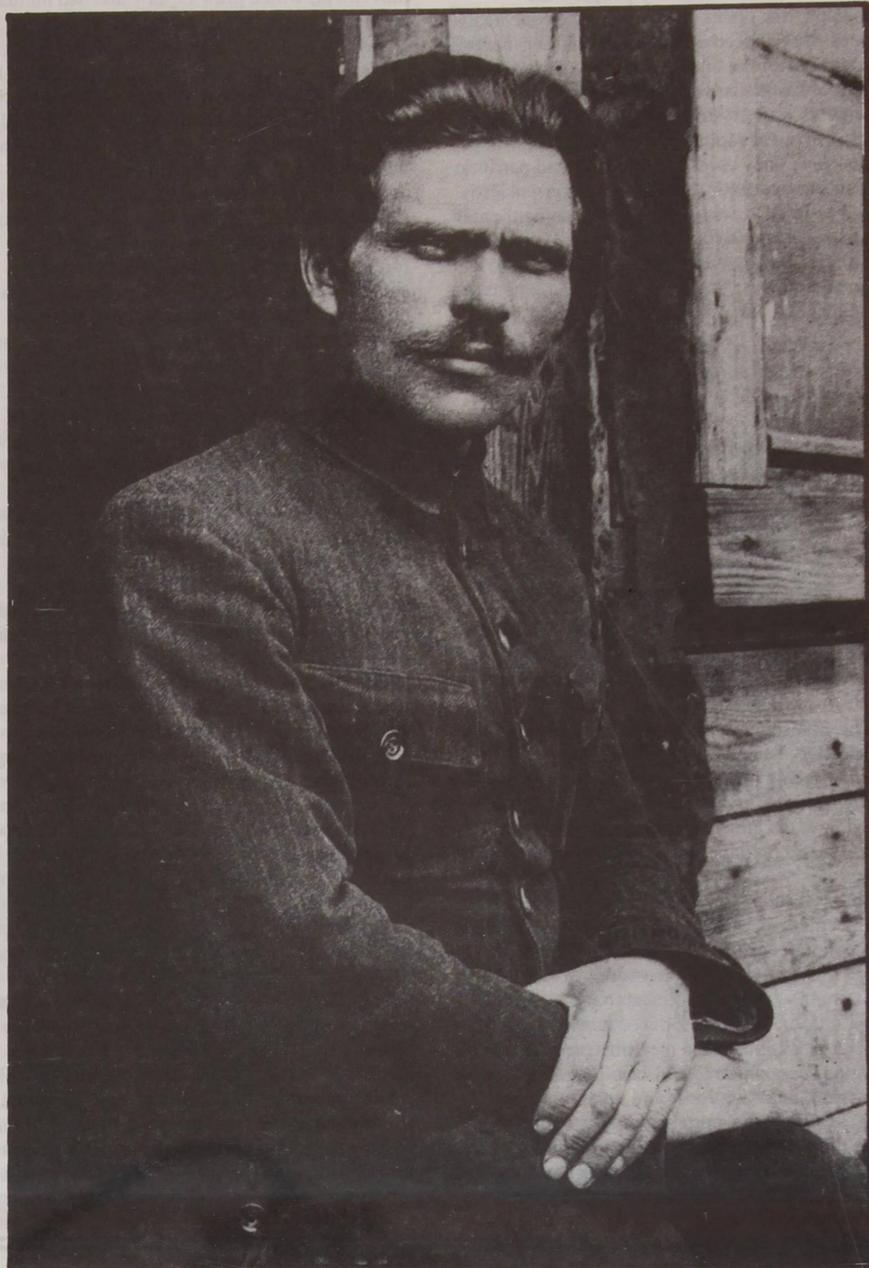
Part 2

From January to April 1919 three congresses of the soviets took place in the 'free region' attended by Bolsheviks and left wing socialist revolutionaries, but with an overwhelming majority of non-Party members and anarchists. These congresses sanctioned the mobilisation of the insurgent army and passed a vote of no confidence in the Soviet government in the Ukraine....

Trotsky was to play a fateful role in further events. He opposed compromises and coalitions and advocated extreme measures against those who wavered or were not one hundred percent committed. When he arrived in the Ukraine and discovered Makhno had convened the fourth regional congress of independent peasant soviets in Gulyai-Polya, Trotsky interpreted it as a veiled threat of rebellion. Further events showed that neither Makhno, nor Trotsky, who had made up his mind to 'put an end to kulak anarchy', had any real idea what forces Denikin had concentrated at the front....

On June 6, Trotsky issued an order to eliminate 'Makhnovism', prohibiting all further congresses. The delegates were rounded up, trials set in motion and Makhno outlawed.

Meanwhile, Veretelnikov's White Cossacks broke into the free region near Gulyai-Polya, and were successfully recruiting peasant troops. On June 7, the Reds sent an armoured train to Makhno and asked him to hold out to the last. The following day, Trotsky issued Order No 133 condemning 'deserters to Makhno' to the firing squad. On June 9, when told of Trotsky's orders, Makhno telegraphed him in Moscow and announced his wish to resign from the post of brigade commander, expressing his belief in the inalienable right of workers and peasants to hold



congresses in order to discuss and take decisions on their own private, as well as social matters. That same day several Bolshevik regiments invaded the 'free region' from the north and routed Makhno's soviets and communes....

COMMENT: This brief, and occasionally inaccurate, article interspersed by comments sympathetic to anarchist and anti-statist communism, is remarkable because of the source of its publication but also because the sentiments expressed have come at a time when only months after it first appeared the miners of the Ukraine and western Siberia made demands—many implemented unilaterally—for a return to communism without the state. Glasnost—an invention that even the advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi would love to have dreamt up—was made necessary because it would otherwise have been imposed from below. It was a way of heading off a rebellion that could, and

still might, have ended up with a counter-revolutionary backlash. The re-examination of the anarchist movement in Russia is taking place alongside a revival of the movement as well as a popular rebellion amongst the workers who are fed up with 'reforms' and want both freedom and socialism without the tyranny and repression of central control.

It will be a remarkable achievement if this happens. It will also be a remarkable and fitting testimony to revolutionaries like Makhno, who are finally being recognised by those outside the anarchist tradition as having prepared the way for the overthrow of authoritarian socialism. We cannot say how things will develop in the USSR but we will endeavour to do what we can, in our own small way, to help the revolution along.

To the memory of Nestor Makhno, and the 'free Soviets'.

SOVIET LIBERTARIANS TO STAGE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

IN THE Autumn of this year young socialists, libertarians and anarchists in the Soviet Union are planning to hold a major gathering with participants from all over the USSR. They are appealing to libertarians in other countries to attend too. Provisional estimates are that as many as 10,000 are hoping to attend.

Talks about the gathering took place last November with syndicalists and libertarians from northern Europe, in particular the Scandinavian countries. The event is being coordinated by the 'Obsinja' group, which publishes a paper of the same name, based in Moscow. The gathering is to be called 'Next Stop—Soviet' and its theme will be about how glasnost can be extended further and how geographical boundaries can be broken. Planning groups to organise delegates already exist in Denmark, Sweden and in cities in the USSR itself.

The Obsinja group has in fact been in existence since May 1987 and produce propaganda on strikes and general resistance. Members are in

contact with the Federation of Socialist Clubs, which has syndicalist tendencies. Although Obsinja does not call itself anarchist it advocates stateless communism and calls for workers direct control and federalism.

READ ALL ABOUT IT!

The growth of Anarchism in the Soviet Union was commented on by the *Daily Telegraph* (July 6) when its correspondent Xan Smiley wrote from Moscow that anarchism was 'spreading in the Soviet Union' and said a Soviet graduate published a detailed letter in the newspaper of the Young Communist League extolling anarchism as the best form of government'. (Forgive us for being a bit smiley).

The correspondent Andrei Isayev had written that the anarchist movement had branches in thirteen towns, and said, 'We do not need multi-party soviets but rather soviets without parties'.

However, as regards the main point of the story—obtained by an accredited resident correspondent and transmitted at great expense to them—you read it in *Black Flag* first (which runs on peanuts the monkeys have to find themselves.)

THE IRANGATE KILLINGS

COLONEL OLIVER North, convicted recently on various counts connected to Irangate, got off relatively light with community service and a fine he could easily pay from his celebrity fees. The judge considered imprisonment too good for him, which bodes well for his fellow-conspirators, General Richard Secord and Admiral Poindexter, who are due for trial themselves. The facts about Irangate have been covered by the press and taken further by campaigners in the Christie Institute and investigators in the 'fringe' media. But the Courts have managed to avoid too much embarrassment, particularly any fall-out for Reagan or his successor to the presidency, despite both being in it up to their necks. Not all witnesses who could implicate Reagan and Bush have appeared, for the simple reason that the key witnesses are dead. One by one they were killed, some apparently through natural causes, others in more mysterious circumstances. Collectively these deaths are being called the Irangate Killings and are believed by some investigative reporters to have been planned, the finger of guilt inevitably pointing at the CIA. Despite much circumstantial evidence, at least, to back up this claim the mainstream press have so far not looked into the killings. One campaigning paper that has is the *Voice* (previously *Village Voice*), the New York-based paper. Below we summarise their findings and examine the implications.

One key witness to Irangate was known only through his codename, 'David' and was named in the lawsuit brought by the Christie Institute

against Contra leader Adolfo Calero and CIA liaison man John Hull, an American with Costan Rican citizenship, for allegedly plotting to assassinate renegade Contra leader (and former Sandanistan commander) Eden Pastora. 'David' worked for Hull on his Costa Rican ranch, which has been shown to have been the centre of an international gun-running (and drugs smuggling) operation used by the Irangate conspirators as well as the mainstream drugs barons of Central America. With the failed attempt on Pastora and the Irangate revelations 'David' defected and passed on damaging evidence to investigative reporters Tony Avirgan and Martha Honey. This evidence eventually formed the basis of part of the material used to indict North, Secord and 27 others. When the cases finally came up the presiding judge, James King, dismissed them because of lack of corroborative evidence. In fact the cases would have gone ahead had 'David' been able to give evidence, but this was impossible as he had 'disappeared'.

In reality what had happened was that 'David' had been kidnapped by Hull's men in San Jose, taken back to Hull's ranch and interrogated. He then managed to escape but was recaptured and tortured to death.

Hull eventually left Costa Rica and recently a Costa Rican congressional inquiry ruled that he, together with North, Poindexter and Lewis Tambs (former US ambassador to Costa Rica during Irangate period), be barred from re-entry to the country. In the meantime investigative

reporter Leslie Cockburn has been able to interview a pilot, Gary Betzger, who was employed by Hull, about his dealings. According to Betzger he was paid by Hull to fly out guns to his ranch (these would then be sent on to the Contras) and, more significantly perhaps, return back to Florida with shipments of cocaine as payment, which would then be sold to the Dope barons in Miami.

Then there is the case of Stephen Carr, who also worked for Hull as a mercenary. After being arrested at Hull's ranch he provided further information about Hull's gun-running, drugs-dealing activities. Carr believed he was on a death list and later he escaped from jail and made his way to the States where in December 1986 he was found dead after apparently taking an overdose of cocaine.

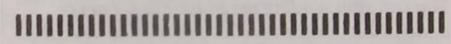
A more prominent key witness to die was Amiram Nir, a senior official of Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency. He was also a former adviser to Shimon Peres on counter-terrorism. In May 1986 Nir accompanied North and Robert McFarlane to Tehran to negotiate with Rafsanjani on weapons sales. Two months later

Nir briefed George Bush on the outcome of the negotiations. North later claimed that Nir was the originator of the idea to divert profits from arms sales to Iran to supply in turn arms to the Contras. In November 1988 Nir died in a plane crash over Mexico.

Glenn Souhan is another Irangate witness who died, killed by an unknown hit squad. Souhan was a French businessman who did 'occasional work' for the White House. In September 1986 he was shot dead in the streets of Paris by assassins. Later a 'congressional source' claimed that North had stated that Souhan had been working for the Contras. One magazine claimed, too, that Souhan had organised the supply of Soviet arms to the Contras via contacts in Solidarnosc. North later told the Moonie-owned *Washington Times* that the arms had been diverted by Polish railworkers.

Finally there is the case of Cyrus Hashemi. In 1986 he did undercover work for US Customs and organised a sting operation that resulted in the entrapment of several Israelis, as well as the lawyer of Adnan Khashoggi, who were planning to sell over \$2.5 billion worth of arms, via Israel, to Iran. Charges were laid but then dropped when Hashemi suddenly died—apparently of leukemia, even though a medical one month previous showed he was 100% okay.

All these deaths were convenient in that they resulted in several prosecution cases being dropped. Also they enabled further enquiries being halted—enquiries that were close to proving direct linkage between George Bush, for example, and the Irangate team and their operations, which included not just arms deals but drugs running on a massive scale. Meanwhile the US trials of the main conspirators will continue, but are expected to be a whitewash. Any revelations to create embarrassment for the top brass are more likely to come out via the fringe investigators or through inquiries in Costa Rica.



RANDLE-POTTLE

Criminal charges were brought against peace campaigners Michael Randle and Pat Pottle (see interview in last *Black Flag*), following revelations made by H. Montgomery Hyde, et al. The Director of Public Prosecutions has charged them with helping to spring and harbour George Blake, the double agent, in 1966. They could face up to seven years imprisonment. Had the DPP not taken the initiative, Graham Riddick MP and co. (including Professor Antony Flew) of the Freedom Association would have brought private charges, but a group of Tory MPs, led by Riddick persuaded the Government to act, making this a political trial.

We regret there was one inaccuracy in our last issue. 'Nigel West' the novelist (Rupert Allason MP) whose assistance is acknowledged by Montgomery Hyde in his book, is not like Hyde, Flew etc, an associate of the Rationalist Press Association.

Following (but not the result of) our article in the last issue of *Black Flag*, H. Montgomery Hyde died.

INTELLIGENCE NOTES

1. In the USA there is a private surveillance company that has taken an interest in anarchist groups. It is called Zeus, but appears to have no connection with the private Intelligence company in Britain with the same name. The Zeus Group (USA) describes itself as a 'research organisation' that publishes professional papers for agencies of the US government and is run by Ryan Quade Emerson, who is known to work for the FBI and is a 'terrorism expert' (in the same way that Clutterbuck and Wilkinson is over here) who compiles databanks and who has also been employed by the roguish Lyndon Larouche organisation as a security consultant. Emerson also served as a security consultant for the International Security Council, a Moonie front. The Zeus Group has made several attempts to obtain material from anarchist news agencies. (Source: *Covert Action Information Bulletin*.) Additional Note: In the article 'Infiltrators Unmasked!' (issue 191) we stated that the agent-provocateur, Mary Lou Sapone, had got hold of the mailing list of the Animal Liberation Front Support Group of Canada. She indeed got hold of several animal rights groups' mailing lists in the US, but not of the ALFSG in Canada, to whose publications she was merely a subscriber (but, presumably, no more!).

2. An organisation that has all the signs of being a Moonie-funded front is attempting to infiltrate the students movement. The organisation calls itself the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (CARP) and is holding its 'Convention of World Students' in London this August. The convention will supposedly bring together students from around the world to 'participate in a programme of international fellowship, sports and academic exchange', and will include speeches from 'international celebrities' as well as and 'martial arts displays'. 'Leading exponents' will be making presentations on the 'problems of multi-cultural society... interracial marriages; the ethics of birth control...' etc. CARP's programme literature contains inflammatory statements about rising crime, the divorce rate, and terrorism. CARP gives their address as 2 Bedford Square, London, and we'll be looking into it and this organisation further. If anyone has any further details, please let us know.

3. In Issue 191 we referred to the European Freedom Foundation, which also goes under the name European Freedom Campaign (presumably the former funds the latter). Someone from *Black Flag* paid them a visit at their address in Ladbroke Square, West London and discovered that it is also the headquarters of the Anti-Bolshevik group of Nations (ABN), which is affiliated to the World Anti-Communist League. A spokesperson told *Black Flag* that we should contact a Mr Tara Kuzio of the Ukrainian Press Agency or a Mr Rastko Marcetic to find out more about the EPC. Marcetic also happens to be the chairman of the European Liaison Group, a lobby for Eastern European affairs and which has recently been pressurising the Government to assist in the election process in the Eastern Bloc (hence the recent announcement that funding for elections in Eastern Europe will be made available). We also referred in our last issue to the Samizdat Press Agency: it seems that this has now closed down due to publicity over its CIA connections.

4. Last year *Black Flag* ran details of the laundering 'charity', Industrial Trust, which funds Industrial Research Information Services, a right-wing monitoring group that claims to have little funds despite confidential IT documents showing otherwise. One of the donors to the Industrial Trust is the mysterious Dulverton Trust. It turns out that this latter charity is a front for the Wills family, the tobacco industry magnates from Bristol. According to New Statesmen and Society the Dulverton Trust has donated funds in excess of £30,000 annually to such organisations on the far-right as the Institute for the Study of Conflict (a CIA/MI6 front), the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies, the British Atlantic Committee, the Institute for Economic Affairs and Common Cause (which monitors left-wing groups in industry).

5. Professor Antony Flew recently gave a lecture at Lancaster University, and a protestor sent us background information, some of which we added to our article on the Rationalist Press Association. Our correspondent also adds that Flew is a member of the Centre for Policy Studies (a think-tank for the Tory Party) as well as the Campaign for Student Freedom (a Freedom Association front), and that in the early '80's he attended a Moonie conference in the USA.

Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest

PROFESSOR ANTONY Flew seems unable to avoid controversy, which is not surprising seeing that he enjoys associating his name to all sorts of wonderful and weird causes. We received a copy of a letter the other day with his name printed on the footer: it was from Western Goals UK to its contacts. This extreme right-wing organisation knows little about rational ideas or behaviour yet Flew is an associate of the Rationalist Press Association (see 'The Secular Synod of British Intelligence', last issue). His renowned colleagues in Western Goals UK include Peter Dally, Linda Guell, Paul Masson, Lord Sudely, Andrew Smith, Stuart Notholt, Major Sir Patrick Wall and General Sir Walter Walker.



Finnish Nazi's symbol glamourised in publication of Western Goals UK, of which Flew is vice-president.

Between them they represent the different strands of the World Anti-Communist League in Britain. Wall, a former Tory MP, headed the British chapter as well as a group of far-right Tories who did very well out of the 'coup' period. Walker had his private armies in the mid-70's and tried to stir up trouble amongst the officer classes in an effort to destabilise the political establishment in favour of a more stridently far-right Toryism led by Thatcher. Smith, Notholt and Masson were each prominent in the 'libertarian' wing of the (banned) Federation of Conservative Students. But what is the role of Flew, described by his friends and enemies alike as being rather mild mannered? As an academic he looks good on letter-headings, but he also is seemingly very convincing at conning liberals into accepting him into their nests. Any cuckoo who takes him accordingly is left squawking 'unfair' when Flew's true nature is revealed.

The Western Goals UK letter also includes on the footer the name of Major General John K Singlaub, the head of the World Anti-Communist League and who helped to fund and arm the Contras. The letter mentions that Western Goals

proudly illustrated the symbol of that resistance: a rose embedded in the centre of an angled swastika inside an iron cross. Inside the paper an article by Singlaub features an attack on the left-liberal Christie Institute accusing it of taking 'frivolous' legal action against Singlaub and co. in order to waste Singlaub's time and money. Below the article is a tribute to Joe McCarthy, one of the fathers of blacklisting in the USA. Page Three of *European Dawn* is an interesting one: as well as an article about hordes of North African immigrants 'poised to flood' the continent' via France after 1992, there is an article about the investigation by the Charity Commission into the Industrial Trust, whose existence and finance were first revealed in *Black Flag* and subsequently covered in greater detail by *The Independent*. Western Goals UK regards the decision to investigate Industrial Trust as 'curiously one-sided'. As well as Christian Aid and War On Want, Western Goals UK wants the Charity Commission to investigate Oxfam, Cafod and Traidcraft. The Industrial Trust passes on funds to organisations, like IRIS and Truemid, which represent anti-unionism within the trade union movement and Labour Party.

T.I.

