

Hope in sight for Foran

**BLACK FLAG—BLACK CROSS
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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.

Sorry, owing to the massive increase in postage rates, our subscriptions have to be raised if we're to keep our heads somewhat below water as usual, but they're still below cost.

We also have to start cutting off expired subs—some old friends we've kept on for a long time until we hear they've moved years ago. But we maintain our offer to send to prisoners free; or to wageless for cost of the stamp only. So as not to upset direct sales we are keeping the giveaway selling price of 30p for now.

BACK NUMBERS: We find that we have a limited number of back numbers of BLACK FLAG, returns from bookshops. Anyone interested? Sorry no complete sets! Single copies available for 30p (incl. postage). Usual address.

Anarcho-quiz

1. What garment are MP's expressly forbidden to wear when attending the House of Commons?
2. When was 'God save the Queen' a popular anti-Tory rallying cry used by English radicals and even Red republicans?
3. Which king sought the help of anarchists to regain his throne?
4. Which pioneer anarcho-feminist battled for gypsies rights in the Forest of Dean in the 20s and 30s?
5. Which former soap star claimed he was an anarcho-syndicalist and that he regularly read the anarchist press?

BUG-GER OFF

A COMRADE in Edinburgh recently informed us that he has had a visit from the boys in blue, who turned up on his tenement doorstep bright and early one morning to inquire if he should, perchance, own a personal computer.

On politely informing our porcine friends that this was indeed the case, our comrade was then asked, to his total astonishment, if he knew anything about computer viruses.

This interesting little visit has merely confirmed to anti-poll tax activists in Edinburgh that the rumours of the last few months are indeed true, and that there really does exist on the Edinburgh poll tax computer a virus that replaces a taxpayers name every fifteen minutes with that of a dead or fictitious person. Those poor beleaguered authorities are clearly worried about the progress of their poll tax collection, which we understand is not proceeding at an alarming rate....

New dole test

The South west Unwaged Federation have produced an information sheet on how to beat the new 'Actively Seeking Work' test for benefits claimants. Copies are available from the South West Unwaged Federation c/o Claimants Union, Virginia House, Palace street, Plymouth Devon

JUSTICE MAY BE done at last for prisoner Martin Foran, who was wrongly convicted in 1984 for a robbery he didn't commit.

A member of the Anarchist Black Cross visited Martin in Frankland prison recently, along with Martin's wife Valerie. He was in good spirits, as officers from the West Yorkshire police (who are currently investigating the Serious Crimes Squad in Birmingham) had visited him the previous week and spent several hours with him, taking statements from him about his arrest and conviction. The officers told Martin that they believe he is innocent of the charges against him; they had thoroughly investigated the Prosecution case from the trial and decided that the sequence of events they described as having taken place would have been physically impossible.

A crucial element of the Prosecution case is that Martin was arrested at 3.05pm on September 10th 1984—he was driving along Hurst Street in Birmingham and was directed into a car park there by the police. He then allegedly made some comments to the police officers present and virtually incriminated himself in a robbery which had taken place the night before. He was then taken by car to Bradford Street police station and there the usual arrest procedure was carried out regarding the confiscation and signing of the suspect's property. Both the Prosecution and the Defence agreed that Martin was in the cell at 3.12pm. The time of that arrest became very significant at the hearing as the prosecution alleged that Martin was on his way to meet an alleged co-defendant.

claimed that he was there and lying and the statements they made regarding comments Martin was said to have made are invalid.

Moreover Martin has always maintained that the 'prisoners in custody' sheet for Bradford Street had been altered, an earlier time of arrest being crossed out and the time 3.05pm being added. When investigating officers asked to see the custody sheet, they were presented with a half-size photocopy with one edge missing. Since then Martin's lawyer, Mark Philip's, went to the station to request another copy—it could not be found and was presumed destroyed. If this is not enough to expose the conviction of Martin, the investigating officers have also discovered a statement made by Inspector Reade, who was on duty on September 10th at Bradford Street, and this states that Martin was in fact arrested at 2pm. For reasons best known to this officer, he made no mention of this statement, though he attended the trial and heard other police claim that they arrested Martin at 3.05pm. If this officer had spoken out, it is probable that Martin would never have been convicted and would never have ended up taking a hostage in order to secure urgent medical treatment (for which he had a further 6 years added to his sentence). It remains to be seen how long Martin will be left dying in jail and how long it will take the investigating officers to declare their findings officially.

New evidence of the systematic ill-treatment of Martin has also emerged. Valerie Foran received a memo written on headed paper from Walton jail, dated June 29th 1986, the day Martin was assaulted at the medical block there. It is part of a 'continuous medical re-



given for Martin on the memo was only given to him recently, but plenty of documents held by Black Flag show that Martin was issued with this number as soon as he was sent to prison.

Interest in Martin's case is growing in Ireland (Martin is originally from Limerick). The TD (MP) for Limerick, Desmond O'Malley, is now a minister. He has supported Martin for a long time and has encouraged the Irish Foreign Affairs Dept. to make an official call for his release. O'Malley has also encouraged the Irish media to cover the case; the *Sunday Tribune* ran a front page story on Martin in November. And the Limerick RTE station recently sent a tv crew to Birmingham to film interviews with Valerie Foran, Clare Short MP, Birmingham lawyer Mark Philips and a supporter, for a news item on Martin's case. In the Six Counties, Warzone Anarchist group have mounted an active campaign calling for Martin's release and some local media have shown interest.

In Britain, Rough Justice producer Steve Haywood has borrowed a case file on Martin to see about the possibility of making a programme. An article by journalist David Pallister recently appeared in the *Guardian*, giving details of an earlier framing of Martin in 1978 as well as linking the case to the Birmingham Six. A similar article recently appeared in the *Independent* by Terry Kirby. In Birmingham local interest in the case is growing, and the news that four officers from the disbanded Serious Crimes Squad are now facing criminal charges for their framing of Keith Parchment, who spent 2 years in jail for a crime he did not commit, has maintained interest in the issue of 'wrongful' conviction.

The benefit LP 'Justice is our Conviction', which is to raise money for Martin Foran and other prisoners supported by Martin's Defence Campaign is still going ahead, and should be out early this year. Groups who have donated tracks include Mega City Four, the Shamen, Benjamin Zephaniah, Annie Anxiety and Adrian Sherwood.

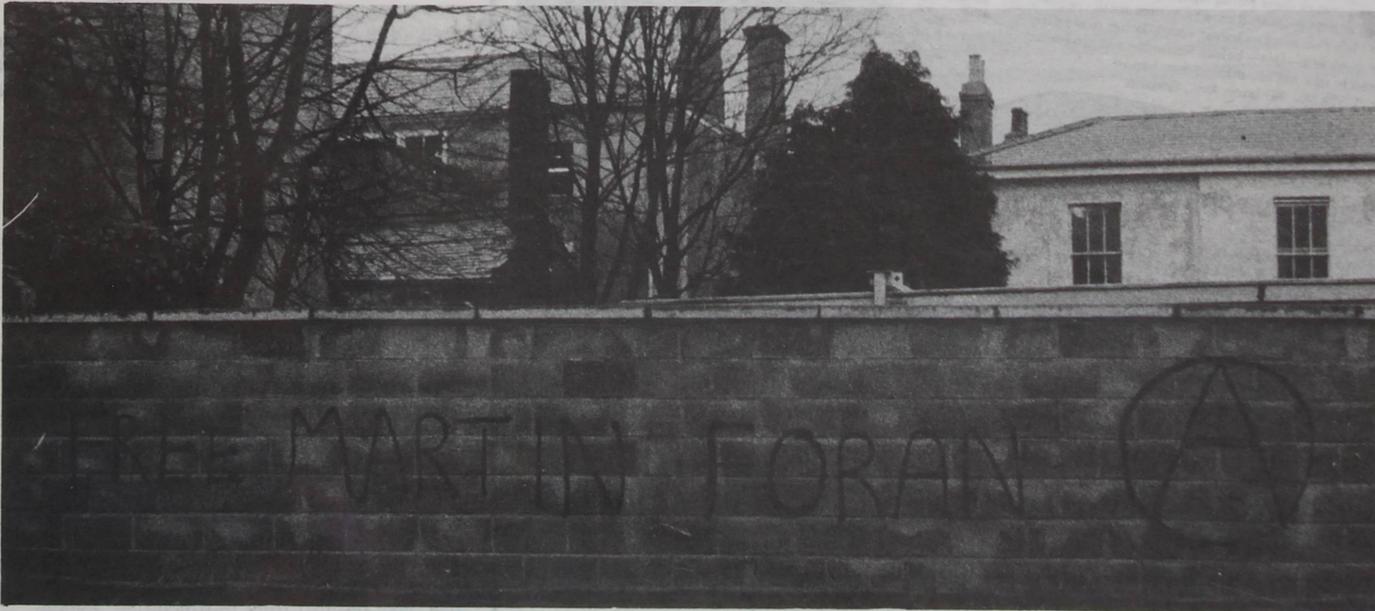
Please note that the new contact address for Martin's campaign is 'Conviction', PO Box 522, Sheffield S1 3FF.

Stop Press. Latest news received of Martin is that he went on hunger strike on Thursday 30 November 1989, as he is depressed about the fact that prisoner in custody sheet has been destroyed. The campaign is now entering a crucial phase and we call on all of Martin's supporters around the world to redouble their efforts—it's needed more now than ever.



Martin has disputed this account, saying he was arrested at an earlier time and was going elsewhere. He has also continually pointed out that the Prosecution's version of the sequence of events would have been physically impossible, as the time allocated—7 minutes—would simply not cover the time it supposedly took to arrest him, hold a conversation with him, be driven to the station, then go through the custody procedure. The investigating officers tried a test of their own; starting with the Prosecution claim that Martin was in the cell at 3.12pm they attempted to re-enact the sequence in reverse order, timing how long it would take a person going from the cell to the station desk, going through the subject's property listing ... and they soon reached the conclusion that if Martin was in a cell at 3.12pm he could not have been in Hurst Street car park at 3.05pm, being arrested. Therefore, the officers who

cord' on Martin and stresses that Martin had once taken an officer hostage, and that 'nothing should be done to aid or comfort this individual'. No mention of the fact that Martin was denied medical treatment in the first place, or of the way he was moved from jail to jail to disrupt any appointments he had made with medical staff. No mention of the fact that Martin was given a colostomy operation soon after the incident—which proved he was ill all along. Dr Flood, the main doctor at Frankland who has done what he can to deny Martin treatment, was working at Walton in June 1986. Copies of this memo have been sent to the media. The Home Office are saying it is a fake, and that they are carrying out an investigation into who leaked the memo. What a contradiction—if the memo is a fake why bother to hold an investigation? The Home Office told the Birmingham press that the prison number



HONG KONG CRACKDOWN

THE MASSACRE by the Chinese communist regime of the protesters in Tian An Men square and the following purge of revolutionaries and dissidents was universally condemned by the rest of the world. A voice as loud as any other in that condemnation was that of the British Government, but as with all governments loud words are used to cover its own duplicity and hypocrisy. In Hong Kong, where the popular protests against the events of Tian An Men square were largest, those movements supporting the democratic struggle in China are now facing repression and police brutality from the British colonial government.



Lau (left) shows his injuries

On Sept 29 the New China News Agency (NCNA)—China's embassy in Hong Kong—held a National Day celebration party. In view of the June 4th massacre and the ensuing reign of terror, April 5th Action, which has been one of the most active groups to support the democratic struggle in China, called a demonstration in protest. The demonstrators had agreed to a route and rallying point imposed by the police, even though this would prevent them from passing the venue for the party, restricting their impact. However as the march proceeded it was stopped three times by the police and on the third occasion was prevented from going any further. The demonstrators locked arms to try and force their way through—the same method used by the Beijing

students to force their way through the police lines in the demonstrations of April 27th and May 4th—but they were outnumbered and could not break through. On the third attempt the police attacked the demonstration with fists and truncheons resulting in the hospitalisation of four demonstrators. There were also four arrests. One demonstrator—Raymond W.K. Lau—has been left with a ruptured eye ball after being handcuffed and systematically beaten for 20 minutes.

Following this, on October 3rd, the police raided two television stations and armed with a search warrant removed the unedited tapes of the demonstration. Although the tapes were returned later and the police said that no copies had been made, three more members of April 5th Action have since been arrested. All those arrested have been charged under the Public Order Ordinance (POO).

The POO gives unlimited powers to the police for 'the maintenance of public order, the control of organisations, meetings, places, vessels and aircraft, unlawful assemblies and riots'. In a highly critical report from the UN Human Rights Commission on civil liberties in Hong Kong, the POO was singled out in particular. The commission commented that a state of 'lawlessness' is created by the POO which gives the police limitless power to violate basic human rights. With this and other legislation the colonial authorities seems intent to silence any dissent in the run up to the hand-over of the territories to China. In fact they are using this very suppression as a bargaining point in their negotiations with the Chinese government.

In a recent letter to the NCNA, leaked to a Hong Kong newspaper, W.G.Ehrman, Political Adviser of the Hong Kong government stated—'The Hong Kong Government has no intention of allowing Hong Kong to be used as a base for subversive activities against the People's Republic of China. NCNA will have noticed the arrest of members of the April 5th Action Group outside their National Day reception.' It went on to say, 'The Hong Kong government will continue to have prudent regard for...the interests and concerns of the Chinese Government.'

The people of Hong Kong are being crushed between the hammer of state communism and the anvil of capitalism. To maintain any hope for self-determination they are going to have to resist with every means at their disposal and in that resistance they must not be left to fight alone.

April 5th Action is calling for the dropping of all the charges against those arrested for their participation in the September 29th demonstration, compensation to those injured and action taken against those police officers responsible. It further calls for the repeal of those clauses in the POO which contravene the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights.

The committee for the concern of the 29.9 incident can be contacted at—

B 1 Kwai Chung Centre
1st Floor, Kwai Hing Rd,
N.T., Hong Kong

The address of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office—

King Charles St.,
London, SW1

REVOLTING

THE ANARCHIST movement has always had a measure of importance in Brazilian society. At the end of the 1970's the last bastions of resistance were all but extinguished by the military dictatorship which had established itself in 1969.

Since 1985, Rio de Janeiro has seen an upsurge in anarchist organisation, particularly among students. This re-activation is forging itself a new role among young Brazilians, and has seen the birth of GAJO (Anarchist Group Jose Oicitica), CAE9 (Student Cell 9th July), and the Mutual Aid Group, which is a broad coalition of anarchist students.

Activities over the last couple of years have included conferences, discussion groups, publication of pamphlets etc, as well as anti-militarist actions (albeit pacifist) and anti-election propaganda (the vote is compulsory in Brazil). A magazine 'Utopia' has been published twice in the last eighteen months, acting

STUDENTS

as a forum for debate, ideas and news.

The anti-election stunts gained wide press coverage—resulting in a 24% missing vote, and condemnation by the leftist parties. The state itself has publicly tolerated the student anarchist movement but activists say that mail has been tampered with.

These independent groups are growing but sources claim that individual contacts are becoming harder. Anarchists are now trying to set precise terms for organizing a federation between groups. They also hope to establish international contacts in the future.

Source Umanita Nova



TRANSISTOR RESISTER

THE POPULAR parisian, anarchist radio station, Radio Libertaire, is facing the most serious crisis of its ten year history and needs help in order for its existence to continue.

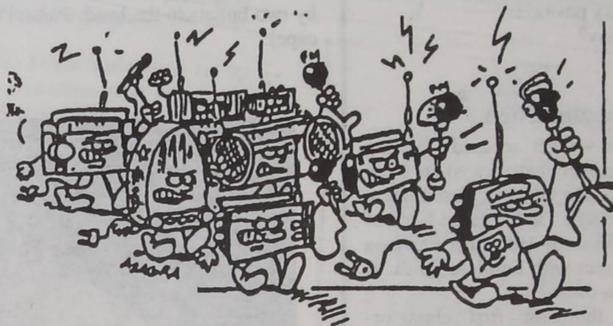
For several months, signals from commercial stations have been operating over and above their legally sanctioned power limits and have interfered with transmissions from Radio Libertaire. Their response has been to increase the signal from RL in order for programmes to be broadcast clearly. Now the French government has responded by officially suspending Radio Libertaire transmissions, but not those of the commercial stations. RL refuses to

accept this suspension, as it is arbitrary, unfair and does nothing to remedy the problem of illegally powerful broadcasts by the other stations. Consequently Radio Libertaire now faces police seizure of their transmission equipment and permanent closure.

Please send letters of protest now to: CSA, 56 Rue Jacob, 75272 Paris CEDEX 06, France.

Petition forms can also be obtained from the Radio Libertaire Support Group, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW.

Letters of support should be sent to Radio Libertaire, 145 Rue Amelot, 75011 Paris, France.



IN BRIEF

Direct Action Gets The Goods

A CNT MEMBER from Salamanca was dismissed from a building site in Villalba (Madrid) for demanding better wages, legal contracts, safety, etc...but not for long. On the 18th September 40 companeros arrived, stopped work on the site, held assemblies with the workers, gave out 1000's of leaflets, did graffiti and interviews with local press and radio.

The worker was promptly rehired and the direct action was a great success.

ANTI-MILI

In recent months the struggle against compulsory military service has escalated with hundreds of young people declaring themselves to be total refusers, not going to the army service and also refusing the new alternative military service which the State has brought in to try and solve the 'problem'.

When you refuse military service and are classed as an objector, you get called up again for alternative service. So far there have been three rounds of 2nd call-ups and each time objectors, with support demos, have presented themselves to the military governors to declare themselves total objectors and be arrested.

But the Spanish state has shown weakness, maybe because almost everyone is, passively, against the 'mili' (up to 90% in Catalonia and Euskadi). Normally they just arrest 2 or 3 at each centre, apparently at random. This provokes in every case so far a series of sit-ins, chain-ins, demos, marches to the prisons etc. So far in each case the state has backed down and let the objectors go within a month, to face possible court cases later.

To declare yourself a Total Refuser is to go against the state and all it stands for. so the anti-mili movement is mainly an anarchist struggle, with the lefties, parties and unions (except the CNT-AIT) keeping clear or giving passive approval. Nor have the radical Catalan or Basque nationalists become seriously involved, they want their own army after the revolution.

Its a case of a large number of local support groups all over Spain, with Mili KK, and MOC (Movement of Conscientious Objectors) co-ordinating and doing legal work. The alternative info groups—ANA, Tas Tas, Upa, and Contra—also play an important role. It's difficult to keep up with the literally hundreds of actions of a decentralised movement. The aim now is to tell people 'you can get away with it' and persuade thousands, or tens of thousands, to make the whole system unworkable.

Source: Ekomedia, Barcelona



CNT NEWS

ON 5th OCTOBER the CNT (anarcho-syndicalist union) organised a series of occupations of disused union offices all over Spain to protest that their property stolen by Franco's fascist government still has not been returned.

In La Coruna, Galicia, eight of the 30 CNT occupiers were arrested and beaten up. In Granada 3 companeros were arrested and refused bail after a violent eviction. Nine police claimed injuries in the fighting. The 3 nicked—Antonio, Joaquin and Jimenez started a protest campaign and on 16th October began a hunger strike. They were released on bail on 18th October.

There were similar occupations in Bilbao, Cordoba, Oviedo, Alicante and Barcelona and attempted ones in Madrid and Salamanca.

The buildings claimed by the CNT are unfortunately also claimed by the CGT—a reformist split from the CNT. The excuse of the State is that they don't know which is the real CNT and a bitter feud and endless battle continues.

From Their Foreign Correspondent

JOSE DE CAONCEICAO Carvalho was a 36 year old activist in the Trotskyite Revolutionary Socialist Party until fascists belonging to the National Movement (MAN) murdered him in Lisbon during a confrontation between fascists and anti-fascists in the city centre.

According to our source, MAN was founded in 1985, since when it has attracted many skin-

heads into its ranks. Their favourite pastime involves roaming Lisbon in gangs of 10 or 15 beating up blacks, homosexuals and punks, amongst others, with iron bars and baseball bats.

How strange then that the British NF (Qaddafi wing) boasts of its good relations with MAN, when it tells all and sundry how right on and anti-fascist they are these days.

SECTARIAN NOTES

THE ANARCHIST movement in Portugal took a leap forward recently with the formation of an Anarchist Federation recently affiliated to the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation). They state: 'The FGARP (Portuguese Federation of Anarchist Groups) will fully co-operate with the IWA, and any other genuine anarchist-based organisations in Portugal. The FGARP will avoid all individuals, groups and organisations that espouse libertarian-democratic or libertarian-reformist ideas.' Similarly it rejects organisations that collaborate with state institutions—and by doing so attempt to integrate the anarchist movement into (bourgeois) democratic society.

'The FGARP regards the above activities counter-revolutionary and will denounce any attempts by the international anarchist movement to timidly accept such anti-anarchist, counter-revolutionary positions.' What more can we say?

There and Then

ALL TOO OFTEN we get accused of being 'too sectarian' (whatever that means) so a big round of applause for the Glasgow based 'Here and Now' collective who in the latest issue of their magazine lay into the Humanist Party—a dodgy 'libertarian' sect with limitless funds. A ringer if ever we saw one!

Thank Bakunin then for first class organisations like the Spanish CNT who—as reported in the same issue—are helping 'democratise' companies like the SEAT car factory in Barcelona by beating the communist and socialist unions at the ballot box.

Hold on a minute! Didn't the CNT boycott the elections at SEAT? Well yes and no. The 'CNT' referred to by 'Here and Now' are now called the CGT and were entered en masse by the Humanist Party a couple of years ago. Oops!

CON-FUSION

Not content with masquerading as the CNT, the phony CNT (now thankfully called the CGT) has extended its sinews into other areas. There's now a phony 'Mujeres Libres' group and—coming soon—a phony International Workers Association. You have been warned.

On a lighter note, a phony CNT has emerged in Britain—the Commission for the New Towns (property developers!)

Left-Right-Left

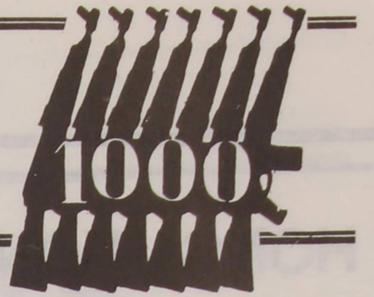
Not nice to know it's not only us who've been plagued by fascists posing as 'revolutionaries'. In Spain a nazi group called 'Bases Autonomas' has emerged, freely using the circled A in their graffiti and pseudo-revolutionary slogans in their literature. They describe themselves as 'Third Positionists' (like the British NF—Qadaffi wing) while specialising in attacking leftists or acting as agents provocateurs during left-wing demos.



ALF-CANADA NEWS

The Edmonton branch of the ALF SG have informed us of a traitor working within the ranks of the animal rights movement. His name is Dick Faragini and he runs an organisation called People Against Cruel Trapping Society of Edmonton. He has offered a \$1000 reward for the arrest of Animal Liberation Front activists who have claimed responsibility for attacks. Edmonton ALF SG would like to warn any animal rights supporters to beware of this man, who may well try to establish contact with British groups at some stage.

THE GARI AND THE LAST OF FRANCO



IN THE LAST years of Franco's rule, on the afternoon of 25th Sept 1973 Santiago Soler Amigo and Francisco Javier Garraiga Paituvi were to meet in Barcelona. The former failed to keep his appointment, having been arrested two days earlier for allegedly belonging to the MIL (Iberian Liberation Movement). The latter, unaware of the arrest and accompanied by Salvador Puig Antich, walked into a police ambush on Gerona Street.

Policemen managed to disarm both Paituvi and Puig Antich in the hallway of the building after a scuffle. In the ensuing fight Puig Antich fell to the ground, produced another gun hidden in the back of his belt and mortally wounded Inspector Francisco Jesus Anguas Barragan. Puig Antich was later sentenced to death for this killing. Eventually both men were overpowered (Antich seriously wounded by two bullets to the head, Paituvi trying to escape).

Groups), GAROT (Revolutionary Occasionally Terrorist Action Groups), 'The Friends of Puig Antich and Heinz Chez' and GARI (International Revolutionary Action Groups) sprang up, the latter becoming the most important.

GARI inherited its anti-capitalism from the MIL. 'It is the will to win what we aim for, the destruction of capitalism in all its forms—whether democratic or fascist—and not the wish to pursue contradictory ideas that indicate what means to use and against whom in each and every circumstance.' (GARI communique—1st July 74).

On the night of the 23rd March 1974 three bombs exploded on highways and railway lines leading to Spain in the south of France. Each attack claimed by GARI in protest at Puig Antich's execution, had a special characteristic—the determination to avoid human casualties. Some 200 metres from the bombs a



Salvador PUIG ANTICH

It would be the last time Salvador Puig Antich knew freedom. At 25 years old, 'El Metge' (his nickname) had joined the MIL in November 1971 and the GAC (Autonomous Combat Groups), although the latter disbanded in August 1973. 'El Metge' was sentenced to death by Spain's war council who sat on the 7th and 8th January 1974. They gave fellow MIL member Pons Llobet thirty years (despite laws decreeing a maximum 20 years for minors) and Maria Angustias Mateos five years.

On the 1st March 1974 Pio Cabanillas, Minister for Information, announced Puig Antich's execution. Both 'El Metge' and Heinz Chez (a non-political Pole who had killed a policeman) were garrotted in the patio of Barcelona's Modelo Prison. No acts of solidarity could save them though many were attempted.

Following the execution, 1500 youths clashed with police in Saragossa, a police car in Valencia was destroyed, BOE (equivalent to the CBI) Headquarters in Madrid were destroyed, as were Spanish banks in Paris. Similar activities occurred in Dublin, Toulouse, Perpignan, Lyon, Pau, Bologna, Rome, Milan, Genoa, Brussels, Lieja, Luxemburg, Geneva, Liverpool and London.

Each and every Spanish-owned building was a potential target for protesters against the crime that quenched the thirst of fascism for blood after the death of Carrero Blanco (Franco's Prime Minister).

Groups like the GAI (International Action

clearly visible sign—e.g. 'Warning, Bridge Mined' had been written.

From its origins GARI (in contrast to the MIL) never had clear aims. Its influences

were as diverse as its members. Three tendencies emerged: Ex-MIL; ex-prisoners (including Jean Marc Rouillan, later to form Action Directe in France) some with councillorist ideas and the 'anarcho-sindicalist group' made from various groups linked with the FIJL (a section of the First of May Group) and 'Los Nuevos' (theoretically confused and incorporating many tendencies). As a result, offensive action by the group was impeded. Instead, defensive action in response to Francoist injustice and repression developed.

'Effective solidarity consists of the objectives that motivate those involved. If we call for solidarity for someone we agree with, things are clear. We don't intend merely to ask for solidarity with prisoners. Society offers sufficient lawyers, social workers and priests, for revolutionaries to worry about such things'.

GARI hit the headlines on the morning of the 3rd May, with the kidnapping of Angel Baltasar Suarez, director of the Bank of Bilbao in Paris, and a representative of world capitalism and fascism. 'Presented as an innocent victim, he is in reality a conscious, active representative of the Spanish Government. Consequently, Mr Suarez is responsible in the same way as those who reinforce the system of cap-

italist oppression.' (communique 15th May 1974).

On the 7th May the Libertarian Committee against Repression issued, during a secret press conference in Barcelona, a document in which the kidnapers gave their demands.

1. The publication of all communiqués, texts and documents in the media.
2. Freedom for Santiago Soler Amigo, seriously ill and accused of MIL membership.
3. Publication of the case against alleged activities of FRAP arrested in connection with the events of May Day 1973.
4. Freedom for all political prisoners still in jail after their release date has expired. The failure to release these prisoners is tantamount to kidnapping by the Francoist regime.'

The Spanish Government was given two weeks to respond, and two months to comply. On 22nd May, Suarez was released in Vincennes (near Paris). As a result of these demands, many tourists spent their holidays in Italy or Yugoslavia in order to starve the repressive Spanish regime of income (they responded by threatening to execute more revolutionaries). On the same day nine people were arrested in connection with the kidnapping although none had been directly involved. On the 23rd a car bomb exploded outside Iberia's offices in Brussels in response to these arrests.

The two month deadline ran out in July and on the 24th Oriol Sole and Pons Llovet were tried. On the 15th the episcopal vicarage in Andorra was blown up. The following morning thirteen coaches that had taken pilgrims to Lourdes went up ('A place of pilgrimage where millions of believers from all over the world visit to wash their bodies and souls in a bath of fanaticism and hypocrisy'). Aside from its aim to show solidarity with political prisoners it attacked 'the Church and its ideology—religion—brother of fascism'.

On the 16th cars following the Tour de France were destroyed. Spanish participants received death threats from GARI as conscious accomplices of Francoism. 'Sport is said to be apolitical with good reason. While such games endure millions of individuals forget the real problems of surviving within the system, whether democratic or fascist'.

The Suarez kidnapping and related actions saved Oriol Sole from the death sentence. Nevertheless, he received 48 years imprisonment, while Pons Lloret got 24.

The summer of '74 saw many similar attacks (all without human casualties) in France, Belgium and Britain. Any representation of the Spanish State was regarded as a legitimate target. 23 were arrested in relation to the GARI and in October 1974 the group abandoned its armed activities. Its actions were always guided by solidarity with MIL prisoners. Its bombs and kidnapping saved more than one revolutionary from the death sentence.

POSTSCRIPT: The activities of the GARI against the closing days of the Franco repression marked (with the Angry Brigade period of the sixties, with which it was linked) the first emergence of activist anarchism in Britain, at any rate since 1914, with direct involvement in the international struggle here and abroad. It was in the enthusiasm of those days that *Black Flag* was born (and occasioned the otherwise inexplicable hostility to it in various pseudo-'anarchist' circles ever since).

Puig Antich spent some time in London, where he first became an anarchist: he had earlier been purely a Catalan nationalist (it is odd to reflect that according to a directive of those times, on his death he was described by reporters as a 'Catalan nationalist': yet had he still been one they would have called him an anarchist!) He worked with our colleague and ex-prisoner Miguel Garcia, who had spent 22 years in Franco's jails, and developed ideas and strategy with him. Many London comrades counted Puig Antich as a friend. He also visited several other towns speaking on the Spanish struggle, with Miguel Garcia and Albert Meltzer. It can be admitted now Miguel is beyond further persecution that he inspired much of the active international resistance referred to in the above report. That so many British and Irish (and visiting Continental) women and men knew and esteemed Puig Antich personally, as well as Miguel, undoubtedly caused the backlash against Francoism on the death of Puig Antich, and led to new approaches in many countries.

From Small Beginnings

THE HISTORY OF anarchism in Chile is inextricably linked with the workers' movement. Nearly all of the first activists to emerge were hatters, cobblers, carpenters, printers and bakers. Artisans who worked with their hands.

'Rebels, insurrectionists, debaters and ungovernable, the true activists had no truck with disorder'. Little or nothing has been written about the hundred year history of anarchism in Chile, even though anarchists have controlled the largest trade unions in the country over many decades.

In one impoverished printshop, in August 1876, a modest newspaper entitled *El Duende* was published, lasting four issues. Soon after came another publication *El Pueblo*, the seventh issue calling for a popular revolt. The man behind both publications was Santiago Ramas, a printer, and Chile's first anarchist according to Barros Arana. Historian Marcelo Segall confirmed the fact in 1962: 'El Duende was the first expression of the people.'

Intuitive anarchism, perhaps, but here lies the key to the future of the workers movement,

something official historians rarely acknowledge.

In March 1850 the hatter Ambrosio Larucheda, the cobbler Manuel Lucares and the tailors Cecilia Cerda and Rudescindo Rojas were among the first to join the subversive, newly-formed *Sociedad de la Igualdad*. Santiago Arcos and Francisco Bilbao, its founders, felt that until then the *Club de la Reforma*, to which they all belonged, had purely electoral objectives. Arcos had toured Europe and brought with him a variety of ideas thrown up by the French revolution of 1848. Anarchism had yet to be consolidated practically and doctrinally, despite Proudhon's adoption of the term several years previously, while its relationships to Utopian socialism, federalism, Proudhonism and pure communism flourished.

Something then began to stir in Santiago. 'At night the *Sociedad de la Igualdad*, with over a thousand members, gathered. The government panicked, thinking revolution was just around the corner.' The group, forerunners of the Chilean anarchists, was brutally suppressed. Arcos and Bilbao were exiled.

Next year the *Union de Tipografos* was launched. A Proudhonist-influenced organisation of printworkers, it was the first trade union to be established in Chile. Ten years later Fermin

Vivaceta founded the *Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos* (Mutual Aid Society), and in 1866 the Utopian socialist Ramon Picarte attempted what many felt to be the most revolutionary project yet: a commune on Fourier's lines in Chile. The idea spread to Valparaiso. In 1873 the *Sociedad Francisco Bilbao* was opened.

By the beginning of the Pacific war, liberals and radicals controlled sixty Mutual Societies. Two years later, a delegation from the First International visited Chile but it was evident that the type of solidarity organisations present at the time were not relevant enough for the more radical workers.

In 1887 the *Partido Democratico* was set up with no help from anarchists who felt that a political party structure in itself was part of the power system they wanted to change. As an alternative the *Sociedad Union Republicana del Pueblo* was launched in the same year.

By 1892 the first clearly anarchist Social Studies Centre was established in Valparaiso. In the following year the first anarchist paper *El Oprimido* was launched, lasting four issues. Around 1896 various prominent anarchists emerged to give their all for the proletarian cause, Magno Espinoza, Luis Olea and Alejandro Escobar Carvallo. In the same year organisations with anarchist tendencies arose: the *Centro Social Obrero*, including poet Carlos Pezoa Veliz within its ranks as well as Juan Bautista Peralta, Escobar Carvallo and Espinoza—the latter publishing the newspaper *El Grito del Pueblo*. The second organisation *Agrupacion Fraternal Obrera* was headed by Luis Olea.

In 1897 both organisations joined forces with egalitarian socialists like Hipolito Olivares and his son, and formed the *Union Socialista*. Despite police infiltrating the founding conference, the group managed to publish *El Proletario* (edited by Olea, assisted by Espinoza and Escobar) for three issues, after which the *Union Socialista* collapsed due to ideological differences and persistent police infiltration.



Alejandro Escobar Carvallo

The following year Olivares and his son founded the first Socialist Party of Chile around the same time as the *Partido Obrero Francisco Bilbao* was launched. Both persistently attacked anarchists, although the latter gradually consolidated their influence. Escobar edited two issues of *La Tromba* with Luis Olea, while mechanic Magno Espinoza developed the *Rebellion* group, and published *Rebelde*. On the 1st May the anarchists staged the first demonstration in Chile to commemorate the Chicago Martyrs. Escobar founded the *Sociedad de Carpinteros y Ebanistas* and together with Olea and Espinoza spread the word in the *Salon de Panaderos*, winning the *Sociedad de Instruccion y Socorros Mutuos*, Caupolican, over to the cause.

Two members, Esteban Caviades and Luis Morales, went on to found the first *Sociedad de Resistencia* among railway workers—an event that helped further establish anarchist ideas.

Historian Claudio Rolle has noted, 'The aims and tactics of this type of organisation were fundamentally different from the mutual aid societies and associations active in the north', while US researcher Peter de Schazo noted that the *Sociedades de Resistencia* were geared towards action. The attainment of better conditions was only the first stage of a major long term aim destined to break the system via revolutionary action. Consequently, anarchist strikes had an insurrectional flavour, waging war against the State and all manifestations of power. Historian Luis Vitale asserts these *Sociedades* represented the first proper syndicalist unions in Chile.

ANARCHISTS EXPELLED

In 1899 the *Partido Obrero Francisco Bilbao* went over to anarchism. *El Pueblo*, *El Jornal* and *La Antorcha* (a literary review edited by Mario Centore) helped spread the idea. Luis Olea opened the *Workers Athenaeum*.

Anarchism had become regarded as a threat. The first Anarchist Federation—*Obreros de Imprenta* (printworkers)—was formed. Magno Espinoza was forced to settle in Valparaiso. Each and every employer in the capital refused to give him a job. Around *Antorcha* grew the *Youth Athenaeum*. More publications appeared—*El Acrata* for fourteen issues, alongside *La Luz*, *El Faro* and *El Siglo XX*. At the same time the dockers of Iquique turned to anarchism, while activists launched an intense campaign against compulsory national service.

In 1910 Pietro Gori (Malatesta's friend) visited Chile. His influence helped many mili-

Continued on page 8

A LESSON FROM THE PAST

HALF A CENTURY on, the actions of German anti-fascists are still scarcely known. This article recounts the anarcho-syndicalists of the Rhineland's struggles through the grim years of Nazi Germany.

It must be added that 220,000 Germans were sentenced to imprisonment from '33 to '39 on the charge of 'preparing acts of high treason'. If you also consider those who were assassinated or imprisoned without trial in concentration camps for opposing the Nazi government, the importance of resistance to the Third Reich within Germany can be understood.

On the 5th November 1937, Julius Nolden of Duisberg, a worker in the car manufacturing industry, was sentenced by the People's Tribunal of Berlin to ten years imprisonment for 'preparation of an act of high treason with aggravating circumstances'. Nolden was prominent in the *Clandestine FAUD* (*Frei Arbeiter Union Deutschland*, German section of the IWA) at the time it was smashed by the Gestapo. By the beginning of 1938 88 other anarcho-syndicalists from the Rhineland had also been arrested and tried.

In 1921 the Duisberg branch of the *FAUD* was strong with approximately 5,000 members, but by 1933 after Hitler took power membership had dropped and there were little more than a few small groups left. The number of active militants in south Duisberg must have been around 25, and the regional Local numbered 180 to 200 members paying contributions.

At its last national conference, held in Erfut in March 1932, the *FAUD* decided that in the event of the Nazis taking power the federation office in Berlin would be dissolved, work would be continued clandestinely and that it should reply with an immediate general strike. The last was not possible to put into practice; throughout Germany the *FAUD* was decimated by waves of arrests.

In April or May 1933, Dr Gerhard Waterberg succeeded, before fleeing Germany, in finding a replacement for his *FAUD* secretarial tasks in Emil Zehner of Erfut, a locksmith. He took refuge in Amsterdam with other German anarcho-syndicalists, thanks to the hospitality of Dutch comrade Albert de Jung. At the same time, the Secretariat of the IWA (International

Workers Association) was transferred to Holland, without being able to prevent all mail and archives falling into the hands of the Nazis.

In autumn 1933, Emil Zehner was replaced by Ferdinand Gotze of the Saxony Local, then by Richard Thiede of Leipzig. In western Germany, on the run from the Gestapo, Ferdinand Gotze reappeared in autumn 1934. Meanwhile, also in the western Germany a clandestine *FAUD* was formed with the support of the Dutch IWA section, the *NSV* (*Nederlandisch Syndikalistisch Vakverbond*), whilst the Secretariat of the *FAUD* in exile was being set up hastily in Amsterdam.

Up to the Nazis taking power, Franz Bungert was secretary of the Duisberg regional federation. Without trial he was imprisoned in 1933



in Bogermoor concentration camp. At the end of a year he regained his freedom but was unable to undertake any illegal action due to permanent surveillance. His successor was Julius Nolden, unemployed steelworker and treasurer for the Rhineland Local. He also was arrested by the Gestapo who suspected that behind his work with the local burial society was hidden illegal contact with other *FAUD* members.

In June 1933, not long after his release, he

met Karolus Heber, who was involved in the clandestine resistance in Erfut, in order to look at the possibility of organising the escape of comrades in danger to Holland and the setting up of organised resistance in the Rhine and Ruhr regions. Nolden and his comrades set up an escape route to Amsterdam and distributed anti-fascist propaganda.

In the files of the day appears the anti-fascist pamphlet camouflaged under the title 'Eat German fruit and be healthy' which was so popular amongst miners that they would shout 'have you also eaten German fruit?' to each other.

In 1935 with the improvement of the economic situation it became harder and harder to maintain illegal anarcho-syndicalist organisation. Many comrades found work after long periods of unemployment and were hesitant about getting involved in active resistance, Gestapo terror doing the rest. Also from 1935, no further propaganda arrived from Amsterdam.

The start of the Spanish revolution in 1936 breathed new life into the German anarcho-syndicalist movement. Julius Nolden made many new contacts in Duisberg, Dusseldorf and Cologne, organised meetings and started collections to aid Spanish comrades. At the same time, Simon Wehren, of Aix-le-Chapelle, used the resources of the workers' clubs in the Rhineland to try and find volunteer engineers to go to Spain.

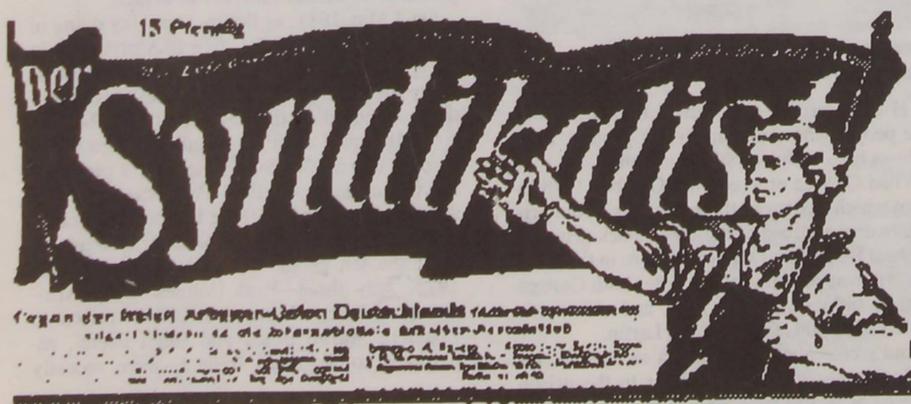
In December 1936 the Gestapo managed, thanks to an infiltrator, to discover the existence of groups in Munchengladbach, Dulken and Viersen. Early in 1937 they arrested 50 anarcho-syndicalists from Dusseldorf, Duisberg and Cologne in a short space of time, amongst them Julius Nolden. Before long more arrests followed, bringing to 89 the number of *FAUD* members in the hands of the Gestapo. The repression lasted a whole year. All were tried for 'preparing acts of high treason', in January and February 1938, with only 6 acquittals for lack of evidence, the rest being condemned to prison sentences of several months to 6 years. Julius Nolden was put in Luttringhausen prison until released by the Allies on 19th April 1945.

In May of that year he met up with other survivors from the Duisberg group to launch the *Libertarian Socialists Federation* (Anarcho-Syndicalist).

In prison several comrades were murdered. Emil Mahner (a turner from Duisberg) was, according to 4 fellow inmate witnesses, thrown over handrails on the 2nd floor by a police torturer.

Wilhelm Schnitz, a mason, also died in prison on 29th January 1944, exact circumstances unknown. Ernst Holtznagel was sent to penal battalion 999, whose reputation was sinister, and ultimately to his death. Michael Delissen of Munchengladbach was shot dead by the Gestapo in December 1936. Anton Rosinke of Dusseldorf was shot in February 1937.

Anarcho-syndicalist Ernst Binder of Dusseldorf, writing retrospectively in 1947, said; 'massive resistance was not possible in 1933, the movement's most militant comrades had to spread their forces in guerrilla actions without any hope. But, if from this painful experience, workers learn the lesson that only united resistance at the opportune moment can be effective in the fight against fascism; then the sacrifices will not have been useless.'



All for seven dollars...

I have spent six and a half of the past eight years in constant solitary confinement because of my activism. I have been regularly beaten by guards, maced (aerosol CS gas), blasted with high pressure hoses, held in 4 wayrestraints and kept in a sensory-deprivation 'boxcar' cell. I have, in short, been subjected to every and all behaviour modification technique and experiment known here, in an attempt to break my spirit. But I refuse to submit to them and this perpetual torture only serves to make my commitment to the struggle that much stronger.

In September 1988 I was charged by the prison for allegedly stabbing another prisoner, even though at the time of the attack I was locked in isolation. The victim was a prison collaborator, a snitch who worked with the prison administration. No guard claimed to have seen me carry out the attack; the snitch told me it was me. He was then immediately released on parole. Even though I produced evidence of my innocence, I was thrown into J! Super-Max.

In December 1988 I was criminally indicted for 'fellonious assault with prior specifications'. There have been hundreds of stabbings and murders in this prison. No prisoner has ever been criminally indicted here, only disciplined internally. I was selectively indicted purely because of my activism in prison. The prosecutor offered me a one and a half to five year sentence if I pleaded guilty to a reduced charge of aggravated assault. Although I was due to see the Parole Board and probably be released, I refused to compromise my principles.

On August 28, 29 and 30 of this year, I was tried in Scioto, a small rural Appalachian county, by a known right-wing judge. Throughout the trial I was kept in leg-irons, belly-chain and handcuffs. During the calling of the jury 5 prospective jurors refused to take part, saying that the trial was a complete waste of taxpayers' money. My attorneys had filed a motion to dismiss the Prosecutor because he had

previously defended me in another case before getting his present job. He had been heard to say that he would 'get me' because of an insolent letter that I sent him years ago.

They also filed to remove my chains as these prejudiced my right to a presumption of innocence and also to dismiss the indictment because of selective and discriminatory prosecution due to my prison activism—IWW organising and litigations against the administration of the prison. The judge, without even holding a hearing on the merits of the motions, summarily denied them and I was tried in chains surrounded by 5 uniformed armed deputies, 3 uniformed armed prison guards and 2 armed plainclothes detectives.

The State presented the paroled prisoner who accused me of committing the attack on him. My defense caught him out in numerous lies and totally discredited his story. Over Defense objections, the judge allowed him to show the scar to the jury. No medical records were produced.

3 prison guards took the stand, saying they didn't see the stabbing, but the victim told them I had done it. They testified that no knives were found after the initial search. A fourth guard said that the next day he had found a knife 9 feet in the cell vent, which had to be completely dismantled to be removed. A State 'expert' said that blood had been found on the knife, but not enough to determine type. The state rested.

Our lab expert testified that the blood was in fact rust. Evidence also showed that on a subsequent search over 30 knives were found in cellvents and that knives were very common in prisons.

Throughout the 'trial' the judge openly assisted the Prosecutor, denied all our defence motions and when my witnesses were testifying, shook his head, made faces and rolled his eyes. All my witnesses from prison were kept chained like myself and each had two extra armed guards behind him as he testified.

Then to add farce to this Kafkaesque night-

mare, a prisoner called Goodgame took the stand and openly admitted to having done the stabbing. He said that the victim had beaten him and stolen his money and he wanted revenge. Other prisoners corroborated his statement, as did the police report made at the time. He added that he knew that the victim would not report him as they had been lovers. Now that I was being tried for his offence he had come forward as his conscience was bothering him. We rested our case.

The jury, which comprised 6 men and 6 women—the foreman being a former prison employee—were out for two and a half hours. They sent out two notes to the judge, one asking to review the transcript of Goodgame's confession, the other to view the chart of the crime scene. The judge refused both and then refused a further request to visit that area of the prison where the incident had occurred. During deliberation male voices were heard shouting at the women; we believe that the women wanted to acquit me but the men intimidated them. At 6pm the jury returned a verdict of guilty. Judge Mitchel gleefully gave me the maximum sentence—12 to 15 years to be served consecutively to my present sentence, of which I have already served much more than the minimum. I have just finished a 4 year continuance given to me by the Parole Board and recently they gave me another 4 years because of my activism.

I was sent to prison when I was 19. I am now 34. I was originally gaoled for a \$7 robbery. Later, another conviction was added for aggravated assault on a guard when he and 8 others tried to kill me in 1984, a month after they had murdered fellow prisoner Jimmy Haines and had recently killed fellow prisoners Day Vaughn, Lincoln Carter and John Ingram.

I will now have to serve at least 12 more years in this bloody rathole before I even see the Parole Board, who continually add time because of my activism. I cannot do another 12 years. The administration has made numerous

attempts on my life and has recently intensified its attacks and oppression. I am writing this in the Boxcar sensory deprivation cell. I have just been CS gassed by the guards. They have been attacking me since I was returned from court. Their latest tactic is to isolate me. I am the only prisoner on this side of the block. All the other prisoners have been moved. Now there are no witnesses to the attacks by the guards. I know they intend to kill me.

We have numerous grounds for appeal to win a reversal on this conviction based on constitutional issues and trial mismanagement as well as judicial and prosecutorial mismanagement and misconduct. If I don't get this conviction reversed on appeal I will die in prison or trying to gain my freedom without using the criminal injustice system.

I am desperately in need of funds to pay for essential legal help to prepare my appeal. We have only a limited time to get an appeal brief in or the sentence will stand undisputed. The Public Defender is overworked, underpaid and cannot dedicate the time, research and investigation necessary to prepare an appeal. I need at least \$3000 to hire a competent criminal appeal lawyer. This is a lot of money and I realise that people like us don't have much, but please dig deeply in your pockets to help. Time is of the essence. Please do what you can. My entire life depends on it. In the meantime I will continue to fight oppression here. Without struggle there can be no change.

I send my revolutionary greetings and solidarity to all of you and thank you in advance for whatever assistance you can give.

In struggle,

John Perotti

IWW General Defense Committee
D.E. Slaton, Secretary
PO Box 26381
Trotwood
Ohio 45426
USA

IN BRIEF

NEWS ON AVI NAFTEL

AVI HAS BEEN accused of improper use of a photocopier by the Senior Prison Counsellor who immediately ensured that Avi was fired from his job as Kitchen Clerk. This means that he has been thrown out of the 'Honour Pod' where all inmates are obliged to have jobs. The pod has meant greater safety for Avi because the privilege system is such that no one will attack him and risk losing their place in the pod.

When he demanded to know why he was being punished before any sort of investigation as to whether he was guilty, he was thrown into 'investigative lockdown' which is a fancy name for solitary confinement. He is being forced to wear a day-glo orange boiler suit, has no prison income, no guitar and no one to talk to. He is allowed pencil and paper and a cassette radio.

All letters of support will be gratefully received and should be sent to Avi Naftel, 45287, ASPC-T-CIMARRON, 10,000 South Wilmot, Tucson, AZ 85777-0005 USA

Avi has been doing so well that the authorities are afraid he will get an early release. He needs a clean disciplinary record for any chance of an early parole, but it is increasingly unlikely that he will get the hoped for transfer to England.

TORONTO ABC APPEAL

TORONTO ANARCHIST Black Cross is appealing for donations towards material aid for Ramona Africa, a MOVE prisoner. MOVE is primarily Black, radical, anti-industrial, anti-capitalist 'family'. Ramona is the only adult survivor of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE household in Philadelphia, and is still being held in the women's prison in Muncy. The ABC is requesting that donations be sent to Ramona Support Fund, c/o ABC Toronto, PO Box 6326 Stn A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1P7. All money received will be forwarded directly to Ramona

Who remembers the 'guilty'?

ONCE UPON A TIME, I asked a now-deceased editor of Freedom to devote some of his paper's precious space to defending two Irish anarchists (1), sentenced to hang for killing a policeman. The response was 'But are they guilty?'. The question had never occurred to me. But the implication was clear. If they were, forget it. I was reminded of this recently by watching Gerry Conlon's long overdue exit from the Old Bailey, after fifteen years in prison for something he didn't do. Happy as I was to see Gerry set free, I couldn't help thinking about another Irishman in an English prison, Paul Holmes. Paul's only visit to the Old Bailey was to blow it up. He is one of the 'guilty': those who have committed the crime of fighting for their freedom.

In December 1971, Paul Holmes was arrested in Belfast and interned without trial aboard the prison ship Maidstone, before being transferred to Long Kesh. He had only been free 8 weeks when, with 9 other IRA volunteers (2), he was arrested at London-Heathrow Airport in April 1973 and charged with the car-bombings of Scotland Yard and the Old Bailey. Sentenced to life and thirty years at Winchester in November 1973, Paul joined 7 of his comrades on hunger strike, demanding political status and repatriation to Ireland. Moved instead, to Parkhurst prison hospital, he collapsed into a coma 6 days later.

A serious heart condition forced Paul to give up that hunger strike, but the following spring he resumed the protest with Michael Gaughen and Frank Stagg. Alarmed by Paul's condition, his two comrades persuaded him to again give up the hunger strike. On 3rd June 1974, after 66 days without food, Michael Gaughen was murdered by force-feeding. Frank Stagg died on 12 February 1976, on yet another hunger strike in Wakefield.

Paul Holmes continued to resist. Moved to Gartree, he spent 161 days in solitary for going

to the aid of another prisoner who was being ill-treated. Sent back to Parkhurst again, he once more went on hunger strike over conditions there. Returned to Gartree he took part in July 1978, in a 52 hour roof top protest by 9 Irish prisoners (including Paul Hill (3), recently freed with Conlon as one of the Guildford Four) demanding political status, repatriation, and demonstrating their solidarity with



Drawing of Paul Holmes done by another Parkhurst prisoner

the H-block protest in Northern Ireland. Of the nine people who took part in that protest, Paul Holmes is the only one still in prison.

When Gartree erupted on 5 October 1978 in a riot which destroyed three quarters of the prison, over the forced drugging of black prisoner Michael Blake, Paul was once more in the thick of it. He was put into solitary after both Gartree protests (86 days for the riot), and afterwards moved again, this time to Long Lartin.

Paul's continued ill health (a serious ear infection) necessitated his transfer to the prison hospital at Wormwood Scrubs in 1980. Repea-

ted requests for transfer to a prison in Northern Ireland, in order to allow his old and dying mother to visit him, were refused. His mother died whilst Paul was still in the Scrubs awaiting a move back to Long Lartin. Compassionate



parole to attend her funeral was denied.

On 4 May 1981, as Bobby Sands lay dying in a coma in the H blocks, five IRA prisoners in Long Lartin climbed onto the roof to demonstrate their solidarity. Paul Holmes was one of them. Sands died the next morning, but the five (4) stayed aloft for another 7 days, only coming down after Sinn Fein held a picket of the prison gates. In 1984 Paul was moved to Albany. Since late 1986 he has been in Frankland, a new top security prison near Durham.

Of the ten people arrested at Heathrow in 1973, only three—Paul Holmes, Billy Armstrong and Roy Walsh—are still in prison in England. Martin Brady and Hugh Feeny, repatriated to Northern Ireland, were recently

Continued on page 8

1992: A Challenge For All...

The following article was translated from 'Tierra Y Libertad' - a newspaper published by the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI).

FOR MANY years the anarchist movement has endured the ominous influence of reformism and attempts to sell out to the democratic system operating in most European countries.

In France, the division amongst anarchists over the question of workplace struggles has become almost

incomprehensible. While some work in reformist unions, often manipulated by political parties - the CGT, the CFDT, Force Ouvrier etc - others have chosen to work - wisely in our opinion - in the CNT(1). Others still, recently expelled from the CFDT and CGT have, rather than join the CNT, set up new unions with out a hope of moving our ideas - i.e. mutual aid and solidarity between each and every worker - forward.

In Italy the division isn't exactly the same as in France. Here the

Italian anarchist movement prefers to work through autonomous movements when it comes to workplace struggles rather than through formally constituted unions. As a result it is again virtually impossible to spread our ideas because such movements develop more or less outside the world of work. Italian anarchists disdain the USI(2) in favour of reformist and collaborationist unions.

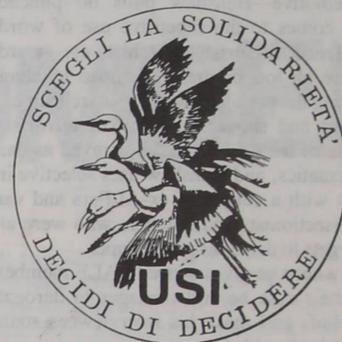
In Portugal other problems have arisen, due mainly to the relatively disorganised state of the anarchist movement there. Reformist influences, including the self-proclaimed anarchist papers 'A Batalha' and 'A Ideia' have helped in the destruction of the movement, leading to a general lack of solidarity and co-operation between groups and comrades. Hopefully, a revival of the anarchist movement can be achieved through co-operation with groups in Portugal and the Spanish FAI(3).

In Spain reformism has reared its ugly head too. Problems within the CNT resulted in a split during a Congress and a small minority, now called the CGT, left to participate in electoral processes and within state institutions - abandoning direct action in favour of mediating outfits like the works committees(4) and other decision-making bodies outside workers' control.

Within the FAI itself a similar situation occurred. An attempt was

mustn't lose sight of the fact that the struggle and our activities must cover all areas of life, including the workplace, and must be part of the workers' movement. We must also have effective international co-ordination and ensure unity when it comes to what we do and where we are going. Lack of unity weakens our struggle against the system and the state.

Agreement must be reached within IFA over our view of workplace struggles otherwise all will be lost. Of course, we don't expect all anarchists to think exactly the same but we would like to put forward some fundamental points to remember:



Mutual aid; solidarity; direct action anti parliamentarianism; the end of inequality and destruction of the class system; unending struggle for freedom of the individual and, therefore, of the collective.

We must not accept everyone who claims to be an anarchist or is active in an anarchist organisation nor anyone who participates in parliamentary or union elections. Such activities negate direct action.

Any member of our federation who acts as a paid union official accepts the social class system and promotes inequality.

Faced with the changes about to occur in 1992, anarchist workers must unite and take a stand against any new capitalist structures that are thrown up. Such a unity, we feel, cannot be achieved through unions that oppose the fundamental concepts of anarchism cited above. If such concepts are to be found in the IWA it would be wise to make use of this organisations international structure to confront European capitalist unity.

Common sense must prevail, leaving bickering aside as well as jokes like the one that says all unions are reformist. Rather than work in communist, socialist, or Christian unions affiliated to the OIT (International Workers' Organisation), we should work in the IWA, the only revolutionary international, composed of syndicalist organisations, that exists at present.

To achieve our aims, and realise our dreams, we must unite with those who fight for the same things we fight for, not with those who don't.

Footnotes

1. CNT - French section of the IWA
2. USI - Italian section of the IWA
3. FAI - Iberian Anarchist Federation, Spanish affiliate of the IFA
4. - Works committees - mini-parliament within factories in Spain composed of non-recallable union officials
5. IFA - International Anarchist Federation

Continued from front page

noticeably far better off: the system is based on privileges with party loyalists gaining marginally better standards of living. The top bureaucrats can visit the tourist hotels and through their contacts with western business people can get access to luxury goods. Walking around Moscow is like travelling back to what the West probably was like in the post World War 2 years. In the parks it is common to see groups of ten women labourers sweeping up the snow into neat piles for no other reason than to keep up the charade of 'full employment'. People are poorly dressed, buildings are drab, streets are pot-holed, the vehicles look 30 years old and military personnel and police permeate all aspects of life. At night Moscow is almost totally dark as electricity is in short supply. On the faces of Muscovites are expressions of resignation.

cheap labour and lack of environmental controls. In the Urals one massive Shell plant is expected to pull out when business becomes less profitable, throwing thousands into unemployment. They are not untypical of the Western companies.

MUTUAL AID

But all is not doom and gloom. The Miners Strikes (still going in Vorkuta) provided the impetus for the setting up of a mutual aid network, based around dissident organisations, rank and file groups and local workplace and community co-operatives. This network quietly, but efficiently got on with the job of supplying food and funds to the strikers. This initiative has led to greater confidence in the power of people to circumvent the official structures and to practice self-management.

At the same time it should be noted that the Miners Strike Committees became a target for KGB and Party infiltration, as this is part of their long-term strategy for controlling other strike action. Russian citizens were very much aware of the contradiction of the Soviet authorities publicly supporting the British miners during the 1984/5 strike whilst approving the supply of soviet coal to break the strike.

Many people find the possibility of voting for the first time in seventy years in local elections as novel and exciting, but dissident groups that include anarchists and other anti-statists are intervening by arguing for self-management rather than putting all faith into this or that party. Other anti-statists opposed to the communist monopoly believe that the novelty of elections will dissipate when real change does not materialise: instead direct action, rather than political action, is the means by which ordinary workers will gain greater control.

It is important to the Soviet citizens that perestroika is de-mystified in the West. Even more, anti-capitalist and anti-state communist organisations in the West should do what they can to intervene and ensure that the misery of capitalist exploitation doesn't add to the decades of poverty and economic and political oppression that has characterised totalitarian rule within the Eastern Bloc. Where opportunities exist with the freeing of borders, new ideas and direct assistance from both directions will become easier and this should be fully taken advantage of.

The Berlin Wall may be broken but our objective is to completely destroy all borders, not for business exploitation as with the European Single Market, but for a free society controlled directly by the people. To gain this we should act now.

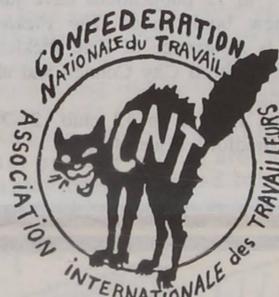
N.B. The SMOT, an independent trade union propaganda organisation, was able during the miners strike to make full use of their Information Agency in circulating news about the strikes and so assist in the mutual aid process. Despite a recent clampdown on the Arbat (a free speech mall in central Moscow) anti-state and dissident papers proliferate and are circulated more widely. For example the paper *Obshchina* (a publication of a Moscow group affiliated to the Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists, the KAS) has grown within the past few months from a hundred copies per issue as a samizdat to, now, a print run of several thousand. It is distributed to around 50 different towns and cities where it is photocopied and passed on by local activists and has now passed its thirteenth issue.

made by a dozen individuals to legalise the organisation. Abusing the confidence of other militants, they secretly developed a strategy to make the FAI legal through the Ministry of the Interior. Such acts are tantamount to an acceptance of the democratic system and its institutions.

Clearly, reformism and deviation within the anarchist movement or within unions like the CNT will continue to occur. Such acts slow down the growth of our organisation although we feel the trend is slowly being reversed.

We could have talked about other countries but restricted ourselves to four, mainly because anarchism in these four countries has been more influential, bar countries like Russia, Poland and Bulgaria where - with perestroika - anarchists are valiently trying to rebuild their movement with the help of exiled comrades and international organisations like the IFA (5) and IWA.

If we really want the anarchist movement to grow and develop we



NO HOPE IN SIGHT

Soviet citizens wonder at the Gorbachev image created by the western media: at home his economic policies are depised because of the escalation in poverty they have caused. They ask what benefits detente will have for the ordinary Russian and believe that the better links with the West will mean that their cheap labour will be exploited even further; the capitalists, they believe, are also interested in the Eastern Bloc as a means of opening up a new consumer market for goods worthless in the West. Hope for a better life is not in sight.

With the growth of nationalist movements and the worsening of the economy it was explained that there is now a genuine fear that a clampdown is imminent. Rumours abound. Some maintain that the Communist Party leadership and hardliners have secret stores of food in case of widespread industrial disruption in order that the party chiefs and the army can survive should disorder predominate. Others say that the KGB is already planning a coup and that Gorbachev has been given another two years at the most.

Western multi-nationals have well established plants that take advantage of the

Чёрное Знамя



Our apologies for the number of errors in the last issue - the editor is doing two weeks solitary as a penance. We particularly apologise for the reference to Larry Lamb in the review of 'Cabaret' - this should have read Larry Law. Also, the price

of this book is £1.50 and not £4 as stated.

Sharp eyed readers will note the high number of errors in this issue too - this was due to technical problems, so put your pens away!

BOOK REVIEW

Animal Warfare by David Henshaw

THIS RECENTLY published book is subtitled 'The story of the Animal Liberation Front' and purports to be a definitive history. But it is a far from objective account. While most of the history of the animal rights movement is reasonably accurate, at least chronologically speaking, the author has plainly set out to do a thorough hatchet job on one of the most popular, widespread, radical movements of our time.

'Animal warfare' is totally subjective and highly emotive—Henshaw pulls no punches when it comes to the repetitive use of words like violence, terrorist, anarchist, etc—words which are all too frequently lumped together, reinforcing the popular image of anarchism as a dangerous and subversive form of terrorism. Members of the ALF are all portrayed as dangerous fanatics, and Henshaw uses selective interviews with a couple of ex-ALFers and various vivisectionists and butchers who were/are ALF targets to drive his point home.

Even where he gives space to ALF members to put their case he still manages to derogate their beliefs and make his interviewees sound stupid and misguided.

Ronnie Lee, dubbed by the State and the press as the 'leader' of the ALF, comes out the worst, unsurprisingly. There are repeated references to Lee's 'background of anarchism', whatever that may be, and he even offers Lee's physical appearance ('small stature, round glasses and wispy beard') as further evidence that Lee is a 'dangerous, violent fanatic'.

There are plenty of references too, to squats, black flags with A's in circles on them, *Class War* and even *Black Flag*, where we are described as a sect or tendency! All in all Henshaw draws an emotive and vivid picture of a 'respectable British concern for animal welfare that has been hijacked by'—well, I've already quoted Henshaw's opinion of ALF activists.

I found this book difficult to stomach, it was such a nauseating read, and it didn't do my blood pressure much good either. While not being involved in animal rights myself I nevertheless have a great deal of sympathy and support for the ALF and what they are

doing—any organisation that causes over 6 million worth of economic damage every year can't be that bad, and indeed there is much that the anarchist movement could learn from the ALF and their methods.

The most interesting stuff in 'Animal Warfare' was on the fascist movement and how it used the animal rights movement to recruit, and more importantly, how the ALF used the fascists in their fight against animal exploitation on the grounds that the issue of the animals suffering overrides everything else.

But on the whole this book is rubbish, and while worth a read should be taken with a large pinch of salt. Henshaw claims to be a highly respected investigative journalist, but judging by this, he's not fit to write Ladybird books for five year olds.

LB



IN A PICKLE

The excellent 1 in 12 publications have just published a new book called *The Pickles Papers* which is an expose of Eric Pickles, Tory leader of Bradford City Council and all his dodgy dealings.

Copies available from 1 in 12 club, 21-23 Albion Street, Bradford. Price £4.99.

And Now The Good News

Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland, jailed during the miners strike for the killing of scab taxi-driver David Wilkie, have been released after 5 years in prison.

Agencia de noticias Alternativa (ANA) is an alternative information network which has resulted from the merger of other spanish counter information networks and Ekomedia Barcelona. ANA produce an english language bulletin—ANA International and Ekomedia continues to do English to Spanish translations for the network, having just done articles on the Murrays and Martin Foran.

Ekomedia Barcelona
Apdo. 2062,
08080 Barcelona

ANA, Apdo 72,
Prat de Llobregat,
Barcelona

ANTI NUCLEAR NETWORK CONFERENCE

The A.N.N. will be holding the next conference on Saturday 27th January at St John the Baptist Hall, Stalbridge Road, Crewe. Further details can be obtained from Box 30, Reading Matters Bookshop, 187 High Road, Wood Green, London, N22

The next meeting of the Class Struggle Anarchist Network will be held at the Sheffield Co-ordinating Centre Against Unemployment, 73 West Street, Sheffield, on Sunday January 14th, starting at noon. On the day before, Sat 13th, there will be a day of workshops on topics of interest to anarchists, also starting at noon.

For more details contact; CSAN, c/o Black Star, PO Box 446, Sheffield S1 1NY.

ABC LONDON

The next meeting of ABC London will be on Sunday 7 Jan 1990, 2.00pm at 121 Bookshop, 121 Raiton Rd, SE24. All Welcome.

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tants to reaffirm their wavering commitment. There followed a carpenters' Sociedad de Resistencia, alongside the Casa del Pueblo, the first (strictly anarchist) consumer co-op (disbanded in 1904). In Lota, Luis Morales set up the coal Sociedad de Resistencia extending the movement into the central part of the country.

In Valparaiso, Magno Espinoza and Alejandro Escobar established a resistance society for bakers and a union of shipbuilders, who were the pioneers of the tragic 1903 strike.

From 1902 direct action was the order of the day. In June, Olea, Escobar and Espinoza led a printers strike. Esteban Caviedes headed a general strike of teachers in Santiago and Valparaiso. Employers ended their dirty tricks campaign against the union as a result. The tramway workers organised and struck for better pay.

The only setback that year was the expulsion of anarchists from the first workers congress which brought together all mutualist societies, consumer co-ops, resistance societies and social study centres—for 'obstructing the reaching of agreements'.

BAKUNIN DE LA MERCEDES

Pio Nono Street, which today crosses the Bellavista district, was in 1903 an anarcho-communist colony. The original site proved to be too small so they moved to Dominica Street. Police raids became common. When the original colony was at a low ebb, another group got together in a similar set up on the shores of Lake Villarica. The idea was to establish a colony on Tolstoyan lines. Not all anarchists

approved of such colonies, however.

Espinoza named his son Angiollo after the Italian anarchist while the daughter of Policarpo Solis was called Victoria de la Revolucion Social. Manuel Rojas in his book 'Shadows against the Wall' commented: 'Montero, an anarchist from Valparaiso, had a son but didn't baptise or register him. He was called Bakunin, but his mother being Catholic, had him baptised and registered secretly, as Bakunin de la Mercedes Montero Turepaipalan'. ('Bakunin of Grace' etc)

Also in Valparaiso in 1903 Luis Olea settled to help Magno Espinoza publish various papers, set up more resistance societies and organise conferences. Dockers, customs officials and seafarers went on general strike in April, demanding better wages. By the end of the month Valparaiso was successfully shut down.

On the 27th shipowners brought in strike-breakers with police assistance, but the strikers, in defiant mood, carried on. On the 4th May, Magno Espinoza called the workers to direct action and on the 12th a violent battle between police and strikers ensued. Riots and looting broke out. The steamship company Sudamericana de Vapores was burned down and soldiers from Santiago brought in.

Later El Trabajo reported, 'No one has done more for the workers movement since 1891 than those in Valparaiso. A hundred or more dead and a thousand wounded, a palace and a pier burned down, a national commotion—all so that the voice of the suffering classes can be heard.'

The strike was won on the 13th May. All dockers, except for a hundred, returned to work.

to be continued...

Continued from page 6

allowed out for a long weekend parole. Their release can't be far away. The others have already been freed. Why Holmes, Armstrong and Walsh should still be denied repatriation remains a mystery. 'That', Paul wrote in a recent letter, 'is like trying to find an honest politician in Parliament. The fact is it's difficult to find either.' He has been waiting 13 months for an answer from the Home Office to a petition for repatriation, with no sign of it being granted.

Paul Holmes has seen only eight weeks of freedom in the past 18 years. His health has not improved. Not long ago, doctors found a tumour on the junction of his carotid artery, prompting a cancer scare. Nevertheless, he remains undefeated. Repatriation to the H-blocks

of Long Kesh seems little to ask for after all that he has undergone in English prisons. But then, who remembers the 'guilty'?

Peter the Painter

Footnotes

1. Noel and Marie Murray
2. Arrested with Paul were: Billy Armstrong, Martin Brady, Hugh Feeny, Gerry Kelly, Liam MacLarnon, Roisin McNearney, Dolores and Marion Price, and Roy Walsh.
3. The other seven were Martin Brady, Ronnie McCartney, Brian McLaughlin, Jerry Mealey, Eddie O'Neill, Phil Sheridan and Peter Short.
4. Paul Holmes, Gerry Cunningham, Andy and Paddy Mulryan and Martin Brady.

We urge all readers of *Black Flag* to send messages of support to Paul Holmes (119084), HMP Frankland, Finchdale Avenue, Brasside, Durham, DH1 5YD.

FEEDBACK

BUST FUND APPEAL

LEEDS BUST FUND are appealing to all well-heeled comrades to donate money to the fund. They say that they have paid out a lot of money recently to anarchists who have been arrested and fined for various actions, particularly anti-fascist actions. This solidarity fund does a vital job and needs your dosh to carry on this work as a basic necessity. Anyone who can help should send cheques and postal orders made payable to Leeds Bust Fund, c/o Box ASS, 52 Call Lane, Leeds LS1 6DT



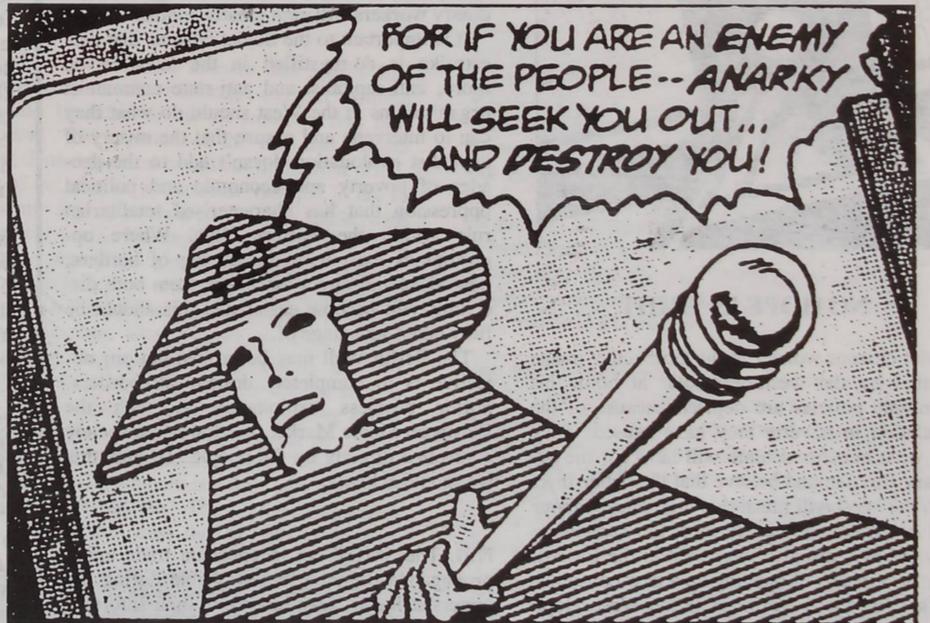
FAREWELL POISON GIRLS

AFTER 12 YEARS involvement in the anarcho/political/underground music scene the Poison Girls have decided to call it a day and pack their instruments away. All future gigs have been cancelled and there are no plans to re-release any new material they've recorded but they point out that their first two albums Hex and Chappaquiddick Bridge have just been re-issued on cassette, and that all their t-shirts records and posters are still available mailorder, while stocks last, from XNTRIX, PO Box 299, London E11 1EF.

Quote of the month

'I am not generous according to the norm established by the Christian expectations of the moderate left wing—I am an old anarchist.'

Claude Levi-Strauss—French philosopher and anthropologist



THE ALARM SOUNDS AGAIN

IN 1918 AS the bolshevik terror grew in intensity, many anarchists fled to the Ukraine in search of safety. Here they set up the Nabat (Alarm) confederation, originating in Kharkov but soon spreading to Kiev, Odessa and throughout the region. It published a paper of the same name and continued to issue bitter attacks on the Soviet dictatorship and actively support the partisan army of Makhno until on the 26

November 1920 it was raided by the Cheka and many of its militants including Volin and Aaron Baron were imprisoned and the movement crushed.

After sixty nine years Nabat is now again being published in Kharkov by a group affiliated to the KAS. More than half a century of communist repression cannot destroy a peoples wish for freedom nor the means by which that freedom will be attained.

Answers to quiz

1. MPs are banned from wearing suits of armour in the Commons as laid down by a law of Edward II dated 1313, which has never been repealed.
2. When the unpopular George IV tried his wife Queen Caroline for adultery. Her defence became a focus for anti-tory feeling and 'God

save the Queen' implied down with the King and Tories.

3. Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia expressed appreciation of the anti-war stand of the Italian anarchists (after the Italian invasion) to Corio, militant anti-fascist.

4. Janet Grove

5. Tom Watt, who played Lofty in Eastenders.