

No.194

BLACK FLAG

FOR ANARCHIST RESISTANCE

OCT 89

30p

EXPOSED

THE SERIOUS CRIMES SQUAD

AND THE MOTHERS STILL MOURN

THE 'MADWOMEN of the Plaza de Mayo still gather in Buenos Aires. Despite police interference the mothers of those who disappeared during the years of military dictatorship still gather in the main square, some forlornly seeking news of their sons and daughters long presumed dead (sometimes of orphaned grandchildren, snatched for adoption far away), all demanding that the criminals responsible should be brought to justice.

The Argentine government waged war against its people: thousands were rounded up, tortured and killed. The armed forces, as is usual in such cases, became so powerful they thought themselves invincible: when the government needed a diversion to take their cowed subjects' minds off their misery, the generals were quite convinced they could take on any major Power.

The question in the Malvinas/Falklands dispute was simple: did they belong to Argentina, which broke from the Spanish empire, clearly given all South America (bar Brazil) by the Pope (who didn't own any of it); or to Great Britain (on the principle that countries belong to the State to which the first white man who saw them owed allegiance)? The answer was equally simple: they belonged to the one with the biggest guns.

As a result of Argentina's crushing defeat, for which the pride in invincibility of the generals and admirals was responsible, the regime fell and the armed forces leadership were under attack as criminals. At last the people could speak. The British Government promised to bring some to trial but didn't, preferring a resumption of trade. The regime was, however, bankrupted and growing poverty, plus the creeping back of repression, has brought back the new Peronistas.

The mothers continue to make the same sort of demands that once everyone in Argentina was making. Their persistence is called madness (how can the dead be brought back, they are asked—as if once gone, their children should be forgotten, their grandchildren unknown, the murderers forgiven): they still demand justice. The government for a time tried to conciliate them with soft words: even now, the new President, Carlos Menem, has fallen back on the liberal slogan usually derided by reactionaries—'we are all guilty'—'all of us in Argentina are responsible, all of us who lived through divisions in our society'.

The secretary of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, Maria del Rosario de Cerruti, has continued to hold regular meetings calling for the war criminals to be taken from their posts and to be tried for their crimes and this has culminated in a massive protest of 100,000 marchers in Buenos Aires. Menem, who has constantly been suggesting pardon for the 'military question' now says they are 'premature' in protesting against such pardon. The Mothers merit international support.



WITH THE discovery that certain crucial prosecution documents had gone 'missing' it was announced in August by the head of West Midlands Police, Geoffrey Dear, that the Serious Crimes Squad had been disbanded and its offices sealed and that an Inquiry would be instigated into the SCS to determine the degree of corruption that had occurred.

The purge began in June when 30 members of the Squad were transferred to either the Drugs Squad or the Stolen Vehicles Squad. The catalyst for this purge was the acquittal of Ronald Bolden, who had been charged with armed robbery but released during trial when it was shown that his 'confession' had been fabricated. The purge continued. Two members of the Squad were suspended, three others 'disciplined', another demoted. By August it had been decided to close down the Squad as a whole and the remaining officers were transferred to administrative duties. Of those transferred nine were senior officers in the CID division. The head of West Midlands CID, Detective Chief Superintendent Jim Byrne, was also transferred. In all a total of 53 police officers of differing ranks were transferred.

It was soon announced that an Inquiry, but not an 'independent' one, would be set up under the auspices of the Police Complaints Authority, which is run by the police apart from the odd, token, civilian. The Inquiry, it was explained, would investigate recent cases. How far back the Inquiry should go was a matter of dispute. Geoffrey Dear wanted the Inquiry to go back only as far as 1986, when a bill covering new regulations for criminal evidence came into effect. The PCA wanted more leeway and April 1984 was proffered for cases that may have begun earlier but were dealt with after the 1986 cut-off point. This wrangling over dates takes no account of the scale of the corruption and the fabrication of evidence, but only of legislation governing new procedures. As a relative of one of the six men convicted for the Birmingham Pub Bombings said recently, justice should not be restricted by time—if an injustice has been committed then there should be no time limits. The scale of the Inquiry is realised when it is seen that during the period 1987-1988 alone the Squad were involved in 400 arrests. The Inquiry team announced that, in fact, a total of 738 cases, covering three years, will be looked into. Investigations undoubtedly will be prolonged. Cases prior to the cut-off date will not be investigated unless those involving arrest after April 1984 did not go to trial until after April 1986. All other cases, including those prior to April 1984, will be left alone, regardless as to whether there is evidence of fabrication. However, if the Inquiry does go back as far as April 1984 and covers all cases, the total to date will come to more than 1200.

Corruption was obvious for some time—with cases being dismissed in court because of fabricated evidence. Over the last two years nine cases were thrown out by the courts in this way. Then in July of this year Keith Parchment (jailed for five years for robbery) was freed when evidence was presented to show that his 'confession' was fabricated. More recently trials at Wolverhampton and Stafford were halted when defence lawyers insisted on examining 'confessions' obtained by the Squad; subsequently it was found that certain police evidence had gone 'missing'. Finally in August, there was a case, in Birmingham, where defence lawyers complained of files 'missing' for over a year.



In all the furore surrounding the disbandment of the Squad it has been revealed that the Director of Public Prosecutions had already been investigating, independently, 40 complaints made against the Squad. Also, local solicitors in Birmingham have stated that some members of the Squad are known to have threatened to arrest suspects' spouses and put their children into care should complaints be made.

In the last issue of *Black Flag* we named some of the police officers implicated in the investigation. We now present more details of the corruption as well as more names.

We named DS Hornby as being one of the members of the Squad who goes as far back as the Birmingham Six case (he interrogated Hugh Callaghan, who has always insisted his 'confession' was fabricated) and who, more recently, had been involved in the Ronnie Bolden case. In fact Hornby was one of the officers accused of fabricating evidence against Bolden. It was Hornby, too, who was found to have hidden files proving the innocence of Gerald Gall (convicted, with three others, of assault and sentenced to three years). Furthermore Hornby was found to have inserted false pages into a statement regarding a case concerning a jewel robbery in 1987. Altogether Hornby has been found on at least three separate occasions to have falsified evidence. These are examples relating to him which have been brought to light, but do not include cases alleging fabrication that have not been proven or have not been properly investigated.

With the Bolden case allegations of corruption go much further than fabrication of evidence. While Bolden was inside officers (including DS James McManus) raided his home and seized £4000 from his wife. Mrs Bolden had the

documents to show that the £4000 were not the proceeds from a robbery (as the officers alleged) but money obtained from the sale of the family car. The money was never returned by the officers to Mrs Bolden and Ronnie Bolden is now suing the police for theft.

One of the officers disciplined in June as a result of the purge is DC John Perkins, who was found to have fabricated 'confessions' in a case involving four people on burglary charges. Subsequently all four had the charges dropped. More importantly, perhaps, it has been revealed that Perkins was one of the officers involved in the Carl Bridgewater murder case. It was Perkins who interrogated Patrick Molloy, who later insisted that his 'confession' was false, but who died in prison in 1981. His co-defendants—Michael Hickey, Vincent and James Robinson—are still inside serving a life sentence and protesting their innocence.

Finally, we can reveal that the two officers suspended in June were DC Roger Clifford and DC David Woodleigh. Both were found to have removed papers in a file held at Warwick Crown Court relating to the conviction of Michael

Brommell (who got seven years for a firearms offence).

These are the cases of which we are aware. There may well be many other cases the authorities are aware of but at this stage are not willing to release the facts. Likewise there could well be many cases which the authorities are unaware of and which they will either discover in the course of the inquiry or will be unable to deal with because of a cover-up by the officers concerned and their colleagues in the Squad. At the end of the day the Inquiry may only succeed in investigating the tip of the iceberg.

HOME NEWS

BACK TO SERFDOM

THE POLL TAX is going to be the greatest act of class wealth confiscation since the Highland Clearances. Those who think they are at rock bottom anyway, other than permanent tramps sleeping rough, have another thing coming. Those who will be vastly better off will be the very rich living in their mansions and whose children live in luxury flats on their own: saving as much as £50,000 per family a year. The moderately better off, such as working people living in their own houses or flats, will only stay at the same level (on present plans) if they have no grown-up children at home. This contrasts with people paying only a small rate for poor accommodation, who will instead be paid the full sum per adult per house, and may be expected to pay as much as £3000 a year extra even with rebates.

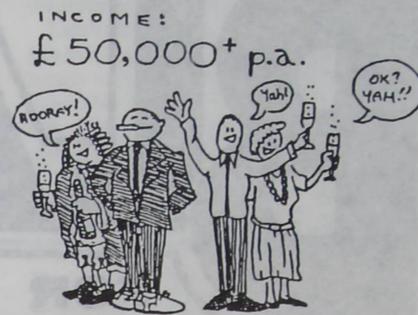
On the other hand, it is estimated a £40 million windfall has already been made by private landlords in Scotland, who charge the same rate for rent alone, as they used to for rent and rates collected together. The London area, when the tax is introduced into England, will mean a gain of £63 million for the landlords, and the probability of mass evictions for tenants, already

paying a grossly inflated charge for rent and rates, and having to pay the same charge for rent, plus paying poll tax separately, will force them out of their accommodation altogether.

With mortgage interest so high, when to this is added an equivalent charge to current rates to each adult occupant, few of those who think they have solved their accommodation problems by buying a house or flat will be able to continue living in it.

When the poll tax has been settled, the Government will go on to announce the abolition of income tax by saying it has settled the National Debt (by privatising everything there will be no need to subsidise anything). The sole effect of this will be that the principle of charges on property or income will have gone and charges by person made: all will pay the same sum, replacing both taxes and rates, irrespective of wealth or property.

The threats of fines and confiscation will increase: to prevent workers demanding more to pay their way, industrial combination will come under increasing pressure. We are heading for serfdom if present plans go through. A real resistance is needed—now.



POLL TAX £600

INCOME: £5,000 p.a.

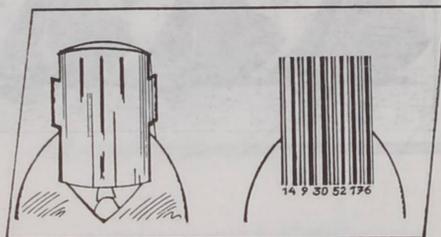


POLL TAX £600

CHIEF COPS GRAB BLACKLISTING PLAN

THE ASSOCIATION of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), currently headed by James Anderton (God's Cop), have had the brainwave of expropriating an idea first mooted by the Economic League, the blacklisting agency, in respect to controlling football hooligans. Last year it was leaked that the League was interested in setting up a scheme whereby lists of football hooligans would be compiled and passed on to football clubs for use in any future I/D card system. Now the ACPO have grabbed the initiative.

Leaving out all mention of I/D cards, 'hooligans' will be monitored—and dossiers compiled and stored in a computer—by a National Football Intelligence Unit, funded to the tune of £300,000.



Even the left are placated with the deputy Labour leader, Roy Hattersley, welcoming the scheme as a means of identifying troublemakers with 'fascist connections'. Mr Hattersley sees the scheme as a replacement to the I/D card, but presumably has not considered the implications should it be run in tandem with it.

Whether alleged hooligans are blacklisted by private intelligence-gathering agencies, like the Economic League, or monitored by state intelligence-gathering forces, like the Police, this extension of surveillance bodes ill for liberty generally. Who will be next in line? Extensive surveillance on anti-statists and those opposed to capitalism is common enough, but any attempt to extend surveillance, whatever the excuse, should be opposed.

No doubt papers like *Searchlight* will welcome the move, indicative of their acquiescence to legislative control as a means of containing fascism, rather than accepting direct community action which has the means to crush it. For instance, Leeds Anti-Fascist Action showed the way by ousting the fascists from the terraces at Elland Road, and got a football supporters award for doing so.

MOONIES ECLIPSED BY ADVERSE PUBLICITY

THE COLLEGIATE Association for the Research of Principles (CARP), referred to in our last issue, was forced to postpone one of a series of conferences in London after it was shown the Moonies were funding it. CARP was founded by Sun Myung Moon as far back as 1955 and is a vehicle for the subversion of students. The president of CARP is Bo Hi Pak, the head of Causa, the anti-Communist political wing of the Unification Church which helped to launch the far-right propaganda organisation Western Goals. (Prof. Antony Flew, vice-president of Western Goals, is also an honorary associate of the Rationalist Press Association, presumed to expose rackets like the Moonies).

According to Inform, a Home Office funded agency that monitors cult organisations, the Unification Church has a total of 65 front groups. Among these are the following: International Cultural Foundation, International Council on the Unity of Sciences, Professors World Peace Academy, Paragon House Publishers, Causa International, International Federation for Victory over Communism, International Security Council, Summit Council for World Peace, Association for the Unity of Latin America, World Media Association, *Washington Times*, *New York City Tribune*, *Noticias del Mundo*, *The Middle East Times*, *World Daily News*, *Insight*, *The World And I*, Free Press International, New York City Symphony, Artists

Association International, International Oceanic Enterprises, Master Marine Inc, Saeilo Machinery, World Research Institute for Science and Technology, Unified Family, Global Economic Action Institute, The New Patriotic Movement, American Freedom Coalition, Atlantic Video, Creative Community Project, Headwing, Forum fuhr Gerstige Fuhrung, News World Communications, Freedom Leadership Foundation, International One World Crusade, Project Volunteer, National Centre for Constitutional Studies, and a host of religious groups and organisations.

Anarcho-Quiz

1. Was Edward Carson, the Dublin-born lawyer and orator who led the military mutiny against Home Rule, which ultimately led to a divided Ireland, of Irish or English descent?
2. Which modern internationally revered political figure made no secret about his going to bed with a succession of young women?
3. What is the Irish Free State?
4. In the thirties the Communist Party set up a Red Army, Moscow-trained, in Germany, 'to fight fascism' (though it mostly fought the social-democrats). What happened to it when Hitler took power by a deal with the Centre?
5. Which solitary leading Nazi had the courage to draw Hitler's attention to the atrocities in Poland in WWII, and with what response?
6. What was the Gaelic Archipelago?

Q & A on Anarchism

Q Anarchism may be fair enough as protest or dissent but surely anyone of intelligence, even anarchists themselves, appreciates its achievement is impossible?

A There are two entirely different philosophies referred to as anarchism: one based on class struggle and the other on the cult of the impossible. The Anarchism we advocate (the first) comes from the practical experience of the working class and is based on the rejection of the State and of domination by one class over another. Those who reject the notion of a classless society, fearing the end of social parasitism, say this is impossible, but by using repressive power and media persuasion against it prove that their real fear is that it is highly possible given the chance.

"I shall continue to be an impossible person so long as those who are now possible remain possible"



Detached from the working class, any anarchist movement, however genuine and even stemming from the above, can degenerate into protest against any and every Week's Favourite Hate but that represents a failure to take it into the arena where it is possible and instead, fairly naturally one supposes, takes action on whatever is thought of as the next best thing.

The other form of anarchism is purely negative: one enshrining certain principles like saints in marble—e.g. not voting every four years, or not volunteering for the army—often regarding working for a boss, sometimes while being one, as a betrayal of principle. It finds support in those preferring to drop out of the struggle rather than fight in it, though it is usually advocated by those wanting to claim bits and pieces of anarchist history as their own but having no intention of participating. This cult of the certainly impossible (because not pursued) attracts some bourgeois academics, being less demanding to write on than Marxism and less overcrowded a market.

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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.

How we stand

(from last published state of play to 10.9.89)

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Total:.....£365.50

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Total:.....£45

Lots of subs now due; we're reluctant to cut off lest it's just a question of no cash, but returns last issue looks like a mass exodus (poll tax offspin?). Let us know if you change address.

Usual apologies for irregular appearance from unpaid overworked 'staff'. Nearly-every-month is a miracle!

GUILT BY AMALGAM

PAUL LASHMAR, who has previously bylined fictional claims regarding the anarchist movement, now adds his name to a story (*The Observer*, 30 July) claiming 'anarchists in the Animal Liberation Front, are responsible for fire-bombing attacks on department stores selling fur products...'. Hold on, mister. If you know who fire-bombed the stores (Dingles was singled out—it is owned by the House of Fraser and one could on equal evidence point to its feud with *The Observer's* owners) and you're against it, how come you didn't inform the police? Conscience? Or do you only know their politics but not their identities?

The tenor of the article is to try to link up animal lib attacks, attacks on those who attack the environment, and attacks on capitalist enterprises, with anarchists. In this connection (which I suspect is where *The Observer* got it from) the police in several places, particularly in 'the sticks' where 'niceties' are unknown, are interviewing, even at places of work—and publicising to employers—former prisoners who have nothing whatever to do with animal libbing, and who may not even think it has to do with human liberation—as some people sincerely do. This includes not only anarchist former political prisoners but even Irish Republicans. One was asked where he was 'three Mondays ago'—and he said he was working, was told his employers must be contacted—though there was no reason whatever to connect him with attacking MacDonalds other than his involvement with Sinn Fein. Asking what Irish freedom had to do with beefburger restaurants, he was told, 'You have to expect us to follow up all crimes of political violence'. Result: the sack. For having to prove innocence, or not attacking MacDonalds, whichever way you want to put it.

CAPITALISM OR LIBERTY? EAST EUROPE AT CROSSROADS

EVERY DAY there is news of great changes in the Eastern bloc as different national groupings emerge to challenge the centralism of the Soviet Union, while governments in certain Eastern European countries move further and further away from Soviet control. Largely these moves are towards Western-style capitalism and are a consolidation of old nationalist movements. They represent changes that are unlikely to be curtailed, even if the old guard in the USSR regain control. The people undoubtedly want freedom, but is this what they will get? In the West freedom is linked to capitalism, and the specific type of exploitation that it engenders. The changes will therefore result in a change of leaderships, of ideology, and of yokes. The alternative is self-management without capitalism.

Poland has advanced further than any other of the East bloc countries down the road towards capitalism. There, state firms are being privatised, and the docks in Gdansk, closed down because they couldn't compete, have been sold off to a Polish entrepreneur who learnt her skills in the USA. Solidarnosc, as a movement, is split, its leadership now in government in partnership with the Communists. This leadership will want to impose austerity in the name of national renewal; prices will increase and workers will be expected to work harder. The promised rewards are the benefits of capitalism but also its excesses. Strikes will be seen as an attack on the 'renewal process'. Union independence will be compromised as Solidarnosc leaders in government will urge Solidarnosc members not to take industrial action (just as in Britain Labour leaders urge trade unions, which helped to create the party, to curb strikes). There is a fine line between this sort of corporatism and the so-called 'free market' which the right of Solidarnosc now embraces.

Hungary is not far behind in the running order. The new openness is welcomed by the Hungarian people, as also the improvements in living conditions generally. The freedoms they now enjoy are in sharp contrast to the stalinism still prevalent in East Germany, Rumania or Czechoslovakia.

please all. Liberty is the watchword, but has different meanings to different groupings.

In Poland the opposition is no longer Solidarnosc the leadership, but everyone but, including the Communists. On the right are various groups pushing for independence, such as the Polish Independence Party, the Movement for a Free Poland (some of whose members are also members of Solidarnosc), and the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) which has held joint rallies with the right of Solidarnosc. On the left include groups allied to the Federation of Fighting Youth, a wing of Solidarnosc and which was opposed to its electoral policy. Somewhere between is the Movement of Free Democrats, which saw Solidarnosc as being too radical and prefers to go all out for social democracy. Outside of these factions are the anarchists, who cannot pretend to a unified movement, despite various

organisational names that suggest otherwise. The anarchist groups tend to organise according to their relation to syndicalism. The pacifists and drop-outs are at one end and the supporters of a militant Solidarnosc are at the other. The anti-syndicalists argue for 'greater freedom', especially cultural freedom and are active in the 'peace movement' and the initiatives against military conscription. They are exemplified by the Freedom and Peace group (WiP). Within WiP is a group called 'Future Times', which is an apology for liberalism and which campaigns for 'the development of social administration... the construction of social, economic and political pluralism' and declare their support for the legal recognition of Solidarnosc. It is this sort of liberalism, masquerading as anarchism, that is helping to push Poland towards a political system that real anarchists most emphatically reject.

In Russia the 'youth movement' has many

factions, from workers to academics, from anarchists to Bolsheviks, from social democrats to nationalists, etc, etc. Despite these major differences there is also a tendency for youth to organise together to 'push glasnost along' and press for more 'openness'. Contact with the youth of the West is seen as crucial. The bond which unites all (with the exception of the Young Communist League) is a hatred of the Bolshevik legacy.

But the obvious danger, with all these movements in all the East bloc countries, is that the precious liberty so sought after will be destroyed before its gained by the very people who are fighting to gain it.

Western capitalism is no more a champion of liberty than State Communism is a champion of social equality. In their desire for freedom the peoples of the USSR and Eastern Europe generally are in danger of losing it to another form of tyranny. The decisions and actions they take now in the pursuit of freedom will therefore be crucial. They will need the courage to reject not only the ways of totalitarianism but also of the economic repression advanced as their saviour. It will mean going back to square one. It will mean revolution. They will also need the courage to see to it that such a revolution is not subverted and taken over by authoritarians of the left or right. They already know their enemies on the left—they have suffered under them for 70 years—but their enemies on the right are also emerging and represent calls for strong but 'independent' rule and a 'free market' of goods and labour.

Over the next few months and years the peoples of Eastern Europe and the USSR have a chance to reshape their destiny. Their choice, we believe, can not be seen as being between Communism and Capitalism—the former has been discredited by a repressive leadership interested only in its own power, while the latter can only offer different structures of control but no more. Real liberty has no competitors. It rejects all rule and all power. This can be their, and our, only choice.



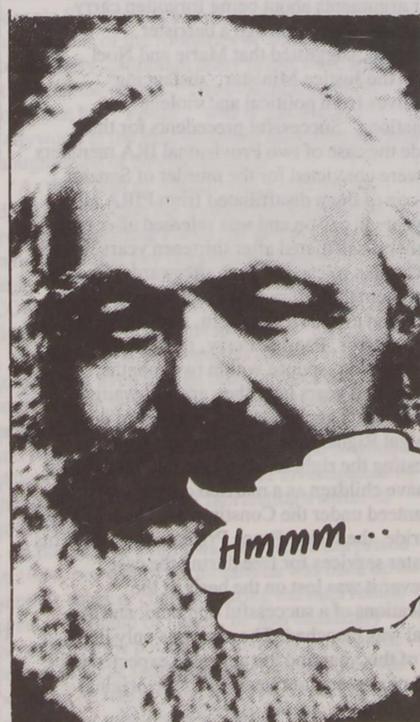
The First of May in Barcelona—the SUP (police union), UGT (socialist TU), CC.OO (communist trade union) and the CGT (the Phoney CNT now under its own name) display their sinews in a fraternal display of unity. The anarcho-syndicalist CNT held a separate march.



FROM SOVIET ANARCHO-SYNDICALISTS

Andrei Isaev, a member of an academic group within the KAS (Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation) of the Soviet Union, recently sent in a statement about anarcho-syndicalism to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the paper of the Young Communist League. We reproduce below a shortened version of a translation of that statement.

'The words 'anarchy' and 'anarcho-syndicalism' are vaguely associated in the mass consciousness either with chaos and anarchic 'banditry', or with the 'Workers Opposition' which came out at the Congress of



the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) against Lenin. Consequently we students and school-teachers took the risk of deliberately taking over the name.

What motivates us? Above all, the fact that sometimes we have to restore justice with regard to learning, recalling that Bakunin, Kropotkin, Mahkno, the British sailors and the Catalan workers in general were not the fiends of hell they were portrayed for the many long years of Stalin-Brezhnev propaganda.

Our motto remains the words of Bakunin: 'Freedom without socialism is privilege and injustice, socialism without freedom is slavery and brutality'. Speaking as a component of the socialist and workers' movement, anarcho-syndicalism was always the most consistent in upholding the idea of self-rule, federalism, and trade union democracy, independent of labour and creative collectives.

We are principled protagonists not simply of any government not simply of any government or type of state but of the very idea of the state. At the same time we are not Utopians and recognise the need for evolution, for transitional periods. That is why at the present time we are fighting for the transfer of real power to the central and local soviets, the restoration of Soviet power and its original meaning, for the gradual transfer of the means of production into the hands of those who work with them, for the broad development of non-state and non-party forms of initiative on the part of the workers (the movement for preserving the cultural and natural environment, the unions of students and so on).

We are not against a multiplicity of parties, nor are we for such a thing. Because we consider that this is not a panacea for all ills. We do not need a multiplicity of parties—but non-party soviets in which deputies will vote not on the basis of party decisions but in accordance with the wishes of the electors. We are trying to find out how we can achieve that in our programme of

anarcho-syndicalist conferences.

The Confederation of Anarcho-Syndicalists has branches in 30 towns. Among their members are representatives from the well known informal groups Commune (Moscow), Salvation (Leningrad), Chance (Khar'kov), Socialist Club (Irkutsk), Working Day (Khabarovsk), etc...

COMMENT

It is a remarkable turnaround in Russian affairs that once more Anarcho-Syndicalism is openly discussed, a result not of glasnost granted from above, but pressure from below. That this statement appeared in a Soviet newspaper is historic and typical of the present scene. Some arguments against Anarchism in the capitalist world are answered by Russian experience: the workers showed they could through soviets (committees) take over industry. Capitalism will not make Russia free (nor prosperous as America, with whom it would have to compete) and the real issue is whether the workers soviets should be subordinate to the State (which happened, with disaster) or free, which makes a world of difference. It may be noted students in the USSR are not necessarily an elite. Most have close ties with the workplace. We look forward to learning more of the progress of Anarchist ideas in the new generation, and perhaps also of the story of Russian Anarchism from the inside during the years of Stalinism. (There have been current references to 'armed anarchist uprisings' in the late 20s, in Siberia, of which nothing is known).

An odd reference is made to the British sailors: presumably the Invergordon Mutiny, but this was under Communist Party leadership—has it been presented differently in Russia, or have the CP used the Invergordon sailors as a cloak to criticise the Kronstadt sailors (the way Bukharin attacked 'anarchist criminals' as a guise to criticise Stalin; or British trots analyse 'bourgeois anarchists' as a veiled criticism of their own members)?

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

ANARCHISM IN POLAND

THE 'anarchist movement' in Poland today is largely characterised by the almost familiar counter-culture strain that is popularised in North America and other countries with a predominant Anglo-Saxon culture. This is perplexing given Poland's turbulent past and its strong workers movement, but can perhaps be explained as a sort of reaction, by students, to the decades of repression that Solidarnosc in its early years managed to subvert. It neither helps that the libertarians in the USA: who have made excellent contact with the 'movement' in Poland have succeeded in encouraging this militant pacifism that has little to do with anarchism or revolutionary change.

Today the dominant 'anarchist' organisation in Poland goes under the name Freedom and Peace (or WiP, using the Polish initials), which partly grew out of the Movement for an Alternative Society (the RSA), a more militant set up whose members were active in the street battles against the Zomo, or riot police. Little remains of the RSA, although its paper, Homek, is still being published. The RSA maintained good links with Solidarnosc Underground at a time when street resistance was essential to keep up morale. This informal relationship harkened back to the years when the anarchist movement in Poland was much more a focus of working class revolt, although as a specific movement in its own right, anarchism fell behind, taking the brunt of the repression, first by the nationalists, then by the Nazis and the Communists. It was anarcho-syndicalism, though, that did make gains, helping to give rise to mass syndicalist movements that in turn provided the historical background to Solidarnosc before it was sold out.

BEFORE WORLD WAR 1

The first appearance in Poland of specific anarchist groups this century was in 1905. To be more accurate these groups were in eastern Poland, which was then under Russian control, and were in direct contact with anarchist organisations in Russia. One of these groups in eastern Poland was the Black Flag group, founded by the anarchist militant Judy Grossman. This particular group was notorious for using methods of 'direct resistance', with other groups condemning it for its advocacy of violence. But the repression took its toll. It was not long before the authorities ordered a clampdown, resulting in the execution of eleven comrades, all members of the Internacjonal group in Warsaw. It was around this time that support began to come through from the West.



Anarchists in Britain helped with propaganda material, published in Polish, which was sent over by couriers. A leaflet, 'Glos Revoligi' (The Voice of the Revolution) arrived from London. It warned comrades against sympathising with the Marxists and recommended instead that they adopt the methods of anarcho-syndicalism, collectivisation and armed insurrection. 'Glos Revoligi' went on to say: 'But there is only following the road of great general strikes, the immediate expropriation of industrial and landowner property, the revolt of soldiers against their officers and militarism in general, armed insurrection, individual or collective terrorism against the representatives of power and capital... It is only by a fight of this sort that the proletariat will approach the ideal of the stateless communist society...'. The leaflet helped set the tone of the anarchist movement in Poland over the next few years.

Within two years there were attempts to set up an anarchist federation. Groups came together from all over Poland as well as from Lithuania. The modus operandi of the anarchists continued to be propaganda by deed but because of increased repression the federation was unable to operate. It was around this time that anarcho-syndicalism came to the fore in Poland. One prolific anarchist propagandist was Josef Zielinski who wrote 'General Strike', 'A Deceitful Socialism' and 'The Workers Union and Fighters' and many other leaflets arguing for syndicalist and anarcho-syndicalist action. Another prominent anarcho-syndicalist of the period was Augustyn Wroblewski who helped organise workers syndicates in Krakow and edited a paper, Workers Cause. But as with the rest of Europe, particularly northern Europe, the World War took its toll on the workers' movements, especially syndicalism.

INTER-WAR YEARS AND AFTER

In Poland the War was immediately followed by intense repression and in 1926 there was a coup, but undeterred, the syndicalists reorganised and set up the General Confederation of Workers (ACA), named and modelled after the anarcho-syndicalist French CGT. This was no major organisation but it nevertheless had a great impact on the wider workers' movement and by 1931 the ACA helped to persuade several independent unions to federate with the ACA to form the much larger ZZZ (Confederation of United Trade Unions). The ZZZ was not an organisation of anarcho-syndicalists but an

anarcho-syndicalist organisation whose core was for revolution.

At its height, in 1937, the ZZ had around 130,000 members and decided to affiliate to the International Workers Association, the anarcho-syndicalist international. Unfortunately before formal affiliation was agreed Poland was once more invaded. During the war period syndicalists struggled on and reorganised as the ZSP, the Union of Polish Syndicates. Members of the ZSP helped to organise and took part in sabotage action, strikes and underground resistance against the occupying powers of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. They also strenuously opposed the Polish Workers Party, the puppet of the Soviets and which later formed the government.

With the fall of Nazi Germany it was Stalinism that became the enemy of the workers in Poland. The repression was severe and anarchists and syndicalists could only organise secretly and rarely ineffectively. But it was during the last part of the 1940's that an anarchist group, mainly Jewish, openly organised in Warsaw. This was to be the last openly organised anarchist group in Poland until the rise of the workers' movement through Solidarnosc.

ANARCHISM AND THE WORKERS MOVEMENT TODAY

The early days of Solidarnosc indeed witnessed the appearance of small specific anarchist groups. But they were not part of the workers movement proper. Groups like Sigma or the NZS (Independent Students Union) operated outside of

Solidarnosc. But there were others, too, that worked within Solidarnosc and helped create that movement. With the clampdown on Solidarnosc the anarchists went underground too. Some came on to the streets, and organised through the RSA, while others were caught up in the wave of punk, going on to set up the WiP. The WiP, however, are not all counter-culture, the Gdansk group being class-struggle anarchists, producing the paper *A Capella* (Circle A). Today WiP, and the Anarchist Federation (MA—which is more of a communications network with no agreed policies), are involved in many single issue struggles, such as anti-militarism, ecology, freedom of movement across borders, etc.

Recently emerged is a more broad-based anarchist group in Warsaw, which produces the paper *Katatonja*, but we know little about their activities, except that it is affiliated to the Federation of Fighting Youth (FMW), a militant support network for the militant wing of Solidarnosc and which is active on the streets against the repression.

The workers' movement in Poland is now, of course, irreconcilably split between those conned into statism and those who support the syndicalism of the early Solidarnosc. Before the dramatic highjacking of the movement by Walesa and his allies, supported by the immensely powerful Catholic Church, Solidarnosc had contemplated affiliating to the International Workers Association, which it recognised as the only international that promoted real syndicalism. But those days have now been lost. It now requires a new Solidarnosc, independent of government, to be organised.

LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL

MARIE MURRAY is the longest serving woman prisoner in the south of Ireland. This October she will have served 14 years behind bars, the last two and a half of these in Dublin's Mountjoy Prison. She and her husband Noel were convicted in the non-jury Special Criminal Court of the murder, in 1975, of an off-duty Garda who had challenged them during an act of expropriation.

To visit her you go through walls and past buildings of grey. The sunshine can't penetrate this grey: like a mist it touches everything—the women prisoners playing netball on the other side of the mesh fence, the line of visitors wearily waiting and walking, the prison guards whose faces and uniforms seem awash with this 'colour'.

The visiting room, a pre-fab hut divided by a bench into prisoner and visitor lines, suddenly bursts into noise and movement when the first prisoners come in. They are mainly young working class and traveller women. The loud volume of laughter and shouting continues for the full hour of the visit. It is distracting and quieter conversations are only carried out by standing and leaning closer over the one foot high partition in the middle of the bench.

Marie's eyes are alive. She is in a talkative mood. She sees a light at the end of the tunnel. She believes that she and Noel have served their time, that the Gardai no longer object to their release, and that the only obstacle to their getting out is bureaucratic blindness. They have been forgotten. They have been dumped. No one wants to know.

Her arguments about being forgotten carry conviction. Two years ago a barrister, Harrington, suggested that Marie and Noel petition the Justice Minister, 'distancing themselves from political and violent associations'. Successful precedents for this include the case of two Provisional IRA members who were convicted for the murder of Senator Fox: one of them disaffiliated from PIRA after nine years in prison and was released after ten; the other disaffiliated after thirteen years inside and was also released a year afterwards. Despite the problem that Marie and Noel have no association to disaffiliate from, they did petition. Their solicitor, Padraic Ferry, thought they would have a response within two months; however two years later they are still waiting.

Three years ago the High Court heard their Conjugal Rights case. The Murrays were requesting the right to have a sexual relationship and have children as a married couple—a right guaranteed under the Constitution. The late Sean McBride, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, gave his barrister services for free during the case. However it was lost on the basis of the implications of a successful outcome, and an appeal was launched. The case was only listed in June of this year and the appeal is expected to be heard next year, four years after the original case.

Marie has spent much of the last 14 years

studying and writing. She has taken the equivalent of 'O' and 'A' levels, a university degree (the first prisoner to do so in the south) and is currently half-way through an M.A. She has had a short story published in the *Irish Times*, has won an award at the Tralee Festival, and is currently about to finish off a play, to be performed by a Dublin community-theatre group.

But her work has temporarily ground to a halt and she finds it almost impossible to concentrate. This is because the conditions under which she is held do not differ substantially from the conditions of visits and the largely boisterous prison population are mostly short-termers with a high turnover, offering no permanency of relationships.

REMEMBER! We're still here



support class struggle & anarchist prisoners

The lack of awareness of the Murrays case even at ministerial level was highlighted two years ago when Noel's mother visited the Minister of Justice, who was also her constituency TD. His response to her appeal for release was 'But they were convicted of a capital offence!'. They were not. The original capital conviction was overturned on appeal.

Yet, today, there are some optimistic signs. Noel was allowed out to visit his father (who suffers from a heart complaint) on three occasions last November. Marie was allowed out on a visit as well. Each Xmas there are rumours that one or other will get parole to spend a weekend with Noel's elderly parents. After fourteen years Marie hopes that this Xmas the rumour becomes a reality, and that next year will become the year of their release.

N.B. Interest in the Murrays case is growing and in future issues of *Black Flag* we will be reporting on the mounting international pressure for their release.

IN BRIEF

Good news from Canada: Brent Taylor, of the 'Vancouver 5' activists, recently got married and thus becomes eligible for brief spells (accompanied by guards) outside jail.

As many as 600 Greek prisoners at Patra prison have gone on hunger strike (from Sept 8) demanding an end to solitary confinement and torture.

Eight anarchists, the majority linked to FIGA (a now defunct armed anarchist group) were recently released from prison after renouncing armed struggle in favour of 'peaceful and democratic means'.

Negotiations on their behalf began at the end of 1987 between the CNT-AIT and the Ministry of Justice but broke down. The CGT (then the Phoney CNT) opportunistically stepped in and persuaded eight of the comrades to sign the declaration and thus get credit for their release. These were: Alfredo Casal Ortega, Pedro Garcia Pena, Jose Enerique Navarro, Matias Ripoll Ramon, Fernando Roman Arnedello, Jose Antonio Tellez Ruiz, Alejandro Mata Camacho and Alvario Alvaro del Rio.

Seven other prisoners refused their approach and remain inside. They are: Fabricico Burnet, Sotero Campo Baz, J.M. Gomez Tobar, Mugica Dos Santos, Clara Placenti, Maria Luisa and Pablo Serrano Serrano.



THE GREAT CRIMES SQUAD SCAM

PUNISHMENT WITHOUT CRIME

THE WEST Midlands Serious Crimes Squad (SCS) is no longer—forced at last, by the ineptitude of its officers in their cover-up of corruption, to be closed down. An investigation is now underway, but flawed from the outset in that it is handled by the police themselves.

The Inquiry will be restricted to cases dealt with over the last two years, with perhaps some leeway to allow investigation into arrests involving crimes committed during the two years previous. The Inquiry will not be investigating the cases relating to the Carl Bridgewater murder (in 1979) or the Birmingham Pub bombings, even though officers involved in both those cases have been named as having been involved in more recent cases which the Inquiry will deal with.

Initially there was no remit for the Inquiry to deal with the Martin Foran case, but it now seems that there is a possibility his case will be looked into as the period April 1984 to April 1986 has been designated as a 'grey area'. The Martin Foran case is doubly significant: not only

because it involves a case of a man wrongly convicted of a crime he did not commit, but because through Mr Foran there is even a stronger link between the later SCS team and the earlier team that handled the Carl Bridgewater murder and Birmingham Pub bombings. More precisely, the six officers involved in the Martin Foran case were all involved in the Carl Bridgewater murder case, and several of these are known to have been involved in the conviction of the Birmingham Six.

Looked at in this way Martin Foran is a lynch-pin for more far-reaching investigations into past cases. If extensive corruption and malpractice can be shown to have taken place by officers involved in his conviction then this could well provide enough leeway for the Inquiry to be extended. The political obstacles to this are, of course, enormous. It is in the interest of certain powerful forces, within the political and legal establishments, that the Inquiry remains restricted. If it were proven that a 'gross

continued on page 7

MEDIA SCURRY TO FORAN ENACTMENT

ON MONDAY 11th September demonstrations took place in different parts of the country in support of Martin Foran, a prisoner who has finally gained media attention due to the excesses in corruption of the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad. The main focus of attention took place in Birmingham where Mr Foran's family and supporters staged a re-enactment of his arrest. Until now media interest in Mr Foran—apart from when he staged a hunger strike some years ago during his previous term of imprisonment—has been negligible. His supporters, including the Black Cross, have campaigned on his behalf for some years and after the disbandment of the Serious Crimes Squad a short piece suddenly appeared about him in *The Guardian* following an interview with a Black Cross organiser.

For the re-enactment there were reporters from *The Guardian*, local newspapers (*The Post*, *The Express*, *The Star* and *The Daily News*), the BBC, Central TV, and local radio stations. Suddenly Mr Foran is a 'celebrity'. Better late than never!—but the media's absence of interest, until now, in his claim to innocence has only served, over the years, to contribute to his deteriorating health.

The day's events in Birmingham began with a press conference hosted by Mr Foran's wife, Valerie, who was assisted by a number of Mr Foran's supporters. Messages of support for Mr Foran's campaign were received from a number of MP's (who are at last beginning to recognise the enormity of the corruption involving West Midlands police). The conference was then moved to the scene of Mr Foran's arrest five years ago to the day. At exactly 4pm (the time of Mr Foran's arrest) Mrs Foran and supporters re-enacted what the police claimed had occurred. The police gave evidence that Mr Foran had been stopped, questioned, searched, arrested, and then driven to the police station and 'booked' in—all within seven minutes. Mr Foran denied this happened—it was important to show the police were lying on this matter as a means of discrediting their evidence as a whole.

On the occasion of the re-enactment the whole

scenario was repeated in front of the press with one of the reporters timing the journey of the car to the police station (under similar traffic conditions to that at the arrest) with a stop-watch. In the end the re-enactment proved a complete success proving that no way could the police have done what they did in the time stated at the trial.

All Mr Foran's supporters are well aware that the political stakes in his case are high and that there will be attempts over the next few months to see to it that either his case is not investigated by the official inquiry, or that he, as a victim, is discredited. As it was this happened quicker than was thought. On the day of the re-enactment the *Birmingham Post* carried a scurrilous story, believed to be passed on by members of the disbanded Serious Crimes Squad, that Mr Foran had 'grassed on the Birmingham Six'. The story is clearly a fabrication, cobbled together by a group of people now known to be expert at fabrication and designed to divert attention from Mr Foran's claims to innocence. Immediately after the story appeared Mrs Foran put out a statement threatening to sue the newspaper. Had the story any truth in it, it would have surfaced a long time before, but its current timing is suspicious and indicates a degree of desperation on the part of those in the police cover-up to prevent this particular case from getting the full examination it deserves.

The support for Mr Foran was repeated on the day marking the fifth anniversary of his arrest with mass leafleting in Manchester (where Black Cross members also went on to confront staff at a local Home Office outpost), Leeds, Sheffield, Belfast and Liverpool (with rumours of support action in Belgium too).

As we go to press, we received news that a mass leafleting took place in Sheffield, as well as an attempt to cover the city in pro-Martin Foran graffiti. As a result, 3 supporters were arrested on charges of criminal damage.



MARTIN FORAN - THE CASE IN PERSPECTIVE

MARTIN FORAN is currently serving a sentence relating to an offence committed in September 1984 and involving officers from the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad. Previously Mr Foran served five years after a trial in 1978, which also involved officers from that squad.

Well into the first of these two periods of incarceration, and after an extensive protest campaign by Mr Foran and his supporters, his claims to a fit-up for three armed robberies were taken up in Parliament. It was during a hunger-strike, which was featured on a Granada TV 'World In Action' programme, that an MP, Mr William Whitlock, was provided an opportunity to make a statement to the House of Commons about Mr Foran's case. Part of that statement—which sums up succinctly Mr Foran's case for an acquittal—is reproduced here, courtesy of the Martin Foran Dossier, compiled by the Black Cross.

Mr William Whitlock told the House, 'The main witnesses to the robberies—the people who were allegedly his Mr Foran's victims—were not called at the trial. For some technical reason only their statements were read out. The judge at the trial agreed that the description given by the witnesses 'did not even remotely resemble Foran'. Since then those witnesses have said that Martin Foran was not among the persons who robbed them and that they are willing to give evidence to that effect.

'No fingerprint evidence was produced at the trial and the chief constable at the West Midlands police force has said that 'by genuine mistake' it was not revealed to the defence that Martin Foran's fingerprints were not found at any of the three scenes of the robberies of which he was found guilty...although other prints were found at each of the scenes...The evidence given in court that he Foran was at a house in Ladywood at the time of one of the robberies was thought to be of no consequence...

'As the Court of Appeal said it was not an identification case but a confession case. Yet from the beginning Foran has strenuously maintained that any suggestion that he confessed to the crime WAS A COMPLETE FABRICATION and there is no signed confession by this man.'

The trial, as stated, centred upon a so-called confession, even though this confession was not something in writing but was based purely on the memories of one police officer on one occasion and two other officers on another. One of those officers was Hornby, now under investigation by the PCA and accused of fabricating a series of confessions.

In the end Mr Foran was released from prison in 1984, but within six months he was back up on another robbery charge. During the intervening period, it should be stated, he was constantly harassed by the police. On several occasions he was accused of stealing his own car, and on one occasion he was even accused of committing a murder that took place while he had been in



FRAMED BY THE POLICE

WRONGLY SENTENCED TO EIGHT YEARS PRISON.

MARTIN HAS ALWAYS PROTESTED HIS INNOCENCE.

PUT IN SOLITARY 24 HOUR LOCK UP!

BEATEN BY PRISON OFFICERS DENIED VITAL MEDICAL TREATMENT.

prison.

In September 1984 Mr Foran was arrested on a charge relating to the robbery of a pub. The interrogating officers were DI Matthews and DC Preston. The officers told Mr Foran that he had been grassed by one of the three men involved in the robbery. But at the remand hearing Mr Foran's so-called accomplice, a Mr Addison, stated that he had never named Foran. Addison was then interrogated further by the police and Addison 'changed his mind'.

The third man in the robbery was then arrested—a Mr Mackenzie—who made a statement incriminating himself, as well as Foran and Addison but which many times contradicted evidence given by several witnesses accounting for Mr Foran's movements at the time of, and during the hours leading up to, the robbery. Mackenzie's statement was riddled with inconsistencies.

At the trial Mr Foran's solicitors were not

happy about challenging police evidence and Mr Foran was forced to dispose of them. By that time, however, the trial had virtually reached a conclusion. Mr Foran was convicted.

In the first of the two cases examined here Mr Foran was convicted virtually as a result of a confession cobbled together by three police officers, one of whom is now known to be corrupt. In the second case Mr Foran was convicted probably because of pressure placed on his two co-defendants, who would have received reduced sentences for naming their accomplice. Mr Foran, it should be pointed out, was known to the two on a casual basis and therefore, given he had 'form', he would have been an ideal person for them to name. Neither the trial, nor the application for Appeal (rejected) took note of the many witnesses who testified that Mr Foran was nowhere near the scene of the robbery.

In our view Mr Foran was fitted up on both occasions because he was an easy target.

LETTER FROM MR FORAN'S DAUGHTER

My name is Valerie Foran. I am 11 years old. I would like to know why my Dad can not come home to play with me. My friend's Dad can take them out and play with them. So why can't my Dad do the same with me. I love my Dad very much. And miss him. It hurt me when I see my friend go out with there Mum and Dad. And when I ask my Mum why Dad can not come home she tell me the Bad Police men wont let him come home. But if other girl a boys dads can come home to play with them why can't my dad come home to me and my Brothers and Sisters. please help my Dad to come home to me.

From Valerie Foran.

NEITHER NUCLEAR TAX NOR ACID RAIN

The problems of acid rain and the concerns over the greenhouse effect have enabled the politicians to call for the building of more nuclear power stations and the introduction of a Nuclear Tax to pay for them. They say fossil-fuel power stations are dirty and nuclear powered ones 'clean'. The evidence available indicates that to fall back on nuclear energy as the solution to environmental problems can only lend weight to a programme that is simply unachievable. Radical environmentalists call, instead, for greater emphasis on renewable energy and point to ways in which fossil-fuel power stations can be retained without adverse effects. Below, we look at these claims and in particular the technology that will enable coal-fired power stations to be cleaner.

The Government sees the nuclear industry as a cost liability, yet is committed to its expansion within a privatised market. The nuclear fuels lobby, which includes the South African based mining companies, have an interest in keeping the nuclear expansion programme on the agenda but has no immediate answers on how it can be funded. The private sector will only wish to invest if the nuclear industry can be shown to be profitable.

energy policy has caused this mess. The artificial stand-off between relatively inexpensive fossil-fuel power, on the one hand, and so-called clean nuclear powered energy, on the other, has meant that scant attention has been paid to 'alternative' energy schemes. These can be just as profitable—that is not in question—but the tremendous power that the different fuel lobbies wield means that it will be some time yet before the 'alternative' schemes are given a proper airing.

The Coal fuel lobby is anxious to retain the Electricity industry as its customer—hence the recent offer of knock-down prices for the next ten years. And with the privatisation of British Coal plc in two or three years time the market will be looking for more ways to keep costs down. Inevitably this will lead to wages being held down artificially, to demands for higher productivity rates, and other cost cutting measures. Depending on how much the coal industry is broken down the workers in that industry will be expected to negotiate with a number of employers, each offering different terms and looking to compete against each other in enhancing profits. The toll on the mining unions will be considerable. By breaking

that is realistic. This should have been done some years ago, when the warning signs were there. Now, with the battle lines drawn, action to produce a plan is even more imperative.

The unions can take the initiative, especially with the Government backtracking on nuclear costs. As a starter we examine below the technology available for significantly reducing emissions of sulphur dioxide—which contributes to acid rain—from fossil-fuel plants.

REDUCING SULPHUR EMISSIONS

The main technique involved in considerably reducing sulphur dioxide emissions from coal and oil fired power stations is to scrub the flue gas emitted from the boiler with a reagent. There are four processes for doing this: 1) the use of lime slurry, 2) the use of sea water, 3) the use of limestone, and 4) the use of regeneration processes.

There are, however, drawbacks to these processes. The first process involves the excessive consumption of lime and results in massive amounts of solid waste. The second process results in the contamination of sea-water which will inevitably end up back in the sea. The third results in excessive amounts of gypsum waste being produced. However the fourth process appears more promising. It is the most expensive of the four processes but its by-product—sulphuric acid—can be sold and the profits used to offset costs; also there are no uncontrollable wastes. This process—also known as the Wellman-Lord technique—involves literally recycling the sulphur dioxide and is recommended even by British Coal. To install the necessary technology in a power plant would cost 200m per plant.

To date the Central Electricity Generating Board has begun to install process (3), involving limestone, in the Drax power station in Yorkshire, and a further 20 other power stations are earmarked to receive the technology if the Drax experiment proves successful. This is good news in terms of reducing emissions that result in acid rain, but by adopting process (3) the CEGB will be creating another problem with the massive costs involved in the waste disposal of gypsum. Also, it seems that the CEGB already has a pollution-free experimental power station at

Grimethorpe, Yorkshire. It operates the pressurised fluid bed combustor (PFBC) design which gives off virtually no sulphur dioxide or nitrous oxide at all. It has been described as the 'perfect' plant. But with privatisation of the Electricity industry the Grimethorpe experiment is in danger of not being completed.

A QUESTION OF HEALTH & SAFETY

Finally the consequences of acid rain are now, perhaps, more widely known thanks to belated media attention. But how many people are aware of the direct hazards on our personal health as a result of, say, sulphur dioxide emissions?

Exposure to sulphur dioxide emissions, in fact, worsens the conditions of those people who already suffer from respiratory complaints (such as chronic bronchitis and asthma) and also certain forms of heart disease. Indeed the famous London smog (caused by smoke, fog and sulphur dioxide) of 1952, which lasted four days, resulted in 4000 additional deaths above the statistically expected figure—all these additional deaths occurred within two weeks of the event. The most susceptible to sulphur dioxide emissions are the old, those with heart and lung disorders, and babies.

Clearly, cleaning up the power stations is not just about cleaning the environment—which in itself is worthwhile enough—but about protecting our own health. It is also about ensuring that the nuclear lobby does not get the upper hand. Leaving all this to government would be abdicating our responsibility to intervene in our own future. Those directly involved in these industries, as well as society at large, need to initiate a strategy for the future to preserve all our well-being. N.B. It has been reported that two British banks—Lloyds and the Midland—are among the consortium that are financing the construction of a dam in Brazil which will result in the destruction of a rain forest the size of the UK and will drive at least 250,000 indigenous indians from their homes. The destruction of the rain forest alone will add significantly to the greenhouse effect. The banks say the dam must go ahead as the costs for providing power via alternative schemes are too high. Meanwhile Chief Paiakan, one of the leaders of the indians affected by the scheme, travelled on a worldwide speaking tour to publicise the plight of his people and to try and stop the project from being completed. The response from the Brazilian government—which recently shot and killed workers for occupying a factory—was to threaten the chief with two years imprisonment for 'sedition'.



That, so far, has not been demonstrated. Now it appears that the Government is to directly intervene to cover the costs of nuclear waste disposal, reprocessing, and the decommissioning of nuclear power stations. These costs will be enormous and will be borne ultimately by the consumer through inflated electricity bills (as much as an extra 250 per year) and, more controversially, via a special 'nuclear tax' which we're all expected to pay regardless of our views on nuclear energy. In addition scientists have been quoted widely as saying that to meet energy needs, without adding to the greenhouse effect, 16 nuclear power plants would have to be built every week for the next 25 years! Some countries have already wised-up. All new nuclear reactors in the States have been cancelled. There is talk in the Ukraine of a 15 year moratorium on any new nuclear plants. In Italy the nuclear power stations have been shut down. And in Sweden nuclear power is to be phased out altogether. In Britain, however, the government is intent on going against all logic.

The lack of a cohesive and integrated

down an employer monopoly the Government hopes to fragmentise even further the power of the coal unions. The future of workers in the nuclear power plants is even less certain, despite Government promises to the contrary, as there are still too many unanswered questions regarding costs and the subsidising of those costs.

For the labour force in the power stations and in the domestic fossil fuel industry it is important that a long term strategy, taking into consideration costs and the environment, is worked out. The dangers of nuclear power and the costs involved rule out nuclear plants as an option. Fossil-fuel plants without the technology to restrict pollution are also out of the question. This then leaves the need for a programme that takes on board two possible solutions to the problem: 1) an intensification of add-on technology to clean up the fossil-fuel plants, and 2) a direct drive towards alternative schemes.

To do this effectively the labour force, via the unions, will need to work together, in consultation with scientists and environmentalists, to produce a plan

INSIDE THE PRIVATE PRISONS LOBBY

TALK OF privatising prisons in Britain was first raised by the far-right, free market think-tank, the Adam Smith Institute, in 1985. The reaction to their proposals even within Tory circles was of disbelief. But this year the Government will go ahead with the privatisation of the remand prisons as a first step in a programme that inevitably will be expanded. Behind this programme is a lobby of big business interests that see prisons as a way of making big money.

Peter Young of the ASI has admitted that in today's political climate the importance of party politics and parliament has given way to other forms of lobbying within the Conservative Party. The ASI began by convincing Tory MP John Wheeler of the viability of private prisons. Wheeler also happens to be the Chair of the British Security Industry Association, whose member firms include the like of Securicor, the private security company, which over a year ago won a contract to run the state immigration detention centres. In 1986 Wheeler and Sir Edward Gardiner went to the USA to find out about private prisons at first hand. Later a select committee, which they led, published a report recommending that Britain follow the American example. A number of construction firms were approached for their views by the merchant bankers Shroeder Wagg on behalf of the Prisons Department. Two years ago Racal Chubb, the British

security firm, together with Rosehaugh, a British property developing group, got together with Prigor, a US-based firm, with the view to setting up a consortium to bid for private prisons. Included in the initial discussions were the ASI, Wheeler and Gardiner. The consortium was eventually formed and called itself Contract Prisons plc. Gardiner was appointed its chairman. Another consortium was soon formed—this time by Mowlem, the British construction group, Sir Robert McAlpine, the building magnate and supporter of numerous far-right agencies, and the US-based Corrections Corporation. The ASI advised this group too, liaising with their merchant bankers Kleinwort Benson (who have numerous links with the Intelligence Service).

Two former Conservative Central Office researchers turned lobbyists were then appointed by Contract Prisons to sort out the opposition within the Tory Party. Last year all those involved, either as bankers, private companies, lobbyists, or politicians, came together at the Carlton Club to pool their resources.

The question now is not if, but when. The companies involved in the plans obviously hope to do business and make profits. The full extent on how the plans will affect actual prisoners have not been revealed. Prison labour is definitely a consideration, without doubt, and profits will be recycled to exploit the situation further. If the prison industry proves to be a winner then prisoners will be redefined as a resource essential to that industry.

BOOK REVIEW

HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE TROTS IN SPAIN

Revolutionary History (No.2 issue, summer 1988: Hidden History of the Spanish Civil War, pub. Socialist Platform £2.50)

This is a new publication giving not 'revolutionary' history but the history of trotskyism, or history re-written by the trots. It proclaims 'Those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it', but trots have always been determined to repeat the history of the 1917 Russian Revolution, forgetting the other dictum that history repeats itself as farce. A comic history of trotskyism in many countries (especially GB) is long overdue; but this is a serious attempt at giving the familiar self-righteous trotskyist line on Spain, congenial to pacifists and quietists because what trots abroad were arguing was that the Spanish workers did not need arms, but a correct Marxist analysis, and seldom contested because to do so might suggest one was apologising for the indefensible.

£2.50 Summer 1988

REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY

'In Catalonia, the elimination of Trotskyites and Anarcho-Syndicalists has already begun; it will be carried out with the same energy as in the USSR' Pravda, 17 December 1936



The hidden history of the Spanish Civil War

THOSE WHO DO NOT LEARN FROM HISTORY ARE DOOMED TO REPEAT IT

The Communist Party had appreciated for years that whereas, say, in some countries the trade unions represented the majority of workers, and the 'vanguard' had to attack them as reformist, in Spain the anarcho-syndicalist unions were more revolutionary than the vanguard, and so had to be attacked as unreliable and, after the civil war started, as potential helpers of fascism by extremist action. It was difficult to make this guilt stick except by association, so the Stalinists made the full initial force of their attack on the small Marxist Party the POUM, accusing it of being 'trotskyite-fascist'. But all trots followed the old bureaucrat-in-exile Trotsky's lead disowning the POUM as trotskyist: RH makes this clear, though they all, especially from overseas, liked to bask in the glory of the POUM being denounced by the Stalinists. In RH the POUM is correctly defined as 'Left Menshevik' rather than Bolshevik. The Left Mensheviks in Russia (of whom Trotsky was one until the last minute) were to the left of the Bolsheviks insofar as they were a workers party democratically controlled, if Marxist; the Bolsheviks were an educated elite of professionals. When they got near power, Trotsky joined them.

The POUM was the nearest Spain got, pre-1936, to a Communist Party (but against Stalinism); it was critical of Moscow especially because of its international line. (It followed what RH calls 'the international of squeezed lemons', the International Bureau whose Austrian section at least stood up and fought when the Stalinist and Trotskyist internationals ran).

The POUM was set up as a scapegoat—a favourite trick of the GPU (the Russian secret police), which did the same in many countries, e.g. with the Bund in Poland). But it was impossible to make the connection between a workers party and fascism stick: allegations of 'trotskyism' helped do that.

They were enabled to do so because just as the CP's military experts fled from Germany the moment Hitler came, and flocked to Spain thinking themselves vastly superior soldiers because Moscow trained, so the rump of the German and Mid-European trotskyist intelligentsia buzzed around the POUM like flies, taking no part in its militia but offering their propaganda services, which really consisted in

dressing it up as if it were trotskyist with no effect on party policy. RH is at pains to mention almost every individual it knows, as if they did anything but exploit the one workers party in the world that tolerated them (and got kicked in the teeth for doing so) to protest vociferously about the Moscow trials.

The trot group hung round the POUM's neck like an albatross. By dint of Stalinist repetition most Spanish were convinced the POUM was trotskyist: it was easier to make people believe that a group of suspicious foreigners who clearly hadn't come to fight, and didn't need to work, was responsible for sabotage, espionage or whatever, particularly when their line was that arms weren't necessary. (All that was needed, they said, was to declare Franco-controlled Morocco independent—wrongly interpreted by most but something which could have had no effect on Moorish mercenaries. In Morrow's book he makes a comparison with Lincoln's call to slaves; but a closer parallel is with Gurkha regiments in the British Army).

By propaganda, and its Russian-backed secret police, the Stalinists framed the POUM, whose members, though marxists, had no connection with trotskyism. Once it was down the Stalinists, who had refrained from openly attacking the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain itself, could attack the CNT which had defended the POUM, not too vigorously, and so destroy the workers achievements; yet still preserve the fiction to this day that it was the Anarchists who wrecked unified resistance to Franco (a line perpetuated by Stalinists and Maoists, the reverse of the Trotskyist view, yet equally based on infallible Marxist analysis, blaming them for sacrificing all to republican unity, only the opposing versions of the same facts differing).

In the failure to stand up to the Stalinist purges in Spain, conducted with the excuse of weeding out 'trotskyite-fascists', the Revolution was destroyed and the civil war ultimately lost, after hundreds of Anarchists and Poumists, including foreign volunteers, plus a handful of German trots (there were only a tiny number of Spanish ones even including Trotsky's later assassin Ramon Mercader) were rounded up and killed by the GPU. The trots did not make any resistance: some fled to France, one American trot, Weisbord, arriving as a critical observer just at the May Day clamp-down in 1937, locked himself in his hotel bedroom for a fortnight before venturing out to the nearby sanctuary of the British Embassy. He survived to write about the cowardice of the POUM! His brief 'intervention' was later cited by the Stalinist press as that of a 'German-American agent who came with orders to the POUM from Dr Hanfstaengel'.

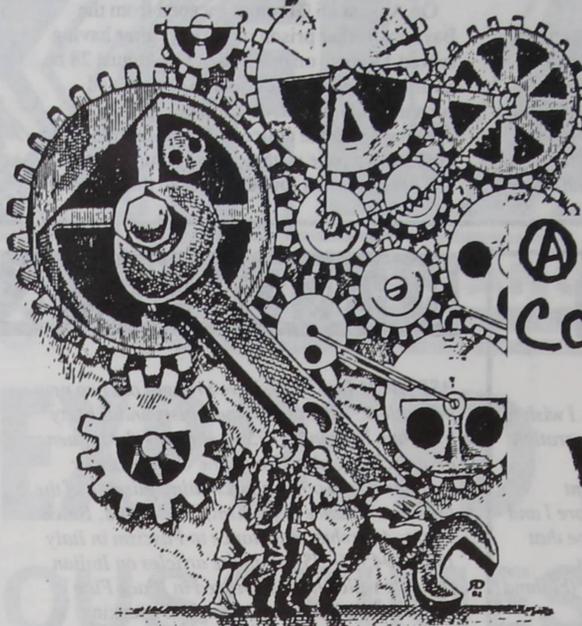
The trot line from exile ranged from the official line that had there been a 'correct analysis' the workers would have carried all before them without a war, to the bizarre one that the war was phoney, to divert attention from social unrest. The trots went on to the line of opposing the Second World War while 'defending the Soviet Union' (never clear how): this was modified when it reached the countries where they were living, when they rebuked the northern bourgeois democracies for 'trying to stay neutral in their own war'. Some trots maintained in WW2 that it was all a stage-managed diversion (even when bombs were falling on them).



To this day, however, all would echo RH in correctly complaining that the Anarchists abandoned their principles by entering a bourgeois anti-fascist government. (Positive achievements are put down to the 'workers'; negative results or compromises to the 'anarchists'—e.g. in some trot histories they will say in 1934 'the anarchists' transported troops, meaning the railway workers weren't on strike). These scruples have not elsewhere prevented trots entering bourgeois quasi-fascist governments (as in Ceylon), supporting bourgeois Islamic Libya or fascist Islamic Iran; nor complaining bitterly when they're excluded from bourgeois Labour governments which have learned enough from history not to want neo-trotskyism even as farce.

(The subsequent post-defeat history of Trotskyism in regard to Spain has never been written up and is even more bizarre; it will be dealt with in another article).

The Return of the Anarcho-Syndicalists



Assures The Continuance of WORK!

The fear that workers' expropriation would be the end of social parasitism was the reason for the original creation of the fascists. The argument directed against anarcho-syndicalism was that not only would the rich lose everything, but the drop-outs from capitalism would have no beneficial State or charitable better-offs to look after them. This argument is now being refloated by neo-situationists.

Saboteurs

The CGT (formerly the renovados or phoney CNT) have appealed against a Supreme Court decision in Madrid that forced it to stop using the

name of the CNT. This had (conveniently) held up the payment of £1,250,000 to the CNT-AIT in compensation for property sequestrated by Franco in 1939. The CNT-AIT estimate of the true amount is £30 million.

NEWS DELIVERY

THE SHIT end of the retail newspaper trade has always been the delivery youngsters, who have been employed for peanuts (sometimes almost literally), at best for pocket-money. Being at school and delivering papers early in the morning rain or shine has always been a tough task. Now the newspaper barons taking a tip from America are increasing the size of the papers. The *Sunday Times* alone is a colossal weight, even for one issue. Boys and girls are now expected to carry huge loads, sometimes manoeuvring a bicycle as well. The weight on backs is a health and safety hazard nobody is bothered about. Venturing out in the early morning on to deserted streets has made murders and rapes possible, a risk for which there is no recompense.

But paper deliveries could be paid for adequately. They are financed by their advertising, not their sale price: publishers could afford to give away papers free (sometimes they do); the only reason for a charge is that retailers wouldn't bother to distribute anything free to the public, while wholesale distributors wouldn't handle papers free to the retailers. Out of this margin, delivery youngsters could be paid at

least as adequately paid as street corner sellers.

But who would be interested in rectifying this? Only the lads and lasses themselves; and at Burnley they have combined to do so. They have applied to join a union and been accepted. It's a significant start.

TOUGH GOING

In a humorous sneer at the Burnley news delivery kids who have organised themselves at last and got accepted into a union (see News Delivery), one columnist says it's not surprising 'in the sunset of anarcho-syndicalism' that the union has actually accepted youngsters. Another columnist ends a story about Brick Lane by commenting that round the corner Freedom Press is 'still optimistically printing anarcho-syndicalist posters' (we suspect he may have seen DAM posters being printed by Aldgate Press beneath). In this context 'anarcho-syndicalism' for neo-journalists has a different meaning: for them, trade unions that adhere to their usual purpose are 'syndicalist' and if tough, 'anarcho-syndicalist'. It does mean a little more than that!

MARTIN FORAN

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miscarriage of justice' occurred or even that 'justice was perverted' in the conviction of the Birmingham Six, for example, then the effect on certain figures in the Establishment would be cataclysmic. The pressure on the Inquiry to stay strictly within its remit will therefore be enormous. Furthermore, for Mr Foran to be released the Inquiry, for political reasons, will have to unearth unquestioning evidence to show that he was wrongly convicted.

We believe we have that evidence. The dossier we hold on the Martin Foran case demonstrates, in our view, an example of a case where corners were cut and a crime 'solved' by police officers fitting the evidence to the person arrested. Their motive, like many of the cases being investigated by the Inquiry, was simply to achieve a good 'clear-up rate', but the rationale behind the arrests lies also in the perception of how the police see a certain class of people as both being 'deserving' of punishment and open to manipulation. Mr Foran had 'form' and to the police he was guilty whether or not he committed the particular crime. Looking back at the more prominent cases involving the SCS over the years there is also a racist element to the arrest pattern. Victims of the squad are invariably Irish or Afro-Caribbean, and it is to those communities that the police look when trying to solve a crime.

Some members of the disbanded Serious Crimes Squad have already been 'disciplined' or

suspended. The Inquiry might find that some will be worthy of prosecution, but the crucial question will be how many of the hundreds of cases that the SCS handled will be reviewed? How many prisoners, as a result, will be released? Or how many former prisoners will receive compensation? It appears that a high proportion of cases ended in conviction based on 'confessions'—it will be these cases in particular that the Inquiry will be addressing. Forensic evidence will be used to examine whether 'confessions' were fabricated. All this will obviously take time—prisoners' time. Meanwhile Mr Foran is slowly dying inside gaol. He cannot afford the time it takes for an Inquiry to examine all the cases concerned.

The Inquiry has stated that priority will be given to those cases involving people still in prison. We strongly suggest that the Inquiry adds another criteria: namely, those cases involving people who are losing their life as a result of continued imprisonment. Mr Foran's case should be their number one priority. Furthermore, given the circumstances—the doubt thrown upon the 'evidence' of case officers and the poor health of Mr Foran—we believe that Mr Foran should be released immediately while the investigation takes place.

Mr Foran, if released, will hardly be in a position to 'commit any more crimes' or to abscond. The man needs constant medical attention. His continued incarceration will serve nothing.

APPEAL FROM DEATH ROW REFUGEE

A TURKISH prisoner, arrested as a member of a banned organisation, made a daring escape and made his way to Greece, only to be sent back to Turkey by the Greek authorities who claimed he had entered the country 'in order to seek work'. The prisoner, who claimed refugee status, was immediately returned to death row.

Hami Shakir Ozsomar, via Black Cross contacts in Greece, has issued an appeal for his story to be told. We have received details of his misfortune in the form of a letter.

On August 16 Ozsomar escaped from the Bayram-Bashar prison in Turkey, after having served 11 years on death row. On August 28 he swam the Aebros river over to Greece and surrendered himself, as a refugee of Turkish oppression, to the police at Alexandroupoli. He wrote a two page statement explaining that he had been arrested for belonging to the Dev-Sol

(Revolutionary Left) group and asked for political asylum. After being held in custody for one day he was told he was being transferred to Athens to the Laurion refugee camp. However, instead, he then found himself being escorted by two guards not to the Greek capital but to the Turkish border. On the Tipi Bridge he was handed over to the Turkish authorities.

Afterwards the Greek Ministry of Public Order issued a statement saying that Ozsomar had merely asked the Greek authorities for work and so he had been sent back to Turkey not as a

refugee but as an illegal immigrant. In his letter Ozsomar states that this was done in order to cover up the Greek authorities' complicity with the repression carried out by the Turkish regime.

Latest news is that Ozsomar, back in Bayram-Bashar prison, began an indefinite hunger strike on September 3. In Athens, on September 9, two molotovs were thrown at the offices of the New Democracy party, the action claimed by Anarchist solidarity groups in protest at the treatment of Ozsomar, who has asked for international intervention to assist in his release.

LETTERS

Dear comrades of Black Flag, Congratulations on your 20th Birthday. I wish to thank all of you for two years long co-operation and hope it will continue.

I think Black Flag is the most important anarchist paper in the world and therefore I and all the Finnish friends of Black Flag hope that you will survive your financial problems.

AR (Finland)

Dear folks:

I left the above address three years ago. I've now moved back. Imagine my surprise when I realised Black Flag was still being delivered! What persistence, what doggedness, what inefficiency! Have £25.

All the best,

SJ (Wilts)

Dear Flaggers:

Recent big change in the fight against the Poll Tax here. Militant, has, through devious means, including delegates from non-existent groups, fixed agendas, refusing affiliations of non-Militant groups etc., obtained total control of the Anti-Poll Tax Federation. A fierce backlash is now brewing. Last week we had a meeting of non-aligned activists and it is agreed to attack Militant (who claim to control every Federation in Britain, except London) head on, and if this fails to break away and form an independent federation.

EM (Edinburgh)

ALL THAT GLITTERS...

Dear Flaggers,

Everyone's getting on the green bandwagon from Prince Charles upwards; I received an invitation from the TSB bank to invest my modest pay-off from work in a 'healthy environment for growth' since 'what's good for the earth makes good business sense'. They point out that every trip to the supermarket begs a 'green decision' as they call it and there is an 'increasing demand for environmentally-friendly products'.

So far so good, though it is a cynical edge to idealism; but who are the companies that are regarded as environmentally friendly as well as affording a 'green stockmarket' and a 'brighter world of investment opportunity'?

They mention Body Shop (a cruelty free cosmetics shop chain whose shares rose more than 260% in its first three years—but said nothing about how this affected wages: I only ask). They also mention H.J. Heinz and the Caird Group, but I single out glass-makers Pilkington as 'in the forefront in energy-conservation products' because my parents lived in their shadow.

For all I know Pilkingtons may nowadays be environmentally friendly but throughout the 20s and 30s they hated people. St Helens (Lancs) was dominated by the Pilkington family. The firm operated a personal espionage system which would make the Economic League look green, at least with envy. (I wonder if they now subscribe to it?). Sir Harry Pilkington not only sacked people for union activity when he could get away with it, they even sacked for 'immorality' and the elderly Miss Pilkington haunted local parks to see if she could catch any employees at it. As the only main employer in the town for years they didn't need to blacklist!

A line of family MPs polluted the political atmosphere. I will have to put my redundancy money under the bed if TSB can't come up with anything better than this. League Watch should ask unions with sizeable amounts seeking ethical investments to put a few pertinent questions besides what they're doing to the earth. Like what are they doing to the inhabitants.

EAS

Blast from the Past

The GAL, a State-funded anti-leftist terrorist group, resurfaced recently in Barcelona with a bomb attack on the Catalan nationalist party MDT.

FEEDBACK

ASP, BCM Box 3714, have brought out two new pamphlets: 'Cuba, The Anarchists and Liberty' by Frank Fernandez (75p), showing the influence of anarcho-sindicalism in the Cuban labour movement; the other a fascinating glimpse of the Italian resistance to fascism, 'Red Years, Black Years: Anarchist Resistance to Fascism in Italy 1920-1945' (1.75). With the articles on Italian struggle which have appeared in Black Flag it opens a vista unknown to English-speaking readers.

Black Flag has had through its 20-year history a strong Australian connection with a quarter of its editorial collective over the years coming from



Oz: in November or December towards the end of this year we shall be holding a Black Flag readers meeting in Melbourne, coinciding with a lecture tour held by the ASF.

Answers to Quiz

1. His family origin was Italian.

2. Mohandas Gandhi took young women to bed, claiming it fortified his character in withstanding temptation and maintaining celibacy, but the Mahatma never seems to have considered if or how it affected them.

3. When the British Government signed a Treaty with Collins and Griffith, of Sinn Fein, it created the Irish Free State as a special kind of dominion: the Irish Civil War was between those who accepted this and those led by De Valera opposing. After military defeat De Valera formed a new party and won the elections, when he abolished the Free State and instituted the Republic as a sovereign state. A myth shared by extreme Tories and (for different reasons) the two parties now claiming to be Sinn Fein, is that this didn't happen or, if it did, wasn't valid; they talk of the Free State as if it still existed.

4. The leaders were arrested and so it disappeared overnight in Germany. Some of the military experts re-appeared in Spain where they were contemptuous of the 'indisciplined' Spanish workers. One expert came to England where he trained a Red Army—which was dispersed on its first march in Epping Forest by a couple of forest rangers on bicycles.

5. Leni Riefenstahl, producer responsible for the film of the Nazi-hosted Olympic Games, went to Poland in the first months of war to glorify Victory—but to her credit protested at what she had to photograph. Hitler said her qualms were 'womanish'.

6. Right wing elements in the military and security forces, inspired by neo-Establishment fascists and possibly with the collusion of the CIA, earmarked the Shetland Islands as an 'archipelago' type internment camp for political dissidents following a planned (but aborted) coup against the 1974 Wilson-led Labour government.

'Freedom Fighter'

Orlando Bosch, the Cuban CIA-trained anti-Communist terrorist, is on the loose again.

Having spent many years behind bars for various terrorist attacks on Cuban targets, Bosch was recently pardoned for allegedly blowing up a Cuban DC-8 plane in 1976.

Given his past activities and connections, it is amazing that Bosch has benefited from support over the years from many unlikely sources. Very vocal in his defence is *El Gastronomico*, a bulletin produced by Cuban exiles in Miami who claim to be libertarian; also the better-known Libertarian Federation of Argentine (FLA) who recently described Bosch as a 'freedom fighter'.

The Anarchist Book Fair this year is to be held on 7th October (too late for us to advertise, too soon to report). Last year it was, as usual, packed with pacifists, greens, quietists, hippies, neo-Marxists, situationists, Christians, liberals, one-cause animal and gay libbers, with a few



anarchists and anarcho-sindicalists tucked away in inconspicuous stalls so as not to embarrass the organisers, who afterwards complained the exhibitors 'didn't seem to like each other'. We're promised it will be different this year.

