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

We have never had any love for, or illusions in, local councils, whatever shade they might be. However, the Poll Tax is not aimed at the councils themselves, but at the services they provide. It makes cuts inevitable, and those cuts will fall hardest on ‘soft’ areas such as education. Next financial year, the so-called ‘safety net’, will begin to be phased out in many authorities. This means that those areas which benefited from subsidy this year, will have to raise the Poll Tax next year. Even Wandsworth, who had so much subsidy that anywhere else it would have meant a negative Poll Tax (i.e. they’d have paid you to live there!) are talking of a rate over £400. The government has already made it quite clear that they will not tolerate ‘excessive’ Poll Tax rates. This means that councils who plundered their reserves to keep it low, will be capped if it goes up. Add on the effect of non-payment, and the financial crisis looming is immense. The administrative has ditched all commitment to equal opportunities amid much pandering to racists and bigots, and Bromsgrove in Staffordshire where they are forcing pay cuts on refuse workers prior to privatisation. In Labour controlled authorities they have been slightly more subtle, and are bringing in recruitment freezes, and trying to victimise activists in preparation for the inevitable struggles over cuts.

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

The response of the Labour Party has been its usual inadequate, treacherous one. There is little support for the return of the rates, and most councillors will agree to prosecute non-payers. We, however, believe that services can be provided in a much better way than before. As anarchists, we believe that only our class can provide adequate services based on need.
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The people who will bear the immediate brunt of these cuts will be local council workers. Many councils are already attacking the conditions of their employees. In some, it is blatant, such as Ealing where the new Tory administration has ditched all commitment to equal opportunities amid much pandering to racists and bigots, and Bromsgrove in Staffordshire where they are forcing pay cuts on refuse workers prior to privatisation. In Labour controlled authorities they have been slightly more subtle, and are bringing in recruitment freezes, and trying to victimise activists in preparation for the inevitable struggles over cuts.

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MESSAGE FROM MANAGUA

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

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

The anti-poll tax movement must rally behind the TSUC and support this demonstration. It will act as a focus of the resistance for the millions of people faced with summonses for non-payment; for those local government workers threatened by the cuts and for those people being dragged through the show trials resulting from 31 March. We must go onto the offensive with renewed vigour and have faith in the basis on which the campaign was founded—collective solidarity—not cowed into submission by police truncheons. DEMONSTRATE!

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF ACTION

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

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

An Historic moment in the the continuing development of the anarchist movement in the Soviet Union was the launch on 3 June 1990 of the anarcho-syndicalist Association of Self-Managing Trade Unions’ Resistance. Its founding statement states that ASMTU 'Resistance’ is:

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

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

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The anti-poll tax movement must rally behind the TSOC and support this demonstration. It will act as a focus of the resistance for the millions of people faced with summonses for non-payment; for those local government workers threatened by the cuts and for those people being dragged through the show trials resulting from 31 March. We must go onto the offensive with renewed vigour and have faith in the basis on which the campaign was founded—collective solidarity—not cowed into submission by police truncheons. DEMONSTRATE!

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

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

The West Yorkshire inquiry into the West Midland Serious Crime Squad (WMSCS) is now in its second year. In that time they have only prepared two reports out of the 705 allegations against the 56 WMSCS officers (against whom 513 of the allegations have been made) and 129 other officers. But Martin cannot wait for the slow machinations of the state’s damage limitation exercise to acknowledge the fact that Martin was framed. The police took away his freedom, the prison authorities took away his health and now the State is taking away his hope. We must secure the release of this man who has fought so hard for so long before he is crushed. We urge all Black Flag readers to take up the shout for Martin’s freedom; write to the Home Office; join the campaign and attend the actions.

Free Martin Foran NOW!

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

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

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

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

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

Undoubtedly this is for them to say. But some points must be made. Having a bureaucratic leadership saves a lot of trouble in time of industrial peace, if that’s what you want. But in crisis it has to defend itself and its interests. When the whole situation is in the chaotic situation it was, what would one expect? While sequestration was in force, money was being diverted to other purposes. Now, with the release of Dewsbury 82, the millions of pounds spent on the inquiry seems justified.

There is a national demonstration against racist attacks and police brutality on Saturday 1st September, in Leeds. Assemble 1pm at Leeds Trade Union Council Club, Chapeltown Road Leeds 7. For more details contact: Kirklees Black Workers Group c/o S.K.C.R.C, 24 Westgate
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Dewsbury 82 Innocent

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

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

There is a national demonstration against racist attacks and police brutality on Saturday 1st September, in Leeds. Assemble 1pm at Leeds Trade Union Council Club, Chapel Town Road, Leeds 7. For more details contact:
Kirklees Black Workers Group
c/o S.K.C.R.C. 24 Westgate, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire
For details of coaches from London contact the Dewsbury 82 London Support Group on 081-552 7412.
The miners' retort was 'Fuck Off!' should the membership demand an accounting? now say that appeal should be made to the enemies in the press point out that business was proceeding along legalised, circu- mscribed, reasonably constituted lines. Neither the unions? are believed to be any fiddles, accountants in- vestigate, and can call in the Fraud Squad. Why not the unions?

Have journalists and TU leaders who say this really forgotten the circumstances? The miners union, like the print unions in similar circum- stances, was proceeding along legalised, circu- mscribed, reasonably constituted lines. Neither the unions? of them was designed for conflict, both of them has large funds and an established bureaucracy and leadership. Neither the bureaucracy nor leadership could go in a hurry when the blows were struck by the Government. The miners were more loyal to the leadership because Scargill listened to the miners decision not to surrender abjectly to the Government and to risk all to save their communities. It is one thing to condemn bureaucracy and leadership. But a bureaucracy and leadership which does not sell, the funds during the miners' strike. Even now, they don't wish to prosecute in the courts, and rely on the judiciary, and despite the executive council deciding to investigate what happened to a million and a half pounds allegedly given to the National Union of Miners for strike relief, militant miners refuse to endorse the executive's decision.

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

Have journalists and TU leaders who say this really forgotten the circumstances? The miners union, like the print unions in similar circum- stances, was proceeding along legalised, circu- mscribed, reasonably constituted lines. Neither of them was designed for conflict, both of them had large funds and an established bureaucracy and leadership. Neither the bureaucracy nor leadership could go in a hurry when the blows were struck by the Government. The miners were more loyal to the leadership because Scargill listened to the miners decision not to surrender abjectly to the Government and to risk all to save their communities. It is one thing to condemn bureaucracy and leadership. But a bureaucracy and leadership which does not sell, the funds during the miners' strike. Even now, they don't wish to prosecute in the courts, and rely on the judiciary, and despite the executive council deciding to investigate what happened to a million and a half pounds allegedly given to the National Union of Miners for strike relief, militant miners refuse to endorse the executive's decision.

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

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

The whole system of visible accounting essential to running a corruption-free bureaucracy broke down with one blow. What seemed normal practice in buying houses for officials to live in, cars for them to drive in, funds to pay them salaries and pensions, at one fell swoop became shabby underhand activity. But it was morally no departure from normal conventional trade union practice. If you are going to buy country houses for officials to use in times of normality, preserving them from the State becomes illicit under- hand activity in times of sequestration, but morally there is no difference. The alternative is a reactionary union with no officials, no estab- lished assets.

When it came to money coming in from official State-run 'trade unions' in Russia, with Soviet miners being deducted pay to support British miners families families always designed to get it, this is old Communist Party practice. Was a penny of what the CP collected in the 'thirties for Spanish miners and printers ever seen by miners or printers or their families in Spain? It goes deep into Marxist-Leninist practice (yesterday the Trotskyists collected for 'supporting the ambulance workers', today for 'fighting the poll tax' and put the cash collected into their own party funds on the grounds that 'what they're doing').

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But did Scargill really line his pockets while miners' families were undergoing hardship, and should the membership demand an accounting? Scargill should not be garlanded in the pillory, but neither should he be pelted. The personal qualities of the individual who is el- evated to be a focus for loyalties are of no im- portance, neither are those of the monarch. What stinks is the whole rotten war against racist attacks, and they were all won. 

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

We have resigned our positions as from 17 June to inject some intelligent ideas, the Federation will soon become a bit of a headless chicken. It is to be hoped that at the next All Britain Conference, these jokers are kicked out and the Federation re-established along federalist principles: ie, it should be democratic, with reg- ular open meetings, accountable and re- callable delegates, a rotated rather than per- manent (and bureaucratic) chair, and with the decisions and initiatives flowing from the base, rather than from the Editorial Board of Militant.

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

We have resigned our positions as from 17 June (the last meeting of the national committee). We will, however, continue to work on the com- mittee in a constructive way, representing our
T THE TRAFALGAR Square Defendants’ Campaign (see last issue) was set up by defendants on the 3rd May, after the demonstration on March 31st. It is run by and is accountable to defendants, involves supporters and a sympathetic solicitors group. It is independent of all other organisations. The campaign’s aim is threefold:
(a) to unconditionally defend all those arrested on, and as a result of, the anti-poll tax demonstration. The raids were carried out using extreme force and intimidation. Of those arrested during the miners’ strike, nearly all cases collapsed with the testimony of over 300 police being rejected due to unreliability. A similar scenario occurred at the Stonehenge ‘Battle of the Beanfield’ when all 400 cases collapsed. However, at Wapping it could be seen that the State was clamping down; more and harsher sentences were given out. Now the events of March 31st are being used as a grand excuse to criminalise the whole anti-poll tax movement, and possibly to lay a charge of conspiracy against the anarchists movement. As many of those arrested and raided were anarchists, and also it is well known that the authorities are desperately looking for a scapegoat.
(b) to present a true picture of the events on the 31st. As the process of criminalisation involves isolation, it is vital that we provide each other with support so that we have the strength to carry on fighting and defending our own. The potential for the Defendants’ campaign is enormous as the anti-poll tax movement can generate massive support, and the campaign demands the support of the whole anti-poll tax movement and any other sympathetic organisations.
(c) to defend our right to demonstrate on the streets. Nearly 600 people have so far been arrested, with many cases already having been dealt with by the courts. The police are continually raiding the homes of activists, with the anti-poll tax demonstration being used as an excuse. The raids are taking place all over the country; many are happening to scattered individuals.

Ramm does a Rambo

One of the largest raids to have happened so far occurred on the 21st June, in the Stamford Hill and Dalston areas of north London. The raids occurred at 6am, with six homes being raided simultaneously, for alleged ‘evidence’ relating to the demonstration. The raids were carried out in a paramilitary fashion with at least 60 officers involved, some plain clothed, others wearing bullet proof vests. All premises were entered using extreme force and intimidation. Doors were sledgehammered, and people were dragged out of bed by police wielding axes. Furniture was smashed up and occupants threatened, in one case a dog was gassed, and in another case nine men charged screaming into a bedroom where a mother was sleeping with her 10 day old baby. Clothes and political literature was seized, and it was so contrived that those arrested were not only questioned about themselves, but police tried to get them to implicate others. It also appeared that the houses had been under recent surveillance, as the police knew in which rooms certain people lived.

Advising the law enforcement officers that they were not carrying out a democratic process, are wearing bullet proof vests. All premises were entered using extreme force and intimidation. Doors were sledgehammered, and people were dragged out of bed by police wielding axes. Furniture was smashed up and occupants threatened, in one case a dog was gassed, and in another case nine men charged screaming into a bedroom where a mother was sleeping with her 10 day old baby. Clothes and political literature was seized, and it was so contrived that those arrested were not only questioned about themselves, but police tried to get them to implicate others. It also appeared that the houses had been under recent surveillance, as the police knew in which rooms certain people lived.

Advice to Defendants

It is vital that all those arrested and anyone who has been threatened or arrested on, and as a result of, the anti-poll tax demonstration. The raids were carried out using extreme force and intimidation. Of those arrested during the miners’ strike, nearly all cases collapsed with the testimony of over 300 police being rejected due to unreliability. A similar scenario occurred at the Stonehenge ‘Battle of the Beanfield’ when all 400 cases collapsed. However, at Wapping it could be seen that the State was clamping down; more and harsher sentences were given out. Now the events of March 31st are being used as a grand excuse to criminalise the whole anti-poll tax movement, and possibly to lay a charge of conspiracy against the anarchists movement. As many of those arrested and raided were anarchists, and also it is well known that the authorities are desperately looking for a scapegoat.

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What Can I Do?

As a defendant, it has already been mentioned above that it is essential that you get in touch with the campaign with details of your charges etc. The campaign produces huge amounts of leaflets, posters and newsletters, including general information and specific legal advice. It has also held a series of successful pickets—both of courts and prisons. Organisations and groups are asked to affiliate. Help is needed with printing and distribution of material, fundraising, and court monitoring. Court monitoring is an extremely important task—sitting through court cases and making notes. It keeps an eye on any court developments; is a means of communication with many defendants who are unable to make meetings, and as no full transcripts are taken in magistrates courts, it provides a full legal record of cases. Witness statements are also desperately needed—if you saw anyone arrested, or any hassle, let the campaign know.

Quote from a magistrate: ‘This was a terrible riot. You took part in it. I would not be doing my duty if I did not put you away.’

TSDC
c/o Haldane Society of Lawyers
Room 205
Panther House
38 Mount Pleasant
London WC1X OAP
(Tel:071-833-8958)

Nearly 600 people have so far been arrested, with many cases already having been dealt with by the courts. The police are continually raiding homes of activists, with the anti-poll tax demonstration being used as an excuse. These raids are taking place all over the country; many are happening to scattered individuals.

**Ramm does a Rambo**

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Four people were subsequently charged with 'violent disorder'. Another seven were released on police bail pending public order offences. One person was not granted bail, and held in Wormwood Scrubs for 5 days before being released on bail.

Due to the seriousness of the charges, reports of the raid appeared in the national newspapers and radio/t.v. Scotland Yard issued a press statement claiming the area was a 'hotbed of anarchism' and claimed that those arrested were 'anarchists or animal rights extremists'. Commander Roy Ramm (head of Operation Barnaby, set up by the Metropolitan Police to 'investigate' the anti-poll tax demo) stated 'the minimum amount of force needed to deal with these type of people was used'—surely the same could be said of the March 31 demonstration? When questioned further about allegations of doors being sledgehammered, he responded 'when you're dealing with barricades, this action is necessary', though who would have

poll tax feelings are running high, are likely to be sympathetic. Most Section 4 charges are related to 'throwing' something; maybe an empty drinks can, a rock, fragment of paving stone—anything will do as far as the police are concerned. Despite police unreliability and conflicting evidence in court, magistrates are still handing out extremely harsh fines and sentences—in one case 3 months for Threatening Behaviour, which is unheard of. Many cases where defendants are being sent down would normally have resulted in a fine or community service, and many defendants are being found guilty where the cases would previously have been thrown out due to insufficient evidence. Approximately 30% of cases have resulted in acquittals so far. Many people have bail bans (eg. not to appear on any anti-poll tax events) and many charges have been totally mad—eg. 'gesticulating from the top of a bus' was defined as 'threatening behaviour'; the defendant was waving to someone! In another case, a person was arrested trying to pick up their hat and charged with violent disorder!

**Advice to Defendants**

It is vital that all those arrested and anyone who was on the demonstration and saw any arrests, get in touch with the campaign, and also that anyone going to court has legal representation. The campaign needs information on all defendants (a) to ensure the best possible defence is given, and (b) to build up a wider picture of who is being arrested and where, and what is happening in court. It is also essential to request an adjournment of your case—this gives more time to collect more evidence and maybe trace witnesses to your arrest. Character witnesses are also good to have and remember that if you are unhappy with your solicitor, you have the right to change. The solicitors group involved with the campaign currently has about 20 firms, but solicitors not in this group should be advising their clients to get in touch with the campaign. In some cases where defendants have been denied legal aid, solicitors have provided their services free of charge.

The major legal development in the campaign so far has been the Crown Prosecution Service moving to prosecute people under public order laws, rather than under the Serious Crime Act. The campaign needs help to defend its members, who are facing sentences of up to 10 years, imprisoning people otherwise accused of 'throwing' things (eg. drinks can, a rock, fragment of paving stone). Everyone arrested (including those who say they were just passing by) are being charged with public order offences even if there was no evidence of violence.

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**Public Order?**

The majority of those arrested on the demo and since, have been charged with public order offences. It is also the first time that people are being arrested after the event on the basis of video evidence, on such a scale. In many cases, defendants have been originally charged with more serious offences (such as violent disorder) which have later been dropped to a summary charge (such as Section 4, Threatening Behaviour) which means it can only be heard by a magistrate, and not at Crown Court by a jury. These changes in charges have happened to so many defendants that it appears that in many cases the police have no real evidence to go on, and also it is denying people the right to be heard by a jury, which in the present climate where the police are held in little faith and anti-
SQUATTING IN EAST BERLIN

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

Large squats started appearing in the capital in the summer of 1989. On the Schonhauser Allee autonomous leftwing groups squatted three large apartment houses next to a police station. This was to be expected (the squattings!), the natural course for the leftwing scene an the three large apartment houses on the Prenzlauer Berg. Leftwing intellectual groups was soon swallowed by the armchair masses waving the black-red-gold of their big brother state, and even the black cross and eagle on a white background (the old Reichs war flag). The elections in the GDR, with massive majorities for the West German Parties, in particular the conservative CDU, had the effect of strongly identifying the capitalists, probably fits into the masterplan between demonstrators and police seen in East Berlin since the 1930s. Once again the squatters were the wicked ones, East and West German press printing reports about the ‘rioters’ and ‘hooligans’ and crying over a police force which only twelve months ago was murdering people for trying to jump over a wall. Strange how short memories can be.

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

The houses have been left to rot and have been plundered. Electric cable was rare in the GDR so empty houses were stripped of cable, the doors were ripped out of heating ovens, the waterpipes were torn out, floorboards ripped out and windows smashed. The roofs were not always, provocative. ‘Security partnership’ means in the Mainzerstrasse, that the police park three or four meatwagons at the ends of the street and patrol in groups of three to six with dogs. It’s good to see six bully boys with truncheons, helmets, pistols and gas masks, walking in front of the themselves and West German television.

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

The revolution started by leftwing and liberal intellectual groups was soon swallowed by the armchair masses waving the black-red-gold of Hitler's birthday roughly one thousand fascists gathered on Alexanderplatz with the intention of storming the houses. They were dealt with by the police.

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

This is no over-reaction. On 7th June when the squatted multi-cultural centre 'Tacheles' was attacked by 140 baseball-bat-wielding skinheads, three people ended up in hospital, one man who tried to put out a fire caused by a molotov cocktail was hit in the face by a second fire bomb, with the result that his sight was almost lost (he can still see, but will be horribly scarred for the rest of his life). So the police answer emergency calls, but slowly. When groups of fascists meet, the police are rarely to be seen. When the fascists use their violence the police come too late. When the ‘Tacheles’ was attacked, the police moved in as the skinheads were leaving, arrested four of them, took their names and addresses and sent them home.

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

Political pressure exerted on the police forced them to try and find dialogue with us. They informed us of a security partnership between us and them. Greatlads! Thanks for asking! It might be useful if the police were useful, capable and objective, but they are not, they are, as always, provocative. ‘Security partnership’ means in the Mainzerstrasse, that the police park three or four meatwagons at the ends of the street and patrol in groups of three to six with dogs.

In total, roughly eighty houses are squatted in East Berlin. The movement is still in full swing.
Two industrial Workers of the World organisers, Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney, were killed by a bomb on May 24th 1989. The bomb was exploded in a car parked near the intersection of Market and 18th Streets in San Francisco. The bomb was attached to the car and exploded while the car was in motion, killing both Bari and Cherney and injuring a number of other people in the area. The bombing was not a one-off event, but part of a campaign by the group Earth First! to protest against the logging of redwood forests in the Pacific Northwest of the United States. The group believed that the logging was causing ecological damage and that the forests should be preserved for future generations. The bombing was a response to the increased police presence in the area, which was a result of the group's actions. The group was known for their direct action tactics, including tree spiking, blockades, and other forms of civil disobedience. The bombing was a significant event in the history of the environmental movement and highlighted the dangers that groups like Earth First! faced. It also raised questions about the effectiveness of the law enforcement agencies in the region and the extent to which law enforcement was being influenced by industry interests.
IWW ACTIVISTS BOMBED!

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

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

The May 24th bombing was the second attempt in less than a year to kill Bari and Cherney; last year a logging truck rammed their car, seriously injuring 3 adults and 4 children. Since then, Bari has received dozens of death threats, to preserve some type of order and machinery for $7 an hour’.

Just as clearly, lumber workers have an interest in an ecological forestry. If the lumber companies continue with the indiscriminate log- ging of virgin forests, and the wholesale destruc- tion of the ecosystems these forests support, there won’t be any trees left for them to cut or process. However, it’s not just the lumber workers’ jobs that could go. The long term ecological damage to the area will make it less habitable, and the loss of a major industry will have a knock on effect across the entire local economy, meaning shops, services etc. closing.

All because it’s cheaper to log the wilderness than plant new trees as the old ones are logged.

EARTH FIRST! REN- ONCES TREE SPIKING

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

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

In their statement renouncing the tactic, Nor- thern California Earth First! gave credit for the change to local rank and file lumber workers, who had come to speak to them against the wishes of both their bosses and unions.

This is a very encouraging development, showing that environmentalists and workers can unite and ultimately have the same interests. Earth First said that their tactics were always aimed at attacking the ‘machinery of destruc- tion, not the workers who operate that
THE MOHAWK STRUGGLE

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

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

According to reports the Mohawks heard over captured police radios, the officer was either killed with his own gun when he fell from a tree where he had taken a sniping position, or was hit by one of his fellow cowboys. The Mohawks did shoot to protect themselves, but, from witnesses on the scene, they were under instructions to shoot over the attackers' heads. The abandoned vehicles, 4 cruisers and 2 vans, were smashed by Mohawks using a commandeered front end loader. They were turned into a second barricade, allowing the Warriors to extend their defensive position. The police, numbering over a thousand would-be-heroes, erected their own barricade about 200 yards down the hill. The nearby town of Oka...

...time, the speed with which white supremacist politics came out under stress reveals that they are never very far from the surface. This highly charged and polarised situation was not created by the Mohawks. They have always been willing to negotiate, a fact that they kept repeating after the police attack. It wasn't the Mohawks who felt that a golf course was worth risking human lives for. All that the people of Kanesawake were doing by closing the bridge was using one of the few weapons available to them, against a society that has never hesitated to use whatever weapons it could to get at what the Mohawks had. But nothing infuriates white supremacists as much as a people who refuse to lie down while they're being kicked around. They much prefer to be able to quietly go about their lives undisturbed, while the destruction of was the Meech Lake Accord. This constitutional Accord was an attempt to get Quebec, a primarily French-speaking province, to sign the new Canadian constitution that the other nine, predominantly English-speaking provinces had signed in 1982. The Accord set a time limit of 23rd June, by which time all ten provinces had to agree to the terms of Quebec's signing the constitution. Elijah Harper, a Cree member of the Manitoba legislature, by refusing to give his assent to some parliamentary procedures, was able to run out the clock. The Indians opposed the Accord since they were not invited to participate in the constitutional discussions and are not recognised in the constitution. In response to the incredible pressure put on Harper by Quebec and the Conservative government 'to save the country' as the dead-been a disaster. Communities have been dislocated and disrupted, resulting in cultural breakdown. Natural mercury has leaked out of the now flooded land, contaminating the fish and other sources of food. Populations of animals have been reduced. The Cree want no more development and they are on a collision course with a province where energy sales and power projects are a mainstay of the economy.

The Indians just have too much of what other people want. The Mohawks have come in for particular harassment since the emergence of the Warrior's Society has given them an armed force that has to be taken into consideration. Hence the massive over-response to the armed self-defence of Kanesatake is intended as a warning to all native peoples that 'resistance will be met with massive repression, harassment and intimidation'. The Canadian military and police are still out in force on the Akwesasne reserve. Native organisers working to support the Mohawks have been harassed by the police on the Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario. As Canadian society undergoes great strains, the local police will more and more of an independent role in repression. In Toronto, neither the local nor provincial governments will act against the use of force by the police in spite of the shootings of several people; mainly young Africans. And in this incident, the provincial politicians, supposedly the political masters of the police, denied any responsibility for ordering the raid, yet totally backed the cops anyway, in spite of the obvious counter-productive nature of the raid. And not only is it just racism that sends the cops into a fury. Even as the siege by their provincial was continuing, the Montreal police raided a private lesbian and gay party, sending one man to hospital, arresting ten and beating many. On July 16th, the Montreal riot squad attacked a demonstration protesting the initial raid, sending two to hospital in critical condition, arresting 47 protestors (out of 200) and viciously beating many of those arrested. It is obvious that the police are not going to stand by while 'their' vision of Canada is challenged. They are ready to beat, intimidate and try to destroy whoever threatens the way things are.
time, the speed with which white supremacist police get out under stress reveals that they are never very far from the surface. This highly charged and polarized situation was not created by the Mohawks. They have always been willing to negotiate, a fact that they kept repeating after the police attack. It wasn’t the Mohawks who felt that a golf course was worth risking human lives for. All that the people of Kahnawake were doing by closing the bridge was using one of the few weapons available to them, against a society that has never hesitated to use whatever weapons it could to get at what the Indians had. But nothing infuriates white supremacists as much as a people who refuse to lie down while they’re being kicked around. They much prefer to be able to quietly go about their business, against a society that has never hesitated to use violence against them, against a society that has never hesitated to use violence against them.

Support for the Mohawks from other first nations was immediate. In British Columbia, elsewhere in Quebec and on the east coast, highways have been blocked—a tactic used since the early seventies to show solidarity. The Assembly of First Nations (AFN), the national organisation of the band councils, gave immediate support, as did the Lubicon Cree and other nations also involved in so far non-violent resistance for their land. For three years various native leaders, including the AFN, have been warning that unless the provincial and federal governments begin to take land negotiations more seriously, violence would be the result. No one is really surprised that it has come.

Many natives are probably well aware that the threat of guerrilla actions from the Mohawks is far greater than any单一 native people in Canada (nearly five percent of the population) should be surprised that the political leaders something to think about. In total, the combined territories of the native nations consists of millions and millions of acres, with many vulnerable target sparsely populated areas. Native militants, well aware of the process of destruction, will not stand by while they are destroyed, territory by territory.

Many non-native Canadians were shocked and outraged by the open aggression against Kahnawake. The reports present at the time of the attack were personally horrified at the arrogance and incompetence of the police and their behavior. The Indian role in stopping the Accord helped to give the political leaders something to think about, even if the blockades are lifted, funds are needed to carry on from the protest. The police are taking more and more of an independent role in repression. In Toronto, neither the local nor provincial governments will act against the use of force by the police in spite of the shootings of several people, mainly young Africans. And in this incident, the provincial politicians, supposedly the political masters of the police, denied any responsibility for ordering the raid, yet totally backed the cops anyway, despite the obvious counterproductive nature of the raid. And not only is it just racism that sends the cops into a fury. Even as the siege by their provincial was continuing, the police raided a private lesbian and gay party, sending one man to hospital, arresting ten and beating many. On July 16th, the Montreal riot squad attacked a demonstration protesting the initial raid, sending two to hospital in critical condition, arresting 47 protesters (out of 200) and viciously beating many of those arrested. It is obvious that the police are not going to stand by while their visions of Canada is challenged. They are ready to beat, intimidate and try to destroy whoever threatens the way things are.

It does seem to be more than coincidence that the government is pressuring the Mohawks to lift their blockade by suggesting that the constitutional negotiations are not recognised in the constitution. In response to the incredible pressure put on Harper by Quebec and the Conservative government ‘to save the country’ as the deadline drew nearer, the AFN said that the settlers nations of Canada, the English and French, had created this mess and that they, the Indians, would not save it; that indeed, they would kill it if possible. They did.

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

Defence Fund for Mohawk Sovereignty:
Assistance is needed to enable the Mohawk people to carry on the defence of their lands. Material aid is needed right away—supplies such as food, medical supplies, fuel etc. Even if the blockades are lifted, funds are needed to carry on from the protest.
The nearby town of Oka was placed under a form of martial law. All vehicles were stopped and anyone suspected of being Mohawk, or native, was turned back, even if they lived in town. The police had stopped food and medicine from going into Kanatake, preventing Mohawks from returning home if they were outside the police roadblocks, and Mohawks were prevented from going to the hospital.

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

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

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

While it may be frustrating for people to have an hour and a half added to their commuting yards down the hill. The nearby town of Oka was placed under a form of martial law. All vehicles were stopped and anyone suspected of being Mohawk, or native, was turned back, even if they lived in town. The police have stopped food and medicine from going into Kanatake, preventing Mohawks from returning home if they were outside the police roadblocks, and Mohawks were prevented from going to the hospital.

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Polish Anarchism

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

After WW2 and up until the 1980s there was scarcely any trace of anarchist activities. One exception might be the so-called era of enthusiasm, 1945—1947, when the authorities denounced anarchist tendencies within the demands for the establishment of factory councils with broad political powers. The same applies to the demand in that crucial year, 1956, for the number of factors; among them the lack of any revolutionary leftist forms.

Some groups, Lublin for one, have been acknowledged as revolutionary leftist formations on account of their radicalism, and Solidarity itself has been accused of anarchosyndicalist leanings following the publication of its programme for a ‘self managing Republic’. However up until 1983 there was no organisation in Poland describing itself as anarchist.

R.S.A.—Ruch Spolecznstwa Alternatywnego.

Movement for an Alternative Society.

The RSA came into being in Gdansk, the creation of some comrades aged 18 and 19. The groups organised discussion groups like the SKA, but unlike the SKA, did not confine itself to debates. Since September 1983 it has been publishing Homek with texts inspired by its discussion groups, containing news and theoretical material. The RSA was one of the first Polish groups to wage a considerable anti-militarist campaign (printing thousands of leaflets) and one of the first to insist on the need for some means of contacting one another. The meeting showed that there was lots of comrades and circles that identified with anarchism, even if not all of them understood the word to mean the same thing. The months that followed the convention showed that the MA name had become so attractive that various groups began to use it, regardless of the intentions of its founders. At the same time articles on MA activities in Warsaw, Krakow, Rzeszow and Katowice began to surface in the official press — articles mistook the name ‘inter-city’ for ‘international’.

Above all, these activities involved anti-militarist and green campaigning. MA pamphlets and flyposters were published. It also emerged that the notion of a ‘post office’ did not suit some of its founders. At the same time articles on MA activities in Warsaw, Krakow, Rzeszow and Katowice began to surface in the official press — articles mistook the name ‘inter-city’ for ‘international’.

The RSA members either organised or were directly involved in demonstrations including the best known one of May Day 1985. Five members of the movement took part in that. The fact that it was they who carried the black flags allowed the press to create a sensation about an anarchist May Day, an all the more dubious set up since it was one of the most violent demonstrations from the WIP Gdansk, from the RSA and from the (counter-cultural) ‘Totart’ group. The aim of the MA was to get people out of the ghettos, especially any interested in anarchism. MA was to be a sort of ‘post office’ or ‘exchange bureau’ designed more for familiarisation than for concerted activity. After distribution of two information leaflets, an enormous number of letters flooded into MA’s address and this was indicative of how necessary some means of contacting one another existed. This brought home how hard it was to contact one another and keep in touch; in the same city there could have been two or three groups all ignorant of one another’s existence.

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

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Ama Syndicalism

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

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

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

ATHENS ABC

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

SQUATTERS BUSTED

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

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

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

Steemlisse 38
Groningen Holland

CRETE RESISTS

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

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

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

PROGRAMME OF ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM

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

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

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

**SQUATTERS BUSTED**

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

**Q & A on Anarchism**

Q: What did Bakunin mean by an anarchy? 

Bakunin meant that society is composed of individuals who are free to make their own decisions and who are not subject to the authority of the state. He believed in the idea of the sovereign individual, and that this principle must be applied to all aspects of life, including politics, economics, and social organization.

R: How does anarchy differ from democracy? 

Anarchy differs from democracy in that it is a system of government without a central authority, whereas democracy is a system of government in which power is held by the people through elected representatives. Anarchists believe in the complete decentralization of power, whereas democrats believe in the delegation of power to elected representatives who are accountable to the people.

Q: What are the criticisms of anarchism? 

The main criticism of anarchism is that it is utopian and impractical. Anarchists have been accused of being too idealistic and not taking into account the realities of human nature and society. They are also criticized for being too individualistic and not recognizing the importance of collective action.

R: How does anarchism differ from socialism? 

Anarchism and socialism differ in their approach to the question of ownership of the means of production. Socialism advocates for the ownership of the means of production by the working class, whereas anarchism advocates for the abolition of all forms of ownership and the distribution of resources according to need.

Q: What are the benefits of anarchism? 

Anarchism offers the benefit of freedom and self-determination for individuals and communities. It promotes the idea of a decentralized society in which power is held by the people and not concentrated in the hands of a few elites.

R: What are the disadvantages of anarchism? 

Anarchism can lead to a lack of cooperation and collective action, as individuals are free to act according to their own desires without regard for the common good. It can also lead to a lack of stability and order in society, as there is no central authority to enforce laws and regulate behavior.

Q: What is the role of the state in anarchism? 

In anarchism, the state is viewed as a necessary evil that must be eliminated. Anarchists believe that the state is a tool of oppression and that it should be replaced with a system of direct democracy in which power is held by the people through collective decision-making.

R: What is the role of the individual in anarchism? 

The individual is seen as the ultimate source of power in anarchism. Anarchists believe in the idea of the sovereign individual, and that this principle must be applied to all aspects of life, including politics, economics, and social organization.

Q: What is the role of the collective in anarchism? 

The collective is seen as a necessary tool for the achievement of the aims of anarchism. Anarchists believe in the importance of collective action and cooperation in the face of oppression, and that the collective has a role to play in the creation of a more just and equitable society.

R: What is the role of the community in anarchism? 

The community is seen as a vital component of anarchism. Anarchists believe in the importance of building strong, democratic communities that are capable of solving their own problems and making decisions in a participatory manner.

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The community is seen as a vital component of anarchism. Anarchists believe in the importance of building strong, democratic communities that are capable of solving their own problems and making decisions in a participatory manner.
A significant part of RSA's activities have been and are calculated to blend in with youth circles, the so-called drop out scene. Since 1985 it has organised the 'Hyde Park' festival—an open air jamboree for 'drop out' youth which enjoys great significance in such circles. In recent years the WIP has also been involved in the 'Hyde Park' festival.

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

W.I.P. Ruch Wolnosc' i Pokoj
The Freedom and Peace Movement

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

In 1988, of the WIP's 12 publications, four were of anarchist complexion ... A Copella in Gdansk, Iskna in Krakow, Dablin in Elblag and Anarchistyczna 'vention. Anti authoritarian babble is not enough. If we want anarchism to be seen as a social policy, we must conduct an analysis of the changes afoot in the country and put forward our proposals. All this while realising that verbal condemnation of the capitalist system in the media of today, but he obviously didn't mean this. It was, however, said before the growth of the working class movement and the conception of Anarchism which Bakunin took from it (not the reverse).

Q & A on Anarchism

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

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

Pan-Slavism was a nationalist, anti-imperialist idea which is now dated and dubious. It is unclear what he meant by an 'invisible dictatorship' (it may lose something in translation). The term would be a good one to
Despite police and army intimidation, 1000 students at Beijing University hurled bottles and bricks from their dormitory windows to commemorate the anniversary of the Tiananmen Square massacre on 4 June. Two days later, the Chinese government announced the release of a further 97 pro-democracy prisoners, following the release of 221 at the end of May and 563 in January.

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

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

Trade Union solidarity groups in Hong Kong have launched a campaign demanding the release of all detained WAF members and for official recognition of Chinese workers' rights to organise. On May Day, a demonstration was held in protest at the suppression of pro-democracy workers in China and a rally and candlelight vigil was held on 4 June to commemorate the Tiananmen Square massacre. The campaign is being co-ordinated by the Asia Monitor Resource Centre, which is for a world wide appeal to the Chinese Government for the release of WAF prisoners. (source - International Labour Reports)

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

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

WORKERS DETAINED:
In Beijing: Han Dongfang, Liu Qiang, He Lili, Bai Dongping, Guo Yaxiong, Li Jiang, Liu Huanwen, Tian Bomin, You Dianqi, Yan Fuqian.
In Changsha: He Zhaohui, Li Jian, Lu Zhaixing, Liu Xinqi, Xudong, Zhou Yong.
In Jinan: Che Hongjian, Hao Jingguang, Liu Chongxi.
In Hangzhou: Gao Jingtang, Li Xiaohu, Zhu Guanghua.
In Nanjing: Li Huling, Rui Tonghu, Zhu Huiming.

Address letters to:
Premier Zhongguo Guowu Yuan
Beijing, Peoples Republic of China
President Yang Shangkun
Zhongguo Guoji Zhuxi Banshichu
Beijing, Peoples Republic of China
Ni Zhifu, Chairman,
All-China Federation of Trade Unions
Beijing, Peoples Republic of China

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

In Italy, PABLO SERRANO
PABLO SERRANO, the Spanish anarchist prisoner who was initially involved in the hunger strike by political prisoners in Spain, recently has been transferred. In a recent letter to a comrade in Bolton ABC he said:
'My removal to Tenerife (Canary Islands), the furthest point within the Spanish prison system, was an act of political punishment obviating any commitment to the struggle against the fascists.'
The Never Ending Struggle

IN EARLY MAY the Italian courts passed savage sentences on three comrades from Lotta Continua. Italian courts are notorious for their long delays, but this was for something that happened 18 years ago. The three, Adriano Sofri, Ovidio Bompressi and Giorgio Pietro Stefani were all sentenced to 22 years jail. A fourth charged, Leonardo Marino, turned trostefani were all sentenced to 22 years jail. An examination was never officially announced also raises concern that the number of WAF mem- 
bers in prison exceeds the 45 officially acknowledged.

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

OVIDIO BOMPRESSI: 42, worked on the daily Reporter 46. an organiser of LC ar.'

GIORGIO PIETROSTEFANI: 46, an organiser of LC at the time, was alleged of being the actual killer. Was a bookseller _'ing.

Larry Giddings—A Letter

A S A PRISONER, an anti-authoritarian movement helped to sustain me during those seven years.

prisoners committed to armed struggle against the US government. Contact with the anti-

Wall, a Washington state prison, I once again began receiving Black Flag. Shortly after, myself and compadre Bill Dunne were exiled to the Federal prison system. In '83, upon arrival

have been able to visit and interview me. Un-

fortunately, Black Flag didn't qualify for press

credentials! Still, it felt good to know he was out there working and doing what he could.

PABLO SERRANO

Pablo Serrano, the Spanish anarchist prisoner who was initially involved in the hunger strike by political prisoners in Spain, recently has been transferred. In a recent letter to a com-

rade in Bolton ABC he said:

'My removal to Tenerife (Canary Islands), the furthest point within the Spanish prison ser-

vice, has meant almost complete isolation from outside, particularly as regards friends and family. Life inside has also worsened—18 hour lock-up has resulted in being denied working with others or using manual skills. Mail is auto-

matically opened, control is heavy...

As you see, things have got worse and it's likely that more will happen, given the failure of the State's strategy to reintegrate politicals and the small amount of time left to carry it out (ie before the '92 Olympics, the genocide anniversary celebrations of the American conquest and the '93 Common Market Act of Union). All this is taking place in the context of an un-

defeated resistance movement and a huge pile of contradictions and social injustices, ever more blatant and whose effects are uncontrollable and spontaneous. All the repression within prisons serves only to confirm the State's weakness.

What is important within this challenge is not the fate of some hundreds of dissidents but rather the potential of the current social under-

class.

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

the Black Cross comrades of my new address and prison situation.'

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

Larry Giddings

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Larry Giddings—A Letter

As a prisoner, an anti-authoritarian P.O.W., I have spent a total of nearly 18 years in prison. My first contact with *Black Flag* occurred in 1973, while imprisoned in California. I readily identified with the energy and issues reflected in its pages. Stuart Christie and friends became an extension of my own connection to the world outside. Upon release from prison, after having served seven years, I continued my commitment to struggle for a world without prisons, racism, borders and authoritarian rule. In 1971, at age 18, I was arrested in Los Angeles after a gun fight during the expropriation of firearms in Los Angeles. These weapons were to be used for liberating prisoners committed to armed struggle against the US government. Contact with the anti-authoritarian movement helped to sustain me during those seven years.

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

In October 1979, myself and a compadre were captured during the attempted liberation of another compadre in struggle. Another shoot-out, wounded, imprisoned again, after 20 months out of chains. After arrival in Walla Walla, a Washington state prison, I once again began receiving *Black Flag*. Shortly after, myself and compadre Bill Dunne were exiled to the Federal prison system. In 1983, upon arrival in Leavenworth, I again contacted *Black Flag*.

In memory of Leo Rosser

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

In 1986, when Leo came to the US to attend the Haymarket Centennial, he also attempted to visit me in Leavenworth. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to visit me here. The rules excluding visitors are complex and he was denied access. As a member of the 'press' he should have been able to visit and interview me. Unfortunately, *Black Flag* didn't qualify for press credentials! Still, it felt good to know he was out there working and doing what he could.

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

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

continued on back page
INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The Long and Winding Road

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

ON THE METRO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CARRY ON CONFRONTATION

During the Metro strike, Larranze of the Socialist Party said the most important aspect of the strike was the standing of the Workplace Committees. The Socialist Party (PSOE) itself on its own platform included the workplace committees in its programme.

The large unions have always been opposed to the Workplace Committees, and these workers' organisations dependent on the whims of the state will fall flat on its face when the rug is pulled from under its feet. An anarcho-syndicalist organisation must be totally adaptable within the framework of its autonomy, if you keep on the move you might stumble when the rug is pulled but you have a better chance of keeping your feet on the ground.

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

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

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

Union Platform will go the same way as all bolshevik parties and in the Workplace Committees they will find the perfect breeding ground for the development of all opportunistic organisations on the unprincipled tradition of the CGT. They called a strike as the CNT without consulting the true CNT. More on this later, but first the strike.

The General Assembly called for a total strike.

CNT ORGANISES MAJOR HOSPITAL STRIKE

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

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

The largest union representation in the hospital is the Anarcho-syndicalist CNT. The communist union (CC.OO.) boycotted the strike, while the socialist union (UGT) has a small local section in the hospital which supports the strike, defining the UGT Catalan Central Committee which has officially boycotted it. Right from the beginning, the hospital workers have gone along with the proposals of the CNT section. Not only this, but, for the first time in several years, the CNT has issued an all-out strike call to hospital workers around Catalonia (June 20th) which has been followed in Tarragona, Girona, Badalona, and Bellvitge, all large towns with important state hospitals. Hospital workers in these areas have already voted to go on strike.
The buses in Madrid are owned by a private company and a reduction of half an hour in the working week. The drivers, represented by the CNT, requested a 25% increase in pay and two rest days a week but were not content with the original demands and asked for more. The General Assembly reluctantly accepted the agreement and called off the strike amid much acrimony over the position Union Platform had taken in relation to the Workplace Committees.

CARRY ON CONFRONTATION

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

The methods of organisation chosen by the Metro workers have obvious advantages for anybody who has ever come into contact with union careerists. How many times must a strike be sold out by corrupt officials whose main interests lie in defending their own positions over the interests of the workers they are supposed to represent? The potential of the General Assembly lies in workers ridding themselves of the constraints of the union bureaucracy whose main interest is in their members as a power base for collaboration with the State. The CNT's role was restricted to intervening in the Workplace Committees they will find the perfect breeding ground for hacks and careerists of all political shades to blossom into fully fledged Stalinist bureaucrats.

CNT

The CNT in the Madrid Metro system are unfortunately the smallest of the players involved and were restricted to a passive role in the dispute. When the CNT was compensated for its renowned lack of integrity by exploiting the name of the UGT as the CNT was forced to back the union and media. All newspapers, radio and TV stations have, however, conveniently ignored the involvement of the CNT in the strike, to the extent of not giving it a single mention.

305 of the workers on strike have been officially sacked by the hospital authorities. The strike committee has said it will not restart negotiations until they have been reinstated. In addition, there have been some tensions with the nurses' collective, which feels that some patients are not getting the attention they need, due to the extent of not giving it a single mention.

Anarchists on Russian TV

ON MAY 4th KAS members Vadim Damye, Alexander Shubin (Moscow) and Sergei Krylov (Leningrad) were interviewed on Russian TV about the success of the Madrid Metro strike and their experiences.
The General Assembly called for a total strike and no minimum service despite management threats that this would be illegal. The strike was solid and after one and a half days of total shutdown management contacted the drivers' commission to negotiate. The drivers' commission recognised that the rest of the workforce were not content with the original demands and asked the CGT to negotiate on their behalf only. When the CGT quite rightly refused the drivers entered negotiations independently. They accepted an agreement they believed to be for 200 000 ptas. a month and no victimisation and promptly called off their strike. In reality the agreement was for 200 000 ptas. over one year and acceptance of management rationalisation plans for the next 4/5 years.

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

ON THE BUSES

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

Soon after the Metro strike finished, Union Platform (a united front of various Trotskyist Socialist Party said the most important aspect of the strike was not the demands of the workers but the threat to the established union system. This was not a view shared by the various factions involved in assuming positions of leadership.

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

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

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

CNT

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

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

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

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

Anarchists on Russian TV

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

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

On 23rd April in Tomsk (Siberia) a new KAS paper Golos Trauda (Labour Voice) came out. The anarcho-syndicalist publication Svobody Traud in Volgadonsk is published in wallposter form.

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

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

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

ANARCHIST HISTORY

Anarchist Resistance in Nazi Germany

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

The Communist party became illegalised, the
Socialists and trade union movement tried to
make their peace and niche and were slowly il-
legalised. Nothing happened such as that of the anarcho-
syndicalists at Duisburg. No attempt has ever
been made in genuine research by those in a
position to carry it out (lest it detract from the
last-ditch plot, to save the Reich, of the generals
and the Prussian aristocrats?)

The pioneer attempt (in fact, the destruction
of the Reichstag, not an assassination plot) was
that of van der Lubbe, a council-communist. He
thought that the burning of the parliament of
Nazis and those who had ceded them victory
would be a signal for the proletariat to rise.

vice of marrying a gay activist, John Olday,
who, though a German resident from birth, had
a British passport through a Canadian father.
She was involved in plans for another attempt
on Hitler's life at a rally and narrowly escaped
to England. Olday was deported as a result.
There the group with which she had been in-
volved formulated the plans which they had
been thwarted by mere chance (Hitler hadn't
turned up). They were funded originally by a
wealthy industrialist, George Strauss, a Labour
MP (later Father of the House). Hilda Monte
because it entails some real research as distinct from looking up other people's books). Here we can only give some pointers to research.

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

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

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

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

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

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

They twice set up near-successful attempts, once in the Munich beerhall where the non-event of the Nazi putsch of 1923 was being celebrated, another time at the Nuremberg opera. Both were foiled at the last moment, but as the perpetrators escaped. Those concerned fled to Glasgow (where they were given shelter by the late Frank Leech, a well-known Anarchist, in whose house I met them in 1937). They deemed it prudent to go to Birmingham (which had an interesting sequel when, a generation later, the vice of marrying a gay activist, John Olday, who, though a German resident from birth, had a British passport through a Canadian father. She was involved again for another attempt on Hitler's life at a rally and narrowly escaped to England. Olday was deported as a result. There the group with which she had been involved formulated the plans which they had been thwarted by mere chance (Hitler hadn't turned up). They were funded originally by a wealthy industrialist, George Strauss, a Labour MP (later Father of the House). Hilda Monte returned to Germany, but presumably the plan went wrong and she arrived back in London just before war broke out.

The authorities were suspicious of a German who had turned up just before hostilities, even though she had a recently-acquired British husband with whom she had never lived! She was interned, and like many anti-fascists, felt the humiliation keenly. Contacting British anarchists, she felt sure her plan would go through if she could get back again. Strauss by now had backed out of the association, though his connections would have been useful (he possibly thought he was being inveigled into a Nazi plot, though after the war he acknowledged his earlier help). The person Hilda Monte found, by a coincidence, who was prepared to back her financially and with official contacts was a film star (who, whether by chance or discovery, was assassinated by the Nazis in Portugal). She was allowed to return (how, I have no means of knowing) where she contacted her group, but was captured by the Gestapo and murdered, fairly horribly, one assumes. A socialist comrade informs me that Det Stjones, of Special Branch, spoke to him during the war of his concern about the reckless way in which Hilda had been allowed to return and his admiration for her courage.
The success of Hitler’s party had a shattering and paralysing effect on the working class movement. For years it had been thought, even by those who opposed the Communist Party, that its Red Front/Army would put up a fight. It was expected that the struggle would come with its success, not with its failure. This attitude was ingrained even with those who advocated Socialism and were antagonistic against the oppositionists. Though working class formations had long since battled in the streets against Hitlerism, nobody anticipated the struggle would be given up without a shot or a blow.

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

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

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

After Hitler took power—was handed power by Hindenburg, with the tacit approval of almost all parties—the power of the SS dramatically increased. Almost overnight the top-heavy organisation of the workers collapsed with the wholesale arrests, quite illegal, of their leaders, socialists and trade unionists. Their leaders tried to make their peace and make and were slowly illegalised—after which social-democracy had nothing to offer. Trade union leaders sought to transfer their funds to war veterans organisations (where for ideological reasons the Nazis could not sequestrate them, but controlled them anyway). The working class as a whole was stunned at the fact that the entire defence they had built around themselves had gone with the wind.

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

Where the German Anarchists, and the council-communists (who during the whole Nazi period sunk their differences, never great) registered was in political development. It is one of the ironies of history, though typical, that the only attempt against Hitler thought worthy of commemoration is that by the upper-class generals who backed his war effort until it was lost (while such intellectuals as Rudolf Rocker and Augustin Souchy within the International Workers Association declined after the War to support documentation on Anarchist attempts on Hitler’s life). Hitler’s leadership undermined the anarchist movement into disrepute).

Nobody ever assumed that the assassination of Hitler would entail automatic defeat of Nazism. But such was the concentrated hero worship of the Fuhrer, it would have desaturated the entire Nazi party, and given a revulsion of confidence to the anti-Nazi majority to assert itself once more, if merely defensively. There were never as many attempts on Hitler as on Mussolini by the Italian anarchists, but far more than generally supposed. Only a few are listed here, and we have not even (for want of detailed knowledge) touched on other aspects of the German police by some confusion (no doubt caused by the loss of their main files to Washington) thought the Red and Black Group (English anoarcha-pacific) was responsible. The New York Schwarzrotgruppe (Black Red) group, long since dead or dispersed, and named them, to their intense surprise, as responsible for the killing of an ex-Nazi banker.

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

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

During the war when Hitler met Franco there was an urgent plan to pair him with them together, by Spanish Anarchists this time, though with some French and German involvement. This certainly would have changed the course of history, and certainly have been a highspot of anarchist resistance, had it been successful. Those who sneer at such attempts as amateur should bear in mind that those concerned were not professional assassins but ordinary workers living under intolerable oppression. At the very least, these events should be made public and not hidden. They were representative of the real feelings of German workers during the years of class defeat when their rulers were dragging their name in filth.
ANARCHIST IDEAS began to appear on Yugoslav territory during the second half of the 19th century and were the ideas of Yugoslav who had worked or been educated in European countries where the workers’ movement was strong. One of the first people to espouse the ideas of Proudhon, while studying law and economics in Munich and Zurich was the Serbian socialist ZIVOJIN ZUJOVIC (1838–1870). He was Serbia’s first socialist and the mentor of SVETOZAR MARKOVIC (1846–1910), a writer and theorist of the Serbian labour movement. There was a sizeable colony of southern Slav students and revolutionaries in Switzerland who kept in touch with Bakunin and with the Slavic section of the Jura Federation. They included JOVAN Todorovic and others. At the beginning of July 1872, Zurich saw the holding of the Congress of Serbian socialists in which Bakunin took part and during which the programme of the Serbian Socialist Party was elaborated.

The struggle for national liberation of the southern Slav territories (primarily for the liberation of these lands from the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires) encouraged a broader acceptance of freedom-centred ideas. During the 1875 uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was a left-wing that championed a social programme. It was led by VASA PELAGIC and had the support of the anarchists MANOJO HRVACANIN (1849-1909) and Kosta Ugrinic (1848-1933), and others. Many Italian anarchists were involved in this rising (Malatess made two attempts to enter Bosnia-Herzegovina) as well as anarchists from Russia and elsewhere in Europe.

In early April 1871, JOHANN MOST came to Ljubljana and came into contact with members of the Workers’ Society there. MATIJA KUNC, the Society’s chair, was a propagandist of Most’s ideas. In many prosecutions of the radical wing of the Austro-Hungarian socialists in Zagreb, Celovec and Graz, both Croatian and Slavene anarchists were among those friend of Bakunin since his time as a student in Zurich. There was also JIVAN ZUJOVIC (1856-1936), a famous geologist and President of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, and others. During the first decade of the 20th century, anarchosyndicalist ideas appeared in Serbia with the newspapers Proletor (1906) and Radnicka Borba (1907), and with the advocates of direct action (the DIREKTASI) on the left wing of the Serbian Social Democratic Party.

The leading light was KRSTO CICVARIC (1879-1944), founder of many newspapers like Hleb i Sloboda (1905) (Bread and Freedom) and Radnicka Borba (Workers’ Struggle), and founder of groups of anarchist workers, and author of a book entitled ‘The anarchist programme’ (1909). After the Great War he dropped out of the movement. In Paris, MILORAD POPOVIC (1874-1905) founded a Yugoslav Workers’ Society and a Social Action Committee (1906). Later he moved to Budapest where he published Serbian socialist newspapers before returning to Serbia in 1904. He was at all times faithful to the idea of revolutionary syndicalism which he put into practice by founding several independent trade unions. The DIREKTASI were an anarchosyndicalist group inside the Serbian Social Democratic Party which emerged in 1909 (including NEDEJKO DIVAC, VLAKO JERMANOVIC, SIMA MARKOVIC, VASA KNEZEVIC). Later they were expelled from the party. SIMA MARKOVIC became secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia before falling out with Stalin and being sentenced to prison during the purges in the USSR, where he died in 1939.

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

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

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

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

THE CAMPAIGN for national and social liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was under Austro-Hungarian occupation after 1878, culminated in the emergence of an anarchist-style revolutionary youth movement called Mladana Bosna (Young Bosnia). This was led off by BOGDAN ZERAJIC (1886-1910), a great admirer of Bakunin, Kropotkin, members of the 'Narodnaya Volya' (People's Will) group. He was a friend of Victor Serge, Natalia Danilova and other anarchist political prisoners. ZERAJIC was sentenced to life imprisonment but was freed when the empire collapsed. Sentenced along with him to 5 years in prison, was AUGUST CESAREC (1893-1941), writer and future publisher of left-wing reviews. The killing of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne and of the last remaining descendant of the Habsburg dynasty, Franz Ferdinand, was organised in Sarajevo on 28th June 1914 by members of the Young Bosnia group. The first, NEDELJKO CABRINOVIC (1895-1916), a type-setter, hurled a bomb at the Archduke, but it failed to explode; so Franz Ferdinand continued his journey. Whereupon GAVRIL PRINCIPI assassinated him with a revolver. Some 25 conspirators were tried: among them was DANJLO ILIC (1890-1915) who was hanged. GAVRIL PRINCIPI was sentenced to 20 years' hard labour and perished in a prisoners' camp, was AUGUST CESAREC (1893-1941), writer and future publisher of left-wing reviews. The killing of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne and of the last remaining descendant of the Habsburg dynasty, Franz Ferdinand, was organised in Sarajevo on 28th June 1914 by members of the Young Bosnia group. The first, NEDELJKO CABRINOVIC (1895-1916), a type-setter, hurled a bomb at the Archduke, but it failed to explode; so Franz Ferdinand continued his journey. Whereupon GAVRIL PRINCIPI assassinated him with a revolver. Some 25 conspirators were tried: among them was DANJLO ILIC (1890-1915) who was hanged. 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In Zagreb, Celovec and Graz, both Croatian and Slavene anarchists were among those persecuted. Anarchist influence (in the persons of say, R.Golou, Giovani Marchetti and Ivan Endlicher) also made headway into Dalmatia via Trieste and Ancona. Anarchist demonstrations were organised in Rovigno (1904) and Split (1908). The Croatian teacher MILOS KRPAN was in touch with the Swiss anarchists from 1898 on: he spread anarchist ideas among the so-called Independent Socialists group in Slavonski Brod and district (in Dubrovnik) and attempted in 1909 and 1910 to lay the groundwork for an International Anarchist Colony. The Austro-Hungarian authorities banned the importation and distribution of anarchist newspapers and books in the southern Slav territories under their control.

**ANARCHISM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION**

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

DELCHEV was in close contact and personally friendly with the leading Bulgarian anarchists MIHAIL GRYZKOV and UBAR KILIFARSKI. Many other anarchist fighters for an independent Macedonia gathered around DELCHEV, among them PETAR MANDZUKOV (1879-1966) who published 'The ABC of Anarchist Doctrine' in Skopje in 1898; DAME GRUEV (1871-1906); IANE SANDANSKI (1872-1915); NIKOLA KAREV (1877-1905) and DIMO HADZIDIMO (1875-1915). The Macedonian anarchists also had a secret descendant of the Habsburg dynasty, Franz Ferdinando, was organised in Sarajevo on 28th June 1914 by members of the Young Bosnia group. The first, NEDELKO CABRINOVIC (1895-1916), a type-setter, hurled a bomb at the Arch-duke, but it failed to explode; so Franz Ferdinando continued his journey. Whereupon GAVRIL PRINCIPE Assassinated him with a revolver. Some 25 conspirators were tried: among them was DANILIC ILIC (1890-1915) who was hanged. GAVRIL PRINCIPE was sentenced to 20 years' hard labour and punished by ill-treatment and torture. At the trial, CABRINOVIC declared that his involvement in the assassination had been the result of his anarchist beliefs. He died in prison of hunger and of mental illness at the age of 20. A spiritual sponsor of Serbian anarchistic youth was VLADIMIR GACINOVIC (1890-1917) who had fallen in with Russian revolutionary emigres who had gone into exile following the 1905 revolution: that was while he was a student in Geneva and Lausanne. GACINOVIC was a follower of Bakunin, Kropotkin, members of the 'Narodnaya Volja' (People's Will) group. He was a friend of Victor Serge, Nata-nson, Martov and the early Trotsky. He was poisoned in Switzerland by the police (many countries had a hand in it—like Austria, Serbia, France) in August 1917.

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

**SERBIAN ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM**

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

After ZIOVIJIN ZUOVIC, anarchist ideas in Serbia were taken up by DRAGICA STANEVIC (1884-1918), MITA CENIC (1851-1888) and PERA Todorovic (1852-1907), the latter being the founder of the first socialist newspaper, Rad (Labour) in 1874, a
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At times, like Marxists, individual anarcho-syndicalists, and even entire anarcho-syndicalist organisations, have proclaimed that the main thing wrong with the industrial system is that it is controlled by the capitalist class. That view should be rejected.

The eco-crisis has made it clear to all but the most blinded of individuals that the industrial system could well destroy the human race and most of the rest of life on earth with it. The same can be said of the military system; its development of atomic weapons is quite capable of doing the same thing. One response to the militarianism by humans, and in fact ecological destruction was not introduced by the human. That view should be rejected.

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

Anarcho-syndicalists have a traditional belief that this will happen semi-spontaneously; their model is the 1968 insurrection in France, which the Situationists like to take credit for.

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

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

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

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

Before coming up with a strategy that would be constructive to briefly present the post-situationist and Deep Ecology analyses and strategies. (See Anarchy (US) and Fifth Estate magazines, Earth First! and Live Wild or Die).

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

The environmental movement has traditionally been led by members of the middle and upper classes, going back at least as far as the setting aside of the great national parks in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Certainly its leadership is today middle-class and reformist in outlook. But this is largely an historical anomaly. Traditionally it has been by-passed in a way which would not be possible in any other democratic organisation.

It is our belief that the national bulletin is of critical importance. One of the key roles of a national federation must be communication. Ian

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continued from page 2
We had great reservations about this because Militant has little potential to lead to the end of the industrial system. We also reject the form of pacifism - the military system. We also reject the form of pacifism which is responsive to the wishes of the middle class. The national committee agreed, after some discussion, that it was possible to make it a regional situation is pacifism. The national committee agreed, after some discussion, that it was possible to make the police on the defensive for their brutality.

We stand for a movement which:

- Values diversity—and encourages the involvement of all groups, factions and parties in the campaign, and individuals who have never been politically involved before.
- Stresses equally non-payment, non-prosecution and non-cooperation and avoids factional infighting over emphasis on any one of these.

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

Defends those who are the victims of attack by the state; in particular, those arrested on the anti-poll tax demonstrations. We regret the statement by Steve Nally about 'naming and shaming'. We do not feel this is the appropriate response to the wishes of the middle class.

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

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

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

- The national committee agreed, after some pressure, to hold a trade union conference. We assumed that this would be co-ordinated by the Trade Union Officer. However, he has consistently been by-passed in a way which would not be possible in any other democratic organisation.

It is our belief that the national bulletin is of critical importance. One of the key roles of a national federation must be to communicate.

Ian Greaves and Danny Burns took responsibility for producing the newsletter. The first one was produced after three days work and delivered to the secretary and thereafter saw the light of day. The second one was produced and 2500 copies were printed. They were delivered on time for the national demonstration but were not distributed. The third one was produced and 25000 copies were printed. They were delivered on time for the national demonstration but were not distributed. This was not because they did not have the time; they produced regular reports for the Militant newspaper. The fact that Militant has been unable to delegate tasks to people outside of their organisation, has, in our view, had other negative effects on the campaign.

For example, the national federation is over £12 000 in debt. It had a demonstration of 250000 people. Even if it had only collected 10p from each person, we could have raised £25000. But there were no financial stewards. We did point out that the demonstration was planned for 25000. But we were not listened to and the demonstration was therefore planned for 25000.

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

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

We are not going to fight for the hearts and minds of the middle class. We have to deal with the fact that the environmental crisis is not the first thing on the minds of people in the working class. We must continue our struggle for decent wages and workers control of their workplace and lives, and against racism, sexism, ageism etc., but we must also introduce the idea that the world is dying and doing nothing about it is no longer a viable option. Most working class people wisely avoid political arguments, especially in their workplace, because they usually lose, or reach a painful stalemate. People prefer to just get by, though they may take various opportunities they see to improve their position. Only when their livelihoods are seriously threatened will they fight. But it is already time to fight (first with words, strikes, boycotts and demonstrations), because the eco-crisis will effect earliest and most those of us who live on the edge. It has already pushed people into open rebellion in parts of Latin America. It will push people into rebellion here. The question that we cannot answer at this point is, will it be a libertarian rebellion, or one that is channelled into fascism? As individual workers and as a community, our acts can help to decide that question.
Dear Black Flag,
I am writing simply to express my deep personal sense of loss over the untimely death of a dear comrade Leo Rosser.

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

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

Quite often we anarchists measure comrades on their ‘political line’. True, good politics are important, yet it is the human factor which is equally important. I can say that Leo was a fun guy and went out of his way to show me. These few lines do no justice to that part of Leo’s personality but no justice is done when we lose such a young, good and gifted comrade.

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

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

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

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

Mitch Miller
New York WSA-IWA

Letter on Nigeria

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

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

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

With the help of many anti-authoritarian prisoners, and the ABC, and friends he had struggled with outside, the organisation Freedom Now! finally reviewed his case and has ‘adopted’ him. Hope. This is the first time since the case of Martin Sostre in the early sev-
Answers to quiz

1. Mexico. Anarchists who figured in the Revolution are honoured as historic figures by a State which opposes all they fought for.

2. While the Geneva Convention (a reciprocal agreement between warring nations) grants captured soldiers prisoner-of-war status, provided they are in uniform (otherwise they're shot out of hand or hanged as spies), keeps them locked up until hostilities end, if their side wins, and even longer if it loses; while it allows their active soldiers to be shot down and their non-combatant compatriots blown up at home or interned indefinitely (but not gassed), regardless of what side they support. An improvement? No way.

3. Samuel Schwartzbard, an Ukrainian anarchist who in 1926 shot Simon Petliura—Social-Democratic whiteguardist responsible for pogroms including the death of his family—was acquitted by a Paris jury nevertheless. Years after his death the Republic of Israel (not existent at his death) claimed his ashes for honouring.

4. Joe Hill, murdered by the State of Utah 70 years ago, asked in his will that his ashes be turned indefinitely (but not gassed), regardless of what side they support. An improvement? No way.

5. Joseph Kennedy made a multi-million fortune bootlegging, and so was enabled to become the last of the anti-imperialist fighters who saw the Empire out and looked forward to a new dawn of world capitalism.

6. Larry doesn't expect 'amnesty': indeed, he thinks it may increase his own personal repression to that part of his death claimed his ashes for honouring.

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

Murumbi returned home to become Vice President for nine months in 1996. He always told me his one aim was to do something for his people (and took my scepticism with his characteristic good humour). But power proved too much for yet another. He went from poverty in London to high office in Nairobi, and when pushed out of politics, into big business and directorships; I never heard from him once he'd got on the gravy train.

Obituary

Joseph Murumbi

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

Joe (half Kikuyu, half Goan) sincerely be-
Joe Hill, murdered by the State of Utah 70 years ago, asked in his will that his ashes be sent to Chicago, but they were recently discovered to have been detained by the postal authorities out of spite.

5. Joseph Kennedy made a multi-million commercial one which gives some voice to libertarian issues.

Correction: In issue 199 we referred to Byens Street, Cambridge. We are told this is wish-fulfilment: it is an alternative commercial one which gives some voice to libertarian issues.

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

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

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

Joe (half Kikuyu, half Goan) sincerely believed there would be African socialism after the troops left. However, he thought Marxism didn’t have a chance in a non-industrialised country like Kenya (then), while dismissing anarchism as ‘possibly all right for Europe, but the sort of thing Alice Lenshina wants in Africa’. (She is usually described as a witch, not leading it, as accused (which was true).)

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

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

Red Years, Black Years Anarchist Resistance to Fascism in Italy published by ASP and available from ASP, BCM Box 3714, London, WC1N 3XX Price: £1.80p

Also available are:
The Art of Anarchy by Flavio Constantini, £3.00
Revolutionary Unionism in Latin America: the FORA in Argentina by P. Kerrill & L. Rosser, £1.50
Methods of Anarcho-Syndicalism by R. Rocker, 50p
Anarchism: Arguments for & Against by A. Melzer, 80p
My Social Credo by G.P. Maximoff, 50p

CONVITION aims to expose police ‘framing’ and other abuses encouraged by the legal system and to offer practical support to the victims of this abuse and campaigners against it. Well worth reading and supporting. For copies of the new issue send a donation (cheques and P’o’s payable to Martin Foran Support Fund) to:
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Sheffield S1 3FF

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LONDON GREENPEACE FAYRE
Saturday 27 October 12 noon ‘til 9 pm. Stalls, videos, music, food, discussions and workshops at the Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, WC1. Tube—Holborn

PAGE 12 BLACK FLAG