

THE TRAFALGAR SQUARE 500

FTER A DECADE under the Tory dictatorship the ruling class has become unused to having its authority questioned. It has never been accustomed to having it defied. Not only did the Trafalgar Square demonstration stand up to the police and question its authority to attack with impunity popular demonstrations, but it and the broader mass non-payment movement attacks the 'right' of the elected dictatorship to impose its law without recourse to those it governs. But the State will not stand back and see its power questioned. It will try and crush any attempt to undermine it and is starting with those arbitrarily arrested in the 'Battle of Trafalgar'. Operation Carnaby is the largest operation ever mounted by the Metropolitan Police. 137 officers are working their way through 30,000 photographs and 90 hours of video from the demonstration. It is backed up by a special 'riot prosecution service', the first of its kind within the Crown Prosecution Service which has 13 lawyers and 10 administrative staff working full time to speed the cases to court. Already since the initial 396 were arrested on the day a further 72 have been charged and more can be expected. The role of the police and the judiciary has never been clearer. In the year when the increase in the crime rate-and that of anti-social crime in particular-has soared to its highest level since the war they have shown their priorities. The myth that they serve and protect the public has become a obvious lie and one that is becoming apparent to more and more people. They serve their political paymasters alone. But Operation Carnaby is only the basis of a larger police campaign. Sometimes using the pretext of photographic evidence from the demonstration, sometimes in acts of blatant har-

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assment, anti-poll tax activists are being raided and questioned. In some cases stalls and events have received their undue attention. The police are also working in the opposite direction. Known political activists have been raided and having their photos matched against those taken at Trafalgar Square. This is happening all round the country and while at the present the raids are sporadic 'fishing expeditions', it must be concidered that they are laying the ground work for a concerted campaign against the anti-poll tax movement and the political activists in-



volved in it.

This makes it all the more imperative that those arrested at Trafalgar Square are supported. We are no movement at all unless we can collectively defend those persecuted for their opposition to the poll tax-whether it be through police aggression or because of nonpayment. And we cannot rely on a purely legal defence. As the reallity of mass non-payment begins to take effect, the Tories will not simply turn round and scrap their 'flagship'; they will just move the goal posts to make the enforcing of collection and prosecution easier. The only defence we can rely on is the collective solidarity of our class.

The Trafalgar Square Defendants Campaign (TSDC) was set up on May 3 involving defendants, solicitors, anti-poll tax activists and supporters. It is an independant organisation run by and accountable to those arrested; all of whom it unconditionally supports. To be able to mount an effective defence campaign it is essential that all local, town and regional federations back it wholeheartedly. This backing must be more than just financial (though this is important-the TSDC needs to raise at least £50,000) but we must make an active contribution to the campaign.

Primarily it needs to make contact with all those who were arrested at Trafalgar Square and all who witnessed any of these arrests. It also needs any photos or video coverage of the demonstration.

All the stops are going to be pulled out by the prosecution in defence of the police riot. By opposing and exposing the show trials of the defendants which will be staged this summer we can undermine the State's efforts to divide and discredit the movement.

The Trafalgar Square 500 are the first victims

of a confrontation with the State which can only intensify and it is around these 500 that we must build the solidarity that will take this campaign through to victory.

DEFEND THE TRAFALGAR SQ 500!

TSDC c/o Haldane Society Lawyers Panther House **38 Mount Pleasant** London WC1 (tel: 071-833-8958)

COUNCIL WORKERS FIGHT BACK!

HERE IS currently a concerted attack by employers on the pay and conditions of local council workers. This attack has been hardest in Labour boroughs, particularly those with a tradition of 'left' control. A common feature has been the willingness of Labour councillors to victimise activists and interfere against the advice of chief officers (a bit like the shareholders getting involved in the day to day running of a private company, against the wishes of the Managing Director). As anarchists, we don't believe that Labour is any better than the Tories as management, and we need to make quite clear that just because our bosses wear red roses and talk about Nicaragua, they are still our enemies.

HOME NEWS

The most encouraging development has been the strike by Housing Cashiers in Greenwich, over collection of the poll tax. Cashiers were told that they'd have to collect poll tax from April 1st, without any extra money, staff, training or anything. Cashiers in the Borough Treasurers department had accepted a deal which gave them an upgrading. The Housing cashiers refused to collect it and 11 were suspended on April 28th. However, they had organised at a rank and file level across the borough, rather than rely on Nalgo's structures. Needless to say, Greenwich residents are more than happy to respect the picket lines and not pay their poll tax. Of the £6 million due, only £1.6 million has been collected. Management have tried all sorts of dirty tricks to break the strike, and have refused to negotiate. Once again, the Labour Party stand exposed as the cringing hypocrites they are, claiming that they support the strikers, and then having a whip for Labour members to attend the Joint Committee to make sure that the negotiations were vetoed.

Although it started around pay and staffing levels, the dispute has escalated into a political strike. Nalgo have been paying strike pay to the cashiers, and there has been good support from other council workers, particularly in Housing Benefits. However; there are problems with ACTSS, the scab white collar union that's part of the T & G. ACTSS members regularly march through picket lines, and actively work against solidarity, showing the complete bankruptcy of reformist, social democratic trade unionism.

Other councils in London are also in dispute. Few readers will be unaware of the attempt by the Labour Party's leadership to sack Andy Murphy in Hackney. After Andy spoke out in defence of poll tax rioters on TV on behalf of Class War, a Tory MP with Special Branch connections found out where Andy worked. This was raised with Kinnochio, whose Private Secretary phoned Hackney Council and told them to get rid of him. After a campaign by Hackney Nalgo, and fearful of disruption to the local elections, Labour backed down. However, after the election, they reinstituted the disciplinary against Andy, contrary to their officers' advice, and their own policy (Hackney Labour Party had passed a motion in support of the right of council workers to express opinions, except for fascists and racists). As we go to press, the situation is in the balance. In Lewisham, Neville Adams, the Head of the Race Unit, was sacked for writing a letter! The letter critiscised the councils' lack of commitment to equality (they had scrapped the Race & Women's Unit last year, and set up a new Equalities Development Unit with fewer powers and a wider range of work to cover). Equalities Units were only achieved through the struggle of black people and women. The most

effective ones (usually those that are being scrapped now) have proved to be a thorn in the side of management. Certainly, Neville Adams has fulfilled this role. Lewisham Nalgo have had 2 one day strikes in support of his reinstatement, and are balloting on all-out action. Meanwhile, the council have appointed a white, male, middle class Labour Party member as Head of Equalities Development Unit (or European Domination Unit, as it has been termed). Another black activist in Lewisham is also threatened with disciplinary, this time for using a photocopier! It comes as no surprise that black workers are fast losing faith in Lewisham. Could anyone have any faith in a council whose leader recently said in The Independent that making dustmen work four times harder was a socialist act? It's a good job Ceausescu was shot, or Lewisham would have brought him in as a consultant. Similar goings on are occuring in Newham, where the head of Race Equality looks like losing his job, too. It seems that the fashion of five or six years ago for Labour councils to be seen to be doing something about race and sex equality has definitely past. No commitment can be expected from incoming Tory councils, either, the first thing Ealing did was to scrap all the equalities units, in a very high-handed manner. Hopefully, Lewisham Nalgo members will vote to show Lewisham where to put their unprincipled opportunism. The real potential to make these policies work lies with the workers, united in struggle. Tory controlled Croydon also has a dispute on its hands, after sacking a principal officer within the Mental Handicap service. George Wright was the only union member at that level of responsibility, and he was sacked for 'gross misconduct'. What was this heinous crime ?

Was it theft, sexual misconduct, assault ? No, management objected to the way he handled a risk situation. George was sacked by a manager with no experience in the service concerned, who has no qualifications in social work and got his post without an interview. His fellow workers within the Mental Handicap Service demanded a ballot, and won it overwhelmingly. They've been out since 25th April.

What links all these disputes is their overt political nature, and the fact that councils are clearly planning for their poll tax deficits. When councils firm up their budgets in the Autumn, they're going to realise that the money isn't there.(Non-payment in London currently stands at around 75%). That means cuts, and they're trying to soften up the ground beforehand. So, they are demanding the right to politically vet employees. Obviously, the ones they don't want are anarchists, committed socialists and black and women activists. They think we're a pain, and fight back too much. It's OK to protest, but not when it threatens Labour in the polls. We must state loud and clear that we have nothing in common with our employers, whatever their political hue. Apologists for the Labour Party say that if we take that attitude, everywhere will be like Wandsworth. For a start, Wandsworth is an exception, just like in the private sector there are exceptionally nasty bosses, as well as those that aren't quite so bad. Secondly, with Labour's current startegy, as typified by Lewisham, we'll get there in the end anyway.

An Anarcho-syndicalist council worker.

Anarcho-Syndicalist Council Workers (London) can be contacted c/o NLDAM, c/o 187 High Road, LONDON N22.



The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the miners they represent have been struck another blow by a Tory government obsessed by their destruction. It was leaked in May that the jobs of 30,000 miners were under threat following the abandonment of a Government pledge to install £2 billion worth of chimney 'scrubbers' and instead to allow the newly privatised electricity generating companies to import more low-sulphur coal (of which South Africa is the largest exporter) and to use gas. The connection between the coal and electricity industries has always been very close with most coal going to make electricity and most electricity being generated by coal. Before the privatisation of the electricity generating industry the government dictated the terms between the two state industries (though it would be naive to think that post-privatisation the situation would be different). Since 1980 the government has chosen to move revenue amounting billion from the coal £1 to over side to the electricity side of the equation. This money that has gone into increasing the profits of the Central Electricity Generating Board and electricity supply industry prior to the privatisation and propping up an ailing Nuclear Industry which is such a liability that even with government sweeteners it couldn't be

privatised. The price to the miners and the mining communities has been the loss of 100,000 jobs.

stead we have seen prices rise by 15%.

'Environmental awareness' of the climatic changes connected with burning fossil fuels has dampened support for the miners and the government will cynically take advantage of this. The irony is that the NUM has a far more enlightened attitude to the environment. In evidence given to the Hinkley C inquiry, Mr. Feickert, the representative of the NUM said, 'The NUM believes that there will be no 'environmental shock' if action is taken to invest in highly flexible advanced coal technologies, together with other advanced fuel applications, wind, wave and solar energy, and ally these technologies with a concerted energy conservation drive. In this way the environment could be upgraded, many jobs created and local initiatives generated. All that is required is the replacement of the revenge motive with some vision at the centre of UK political life.'

Q&A on Anarchism

G What is the class war?

The class war is the conflict of interest Imprincipally between those who live by their labour and those whose money works for them and gives them an interest in exploitation. It is a caricature of the class war to associate it solely with rioting-though rioting can result from it as sometimes for other reasons too (e.g. racial); or to say that it is just a clash between rich and poor. Workers who press their demands with vigour in particular circumstances can in advanced capitalist countries become home and car owners, even have investments, and people from the upper classes, in a hard-headed middle-class society, whose families have never worked or traded, can squander away their assets. Also, the Western myth is that everybody is middle class. This serves to camouflage class struggle but it continues as an economic fact. People might change classes (by luck, promotion or marriage etc), the way they change nationalities, but the basic economic system does not change nor the struggle which comes out of it. One can take a more or less active part in the actual struggle as individual circumstances might be; but one is still affected by the war, which is still on.

Now with the importing of artificially cheap foreign coal the cost of coal mined in Britain will have to be slashed again causing the loss of the 30,000 jobs and the closure of one-third of the remaining pits. It is ironic that 49 of the pits closed over the last few years produced the very same low-sulphur coal now required.

The pits now under threat are in South Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. Nottinghamsire is the heartland of the Union of Democratic Mineworkers, the scab union whose members stayed at work during the 1984 strike while other mineworkers made a stand for the future of their industry. The UDM are now reaping the reward of their treachery, but have dragged the rest of the industry down with them.

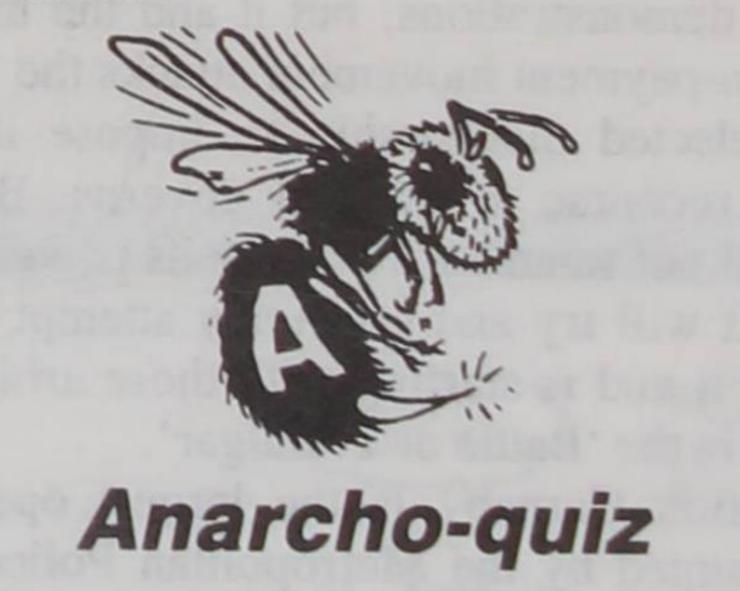
In the perverted world of capitalist economics which deems it preferable to mine coal 2,000 miles away and ship it in through ports which will have to be purpose built, the consumer can expect no advantage from the fall in coal price. The price cuts will only produce money to line the pockets of the capitalists. The past cuts in the price of coal should have led to a 4% reduction in the price of electricity, but in-



AT & TM

MAYDAY IN STEEL CITY

HIS YEAR'S official May Day Rally in Sheffield was successfully disrupted by the large, 1,000 plus crowd that showed up after it had refused a platform to anti-poll tax speakers. A chant of 'Are you paying' was quickly adop-. ted by the majority of the people there. Martin Flannery, MP for Hillsborough, was reduced to denouncing 'outside agitators' and claimed he had received similar treatment from fascists! His speech was drowned out and he was forced to leave the platform after first attempting to get council heavies to shift the 'troublemakers' and then asking for a show of hands to see how many wished to hear his speech (apparently about 5 people only!). Jimmy Knapp was next up and he also failed to provide an answer to the question of poll tax payment. The rally thus reclaimed, the union bigwigs left in their microplane and the real rally began as local people began coming forward from their anti-poll tax groups to proclaim their resistance to the tax. The anarchists had been particularly active in organising the disruption of the official rally and therefore, were none too surprised to find themselves in the papers the next day being described as a 'small knot of anarchist thugs' and a 'bunch of hooligans'. All fairly predictable, of course, but what else can be expected from a media that supports the government and its policies and refuses to accept that the working classes are quite capable of deciding for themselves what they think is best for them?



1. Who first said history repeats itself—the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce—and what example did he give of this dubious general proposition?

2. Who first said religion is the opium of the people and why so?

3. There are few British opera composers alive—so why does Alan Bush get neglected here?

4. After WWII the Polish Anarchists re-formed publicly—they were later suppressed by the Communist authorities, but why did some elements in the government first think the Anarchists might be allowed to function openly?

5. What accidental ruse enabled many German Anarchists to be released from concentration camps in the early years of the Nazi regime?

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CNT 7th CONGRESS REPORT

WAS ONE of four Direct Action Movement members who went as delegates to the 7th Congress of the CNT (National Confederatiion of Labour) held in Bilbao.

I had been uncertain because of the rumours about the direction of the CNT spread by their enemies, coupled with a general impression that the Spanish libertarian movement had lost its way. These worries proved unfounded. The CNT is breaking out of the stagnation imposed by the aftermath of Francoist repression and the 'renovados' split. The level of debate at the congress was encouraging, as it was at the parallel meetings, and the anarcho-syndicalist direction of the CNT was re-affirmed. There have been four social pacts between the government, and the UGT and CC.OO (socialist and communist unions respectively). These have helped the capitalists manage the crisis and have kept wage increases lower than inflation. The CC.OO and UGT try to destroy militancy and have consequently sapped the unions' strength. Working class militancy has been on the increase since 1988, especially with the threat of PEJ (Spanish equivalent of the Youth Training Scheme). A one-day general strike against PEJ forced Gonzalez to shelve it, but this action was used as an electoral bandwagon by the Socialists and Communists.

The CNT has been beset with several prob-

place committees. The congress re-affirmed that the path of the union sections was the correct one, though it might be difficult at times.

The union sections unite activists in a workplace along anarcho-syndicalist principles. When disputes arise, the CNT calls general assemblies open to all workers, and this assembly then elects a strike committee and is he sovereign body. This is what what modern anarcho-syndicalism is about—achieving maximum unity around agreed principles, and encouraging the combativity and militancy of the workers.

Fundacion Anselmo Lorenzo

The Anselmo Lorezo Foundation for Liber-

roles of Spanish society.

I spoke to a young militant from Zaragoza who said most young people ignore the old social values like marriage and live happily together. Amongst the young there is also a far nore positive attitude towards homosexuals and lesbians. However, it wasn't just the young who thought it was important. The last word came from a veteran of 1936 who told one us us that when they had said 'Amor Libre' (free love) they meant it not just between man and woman, but everyone.

Propaganda

There were many stalls at the congress, ranging from Mujeres Liberes to the FAI, to various libertarian groups from all over Spain. Much of the propagnda was directed at the traditional enemies of the working class-the State, the Church and the fascists. A sign of more recent developments was the space given to ecological, anti-racist and anti-drug material. Published specially for the congress was a pamphlet entitled '100 Years of Anarcho-Syndicalism in Euzkadi' (the Basque country). The pamphlet covers the early Utopians of the 19th century through the First International, to the founding of the CNT, the Republic, the Revolution, exile, and the CNT under Franco. The CNT's official publishing house, Madre Tierra, was also present with a new catalogue. They have republished several 'classics', including Kropotkin's 'Mutual Aid' and Peirats' 'CNT in the Spanish Revolution', as well as modern works by Abraham Guillen, Gaston Leval, and a new book 'El Oro de Negrin' (Negrin's Gold) about the Communist sabotage of the revolution. (Ediciones Madre Tierra Parque Vosa, 12 bajo, 28993, Mostoles, Spain).



The Congress

The first two days of the congress were very slow. The opening attracted coverage in many Spanish national papers as well as TV and radio. lems since the 6th congress, mainly arising out of the split. It has cost them loss of activists, time and money and has led to confusion about the role of their unions sections. Most of these problems have now been solved theoretically but what is needed is overall co-ordination to ensure they work. Some union sections raised the possibility of participating in the workplace elections, purely as a means of gaining recognition. This argument was easily defeated as the State will not recognise the union sections unless forced to do so by their vitality and direct action. In that case, why bother with elections? No one in the CNT wanted to gain a position on the worktarian Studies ran a series of discussions parallel to the congress. These were Self-Determination, Nationalism and Federalism, Drugs (traffic and consumption), Technological Revolution and Ecological Impact, Eastern Europe, and Women. I attended the last two (although I had language difficulty following what was going on).

The seminar on Eastern Europe featured a comrade from the FAU-DDR (the IWA's East German section), Ralph from the IWA Sercretariat, Abraham Guillen (a libertarian socialist economic theorist) and Angel Encinas, who has studied the history and social systems in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The discussion that followed covered the nature of East European 'socialism', the role of the bureaucracy and perestroika, and the nationalist and popular front movements of these countries.

The debate the following night on women was much more lively. Pepita Carpena, a veteran of Mujeres Libres during the Revolution, was the main speaker, though there were also contributions fron the platform from French and German comrades. The struggle against sexism is very necessary in Spain, given the 'macho' cultural influence. Obviously an organisation like the CNT will not be completely free of these influences. It was encouraging, therefore, to see these issues raised

I came away from the congress confident that the CNT is back on the right track. The warmth and solidarity I experienced in Bilbao is something I won't forget. The CNT faces an uphill struggle against the State, and the socialist government of Gonzalez is determined

Eventually, however, the congress got round to business—the social and industrial policies. The biggest and potentially most divisive debate was on the analysis of the CNT's union activity since the last congress in Barcelona and their future strategy. The chief question remsins the attitude towards the Works Committees. The CNT is the only union which actively boycotts them. throughout the congress.

The most heated discussion at the seminar was on sexuality. Many of the younger members were especially keen to raise these issues. Pepita Carpena said that homosexuality was not an issue for the union. But this is in contradiction to the principles of anarchosyndicalism, which seeks to bring together political and economic issues—to unite community, social and workplace struggles. It is a debate which is very important in the restricted to destroy it, together with all working class militancy.

However, the traditions of direct action and combativity are strong in Spain. Now it has sorted itself out, the CNT will grow once again. This growth will inevitably prompt the State to act against our comrades. We must be ready to do whatever we can in solidarity when that tine comes.

> Viva la CNT! Martin, Deptford DAM-IWA

GREEK ANARCHISTS GREET DE KLERC

ON MAY 11 the South African president Frederic De Klerc visited Greece on an official visit. A demonstration called by the National Union of Students attracted 3-4000 people of whom almost a third were anarchists. After a rally outside the polytechnic, it made its way towards the houses of parliament. When the police tried to stop the anarchists from reaching parliament fighting broke out. The police were forced back by a barrage of some 150 molotovs and the march proceeded, during which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also petrolbombed. Three anarchists were arrested, one of whom was hospitalised. Two are now out on bail, but one, Vanghelis Grivas is still being held at Korydallos prison in Pireas.

ANARCHY TV

Byens Lys-TV Selvsyn is a local television broadcasting station in the heart of Copenhagen, which began this year. The potential amount of viewers in the region is about 1.5 million and covers most of Zeeland. Though in several (not all that many) countries there are both permitted and pirate radio stations with a free perspective, and even some specifically anarchist ones like Radio Libertaire in Paris, this must be the first TV alternative.

ANC TORTURES 'ANARCHISTS'

These revelations must be considered with cases of torture and the detention of oppositionists from their own ranks (two or three hundred at present). It doesn't augur much for the future of the ANC, especially relating to the announcement of murders and torture by Winnie Mandela's 'bodyguard'.

source: le Monde Libertaire

FINNISH VICTORY

AFTER A HUNGERSTRIKE lasting 39 days 3 Finnish total objectors—those who refuse to do both the obligatory military service or the alternative civil service—were freed from prison. One of those released was a comrade in the Finnish ABC.

OUT OF AFRICA The Sudan

THE ATTEMPTED rising in the Sudan against the military regime of General Omar Hassan el Beshir was crushed. Members of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army have been executed. Yet the government shares the 'national liberation' ideology in the Muslim world. Sudan is divided into two: the Arab and largely Muslim North, the African and pagan, secular and sometimes Christian south. The south has joined forces with workers in the North not wholly brainwashed by Islam and inclined to secularism. Thus the conflict is against clerical, exploitative and military domination, and the success of Beshir means continued Islamic law, including black slavery. Beshir has stated there will be no return to secular law and continues with such penalties as stoning, amputation, flogging amd shooting. The laws against women are incredible. In a May Day broadcast the rebels called for 'the overthrow of the reign of terror, evil, brutality and repression-the barbaric regime of Beshir'.

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BLACK FLAG



SEVEN ELDER members of the African National Congress, refugees in Kenya, have affirmed that they were tortured in 1984 following an abortive rebellion within the ranks of the ANC's military wing 'Umkhontyo we sizwe'. Tied to trees, they were first whipped, then locked in metal containers and exposed to the sun. Some of them were burned with the help of melted plastic.

Over several years sixty activists of the ANC, with the co-operation of its corrupt leaders, have perished under torture. One of those accused admitted, with an air or remorse, that some 'anarchists' accused of 'treason, rebellion and the murder of officers' had been interned in the ANC camps set up in the Frontier States between '84 and '88. To torture seems, with regard to those words, to be justified because the people were said to be 'anarchists.' The GPU did likewise, in the Russian and Spanish revolutions, using identical excuses. The ANC, with its close links with the Stalinist CP of USA, has learned well from its masters. The hungerstrike started as 300 Finnish civil servicemen commenced an illegal 5 day strike to protest at the length of the alternative service and the treatment of total objectors. The alternative service lasts for 16 months and thatfor military service 8-11 months. Total objectors face a minimum of 12 months in prison. The three released were the first total objectors ever to be granted an amnesty, but though a victory the Finnish ABC will continue to fight against compulsory military service and for the 15 other total objectors still in prison.

POLL TAX

London Anti-Poll Tax Trade Union Day School

N APRIL 28th, at the University of London Union, delegates from over 40 branches of 22 unions attended a dayschool on the poll tax and its effects on workers. Called by the London Federation and the Greater London Association of Trades Councils, it was generally felt to have been successful, despite the last minute change of venue. Most of the delegates present were from the white collar unions most directly affected by the implementation of the tax-NALGO and the CPSA. There was also a delegate from the Fire Brigades Union, who have a policy of non-payment, and APEX, the union for staff employed by unions. The APEX delegate expressed concern about whether the trade unions would deduct poll tax from their employees wages. It seems likely they will. Encouraging was the attendance of members of unions not noted for their militancy, like the Transport & Salaried Staffs Association (station and ticket office clerks), USDAW (shopworkers) and the National Association of Probation Officers (!).

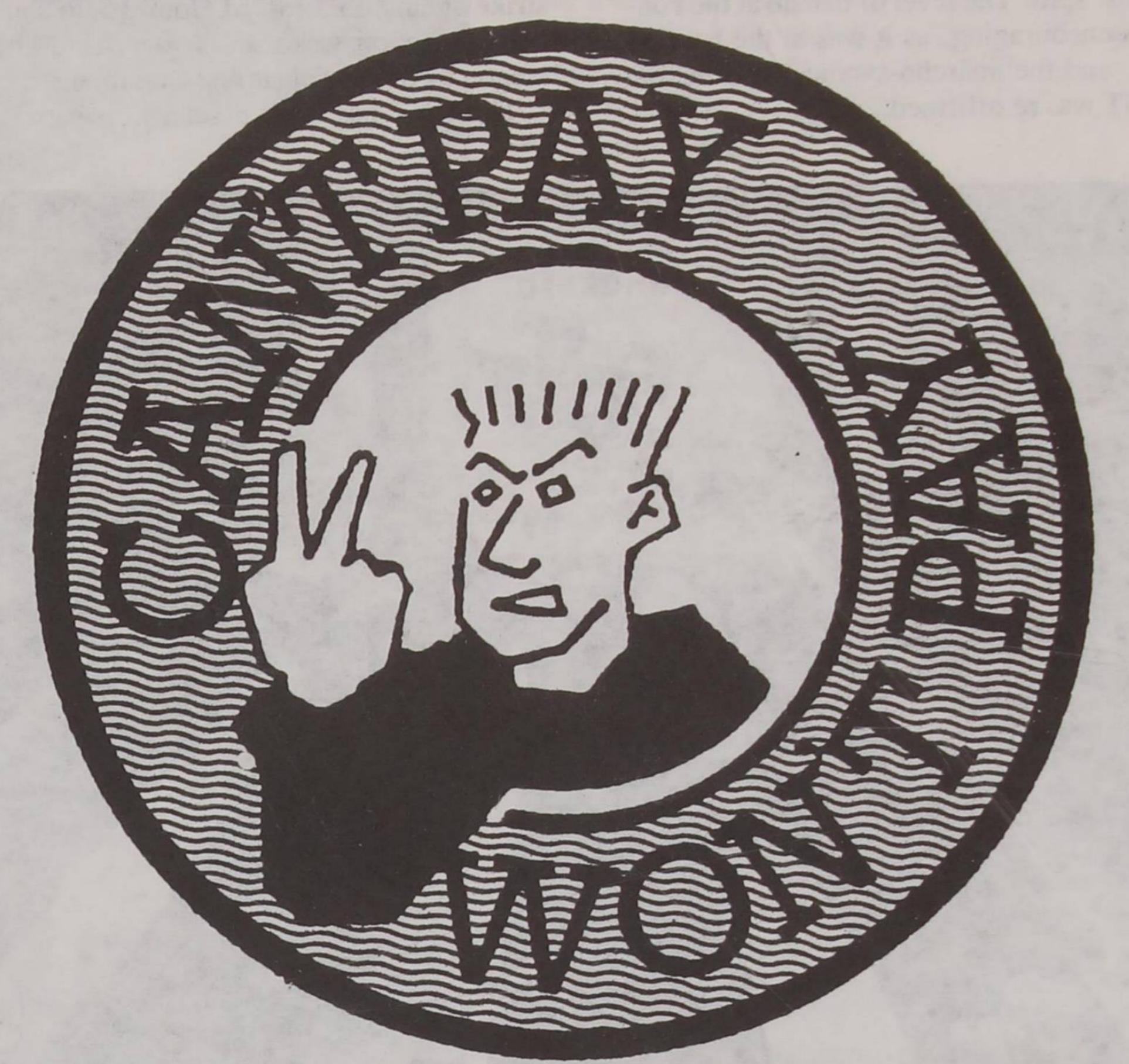
over 150 walked out on indefinite strike. Although not on strike against the poll tax, the effect they are having is enormous. Needless to say, public support has been magnificent; when asked not to cross their picket lines to pay their poll tax, thousands of Greenwich residents have respected the picket.

With poll tax workers themselves, they need to be organised first. Then, conditions can be fought over. However, it would be stupid to say to these workers, many of whom are fresh off the dole, to boycott their own jobs. When the time comes, they must be strong enough to demand that they are transferred to a job with a future, and not sacked wnen the whole sorry house of cards that is poll tax collapses. One of the best points was raised by a member of Newham Nalgo; who decides what is or isn't poll tax work? At the moment, management often try and pull the wool over peoples' eyes over what is poll tax work. Newham are trying to set up a committee of trade unionists across the borough, accountable to the rank and file, to decide what should be boycotted. This is an excellent idea, it means we, as workers, define where our struggle starts and ends, not union full timers or the bosses.

ever learn to show them any respect. Their conference was called without the knowledge of the All-Britain Federation's Trade Union Officer, and without asking anyone in the trade union movement. It's no coincidence it's being held in Liverpool—it's the only place Militant have any strength among the Unions. Given there's virtually no time to get people delegated to go to this, it will be a Militant rally, pure and simple. Hopefully, there will be a properly organised Trade Union conference in September. More details later.

The two afternoon sessions were both basi-

to use them, all well and good, but the real strength of the anti-poll tax movement is at the rank and file level. If the tremendous opposition to the tax can be tapped here, it has far reaching implications, not just in the fight against the poll tax, but in the class war as a whole. As anarcho-syndicalists, we advocate the direct control of all struggles by those involved in them. The poll tax, both in the communities and workplaces, has proved this tactic works. This fight presents us with the best opportunity to spread our ideas among our class in my memory at least. GO FOR IT !



The dayschool was kicked off by Ivan Beevis, a member of the Nalgo National Executive and Branch Secretary of Hackney Nalgo, who supports industrial action and non-payment to defeat the tax. After this, the delegates broke up into two sessions-one on non-implementation, and one on wage arrestment. The nonimplementation workshop was designed primarily with local government and DSS workers in mind. It concentrated on what could be done, and how to raise the issue at work. The biggest debate was on whether action should be taken around issues of pay and conditions, or whether action should be explicitly 'political', ie directly against the tax. Although no one was against action of this kind, it is necessary to take whatever action possible, and conditions (which are frequently appalling in those sections which deal directly with implementation) must be addressed as well. A good example of anti-poll tax action is the current strike by cashiers in Greenwich. The Housing Department ordered cashiers to collect poll tax without any extra staff. Obviously, poll tax means a big increase in their workload. After 10 were suspended,

The workshop on wage arrestment was reported to be excellent. It was led off by a sympathetic lawyer from Haringey APTU, who has written a detailed guide to the legal implications of the Poll Tax. Copies are available for £5 from HAPTU, 72 West Green Road, London N15, (they are cheaper for anti-poll tax groups). When the councils start implementing wage arrestments, it's really important that workers are ready for them. There can be only one decent answer—if your boss does the councils' dirty work for them, make him/her pay !

The afternoon session was led off by Wally Kennedy, the Trade Union Liaison officer for the London Federation, and a Militant. He mainly spoke about non-payment, but after he'd finished, he suddenly remembered the Trade Union conference Nally and Sheridan have organised for June in Liverpool. It's good to see Militant have finally recognised there are such things as workers, but I don't suppose they'll

cally linked, and addressing the issue of grassroots organisation against the tax. One was on building links with local community nonpayment campaigns, and the other on organising a workplace anti-poll tax group. The main point of contention here was more to do with using official union structures. If it is possible

If you are interested in getting involved in a workplace anti-poll tax group, or setting one up, contact either your local anti-poll tax group, or the Trade Union Liaison Officer, All Britain Anti Poll Tax Federation, c/o HAPTU, 72 West Green Rd, London N15.

COURT CIRCULAR

N THE FIRST round of summonses to be issued in England and Wales for non-payment of the poll tax, the anti-poll tax movement can claim a significant victory. The 4,000 cases brought by Medina council on the Isle of Wight were thrown out by the magistrates. This was followed by the withdrawal of 12,000 summonses by South Tyneside council and the halting of the process in Wandsworth. The excuse given was that they were defeated on a legal technicality relating to the time period between the final reminder and the summons. Behind this however the reality gives us a clear justification in our belief that we can clog the courts and make the present legal proceedures unworkable.

The morning sitting of the Magistrates Court in the Isle of Wight dealing with the first batch of non-payers was supposed to have finished at 10.30. It finally finished at 2.30. Eventually the magistrates gave up in desperation. Those summonsed included a 6 year old boy and some who had passed beyond the jurisdiction of any earthly court. The delaying tactics also proved effective and are given below. right and have fun in the process, while we build up the support in the streets and the workplaces where the decisive fight will take place.

Papua New Guinea Against the Poll Tax!

PAPUA NEW GUINEA is often vilified for being the only other state backward enough to have a poll tax. This has prompted an official complaint \cdot from their ambassador in London—Papua New Guinea got rid of its poll tax 7 years ago. Why? Because nobody paid it of course!

3D

3D—Don't pay, Don't collect, Don't implement—is a paper and network for anti-poll tax activists, both in or out of the All Britain Federation. It provides an independent voice in the anti-poll tax movement, information, reports and a critical viewpoint on events happening around the country. For more info contact:

THE POLL TAX AND

THE UNIONS

A national conference to bring together all uni-

onists who want to fight the poll tax with dis-

cussions and workshops on its effects on unions

and the strategy needed to beat it will be held on

Saturday September 8th, Polytechnic Students

Union Sheffield.

More details from:



the council they hold they demand payment, and how could it be otherwise? Only some minor parties not standing, or not hoping to succeed in the council elections, said firmly they wouldn't levy a poll tax and supported nopayment.

What do we propose in place of poll tax? We do not propose anything. Any civilised system of society should provide housing, education, fire prevention, road maintenance, libraries, hospitals, childcare. The notion that all this 'must be paid for' is a capitalist conception; the notion that if it can't or isn't paid for, it cannot exist is an indication of the failure of capitalism. This is as sure as the failure of State communism in another direction (it provides the benefits such as housing but falls down in providing commodities).

If the services that come to us through the municipalities cannot be provided unless those

Those summonsed can ask to see if their names actually appear on the register. A court officer then has to go and find a copy of the register, consult it, return to court and swear on oath that the name is present.

Proof of posting of the bill and the reminder can be asked for. Can you imagine, taking in mind the efficiency of most councils, the panic induced in council officers at the court on hearing such a simple request?

A copy of the council resolution relating to the decision to take court action against nonpayers can also be demanded to be seen.

It should also be noted that bills addressed to the occupier have no legal status and that if a rebate is applied for just before the hearing no action can be taken.

The fight in the court rooms is just the beginning of the non-payment fight. In the Isle of Wight it was the legal system that was on trial not the non-payers and the system was found wanting. But in time the proceedures will be tightened or the law changed so that a legal defence becomes less easy. But we can certainly cause a few more ulcers as they try to get it 3D, c/o 11, Springfield Road London N15 4AY

Carolyn Sikorski

53a Geere Road

London E15

POLL TAX vs PARTY POLITICS

HERE IS a great deal of humbug about the poll tax by parties oppposing the Tories who use the poll tax as a stick to beat the Tories but oppose the simple act of not paying it.

Anyone aspiring to run a council at the present time must be prepared to levy the tax, and Militant—for all its desire to 'lead', has imposed it 'reluctantly' where it is in power. The Scots Nats say determinedly 'don't pay'—but in least able to pay are taxed to the limit, in order to avoid large tax bills for the rich, the system has become intolerable and we have to up and say no more.

The government has made it quite plain that they abominate non-payment. Why? They pretend the money is to go to 'fund social services' which councils are supposed to provide, and if such services cost too much, hard cheese-vote for a Tory council that will cut them. They worry about non-payment because failure to provide such services means abdication of responsibility for social control. The Labour Party is faced with the problem of finding an alternative: but if non-payment comes off many will not pay any other tax or go back to the rates system either. The fact is that no taxes (or rates) are part of the natural scheme of things, but merely part of the way we are exploited." Not paying anything may not alter the system but breaking the habit of submission by not paying up meekly is part of the way we can change society.

BLACK FLAG PAGE 4

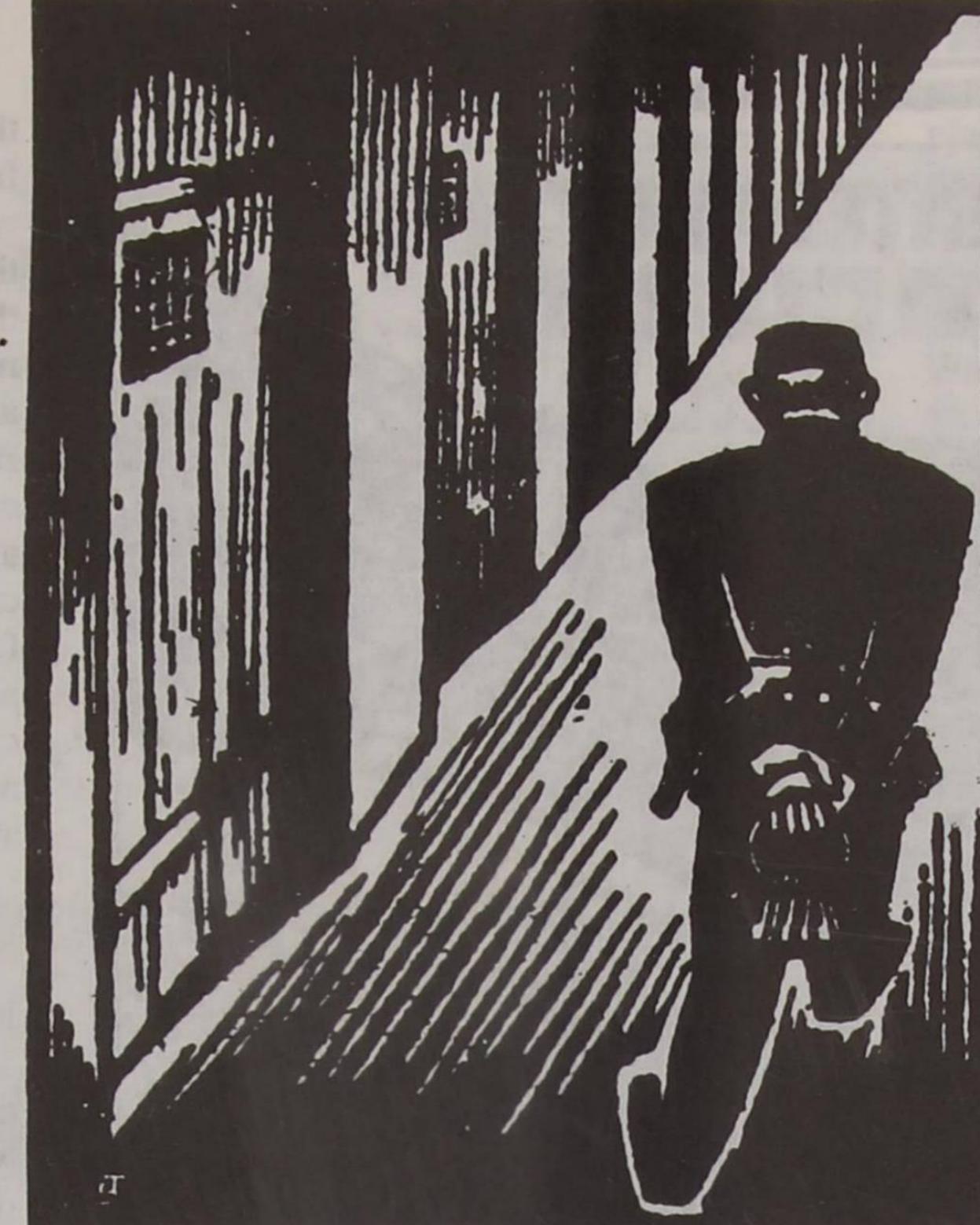
ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

Dying in the 'Land of the Free'

R. ALAN BERKMAN, political prisoner and defendant in the Resistance Conspiracy Case, is fighting for his life against cancer and the US Government's stated intention that he never leave prison alive.

Alan has served the poor and oppressed communities for 20 years. He has fought to expose the systematic medical neglect and torture directed against social and political prisoners including the Attica brothers, the Puerto Rican nationalists and Sekou Odinga. Now the government uses these same methods against him. Politically determined 'security needs' along with the terrible medical care afforded to most prisoners combine to make the occurrence of serious illness a death sentence.

Alan was arrested in May 1985 and held in preventive detention. In October 1985, he selfdiagnosed enlarged lymph nodes under one arm. He had a lymph node biopsy under extreme security with armed Marshals inside and out the operating room. The biopsy showed Hodgkins Disease, a form of cancer. US Marshals' interference around 'security' delayed follow-up tests for a month. The government stated its plan to send Alan to the Federal Prison Hospital at Springfield, Missouri despite medical experts testifying that the Springfiela institute is unqualified to treat Hodgkins'Disease. Outside pressure and US District Judge Pollak's intervention brought about treatment at a cancer centre in Philadelphia. Alan underwent abdominal surgery on December 13 1985, again under militarized security. In spite of medical complications, he was put in isolation in Chester County Prison. He had to be returned to hospital on emergency basis 5 days later and had further abdominal surgery on December 28. Alan was hospitalised for 5 weeks. He was again discharged prematurely by the Marshals and again had to be returned to hospital this time with a fever. In February 1986, Alan was transferred to isolation in Holmesburg Prison, Philadelphia for 10 weeks of radiotherapy. Up until April 86 Alan lost 40lbs but the cancer went into remission. He was recommended to have regular check-ups for the next five years. Judge Pollak urged at sentencing that the Bureau of Prisons



August 1990. The consultation took place surrounded by DC Corrections officers armed with shotguns. The atmosphere contributed to the specialist making dangerously incorrect medical judgements.

Alan performed a self-examination and found a mass in the area of the abdomen where abnormal lymph node swelling was shown in the CAT scan. A doctor at the DC Jail rechecked the scan and concluded that a recurrence of Hodgkins is probable. Outside specialists were consulted and reviewed the scan. All agree that a biopsy is urgently indicated. At the time of writing no diagnosis or treatment has taken place.

The US Government, the Bureau of Prisons and the DC Department of Corrections have created the conditions where cancer was most likely to recur and was least likely to be detected and treated. The simple fact is that if Alan Berkman was not a doctor he would most likely already be dead.

JOHN PEROTTI

S REPORTED in the last issue of Black Flag John Perotti, Eric Swafford and Michael Day came off the hungerstrike they had started on February 14th. This followed the ordering of a complete enquiry into all the prisoners demands (listed below) by the Governor of Ohio and the appointment of an attorney to represent them on the class actions covering the items listed in the demands regarding brutality and conditions in J1 cintrol unit. The hungerstrike received much support. One third (700) of the men in the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility refused food on the first day of the strike, 10 at Orient Prison (Wisconsin) joined in for a week, and others at Stelton Control Unit, Gigi Harbor womens' prison, Marion Fed. prison and Walla Walla prison in Washington. There was also a flood of protest letters from all round the world and actions in Edinburgh and Manchester. As John wrote, 'The international support was a major factor in the strike's limited success.'

assign Alan to a facility capable of providing this care. Instead Alan was sent to USP Marion, the most repressive maximum security prison in the USA. Prisoners there live in 23-hour a day isolation, conditions condemned by Amnesty International. It is well-documented that that these conditions depress immunological resistance. The Bureau of Prisons failed to comply with the specialists recommended follow-up care programme.

In May 1988 Alan arrived at the DC Jail for trial in the resistance Conspiracy Case. He was held initially under conditions even more stressful than those at Marion. Alan and his codefendants received no outdoor exercise for a full year. He still received no follow-up care.

On March 19, 1990, Alan received a CAT scan, 6 months overdue and ordered only after repeated interventions by attorneys and outside doctors. The scan showed abnormally enlarged lymph nodes. Despite this report, the doctor determined that no follow-up is needed until Only concerted outside pressure can ensure that Alan Berkman will receive the medical care and treatment he needs—a basic human right. Write to;

> David Road, Administrator DC Central Detention Facility 1901 D Street SE Washington DC 20003, USA

and to Dr Kenneth Moritsuan Medical Director Bureau of Prisons 320 1st Street NW Washington DC 20001, USA.

Demand immediate diagnostic tests and appropriate medical treatment for Dr Alan Berkman.

Letters of solidarity and support can be sent to Dr Alan Berkman c/o Washington Area Committee for Political Prisoners Rights PO Box 28191 Washington DC 20038, USA Source, Toronto ABC. The demands made by the hungerstrikers were as follows:

1) Out of state transfers for us all.

2) Increase of prisoners wages. No more slave labour for Ohio Prison Industries.

3) Reduction of the incarceration/sentencing laws.

4) Closure of J1 Control Unit.

5) Ending of Unit Management and Behaviour Modification Techniques (Torture).

6) All isolation prisoners to be allowed their personal possessions, books, and contacts with their loved ones.

7) Cessation of routine beatings, macings, firehosings, strip-searches, and murder of prisoners by guards.

8) Prosecution of all guards who torture and murder prisoners.

9) Provision of adequate medical treatment for prisoners.

10) Provision of Due Process, written criteria and hearings for isolation placement and retention and on conduct reports.

11) Establishment of Citizens' Committee of unbiased civilians to monitor prisoner grievances, the Parole Board and Human Rights violations in prisons.

12) Collective bargaining for prisoner-workers.13) Abolition of the death penalty.

John is still being held in isolation and his con-

THE ARMAGH FOUR

NOEL BELL, Jim Hegan, Winston Allen and Neil Latimer, former members of the Ulster Defence Regiment, were convicted in 1983 of murdering Roman Catholic Adrian Carroll. There are considerable doubts as to their guilt, but for years the official loyalist community did not want to know, lest it compromise their stand for Law and Order, and the nationalist community did not want to know because the four men were on the other side of Belfast's ideological Berlin Wall.

The persistence of their families and friends from Lisburn and Armagh finally persuaded a large number of people injustice had been done. Loyalist politicians, including Euro-MPs, began last year to highlight the campaign to release the Armagh Four. They too had been framed by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, a fact no less possible than it is with nationalists.

Many know an Irish person cannot get justice in English courts-it is also proven that they cannot get justice in Irish courts in the Republic either-but mere religion or politics doesn't help. It just happens less often on one side than another, for obvious reasons. Though the world media has ignored one more case of injustice in Ireland, what makes this case of particular interest is that the bricks of the 'Berlin Wall' are at long last starting to crumble. Once the campaign had broken into public notice, it would be expected that Paisley & Co would take it up. Leaders always have to run to catch up. But people like Robert Kee, from the other side of the Great Divide, who fought for the Guildford Four, have entered into the campaign for the Armagh Four, and members of the Birmingham Six, whose experience has been the same as that of the Armagh Four, and their supporters, are also entering the campaign on their behalf.

gardless of the Divide. The Armagh Four is plainly a case where it has done so. One cannot opt out of oppression by declaring loyalty. In coming forward to support the Armagh Four, the convicted innocent of other trials also further Northern working class unity, which in the long run counts for far more as regards freedom than union with either Ireland or England.

GERRY CONLON did not even belong to a Republican family. He was not associated in any way with the IRA when he was accused of the Guildford bombings. But the relatives in London who gave him hospitality, the Maguires, had even less to do with Irish Republicanism. If anything, they were Catholic Loyalists. Paddy Maguire had served in the British Army. He went to the Paddington Conservative Club for his drinks. Possibly the family voted Tory. There were pictures of the Queen and Winston Churchill decorating the house. His wife, Annie, brought up the children like any other English kids. They spoke with Cockney accents, probably never thought much about Ireland. Because they gave hospitality to Gerry's father, they got arrested, with Paddy's brother Hughie, and his wife Kate. They underwent what amounted to torture and got put in jail for the next fifteen years. Annie was arrested with her sons aged 15 and 13. Gerry's father died in prison. The others served their time. Now the judiciary say, whoops, sorry, it was all a mistake.

NEWS FROM GREECE

TWO GREEK ANARCHISTS, Demetris Voglis and Kostas Andreadis were arrested in March for allegedly petrol bombing police cars in Thessalonika and planning armed robberies on behalf of the 'Sleepless Masterless Anarchists'(AAA). The basis of the police case was a confession which had been beaten out of Kostas by 'falanga'—a torture where the subject is hung upside down by the feet and legs and the soles of the feet beaten.

On April 2nd the two started a hungersrtike and from May 13th Demetris refused to take water. With a series of demonstrations in Greece and following international protests, (a picket of the Greek Embassy in London, solidarity messages from Denmark, France and England and radio broadcasts in Amsterdam and Lille) the two were let free until their trial.

MOHAMMED HAMDAN is a palestinian who has been held in prison since August '89 pending extradition to the USA, who allege that his name is in fact Rashid and that he planted a bomb on board a TWA plane in 1984 causing the death of 10 people. The Greek supreme court decided to allow the extradition eventhough the extradition documents were accepted as being forged. It now has to be rubberstamped by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Antonis Samaras, a member of the conservative and pro-American New Democracy Party. dition both /physically and mentally is very low.His letters and visits are continue to be restricted. He still needs our support. Protest letters should be written to Governor Richard Celeste Governors Mansion

Columbus Ohio 43215 USA

Warden William Dallman Lebanon Correctional Inst. PO Box 56 Lebanon Ohio 45036 USA

Info and copies of protest letters

Linda Leisure 1561 Valley Drive Reynoldsburg Ohio 43068 USA

Source Inside/Counter Information

• The Anarchist Black Cross (London) is organising a picket of London offices of CBS in support of John Perotti and to highlight his case on Saturday 23 June at the CBS buildings, 68 Knightsbridge, between 2 and 4. Please attend if you can—2 hours is a short ammount of time to show your solidarity for a man who has put his life and liberty on the line in his fight for human dignity.

The case for the Armagh Four is virtually unknown in England, where the Right want to support the judges right or wrong, and the Left fight injustice only when it affects nationalist supporters.

But it is logical, given the powers of judiciary and police in Northern Ireland and the entire political atmosphere there, and here in Irish cases, that this type of injustice can and will occur to those who fall foul of the RUC, reLike the Armagh Four, or for that matter Captain Dreyfus, they learned the bitter way that Loyalty to the State doesn't save you.



Letters of protest should be sent to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister, Konstantinos Mitsobakis, Athens, Greece and to Greek Embassies.

HARIS TEBEREKIDIS, an activist in the greek prisoners movement and an english speaker is asking for correspondance and books in english.

Books should be sent through Athens ABC at

8 Aristidou Street 10559 Athens Greece

Letters can be sent to:

Haris Teberekidis Dikastiki, Fylaki Larisas Larisa Greece 410 00

PADDY MURPHY

PADDY MURPHY has been in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast since September 1989. He is on remand awaiting trial for allegedly storing the explosive 'semtex' in his house. He was refused bail due to the 'severity' of the charges and if convicted could face 4-7 years.

Paddy is a well known figure in the anarchist and communist communities. He has been a member of the Irish Communist Party for many years, but because of his involvement and commitment to the anarchist run 'Warzone' centre in Belfast, prefers to be known as such himself.

He would very much like to be involved with the ABC network and is supported by Belfast ABC.

Paddy Murphy A2837 HMP Crumlin Road Belfast BT14 6AE

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Belfast ABC PO Box 148 Belfast N.Ireland

BLACK FLAG

ANARCHIST HISTORY

Anarchists in the Second World War

HERE HAS BEEN little or no historical research into genuine anarchist history outside these pages other than in books not readily accessible. What passes off as such is usually offline pacifist or liberal dabblings into pseudo-anarchism, or attempts to link positive anarchists with pacifism or liberalism (on the lines of 'Kropotkin—the wise Kaboutter') or the cult of publishing books about anarchism from the sidelines. Hence some of our articles have come as a bit of a shock, none more so than those relating to the Second World War.

In the last issue (198) we gave (purposely without preamble) the true history of the Division Leclerc, containing the revelation that Spanish Anarchists formed the Maquis, were instrumental in the liberation of many French



In Italy, the Allied invasion meant a crisis in the Fascist leadership. Faced with the brutal fact of defeat, the King at last abandoned it and went over to the invaders, but until he did so all the parties hesitated to identify themselves with the overthrow of fascism lest it be regarded as national treason. Only the Communist Party, and also the Anarchists, formed the resistance. But this resistance spread throughout the country, and took on a social revolutionary aspect, seizing the land and factories. The fascists had come to power by seizing them back for the bosses, now they lost them again. In the parts with a long anarchist tradition, the anarchist partisans were on a parity with the Communists (despite the latter's funding, training and equipping from abroad).

cities from the Nazis, and entered both Paris and Berchtesgaden.

Was this part of the anti-fascist struggle, or a betrayal of principle and 'support of the war'?

After the Spanish war against fascism ended, thousands of refugees poured over the French border and were interned in appalling conditions. To get themselves and their families out of the concentration camps, many men volunteered for for the Foreign Legion. Many who would not do so were returned to Spain where they were shot and their families imprisoned. The 'bargain' of joining the Foreign Legion was not really one entered voluntarily. Where people could, they joined the Spanish Resistance (in Spain). When the world war broke out, Spanish (and other non-French) antifascists were treated with unheard of repression whereas fascists were treated humanely (foreign fascists had their home governments as protecting powers; local ones had class sympathisers). It was a similar situation to Britain (though not as regards the Spaniards, where it was recognised, due to Labour pressure, that they did not constitute a danger in the war situation).

On the invasion of France many in the camps were handed over to the Germans for deportation to labour camps, but others were able to commence work especially on the land. Some escaped to join the Free French or British Armies, some drifted back to Spain and changed identity. From the population round the south there started the Maquis-resistance fighters in the hills, at odds with the French majority into collaboration and the minority into resistance but under orders from London. They certainly believed that after the war they would be able to take their guns and fight their way back in Spain (even those in the regular armies). Inside Spain the resistance groups were often contacted by British agents and occasionally worked with, but never trusted, them. The British agents were anxious to get a wide-ranging collaboration between Anarchists and Monarchists but this never came off, for

With the switch-round of the King, so making it possible for constitutional parties (which is to say the bourgeioisie) to join the resistance so far as they could (in practice, to a small extent), the Mussolini Fascists established their 'Salo Republic' which supported by the Nazis fought to the bitter end. Several articles in the Flag (as well as the pamphlet 'Red and Black Years') have detailed the struggle by Anarchists from this point (more documentation is available which we shall publish from time to time) and it followed a long history of resistance to Italian fascism.

If by 'support for the war' we mean support for governments or economic systems, none of this resistance could conceivably be described as such. It represented an opportunity which seldom comes—to make a revolution when it goes against the trend of the times. That it did not succeed has to be weighed against the fact of there being no alternative but death.

In Britain, anti-fascism was professed by the government when it found that all but one of the enemy nations were under fascist control. But the same class remained in power, only diluted by a coalition. and the officer class remained as fascist as ever it was. It was a dilemma facing anarchists and revolutionary socialists and one



obvious reasons. In return for smuggling Allied p.o.w.s over the border or raids on embassies, Whitehall provided a limited amounts of arms and money, though it refrained from any hostility to Franco despite innumerable provocations. The opportunity was therefore seized on the Allied invasion of France for the one movement with long experience of armed struggle to rise, with even greater momentum since so many had been taken and thrown into concentration camps. which finally had to be resolved on a personal basis.

Separation from the workers which opposition to WWI entailed had frustrated the entire revolutionary movement two decades before; the influx and dilution by middle class pacifism in WWII rendered it futile for years. The hopes that that Nazi invasion would mean a working class upsurge and a resistance freed from the ruling class (who would certainly have collaborated with Nazi rule); or that with the end of the war nobody would agree to go back to capitalism, were lost with military victory in the first instance, and Labour Party electoral victory in 1945 in the second.

Smear Campaigns are Nothing New

N 1918 THE Stock Exchange of Saratov had been seized by Anarchists, who made it their club. They appeared to be in the ascendant in the local soviet, a fact that alarmed many Bolsheviks and others, when suddenly the population turned against them. A furious mob, mostly women, besieged the club, banging on the locked door, shouting, 'Hooligans!' 'Anti-Christs!' 'Godless swine!' 'Shame on you!' The door gave way and the crowd rushed in and smashed everything up. The anarchists escaped through the back door. What had turned the population against them? It was the publication of the infamous 'decree on the nationalisation of women'. The 'story of a mystification' was told in Moscow News English version, 4th March '90) by Prof. Alexei Velidov (photocopy of the article for anyone interested; s.a.e. to us). The 'decree' (couched in official phraseology) was pasted on walls and fences all over Saratov, allegedly issued by the Free Association of Saratov Anarchists. It was dated Feb 28 1918, stating in a preamble that because of social inequality the 'best specimens of the fairer sex' had been monopolised till now by the bourgeoisie 'in violation of the correct perpetuation of the human race'. In subsequent clauses it 'distributed' women. Men were granted 'the right to use one woman no more than three times a week for three hours' provided they were issued with a certificate of their 'working classs origin'. Women were only to be relieved of 'their rightful duty' if pregnant, for three

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months before and one month after childbirth. Children were to be placed in creches.

Needless to say, it was a hoax, very similar to the notorious Protocols of the Elders of Zion which had rescued Tsarism by unleashing a huge wave of pogroms against Jews (and was being repeated). Either the 'Decree' was a satire on Soviet nationalisation, or on anarchists because of their views on 'free love'; but it was deliberately intended to cause the effect it did. It had been written by a member of the antirevolutionary Union of the Russian People, Mikhail Uvarov, who owned a teashop. Twenty anarchists went in, ransacked the place, and shot him. But the effects of the fake decree did not end there. Like the Protocols, it spread among the ignorant despite its patent absurdity. It was reprinted in many Russian newspapers-some in 'Sunday Sport' style to entertain, others to discredit anarchists (and in this the Communist Party may have helped at first) and finally to discredit the Soviets. The ricochetting anti-Bolshevik effect was such that the government suppressed newspapers which had published the 'decree' even as an example of its absurdity but by then it had spread abroad. In the US Senate the Overman Commission (March 1919) accepted it as official. In London, just as The Times solemnly accepted the Protocols as fact, the press generally swallowed the story, or gave it out genuinely believing it to be news (the anarchists had by this time mercifully disappeared from it). It can be added that the wisest comment came from Bernard Shaw, who

pointed out that the reason the bourgeoisie took it seriously was because they regarded women as chattels and if property was to be nationalised, presumably them too. The story only died in the Anglo-Saxon world in the Second World War, when Russia was an ally, and the Russian woman was glorified for her role in the trenches and partisan activity. We were then told that the 'nationalisation of women' by Bolsheviks was an example of 'Nazi propaganda' (true in a way) but nobody ever apologised to the Anarchists.

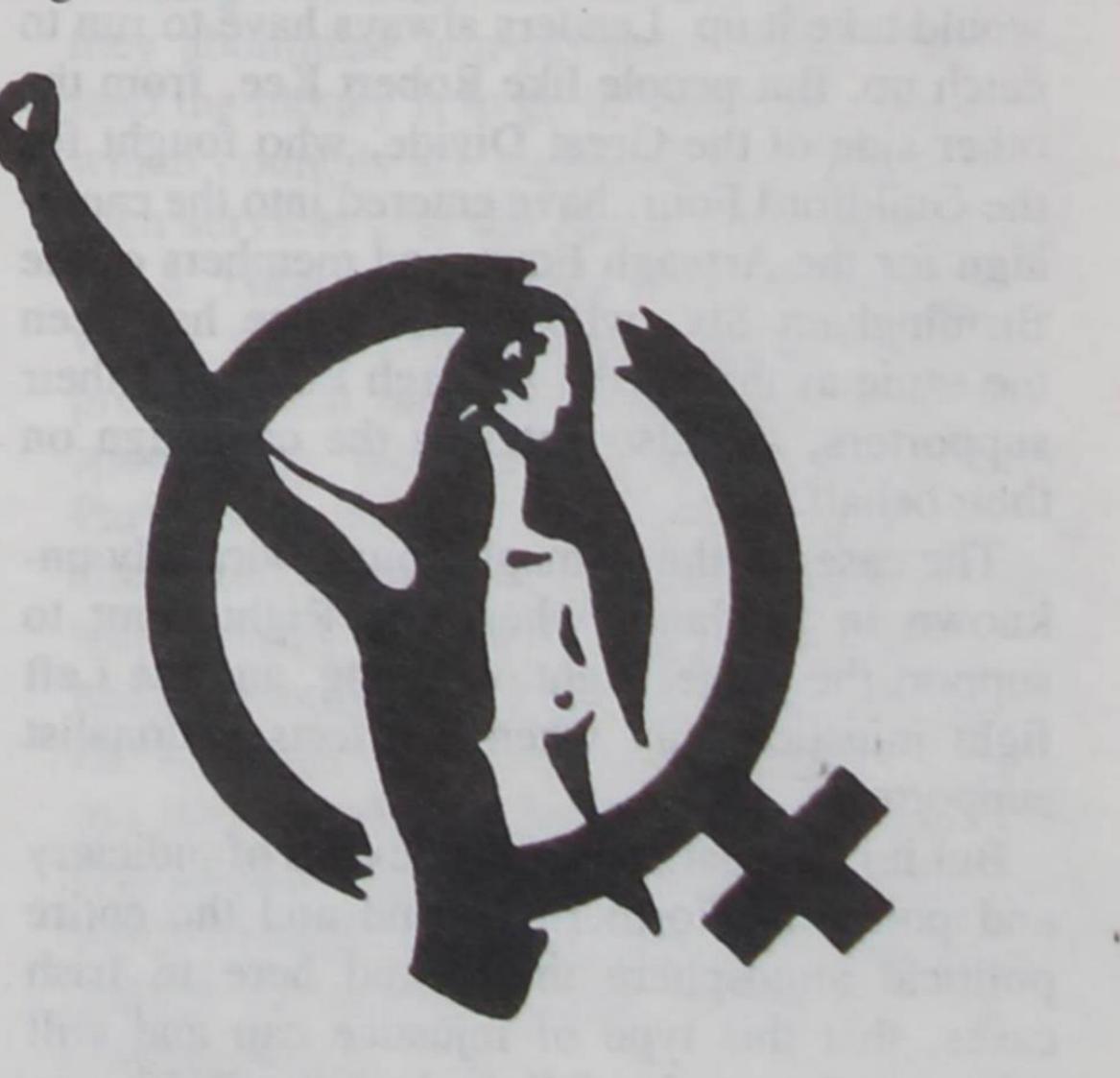
pogroms. accusing the Jews of world domination by socialism and Western capitalism, both 'plots against Christian civilisation'. During the Russian civil war the London Times used the Protocols to justify the reign of terror against the Russian Jews, but though it was exposed as a forgery it continues to be published by clerical fascist circles to this day.

The 'nationalisation of women' canard was used to denounce first the anarchists, then the bolsheviks, in the teeth of all reason, and also passsed into legend, though (since the notion of male ownership has been severely dented even among the bourgeoisie) it has lost any credibility it had and, unlike the Protocols, is no longer used.

Shock horror stories by hack journalists about anarchists go on to this day, but a milder version of the above was resurrected during the Spanish war—the anarchists had 'collectivised the brothels' and the prostitutes were in control of their work places (what had happened was some had got rid of the gangsters formerly ruling them).

Footnote

Opponents of Napoleon III wrote a satire on his use of intrigue and freemasonry to maintain power. Later this was plagiarised by reactionaries during the clerical anti-semitic campaign in France round the turn of the century, to allege the first World Jewish conference was actually a plot by the 'elders of Zion' to use freemasonry to conquer the world. This was distributed by the Tsarist police to stir up



Les Camps de La Mort

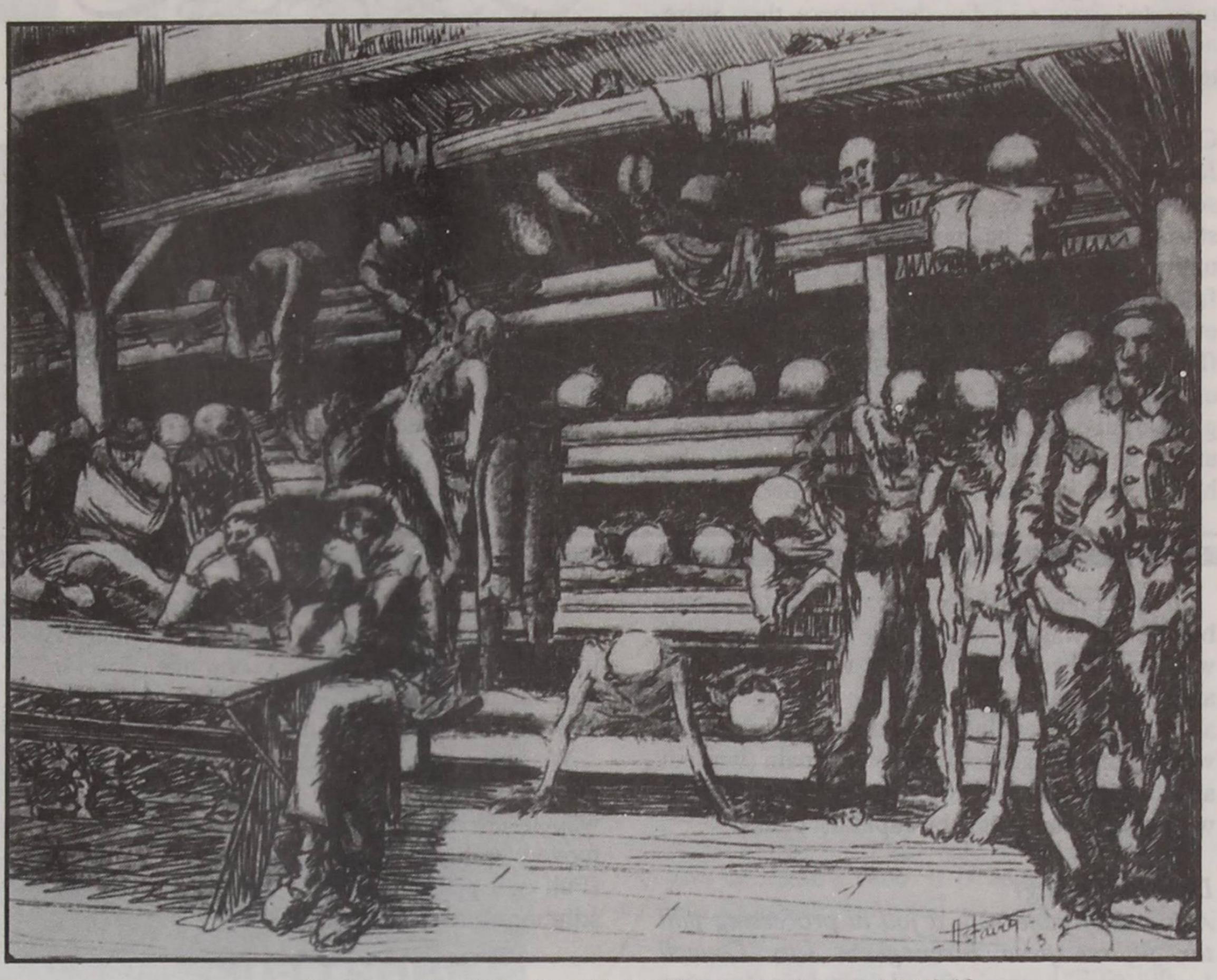
LITTLE KNOWN chapter of history is the fate of Spanish refugees, who, after the end of the Civil War, believed that in France they would find 'dignified exile'. A great number were almost immediately put in camps in the south of France (eg. Argeles, Saint Cyprien) and then moved to Mauthausen and Nazi concentration camps elsewhere.

After having been enlisted into the Foreign Workers' Columns, the Foreign Legion and the marching Battalions, numerous Spanish were taken prisoner in the rout of Spring 1940 along the Maginot line and the Belgian Frontier. After briefly being kept in Stalags, where they were refused recognition as prisoners of war (negotiations between the Nazi/Francoist authorities were also not allowed), they were sent en masse to Mauthausen. Upon arrival, the Nazis quickly sent the women and young children back to Spain-where many disappeared without a trace-keeping the healthy men and boys over 15 years old. The first convoy of Spanish people arrived at Mauthausen on 6th August 1940. Many more were to follow until the end of summer 1941, after which individuals who were captured for their parts in the French Resistance arrived. Unlike other camps, the total number of prisoners can be stated accurately, thanks to official lists saved by prisoners Jose Bailina and Casimiro Climent who both worked in the 'Politische Abteilung'(Political Research) and who, due to the nature of their work, had access to the camp archives. According to them, the total number of prisoners deported to the camp was 7129; at the time of liberation in May 1945, there were only 2184 survivors. An International Red Cross report accounted for 7211 deportees and 2398 survivors. Assuming that not all deportees arrived at Mauthausen (due to deaths while being transported, escapees etc.), we can, without much risk of error, assess the total number of Spanish deported as 7500. Upon arrival at Mauthausen, the first Spanish found a camp in its earliest stages of completion with only a few huts surrounded by a double line of electric barbed wire, the inmates being largely Poles, Austrians and Germans. The latter belonged to 'categories' persecuted by the Nazis-homosexuals, anti-social, Jehováhs' Witnesses and 'common criminals', many of whom were recruited to be in charge of the other inmates, known as 'Kapos'. The Spanish prisoners were given the task of properly constructing the Mauthausen camp: building the perimeter wall, paving the assembly yard, building roads in the area. As well as suffering the continual harassment that all internees were subjected to, they had to complete the most back-breaking work, hewing blocks of granite from the quarry and transporting them. Some were sent to annexe camps-Steyr, Melck, and above all Gusen, where conditions were even worse than at Mauthausen. However, a good number of Spanish prisoners lived in the central camp at Mauthausen where their time was allocated to: maintenance, masonry, carpentry, kitchenwork, cleaning, working in the infirmary, and even office work for some. Of course, there were Spanish people in nearly all the other Nazi camps, arrested as Resistance or 'potential enemies' during the systematic round-ups that took place from September 1943. It is impossible to state the exact number; but their is a general agreement that it is about 10000. It is pointless to go on about the horrors of life in the concentration camps; it is widely known. The sole comfort was the solidarity, when there was strength to put it into practice.

prisoners inside—and Villegas is sure that they decided on the latter deliberately. (Also, a frightened prisoner had revealed to the Germans some saws hidden in the carriages by the Resistance, making the SS furious). On arrival at Montauban, they found that there were still too many carriages in proportion to the power of the locomotive, and once again carriages full of prisoners were burnt. After three days, the carriage doors were opened for the first time. There had been several deaths: it was only upon arrival at Buchenwald that the corpses were removed. who fell by the roadside were finished off by the SS. It was on the 14th April that Canadian troops came across one of these convoys that Villegas was part of. The sight was terrible and the Canadian soldiers could not believe what they saw—the prisoners' joy was immense, as were the cries of the SS; fifty Russians had cut their throats.

Villegas was evacuated to Belgium, then went to Paris where, on the 1st May 1945 he was greeted with joy by his comrades in the CNT who were celebrating their first congress in exile.

Victor Garcia



wall outside the electic fence. Then we were divided up.

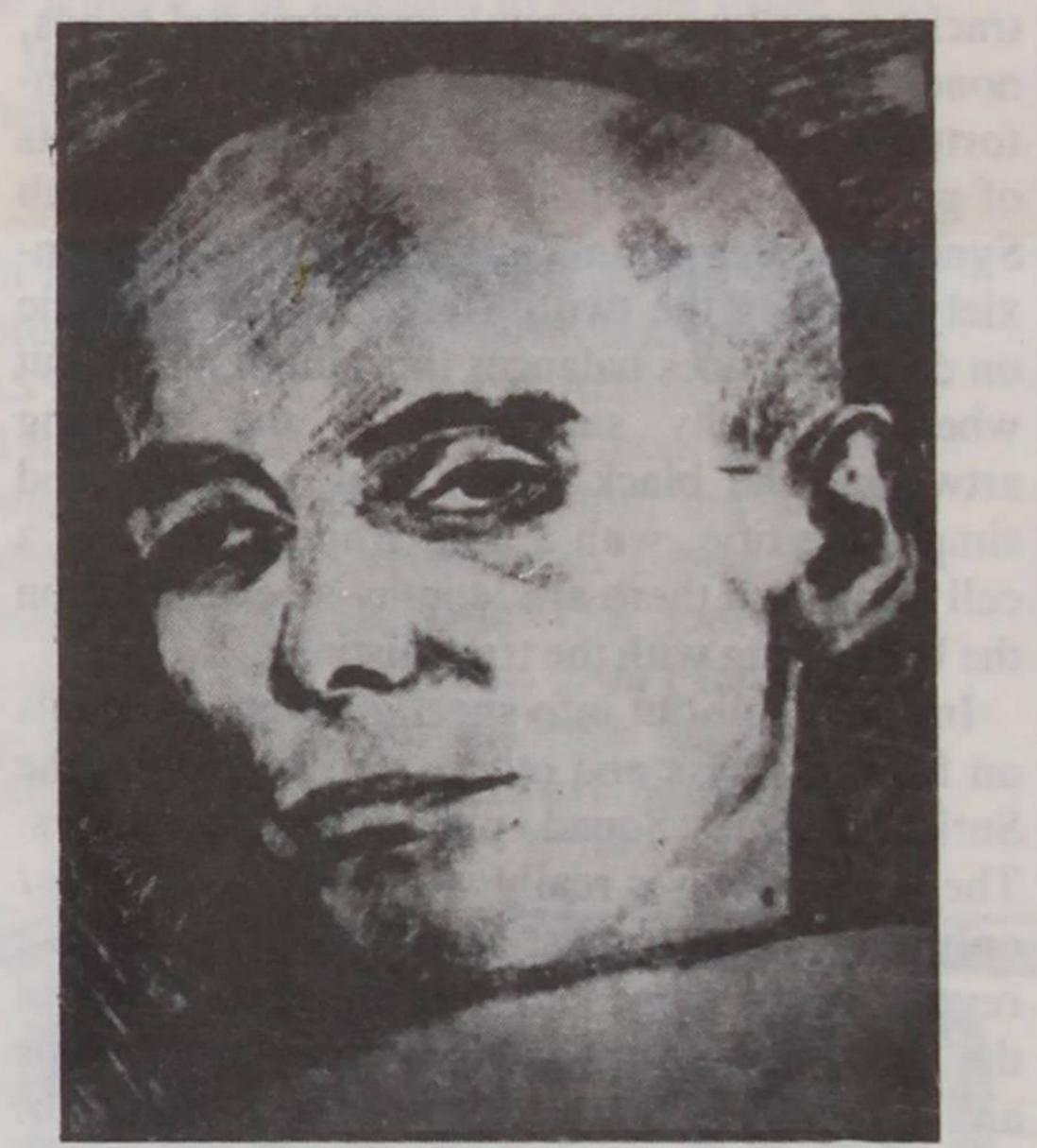
Since arriving at Mauthausen, Jose Pons Carceller grew considerably weaker. Work and hunger deteriorated his body and blood. His body was covered with boils. With what was available-nothing hygenic-we did what we could to relieve him of his pain and suffering, which made it impossible for him to walk. In the inhuman hell of the camp, whoever was physically weak attracted the anger and brutality of the SS and Kapos. He was aware of the abyss into which we had fallen and what would happen to us. This was made worse when he found out that his little brother had arrived at Gusen with a new convoy. It was a terrible blow to his morale. Physically, he was no longer capable of working, and it was difficult leaving him without the protection and help of the camp 'big-shots'-prisoners like us, who, due to their fear of the SS and degenerating lifestyle in the camp environment, behaved like feudal lords with the prisoners dependant on their 'jurisdiction'. It took a lot of effort to enter the infimary. Those who ran it were not the doctors, but 'hutbosses'. Jose managed to enter the infirmary with the wish to be treated. To treat his boils, they chloroformed him as they would for a major surgical operation. I don't know if the infirmary doctor was involved in his case, but once treated, or bled, or having been 'experimented on', they brought him round by throwing buckets of freezing water at him. They then left him by the hut door in a critical state. When I went to see him, his body was stiff from the cold-and death, waiting to be taken to the yard before being burnt in the gas ovens. It was left to me to comfort his brother, so that sadness and despair wouldn't break his morale. He survived as a water-carrier until shortly before liberation. So it was in Gusen that the Pons brothers remained, just as many thousands of others who were also cowardly murdered.'

Auguste Favier – Block in the Little Camp. Buchenwald 1943

There, treatment was similar to that in other camps: the prisoners were stripped naked and had a number stamped on their chests, with the corresponding number on shirt and trousers. After having their heads shaved, still naked, they were taken to a large shower room where they were disinfected. Then in single file, all those with tattoos were selected. Then, selections for Jews, Russians, Gipsies, and those not fit for work, took place. As for the tattoos, we now know the enthusiasm that fired the camp commander: when liberated, his room was found to be full of objects made from human skin-lamp shades, wallets, book covers, folding screens... Of those destined to die in Buchenwald, the ones with tattoos were always the first to. All the bodies, including those from the carriages, were thrown into vats of acid and chemicals, and then went through a process turning them into fertilizers, which was then spread amongst the pines in the Weimar region. Each hut could hold up to 100 prisoners, with 50 bunks. Those in charge of the huts were often old Germans, who had been imprisoned before the war, and weren't too cruel. On the other hand, the 'Kapos' (mostly Polish prisoners) treated the deportees very violently in the hope of getting extra rations. At five in the morning, a shrill siren would wake the prisoners, who would then have to stand beside the bunks. Then, they would go to an open pit to relieve themselves, and wash without towels, whatever the weather. At half past five, 'coffee' (dirty water) would be distributed, with one pound of bread between four, and 'margarine' made from coal and jam. That would be the only food till evening, when after work a similar ration was distributed. Once a month, everyone would have their head shaved. Villegas managed to escape from the infamous 'Block 61', in which no-one survived. He was sent to a salt mine in Leau, where his physical fitness and good health enabled him to survive. Many of the prisoners there threw themselves on the electrified barbed wire in desperation. Well before liberation, some prisoners knew where the advancing Allied troops were-a deported Jew named Chester even had a map on which he plotted their advance. (He never saw the liberation though, as he was murdered in the most horrendous way-they nailed 20cm spikes into his head). Hitler had ordered the evacuation of the concentration camps with the intention of eliminating all survivors. These evacuations comprised of mass convoys by foot. The weakest and those

In Memory of Comrade Jose Pons Carceller Murdered at Gusen

Translation P.



Odette Ester (Decenber 1988)

JOSE PONS CARCELLER, from the village of L'Albi (province Lerida) had been interned in a camp in the south of France. After war was declared, he was enlisted into the 24th Company of Foreign Workers and was sent to the Eastern Front. Made prisoner by the German breakthrough, in June 1940 he was with a convoy travelling by foot. In Colmar, he was transferred to barracks at Belfort with other Spanish from other Workers' Companies, and there they were made to wear red armbands to distinguish themselves from other prisoners. (Red-revolutionaries from the Spanish Civil War). On the 13th January 1941, they left Colmar in convoy, destined for Stalag XI at Fallesbotel, then on to Mauthausen. Roque Llop Convalia, his companion in detention and deportation, recalls:

'After having filled in a detailed police form, we were shut up in horse wagons. A tiny opening on one side gave us the only view and ventilation; a small amount of straw on the floor our only bedding. There were so many prisoners in each carriage that it was impossible to lie down; you could only rest crouched or standing up...The journey lasted three days and nights, without any idea of time or where we were heading to. The shouts of 'Raus' and 'Scnell' broke our stupor on arrival at the village of Mauthausen. The SS used blows from rifle butts and barking dogs to get us out of the carriages. We went through the village and across the Danube to what had been the sanatorium but was now a concentration camp. Climbing the hill, we saw groups of people dressed in striped pyjamas, with skeletal bodies and a strange light in their eyes which were sunk deep into their sockets; a look of horror. A sight that was upsetting and distressing. We arrived at the camp on 27th January 1941, and on the 16th February we were transferred to Gusen. Most of the friends and comrades of the 24th Company stayed at Mauthausen; as we went to Gusen, we were unaware that the assasinations and exterminations had grown to such an extent there, as to be beyond comparison with any other camp. The Kapos, hut-chiefs and SS greeted us with blows the moment we went through the barbed wire entrance to the camp...Our first task was to carry stone from the quarry to the camp, to build the perimeter Anonymous – Dr. Jerzy Gromkowi, a few days before death. Mauthausen, undated.

Answers to quiz

1. The 19th century poet and satirist Heinrich Heine cited the fact that after the world drama of the French Revolution and the thrilling tragedy of Napoleon, the restored Bourbon royals came waddling back on the stage of history like overfed clowns in a comic interlude.

2. Christian Socialist writer Charles Kingsley said that evangelical religion was the opium of the people—before anaesthetics, opium was used by surgeons when the pain was unbearable. (Both remarks were quoted by Karl Marx, and as he has become a secular godhead they are often thought to have originated from him).

A BUCHENWALD SURVIVOR Jose Villegas Izquierdo

JOSE VILLEGAS IZQUIERDO is a CNT militant in the forestry section. Born in Caniles(Grenade) in Andalusia, he moved to Barcelona when young and begun working and agitating. After having been through the Civil War and following years in exile, he was arrested in 1942 in Toulouse by the police of the Vichy government, for providing aid and solidarity to victims of Fascism. (He had worked as a contact for the Toulouse Red Cross and a Quakers' organisation). First imprisoned at Saint-Michel, he was transferred to the prison at Fourgolle, then back to Saint-Michel, and then put in a convoy of goods carriages destined for the concentration camps. Several carriages caught fire, apparently accidentally, but the absence of enough locomotives to pull the convoy gave the Germans the choice of abandoning the extra carriages or burning them with

3. Alan Bush's operas have heroes like Joe Hill, IWW organiser. The Establishment prefers to shed tears over Lohengrin and Carmen.

4. In inter-war Poland the Anarchists had campaigned against political Catholicism, and fought by individual actions against the Nazis during the war. They had not criticised the Communist Party while it was illegalised, so many officials first misjudged the anarchist position regarding the new regime.

5. Some anarchist political prisoners in the early days of Nazi power, finding themselves lumped with Jehovah's Witnesses who were pretty impossible to live with, took advantage of commandants' ignorance combined with pedantic determination to classify properly, to say 'anarchist' meant 'bandit'. They got reclassified as criminal prisoners—and this later proved the way to release for Germans (especially during the war).

BLACK FLAG

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FEEDBACK

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Obituary

Jack Ujanen

A grand old comrade of the IWW, Jack Ujanen, died last year at 99. For 22 years he had edited the Finnish language IWW newspaper, Industrialisti (once a daily paper, later a weekly, which expired in 1975).

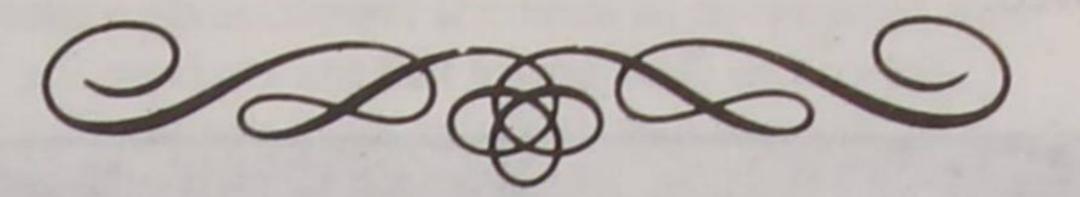
How come the only daily revolutionary paper in the USA was in Finnish? The Finnish workers had a long history of struggle, and round the turn of the century, with unemployment and blacklisting at home, many migrated—some to Sweden (where they were active in founding the syndicalist SAC), others to USA, especially lumberjacks.

In Duluth they started the Work People's College, and turned out many IWW organisers.

shores of Florida. But for the last 14 years of his life he plugged away for the Finnish Workers Education Society, which owned the Kentta Hall, gathering place for Florida Finns, most of them retired wobblies.

It is good to know Jack Ujanen knew of the rebirth of anarcho-syndicalism in Finland via Black Flag when we exchanged greetings a year or two ago.

source: Industrial Worker



Mike Baker

switch his support to the much-reviled Liu Shao Chi-the Marxist Leninist Organisation of Great Britain, of which Mike was Secretary, being one of a very few groups to take this line.

In the seventies, Mike's indepth study of the German Revolution led him to repudiate his Leninist-Stalinist past and adopt and advocate the ideas of the Dutch and German council communists such as Pannekoek, Ruhle and Mattick. Mike joined the London Workers' Group where he met and worked with the late Joe Thomas. Together with Joe he helped form the Movement for Workers Councils.

At the time of his death, Mike was near to completing the production of Max Hemple's 'Fundamental Principles of Communist Production and Distribution' which he had translated from German. Like Joe, he stressed the necessity of workers mastering political economy and felt this book would help them do so. A small private ceremony was held at Norwood Crematorium and Mike's comrades plan to scatter his ashes in Highgate Cemetery, The MWC in view of the world historical collapse of State socialism in the East, now hopes to open up a constructive exchange of ideas with anti-market revolutionaries, anarchists and syndicalists included, on the way ahead.

Giro acc. no. (Black Flag): 58 552 4009 Giro acc. no. (ABC London): 51 172 0009

For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary co-operation-against State control and all forms of government and economic repression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all-the breaking down of racial, religious, national and sex barriers—and to fight for the life of one world.

Jack went to the States as a quarry worker, and settled to Minnesota. When the paper was started in 1914, he moved on its staff, eventually becoming editor. Like a real oldfashioned revolutionary editor, he did everything to bring out the paoer-sweeping the floor, doing the carpentry work, running errands. Despite the drying up of Finnish immigration, and the anglicisation of the next generation, he kept the paper going until, at 85, he had to call it a day, and retire to the warmer

Mike Baker died suddenly on May 15, aged 63. Having joined the (Stalinist) Socialist Unity Party in the GDR, on his return to Britain he became active in the Communist Party, With 'the Sino-Soviet split, he became a Maoist, helping to found the Committee to Defeat Revisionism for Communist Unity. However, his analysis oif the Cultural Revolution led him to

REVIEW

JUSTICE IS OUR CONVICTION LP various artists

This benefit album has been released to raise money for the campaign to free Martin Foran, and very good it is too. Side one consists of tracks by Ahnrefn, Plant Bach Offnus, Mega City Four etc and is the 'noisy' side! These tracks are all by post-punk experimental bands, none of whom I know much about unfortunately. Side two is more to my liking-lots of gentle reggae and dub by such greats as Dub . Syndicate, Benjamin Zephaniah and Annie Anxiety. Putting the two different styles of music on different sides balances this album nicely but where it really stands up is the stunning artwork. The black sleeve states clearly and simply the title, with a bold white graphic of a cell door, and there are lengthy sleeve notes on the back along with the track listings. Inside a pull-out info sheet gives more details on Martin's case and others also framed by the Serious Crimes Squad, plus contact addresses. The whole thing is really well packaged and for only £4.99 it's a must for any self-respecting revolutionary to add to their collection. It's in the shops now (distributed by Southern Studios and released on State Injustice, catalogue no. SIJ 1) and remember—all profits go to helping Martin Foran. Congratulations to Conviction for the hard work that's gone into producing to this record. What more can I say, except-buy it now!

In the context, a 'less aggressive state' would be one not waging war. (If we take the Spanish war as an example, Mexico was clearly less aggressive than Italy!). One can envisage a situation where a revolutionary society might trade with a non-belligerent in the way Spain (without any surplus) did with Mexico-purchasing arms with gold accumulated by capitalist banks.

Dear Black Flag,

A friend of mine with a job in processing poll tax figures from Birmingham City Council learns from a semi-official knowledge passing round that some sort of 'initiative' will be taken in the area, whereby people paying the tax will receive a discount of £50 if they care to inform of anyone who has NOT registered for tax. Coincidentally, someone else working for a West Midlands authority has volunteered the same information. My friend is trying to get some sort of documentary proof of this. It looks as if some sort of 'grasses' charter' is likely to be put to work to persuade people to pay.

out to as wide an audience as possible. You'd be surprised at the number of people who would be interested whether at work, on the dole or around the Anti-Poll Tax Groups. (Just send 20p for each copy you sell).

We are still maintaining the policy of sending out free to prisoners and postage only to wageless, but please tell us when you've moved. Otherwise subs are £8 for 12 issues. (Full cost price £30 for 12 issues for public institutions into research).

SHORT FUSE

Short Fuse is the name of the local anarchosyndicalist paper produced in Norwich. The latest issue contains articles on poll tax, ambulance dispute, education and anarchosyndicalism. Available from Box DAM, The Greenhouse, 48, Bethel St, Norwich. Donations/SAE welcome.

A NIGHT AT THE MOVIES

Ireland—The Right to Know

THE IRISH FILM show which was banned last year by Southwark Council has at last found a venue. The Ritzy Cinema in Brixton will host the 'Ireland: The Right to Know' film and video festival on consecutive Sundays on June 24 and July 1. The film show will coincide with a week of cultural events, including an art exhibition with slide shows by artists from June 26 to July and an Irish folk/rock evening Sat June 23 with McDermotts 2 Hours and sons of the Desert. Both at Brixton Recreational Centre. The film shows start at 1 as follows:

Sunday 24th: The Irish Question, No Japs at My Funeral, Suspect Community, Behind the Mask & Gone for a Soldier. Sunday 1st: Hush-a-bye Baby, Mother Ireland, If you didn't laugh you'd cry, Sentenced, Moving Myths, The Black Delegation. Further details:



Dear Black Flag,

Regarding the Question and Answer in this issue:

1. What do citizens with a 'conception of mili-

DM (Birmingham)

Business-wise

Reports from our regular correspondents tell us that Black Flag is selling better than ever. There certainly is an upsurge in anarchist ideas.

Regerettably we had to stop selling or even sending out new subs or sample copies of our last issue, owing to having sold out immediately. Apologies to any regulars who were disappointed.

Sadly, our finances are still abysmally low and our subs list in a perpetual mess. So many have moved and copies are reaching dead letter boxes, we have reluctantly had to cut off nonrenewed readers. We are heavily reliant on donations but also on up-to-date addresses.

Some bookshops to whom we've been sending without response or let alone payment have had to be cut off.

Why not take a bundle and get anarchist ideas

ABC BENEFIT

A fundraising gig for ABC(London) at the Old White Horse, Fleet Rd, Hampstead NW3, on 24th June featuring Stitch and The Keatons. £2-£1.50 unwaged. Belsize Park tube.

MUTUAL AID

Members of the Black Flag collective have for many years been visiting an old comrade living in North London. After over 70 years in the Anarchist movement old friends have now passed on, moved away or simply forgotten her. If there are any comrades who could make a commitment large or small to visiting her could they please contact us.

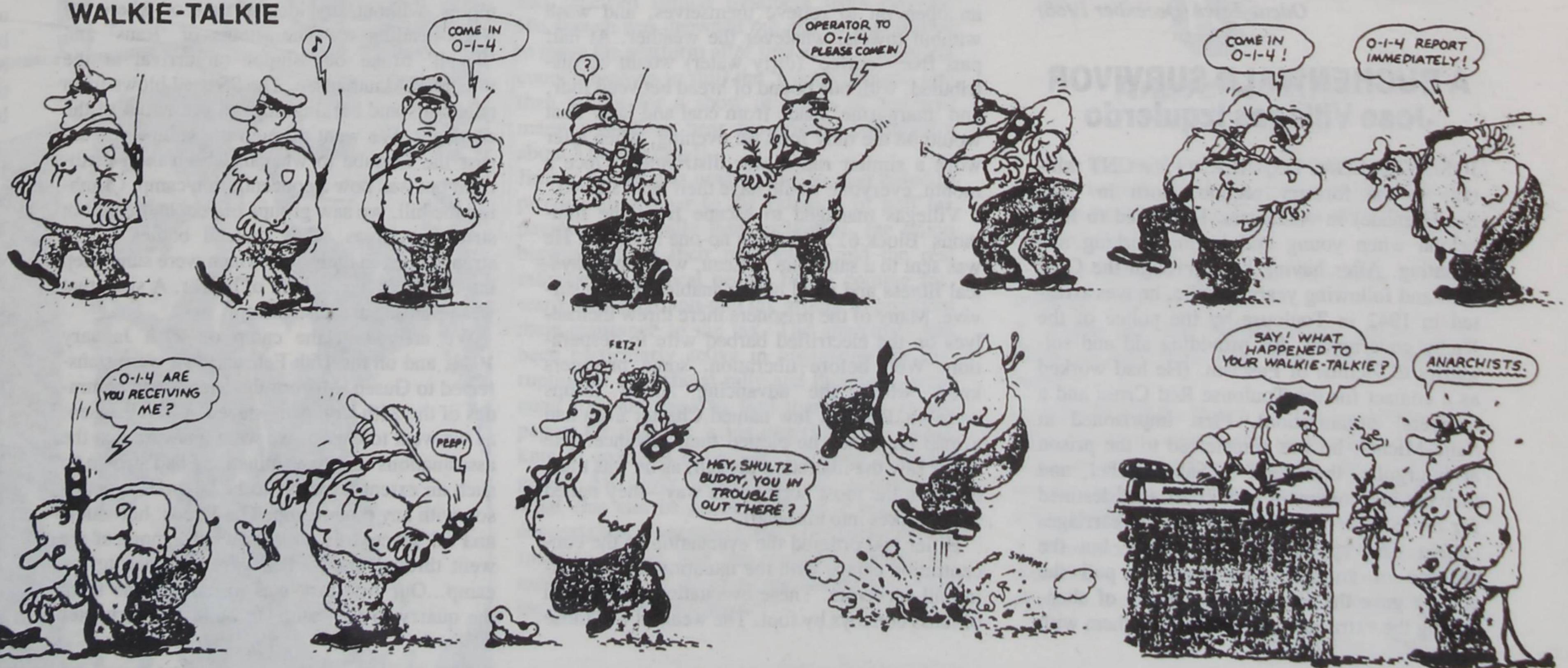
MOLOTOV

Plymouth Anarchists, Plymouth Black Cross, DAM and others are sharing a PO box with Molotov Distribution. All correspondence should be sent to Molotov Distribution, PO Box 105 Plymouth, Devon,

The Ritzy Cinema—071 737 2121 Lambeth Council—071 978 8722

Union Viewing

The Despatch Industry Workers Union (DIWU)-an independant union run by and for despatchers on syndicalist principles-is presnting a film night at the Four Corners Cinema, 113 Roman Rd, London E2 on Thurs July 7. They are showing Matewan, an epic story of union organising in the american coalfields; definately not a film to miss for all serious revolutionaries. And also Some Mothers Do Have 'em in which Frank creates mayhem as a London courier; definately a film to miss for all serious revolutionaries without a sense of humour.



tary defence' within a liberated territory do to protect themselves from, just for instance, germ and nuclear warfare?

2. What is a 'less aggressive state?'

3. How, what and why would an Anarchist society trade with any State? Does this not assume, just for instance, a surplus in production in the Anarchist society? Is this not self-deluded nonsense? G. (Yks)

Reply: An anarchist society will have to defend itself against aggression, but there is obviously no defence against nuclear attack, or for that matter nuclear warfare in any other part of the world for anyone else. If Iran used the present A bomb against Iraq, that would be the end for Iceland as well as them. Are we to say we must give up on workers control because if the bomb gets dropped even somewhere else there'll be no workers and nothing to control?

As for germ warfare. the only ethical defence (which we hope would be used) is individual discriminate killing of those responsible rather than retaliation against population.

Neither of these suppositions are 'for instance' but extreme ultimates.

