

COMISO

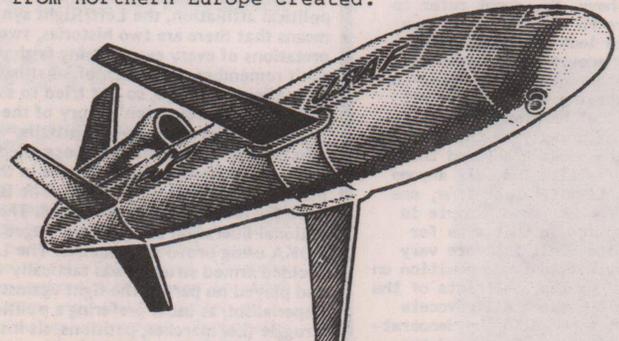
REPORT FROM SICILY

The proposed missile base at Greenham Common has become front page news due to the tenacity of the women who have been maintaining and developing the activities of the peace camp in front of the site over the past year. But there is another base that is first in line in American imperialism's deadly project to mine Europe with atomic missiles. The site is Comiso in Southern Sicily, and deserves attention for its dubious merit of being the first and largest proposed base of its kind in Europe. The struggle taking place in Sicily at the moment is therefore one which affects the whole of Europe.

For anarchists the struggle against nuclear weapons and that of antimilitarism in general places itself within a global context, that of the social struggle against exploitation. In this way we avoid falling into the ambiguity of the pacifists who, limiting their demands to disarmament and "peace", implicitly accept the bosses definition of social peace, the armed peace of the police State and all the exploitation and misery it defends.

As soon as the site for the base was publicly disclosed the Ragusa anarchist comrades together with those of Lotta continua per il comunismo and various other extra-parliamentary communist groups began working on counter-information to expose these projects of domination, also denouncing the social and economic effects (drugs, prostitution, mafia, rise in housing costs and those of prime necessity goods) which the base would have on the lives of the local workers and unemployed. As work developed, however, differences began to accentuate, the communists, veering more towards complicated analyses of international relations, detailed research into the local class composition in order to preselect their interlocutor, and so on. The anarchists, on the other hand, felt it was necessary to start from the missile base itself as the central problem and work out a concrete strategy which could lead to the prevention of its construction. Instead of working out a detailed selection of who the strata most likely to accomplish this task would be (therefore of whom to address their counterinformation and proposals), they carried out a series (about twenty) public meetings in all the squares of all the surrounding towns and villages as well as Comiso itself with counter-information and the indication that the only way to prevent the base was to occupy it and destroy it and that to do this it was necessary first to organise in first person, autonomously of all the parties and organisations who in words were against the base but who were doing nothing really capable of leading to its prevention. The organisational form suggested was self-managed Leagues, being that used by the peasantry at the end of the last century when they successfully occupied uncultivated land and gained it from the big landowners.

The initiative was well received by the people of all the local towns and those of Comiso itself who up until then had only been invited to join peace marches, sign petitions (12,500 from Comiso alone out of 18,000 of voting age) or participate in symbolic hunger strikes as proposed by the various peace committees, the Communist Party or the pacifists from the peace camp. Cultural differences and lack of real content were elements which alienated the people from the pacifists' proposals. They found it difficult to relate to the carnivalesque atmosphere which the presence of Buddhist monks, Greens, various catholic and protestant minorities and pacifists from northern Europe created.



The unemployed were reminded that they were being blackmailed into accepting the base as the only possible chance of work in the area but that in reality, apart from the connotations of working to dig their own graves, there would be very little of even that, and that only through organising autonomously in a League of unemployed could they find the strength to fight this situation by preventing the construction of the case and in so doing becoming a force to be reckoned with which could demand 'clean' work. The services workers were urged not to collaborate with the army of occupation, and were reminded of the great power that they hold and of how easy it would be to sabotage the invaders' interests if they refused to supply them with telephones, water, electricity, etc.

An immediate response to the students' leaflet was given by the students of the college of science in Vittoria, four miles from Comiso. They came out on strike on reading the leaflet, marched (all four hundred or so of them) to the main square of the town a mile and a half away and held a meeting to discuss the base, a meeting which also attracted the interest of many shoppers and unemployed in the town. A students' league was formed and their first initiative along with the comrades of the Coordinamento was to leaflet all the six secondary schools in the town, calling them to come out on strike immediately and to congregate in one of the squares. This was successful and a huge spontaneous meeting was held in piazza Gramsci in

Vittoria. A students' League now also exists in Comiso in response to the Vittoria students' appeal to them to form one and they too came out on strike, this time in response to police aggression towards a pacifist hunger striker who was being dragged away from the main square of Comiso under orders of the socialist mayor Catalano.

Another mass leafletting was carried out by the comrades from the Coordinamento at the ANIC petrol refinery in Gela, south west Sicily. This refinery at present employs 3,000 workers but is threatened with closure, with another 500 sackings due since the recent /00 layoffs. The company now practically belongs to the Americans and no doubt once the area is heavily militarized they will have no hesitation in closing this now obsolete plant. The undoubted benefit this would have ecologically and on the workers' health would not be sufficient to feed them and their families and even the old solution of emigration is no longer open to them due to the crisis of capitalism in northern Europe. The ANIC workers therefore have every interest in acting in first person against the missile base, and they realised this as they remained talking to comrades instead of going in when the bell rang at 7.30. They urged comrades to return at the lunch time break and when they did and were arrested by police who had been called by the management, they had an immediate meeting with the trade union and factory committee and sent representatives round to get them out. This is just another example of the interest in the problem of the base and the solution being proposed by the anarchists and the other components of the Leagues: students, workers and unemployed.

There is still a great deal of work to be done. Immense energy has been put into the past few months by ten to fifteen comrades, sometimes fewer. They have also born most of the financial weight of the whole project. The need for money to develop this effort to its full conclusion is great and could be the decisive factor regarding the success or failure of the attempt to continue this work of stimulation and organisation. It would be tragic to see a moment, so much desired by anarchists, of reaching and working within a situation of social conflict with anarchist methods, fail due to lack of resources. It is precisely at this time that financial support, as much as possible but no amount is too small, is required. Once the occupation is underway and all eyes of the world are on Comiso, there will be plenty of support, but if that moment is to materialise we must have militant solidarity from all comrades now.

Source: Jean Weir, Comiso. Coordinamento delle Leghe autogeste contro la costruzione della base missilistica di Comiso: Coordinamento via Contedi Torino 1 Comiso Sicilly Tel. 0932 966289

REVIEW

LITERATURE OF TERROR

Sanguinetti's book *On Terrorism and the State* takes as its subject the role of the Red Brigades and the reaction of the Italian State. The essays are pretentious, self-indulgent and speculative. An indication of the general style is given in the book's sub-title: "The theory and practice of terrorism divulged for the first time."

Sanguinetti himself is a situationist commentator and a devotee of Guy Debord. His inability to distinguish between aspects of State repression, generalised resistance and power manoeuvring has contributed to this unreadable essay on paranoia. However, Sanguinetti quite rightly recognises the role played by the State in its contribution towards the general escalation of terror. This, in turn, is linked to the contributions from fascists. Indeed Sanguinetti goes one step further and suggests that the State's terror is, in fact, parallel to and part of that employed by the left, specifically the Red Brigades. He correctly points out that it is easier for State agents to infiltrate an authoritarian/hierarchically organised armed struggle group than one that is organised on say, libertarian lines. Although there is no hard evidence to either support or negate the truth of this, particularly in respect of the latter. Once infiltration has been effected the politics of terror can then be manipulated, of course, to the advantage of the State and its agents.

On Terrorism and the State furthermore accuses the Italian State, specifically the Christian Democrat Leader Andreotti

and the Communist Party, of complicity in the death of Moro. He suggests that Moro was a threat to the Right and therefore his murder would in the long run, benefit the State and, at the same time, provide an excuse to crack down hard at leftists and their sympathisers. He then accuses the R.B. of being counter-revolutionary and of contributing to the general alienation of the Italian proletariat against the left. He maintains that their actions are spectacular, individualist, vanguardist and authoritarian and are, as a result, indistinguishable from the terrorism of the State.

But his condemnation is then extended to all the resistance fighters when he says: "...terrorism has never had historically any revolutionary efficacy except where any other forms of manifestation of subversive activity had been rendered impossible by a complete repression and therefore where a notable part of proletarian population had been brought to be silently on the side of the terrorists." Here he fails to distinguish between the terrorism of the State and vanguardists and of resistance generally. He also makes the mistake of differentiating between the struggles of everyday existence and those struggles undertaken on a level of armed action. Neither are more revolutionary, but Sanguinetti obviously thinks otherwise and projects his elitist guilt on to those that put into action what he, presumably, cannot.

Nevertheless Sanguinetti is not totally uncompromising and states that "if we must use armed struggle...let it be in clear response to despicable actions on the part of our oppressors and not for publicity and notoriety or someone's peculiar desire for violence."

For his sins, Sanguinetti has been persecuted by both the Right and the Left by the State and by the organisations he criticises. He has achieved his own nightmare. Where Sanguinetti applies any of his theories, where he speculates, he is unable to provide anything more than mere

MIGUEL GARCIA'S STORY, Miguel Garcia Garcia, (ed. Albert Meltzer) £1. 50 (inc. p&p) 76pp.



supposition. His criticisms of both the State and of the R.B. and vanguardists generally are valid, but he then goes on to sell his ideas down the river when he condemns the offensive actions of the Left groups, and does so using the State's terminology and psychology. Thus he has travelled full circle: his abhorrence of all that is counter-revolutionary only matches his own counter-revolutionism. Unfortunately, he is not alone in this and over the years the 'theatre' of armed struggle in Italy has been extended into the dimension of duplicity and counter-duplicity. Unlike Sanguinetti, this should not surprise us. Instead, with the escalation of armed struggle, involving different strands of resistance/reaction, it is something that we should expect and be prepared for.

Source: B.F.

DON'T THROW OUT THE BABY WITH THE BATH WATER. SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL ANARCHIST.

What gives Miguel his unique place in libertarian history is not so much the fact of his years of struggling for the Anarchist principle in Spain, but the fact that after coming out of 20 years solid jail he again came to the front from another new direction, this time on the international field.

He was an inspiration for all the revolutionary Anarchist groups, the Angry Brigade, the First of May Solidarity groupings, the MIL... as well as others in Spain, Germany and England. He appreciated that the situation in Spain, after years of Francoist repression in which all publicity was given to the Communist Party and the libertarian movement was both suppressed and ignored, meant world attention had to be brought to the Spanish situation and in particular to practical co-operation that would lead to an international different from the various paper internationals.

What the international revolutionary movement owes him no one will ever fully know. His contacts in Spain made it possible for us to help a large number of libertarian prisoners; but his contacts were not only in Spain. All over Europe there are people he helped one way or another (a real internationalist, he was just as much concerned in helping people to squat in London as re-building the union movement in Catalonia). At the time of his death he was trying to see if he could visit the States on a lecture tour "and after that, I'll come to Africa with you."

Miguel died of TB after a hard life but one well worth while. He has been a great inspiration to us all.

Albert Meltzer

TUNISIA

INTERVIEW WITH A TUNISIAN LIBERTARIAN

...ABDEL

Q. How did you come to embrace anarchist ideas?
Abdel: My activities go back to the 1970s. Most leftist militants in my country have had some background with the Tunisian Communist Party, but having fallen out with the party (which was set up in the 1920s) over its historical policies (basically with regard to the colonial question, for in those days the CP had been pro-colonialist and supported French control over Tunisia and over the Maghreb generally), they have denounced its line and many have tried to launch a leftist movement with different policies from the CP. And then, in the 1970s I had a philosophy teacher in my area and he helped us to get to know the thinking of the far left, Mao Tse Tung thought and all that.

Q. Was he a Tunisian himself?
A: No he was French, a worker who belonged to a Maoist organisation back in France; he used to propagate his Maoist beliefs wherever he went. And then, gradually, at national level in 1966-1967 the Socialist Study and Action Groups were formed; they professed to be of the far left and embraced Maoists, Trotskyists, anyone who looked leftwards but repudiated the CP line. From 1972-1973 on, these groups grew in importance, later the organisation 'Tunisian Workers' was set up. It had originated in France but has had considerable impact in Tunisia where it is regarded as the number one organisation of the far left. About that time, I and many others criticised this organisation because of its "militaristic" nature, we are still critical of that aspect of it and of the type of relationship obtaining between its militants...the role of the rank and file appears to be to implement the line laid down by a central committee comprised of a few individuals.

Q. In that organisation, the cadres are normally students, are they? or are they mostly workers?
A: As a rule they were students for the reasons that they are the ones with access to revolutionary and socialist thought generally. There were several attempts to involve workers but in the end they failed because in Tunisia the consciousness of the workers is pretty well a trade-union consciousness, which does not exactly encourage the blossoming of a political consciousness. There were also some white collar workers but those could be numbered on the fingers of one hand. I was several times taken to task by Trotskyists for having dared criticise the decisions of the central committee: then there were several attempts at organisation, which came to nothing. Some people have stayed behind in that Stalinist-type organisation which is especially influential in student circles. But it had little impact beyond them because nowadays it is split between several tendencies. Eventually, at the end of '74 I left the organisation because it did not accord with what I wanted, nor with the revolutionary activity I wanted to get into. For a number of years it was a case of waiting for something to turn up, as neither Trotskyism nor anarchism were any too well developed (there was a shortage of literature given that organisation's Stalinism which used to stomp on anything other than Stalinist writings) and so everybody tried to go his own way until, gradually we began to reflect a little more. Through some people who had moved to France or elsewhere in Europe we were able to get hold of some literature...we read Pannekoek and Castoriadis, etc. Later on, an anarcho-syndicalist passed on some Bakunin and Kropotkin stuff to us...from then on, one was dealing not so much with a strictly anarchist organisation as with a self-management centre one which repudiates Stalinism and advocates what one might describe as Workers' Councils. So, in the 1980s a few groups advocating Workers Councils have begun to be active; they are basically to be found in the student world for it is above all in these circles that the ideas are bandied about. Now it has begun to infiltrate worker's circles, especially into the unions, for there are lots of anarcho-syndicalists who have returned from abroad, this trend has begun to be more pronounced, especially since the uprising of 6 January 1978.

Q. You mean Tunisian anarcho-syndicalists?
A: Sure. Tunisians who have been immigrant workers in France in particular....

Q. When you talk about these anarcho-councilist groups, you're talking about how many people - roughly?

A: In terms of numbers, not so many. But there are many Tunisians who are councilists, active in organisations in France and who have been associated with say the Situationist International, or the Socialisme ou Barbarie group. There are others too who just beaver away in one way or another, especially at the translation of councilist texts into Arabic...Others, old-time anarchists or councilists, have simply packed it all in. The new generation of councilists is a generation of students who, like me, have served their time with the Stalinist organisations and now, at last, are coming to think of themselves not so much as anarchists but as people who refuse to swim in the swamps of the Stalinist communism. In 1980 an experiment was tried involving about ten people (mostly students); they set up a tiny organisation called "For Workers' Councils" and embracing both Trotskyists and anarchists. It did not work out because the disagreements within the group between the Trotskyist and anarchist components were quite substantial. But it cannot be said that the leftist anti-Stalinist movement in Tunisia is truly dominant: some headway is being made and I believe it possible that an anarchist movement may well emerge, although there are considerable difficulties: and these arise basic-

ally out of the nature of the society we are dealing with. This is a totalitarian society where democracy, even in the bourgeois sense of the word, is not allowed. One cannot find anarchist groups, nor Trotskyist ones nor far left ones...but what does it matter who it is that sells their literature? When it can never be found. The work done is essentially clandestine and the people who dare to speak out in the anarchist camp are the anarcho-syndicalists and this because, in principle anyway, unions are tolerated.

Q. Has your group shown itself and if so, when and how? Have there been meetings, newspapers?

A: Primarily our activity is theoretical. We started practically from scratch and without any precedent such as you have. We cannot refer to any abundant literature to bone up on various positions so we have to look for our roots; this is quite basic. Whenever anyone goes away abroad, we get them to bring us back books. Our work is theoretical...trying to formulate attitudes with regard to what happens in the country and also trying to reply to the Stalinist line which rules the roost here, and then there is the problem of militarism...If anyone is going to adopt an anti-militarist line, one needs good arguments. Another good example is ecology and how to campaign in that area for this is an area where the Stalinists are very negligent. We must also work out our position on the revolution, for now the Stalinists of the far left, the left and the right all advocate a social revolution but a phase in the democratic, nationalist revolution, so they stand by Mao's line about what he used to term the "new democracy". One has to have an influential native bourgeoisie in order to achieve the primitive capital accumulation which has never taken place in this country, and to permit a measure of democracy along the lines of a bourgeois democracy but under the management of the Communist Party.

Q. But are those not traditional Marxist policies?

A: Sure, it's the Maoist line. In Volume 2 of his collected writings (as published by Maspéro of Paris) Mao wrote about "new democracy", and said that the revolution in what he calls the "peripheral countries" (compare this with economists like Samir Amin) is a national and a democratic revolution but not a socialist one. Now this has to be contested because it too is a means of deceiving the working class by saying that it is better for it to be exploited by the national bourgeoisie than by the imperialist bourgeoisie. As far as the working class is concerned, at least as we see it, it boils down to the same thing whether the exploitation is by one or the other. Thus we have to try and formulate a tenable argument to counterpose the Stalinist line. To begin with then, our first concern has been theoretical work and I do not think that this phase is over just yet because we have need of back up and information sources and, our group not being any too numerous, we have not been able to complete that task. For myself, I have taken the line that it is only now that I have been able to attain, at last, a suitably developed and rigorous anarchist and theoretical consciousness: there are many texts of which I am ignorant, even the 'classics', like works by Bakunin or Kropotkin....

That then was phase one, at the same time we were conducting propaganda work such as daubing things on walls. There was a graffiti campaign in support of the insurrection of 26 January '78 to back the trade unionists in their battle with the bureaucracy (including the trade-union bureaucracy), against the establishment and in defence of the independence of the working class. The fact that it needs no Party or bureaucratic trade union to press the claims which it has to press, but must rely solely upon its own resources. This propaganda activity was what put paid to our activities in 1980 because some of us were arrested on account of it and, as a result, the group faded away.

Q. You mean the group you mentioned just now?

A: Yes, the group I was talking about. The Trotskyists broke away, having concluded that we could not go on working in harness. There were some rather individualist anarchists, too, who were not interested in real political work. Their 'thing' is to live out their anarchy in their everyday lives: they are not interested in politics but in a day to day practice that they want to get into. That left myself and some others who eventually tried to resume our theoretical work before re-launching our propaganda activity again. That is the point we have reached. In short one cannot speak of an anarchist movement but one may exist in the future, given suitable profound theoretical work which has not yet been undertaken. We try to do our best but there are enormous difficulties and there is also the fact that the work we do is somewhat anachronistic with regard to everyday reality, a bureaucratic reality. Change when it comes is essentially a change to bourgeois democracy. The entire opposition is agreed that change should come from within the regime, ie. that there is no querying of the State apparatus. Roughly speaking, the opposition is trying to float the idea that the State is necessary but that it has to be a State of the democratic type. And it is not hard to get that idea over to a people of whom a majority are illiterate. This is another problem the anarchist movement faces with regard to putting down roots in a totalitarian country. The first demand is for a reduction in the totalitarianism of that State and not for abolition of it and, when it is all said and done, bourgeois democracy is seen as a solution, within its limits.

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CYPRUS

INTRODUCTION

I had to go to Cyprus to see for myself what life is like on the island my parents came from. Born and brought up in working class London I had to try for myself life on the island that thousands of Cypriots in England still regard as home. Four months and I had to leave, firstly because the State demanded my service in the army and secondly because I could not cope with it. The alienation I felt over here was nothing with what I felt over there. The following articles are my very subjective attempts to come to terms with the place. The only hope for the people on the island is from inter-communal cooperation, for social revolution pure and simple, nothing else can stop the war which rapidly approaches.

The recent history of Cyprus all depends on political affiliation, the Left/Right syndrome means that there are two histories, two interpretations of every event. Being fairly young I can't remember very much of what happened even a few years ago, so I've tried to sort out the facts from the rewritten history of the Left/Right, a course with obvious pitfalls.

In its time Cyprus has been occupied by every major power with influence in the Middle East and Mediterranean. The British were the last to control the island. The national liberation struggle was waged by EOKA using provo style tactics. The Left decided armed struggle was tactically wrong and played no part in the fight against British imperialism, as usual preferring a political struggle (ie. marches, petitions, sit ins etc.) This lack of participation by the Left created a vacuum in the leadership of EOKA which led to EOKA falling under the control of fascists. Archbishop Makarios became the political leader of EOKA. The fighters of EOKA demanded not only independence from Britain but political union with Greece (Enosis = union).

Because of the guerrilla war Britain signed a treaty with Greece and Turkey giving Cyprus independence. This independence did not allow for Enosis, and it also meant the retention of massive NATO bases on the island. Archbishop Makarios accepted the treaty and constitution which was in direct contradiction to what EOKA had struggled for. This caused a split in EOKA, some accepted the terms while others vowed to fight on. A new organisation was formed, EOKA B, to continue to fight for Enosis, this armed group was totally under fascist control.



During the period 1960-1974 the Cypriot economy was undergoing a period of expansion, especially in tourism. This meant a rise in living standards and expectations. However the Turkish minority (17% of the population), did not get a corresponding improvement in standards, the Turkish districts in all cities were almost slums, the Turkish villages were without electricity and running water. Also Turkish nationalists (in some cases armed) were on the rise and attacking Turks who disagreed with them. Thanks to the (essentially British created) constitution and the fascist gunmen in both sides Greek and Turk were kept apart. Before 1950 the two communities were as one. But nationalism and the economic effects of capitalism forced them into conflict. The Greek EOKA B fascists demanded Enosis with fascist Greece and fascist Greece supported this. The Turk TMT fascists demanded union with fascist Turkey and fascist Turkey supported this. Cyprus was stultifying, any opposition and any sign of opposition to Makarios (supported by all the commies), was a sign of fascism. Any independence or autonomy was destroyed by this omnipotent sectarianism.

Finally in 1974 EOKA B organised a coup, fully supported and aided by Greece of the Colonels. EOKA B was in control for nine days during which it began its policy of violence against any opposition. Given a good enough excuse Turkey invaded the island in order to safeguard the Turkish Cypriot population.

The war, marked by extreme violence on both sides (mass slaughters of civilians etc.) ended with Turkey in occupation of 40% of the island, included Famagusta, the second city. The Greek part has now returned to "democracy" and an even greater social fascism, the same lack of autonomous organisation. Turkey no longer has any reason to remain in occupation, but refuses to budge. To all intents and purposes two states exist on the island, one is "legal" and the other is "illegal". The Turkish Cypriots live under military occupation and only the slightest criticisms are allowed. Turks who except to the Greek half complain of a new racism. Mainland Turks brought over to colonise the island now treat the Turkish Cypriot population as second class citizens. The end result of nationalism is the forced partition of Cyprus and the forced partition

of the workers into opposing camps. Any chances of intercommunal class politics have now become nil. The activities of the two states is so similar so one would expect, and both see war as coming sooner or later.

The main opposition party, the Democratic Party is full of bureaucrats and fascists/communists. Maintained in power only by communist support a mutual pact called the Minimum Programme, they have ensured the complete cooperation of the state functionaries. This centrist party (like the Christian Democrats in Italy), represents the bureaucratic, middle-class, apparatchiks, the people who run the system. Worse than the SDP.

The main opposition party, the Democratic Rally Party, is the haven for fascist gangsters. It is said that 10% of Rally members are also members of EOKA. The party that is supported by cops, priests and bank managers as well as other species of psychopath. Rumours say that if they don't win the next election they'll let the gun men loose.

Smaller inconsequential political parties exist but these four represent politics in Cyprus. They all have one thing in common, they stink. Hierarchical, authoritarian, sexist and boring.

WAR

That war is inevitable is agreed by everyone I met. War fever is whipped up by the media, old scores to be settled, an arms race to be won. Conscription is a fact of life for everyone on the island. There is no large scale opposition to militarism for that would be unpatriotic. In fact one women's group demanded that women be given the chance to do national service! The official Greek line is that Turkey is arming itself for war. But I believe the Greek-Cypriots are just as likely to start the next bloodbath. Realistically it would be suicidal for the Greek Cypriots to try and take on Turkey, but the Greek Cypriots believe Greece will start a second front and will defeat Turkey.

Most people I spoke to give the place another three years. I reckon another two years and the place will go up in flames. War hysteria is high. Turkish war planes fly over Greek Nicosia to frighten people. The Greeks claim they catch Turkish spies. On the Green line a Greek-Cypriot soldier is shot from the Turkish side. Where opposing army camps are opposite each other it is not uncommon for the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots to make friends, after all they have much in common. The Greek-Cypriot was shot by a mainland Turk, shot as an example to stop the spread of fraternisation. Fraternisation, the thing that all Generals fear, afraid that soldiers united by class might turn their guns on Officers.

When I heard about the shooting I was scared certain war would be just around the corner. But the people I was with (at work), were mainly fascists and they were elated. They wanted war, a chance to wipe out Turks and then turn their guns on the Reds and race-traitors. This view was not that uncommon.

At the moment so-called 'Inter-Communal Talks' are going ahead, but after eight years of opposing sets of politicians mouthing off its more than just a bit pathetic. There is no point in arguing the pros and cons of the various sets of plans put forward by the politicians. Mutual aid between workers of both communities with the aim of social revolution is the only answer.

POLITICS

The Communist Party (AKEL) was the first political party formed on the island in 1926. It has a history of class compromise and opportunism second to none. The party is still a faithful mouthpiece for Russian propaganda. It remains one of the most orthodox CPs in existence. It has suffered no major splits, no internal battles, no euro-communistic heresies, it is still the same bureaucratic, conservative, monolithic machine it has always been. It is precisely because of this stability that it is the largest political party. The pages of its newspaper, are adorned with adverts by Coca Cola, Rothmans Tobacco, banks and multi-nationals. Its woman's page is full of recipes and sound advice on housewifery and motherhood. The kiddies page is all about Soviet Russia and lots of stories about saints and Jesus. These communists are sexists, racists, christians, anti-striker, anti-Solidarnosc. More fascist than the fascists. Personally I hate them more than anything else on the island. They have guns but didn't use them in the fascist coup of '74. They, along with Makarios (whom they supported), share direct responsibility for that coup. And it was the grass roots members that suffered the repression. Next election they will win, they are already the majority party. When Polish workers were shot down the CP applauded the tasks. Utter scum.

CONTINUED NEXT ISSUE



Sinn Féin Candidate Gerry Adams greeting a supporter before his victory

OURSELVES ALONE

What have Makarios, Arafat, Begin, Kenyatta, Mugabe, Khomeini and Gerry Adams got in common? At some point in time they have all been labelled as 'terrorist' and have been involved in, or supported armed resistance against 'imperialism' of one sort or another. All were and are nationalists and all, apart from one, were eventually recognized by the powers they were opposing as being legitimate representatives - no longer 'terrorists' - of 'the people'. Three years ago Mugabe was painted as a vile creature, a murderer and the instigator of countless acts of terrorism. Now he is a Head of State and all that is forgiven or at least forgotten. Nearly all these 'terrorists' went through such a transformation: from hero of the 'National Liberation Struggle' committed to 'Revolution and Social Change', to Head of State, or democratically elected negotiator; from 'socialist' to tyrant. Very few National Liberation Struggles have ever been socialist or revolutionary. In some cases, with the legitimizing of the rebel forces, the terrorism of the 'Revolutionary', has easily transformed itself into the terrorism of the State, with the 'Revolutionary Leader' becoming a paragon of the forces of reaction. Where nationalism and authoritarianism go hand-in-hand this process is inevitable. With the Sinn Feiners this too will inevitably happen. They

have negotiated and collaborated with the British State on more than one occasion. They are able to do this because each recognises in the other traits common to both: authoritarianism, the use of indiscriminate violence, and a wanton disregard and contempt for people generally. The terrorism of the Nationalist merely reflects the terrorism of the State, to which it aspires to. Given time the 'Revolutionaries' in the North of Ireland will work towards an 'acceptable solution' and the consolidation of their own power. Other Nationalist 'Revolutionaries' will take their place as the new 'Vanguard of the Struggle' and so it will continue.

Nationalism and authoritarianism implicitly encompass statism and the only armed resistance that the State is unable to recognise is libertarian, which seeks to destroy power not to win it. Sinn Féin used to mean 'Ourselves Alone' This has never been the case. NB In the ongoing talks with the Sinn Féin people, Ken Livingstone may even succeed in securing a localised agreement for an IRA-Free Zone for London. For all our sakes I hope he does. The Publicity Relations spin-off will no doubt enhance his prospects and help increase even further the powers of the nationalists. Perhaps if such tactics are taken to their logical conclusion Livingstone and Adams will one day, like Begin and Sadat receive international recognition for their efforts in achieving 'Peace'.

In Issue 8 of 'nationalism Today' - the paper of the 'new National Front', now the 'National Front' (again) - the following quote can be found: 'We are not part of any right-wing movement, anymore than we are part of some left-wing cause. Whereas the so-called right and left are nothing more than two sides of the same coin (we are) revolutionaries.' The same issue includes articles that vehemently put down (State) capitalism, support unilateral disarmament, attack multi-national corporatism and argue the case for workers control. No the NF haven't suddenly gone bananas, nor are they necessarily being dishonest. In the same issue you can also find the usual racist crap and the need for strong white leadership. Where the NF notably differ, from other British fascist groups is in their adherence to the ideology known as Strasserism, based around the ideas of Hitler's ex-cohorts, Otto and Grigor Strasser. The Strasser brothers, although leading figures in the Nazi Party, provided a challenge to Hitler's power and influence in certain parts of Germany. The Strassers worked out a formula for totalitarian control through 'socialism' within the nationalist framework. Many people were coned by the myth of Hitler's promises, but there again Hitler was a genius for intrigue and, together with Goebells, knew exactly how to manipulate opinion and expropriate power. To a certain extent Strasserism provided the 'socialist' credibility he desired.

The lessons learned from the 30's are not forgotten by fascists today. Webster's NF follow the Strasserite approach mainly for tactical reasons, but also because they realise that no totalitarian/authoritarian society can survive without due attention being paid to the needs of the masses. With this they are very close to the philosophy of State Socialists. Stalin may have been the epitome of Left/right totalitarianism, but even the welfare, corporate State ideas of Tony Benn et al. are not dissimilar to those put out by the Strasserites. One article in an NF publication even went out of its way to congratulate the militant tendency on its realism, but then went on to criticise it for its reactionary views 'He (Grant-leader of the MT) still has nothing to offer but the same old brand of State control as opposed to the worker's control advocated by the National Front!

What all this adds up to is that the NF is not of course supporting revolution, or worker's autonomy, or even the displacement of the bosses, but capitalism without corporatism, in ideological terms, and elitist, authoritarian hierarchies, in real terms. Worker's control for the NF is merely a device for eliminating one form of control which they perceive as currently being in the hands of 'foreign' investors, especially Jews (sic) - and replacing it with another form - British authoritarian, but proletarian. In other words the dictatorship of the proletariat within a strictly nationalist framework. And, guess who is going to be at the forefront, leading this struggle against State capitalism? But should we be surprised at the sort of opportunistic tactics the NF employ? After all the Trots have tried it for years and they have not got - not yet - a monopoly on entryism. Unlike the Trots though the NF have even less chance of conning people. It is bad enough talking to a Trot, but when you meet a fascist, all this 'socialism' crap just falls away. Looking at 'Nationalism Today' and taking its contents purely at face value, apart from the odd racist comment, there is, indeed, little to distinguish it from the kind of material found in independent, 'left-wing', campaign orientated papers, traditionally concerned with other peoples problems.

INCITEMENT

After the November Brixton Riot, the local Council and the Police, together with the Press, dragged up the old charge of incitement against the local anarchist group. The Charge was ridiculous and totally groundless. It is also elitist (and in this particular case racist) as it implies that those who participated in the action were incapable of deciding things for themselves: they need others to encourage or 'lead' them. Given the racism (black separatism) of many of those who were in the riot, the charge is even more laughable.

Incitement, in one form or another, is still, however, a feature of many anarchist papers. Our responsibilities, where we make threats, should be to do so only with the conviction that such threats are neither empty nor made on the (presumed) behalf of others. To merely exhort others to action, no matter how eloquent and righteous the plea, is

merely the rantings of the frustrated. 'Direct-Action no matter what' is to be distrusted and can only lead to unnecessary arrests and mistakes being made. Anarchists and revolutionists have no monopoly on direct action. It is also often used by fascists and neo-fascists as just another means of promoting populist-type insurrect-

One indication of the possible direction that the NF and their kind are going can be seen from a news report in a recent issue of 'Searchlight' a new organisation - called the 'National Society for Worker's Initiatives' - had been formed during a recent meeting of invited guests at the headquarters of the League of St. George. The self-confessed aim of this organisation was to gain entry into local and popular community groups as well as the campaigns (anti-nuke etc), not merely to destroy them - such a difficult task - but to 'influence their direction'.

We've seen it all before. Even Webster's rivals can draw the right comparisons: in 'Spearhead' (a 1976 issue), Verral (an ex-associate of Tyndall) accuses Social Nationalism (the philosophy of the Strasserites) as representative of '...the perennial heresy of nationalist politics; it was preached before by the National Bolsheviks...it is Marxism in the guise of Nationalism.'

The 'radicalness' of the NF is not that unlike the populist calls for solidarity put out by the Italian fascist party in the 20's when it demanded the abolition of the Monarchy, disarmament, workers control (syndicalism) and the abolition of the Stock Exchange, etc. In one of their papers 'Popolo d' Italia' (April, 1920), they said 'down with the State, and all its forms'. But it was not long afterwards that Mussolini declared 'Italian fascism now requires...to provide itself with a body of doctrines...' As with the yet to come ideas of the Strasser brothers in Hitler's quest for power, so Mussolini realised that in order to be given the power he required - he did not, contrary to opinion, take power forcibly - he needed to develop a programme of 'socialism' alongside his campaign of threats, assassinations, etc. and his manoeuvres to outwit and seduce the centrists and labour reformists.

There are many parallels to be drawn. That between the totalitarian left and the totalitarian right has been mentioned, as also entryism of the NF as compared to that of the mainstream Trots. There is also a parallel to be drawn between the ideological base of the NF - but not the Strasserites - and that of the laissez-faire capitalist. Both believe in destroying State capitalism, collectivisation etc. Both believe in private ownership. However where they differ, is in the Strasserite concept of an economy run on full employment and protectionism and against all encouragement for the growth of multi-nationals. A further parallel can be drawn here with the 'right to work' ethic of the Labour movement and its Trot sympathisers. As for racialism, this can be found in the dealings of every political party - the instances are too many to document here.

It would be too simple and historically and ideologically inaccurate to propose that the fascism of the NF and their friends is basically no different from the fascism of State socialists/capitalists, but the similarities cannot be denied. The authoritarianism of Statists - whether capitalist, socialist, or even pseudo-libertarian - is fundamental to all those involved in power struggles. The N.F. will never succeed in their ambitions; their ideas however are not necessarily restricted to their own efforts or membership, nor do they necessarily need to resort to entryism when there are many other willing hands doing their work for them.

T.H.

ions, to which they can exploit to their own ends. A fascist who bumps off a cop or a politician is still a fascist and their actions are undertaken for fascist reasons. Likewise an 'Anarchist' who 'inadvertently' harms innocent lives in the pursuit of their goal cannot be excused. It is both who you are AND what you do that counts. Should we, for example, support the actions of right-wing 'terrorists' where these acts are directed against State Leaders, on the basis that they will eventually help to weaken the State? Some comrades have already committed themselves to answering this question with their blanket support of the National Liberation package.

Resistance: against what and to what end ends? This is something we often forget to ask, especially in our enthusiasm for reporting news. To report on a superficial level, without first looking at the context is irresponsible. Our reporting then becomes dishonest - presenting an inaccurate and unrepresentative picture of what is really happening. We then delude ourselves, for example, that resistance may be greater than it really is. Again, frustration is the motive here. We clasp at straws and our 'actions' become more and more dependent on the printed word and less and less on the realities of everyday life.

mutual toleration



NEWMAN'S TROOPS

On Monday November 1 there was a riot on Brixton's front-line. It was just three days after Sir Kenneth Newman took over his new job as Police Commissioner of London's Metropolitan Police. He brought with him his own street credibility learned from the back of squad cars and helicopters patrolling the streets and skys of Ulster. Everyone in the know knew he would one day make Commissioner. He was groomed for the part. In Ulster he was known as 'Mighty Mouse' on account of his small stature but ultra-tough reputation. There he pursued a policy of criminalising all forms of resistance while at the same time polarizing the support within the communities given to those at the front-line of attack from the paramilitaries.

He succeeded in developing a force expert in all the latest techniques of intensive policing, riot-control, intelligence gathering, counter-subversion and torture. It was the latter that got Newman into hot-water when the Castlereagh Detention Centre was condemned for using 'inhuman and degrading' treatment. Clearly Newman, having completed his 'experiment' now needed to learn a bit more about what was happening in the rest of the UK. So off he went to Bramshill - the specialist police establishment for serving officers - to lecture on his experiences in Ulster and on how he saw the future of policing in Britain and to learn from his future troops just how far they are capable of being pushed. He became "a bit of a celebrity" and gave lecture tours abroad and it was on one of these tours that he made his much publicised controversial remark about 'West Indians being indigenously anti-authoritarian' (sic).

BLUES CLUBS

Meanwhile, as Newman was courting power, there was the continuing saga of Brixton's 'Front-line', which, until recently, consisted of a number of squatted houses and shops in Railton Road, used mainly as 'Blues' houses by local black hustlers. These houses provided all-night entertainment and a place to score dope, gamble, and get boozed up. Such 'unlicensed pleasure' was out of the majority of cops grasp while to the local Council the premises in question were but an eyesore, contrary to their new clean-up Brixton sanitization programme. Since the '81 riots on the Front-line, the Council had, in fact, systematically employed a policy of 'rearranging' the landscape, involving the destruction of liveable homes (and even the local children's playground), the squeezing out of shop-owners, and the removal of squatters. With the latter they were none too successful.

BRIXTON SQUATTER'S AID

Since early 1982, some of the squatters in the area spreading out from the Front-line, had got together to form Brixton Squatter's Aid, an autonomous association primarily concerned with maintaining basic survival. Over the 8 months or so from its inception BSA successfully opened up scores of squats all over the Brixton area, helped to elicit the support of squatters not previously organised around any particular set-up, started a squatter's aid alarm list for those squatters who came under attack, successfully defended several squats that were raided, and published a regular fortnightly bulletin reporting on local and international squatting news.



CULTURE CLASH

The two 'scenes' - the Squatter's Aid Network and the 'Blues House' - rarely came into contact with each other. They had different interests and different viewpoints. Many of those involved with the 'Blues' clubs were racist/separatist and authoritarian, especially in their general attitude and treatment to women; they were into their own culture and had hard and fixed attitudes about other cultures. On top of all this, the clubs tended to attract petty hustlers to the area to 'score and make out'. For a while there were almost daily reports of locals - black and white - being mugged and harassed and at one point an anti-mugging campaign was begun, producing posters that equated the violence on the streets to the violence received at the hands of cops and the violence of fascist attacks. The muggings and the response all led to a degree of bad feeling. While all this was going on Lambeth Council periodically made noises about how they were just about to close down the Front-line houses and how local street-crime had to be squashed once and for all. Threats of eviction were a weekly occurrence and added to the increasing tension. As these threats increased so many of the hustlers began to look for new premises for their clubs. Reports of new sitings came thick and fast and rumours abounded. Some petty pimps even made attempts to muscle in on the nearby homes of existing squatters and if they had succeeded this would have forced an unwanted confrontation. In the end, after many threats and resistance, the tension diminished.

SKIRMISHES & DIRECT ACTION

Such confrontations, though, were minor compared to those that everyone - black and white - faced from the local cops and the Council bureaucrats. After the '81 riots the police developed a deliberate policy of avoiding Swamp '81 type tactics. An alternative had to be sought. They made one or two mistakes. Early in '82, on two separate occasions, skirmishes occurred over the way the cops handled some minor incidents in the Railton Road area. On each occasion the cops were chased out of the Front-line area but restrained themselves from launching a counter attack: they were beginning to learn. For a while Railton Road managed to give the impression of being a 'no-go' area although when the cops did show up they did so suddenly and with force. For example, it was not uncommon during the summer to witness police helicopters circling overhead - sometimes hours on end - providing support to an oper-

ation down on the street level. At night the 'copters would use searchlights (and probably infra-red surveillance devices).

Since the '81 riots the local Council had gone Conservative (only just, with the help of SDP/Liberal Alliance Councillors and the Mayor's vote) and immediately implemented a policy to get rid of the squatters on a large scale. Very few of their attempts succeeded and the ensuing campaign to resist these attempts reached a crescendo with attacks by local activists on the homes and property of appropriate councillors. Certain Councillors were even sent fake eviction notices on Official Council Note paper - leading to recriminations, accusations and counter-accusations within the municipal offices. The Council had to 'do something' to 'restore public confidence'. At the same time the cops were itching to sort out the 'no-go' areas once and for all...and then came along Newman. The Stage was set.

Newman started the ball rolling with his flying-visit to Brixton cop station and to Notting Hill, where he advised his troops that they were to take no more insults from now on and that they were to remain firmly in control of their respective localities. His message: that there was to be a new era of policing: sophisticated and more precise in its methods. Two days later at 4am the Front-line houses came under siege.

BESEIGED

Newman's troops moved in quietly. None of the nearby residents heard them arrive. It was a smooth operation, well timed and successful. The cops stood guard while demolition workers began their task. By mid-morning a crowd had gathered, but by then the police presence was considerable. Coming into Brixton from Central London was like walking into a set for a film by Costa-Gravas. The only thing missing were the armoured vehicles...everything else was there. The cops, of course, only admitted to a small presence and this mis-information was regurgitated in the Press and on TV. But the reality was that almost every Instant Response Unit, and every other back up unit across Greater London had been drafted in to lend support. Every street leading to the Front-line, together with secondary routes, had been blocked off; and stop and search was being used in a blanket manner. Brixton had been closed down, sealed off and placed under siege.

While the operation was being effected, so some of the squatters in the area, together with some of those directly affected by the demolition of the clubs, decided to march to the Town Hall. There were about 80 on the march. They achieved their objective and made their protest (all the Political Parties had agreed to and signed the Council Eviction Notice). But the main confrontation was yet to come and it was clear that it wasn't just one side that desired it.

ATTACK AND COUNTER-ATTACK

The Battle lines were drawn. But then the cops suddenly withdrew all their personnel out of immediate sight and the front line was left empty like a ghost town. They knew this would have one effect and one effect only: to encourage the illusion that the police had made a strategic withdrawal. The trick worked and people poured in from all over Lambeth and beyond (they would have come anyway after school, work, it got dark, they saw the news). The Front-line drew them like a magnet. The Pincers opened up to let them in and then closed again. Meanwhile on the Front-line itself: jubilation. It was April '81 again. Barricades suddenly began to be erected and someone in a mask turned back traffic, firmly redirecting them out of the immediate area. The crowd was young and almost all male. There was an eerie silence. Then a fire broke out. It was the work-huts on the demolition site. A nearby house opposite the Blues clubs was set alight. The crowd grew and suddenly windows were smashed, Molotovs thrown. The crowd - around 150 - turned down Railton Rd towards Herne Hill. They came to the Anarchist Bookshop, smashing windows on the way, and, as with the '81 riots, the shop was passed by, untouched. Suddenly the cops appeared: it was the IRU's dressed in black fire-proof overalls and wearing protective helmets and visors. They carried long thick staves and as they charged down the road they let out war whoops, banging their batons on the shields Zulu fashion. The crowd held out until the cops got within spitting distance, and then

Nearest the camera,

Newman in Ulster 1976



dispersed. They re-grouped and threw whatever they could at their attackers. They were dispersed once more. It was stalemate.

MOPPING UP

Then came the mopping-up. Frustrated by their failure to catch any of those directly involved in the riot in Railton Road, the cops turned their attentions on anyone foolish enough to be wandering the streets aimlessly and who could become the object of their revenge. We know of one incident where a group of punks had just left their home in Talma Road and were set upon by these thugs. They were ordered to stop, and, out of fear, one of them ran off but was caught at the next turning. The cops viciously set upon him dragged him to their van and beat him up. He sustained serious injuries to his arms and legs and has since been charged with assault. He is 17 years old. No one was safe on the streets and the cops continued to hunt down potential victims.

Back at the town hall, meanwhile, a Council meeting was in session to discuss the eviction of some squatters in North Lambeth, and some people from BSA arrived to cause trouble. They managed to disrupt the proceedings for a while and then left to provide whatever back-up they could to comrades being attacked on the streets. Elsewhere incidents were increasing: word had got around and looting took place in several main streets, and a police coach was set on fire. In Notting Hill the locals made trouble in solidarity and in Tottenham an IRU was called in (from Brixton) to disperse a crowd.

By 8pm more crowds had gathered in central Brixton, but realising the sheer force of the numbers against them, wisely decided to play it cool, 'take notes' and learn about the enemy. Later in the evening another building, near Coldharbour Lane, was firebombed but by then the confrontation was coming to a close. The Brixton community was left to spend a long sleepless night, with the cops well and truly in control of the streets.

The next day, and for successive days, the cops continued to maintain their grip of fear. Coach loads of police were stationed on street corners day and night, while foot patrols were ridiculously frequent. At first little use was made of Stop and Search, although a group of people entering the anarchist bookshop were asked if they were carrying 'bombs' and their box of vegetables was examined. This policy of total saturation continued for a further 2 weeks. The squatters remained but the hustlers were nowhere to be seen. They had, in fact, merely moved around the corner to another street where they opened up new clubs.

'INCITEMENT'

The day after the riot the press was full of the usual accusations. The most ridiculous being that the local 'anarchist' group - specifically 3 whites, a woman and two men - had roused the 'mob' and incited them to riot. Councillor Robin Pitt claimed to know their names but told the papers that the police were unable to make arrests due to lack of concrete evidence. The farce continued when the next day a woman from the Workers Against Racism South London group (a Revolutionary Communist Party - Trot - 'Front') admitted she was one of those that the Councillor was accusing and that she had been in the thick of it and proud of it, taking a 'leading role'. This self-appointed saviour and publicity seeker got her come-uppance when she was told, in no uncertain way, to fuck off by local black activists at a post mortem held that week. She has since gone on to run as a Parliamentary Candidate in the much publicised Bermonsey Bye-election starring Peter Tatchell and others. The Press, however still looked for scapegoats and for a while raids were expected: incitement, something usually associated with books on 19th Century history, was the main accusation and the very impreciseness of the law associated with this charge only helped to increase the general feeling of vulnerability.

SURVEILLANCE

About 2 weeks afterwards, and a couple of days prior to the Press Release giving details of the new Police Powers Bill (see Page 12). The local Police Commander for Brixton Inspector Fairburn, announced that Officers from CII (Intelligence) and the A.T.S. were being seconded, on a permanent basis, to help monitor future developments on the Front-line. Further more, he admitted that the cops on the Front-line had been using and will continue to use sophisticated listening devices to keep track on the activities of potential 'muggers'. Coincidentally, Brixton is also the first area in Britain to incorporate the new System X switching system devised at Martlesham, Ipswich, by British Telecom. Apart from making it more difficult to sabotage the telephone network, system X provides the capacity to monitor all telephone calls automatically as well as automatic re-routing/blocking in State states of emergency, or whenever the authorities desire it.

Brixton (and Toxteth) is now becoming the rest of Britain, in terms of policing, what the North of Ireland is to the UK, in terms of militarization. An experiment has begun and is now in process. But the experiment is two-sided, with both sides monitoring its progress. The watchers are being watched...and it remains to be seen who learns the most.

Source: S.L.A.G.

LATE NEWS: Commander Fairburn, has been replaced by Alex Marnock who has in the past been a commander in the SPG. In a recent press interview he remarked that in the future he would not rule out 'Swamp' style tactics. The SPG still exists and has been enlarged, with the IRU's as local versions.

Police in riot gear patrolling the streets are now regularly seen in and around a council estate-Broadwater Farm-in Tottenham, N. London. This is part of a strategic build up in that area, ever since youths from a local youth club held a protest outside the police station at the arrest of a friend on a trumped up burglary charge. The protest was broken up by an IRU.

No helicopter was seen during the riot because the one generally used by the Met. for Lambeth had to turn back; on its way it suddenly collided with an exploding flare which was let off. The flash probably affected the ultra sensitive night vision cameras. Just shows what can be done with a simple fireworks!!

Source: BSA/SLAG



WHY POLICE RAID ANARCHISTS

The doctrine of ANARCHISM has been propagandised without legal disability for 150 years in Britain and other countries where constitutional democracy has been practiced. Where a police state exists, it has been criminalised.

It is explained in the Encyclopaedia Britannica at length. It is the doctrine of society living without imposed authority, and without the State, sometimes described as stateless socialism.

Marxists object to anarchism because it is opposed to dictatorship and the rule of the party; they describe it as petty bourgeois. Fascists object to it by saying that it is criminal of itself - that all people have to obey the Big Brother State and, while they do not deny it is possible to live without the State, they hold it is undesirable and unpatriotic. Liberal democrats hold that anarchism is idealistic but utopian and impossible.

In general, journalists incline to the fascist view because of its sensationalism and pretend there is a vast, criminal, anarchistic conspiracy, sometimes justifying this by ascribing patriotic, religious or Marxist crimes to 'anarchists' (which never turn out to be true). Police usually follow this last line, (though it is generally only in the sticks that they can get away with it), because people of authoritarian views join the police and are conditioned to this view. An appeal can be made to the prejudices of right-wing judges by evoking 'anarchism' as if it were a crime in itself, though it is difficult to get away with this in London or with an enlightened jury.

[One dodge by artful counsel in court cases is to ask an anarchist if s/he is a pacifist, or belongs to the 'non violent' wing of the movement. There is no legal obligation to accept pacifism. This does not make one a criminal. Ask the counsel if s/he is a pacifist or belongs to the 'non violent' wing of the Conservative or Labour Parties... or if the judge does... The question is soon ruled irrelevant!]

Usually police who break into houses and take away property, only because they object to the person's politics, are committing a crime, though it is difficult to prove. They know this.

The theft of anarchist books, published without legal disability, is equally theft, though difficult to prove particularly when one is confronted by police who privately support right wing or fascist groups. It is usually the best policy to let them steal books in this way if a warrant is produced though you should let them know that you realise their intentions, vis. to try to criminalise opinions with which they disagree.

WHO DARES CONS

We heard from one of our intrepid reporters regarding the well publicised Iranian Embassy siege, that the casualties were not all one-sided. We now know that at least one SAS member died and one was seriously injured. The injured man was identified in hospital by the only combatant who survived the assault. The SAS member who died was shot point-blank in the head and the SAS were able to achieve a cover-up about the fatality as the person in question was a foreign mercenary (Polynesian) with no traceable connections.

RESPONSIBILITY

About a year ago exactly, an army establishment near Cambridge was broken into and arms expropriated. A week after the 'Angry Brigade Resistance Movement' attack in Wakefield, another army establishment - this time near Nottingham - was raided, and detonators, grenades and plastic explosives were taken. The Cambridge break-in was claimed by the 'Angry Brigade'. No-one has so far admitted responsibility for the Nottingham theft. The 'Angry Brigade' also claimed responsibility for a letter bomb, containing a minor incendiary, sent to No. 10 Downing Street. The letter, however, together with similar devices sent to other top government offices, contained communiques issued on behalf of the 'Animal Rights Militia' a hitherto unknown group (?). Over the past six months letter bombs have been sent to Patrick Jenkin, the Industry Secretary, John Nott, the Defence Secretary, and other government ministers. This particular batch were all apparently, sent from Glasgow, and police therefore suspect Scottish Nationalist paramilitary types. The letterbombs were all intercepted and no-one was hurt.



Dear Comrades,

I wholeheartedly agree that Begin's nationalism is no different from Arafats'. Begin began in a 'terrorist' movement (in an anti-imperialist struggle against the British?) that committed acts of 'terrorism' (the bombing of the King David Hotel et al) just like Al Fatah and PLO. And, given time, the latter aim to have their own State, just like - if not in place of - Begin's. When/if this aim comes to fruition, will 'Nationalist Anarchist' still give her support?

Is a choice between one nationalism and another, no matter how 'revolutionary', any choice at all? And is our support to be given to one in preference to the other because it is Socialist, and the other is or is not? An SWP'er proudly informed a friend that he would support Russia in a war against America because the organisational structure of the State is already there for the working class to seize! What a prospect: the working class, to whom is entrusted the revolutionary task of abolishing class society, must inherit the repressive State machine that is the affirmation of class society! But it'll all be different then, because the revolutionary guardians will run society in our interests!

The Irish revolutionaries would do better to demystify the whole Irish situation. It is all very well to say that neither the Brits nor the Free Staters want a revolutionary organisation. But is the IRA revolutionary in an anarchist sense (ie is it anti-Statist)? It is not to be 'purist' (whatever that is) to oppose a revolutionary organisation because it is not anti-Statist. In many ways, these organisations are the more dangerous. If an enemy declares itself to be so, by word or by deed - by the very nature of its organisation - you know where you stand, at least. But then, can't 'Nationalist Anarchist' tell the IRA to be so, if not by word or by deed, by the very nature of its structure and organisation? If we must sow the seed of the new society in the shell of the old, then this is clearly not the way.

As an anarchist - at least, as someone who declares himself to be so, if no more than that, out of isolation, circumstances and frustration - I can understand that, when the IRA carries out offensive operations, both here and over the water, it is downright hypocritical of the moral bigots in government and in Fleet Street to condemn this as 'terrorism'. Yes, even when they hit not merely their target but bystanders, also! How many bystanders, innocent and otherwise, have been mercilessly murdered by the State? But then, offensive acts carried out by the State are acts of 'counter-insurgency' or 'war'. Only those perpetrated by 'illegal' or 'unofficial' organisations are acts of 'terrorism'. And only those perpetrated by individuals are 'criminal'.

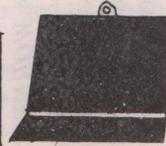
However, it occurs to me that herein lies the reason or basis for those, such as 'Nationalist Anarchist', to give their support to these organisations, in the fact that they are 'illegal' or 'unofficial' - 'extra-Statist' if you will. Did she (as I regret to inform you that I did!) actively support the National (Liberation) Front - NLF - on Grosvenor Square demos? (The NLF was engaged in an anti-imperialist struggle against the Americans, remember.) The NLF have come to power. If she gave her support then, does she give her support now. If not, why not? The old slogans are re-hashed: 'Victory to - NLF!' becomes 'Victory to - IRA!'

Too true! If nationalism is wrong when it wins, why should people weep for it when it loses? When Socialists (and anarchists!) wave the flag of an opposing Nationalism, in Ireland or anywhere else, they are only serving to mystify and to divert the class struggle. They are counter-revolutionary class-traitors! The losers - in the Falls and the Shanklin Road - are the workers, proles and lumpen alike, conned by the Statist interpretation of history, fed on a flag-waving frenzy of jingoism.

To gabble on about all that crap of the various (transitional) stages of history - Marxist determinism - is to douse the flame of social revolution with hopelessness. Must the Irish working class be sacrificed to a struggle of national liberation against the imperial power of Britain?! Why should the Palestinians consider themselves Palestinians first and human beings second? Why the Israelis? Why the Irish? - And 'Brits'?? These are nationalist concepts and nothing to do with the global class struggle. These concepts have served the ruling class well in recycling class antagonisms into national ones. They are even excused and given a revolutionary slant as the inevitable process of history by the followers of Marx. How much longer must this go on? Screw Marx and all the other philosophical servants of the Boss class! Don't follow no flags - don't follow no leaders! Struggles for national liberation, as far as anarchists are concerned, are non-struggles.

Leslie Reeve
Horley, Surrey.

COLLABORATION WITH NATIONALISTS, COMRADES CAN ONLY LEAD ONE WAY.



NEWHAM 8

Up to 80% of Asian students in some schools and colleges in the London Borough of Newham came out on strike and demonstrated their support for 8 Asian youths recently charged with 'Conspiracy to assault persons unknown' by the police. The 'assault' is supposed to have taken place when the youths were challenged by the cops for appearing 'menacing'. In fact, the 8 were in the process of protecting the children of a school, who had received threats by fascists that an attack was planned. Over the last few weeks, attacks by gangs of white youths on Asians have taken place with increasing regularity. Despite the arrest of the 8, the Asian community in Newham maintain that they continue to defend themselves against fascists. West Ham Magistrates Court was picketed on 17 December when the 8 were committed for trial. Another 'Bradford 12', but on less serious charges, is looming.

Source: ASDNN

ANARCHIST TAPE EXCHANGE

Now in stock: A.T.E. Cassette No. 2 (approx. 90 minutes). Includes interview with Jean Weir of Anarchismo group, Catania, about latest situation regarding the campaign against cruise missiles at Comiso in Sicily; also recent news reports, music and satirical sketches, etc.

All A.T.E. tapes are useful for audio libraries or for air-time transmissions. A.T.E. is currently providing taped material for 'Radio Free Space/The Message' on 'Our Radio', 103.8FM/VHF, covering greater London. The programme goes out every Wednesday night from 9 - 10 pm.

A.T.E. would like to hear from anyone else putting out/or thinking of putting out radio programmes, to exchange ideas and contributions to A.T.E. (high-quality, pre-recorded cassette material) should be sent to A.T.E. (ASDNN), BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3xx.

ATE cassette No. 2 costs £1 (plus 50p P&P UK, 75p others) Postal orders/cheques/money orders - to be made payable to ASDNN at the above address.

Still available A.T.E. 1 which covers the Brixton Uprising of April 1981, the murder of Carl Harp (an anarchist imprisoned in the USA), satirical sketches and songs from the Anarchist Songbook.

ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. Count von Bismarck, the parliamentary dictator, saw in the nationalisation of railways no threat to landed interests (on the contrary, he like other landowners, made a financial killing - the bigger in his case as he knew the plans in advance), but something that might embarrass some capitalist entrepreneurs - for whom he did not give a damn - yet help to preserve the wealth structure and steal the "socialist" programme at the same time as he was persecuting them.
2. Roman Emperor Vespasian made the remark when he built public conveniences and charged customers for using them which he reckoned

CARDIFF

A warehouse was looted in Cardiff: M.V.J. cash & carry - mainly fancy goods and wrapping paper. Earlier on 17 October an adjacent building was damaged by arson; damage was estimated at about £1 Million. A week later the warehouse was looted: entry was made easy because of the fire-damaged building next door. Many of the looters got away, but about 12 locals were charged with a variety of offences.

Source: A.S.D.N.N./Cardiff

ANTI-STATE

DOCUMENTATION & NEWS NETWORK

The Anti-State Documentation and News Network is a long-term project designed to facilitate the circulation and documentation of counter-information and encourage greater participation in local intelligence gathering. It was conceived in response to a number of needs which can be identified as follows:

1. the need to be able to exchange news, especially urgent news, quickly and reliably
2. the need to develop an alternative investigation and intelligence gathering capability
- and 3, the need to store information and research that is both fully cross-referenced and accessible

Currently the circulation of news is undertaken either on an ad-hoc basis, between affinity groups, or through journals/local papers, which often have long or non-coordinated copy and issue dates. Invariably, we end up relying on the capitalist press for 'up-to-the-minute' news and, if we are lucky, we might get to find out more details, through our own efforts, at a later point in time. Local on-the-spot reporting and news gathering is something we, more often than not, neglect—our own resources being limited or under-used. Even more severe is the problem of urgent news (arrests, riots, wildcat actions, etc.) and how such news is circulated to, perhaps, a wider number of contacts. On a totally different level, it is generally the case that the information we hold is dis-connected, patchy and prone to, often, unnecessary duplication. Some of us, for example, may be researching into the activities/movements of local fascist organisations, their links with other authoritarian/statist agencies, their financial resources and international connections; or, perhaps the dealings of a particular multi-national. But is such research—whether published or unpublished—ever keyed in to similar research undertaken elsewhere? And to what degree are we skilled at monitoring organisations, carrying out investigations, etc? And how do we document and disseminate the results of such investigations? To help counter these problems ASDNN has three specific proposals to make.

1. ANTI-STATE DOCUMENTATION INDEX

To assist in the development of an efficient and reliable News Network, regional Documentation Centres, responsible for the storage of local news/reports, counter-information/investigations, etc., could be set up. (A London documentation centre is currently being developed in south London; many other such centres exist in different countries, some having been in operation for many years.) A documentation centre is by no means difficult to set up: material can be loaned, donated, or simply 'pooled' from local activists or sympathisers. Neither need such centres be in one physical place: each centre could card index their material/information held (summarising the information, detailing what is covered and where it is stored—in terms of either regional centre and/or local contributor or contact). The regional indexes can then be cross-referenced and linked in with each other to form an ASDNN INDEX, which in turn would link in with international documentation centres and their indexes. From the ASDNN Index, 'files' could then be created and regularly updated: e.g. an 'International Anti-Militarism/Security Forces File', an 'Industrial/Company-information File', a 'Police and Policing File', a 'Fascists and Fascism File', etc, etc. The actual information would be held locally but linked together through ASDNN so as to help build up a more accurate and accessible data-base of counter-information. To a certain extent a documentation and news network already exists in embryo. Affinity groups naturally link up with others to provide support, exchange information, and publish papers, and in some cases form local/regional federations. To move on from this to a more efficient, wider communications network would be but a simple transition.

2. ANTI-STATE NEWS SERVICE

As a back-up to existing communication networks (local and regional federations, etc) and facilities (local and regional papers/radio, etc), a ASDNN News Service, to disseminate news and reports on a wide scale to as many contacts as possible, will be set up. The Anti-State News Service, published as part of the 'BLACK FLAG NEWS BULLETIN', will, hopefully, provide a valuable input to our existing media, regularly pooling and circulating news. The News Service will, of course, only function well if reports are sent in on a regular basis from as many contributors as possible. ASDNN will, in addition, create a mailing list of contributors/subscribers, to be used as a means to send out URGENT NEWS—news that is too important to wait for publication dates. The Urgent News Mailing is a two way arrangement: if it is critical, send it in and it will be circulated.

3. ANTI-STATE PUBLICATIONS

For the more in-depth research/investigations, these could be circulated and published as part of a series of reports using the 'pooled' resources of ASDNN contacts. Both the work-load and the financial requirement would then be spread out and minimised. ASP—jointly organised with 'Black Flag'—would operate on a strictly mutual aid basis: if you have material for publication, equipment to loan, or can offer financial support, distribution/promotional facilities, time and energy, etc, ASP will seek out and link together the appropriate contacts.

PARTICIPATION

The ASDNN Mailing List will cover Urgent News Mailings, Index and ASP updates. To subscribe to the ASDNN Mailing List costs only £1.50 U.K., £2 overseas per year to cover postage. Annual subscription to the News Service costs £9 U.K.; £17 overseas and includes all issues of the (fortnightly) Bulletin as well as the Black Flag Quarterly. All cheques/postal orders/money orders for the Mailing List subscription to 'ASDNN' at address shown below. All cheques/postal orders/money orders for the News Bulletin subscription to 'Black Flag' at its temporary mailing address: c/o Box ABC, 121 Railton Road, London SE24. (This address is also the address point from which the London Documentation Centre operates.)

was consistent with his imperial dignity.

3. Henry Ford had the idea that using alcohol for fuel would cause a shortage of it for personal consumption!
4. He told them not to bother him but to get organised and take over the railways themselves.
5. Louisa Conroy (1882-1938), who ran the bookshop notorious for its anarchist, atheistic and unpatriotic

displays, faced a largely drunken mob who were divided in view as to whether to burn it because it was a Papist centre of Sinn Fein or a Protestant birth control and anti-God conventicle, and in exasperation she threw a brick herself saying, according to the press, "The place is too good for the likes of you". (She later lived in Liverpool, and varied the story jokingly saying "I threw the brick because I was the only one there without sin".

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continued from page 1.
strong gathering as "trots ha' hae" . . .

With the ejection of "old fashioned", so-called, Right Wing Members of Parliament, these expelled have refuge in their very own party, the Social Democrat Party — a party of MPs looking for an electorate — since, totally devoid of principle, they know that if they fight another election and lose, they will get a pension; and if they bow to the principle on which they were elected, of selection by committee, and stand down, they will forego the pension. The Labour Party has had a healthy purge of these elements; to the detriment of the Liberal Party, especially the Young Liberals, sold down the river for journalistic acclaim, who were to the left, in any normal sense, of the social-democrats, the Labour Party and the tapeworms in particular.

What is meant by Left and Right, anyway? There are three meanings: one class, one ideological, one deliberately misleading. Originally the term *left* implied working class — the farther right, the nearer the monarchy, the aristocrats; the farther left, the more working class until the extreme of poverty was reached. There is another meaning: in terms of progressiveness, liberality, tolerance, permissiveness and so on. Finally there is a third meaning, popular among journalists; the touchstone seems to be the attitude to Russia: e.g. in Lebanon, the rich, feudal, unprogressive and illiberal Muslims are described as Left Wing because they had Russian support for what it is worth; the rich, feudal, unprogressive and illiberal Christians are Right Wing because they are in the American camp, more or less, when it suits them.

TROTSKYISM IS A RIGHT-WING TENDENCY

No Trotskyist group is left wing in the working class sense, and it shows itself far to the right wing in any progressive or libertarian sense. Even in the third, misleading sense, Russia for years regarded them (and has only ceased to do so, for tactical reasons, so far as Britain is concerned, recently) as Fascist; the reason for Trotsky's build-up of a Party after expulsion from Russia has been given by the Stalinists as being due to aid from the Fascist Powers, and a Stalinist drive against *all* left wing groups — because of their sympathy of Trotsky the loser against Stalin the winner — was made, murderously, throughout the thirties.

There was indeed a "left wing communism" in Russia, but this was derided by Lenin and Trotsky as an "infantile disorder" unworthy of consideration. Trotsky in no way considered himself a "left wing communist". The Oehler following, in the USA, broke from them because they were "rightist".

The Trotskyist tapeworms entered the Communist Party in Germany, where they regarded the CP as the "mass organisation of the working class" and the only defence against nazism, so they

consistently opposed it and weakened it fatally. That their criticisms and opposition were largely, in this instance, correct, is true; but to believe it the only defence against nazism and *still* attack it, is inconsistent unless one wants the victory of nazism, perhaps because of direction, perhaps to humiliate their arch-rivals, the Communist Party.

The China Trotskyism was consistently the right wing, in that is opposed any "adventurist" policy against capitalism, so that even the centrist Mao Tse Tung was appalled by their vacillation and was subsequently driven into the Stalinist camp before finally building one of his own.

In South Africa the trots built up a fairly strong organisation forced by circumstance into coming into the struggle, only for Trotsky literally to withdraw from the struggle, importing the entire Party to England so as to build a movement there, seeing in the Labour Party, "once rid of Macdonald and Snowden" (!) the mass party etc which had to be penetrated: "To support the Labour Party as the rope supports a hanged man" — said Lenin.

In Spain the trotskyists did not exist. But their attitude to it demonstrated their Ring Wing activity covered by Left Wing phrases more clearly than anything else.

Of the two trade union federations, the CNT and the UGT, the former was revolutionary, the latter reformist. The UGT entered the fascist dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in order to build up its strength against the CNT. So far from this being condemned by the trots, even at a distance, they were instrumental in persuading Western trade unionists to rebuild the UGT — while never ceasing to denounce the CNT for entering the anti-fascist government during the civil war — a mistake, without doubt, but hardly on the same level. The trots denounced the Civil war from afar. They claimed the spanish workers did not need arms (the POUM in Spain, labelled as Trotskyist by its Stalinist opponents, which hardly was able to share these pseudo-pacifist views, suffered in consequence). What they needed (said Felix Morrow the trotskyist), was "a clear cut Leninist analysis".

When it came to the fascist invasion of the countries in which the trotskyists were living, the trots put forward a different if more clear cut "Leninist analysis" (for others): fight like mad. The English trots, having got into reserved jobs, were all for it. Not, of course to save the capitalists: but for "the defence of the Soviet Union", which might include saving the capitalists.

Notwithstanding their leftist phrases in criticism of the participation in a bourgeois government by the Spanish unions, the trots entered into bourgeois governments the moment they got the opportunity — not only as individual members in many countries (including Great Britain) but as a collective party in Ceylon. There they formed an inte-

gral part of the right wing opposition. They hastened to form part of the North African pseudo-Marxist governments where they could; and they obviously also want to give leftist cover to a right-wing Labour government in this country.

On nationalism, trotskyists consistently advocate it. Does this make them "left" of those who have lost their initial enthusiasm? Nowadays, as a sop to "left wing communist", they are at times "with workers control". But consistently they oppose any form of workers control that cuts out the State bureaucrats. It is enough to get "left wing" labour leaders. Reformist ones? Nothing causes more dread in the trots than having a labour movement which is further "left" than the Vanguard party!

A WORKER'S MOVEMENT?

The trot press — Socialist Worker, Newline, the Militant (perhaps not quite so), the this 'worker', the 'revolutionary' that — are all recognised even by libertarians, as excellently produced — and so they should be, granted professional journalism and paid expertise. (The daily Newline was subsidised by Gaddafi, under the impression that he had got control of an "English daily newspaper"). But the message is substantially the same, though workers' struggles are depicted graphically and typically in a manner libertarians have failed to do — perhaps it is easier to glamourise struggles you're not in. But the solutions offered to workers' problems are substantially the same. "Maggie Out". By all means, "Maggie" out. So what? Change the government, (Michael out, Wedgie Out — or as Trotsky put it "Macdonald out, Snowden out" and all would be well. . .) and you change the one you chant for to get out! Always, Vote Labour — except on the rare occasions when 'we' put out a candidate and you can give a hundred or so votes to him/her. Nationalisation — oh, with workers control. . .! Support national liberation where it's in the interests of Russia. Defend the Soviet Union, attack the leadership of the USSR. Unemployment by State jobs, by the right to be exploited, by forcing older workers to take unemployment instead, and carry out this programme by appeals to the government in marches and demonstrations.

You can argue whether these points of view are correct or not, but they belong in the category normally described as Right Wing; they are merely cloaked in Left Wing phraseology. The tapeworms have succeeded, by their use of phraseology out of the textbooks, in persuading right wing Labour that they are its left wing. Fool them by all means: they do not fool us. Trotskyism belongs in the reactionary camp. Or to put it more plainly, Trotskyism belongs to the authoritarian ideologies, but is one that uses socialistic phrases to hide its illiberal tendencies.

BLACK FLAG

Organ of the Anarchist Black Cross Vol. VII 2 Feb. 1983



LOW INTENSITY POLICING

Currently going through the British Parliament, and likely to be made Law, is the New Bill on Police Power and procedure ('Police and Criminal Evidence 1982') The Bill covers stop and search, arrests, detention, treatment of prisoners, complaints procedures, etc. The first half of the Bill concerns itself with re-defining and, largely, widening the powers of the Police; the second half with legitimating and making statutory existing practices, particularly those that have been associated with the so-called 'Judges Rules'.

Part 1.1 of the Bill 'legalises' stop and search. In future the police will be able to:

'on reasonable suspicion search any person or vehicle...for stolen or prohibited articles and may detain a person or vehicle...' Prohibited articles in this case means offensive weapons — which can mean anything from a hammer to a bunch of keys — and items for use in burglary/theft (glasscutter, pliers, etc.). The Constable, having stopped and searched the suspect is then supposed to log the incident in writing. This is supposed to justify the legitimization of their increase in power, although in practice there is nothing to prevent the Constable from stopping and searching whoever s/he likes, as is normal practice, without recourse to this procedure. If the incident is logged, you can get a copy of the record anytime up to 3 months: this again is supposed to function as some kind of check on the misuse of this power. Sections 3.3 and 4.3 deal with road checks. According to 'Police Review', the Bill has, in fact, restricted the power of the Police to set up road-checks, in that they can only be allowed if authorised by someone in Senior rank. But the journal does not mention the important clause 4.3(G.) which states that road — checks can be authorised not only for the purpose of looking for someone who has committed an offence but 'that having regard to a pattern of crime in that area a serious arrestable offence is likely to be committed...' This means that your vehicle can be stopped and searched and detained at any time merely because of the area you happen to be in.

Part II deals with the searching of premises. 8.5 abolishes all the 'rules of common law under which a Constable has powers to enter premises without a warrant'. But the previous sub-sections of the Bill then legitimizes these rules and makes them statutory, defining all the possibilities by which the Police can enter and search premises.

Part III deals with powers of arrest and summary arrest (arrest without warrant). The major change proposed here is that an arrest without warrant should be for any offence (currently such an arrest covers only charges with sentences of at least 5 years) where the Constable considers it will prevent loss or damage to property, etc.

The remainder of the Bill deals with procedures at the Police Station, including our so-called 'rights', admissibility of confession, treatment after arrest, and changes in the complaints procedures. The Bill recommends a code of practice to 'enforce' these procedures. By enforcement, it is not meant that by disobeying the code the police are thereby acting illegally, but that they may be subject to 'disciplinary' action. In general, while additional safeguards have been built into the procedures for dealing with the accused whilst in custody, there is nothing at all to prevent the usual abuse. Bail conditions, access to a solicitor, the 'right' to have a friend/relative informed of your arrest etc., are all still subject to the approval of the Police. Detention, with the exception of arrests under the P.T.A. is extended to a maximum of 96 hours — currently it is 48 hours.

consent. In practice the Bill, as soon as it becomes an act, will provide the police with a charter of approval to continue and broaden their existing methods of stop and search — which inevitably will be used most in areas where they are facing the most opposition: the inner city, council estates, etc. With the 'Sus' Law, you can be picked up for appearing or acting in a suspicious manner; with 'stop and search' the police are encouraged to threaten and harass anyone for simply being in a certain area or for not appearing 'Law-abiding'. 'Sus' was too crude for the liberal, but S&S — although more reactionary — is acceptable. Low intensity policing — unspectacular, but wide-ranging — is now with us. Inevitably this will lead to a greater degree of confrontation. Our response will be flexible but more determined.

